

FFI RAPPORT

DOKUMENTASJON OM AL-QA'IDA - Intervjuer, kommunik er og andre prim erkilder, 1990-2002

HEGGHAMMER Thomas

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Jan Erik Torp
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8) ABSTRACT This report is an attempt at gathering all available statements and interviews given to foreign media by Usama bin Ladin and his al-Qa'ida organization from the early 1990s through 2002. The bulk of this material has been gathered on the Internet and is presented in an English translation, although reference to the Arabic original has been given whenever possible. The internet search has been supplemented by a thorough examination of secondary sources, and the end product is an overview of al-Qa'ida's media activities from 1990 to 2002. The reader is reminded, however, of the near-certainty that this collection is neither exhaustive nor 100% accurate. The compilation contains references to nearly 90 different items (statements, videos or interviews) emanating from the al-Qa'ida leadership. A handful of these may be forgeries. Included in this report are also bibliographic references to other important categories of primary sources, such as the group's terrorism manuals, court hearings, and much more. The report also includes samples of documents recently found in Afghanistan.		
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DOKUMENTASJON OM AL-QA'IDA - Intervjuer, kommunikéer og andre primærkilder, 1990-2002

1 INTRODUKSJON

1.1 Bakgrunn og formål

Denne rapporten er skrevet innenfor rammene av FFIs forskningsprosjekt nr. 828, "Terror- og sabotasjetrusler mot Norge, scenarier", som går under navnet TERRA II. Dette prosjektet er det andre i rekken av FFI-prosjekter om terrorisme. Det ble påbegynt i juli 2001 og skal avsluttes høsten 2003, og prosjektet har som hovedformål å utføre grunnlagsstudier innenfor temaet terrorisme.¹ På grunn av hendelsene 11. september 2001 har TERRA II i sin første fase vært rettet mot fenomenet al-Qa'ida. Det ble ansett som viktig å møte etterspørselen i Forsvaret og statsforvaltningen generelt etter analyser av al-Qa'idas ideologi, organisasjonsstruktur og kapasiteter.

I det akademiske arbeidet med al-Qa'ida støter man imidlertid straks på en rekke problemer knyttet til kildemateriale. Nyhetsverdien i terrorisme-relaterte saker er generelt veldig høy, og dette gjør at media er spekket med informasjon om og vurderinger av Usama bin Ladin og hans organisasjon. Det er i og for seg positivt, men det har to viktige konsekvenser: For det første blir kvaliteten og påliteligheten av informasjon veldig ujevn, og nyhetsbildet blir til en viss grad preget av rykter. For det andre fører overfloden av informasjon til "innavl", det vil si at nyhetsartikler bygger på tidligere nyhetsartikler, mens primærkildene gradvis vannes ut av det samme nyhetsrommet. I de mer akademisk orienterte artiklene og bøkene rundt fenomenet al-Qa'ida er argumenter og fremstillinger som regel bedre underbygd, men disse inneholder oftest bare et utvalg referanser til primærkilder. I tillegg er det ofte vanskelig å følge opp disse referansene, da de gjerne henviser til "et dokument i forfatterens besittelse", "en samtale med [person X]", eller kun en dokumenttittel. Dette viste seg å være et problem spesielt når det gjaldt å finne frem til Usama bin Ladins intervjuer i mediene på 1990-tallet, men også til al-Qa'idas kommunikéer og pressemeldinger generelt.

Denne rapporten begynte som et notat, hvis formål i utgangspunktet var å samle de nevnte intervjuene og kommunikéene på ett sted, slik at vi kunne få en bedre oversikt over antallet og rekkefølgen på al-Qa'idas ytringer siden tidlig på 1990-tallet, samt ha muligheten til å studere innholdet i sin helhet uten å være prisgitt andres sitater.² Etter hvert som arbeidet med notatet

¹ For informasjon om forskningsprosjektet TERRA, se www.ffi.no.

² Så langt forfatteren er bekjent er ingen slike oversikter tilgjengelige i dag. Det finnes imidlertid en rekke ufullstendige lister på internett og i enkelte bøker. Her er et utvalg av de mest nyttige:

[http://www.jihadunpun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/;](http://www.jihadunpun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/)

<http://vikingphoenix.com/public/rongstad/military/terrorism/binladen.htm;>

<http://www.arab2.com/biography/Osama/Osama-qaeda-description.htm;>

skred frem, ble det imidlertid mer og mer klart at en slik oversikt gjerne kunne utfylles med gjengivelser av eller henvisninger til andre relevante typer primærkilder. Ettersom forfatteren i tillegg så det som hensiktsmessig å tilføre en del kvalitative vurderinger som kunne ha interesse utenfor FFI, ble det besluttet at arbeidet skulle utgis som en FFI/Rapport. Denne rapporten kan sies å ha blitt et noe ambisiøst forsøk på å samle så mye som mulig av offentlig tilgjengelig primærmateriale om al-Qa'ida. Enhver som har forsøkt å orientere seg i den informasjonsjungelen som al-Qa'ida-journalistikken utgjør, vet at en slik veiviser eller "studiehåndbok" vil kunne være tidsbesparende og klargjørende.

Målgruppen for denne rapporten er først og fremst prosjektets nåværende og fremtidige medarbeidere. Radikal islamisme har vært og vil fortsatt være et prioritert område innenfor FFIs terrorismeprosjekter, og det er derfor tenkelig at denne rapporten vil kunne ha bruksområder utover våre studier om al-Qa'ida.³ Forfatteren håper imidlertid at andre som arbeider med radikal islamisme generelt, eller al-Qa'ida spesielt, vil kunne ha nytte av dette arbeidet. Leseren må imidlertid være oppmerksom på at rapporten forutsetter en viss forhåndskunnskap om disse emnene, ettersom religiøse uttrykk og navn på sentrale personer siteres uten nærmere forklaring.

Materialet som presenteres her, er i all hovedsak hentet fra Internett, mens bøker og artikler først og fremst er benyttet som et supplement. Rapporten er et resultat av et års aktiv kartlegging av nettstedet og lagring av informasjon om al-Qa'ida. Nettbaserte informasjonssøk er imidlertid en disiplin i seg selv, og jeg påberoper meg ingen spesiell kompetanse innen dette feltet. Tvert imot er min oversikt over "al-Qa'ida på Internett" opparbeidet gjennom prøve- og feile-metoden, en viss intuisjon, og en høyst feilbarlig hukommelse. Når vi i tillegg vet at den delen av Internett som er viet radikal islam, er ekspanderende, skiftende og politisk ladet, sier det seg selv at opplysningene i denne rapporten må behandles med forsiktighet.

1.2 Kildekritiske faktorer

Det første som må sies, er at denne rapporten neppe er komplett. Det kan meget gjerne finnes andre gode kilder som forfatteren ikke har registrert. Dette gjelder kanskje spesielt kilder som måtte finnes i arabisk-språklige eller urdu-språklige medier. Av tidsmessige hensyn har forfatteren ikke aktivt søkt etter primærmateriale på denne "fløyen" av Internett. Helhetsbildet ville muligens bli noe annerledes dersom dette ble gjort på en systematisk måte.⁴ I tillegg finnes dokumenter som vi vet eksisterer, men som har vist seg vanskelige å oppdrive.⁵ Det er også slik at enkelte internett-sider er svært så flyktige, og noen av internett-lenkene som er oppgitt i denne rapporten, vil ikke nødvendigvis være der om 6 måneder. Dette gjelder spesielt internett-sider som er drevet av islamske organisasjoner, ettersom disse sidene er gjenstand for både hacking

<http://www.al-bab.com/arab/background/laden.htm#STATEMENTS>. Se også *Le spectre du Terorisme: Declarations, Interviews, Temoignages sur Oussama Ben Laden*, Paris: Les Editions Sfar, 2001.

³ For tidligere FFI-studier av islamisme, se Lia og Kjøk (2001). I tillegg kan nevnes en rekke arbeider av Brynjar Lia, for eksempel Lia (1998) og Lia (1999). Se også Hegghammer (2002).

⁴ Det ligger mye "ubehandlet materiale" på nettsteder som www.jihad.net, www.aljihad-online.has.it, www.almaqdes.com, www.aloswa.org, www.attawhid.com, www.sahwah.net, www.erhap.com, www.h-alali.net. Se for øvrig Paz (2002b) for et innblikk i al-Qa'ida-sympatisørers internett-aktiviteter våren 2002.

⁵ Se for eksempel kapittel 5.

og sensur. Det er verdt å merke seg at det siden januar 2002 har skjedd en oppblomstring av ”flyktige” nettsteder som synes å være drevet av al-Qa’ida-medlemmer eller sterke sympatisører. Ifølge islam-eksperten Reuven Paz virker det som om al-Qa’ida har flyttet sin rekrutterings- og propagandaaktivitet over i *cyberspace*, hvor det finnes en rekke nettsteder som nesten daglig legger ut nytt materiale (av høyere og lavere troverdighet). Denne rapporten har inkludert dette materialet i kun svært begrenset grad.

For det andre er det slik at denne rapporten ikke nødvendigvis inneholder den beste versjonen av en bestemt kilde. For at rapporten skal være så tilgjengelig som mulig, har vi valgt å gjengi de ulike arabiske dokumentene i engelsk oversettelse. Engelske oversettelser av arabiske kilder vil ofte variere, og såkalte *transcripts* av TV-programmer eller videofilmer forekommer i flere versjoner på ulike internett-sider. Forfatteren har så langt det er mulig, forsøkt å velge ut de kildene som har høyest kvalitet og pålitelighet, men i enkelte tilfeller er det vanskelig å finne mer enn én versjon.

Et tredje forbehold er naturligvis knyttet til de ulike kildenes pålitelighet. Her er spennvidden stor, fra relativt sikre og udiskutable kilder som intervjuene med *CNN* og *ABC News* eller al-Qa’idas to mest kjente kommunikéer (se kapittel 4.2 og 4.3), til langt mer problematiske utsagn som nevner for eksempel et ”ikke publisert intervju gjort av en fransk journalist i 1995” (se kapittel 5.7). Forfatteren har likevel valgt å ta med for mye heller enn for lite, og overlater derfor til brukeren av rapporten å vurdere hvor mye vekt han vil tillegge de mer tvilsomme kildene i en eventuell analyse.

Den variable kvaliteten på enkelte kilder kan skyldes flere forhold. For eksempel kan det dreie seg om unøyaktig journalistikk eller dårlige oversettelser. Man kan imidlertid heller ikke utelukke bevisst feilinformering, enten som et forsøk på et falskt mediescoop, eller som et ledd i islamske organisasjoners propagandavirksomhet, eller som et resultat av staters informasjonsstrategier.

En fjerde faktor som gjør at kildene må behandles varsomt, er selvfølgelig språkbarrieren. I denne rapporten er alle uttalelser, kommunikéer og intervjuer gjengitt på engelsk. Dette er både et teknisk og et hermeneutisk problem. Oversettelser kan være unøyaktige, enten som et resultat av hastverk eller som et resultat av manglende språkkunnskaper. Vi har gitt referanser til de originale arabiske tekstene der vi vet om slike. En må imidlertid også være oppmerksom på at selv om oversettelsen er av høy kvalitet, kan mye av meningen i et utsagn enten gå tapt eller misforstås. Vi vet for eksempel at Usama bin Ladin ikke snakker engelsk, og at de fleste i hans indre sirkel behersker språket dårlig. Dette gjør at de har en retorikk og en uttrykksmåte som er typisk for arabiske talere, og som i liten grad er tilpasset det vestlige publikum. Denne retorikken karakteriseres av hyppig bruk av hyperboler, metaforer og religiøse referanser som fort kan misforstås av en person uten kjennskap til det arabiske språk eller til islam.

En femte faktor er knyttet til det at kildene i denne rapporten er tatt ut av sin opprinnelige kontekst. Hvert kommuniké eller intervju må forstås i tilknytning til den politiske situasjonen på

det tidspunkt da det ble laget. En må heller ikke glemme at målgruppen kan variere fra dokument til dokument. Enkelte utsagn er skreddersydd for et vestlig publikum (f eks kapittel 2.6), andre er rettet mot et muslimsk publikum (f eks kapittel 4.4), mens andre dokumenter igjen først og fremst er tiltenkt al-Qa‘idas egne medlemmer (f eks kapittel 6.6).

1.3 Det som er utelatt

En del kilder er utelatt av praktiske grunner. Den kanskje aller viktigste kilden til al-Qa‘idas operasjonsmønster og organisasjonsstruktur, nemlig referatene fra retts sakene mot al-Qa‘ida-medlemmer våren 2001, er altfor omfattende til å tas med her. Dette gjelder også lengre ideologiske verk skrevet av enkeltpersoner som kan knyttes til organisasjonen, for eksempel Ayman al-Zawahiri. Bibliografiske referanser er imidlertid gitt der det har vært mulig.

En annen kategori kilder som av plasshensyn ikke er tatt med består av materiale som kan knyttes til subsidiære organisasjoner som for eksempel Egyptisk Islamsk Jihad, den algirske *Groupe Islamique Armée* (GIA), eller *Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan* (IMU). Både ideologien og aktivitetene til noen disse gruppene kan være vanskelige å skille fra al-Qa‘idas. En mer utfyllende analyse av al-Qa‘idas ideologi vil blant annet måtte se nærmere på GIA-tidsskriftet *al-Ansar*, på kommunikéene til Islamic Change Movement i Saudi-Arabia, og på uttalelsene til enkeltpersoner som ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam (død 1989) eller ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Rahman.⁶ Det finnes også en lang rekke individer hvis skrifter har hatt innflytelse på al-Qa‘idas ideologi, og som heller ikke er tatt med her, for eksempel (i tilfeldig rekkefølge): Safar al-Hawali, Salman al-‘Awdah, Abu Basir, Abu Ayman al-Hilali, ‘Umar Mahmud Abu ‘Umar (Abu Qatada), Abu Hamza al-Misri, Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi, Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi, og ‘Umar bin Bakri Muhammad.

En tredje og svært viktig kategori primærkilder som ikke er med her, består av videokassetene og lydbåndene som har sirkulert i store antall i islamistiske miljøer verden over, og som har vært hjørnesteinen i al-Qa‘idas rekrutteringsarbeid. Disse videoene inneholder taler gitt av sentrale al-Qa‘ida-ledere, bilder fra militære kamper i Bosnia og Tsjetsjenia, presentasjoner av ”treningstilbudet” i Afghanistan samt andre elementer som var ment å motivere og stimulere til engasjement for *jihad*. Så sent som 10. september 2001 var mange slike videoer åpent tilgjengelig på Internett, enten til salgs (f eks fra www.azzam.com), eller til nedlasting som datafiler (f eks fra www.moonwarriors.com). Etter 11. september 2001 har det imidlertid vist seg å være vanskelig, dog ikke umulig, for forskere å få tak i slike videoer.⁷

Til slutt bør det nevnes at alle tekstene og gjengivelsene i denne rapporten er redigert av forfatteren, først og fremst for å sikre konsistent og sammenlignbar begrepsbruk, men også for å

⁶ Det finnes over 60 forskjellige tidsskrifter som utgis i London av militante islamister. Roland Jacquard hevder at mange av disse frem til 1998 var sponset av bin Ladin og en pakistaner kjent som Kelim; Roland Jacquard (2001), s 134.

⁷ Enkelte slike videoer er fortsatt mulig å få tak i gjennom internett-bokhandelen *Maktabat-al-Ansar* (www.maktabah.net).

gjøre tekstene mer tilgjengelig for leseren.⁸ Arabiske ord kan gjengis på mange forskjellige måter med latinske bokstaver, og med en samling tekster fra så mange ulike kilder var det helt nødvendig å standardisere. I tillegg var noen tekster oversatt til ukorrekt engelsk, og dette er rettet opp. Der hvor språket er så problematisk at den opprinnelige meningen er uklar, er teksten uforandret, men merket med "[sic]".

2 INTERVJUER MED USAMA BIN LADIN

2.1 Intervju med Robert Fisk, *The Independent*, desember 1993

Den kjente midtøstenkorrespondenten for avisen *The Independent*, Robert Fisk, var den aller første vestlige journalisten som intervjuet Usama bin Ladin.⁹ Han har møtt bin Ladin til sammen tre ganger, i henholdsvis 1993, 1996 og 1997.¹⁰ Dette første intervjuet fant sted i al-Matij i Sudan, på et tidspunkt da bin Ladin fortsatt var ukjent i Vesten. Vi gjengir her hele artikkelen som Robert Fisk skrev etter dette intervjuet, ettersom bin Ladins uttalelser er spredt mellom Fisks interessante betraktninger:¹¹

"Anti-Soviet warrior puts his army on the road to peace

The Saudi businessman who recruited *mujahidin* now uses them for large-scale building projects in Sudan. Robert Fisk met him in al-Matij

Usama bin Ladin sat in his gold- fringed robe, guarded by the loyal Arab *mujahidin* who fought alongside him in Afghanistan. Bearded, taciturn figures - unarmed, but never more than a few yards from the man who recruited them, trained them and then dispatched them to destroy the Soviet army - they watched unsmiling as the Sudanese villagers of al-Matij lined up to thank the Saudi businessman who is about to complete the highway linking their homes to Khartoum for the first time in history.

With his high cheekbones, narrow eyes and long brown robe, Mr bin Ladin looks every inch the mountain warrior of *mujahidin* legend. Chadored children danced in front of him, preachers acknowledged his wisdom. 'We have been waiting for this road through all the revolutions in Sudan,' a *shaykh* said. 'We waited until we had given up on everybody - and then Usama bin Ladin came along.'

Outside Sudan, Mr bin Ladin is not regarded with quite such high esteem. The Egyptian press claims he brought hundreds of former Arab fighters back to Sudan from Afghanistan, while the Western embassy circuit in Khartoum has suggested that some of the 'Afghans' whom this

⁸ Standardisering av navn og viktige begreper gjør også den elektroniske versjonen av dokumentet søkbar.

⁹ Bin Ladin hadde etter all sannsynlighet blitt intervjuet av arabisk presse tidligere. For eksempel sa den palestinske journalisten Jamal Isma'il følgende i et program på TV-kanalen *al-Jazira* i 1999 (se kapittel 2.13): "In 1991 and 1992, I interviewed him [bin Ladin] more than once to find out some details. At that time I was a correspondent for [London-based] *al-Hayat* newspaper and he was the head of a reconciliation committee between the Afghan factions that were at war in some states." Isma'il er en anerkjent journalist som har arbeidet for den kjente avisen *al-Hayat* og TV-kanalen *al-Jazira*, så det er grunn til å ta disse opplysningene seriøst. Undertegnede har imidlertid ikke lyktes i å få tak i noen av disse intervjuene.

¹⁰ http://www.thenation.com/doc.mhtml?i=archive&s=fisk_wtc_19980921

¹¹ *The Independent*, 6. desember 1993.

Saudi entrepreneur flew to Sudan are now busy training for further *jihad* wars in Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt. Mr bin Ladin is well aware of this. 'The rubbish of the media and the embassies,' he calls it. 'I am a construction engineer and an agriculturalist. If I had training camps here in Sudan, I couldn't possibly do this job.'

And 'this job' is certainly an ambitious one: a brand-new highway stretching all the way from Khartoum to Port Sudan, a distance of 1,200km (745 miles) on the old road, now shortened to 800km by the new bin Ladin route that will turn the coastal run from the capital into a mere day's journey. Into a country that is despised by Saudi Arabia for its support of Saddam Hussein in the Gulf war almost as much as it is condemned by the United States, Mr bin Ladin has brought the very construction equipment that he used only five years ago to build the guerrilla trails of Afghanistan.

He is a shy man. Maintaining a home in Khartoum and only a small apartment in his home city of Jeddah, he is married - with four wives - but wary of the press. His interview with the Independent was the first he has ever given to a Western journalist, and he initially refused to talk about Afghanistan, sitting silently on a chair at the back of a makeshift tent, brushing his teeth in the Arab fashion with a stick of miswak wood. But talk he eventually did about a war which he helped to win for the Afghan *mujahidin*: 'What I lived in two years there, I could not have lived in a hundred years elsewhere,' he said.

When the history of the Afghan resistance movement is written, Mr bin Ladin's own contribution to the *mujahidin* - and the indirect result of his training and assistance - may turn out to be a turning-point in the recent history of militant fundamentalism; even if, today, he tries to minimise his role. 'When the invasion of Afghanistan started, I was enraged and went there at once - I arrived within days, before the end of 1979,' he said. 'Yes, I fought there, but my fellow Muslims did much more than I. Many of them died and I am still alive.'

Within months, however, Mr bin Ladin was sending Arab fighters - Egyptians, Algerians, Lebanese, Kuwaitis, Turks and Tunisians - into Afghanistan; 'not hundreds but thousands,' he said. He supported them with weapons and his own construction equipment. Along with his Iraqi engineer, Muhammad Sa'd - who is now building the Port Sudan road - Mr bin Ladin blasted massive tunnels into the Zazi mountains of Bakhtiar province for guerrilla hospitals and arms dumps, then cut a *mujahidin* trail across the country to within 15 miles of Kabul. 'No, I was never afraid of death. As Muslims, we believe that when we die, we go to heaven. Before a battle, God sends us *sekina*, tranquillity. Once I was only 30 metres from the Russians and they were trying to capture me. I was under bombardment but I was so peaceful in my heart that I fell asleep. This experience has been written about in our earliest books. I saw a 120mm mortar shell land in front of me, but it did not blow up. Four more bombs were dropped from a Russian plane on our headquarters but they did not explode. We beat the Soviet Union. The Russians fled.'

But what of the Arab *mujahidin* whom he took to Afghanistan - members of a guerrilla army who were also encouraged and armed by the United States - and who were forgotten when that war was over? 'Personally neither I nor my brothers saw evidence of American help. When my *mujahidin* were victorious and the Russians were driven out, differences started between the guerrilla movements so I returned to road construction in Ta'if and Abha. I brought back the equipment I had used to build tunnels and roads for the *mujahidin* in Afghanistan. Yes, I helped some of my comrades to come here to Sudan after the war.'

How many? Usama bin Ladin shakes his head. ‘I don’t want to say. But they are here now with me, they are working right here, building this road to Port Sudan.’ I told him that Bosnian Muslim fighters in the Bosnian town of Travnik had mentioned his name to me. ‘I feel the same about Bosnia,’ he said. ‘But the situation there does not provide the same opportunities as Afghanistan. A small number of *mujahidin* have gone to fight in Bosnia-Herzegovina but the Croats won’t allow the *mujahidin* in through Croatia as the Pakistanis did with Afghanistan.’

Thus did Mr bin Ladin reflect upon *jihad* while his former fellow combatants looked on. Was it not a little bit anti-climactic for them, I asked, to fight the Russians and end up road-building in Sudan? ‘They like this work and so do I. This is a great plan which we are achieving for the people here, it helps the Muslims and improves their lives.’

His Bin Ladin company - not to be confused with the larger construction business run by his cousins - is paid in Sudanese currency which is then used to purchase sesame and other products for export; profits are clearly not Mr bin Ladin’s top priority.

How did he feel about Algeria, I asked? But a man in a green suit calling himself Muhammad Mussa - he claimed to be Nigerian although he was a Sudanese security officer - tapped me on the arm. ‘You have asked more than enough questions,’ he said. At which Mr bin Ladin went off to inspect his new road.”

2.2 Intervju med Scott Macleod, *TIME*, mai 1996

I mai 1996 trykte bladet *TIME* en artikkel kalt ”The Paladin of Jihad”, som var basert på et intervju bin Ladin gav til journalisten Scott Macleod. Denne lange artikkelen inneholder bare noen sitater fra dette intervjuet, og vi gjengir derfor kun den mest relevante delen av artikkelen.¹²

“[...] Growing up in Saudi Arabia near the Red Sea, bin Ladin struck those around him as an ordinary young man. But he was more pious than his brothers, and was deeply affected by the involvement of his family’s company in rebuilding the holy mosques in Mecca and Medina. Then in 1979, just after he graduated from King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz University, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, and *mujahidin* resistance fighters put out an international plea for help. Bin Ladin responded by packing himself and several of his family’s bulldozers off to central Asia. He was inspired, he said, by the plight of Muslims in a medieval society besieged by a 20th century superpower. ‘In our religion, there is a special place in the hereafter for those who participate in *jihad*,’ he told *TIME*. ‘One day in Afghanistan was like 1,000 days of praying in an ordinary mosque.’

At first his work was political. He recruited thousands of Arab fighters in the Gulf, paid for their passage to Afghanistan and set up the main guerrilla camp to train them. Later he designed and constructed defensive tunnels and ditches along the Pakistani border, driving a bulldozer and exposing himself to strafing from Soviet helicopter gunships. Before long, he had taken up a Kalashnikov and was going into battle. In 1986 he and a few dozen Arab defenders fought off a Soviet onslaught in a town called Jaji, not far from the Pakistani border. To Arabs, it was one of the first demonstrations that the Russians could actually be beaten. A year later, bin Ladin led an offensive against Soviet troops in the battle of Shaban. Vicious hand-to-hand fighting claimed heavy *mujahidin* casualties, but his men succeeded in pushing the Soviets out of the area.

¹² “The Paladin of Jihad”, *Time*, 6. mai 1996.

‘He was a hero to us because he was always on the front line, always moving ahead of everybody else,’ recalls Hamza Muhammad, a Palestinian volunteer in Afghanistan who now manages one of bin Ladin’s construction projects in Sudan. ‘He not only gave his money, but he also gave himself. He came down from his palace to live with the Afghan peasants and the Arab fighters. He cooked with them, ate with them, dug trenches with them. That was bin Ladin’s way.’

Bin Ladin returned home to discover that he had become a celebrity. But his star appeal swiftly faded when he began denouncing the Saudi regime. The government had already come under criticism from Muslim activists for its corruption and its failure to adhere strictly to Islamic Law. All these failings offended bin Ladin. But the real apostasy was King Fahd’s decision to allow Western troops into the kingdom during the Gulf War. In bin Ladin’s view, armed infidels in the holy land were a desecration of Islam. After publicly criticizing the regime and becoming the target of a harassment campaign, he fled to Sudan in 1991. A sizable contingent of ‘Afghan Arabs’ - Arabs from various countries who fought in Afghanistan - followed him and found work with his companies.

Now bin Ladin runs his farms and his businesses in Sudan, criticizes the Saudi government from afar, and, he says, gives money for charities. He suggested a second meeting, this time at his small, walled farm on the bank of the Blue Nile south of Khartoum. At the farm, he made a point of claiming that the Egyptians had cited it as a terrorist camp. All that could be seen were a few horses, cows and goats. ‘Take pictures of whatever you like,’ bin Ladin said with a smile. Sitting cross-legged on the ground next to the stables, he refused to speak about a number of issues, including his exact links with the governments of Sudan and Iran or with convicted terrorists like Egyptian *Shaykh* ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Rahman, now in a US prison. However, he disavowed any involvement in the Riyadh bombing and the recent suicide attacks in Israel. ‘It is no surprise to me that corrupt regimes would make such charges,’ he says.

Despite his denials, bin Ladin remains a grave concern to those ‘corrupt regimes.’ He is, as a US official said, a ‘big fish,’ since his heroic reputation gives him influence. According to this official, ‘Bin Ladin is the kind of guy who can go to someone and say, “I need you to write out a six-figure check,” and he gets it on the spot. He hits up Islamic businessmen who in some cases may not know where their money is going. A lot of it isn’t going to rebuild mosques in Bosnia or feed starving Muslims in Somalia. A lot of it is going to set up camps and support networks and procure material for terrorist operations.’

The Saudi government has stripped bin Ladin of his citizenship, Britain has forbidden him to enter the country, the US has made serious allegations against him, but so far no one has charged him with any crime. In his conversations with TIME, he gave a warning to those who would continue to pursue him. ‘People are supposed to be innocent until proved guilty,’ he said. ‘Well, not the Afghan fighters. They are the “terrorists of the world.” But pushing them against the wall will do nothing, except increase the terrorism.’”

2.3 Intervju med Robert Fisk, *The Independent*, juli 1996

Robert Fisks andre møte med bin Ladin fant sted i juli 1996. Vi gjengir her to artikler som Fisk skrev etter dette intervjuet.

Artikkel A:¹³

“Usama bin Ladin is a tall, slim man and when he walks towards me surrounded by his Arab *mujahidin* guerrillas in the mountains of Afghanistan, he towers over his companions. Huge insects fly through the night air, settling like burrs on his Saudi robes and on the clothes of his men. bin Ladin’s narrow eyes and long beard were familiar amid the battlefields of Afghanistan where he and his guerrillas fought the Soviet invasion army of the Eighties. His appearance is little changed, the beard a trifle greyer, perhaps, but the fierceness unquenched. Then he fought the Russians. Now, determined to overthrow the monarchy in Saudi Arabia and oust the Americans from the Kingdom, he is describing the bombings that slaughtered 24 Americans in Riyadh and Khubar-Dhahran as a symbol of Saudi anger, the presence of US forces as an ‘insult’ to the Saudi people.

For bin Ladin, the betrayal of the Saudi people began 24 years before his birth, when ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Sa‘ud proclaimed his kingdom in 1932. ‘The regime started under the flag of applying Islamic Law and under this banner all the people of Saudi Arabia came to help the Saudi family take power,’ he says as the night wind moves through the darkened trees, ruffling the robes of the Arab Afghan fighters around us. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz did not apply Islamic Law; the country was set up for his family. Then after the discovery of petroleum, the Saudi regime found another support - the money to make people rich and give them the services and life they wanted and to make them satisfied.’

Bin Ladin is picking his teeth with a piece of *miswak* wood, a habit that accompanies many of his conversations. History - or his version of it - is the basis of almost all his remarks. And the pivotal date is 1990, the year Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait.

‘When the American troops entered Saudi Arabia, the land of the two holy places Mecca and Medina, there was a strong protest from the ‘*ulama*’ religious authorities and from students of the *Shari‘a* law all over the country against the interference of American troops. This big mistake by the Saudi regime of inviting the American troops revealed their deception. They had given their support to nations that were fighting against Muslims. They helped the Yemen Communists against the southern Yemeni Muslims and helping Yassir Arafat’s regime fight Hamas who opposed the peace process in the Middle East. After it insulted and jailed the ‘*ulama*’ 18 months ago, the Saudi regime lost its legitimacy.’

Bin Ladin spreads his right hand and uses his fingers to list the ‘mistakes’ of the Saudi monarchy. ‘At the same time, the financial crisis happened inside the Kingdom, and now all the people there suffer from this. Saudi merchants found that their contracts were broken. The government owes them 340 billion Saudi Riyals, which is a very big amount; it represents 90 per cent of the national income inside the Kingdom. Prices are going up and people have to pay more for electricity, water and fuel. Saudi farmers have not received money since 1992, and those who get grants now receive them on government loans from banks. Education is deteriorating and people have to take their children from government schools and put them in private education which is very expensive.’

Bin Ladin pauses to see if I have listened to his careful, if frighteningly exclusive history lesson. ‘The Saudi people have remembered now what the ‘*ulama*’ told them and they realise America is the main reason for their problems.’

¹³ *The Independent*, 10. juli 1996.

‘The ordinary man knows that his country is the largest oil producer in the world, yet at the same time he is suffering from taxes and bad services. Now the people understand the speeches of the *‘ulama*’ in the mosques - that our country has become an American colony. They act decisively with every action to kick the Americans out of Saudi Arabia. What happened in Riyadh and Khubar when 24 Americans were killed in two bombings is clear evidence of the huge anger of Saudi people against America. The Saudis now know their real enemy is America.’

There is a dark quality to bin Ladin’s calculations. ‘If one kilogram of TNT exploded in a country in which nobody had heard an explosion in a hundred years, surely the exploding of 2,500 kilos of TNT at Khubar is evidence of the people’s resistance to American occupation...’

Did not the Europeans resist German occupation in the Second World War, Mr bin Ladin asks? I tell him no European would accept this argument because the Nazis killed millions of Europeans, yet the Americans have never murdered a single Saudi. Surely, I say, such a parallel is historically and morally wrong.

Bin Ladin does not agree. ‘We as Muslims have a strong feeling that binds us together... We feel for our brothers in Palestine and Lebanon. The explosion at Khubar did not come as a direct result of American occupation but as a result of American behaviour against Muslims... When 60 Jews are killed inside Palestine in suicide bombings earlier this year, all the world gathers within seven days to criticise this action, while the deaths of 600,000 Iraqi children after UN sanctions were placed on Iraq did not receive the same reaction. Killing those Iraqi children is a crusade against Islam. We, as Muslims, do not like the Iraqi regime but we think that the Iraqi people and their children are our brothers and we care about their future.’

Saudi Arabia’s angriest dissident reserves some of his fury for the British. ‘I am astonished at the British Government,’ he says. ‘They sent a letter to me through their embassy in Khartoum before I left Sudan, saying that I would not be welcome in the UK. But I did not ask to go to Britain. So why did they send me this letter? The letter said, “If you come to Britain, you will not be admitted.” The letter gave the Saudi press the opportunity of claiming that I had asked for political asylum in Britain - which is not true.’

But it was America that captured bin Ladin’s anger. ‘I believe that sooner or later the Americans will leave Saudi Arabia and that the war declared by America against the Saudi people means war against all Muslims everywhere. Resistance against America will spread in many, many places in Muslim countries. Our trusted leaders, the *‘ulama*’, have given us a *fatwa* that we must drive out the Americans. The solution to this crisis is the withdrawal of American troops . . . their military presence is an insult for the Saudi people.’

Yet did not the Americans support the *mujahidin*’s war against the Soviets? ‘We were never at any time friends of the Americans,’ bin Ladin says. ‘We knew that the Americans support the Jews in Palestine and that they are our enemies. Most of the weapons that came to Afghanistan were paid for by the Saudis on the orders of the Americans because Turki al-Faisal, the head of Saudi external intelligence, and the CIA were working together.’

So what kind of Arabian Islamic state does Mr bin Ladin wish to see? Would thieves and murderers still have their heads cut off, for example, in a *Shari‘a*-governed state? Mr bin Ladin’s answer is unsatisfactory. All Muslims would love to live under true *Shari‘a*, he says. A

guilty man would only be happy if he was justly punished. Dissident Mr bin Ladin may be. But moderate, never.”

Artikkel B:¹⁴

“Usama bin Ladin, the fiercest opponent of the Saudi regime and of America’s presence in the Gulf, has warned Britain that it must withdraw its servicemen from Saudi Arabia if it wishes to avoid the fate of the 19 Americans killed by a truck bomb in the Kingdom last month. In an interview with *The Independent* in a remote mountainous area of Afghanistan’s Nangarhar province - to which he has returned from Sudan with hundreds of his Arab *mujahidin* guerrillas - the 40-year-old Saudi dissident declared that killing the Americans marked ‘the beginning of war between Muslims and the United States’.

Although taking no personal responsibility for the bombings, which have sent tremors through the vulnerable, oil-rich states of the Arabian Peninsula, bin Ladin insisted that the killing of the Americans in Khubar (Dhahran) just over two weeks ago demonstrated the depth of hatred for Americans in Saudi Arabia. ‘Not long ago, I gave advice to the Americans to withdraw their troops from Saudi Arabia,’ he said. ‘Now let us give some advice to the governments of Britain and France to take their troops out - because what happened in Riyadh and Khubar showed that the people who did this have a deep understanding in choosing their targets. They hit their main enemy, which is the Americans. They killed no secondary enemies, nor their brothers in the army or the police of Saudi Arabia . . . I give this advice to the government of Britain.’ Bin Ladin, most of whose immensely wealthy family have remained loyal to King Fahd, has been accused by Western and Arab governments of being ‘the financier of an Islamic international army’, training fighters to oppose the governments of Algeria and Egypt as well as Saudi Arabia. And in his long and sombre interview, he expressed his contempt for the Saudi monarchy and its failure to abide by Islamic *Shari‘a* law, adding that the ‘evils’ of the Middle East stemmed from America’s attempt to take over the region and from its support for Israel. My journey to him took me across miles of devastated villages and fields in the rocky mountainsides of the country where he once fought Soviet invaders, and it culminated in a remote village where dozens of his *mujahidin*, dressed in Afghan clothes, stood guard as he spoke.

In Saudi robes - and sitting next to his two teenage sons, ‘Umar and Sa‘d - bin Ladin revealed that he had arrived here from Sudan on 18 May with his fighters, after the Saudis and Americans had put pressure on the Khartoum military government to expel him. He claimed that he would carry on a campaign from Afghanistan to set up a ‘true’ Islamic state under *Shari‘a* law in Saudi Arabia which, he said, had been turned into ‘an American colony’.

When I asked if he was declaring war on the West, he replied: ‘It is not a declaration of war – it’s a real description of the situation. This doesn’t mean declaring war against the West and Western people - but against the American regime which is against every Muslim.’

As he spoke, armed Egyptians, Saudis, Algerians and Afghans patrolled the night-time fields around us, their presence revealed by a single hissing gas lamp. At one point, bin Ladin broke off our conversation to pray, alongside his Arabs, on straw matting laid out in the field. Every few minutes, gunfire could be heard from the mountains to the east. ‘The explosion in Khubar,’ he said, ‘did not come as a direct reaction to the American occupation but as a result of

¹⁴ *The Independent*, 10. juli 1996.

American behaviour against Muslims, its support of Jews in Palestine [sic] and the massacre of Muslims in Palestine and Lebanon - of Sabra and Shatila and Qana - and of the Sharm al-Shaykh anti-terrorist conference.’

Bin Ladin’s arrival back in Afghanistan after five-and-a-half years in Sudan marks a new stage in the campaign of the ‘Organisation of Advice and Reform.’

He accused the Saudi royal family of promising *Shari‘a* laws while allowing the United States ‘to westernise Saudi Arabia and drain the economy’. He blamed the Saudi regime for spending \$25bn in support of Saddam Hussein in the Iran-Iraq war and a further \$60bn in support of the Western armies in the war against Iraq in 1991, ‘buying military equipment which is not needed or useful for the country, buying airplanes by credit’ - while at the same time creating unemployment, high taxes and a bankrupt economy.

‘The safest place in the world for me is Afghanistan,’ he said.

When I suggested to bin Ladin that Afghanistan was the only place - rather than the safest - in which he could campaign against the Saudi government, he and some of the Arab fighters around him burst into laughter. ‘There are other places,’ he replied.

Did he mean Tajikistan, I asked? Or Uzbekistan? Or Kazakhstan? ‘There are several places where we have friends and close brothers - we can find refuge and safety in them.’ When I said that he was already a hunted man, he dismissed my comment with contempt. ‘Danger is a part of our life - do you not realise that we spent 10 years fighting against the Russians and the KGB? When we were fighting the Russians here in Afghanistan, 10,000 Saudis came here to fight over a period of 10 years.’

Usama bin Ladin clearly believes he now represents the most formidable enemy of the Saudi regime and of the American presence in the Gulf. Both are probably right to regard him as such.”

2.4 Intervju med ‘Abd al-Bari ‘Atwan, 1996 (trykt i *The Guardian* 12. november 2001)

‘Abd al-Bari ‘Atwan, redaktøren for den London-baserte avisen *al-Quds al-‘Arabi*, sies å være blant de journalistene som ”står bin Ladin nærmest”. Dette gjenspeiles først og fremst i at *al-Quds al-‘Arabi* enkelte ganger har fått førsteretten til å publisere al-Qa‘ida-erklæringer, men også i at ‘Atwan var blant de første til å intervju bin Ladin, i november 1996. Vi gjengir her intervjuet slik det ble trykt i den engelske avisen *The Guardian*, 12. november 2001.¹⁵

“‘Abd al-Bari ‘Atwan: In your recent message [to the world’s Muslims] you declared *jihād* against the US forces, and called for a boycott of American goods. Many people expected further operations like that at al-Khubar, but this hasn’t happened.

Usama bin Ladin: Military people are not unaware that preparations for major operations take a certain amount of time, unlike minor operations. If we wanted small actions, the matter would

¹⁵ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/waronterror/story/0,1361,591810,00.html> ; Se også <http://www.guardian.co.uk/waronterror/story/0,1361,591809,00.html> ; Originalteksten ble trykt i *al-Quds al-‘Arabi*, 27. november 1996; Se Jacquard (2001), s 77-78.

have been easily carried out immediately after the statement. [But] the nature of the battle calls for operations of a specific type that will make an impact on the enemy, and this of course calls for excellent preparation. We saw the Riyadh and al-Khubar bombing as a sufficient signal for people of intelligence among American decision-makers to avoid the real battle between the nation of Islam and the American forces, but it seems that they didn't understand the signal.

ABA: What was it intended to signify?

UBL: If they understood the signal it would mean withdrawing all troops from the region. We believe the American government has committed the greatest mistake in entering a peninsula that no religion from among the non-Muslim nations has entered for 14 centuries, despite the presence of imperialist troops in the region. They were all too awestruck to enter the region of the two holy places and remained on the edges, such as in Yemen and Oman. The British and others used to respect the feelings of more than a billion Muslims, and therefore did not occupy the land of the two holy places, and America's interests were not harmed by it not entering it. The oil was sold to it - we are not going to drink it - and they were still able to impose a policy that depressed prices to an ideal level. Their arrival [on the Arabian Peninsula] was an aberration and a reckless act, for it brought them into confrontation with a nation numbering a billion Muslims.

ABA: You were silent for a long time then suddenly decided to re-emerge, having had a comfortable stay in Sudan. What was the turning point at which you had to take responsibility for this great opposition?

UBL: I had decided myself, after the Saudi government clamped down on the country's '*ulama*' - dismissing them from posts in universities and mosques, and banning distribution of their tapes, virtually preventing them from speaking - that I would start saying what was right and denouncing what was wrong. I issued statements from Sudan, and when the Saudi government realised the big impact they were having, and how effective they were, it overcame all its differences with the Sudanese regime, which had been making great efforts to improve relations with Riyadh, only to have them arrogantly rebuffed. Then, after statement 17, which was an open letter to the King [Fahd] on the occasion of the cabinet reshuffle, the Saudi government contacted its Sudanese counterparts at the highest levels and asked to make their peace with them. With God's help we returned to the land of Khorasan [an old name for the area covering today's Afghanistan], where we have security and dignity, far away from the humiliations visited on our brothers in our country.

ABA: Did you go to Sudan at the invitation of the government or some other party?

UBL: I went on my own initiative without an invitation.

ABA: Did you expect the Saudi government to take the step of demanding your departure?

UBL: There was always that possibility, and so we were arranging alternatives such as Afghanistan, and therefore kept our camps there.

ABA: Did you fight the Americans in Somalia?

UBL: The only non-Somali faction to fight the Americans was the Arab *mujahidin* brothers who

were in Afghanistan. So the war we are waging with America is not the first, and we pray to God to give us victory over them as previously. We were surprised by the [low] level of morale of the American troops in the Somalia war. There was nothing that they were fighting for except media glory. There was no comparison between them and the Russian combatants we fought in Afghanistan, who were braver and more patient than their American counterparts. Having borne arms against the Russians in Afghanistan for 10 years, we think our battle with the Americans will be easy by comparison and we are now more determined to carry on until we see the face of God.

ABA: There were reports, after the Taliban movement took power in Kabul, that your presence as Afghan Arabs was no longer wanted. Is this true?

UBL: Our relations with the Taliban are excellent... and we feel completely satisfied with the cooperation with them.

ABA: If you fell out with the Taliban, for whatever reason, would you return to Sudan?

UBL: I can't go back to Sudan, not because I want to have nothing to do with Sudan, but because our natural place is in the mountains.

ABA: What about Iraq?

UBL: Iraq is not an option. The choice is between Afghanistan and Yemen. The geography of Yemen is mountainous and its people are armed tribespeople. It allows one to breathe clean air without humiliation.

ABA: With or without the knowledge of the Yemeni government?

UBL: Either.

ABA: Soon, do you think?

UBL: I don't think in the foreseeable future.

ABA: Have you thought of seeking asylum in Europe like others? And have you visited London, in particular, either secretly or openly?

UBL: I would rather die than settle in any European state. But some Arab governments spread such rumours to discredit me. It is better for Muslims not to settle in non-Muslim societies. And it is not true that I contemplated going to London or obtaining a visa. The purpose of such rumours is to tarnish [my reputation].

2.5 Intervju med *Nida' al-Islam*, høsten 1996

Det Australia-baserte tidsskriftet *Nida' al-Islam* trykket høsten 1996 et langt og interessant intervju med bin Ladin:¹⁶

“Question: What is the policy that should be adopted by the Islamic movement towards

¹⁶ *Nida' al-Islam*, nr 15, oktober-november 1996. Se <http://www.islam.org.au/articles/15/LADEN.HTM>.

the scholars who defend - intentionally or unintentionally - the likes of the Saud regime?

Usama bin Ladin: It is not a concealed fact that the police states in the Arab world rely on some foundations in order to protect themselves. Among these organisations is the security organisation as they spend generously on it, and its foremost mission is to spy on its own people in order to protect the person of the ruler, even if this was at the expense of the rights of the people and their security, as also the military sector, which is prepared to strike the people if they wish to reject the suppression and to remove oppression and establish truth.

The media sector is in the same category as it strives to beatify the persons of the leaders, to drowse the community, and to fulfil the plans of the enemies through keeping the people occupied with the minor matters, and to stir their emotions and desires until corruption becomes widespread amongst the believers.

There is also another organisation which takes priority with the leaders in the Arab world, and is used to take the people astray, and to open the door wide for the security factions to fulfil their aforementioned objectives. This is the organisation of the scholars of the authorities, as the role of this organisation is the most dangerous of roles in the entirety of the Arabic countries. History is the best witness to this.

At the same time that some of the leaders are engaging in the major *kufir*, which takes them out of the fold of Islam in broad daylight and in front of all the people, you would find a *fatwa* from their religious organisation. In particular, the role of the religious organisation in the country of the two sacred mosques is of the most ominous of roles, this is overlooking whether it fulfilled this role intentionally or unintentionally, the harm which eventuated from their efforts is no different from the role of the most ardent enemies of the nation.

The regime in the land of the two sacred mosques has given a very high priority to this organisation, and has been able to enlarge its position in the estimation of the people until it made of it an idol to be worshipped aside from God amongst some of the common people, and without the will of the members of this organisation.

However, there continues to be in the land of the two sacred mosques - with gratitude to Allah - a good number of honest scholars and students who work according to their teachings, and those who have taken visible and daring stances against the *kufir* activities which the regime is exercising.

The regime has strived to keep these scholars in the shadows and then removed them, one way or another, from being effective elements in the lives of the people in the community. At the forefront of these scholars was the Shaykh ‘Abdullah bin Hamid - may Allah bless his soul - who was the Mufti in the Arabian Peninsula, and who headed the supreme council of judges. However, the regime constrained him and tightened their grip on him until he offered his resignation. He has many famous writings in response to the unacceptable laws which the government had introduced instead of the Law of Allah, one of these is a treatise dealing with the law of work and workers which deals with many of the introduced laws which contradict the Law of Allah (s.w.t.).

At the same time, they promoted some of the scholars who were far below Shaykh Ibn Hamid - may Allah bless his soul - those who have been known to be weak and soft, so they put them forward in a cunning plan which began more than twenty years ago. During the preceding two

decades, the regime enlarged the role of bin Baz (Grand Mufti) because of what it knows of his weakness and flexibility and the ease of influencing him with the various means which the interior ministry practices through providing him with false information. So, a generation of youth were raised believing that the most pious and knowledgeable of people is bin Baz as a result of the media promotion through a well-studied policy which had been progressed over twenty years.

After this, the government began to strike with the cane of bin Baz, every corrective programme which the honest scholars put forward, further, it extracted a *fatwa* to hand over Palestine to the Jews, and before this, to permit entry into the country of the two sacred mosques to the modern day crusaders under the rule of necessity, then it relied on a letter from him to the minister for internal affairs and placed the honest scholars in the gaols.

The confidence of the people and the youth in bin Baz was therefore shaken, however the price was very high, whilst the confidence of the people in the working scholars, particularly those in the prisons had been increased.

The policy of the 'Organisation for Advice and Rectification' towards these scholars is the continuation of providing advice to them openly and secretly (as there is no person above the Law, and we are not immune) and particularly in the matters where they gave public rulings, and to bring the rulings of the scholars who respond to their rulings, in order to bring awareness to the people as to the correct ruling with respect to these matters, and not to forestall the rectification programme so that the scholars are made aware, as the pressure which is applied against them is very great.

Also the promotion of the honest scholars and their mention with what they deserve in front of the people so that the confidence of the people would greatly shift in support to them.

Q: How do you evaluate the Saudi regime's foreign policy towards the Muslim world in the past years?

UBL: The external policy of the Saudi regime towards Islamic issues is a policy which is tied to the British outlook from the establishment of Saudi Arabia until 1364 AH (1945 CE), then it became attached to the American outlook after America gained prominence as a major power in the world after the Second World War. It is well known that the policies of these two countries bear the greatest enmity towards the Islamic world.

To be taken out of this category is the final phase of the rule of King Faisal, as there was a clear interest with the Muslim issues, in particular al-Quds and Palestine. However, the regime does not cease to cry in the open over the matters affecting the Muslims without making any serious effort to serve the interests of the Muslim community apart from small efforts in order to confuse people and throw some dust into their eyes.

Q: The confrontation between the Islamic movement and the apostate Saud regime recorded a historical turning point following the latest attacks against the American occupiers targets. How did these attacks reflect on the internal front, and how did they affect Saudi-American relations?

UBL: There were important effects to the two explosions in Riyadh on both the internal and external aspects. Most important among these is the awareness of the people to the significance

of the American occupation of the country of the two sacred mosques, and that the original decrees of the regime are a reflection of the wishes of the American occupiers. So the people became aware that their main problems were caused by the American occupiers and their puppets in the Saudi regime, whether this was from the religious aspect or from other aspects in their everyday lives. The sympathies of the people with the working scholars who had been imprisoned also increased as has their understanding of their advises and guidance which led the people to support the general rectification movement which is led by the scholars and the callers to Islam. This movement - with the bounty of Allah - is increasing in power and in supporters day after day at the expense of the regime. The sympathy with these missions at the civil and military levels was great, as also the sympathies of the Muslim world with the struggle against the Americans.

As for the relationship between the regime and the American occupiers, these operations have embarrassed both sides and have led to the exchange of accusations between them. So we have the Americans stating that the causes of the explosions are the bad policies of the regime and the corruption of members of the ruling family, and the regime is accusing the Americans of exceeding their authority by taking advantage of the regime and forcing it to enter into military and civil contracts which are beyond its means, which led to great economic slide which has effected the people. In addition to this is the behaviour of the Americans with crudeness and arrogance with the Saudi army and their general behaviour with citizens, and the privileges which the Americans enjoy in distinction from the Saudi forces.

These missions also paved the way for the raising of the voices of opposition against the American occupation from within the ruling family and the armed forces; in fact we can say that the remaining Gulf countries have been effected to the same degree, and that the voices of opposition to the American occupation have begun to be heard at the level of the ruling families and the governments of the Cooperative Council of Gulf countries. The differences in outlooks between the Americans and the Gulf states has appeared for the first time since the second Gulf War. This was during the conference of the ministers of external affairs of the countries of the cooperative council of Gulf states which was held in Riyadh to look into the American missile aggression against Iraq. These differences are nothing more than a sign of the strain which has eventuated in the relationship between America and the countries of the region in the footsteps of the *jihad* missions against the Americans in Riyadh and as a result of the fear of these regimes that their own lands might witness similar *jihad* missions.

Q: It was observed that the American and Saudi officials tried to link the latest operations to some foreign countries. What is behind these attempts?

UBL: A result of the increasing reaction of the people against the American occupation and the great sympathy with the *jihad* missions against the Americans is the eagerness of the Americans and the Saudis to propagate false information to disperse these sympathies. This can be witnessed in their statements that some of the countries in the region were behind the *jihad* missions inside the country of the two sacred mosques, however the people are aware that this is an internal Islamic movement against the American occupation which is revealing itself in the most clear picture after the killing of the four champions who performed the Riyadh operation, the ones whom we ask Allah to accept amongst the martyrs.

It has become routine policy for countries upon facing an internal calamity is to lay the responsibility on an external country. Before the puppetry of the Arabic countries to America became plainly obvious, the security sections never hesitated to accuse any rectifying Islamic

movement to be a puppet to America and Israel.

Q: What are the regime's choices with regards to the Muslim uprising, and what are your expectations for the future?

UBL: There are several choices for the regime, one of these is reconciliation with all the different sections of the public, by releasing the scholars, and offering essential changes, the most important of these is to bring back Islamic Law, and to practise real *shura* (consultative government). The regime may resort to this choice after finding itself in the position of a morsel of food for the Americans to take, after the enmity has been stirred with their people. These people today feel that the Americans have exceeded their limits both politically and economically, the regime now knows that the public are aware that their sovereignty is shared. This was particularly evident in the recent period through the American press statements which give justification to the American occupation which only exists to rob the wealth of the people to the benefit of the Americans. This option is dependent on the agreement of the people who hold the solution and have the ability to effect change, at the forefront of these would be the honest scholars.

As for the other option, this is a very difficult and dangerous one for the regime, and this involves an escalation in the confrontation between the Muslim people and the American occupiers and to confront the economic haemorrhage. Its most important goal would be to change the current regime, with the permission of Allah.

Q: As a part of the furious international campaign against the *jihad* movement, you were personally the target of a prejudiced attack, which accused you of financing terrorism and being part of an international terrorist organisation. What do you have to say about that?

UBL: After the end of the Cold War, America escalated its campaign against the Muslim world in its entirety, aiming to get rid of Islam itself. Its main focus in this was to target the scholars and the reformers who were enlightening the people to the dangers of the Jewish-American alliance, and they also targeted the *mujahidin*. We also have been hit with some of the traces of this campaign as we were accused of funding terrorism, and being members of an international terrorist organisation. Their aims in making these allegations were to place psychological pressure on the *mujahidin* and their supporters so that they would forsake the obligation of *jihad* and the resistance of oppression and American Israeli occupation of Islamic sacred lands. However, our gratitude to Allah, their campaign was not successful, as terrorising the American occupiers is a religious and logical obligation. We are grateful to Allah Most Exalted in that He has facilitated *jihad* in His cause for us, against the American-Israeli attacks on the Islamic sanctities.

As for their accusations of terrorising the innocent, the children, and the women, these are in the category 'accusing others with their own affliction in order to fool the masses.' The evidence overwhelmingly shows America and Israel killing the weaker men, women, and children in the Muslim world and elsewhere. A few examples of this are seen in the recent Qana massacre in Lebanon, and the death of more than six hundred thousand Iraqi children because of the shortage of food and medicine which resulted from the boycotts and sanctions against the Muslim Iraqi people, also their withholding of arms from the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina leaving them prey to the Christian Serbians who massacred and raped in a manner not seen in contemporary history. Not to forget the dropping of the H-bombs on cities with their entire populations of children, elderly, and women, on purpose, and in a premeditated manner as was

the case with Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Then, killing hundreds of thousands of children in Iraq, and whose numbers (of dead) continue to increase as a result of the sanctions. Despite the continuing American occupation of the country of the two sacred mosques, America continues to claim that it is upholding the banner of freedom and humanity, whilst these deeds which they did, you would find that the most ravenous of animals would not descend to.

As for what America accuses us of, of killing the innocent people, they have not been able to offer any evidence, despite the magnitude of their expenditure on their intelligence services. Despite what our history is witnessing in the Afghan phase of the *jihad*. This was also unstained with any blood of innocent people, despite the inhuman Russian campaign against our women, our children, and our brothers in Afghanistan... Similar is our history with respect to our differences with the Saudi regime, all that has been proved is our joy at the killing of the American Soldiers in Riyadh and Khubar, and these are the sentiments of every Muslim. Our encouragement and call to Muslims to enter *jihad* against the American and the Israeli occupiers are actions which we are engaging in as religious obligations. Allah Most High has commanded us in many verses of the *Qur'an* to fight in His path and to urge the believers to do so. Of these are His words: '*Fight in the path of Allah, you are not charged with the responsibility except for yourself, and urge the believers, lest Allah restrain the might of the rejectors, and Allah is stronger in might and stronger in inflicting punishment.*' And His words: '*And what is it with you that you do not fight in the path of Allah, whilst the weak amongst the men, and the women, and the children who say: our Lord take us out of this town the people of which are oppressive, and make for us from you a protecting friend and make for us from you a succourer [sic],*' and His words: '*So if you meet those who reject, then strike the necks [...]*' We have given an oath to Allah to continue in the struggle as long as we have blood pumping in our veins or a seeing eye, and we beg of Allah to accept and to grant a good ending for us and for all the Muslims.

Q: Some media sources mentioned that the Afghan government demanded that you leave the country. How true is this?

UBL: The Afghan government has not asked us to leave the country... All gratitude to Allah, our relationship with our brother *mujahidin* in Afghanistan is a deep and broad relationship where blood and sweat have mixed as have the links over long years of struggle against the Soviets, it is not a passing relationship, nor one based on personal interests. They are committed to support the religion approved by Allah, and that country remains as the Muslims have known it, a strong fort for Islam, and its people are amongst the most protective of the religion approved by Allah, and the keenest to fulfil His laws and to establish an Islamic state.

That passing phase of infighting has saddened us as it has saddened all the Muslims, however, we wish to indicate that the picture of events as painted by the international press is grossly distorted, and that this infighting is much smaller and less fierce than what Muslims on the outside may imagine, and that most of the country is living a normal peaceful life; apart from some petty crimes here and there as some elements attempt to create corruption under cover of the disputes amongst some of the groups. We are hoping that Afghanistan would regain very soon - God willing - its Islamic position which would befit its history of *jihad*.

Q: What is the responsibility of the Muslim populations towards the international campaign against Islam?

UBL: What bears no doubt in this fierce Jewish-Christian campaign against the Muslim world, the likes of which has never been seen before, is that the Muslims must prepare all the possible

might to repel the enemy on the military, economic, missionary, and all other areas. It is crucial for us to be patient and to co-operate in righteousness and piety and to raise awareness to the fact that the highest priority, after faith is to repel the incursive enemy which corrupts the religion and the world, and nothing deserves a higher priority after faith, as the scholars have declared, for this cause, it is crucial to overlook many of the issues of bickering in order to unite our ranks so that we can repel the greater *kufir*.

All must move giving life to the words of the Most High: ‘Indeed this, your community, is one community, and I am your Lord, so worship me’ and that they should not be like those whom Allah has described with His words: ‘*Indeed those who have divided their religion and became schisms, you are not of them in any way.*’ It is essential to volunteer and not to bicker, and the Muslim should not belittle righteousness in any way, the messenger (peace and blessings upon him) said: ‘Whoever believes in Allah and the last day must speak good or not speak at all.’ and they must heed the words of the messenger (peace and blessings upon him) when they move: ‘Inform and do not repel, and make it easy and do not make it difficult.’ And we ask Allah to give this community the guidance to exalt the people who obey Him and humiliate those who disobey Him, and to give us a rule where decency is commanded and evil is forbidden. O Allah bless Muhammad, your servant and messenger, and his family, and companions, and give them peace... All gratitude to Allah the Lord of the worlds.”

2.6 Intervju med Peter Arnett, CNN, mars 1997

Tidlig i 1997 hadde al-Qa‘ida bestemt seg for å bruke en vestlig TV-stasjon til å formidle sitt budskap. Bin Ladin valgte til slutt å gi sitt aller første TV-intervju til CNN-journalistene Peter Arnett og Peter Bergen (se figur 2.1). Selve intervjuet, og forberedelsene til det, er nitid beskrevet i Peter Bergens bok om bin Ladin.¹⁷ Bergen forteller at alle spørsmålene måtte sendes inn på forhånd, og det var ikke muligheter for påfølgingsspørsmål. Bin Ladin svarte imidlertid på nesten alle spørsmålene, og intervjuet, som varte i nesten en time, er et enestående historisk dokument.¹⁸



(CNN)

Figur 2.1 Bin Ladin under intervjuet med CNN

¹⁷ Peter Bergen (2002).

¹⁸ <http://www.anusha.com/Usamaint.htm>

”REPORTER: Mr bin Ladin, could you give us your main criticism of the Saudi royal Family that is ruling Saudi Arabia today?”

MR BIN LADIN: Regarding the criticisms of the ruling regime in Saudi Arabia and the Arabian Peninsula, the first one is their subordination to the US. So, our main problem is the US government while the Saudi regime is but a branch or an agent of the US. By being loyal to the US regime, the Saudi regime has committed an act against Islam. And this, based on the ruling of *Shari‘a* (Islamic jurisprudence), casts the regime outside the religious community. Subsequently, the regime has stopped ruling people according to what God revealed, praise and glory be to Him, not to mention many other contradictory acts. When this main foundation was violated, other corrupt acts followed in every aspect of the country, the economic, the social, government services and so on.

REPORTER: Mr bin Ladin, if the Islamic movement takes over Arabia, what kind of society will be created and will Saudi Arabia, for example, return to the laws of the *Qur’an* at the time of the Prophet?

BIN LADIN: We are confident, with the permission of God, praise and glory be to Him, that Muslims will be victorious in the Arabian Peninsula and that God’s religion, praise and glory be to Him, will prevail in this peninsula. It is a great pride and a big hope that the revelation unto Muhammad, peace be upon him, will be resorted to for ruling. When we used to follow Muhammad’s revelation, peace be upon him, we were in great happiness and in great dignity, to God belong credit and praise.

REPORTER: Mr bin Ladin, if the Islamic movement takes over Saudi Arabia, what would your attitude to the West be and will the price of oil be higher?

BIN LADIN: We are a nation and have a long history, with the grace of God, praise and glory be to Him. We are now in the 15th century of this great religion, the complete and comprehensive methodology, has clarified the dealing between an individual and another, the duties of the believer towards God, praise and glory be to Him, and the relationship between the Muslim country and other countries in time of peace and in time of war. If we look back at our history, we will find there were many types of dealings between the Muslim nation and the other nations in time of peace and in time of war, including treaties and matters to do with commerce. So it is not a new thing that we need to come up with. Rather, it already, by the grace of God, exists. As for oil, it is a commodity that will be subject to the price of the market according to supply and demand. We believe that the current prices are not realistic due to the Saudi regime playing the role of a US agent and the pressures exercised by the US on the Saudi regime to increase production and flooding the market that caused a sharp decrease in oil prices.

REPORTER: Mr bin Ladin, you’ve declared a *jihad* against the United States. Can you tell us why? And is the *jihad* directed against the US government or the United States’ troops in Arabia? What about US civilians in Arabia or the people of the United States?

BIN LADIN: We declared *jihad* against the US government, because the US government is unjust, criminal and tyrannical. It has committed acts that are extremely unjust, hideous and criminal whether directly or through its support of the Israeli occupation of the Prophet’s Night Travel Land (Palestine). And we believe the US is directly responsible for those who were killed in Palestine, Lebanon and Iraq. The mention of the US reminds us before everything else of

those innocent children who were dismembered, their heads and arms cut off in the recent explosion that took place in Qana (in Lebanon). This US government abandoned even humanitarian feelings by these hideous crimes. It transgressed all bounds and behaved in a way not witnessed before by any power or any imperialist power in the world. They should have been considerate that the *qibla* (Mecca) of the Muslims upheaves the emotion of the entire Muslim World. Due to its subordination to the Jews the arrogance and haughtiness of the US regime has reached, to the extent that they occupied the *qibla* of the Muslims (Arabia) who are more than a billion in the world today. For this and other acts of aggression and injustice, we have declared *jihad* against the US, 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. As for what you asked whether *jihad* is directed against US soldiers, the civilians in the land of the two holy places (Saudi Arabia, Mecca and Medina) or against the civilians in America, we have focused our declaration on striking at the soldiers in the country of the two holy places. The country of the two holy places has in our religion a peculiarity of its own over the other Muslim countries. In our religion, it is not permissible for any non-Muslim to stay in our country. Therefore, even though American civilians are not targeted in our plan, they must leave. We do not guarantee their safety, because we are in a society of more than a billion Muslims. A reaction might take place as a result of US government's hitting Muslim civilians and executing more than 600 thousand Muslim children in Iraq by preventing food and medicine from reaching them. So, the US is responsible for any reaction, because it extended its war against troops to civilians. This is what we say. As for what you asked regarding the American people, they are not exonerated from responsibility, because they chose this government and voted for it despite their knowledge of its crimes in Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq and in other places and its support of its agent regimes who filled our prisons with our best children and scholars. We ask that may God release them.

REPORTER: Mr bin Ladin, will the end of the United States' presence in Saudi Arabia, their withdrawal, will that end your call for *jihad* against the United States and against the US?

BIN LADIN: The cause of the reaction must be sought and the act that has triggered this reaction must be eliminated. The reaction came as a result of the US aggressive policy towards the entire Muslim world and not just towards the Arabian Peninsula. So if the cause that has called for this act comes to an end, this act, in turn, will come to an end. So, the driving-away *jihad* against the US does not stop with its withdrawal from the Arabian Peninsula, but rather it must desist from aggressive intervention against Muslims in the whole world.

REPORTER: Mr bin Ladin, tell us about your experience during the Afghan war and what did you do during that *jihad*?

BIN LADIN: Praise be to God, the Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds, that He made it possible for us to aid the *mujahidin* in Afghanistan without any declaration for *jihad*. It was rather the news that was broadcast by radio stations that the Soviet Union invaded a Muslim country. This was a sufficient motivation for me to start to aid our brothers in Afghanistan. I have benefited so greatly from the *jihad* in Afghanistan that it would have been impossible for me to gain such a benefit from any other chance and this cannot be measured by tens of years but rather more than that, praise and gratitude be to God. In spite of the Soviet power, we used to move with confidence and God conferred favors on us so that we transported heavy equipment from the country of the two holy places (Arabia) estimated at hundreds of tons altogether that included bulldozers, loaders, dump trucks and equipment for digging trenches.

When we saw the brutality of the Russians bombing *mujahidin* positions, by the grace of God, we dug a good number of huge tunnels and built in them some storage places and in some others we built a hospital. We also dug some roads, by the grace of God, praise and glory be to Him, one of which you came by to us tonight. So our experience in this *jihad* was great, by the grace of God, praise and glory be to Him, and the most of what we benefited from was that the myth of the super power was destroyed not only in my mind but also in the minds of all Muslims. Slumber and fatigue vanished and so was the terror which the US would use in its media by attributing itself super power status or which the Soviet Union used by attributing itself as a super power. Today, the entire Muslim world, by the grace of God, has imbibed the faithful spirit of strength and started to interact in a good manner in order to bring an end to occupation and the Western and American influence on our countries.

REPORTER: Mr bin Ladin, what was the significance of the Afghan war for the Islamic movement? Veterans of that war are fighting for Islamic movements and conflicts from the former Soviet republics such as Chechnya to Bosnia to Algeria. Can you explain that phenomemon to us?

BIN LADIN: As I mentioned in my answer to the previous question, the effect of *jihad* has been great not only at the level of the Islamic movement but rather at the level of the Muslim nation in the whole world. The spirit of power, dignity and confidence has grown in our sons and brothers for this religion and the power of God, praise and glory be to Him. And it has become apparent even to the Islamic movement that there is no choice but return to the original spring, to this religion, to God's Book, praise and glory be to Him, and to the *Sunna* of His Prophet, peace be upon him, as understood by our predecessors, may God be pleased with them. Of this, the acme of this religion is *jihad*. The nation has had a strong conviction that there is no way to obtain faithful strength but by returning to this *jihad*. The influence of the Afghan *jihad* on the Islamic world was so great and it necessitates that people should rise above many of their differences and unite their efforts against their enemy. Today, the nation is interacting well by uniting its efforts through *jihad* against the US which has in collaboration with the Israeli government led the ferocious campaign against the Islamic world in occupying the holy sites of the Muslims. As for the young men who participated in *jihad* here, their number, by the grace of God, was quite big, praise and gratitude be to Him, and they spread in every place in which non-believers' injustice is perpetuated against Muslims. Their going to Bosnia, Chechnya, Tajikistan and other countries is but a fulfillment of a duty, because we believe that these states are part of the Islamic world. Therefore, any act of aggression against any of this land of a span of hand measure makes it a duty for Muslims to send a sufficient number of their sons to fight off that aggression.

REPORTER: Can you tell us now about your expulsion from Saudi Arabia and your time you spent in Sudan and your arrival here in Afghanistan?

BIN LADIN: I was, by the grace of God, praise and glory be to Him, in the great spot that is dear to God, praise and glory be to Him, al-Hijaz, especially venerable Mecca, where God's ancient house is. However, the Saudi regime imposed on the people a life that does not appeal to the free believer. They wanted the people to eat and drink and celebrate the praise of God, but if the people wanted to encourage what is right and forbid what is wrong, they can't. Rather, the regime dismisses them from their jobs and in the event they continued to do so, they are detained in prisons. I have rejected to live this submissive life, by God's favor, praise and gratitude be to Him, that is not befitting of man let alone a believer. So, I waited for the chance until, God, praise and glory be to Him, has made it possible for me to leave the country of the

Two Holy Places. I hope God, praise and glory be to Him, would confer upon me His favor to return one day when God's Law rules in that country. I went to the Sudan and stayed there for about five years during which I visited Afghanistan and Pakistan to work against the Communist government in Kabul. When the Saudi government transgressed in oppressing all voices of the scholars and the voices of those who call for Islam, I found myself forced, especially after the government prevented Shaykh Salman al-'Awda and Shaykh Safar al-Hawali and some other scholars, to carry out a small part of my duty of enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong. So, I collaborated with some brothers and established a committee for offering advice and we started to publish some declarations (The Advice and Reformation Committee).

However, the Saudi regime did not like this and started to exercise pressure on the Sudanese regime. The US government, the Egyptian government and the Yemeni government also helped in doing so. They requested me explicitly from the Sudanese regime and the pressure continued. Saudi Arabia dropped all of its conditions put to the Sudanese regime in return that I be driven out of the Sudan. The US government had already taken the same stance and pulled out its diplomatic mission from Khartoum and put forth their condition to return only after I have left. Unfortunately, the Sudanese government was in some difficult circumstances and there was a tendency inside the government that was inclined to reconciliation or surrender. Then, when they insisted initially that I should keep my mouth shut, I decided to look for a land in which I can breathe a pure, free air to perform my duty in enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong. I ask God, praise and glory be to Him, for increase in prosperity for this great land, the Land of Khurasan (Afghanistan) in order to carry on this duty. So, we implore God, praise and glory be to Him, that He accept (our deeds) from us and the Muslims.

REPORTER: Now, the United States government says that you are still funding military training camps here in Afghanistan for militant, Islamic fighters and that you are a sponsor of international terrorism; but others describe you as the new hero of the Arab-Islamic world. Are these accusations true? How do you describe yourself?

BIN LADIN: After the collapse of the Soviet Union in which the US has no mentionable role, but rather the credit goes to God, praise and glory be to Him, and the *mujahidin* in Afghanistan, this collapse made the US more haughty and arrogant and it has started to look at itself as a Master of this world and established what it calls the new world order. It wanted to delude people that it can do whatever it wants, but it can't do this. It leveled against me and others as many accusations as it desired and wished. It is these (accusations) that you mentioned. The US today as a result of the arrogant atmosphere has set a double standard, calling whoever goes against its injustice a terrorist. It wants to occupy our countries, steal our resources, impose on us agents to rule us based not on what God has revealed and wants us to agree on all these. If we refuse to do so, it will say you are terrorists. With a simple look at US behavior, we find that it judges the behavior of the poor Palestinian children whose country was occupied: if they throw stones against the Israeli occupation, it says they are terrorists whereas when the Israeli pilots bombed the United Nations building in Qana, Lebanon while was full of children and women, the US stopped any plan to condemn Israel. At the time that they condemn any Muslim who calls for his right, they receive the highest top official of the Irish Republican Army (Gerry Adams) at the White House as a political leader, while woe, all woe is the Muslims if they cry out for their rights. Wherever we look, we find the US as the leader of terrorism and crime in the world. The US does not consider it a terrorist act to throw atomic bombs at nations thousands of miles away, when it would not be possible for those bombs to hit military troops only. These bombs were rather thrown at entire nations, including women, children and elderly people and up to this day the traces of those bombs remain in Japan. The US does not consider it terrorism

when hundreds of thousands of our sons and brothers in Iraq died for lack of food or medicine. So, there is no base for what the US says and this saying does not affect us, because we, by the grace of God, are dependent on Him, praise and glory be to Him, getting help from Him against the US. As for the last part of your question, we are fulfilling a duty which God, praise and glory be to Him, decreed for us. We look upon those heroes, those men who undertook to kill the American occupiers in Riyadh and al-Khubar (Dhahran). We describe those as heroes and describe them as men. They have pulled down the disgrace and submissiveness off the forehead of their nation. We ask Allah, praise and glory be to Him, to accept them as martyrs.

REPORTER: Let's go to the bombings of United States troops in Riyadh and Dhahran. Why did they happen and were you and your supporters involved in these attacks?

BIN LADIN: We ask about the main reason that called for this explosion. This explosion was a reaction to a US provocation of the Muslim peoples, in which the US transgressed in its aggression until it reached the qibla of the Muslims in the whole world. So, the purpose of the two explosions is to get the American occupation out (of Arabia). So if the US does not want to kill its sons who are in the army, then it has to get out.

REPORTER: On the same issue of the American troops in Saudi Arabia, do you think there will be more bombing attacks on them? Or attacks on US civilians in Arabia? Or assassination attempts for example, on the Saudi royal families?

BIN LADIN: As for the previous question, the explosion of Riyadh and the one in al-Khubar (Dhahran). It is no secret that during the two explosions, I was not in Saudi Arabia, but I have great respect for the people who did this action. I say, as I said before, they are heroes. We look upon them as men who wanted to raise the flag of 'There is no God but Allah', and to put an end to the non-believers and the state of injustice that the US brought. I also say that what they did is a great job and a big honor that I missed participating in.

REPORTER: Do you think there will be more bombing attacks on American troops in Saudi Arabia? Or attacks on American civilians in Saudi Arabia? Or will there be assassination attempts on the Saudi Arabian ruling family?

BIN LADIN: It is known that every action has its reaction. If the American presence continues, and that is an action, then it is natural for reactions to continue against this presence. In other words, explosions and killings of the American soldiers would continue. These are the troops who left their country and their families and came here with all arrogance to steal our oil and disgrace us, and attack our religion. As for what was mentioned about the ruling (Saudi) family, those in charge do bear the full responsibility of everything that may happen. They are the shadow of the American presence. The people and the young men are concentrating their efforts on the sponsor and not on the sponsored. The concentration at this point of *jihad* is against the American occupiers.

REPORTER: What are your views about Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd al-Rahman and have you ever met him? Do you know him?

BIN LADIN: Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd al-Rahman is a Muslim scholar well-known all over the Muslim world. He represents the kind of injustice that is adopted by the USA baseless case was fabricated against him even though he is a blind old man. We ask Allah, The Almighty, to relieve him. The US sentenced him to hundreds of years just to please the caprice and the whims

of the Egyptian regime. He is now very badly treated and in no way fit for an old man like him or any Muslim scholar.

REPORTER: The US State Department quoting a Pakistani official says that Ramzi Yusuf, a convicted bomber in the World Trade Center in New York City stayed in the house you funded in Peshawar, Pakistan for those receiving training during the Afghan conflict after the Trade Center bombing, is that true? Did Ramzi Yusuf stay in your house in Peshawar?

BIN LADIN: I do not know Ramzi Yusuf. What the American government and Pakistani intelligence has been reporting is not true at all. But I say if the American government is serious about avoiding the explosions inside the US, then let it stop provoking the feelings of 1,250 million Muslims. Those hundreds of thousands who have been killed or displaced in Iraq, Palestine, Lebanon, do have brothers and relatives. They would make of Ramzi Yousef a symbol and a teacher. The US will drive them to transfer the battle into the United States. Everything is made possible to protect the blood of the American citizen while the bloodshed of Muslims is allowed in every place. With this kind of behavior, the US government is hurting itself, hurting Muslims and hurting the American people.

REPORTER: Mr bin Ladin, were you involved in financing the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City?

BIN LADIN: I have no connection or relation with this explosion.

REPORTER: Mr bin Ladin, in a recent interview with an Arabic newspaper, you said that Arabs who fought in the Afghan war killed US troops in Mogadishu, Somalia. Can you tell us about that?

BIN LADIN: The US government went there with great pride and stayed there for some time with a strong media presence wanting to frighten people that it is the greatest power on earth. It went there with pride and with over 28,000 soldiers, to a poor unarmed people in Somalia. The goal of this was to scare the Muslim world and the whole world saying that it is able to do whatever it desires. As soon as the troops reached the Mogadishu beaches, they found no one but children. The CNN and other media cameras started photographing them (the soldiers) with their camouflage and heavy arms, entering with a parade crawling (on the ground) and showing themselves to the world as the 'greatest power on earth'. Resistance started against the American invasion, because Muslims do not believe the US allegations that they came to save the Somalis. A man with human feelings in his heart does not distinguish between a child killed in Palestine or in Lebanon, in Iraq or in Bosnia. So how can we believe your claims that you came to save our children in Somalia while you kill our children in all of those places? With Allah's grace, Muslims over there, co-operated with some Arab *mujahidin* who were in Afghanistan. They participated with their brothers in Somalia against the American occupation troops and killed large numbers of them. The American administration was aware of that. After a little resistance, the American troops left after achieving nothing. They left after claiming that they were the largest power on earth. They left after some resistance from powerless, poor, unarmed people whose only weapon is the belief in Allah the Almighty, and who do not fear the fabricated American media lies. We learned from those who fought there, that they were surprised to see the low spiritual morale of the American fighters in comparison with the experience they had with the Russian fighters. The Americans ran away from those fighters who fought and killed them, while the latter were still there. If the US still thinks and brags that it

still has this kind of power even after all these successive defeats in Vietnam, Beirut, Aden, and Somalia, then let them go back to those who are awaiting its return.

REPORTER: Mr bin Ladin, your family is a rich powerful family in Saudi Arabia. Have they, or the Saudi Arabian government asked you to stop your activities?

BIN LADIN: They have done that a lot. They have pressured us a lot, especially since a lot of our money is still in the hands of the Saudi ruling family due to activities of our family and company. They sent me my mother, my uncle, and my brothers in almost nine visits to Khartoum asking me to stop and return to Arabia to apologize to King Fahd. I apologized to my family kindly because I know that they were driven by force to come to talk to me. This regime wants to create a problem between me and my family and in order to take some measures against them. But, with Allah's grace, this regime did not get its wish fulfilled. I refused to go back. They (my family) conveyed the Saudi government's message that if I did not go back, they'll freeze all my assets, deprive me of my citizenship, my passport, and my Saudi I.D. and distort my picture in the Saudi and foreign media. They think that a Muslim may bargain on his religion. I said to them do whatever you may wish. It is with Allah's bounty, we refused to go back. We are living in dignity and honor for whom we thank Allah. It is much better for us to live under a tree here on these mountains than to live in palaces in the most sacred land to Allah, while being subjected to disgrace not worshipping Allah even in the most sacred land on earth, where injustice is so widespread. There is no strength except with Allah.

REPORTER: Mr bin Ladin, have Saudi agents attempted to assassinate you? Are you targeted by the US government? Are you in fact in fear of your life?

BIN LADIN: The US pressures are no secret to you. The Saudi pressures are also in response to American pressures. There were several attempts to arrest me or to assassinate me. This has been going on for more than seven years. With Allah's grace, none of these attempts succeeded. This is a proof in itself to Muslims and to the world that the US is incapable and weaker than the picture it wants to draw in people's mind. A believer must rest assured that life is only in the hands of Allah, and sustenance is also in the hands of Allah, the Almighty. As for fearing for one's life, it is difficult to explain to you how we think of ourselves, unless you have full belief. We believe that no one could take out one breath of our written life as ordained by Allah. We see that we see that getting killed in the cause of Allah is a great honor wished for by our Prophet (PBUH). He said in his *hadith*: 'I swear to Allah, I wish to fight for Allah's cause and be killed, I'll do it again and be killed, and I'll do it again and be killed.' Being killed for Allah's cause is a great honor achieved by only those who are the elite of the nation. We love this kind of death for Allah's cause as much as you like to live. We have nothing to fear for. It is something we wish for.

REPORTER: What are your future plans?

BIN LADIN: You'll see them and hear about them in the media, God willing.

REPORTER: Mr bin Ladin, if you had an opportunity to give a message to President Clinton, what would that message be?

BIN LADIN: Mentioning the name of Clinton or that of the American government provokes disgust and revulsion. This is because the name of the American government and the name of Clinton and Bush directly reflect in our minds the picture of children with their heads cut off

before even reaching one year of age. It reflects the picture of children with their hands cut off, the picture of the children who died in Iraq, the picture of the hands of the Israelis with weapons destroying our children. The hearts of Muslims are filled with hatred towards the United States of America and the American President. The President has a heart that knows no words. A heart that kills hundreds of children definitely, knows no words. Our people in the Arabian Peninsula will send him messages with no words because he does not know any words. If there is a message that I may send through you, then it is a message I address to the mothers of the American troops who came here with their military uniform walking proudly up and down our land while the scholars of our country are thrown in prisons. I say that this represents a blatant provocation to 1,250 million Muslims. To these mothers I say if they are concerned for their sons, then let them object to the American government's policy and to the American President. They should not let themselves be cheated by his standing before the bodies of the killed soldiers describing the freedom fighters in Saudi Arabia as terrorists. It is he who is a terrorist who pushed their sons into this for the sake of the Israeli interest. We believe that the American army in Saudi Arabia came to separate between the Muslims and the people for not ruling in accordance with Allah's wish. They came to be in support of the Israeli forces in occupied Palestine, the land of the *Isra'* of our Prophet (PBUH)."

2.7 Intervju med Robert Fisk, *The Independent*, 1997

Robert Fisk møtte bin Ladin for tredje gang i 1997, og vi gjengir her artikkelen han skrev etter intervjuet. Det går frem av artikkelen at det foreligger et verbatim referat fra selve intervjuet, men det har ikke lyktes notatforfatteren å få tak i dette referatet. Det er for øvrig symptomatisk for den på dette tidspunkt raskt stigende interessen for bin Ladins uttalelser at Robert Fisk denne gangen har et slikt referat og ikke bare en artikkel.

"Eastern Afghanistan - From his guerrilla redoubt high in the mountains of eastern Afghanistan, Usama bin Ladin - regarded by Washington as the West's most dangerous Muslim fundamentalist enemy - has warned Americans of a renewed onslaught against their forces in Saudi Arabia.

In an interview with *The Independent*, the 44-year old billionaire Saudi dissident who led an army of Arab fighters against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, claimed that he had now secured the support of thousands of Pakistanis for his *jihad* - holy war - against US troops in the Gulf. He also acknowledged for the first time that his guerrillas had fought street battles against US forces during the ill-fated UN mission to Somalia.

He had, he said, sent faxes to King Fahd and all main departments of the Saudi government, informing them of his determination to pursue a *jihad* against the Americans; he even claimed that some members of the Saudi royal family agreed with his demand to expel the Americans from the Gulf - an allegation that will only heighten US suspicions that some leading figures in the kingdom covertly support the dissident movement. I spent the night in bin Ladin's guerrilla camp 8,000 feet up a frozen mountain in south-east Afghanistan as his Arab *mujahidin*, wearing camouflage jackets and cowed in *kuffia* scarves, patrolled the perimeter ridges armed with rocket-propelled grenades and automatic rifles. The road to the camp had been gouged out of the cliffs and precipices by Mr bin Ladin's followers during their earlier *jihad* against the Soviet army; a few metres from me, a 20-foot high air raid shelter - cut for hundreds of metres through the rock of the mountainside - provided protection against aerial bombing.

Mr bin Ladin himself, dressed in a white turban and green robes with a Kalashnikov assault rifle beside him, sat on the floor of a tent lit only by a sputtering gas lamp. He heaped praise upon the bombers who slaughtered 24 Americans in the Saudi bombings at Riyadh and al-Khubar – ‘a great act in which I missed the honour of participating’ - and spoke in a chilling, almost inaudible monotone of his hatred for the American ‘occupiers’ of his country. His claim of Pakistani assistance in his ‘holy war’ will cause deep concern to Americans in Saudi Arabia, where tens of thousands of Pakistanis live as immigrant workers.

Astonishingly - in view of his previous threats against British and French troops in the Gulf - Mr bin Ladin claimed that the armies of both countries now provided only a ‘symbolic presence’ in Saudi Arabia, at one point praising Britain for not occupying the Arabian Peninsula during the First World War.

He claimed that European nations were now distancing themselves from US policy towards Israel, singling out the European vote against Israel in the UN Security Council debate on the new Jewish settlement on occupied Arab land outside Jerusalem.

But if British and French troops in the Gulf can now sleep a little easier in their beds - in itself a doubtful premise - the Americans appear to face another spate of bombings. ‘This is the first time in 14 centuries that the land of the two shrines Mecca and Medina has been occupied by non-Islamic forces,’ he said.

‘In the past, the Americans didn’t meet with real resistance from Muslims because scholars working for the Saudi government misled the people by saying the Americans were providing them with protection. But now, the Muslim nation understands the truth and Pakistanis have allied themselves with us to expel the Americans; Pakistani religious thinkers are issuing *fatawa* against them.’

If Mr bin Ladin’s view of America bordered on the eccentric - at one point, he suggested that individual US states might secede from the Union because of Washington’s support for Israel - his historical perspective was deeply disturbing. ‘We believe that God used our holy war in Afghanistan to destroy the Russian army and the Soviet Union - we did this from the top of this very mountain upon which you are sitting - and now we ask God to use us one more time to do the same to America, to make it a shadow of itself.’

But he was confident. ‘We also believe that our battle against America is much simpler than the war against the Soviet Union, because some of our *mujahidin* who fought here in Afghanistan also participated in operations against the Americans in Somalia - and they were surprised at the collapse of American morale. This convinced us that the Americans are a paper tiger.’”

2.8 Intervju med John Miller, *ABC News*, mai 1998¹⁹

Den 28. mai 1998 intervjuet *ABC News* Usama bin Ladin i Afghanistan. I likhet med de fleste andre intervjuer med bin Ladin foregikk også dette intervjuet i et telt et ukjent område i fjellene i Afghanistan (se figur 2.2). ABC-reporteren John Miller slapp til med sine spørsmål etter at noen

¹⁹ http://abcnews.go.com/sections/world/DailyNews/miller_binladen_980609.html og <http://www.arab2.com/biography/Osama/Osama-qaeda-frontline.htm>; for video, se http://video.pbs.org:8080/ramgen/wgbh/pages/frontline/1713_blint_hi.rm.

av bin Ladins følgesvenner hadde fått spørre ham ut. Det er verdt å merke seg at dette intervjuet fant sted tre måneder etter al-Qa'idas *fatwa* fra februar 1998 og bare litt over to måneder før terrorangrepene på de amerikanske ambassadene i Kenya og Tanzania.



Figur 2.2 John Miller og Usama bin Ladin (Kilde: ABC News)

UKJENT: What is the meaning of your call for Muslims to take arms against America in particular, and what is the message that you wish to send to the West in general?

USAMA BIN LADIN: The call to wage war against America was made because America has spearheaded the crusade against the Islamic nation, sending tens of thousands of its troops to the land of the two Holy Mosques over and above its meddling in its affairs and its politics, and its support of the oppressive, corrupt and tyrannical regime that is in control. These are the reasons behind the singling out of America as a target. And not exempt of responsibility are those Western regimes whose presence in the region offers support to the American troops there. We know at least one reason behind the symbolic participation of the Western forces and that is to support the Jewish and Zionist plans for expansion of what is called 'Greater Israel.' Surely, their presence is not out of concern over their interests in the region. [...] Their presence has no meaning save one and that is to offer support to the Jews in Palestine who are in need of their Christian brothers to achieve full control over the Arab Peninsula which they intend to make an important part of the so called Greater Israel. [...]

UKJENT: Many of the Arabic as well as the Western mass media accuse you of terrorism and of supporting terrorism. What do you have to say to that?

UBL: There is an Arabic proverb that says 'she accused me of having her malady, then snuck away.' Besides, terrorism can be commendable and it can be reprehensible. Terrifying an innocent person and terrorizing him is objectionable and unjust, also unjustly terrorizing people is not right.

However, terrorizing oppressors and criminals and thieves and robbers is necessary for the safety of people and for the protection of their property. There is no doubt in this. Every state and every civilization and culture has to resort to terrorism under certain circumstances for the purpose of abolishing tyranny and corruption. Every country in the world has its own security

system and its own security forces, its own police and its own army. They are all designed to terrorize whoever even contemplates to attack that country or its citizens. The terrorism we practice is of the commendable kind for it is directed at the tyrants and the aggressors and the enemies of Allah, the tyrants, the traitors who commit acts of treason against their own countries and their own faith and their own prophet and their own nation. Terrorizing those and punishing them are necessary measures to straighten things and to make them right. Tyrants and oppressors who subject the Arab nation to aggression ought to be punished. The wrongs and the crimes committed against the Muslim nation are far greater than can be covered by this interview. America heads the list of aggressors against Muslims. The recurrence of aggression against Muslims everywhere is proof enough. For over half a century, Muslims in Palestine have been slaughtered and assaulted and robbed of their honor and of their property. Their houses have been blasted, their crops destroyed. And the strange thing is that any act on their part to avenge themselves or to lift the injustice befalling them causes great agitation in the United Nations which hastens to call for an emergency meeting only to convict the victim and to censure the wronged and the tyrannized whose children have been killed and whose crops have been destroyed and whose farms have been pulverized. [...]

In today's wars, there are no morals, and it is clear that mankind has descended to the lowest degrees of decadence and oppression. They rip us of our wealth and of our resources and of our oil. Our religion is under attack. They kill and murder our brothers. They compromise our honor and our dignity and dare we utter a single word of protest against the injustice, we are called terrorists. This is compounded injustice. And the United Nations insistence to convict the victims and support the aggressors constitutes a serious precedence which shows the extent of injustice that has been allowed to take root in this land. [...]

UKJENT: What is your relationship with the Islamic movements in various regions of the world like Chechnya and Kashmir and other Arab countries?

UBL: Cooperation for the sake of truth and righteousness is demanded from Muslims. A Muslim should do his utmost to co-operate with his fellow Muslims. But Allah says of cooperation that it is not absolute, for there is cooperation to do good, and there is cooperation to commit aggression and act unjustly. A Muslim is supposed to give his fellow Muslim guidance and support. He (Allah) said: *'Stand by your brother be he oppressor or oppressed.'* When asked how were they to stand by him if he were the oppressor, He answered them, saying: *'by giving him guidance and counsel.'* It all goes to say that Muslims should co-operate with one another and should be supportive of one another, and they should promote righteousness and mercy. They should all unite in the fight against polytheism and they should pool all their resources and their energy to fight the Americans and the Zionists and those with them. They should, however, avoid side fronts and rise over the small problems for these are less detrimental. Their fight should be directed against unbelief and unbelievers. [...]

UKJENT: We heard your message to the American government and later your message to the European governments who participated in the occupation of the Gulf. Is it possible for you to address the people of these countries?

UBL: As we have already said, our call is the call of Islam that was revealed to Muhammad. It is a call to all mankind. We have been entrusted with a good cause to follow in the footsteps of the Messenger and to communicate his message to all nations. It is an invitation that we extend to all the nations to embrace Islam, the religion that calls for justice, mercy and fraternity among all nations, not differentiating between black and white or between red and yellow except with

respect to their devotedness. All people who worship Allah, not each other, are equal before Him. We are entrusted to spread this message and to extend that call to all the people. We, nonetheless, fight against their governments and all those who approve of the injustice they practice against us. We fight the governments that are bent on attacking our religion and on stealing our wealth and on hurting our feelings. And as I have mentioned before, we fight them, and those who are part of their rule are judged in the same manner. [...]

UKJENT: In your last statement, there was a strong message to the American government in particular. What message do you have for the European governments and the West in general?

UBL: Praise be to Allah and prayers and peace upon Muhammad. With respect to the Western governments that participated in the attack on the land of the two Holy Mosques regarding it as ownerless, and in the siege against the Muslim people of Iraq, we have nothing new to add to the previous message. What prompted us to address the American government in particular is the fact that it is on the head of the Western and the crusading forces in their fight against Islam and against Muslims. The two explosions that took place in Riyadh and in al-Khubar recently were but a clear and powerful signal to the governments of the countries which willingly participated in the aggression against our countries and our lives and our sacrosanct symbols. It might be beneficial to mention that some of those countries have begun to move towards independence from the American government with respect to the enmity that it continues to show towards the Muslim people. We only hope that they will continue to move in that direction, away from the oppressive forces that are fighting against our countries. We however, differentiate between the western government and the people of the West. If the people have elected those governments in the latest elections, it is because they have fallen prey to the Western media which portray things contrary to what they really are. And while the slogans raised by those regimes call for humanity, justice, and peace, the behavior of their governments is completely the opposite. It is not enough for their people to show pain when they see our children being killed in Israeli raids launched by American planes, nor does this serve the purpose. What they ought to do is change their governments which attack our countries. The hostility that America continues to express against the Muslim people has given rise to feelings of animosity on the part of Muslims against America and against the West in general. Those feelings of animosity have produced a change in the behavior of some crushed and subdued groups who, instead of fighting the Americans inside the Muslim countries, went on to fight them inside the United States of America itself.

The Western regimes and the government of the United States of America bear the blame for what might happen. If their people do not wish to be harmed inside their very own countries, they should seek to elect governments that are truly representative of them and that can protect their interests. [...]

The enmity between us and the Jews goes far back in time and is deep rooted. There is no question that war between the two of us is inevitable. For this reason it is not in the interest of Western governments to expose the interests of their people to all kinds of retaliation for almost nothing. It is hoped that people of those countries will initiate a positive move and force their governments not to act on behalf of other states and other sects. This is what we have to say and we pray to Allah to preserve the nation of Islam and to help them drive their enemies out of their land.

UKJENT: American politicians have painted a distorted picture of Islam, of Muslims and

of Islamic fighters. We would like you to give us the true picture that clarifies your viewpoint.

UBL: The leaders in America and in other countries as well have fallen victim to Jewish Zionist blackmail. They have mobilized their people against Islam and against Muslims. These are portrayed in such a manner as to drive people to rally against them. The truth is that the whole Muslim world is the victim of international terrorism, engineered by America at the United Nations. We are a nation whose sacred symbols have been looted and whose wealth and resources have been plundered. It is normal for us to react against the forces that invade our land and occupy it. [...]

UKJENT: Quite a number of Muslim countries have seen the rise of militant movements whose purpose is to stand up in the face of the pressure exerted on the people by their own governments and other governments. Such as is the case in Egypt and Libya and North Africa and Algeria and such as was the case in Syria and in Yemen. There are also other militant groups currently engaged in the fight against the unbelievers and the crusaders as is the case in Kashmir and Chechnya and Bosnia and the African Horn. Is there any message you wish to convey to our brothers who are fighting in various parts of the Islamic World?

UBL: [...] Tell the Muslims everywhere that the vanguards of the warriors who are fighting the enemies of Islam belong to them and the young fighters are their sons. Tell them that the nation is bent on fighting the enemies of Islam. Once again, I have to stress the necessity of focusing on the Americans and the Jews for they represent the spearhead with which the members of our religion have been slaughtered. Any effort directed against America and the Jews yields positive and direct results - Allah willing. It is far better for anyone to kill a single American soldier than to squander his efforts on other activities.

[Her begynner John Millers intervju]

JOHN MILLER: Mr bin Ladin, to Americans you are an interesting figure: A man who comes from a background of wealth and comforts who ended up fighting on the front lines. Many Americans would think that's unusual.

UBL: Thanks be to Allah. It is hard for one to understand if the person does not understand Islam. In our religion we believe that Allah created us to worship him. Allah is the one who created us and blessed us with this religion, and orders us to carry out the holy struggle *jihad* to raise the word of Allah above the words of the unbelievers.

We believe this is a form of worship we must follow despite our financial ability. This is a response to Westerners and secularists in the Arab world who claim the reason for the awakening and the return to Islam is financial difficulties. This is untrue. In fact, the return of the people to Islam is a blessing from Allah, and their return is a need for Allah.

This is not a strange issue. During the days of *jihad*, thousands of young men who were well off financially left the Arabian Peninsula and other areas and joined the fighting - hundreds of them were killed in Afghanistan, Bosnia and Chechnya. We pray Allah grants them martyr status.

JM: You have been described as the 'World's Most Wanted Man.' There is word that the American government intends to put a price on your head in the millions for your capture.

Do you think about that? Does it worry you?

UBL: Praise be to Allah. It does not worry us what the Americans think. What worries us is pleasing Allah. The Americans impose themselves on everyone who believes in his religion and his rights. They accuse our children in Palestine of being terrorists, those children that have no weapons and have not even reached maturity. At the same time they defend a country with their airplanes and tanks, and the state of the Jews that has a policy to destroy the future of these children.

Clinton stands after Qana and defends the horrible massacre that severed the heads of children and killed about 100 persons. Clinton stands and claims Israel has the right to defend itself. We do not worry about American opinion, or the fact they place prices on our heads.

We as Muslims believe that our fate is set. If the whole world decides to get together and kill us before our time has come, we will not die, our livelihood is set. No matter how much pressure America places on the regime in Riyadh to freeze our assets and to prevent people from contributing to this great cause, we rely on Allah.

JM: You have said, ‘If the Americans are so brave they will come and arrest me.’ Do you think that is something my country will try?

UBL: We have seen in the last decade the decline of the American government and the weakness of the American soldier who is ready to wage Cold Wars and unprepared to fight long wars. This was proven in Beirut when the Marines fled after two explosions. It also proves they can run in less than 24 hours, and this was also repeated in Somalia. We are ready for all occasions. We rely on Allah.

JM: Mr bin Ladin, you have issued a *fatwa* calling on all Muslims to kill Americans where they can, when they can. Is that directed at all Americans, just American military, just Americans in Saudi Arabia?

UBL: As we mentioned before, Allah ordered us in this religion to purify Muslim land of all non-believers, and especially the Arabian Peninsula where the Ka‘ba is. After World War II, the Americans became more aggressive and oppressive, especially in the Muslim world.

We are surprised this question is coming from Americans. Each action will solicit a similar reaction. We must use such punishment to keep your evil away from Muslims, Muslim children and women. American history does not distinguish between civilians and military, and not even women and children. They are the ones who used the bombs against Nagasaki. Can these bombs distinguish between infants and military? America does not have a religion that will prevent it from destroying all people.

Your situation with Muslims in Palestine is shameful, if there is any shame left in America. In the Sabra and Shatila massacre, which was a cooperation between Zionist and Christian forces, houses were demolished over the heads of children. Also, by testimony of relief workers in Iraq, the American-led sanctions resulted in the death of over 1 million Iraqi children. All of this was done in the name of American interests. We believe that the biggest thieves in the world and the terrorists are the Americans. The only way for us to fend off these assaults is to use similar means.

We do not differentiate between those dressed in military uniforms and civilians; they are all targets in this *fatwa*. Especially since American official statements were released after the al-Khubar bombing, asking all American civilians to contact the security department in the embassy with information on Muslims and activists. The *fatwa* includes all that share or take part in killing of Muslims, assaulting holy places, or those who help the Jews occupy Muslim land.

JM: Ramzi Yusuf was a follower. Do you remember him? Did you know him?

UBL: Ramzi Yusuf, after the World Trade Center bombing became a well-known Muslim personality, and all Muslims know him. Unfortunately, I did not know him before the incident. I remember him as a Muslim who defended Islam from American aggression. He took this effort to let the Americans know that their government assaults Muslims to ensure Israeli interest, to secure the Jews. American will see many youths who will follow Ramzi Yousef.

JM: Is it true that when Ramzi Yusuf was captured, he was in a guesthouse that you were paying for?

UBL: What was broadcast in the news and what we learned is that he was captured in Pakistan in a hotel.

JM: Wali Khan Amin Shah was captured in Manila. American authorities believed he was working for you, funded by you, setting up training camps there and that part of his plan was to plan the assassination of President Clinton during his trip to Manila.

UBL: Wali Khan is a Muslim youth. In Afghanistan, he is nicknamed 'The Lion.' He is one of the best youths. We were good friends. We fought together in the same trench against the Russians until Allah sent them away in humiliating defeat. You mentioned that he works for me - we do not have anyone who works for someone else. We all work for Allah and await his reward. And regarding your mention of his attempt to assassinate President Clinton, it is not surprising. I did not know about it, but it is not surprising. As I said, every action solicits a similar reaction. What does Clinton expect from those whom he killed and assaulted their children and mothers? This is not a surprising matter.

JM: Federal authorities in the United States are still investigating their suspicion that you ordered and funded the attacks on the United States military in al-Khubar and Riyadh.

UBL: We roused the people, the Muslims, and carried *fatawa* from our '*ulama*' after the Saudi government imprisoned them to placate the American government. The most prominent are Shaykh Salman bin Fahd al-'Awda, Safad bin 'Abd al-Rahman al-Awli.

So we carried these *fatawa* and roused the people to eject this enemy from the holy land, some of the people listened, from among them, Khalid al-Sa'id, 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Mi'thim, Hamud al-Hajiri and Mislal al-Samray. We pray Allah grants them martyr status. They have raised the head of the Muslim nation high, and washed away some of the dishonor we had to bear by the Saudi government's collaboration with the American government in the land of Allah.

We look at these young men as great heroes and martyrs who followed the steps of the prophet peace upon him. We called and they answered. We pray to Allah to accept them and bless their parents with patience.

JM: You have been painted in America as a terrorist leader. To your followers you are a hero. How do you see yourself?

UBL: As I said before, we do not worry about what America says. We look at ourselves and our brethren as worshipers of Allah who created us to worship him and follow his books and prophets. I am one of Allah's worshipers. I worship Allah, which includes carrying out the *jihad* to raise Allah's word and evict the Americans from all Muslim land.

JM: No one expected the *mujahidin* to defeat the Russians in Afghanistan, that caused a surprise to everyone. What do you see as the future for the American involvement in the Middle East and taking on groups like yours?

UBL: NATO, that America created, we know it spent \$455 billion American dollars in improving weaponry to protect Europe and America from Russia, and they did not fire a single shot. Allah stood with the Muslims, the Afghani *mujahidin*, and those who fought with them from other Muslim countries. We fought against the Russians and the Soviet Union until, not to say we defeated them, but Allah defeated them, they became non-existent. There is a lesson to learn from this for he who wishes to learn. The Soviet Union entered in the last week of 1979, in December, and with Allah's help their flag was folded December 25 a few years later and thrown in the trash, and there was nothing left to call the 'Soviet Union.'

We are sure of Allah's victory and our victory against the Americans and the Jews as promised by the prophet peace be up on him: 'Judgment day shall not come until the Muslims fight the Jews, whereas the Jews will hide behind trees and stones, and the tree and the stone will speak and say "Muslim, behind me a Jew come and kill him," except for the al-Ghargad tree, which is a Jewish plant.'

We are sure of our victory. Our battle with the Americans is larger than our battle with the Russians. The Americans made a very stupid mistake that no one has made before. They attacked the Muslim symbol, the *qibla*, of 200 million people. The reaction was very encouraging by the Muslim scholars and the youth. We predict a black day for America and the end of the United States as the United States, and they will be separate states, and they will retreat from our land and collect the bodies of its sons back to America. Allah willing.

JM: What do you see as the future of the Saudi Royal family and their involvement with America and United States military?

UBL: History has an answer to your question. Any government that sells its peoples' interests and betrays its people and takes actions that removes it from the Muslim nation will not succeed.

We predict that the Riyadh leader and those with him that stood with the Jews and Christians and forfeited al-Haramayn, the Holy Shrines, to Jews and Christians with American identities or other will disintegrate. They have left the Muslim nation.

We predict that like the Iran Royal family, the Shah, they will disperse and disappear. After Allah gave them property on the most sacred land and gave them wealth that is unheard of before [the discovery of] oil, still they sinned and did not value Allah's gift. We predict destruction and dispersal after they in a great devastation against the Muslim nation, especially

what happens to the Muslim people of Iraq.

The prophet said: ‘A woman entered hell because of a cat. She did not feed it and blocked it from finding food on its own.’ She is going to hell for blocking cat to death, but what say to those who agreed and gave reason for the hundreds of thousands of troops to blockade millions of Muslims in Iraq?

JM: Do you think the Saudi government wants the American military to stay?

UBL: This does not make a difference, since American opposition, aggression and greed still exists. They came by word of government. It does not make a difference if the government wants you to stay or leave, you will leave when the youth send you the wooden boxes and the coffins, and you will carry in it the bodies of American troops and civilians. This is when you will leave. The Muslim masses are moving toward liberating the Muslim worlds. Allah willing, we will win.

JM: Describe the situation when your men took on the Americans in Somalia. Were you there?

UBL: After Allah honored us with victory in Afghanistan, and justice prevailed and the killing of those who slaughtered millions of Muslims in the Muslim republics, it cleared from Muslim minds the myth of superpowers. The youth ceased seeing America as a superpower. After leaving Afghanistan they headed for Somalia and prepared for a long battle, thinking that the Americans were like the Russians, but they were surprised when the Americans entered with 300,000 troops, and collected more troops from the world — 5,000 from Pakistan, 5,000 from India, 5,000 from Bangladesh, 5,000 from Egypt, Senegal and others like Saudi Arabia.

The youth were surprised at the low morale of the American soldiers and realized more than before that the American soldiers are paper tigers. After a few blows, they ran in defeat and America forgot about all the hoopla and media propaganda after leaving the Gulf War and destroying infrastructure — and destroying baby formula factories, all civilian factories, bridges and dams that help planting food — about being the world leader, and the leader of the new world order. After a few blows, they forgot about this title and left, dragging their corpses and their shameful defeat and stopped using such titles. And they learned in America that this name is larger than them.

When this took place, I was in Sudan, and this great defeat pleased me very much, the way it pleases all Muslims.

Allah willing the next victory will be in Hijaz and Najd, Saudi Arabia, and it will make the Americans forget the horrors of Vietnam and Beirut.

JM: Many Americans believe that fighting army to army like what happened in Afghanistan is heroic for either army, but setting off bombs killing civilians and innocents like the World Trade Center is terrorism.

UBL: He is using talk that they are not following. After our victory in Afghanistan and defeating the Russians, the world media, led by the American media, started a campaign against us that is still going on today despite the fact that the Russians left in 1989, almost 10 years ago. They have carried out this campaign accusing us of being terrorists without any action being

taken by the *mujahidin* against the real terrorists, the Americans. That is one side.

On the other side, American policy does not admit to differentiating between civilians, military, and child, human or animal. Examples I mentioned before are Nagasaki and Hiroshima where they tried to eliminate a whole people. When it comes to Muslims, there is testimony from Westerners and Christians who testified to the death of hundreds of thousands of our children in Iraq. And there is Qana, Sabra and Shattila, Dar Yasin and Bosnia. The crusaders continued their slaughter of our mothers, sisters and children. America every time makes a decision to support them and prevent weapons from reaching the Muslims, and allow Serbian butchers to slaughter Muslims.

You do not have a religion that prevents you from carrying out these actions and therefore you do not have the right to object to like treatment. Every action solicits a reaction. It is a punishment that fits the crime. At the same time, our primary target is the military and those in its employment. Our religion forbids us to kill innocents — children, women who are not combatants. Women soldiers who place themselves in the battle trenches receive the same treatment as fighting men.

JM: Is there a high council of the leaders of different groups like yours that decides on ways and means to attack Americans?

UBL: After the Americans entered the Holy Land, many emotions were roused in the Muslim world, more than we have seen before. A great meeting took place a few days ago in Pakistan, and it was attended by 150 scholars in Pakistan. The goal of the meeting was to work toward liberating the Holy Land and coordinate efforts between Muslim masses in the area.

Also, with Allah's blessings, scholars from Afghanistan, India and other Muslim nations' individual *fatawa* were passed, but here great joint *fatawa* were passed. The cooperation is expanding between general supporters of this religion. From this effort, the *International Islamic Front for the Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders* was formed, of which we are a member with other groups. It has a higher council to coordinate the rousing of the Muslim nation to carry out *jihad* against the Jews and the crusaders.

JM: The American people by the large do not know the name Usama bin Ladin, but they soon will. Do you have a message to the American people?

UBL: I say that the American people gave leadership to a traitorous leadership. This became very clear and especially in Clinton's government. The American government, we think, is an agent that represents the Israel inside America. If we look at sensitive departments in the present government like the Department of Defense or the State Department, or sensitive security departments like the CIA and others, we find that Jews have the first word in the American government, which is how they use America to carry out their plans in the world and especially the Muslim world.

The presence of Americans in the Holy Land supports the Jews and gives them a safe back. The American government, in a time where there are millions of Americans living on the street and those living below the standard of living and below the poverty line, we find the American government turning toward helping Israel in occupying our land and building settlements in the Holy Land.

The American government is throwing away the lives of Americans in Saudi Arabia for the interests of the Jews. The Jews are a people who Allah cited in His holy Book the *Qur'an* as those who attacked prophets with lies and killings, and attacked Mary and accused her of a great sin. They are a people who killed Allah's prophets - would they not kill, rape and steal from humans?

They believe that all humans are created for their use, and found that the Americans are the best-created beings for that use. The American government is driving America to destruction and those same ones have no doubts about America being a superpower in the next decade.

So, we tell the American as a people, and we tell the mothers of soldiers, and American mothers in general, if they value their lives and those of their children, find a nationalistic government that will look after their interests and not the interest of the Jews.

The continuation of the tyranny will bring the fighting to America, like Ramzi Yusuf and others. This is my message to the American people to look for a serious government that looks out for their interest and does not attack others, their lands or their honor.

JM: Mr bin Ladin, these are most of the questions we came with. Is there anything else that I did not ask that you would like to add?

UBL: We would like to stress that we are on close contact with Muslim masses, praise be to Allah. The issue of liberating holy lands is not my personal desire, but I am just a worshipper of Allah and one of Allah's soldiers in the Muslim nation.

The movement is driving fast and light forward. And I am sure of our victory with Allah's help against America and the Jews. We see this then in the strength of the reaction, that every day the Americans delay their departure, for every day they delay, they will receive a new corpse from Muslim countries.

The Saudi Arabian government captured a few months ago in Ramadan a number of missiles, anti aircraft missiles, SAM and Stinger missiles. Can the America government explain to its people when a SAM missile is launched against a passenger military airplane with 250 soldiers on board? Can they justify their deaths? What the Saudi Arabian government captured is much less than what was not captured. The American government, if it has anything left to hang on to, has no choice but to pull its sons from the Holy Land especially and the Muslim land in general. And to refrain from supporting in any way the Israeli government and Jews who occupy our land.

We place the complete responsibility on the American government of any attacks against Muslims and its support of regimes in our countries against the best interest of the people. We also hold them responsible for its attacks on Islamic symbols, Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman, who is considered one of most prominent Islamic scholars who Allah gave the courage to speak the truth. We hear that he is in a bad health condition, and he is a man beyond 60 years of age and is blind and America treats him badly. The imprisonment of Shaykh 'Umar is an attack on the Muslim religion, and countries. We hold it completely responsible for the imprisonment of Shaykh 'Umar and the imprisonment of other Muslims in America. My word to American journalists is not to ask why we did that, but to ask what had their government done that forced us to defend ourselves? This is all I have to say.

JM: What are you going to do, just picking a word or two [sic], did he by any chance mention the new *fatwa* issued by ‘Abd al-Rahman last week?

UBL: No.

JM: I was wondering if you could tell me the story of the gun behind you and how you got it? It is a kind of a legend in many ways, that during the Afghan war you got it in hand-to-hand combat with Russians who were on a three-day assault on the camp.

UBL We went through vicious battles with the Russians. It is enough to just say with Russians, they are known in the West for their brutality and viciousness. They used poisonous gas against us, and I was subjected to this. They used airplanes against our position, and we lost many fighters, but we were able to deter many commando attacks, unlike anything before.

JM: From history, in 1897, Teddy Roosevelt was a wealthy man who grew up in a privileged situation who fought on the frontline, put together his own team not from the army, handpicked his own men and went into battle. You are like the Middle East version of Teddy Roosevelt.

UBL: We are worshipers of Allah and we carry out our duties. Our duty is to call on all nations to join the light. Our first duty is being people of this religion and to fight for this religion. Since we grew up, American weapons were on our heads and the heads of our children and mothers, like in Qana and others. The Westerners have been under the impression that we are butchers. They just only need to look at their brother in Eastern Europe, Turkey and Albania to see those who embraced Islam and lived happily with it for centuries. The Western masses have fallen under the effect of Jewish media who do not broadcast on Muslims except that we butcher, and without showing that of number of those us who were butchered is the biggest number. It is our duty to lead people to light.”

2.9 Intervju med Jamal Isma‘il, *al-Jazira*, 22. desember 1998 (trykt i *Newsweek* januar 1999)

Den kjente journalisten Jamal Isma‘il intervjuet Usama bin Ladin i Afghanistan den 22. desember 1998. Isma‘il var en del av delegasjonen med utenlandske journalister som bin Ladin selv tok initiativet til å møte.²⁰

Vi gjengir her en artikkel fra bladet *Newsweek* i januar 1999 som omhandler Isma‘ils intervju.²¹

“Palestinian journalist Jamal Isma‘il’s mobile phone rang just before prayers on Dec. 18. ‘Peace be upon you,’ said the voice on the line. ‘You may not recognize me, but I know you.’ The purpose of the mysterious call: to deliver the news that Usama bin Ladin, America’s most

²⁰ Roland Jacquard nevner i sin bok om Usama bin Ladin at den palestinske journalisten Jamal Isma‘il intervjuet bin Ladin den 18. desember 1998; Se Jacquard (2001), s 25. Jacquard nevner på et annet sted i boken sin at den samme Isma‘il intervjuet bin Ladin den 22. desember 1998; Se Jacquard (2001), s 160. Denne forvirringen skyldes at Isma‘il tilsynelatende reiste til Afghanistan den 18. desember, mens intervjuet ikke fant sted før 22. desember. Det dreier seg altså antakeligvis om kun ett intervju. Ifølge den samme Jacquard skal *Newsweek* ha trykt et intervju med Usama bin Ladin og Ayman al-Zawahiri i juli 2000, men undertegnede har ikke funnet et slikt intervju i *Newsweek* sommeren 2000. Se Jacquard (2001), s 167.

²¹ *Newsweek*, vol 133, nr 2, 11. januar 1999, s 36.

wanted man, was ready to talk. Within days, Isma‘il was on the road to Afghanistan and to bin Ladin’s hideout, deep in the mountain ranges controlled by the Taliban, the fundamentalist Islamic regime that now rules most of Afghanistan. Gripping a machine gun, bin Ladin on December 22 spoke for more than two hours with Isma‘il, who provided *Newsweek* with this transcript. Bin Ladin was joined in his tent by two sons but complained that his eldest son and other relatives have been prevented from coming to Afghanistan - or from sending him his share of proceeds from the family business. He prefaced his answers to every question with the same phrase: ‘Al-hamdu lillah’ - all thanks and praise to the Almighty.

Excerpts:

NEWSWEEK: The Americans say that you were the mastermind behind the bombings in East Africa last year. Were you?

USAMA BIN LADIN: I heard about the bombings the same way everyone else heard about them, from the television or radio. I did not order them but was very glad for what happened to the Americans there. [The bombings] were the Islamic revenge on American spies in East Africa. Many oppressed Muslims are ready to die in the war against the Americans. Those who did it may be some of these oppressed Muslims.

NEWSWEEK: But Americans are saying that [Muhammad Sadiq] Huwaida, who was arrested in Pakistan on Aug. 7 - the day of the bombings - has confessed that you were the man who gave orders for the attacks.

UBL: Huwaida was tortured in Pakistan and Kenya, therefore his so-called confession is meaningless. It indicates the failure of American intelligence in the world. The American president and his administration are under the influence of the Jewish Zionist lobby in America, who are pushing the American people to do what Israel cannot do.

NEWSWEEK: Does the American military attack on Iraq frighten anti-American groups?

UBL: No one is afraid of Americans now. You saw the crowded demonstrations in Damascus and Cairo. [The attack] was aggression against the needy people of Iraq, not against the Iraqi regime - which was supported by the Americans and the British during the war against Iran. No one talked about Iraq when it used chemical weapons against the Kurdish people in the ‘80s, and no one is mentioning anything about the weapons of mass destruction in Israel. They want to destroy Iraq now because it has the potential to challenge Israel. Muslims and Arabs should not allow this by any means.

NEWSWEEK: Why have you asked Muslims to target civilian Americans all over the world? Islam prohibits its followers from killing civilians in war.

UBL: If the Israelis are killing the small children in Palestine and the Americans are killing the innocent people in Iraq, and if the majority of the American people support their dissolute president, this means the American people are fighting us and we have the right to target them.

NEWSWEEK: All Americans?

UBL: Muslim scholars have issued a *fatwa* against any American who pays taxes to his government. He is our target, because he is helping the American war machine against the Muslim nation.

NEWSWEEK: The Americans say you have tried to purchase chemical and nuclear weapons in Central Asian markets. They also say the factory hit by U.S. missiles last August in Sudan belongs to you and that it was capable of producing chemical weapons.

UBL: It is very strange: If America has all the mass-destruction weapons, that is nothing. If the Jewish state has the same weapons, it is OK. But if a Muslim state like Pakistan tries to defend itself against the Hindu hegemony in South Asia, everything should be done to prevent it from doing so. We don't consider it a crime if we tried to have nuclear, chemical, biological weapons. Our Holy Land is occupied by Israeli and American forces. We have the right to defend ourselves and to liberate our Holy Land.

NEWSWEEK: You seem to be in very good health, much better than the reports from the United States say.

UBL: The Americans are committing another lie. I'm healthier now than any time before, as is the Muslim nation uprising against the aggressive Americans and their allies, especially the Jewish state of Israel. Our duty is to ask every Muslim to participate in this *jihad*.

NEWSWEEK: After the U.S.-British attack on Iraq, are you afraid that Afghanistan will be attacked, with you as the target?

UBL: I am not afraid of death. I came here to die. Some of my supporters followed me here just to die for the cause of Islam. They are ready to defend me and to kill anyone who thinks of attacking our positions or sites.

NEWSWEEK: The Americans have put a \$5 million bounty on you. Won't this encourage a follower to turn you in?

UBL: I did not even change one of my bodyguards as a result. None of the Arab-Afghans are so cheap as to be purchased by the Americans and betray me or my followers.

NEWSWEEK: The Taliban have said they will put you on trial if there is evidence to support American accusations against you. Are you ready to face a trial, perhaps in a neutral third country?

UBL: If the Americans have charges against me, I have charges against them. I am ready to go to the Taliban Islamic court, but not as an accused person. I have evidence against the Americans; they have absolutely no evidence against me. As for a neutral court, we do not believe there is any neutrality. There is a war waged by Americans against Islam and Muslims all over the world, and Americans themselves do not believe in neutrality. They want everyone to be their slave, or he will be considered an enemy.

NEWSWEEK: What is your status in Afghanistan, and what is your relationship with the Taliban?

UBL: We support the Taliban, and we consider ourselves part of them. Our blood is mixed with the blood of our Afghan brothers. For us, there is only one government in Afghanistan. It is the Taliban government. We obey all its orders. Afghanistan was the place where we buried the Soviet Union, and it will be the place to bury the Americans for their designs on the Muslims.

NEWSWEEK: A few months ago you announced the formation of an International Front of Islamic movements, but until now this front has done nothing. Where does it stand, and what is it needed for?

UBL: The front is an umbrella to all organizations fighting *jihad* against Jews and crusaders. The response from Muslim nations has been greater than we expected. We are urging all of them to start fighting, or at least to start preparing to fight, against the enemies of Islam.

NEWSWEEK: Some Islamic movements that have waged military operations against their regimes have begun speaking of halting their operations, such as the Islamic Salvation Army in Algeria and the Islamic Group in Egypt.

UBL: If some brothers discovered that they started their *jihad* before they were sufficiently prepared, that does not mean that the way of *jihad* is wrong. We have urged all Muslims to study the case of each of their countries and to decide when they can start their *jihad*. If the time is not suitable, this does not mean they should just sit. It means they must work hard in preparation. You have to do many things before waging *jihad*, and every Muslim should prepare himself very well for this.

NEWSWEEK: It was recently reported that you have built new tunnels in Afghanistan that can resist attacks. Are you preparing for new attacks against Americans, such as now bombings?

UBL: We have not made any new hideouts, as the coward Americans are saying. As for a new wave of bombings, you should address this question to all Muslims, who are preparing for revenge against Americans and who want to liberate their holy places.”

2.10 Intervju med Rahimullah Yusufzai, *TIME*, 23. desember 1998

Den 11. januar 1999 trykte bladet *TIME* et annet intervju med bin Ladin. Dette intervjuet ble gjort av den pakistanske journalisten Rahimullah Yusufzai, som møtte bin Ladin i Afghanistan 23. desember 1998. Yusufzai var en del av en gruppe utenlandske journalister som fikk møte bin Ladin 23. og 24. desember. Her følger Yusufzais artikkel.²²

“Conversation with terror.

Usama bin Ladin - the alleged mastermind of attacks on two US embassies - has been in hiding since the US launched missiles against his bases in Afghanistan last August. Yet on December 22, the summons suddenly came: Would Rahimullah Yusufzai, who reports for the *News of Pakistan*, as well as *TIME* and *ABC*, like to interview bin Ladin? After a car trip through the Afghan desert (and getting stuck in the sand three times), Yusufzai arrived at an encampment of three tents. Polite and given to praising God in nearly every sentence, bin Ladin sipped water from a cup (he was nursing a sore throat) and nestled an AK-47 as he spoke. Eager to deny

²² *TIME*, 11. januar 1999.

reports that he has cancer, bin Ladin said he enjoys riding horses and playing soccer, but he used a stick to walk because of a bad back. He also spends time with his three wives and children in Afghanistan. Aides say his contact with the world is limited to newspaper and radio reports. Though he has a sat phone, it sits mostly idle: he fears the US would use the signal to target an attack.

TIME: Are you responsible for the bomb attacks on the two American embassies in Africa?

Usama bin Ladin: *The International Islamic Front for Jihad against the US and Israel* has, by the grace of God, issued a crystal-clear *fatwa* calling on the Islamic nation to carry on *jihad* aimed at liberating holy sites. The nation of Muhammad has responded to this appeal. If the instigation for *jihad* against the Jews and the Americans in order to liberate al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy Ka'ba is considered a crime, then let history be a witness that I am a criminal. Our job is to instigate and, by the grace of God, we did that, and certain people responded to this instigation.

TIME: Do you know the men who have been arrested for these attacks?

Usama bin Ladin: What I know is that those who risked their lives to earn the pleasure of God are real men. They managed to rid the Islamic nation of disgrace. We hold them in the highest esteem.

TIME: But all those arrested are said to have been associated with you.

Usama bin Ladin: Wadih al-Hajji [an alleged bin Ladin associate who is being held in custody in New York City on charges stemming from the attacks on the embassies] was one of our brothers whom God was kind enough to steer to the path of relief work for Afghan refugees. I still remember him, though I have not seen him or heard from him for many years. He has nothing to do with the U.S. allegations. As for Muhammad Rashid al-Uwhali [another suspect in the bombings], we were informed that he is a Saudi from the province of Najd. The fact of the matter is that America, and in particular the CIA, wanted to cover up its failure in the aftermath of the events that took place in Riyadh, Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, Capetown, Kampala - and other places, God willing, in the future - by arresting any person who had participated in the Islamic *jihad* in Afghanistan. We pray to God to end the plight [of the arrested men], and we are confident they will be exonerated.

TIME: How do you react to the December attack on Iraq by US and British forces?

Usama bin Ladin: There is no doubt that the treacherous attack has confirmed that Britain and America are acting on behalf of Israel and the Jews, paving the way for the Jews to divide the Muslim world once again, enslave it and loot the rest of its wealth. A great part of the force that carried out the attack came from certain gulf countries that have lost their sovereignty. Now infidels walk everywhere on the land where Muhammad was born and where the *Qur'an* was revealed to him. The situation is serious. The rulers have become powerless. Muslims should carry out their obligations, since the rulers of the region have accepted the invasion of their countries. These countries belong to Islam and not the rulers.

TIME: What can the US expect from you now?

Usama bin Ladin: Any thief or criminal or robber who enters another country in order to steal should expect to be exposed to murder at any time. For the American forces to expect anything from me personally reflects a very narrow perception. Thousands of millions of Muslims are angry. The Americans should expect reactions from the Muslim world that are proportionate to the injustice they inflict.

TIME: The US says you are trying to acquire chemical and nuclear weapons.

Usama bin Ladin: Acquiring weapons for the defense of Muslims is a religious duty. If I have indeed acquired these weapons, then I thank God for enabling me to do so. And if I seek to acquire these weapons, I am carrying out a duty. It would be a sin for Muslims not to try to possess the weapons that would prevent the infidels from inflicting harm on Muslims.

TIME: The U.S. is trying to stop the flow of funds to your organization. Has it been able to do so?

Usama bin Ladin: The U.S. knows that I have attacked it, by the grace of God, for more than 10 years now. The U.S. alleges that I am fully responsible for the killing of its soldiers in Somalia. God knows that we have been pleased at the killing of American soldiers. This was achieved by the grace of God and the efforts of the *mujahidin* from among the Somali brothers and other Arab *mujahidin* who had been in Afghanistan before that. America has been trying ever since to tighten its economic blockade against us and to arrest me. It has failed. This blockade does not hurt us much. We expect to be rewarded by God.

TIME: Is your Islamic message having an impact?

Usama bin Ladin: Winds of change have blown in order to lift the injustice to which the world is subjected by America and its supporters and the Jews who are collaborating with them. Look at what is happening these days in Indonesia, where Suharto, a despot who ruled for 30 years, was overthrown. The time will come, sooner rather than later, when criminal despots who betrayed God and His Prophet, and betrayed their trust and their nation, will face the same fate.

TIME: But there are many Muslims who do not agree with your kind of violence.

Usama bin Ladin: We should fully understand our religion. Fighting is a part of our religion and our *Shari'a*. Those who love God and His Prophet and this religion cannot deny that. Whoever denies even a minor tenet of our religion commits the gravest sin in Islam. Those who sympathize with the infidels - such as the PLO in Palestine or the so-called Palestinian Authority - have been trying for tens of years to get back some of their rights. They laid down arms and abandoned what is called violence and tried peaceful bargaining. What did the Jews give them? They did not give them even 1% of their rights.

TIME: America, the world's only superpower, has called you 'Public Enemy No. 1.' Are you worried?

Usama bin Ladin: Hostility toward America is a religious duty, and we hope to be rewarded for it by God. To call us Enemy No. 1 or 2 does not hurt us. Usama bin Ladin is confident that the Islamic nation will carry out its duty. I am confident that Muslims will be able to end the legend of the so-called superpower that is America."

2.11 Intervju med John Miller, *ABC News*, 24. desember 1998

Usama bin Ladin gav sitt andre intervju til nyhetskanalen *ABC News* den 24. desember 1998.²³ Enkelte kilder skriver at det var Rahimullah Yusufzai som utførte intervjuet; det beror på en misforståelse. Yusufzai var med i gruppen journalister som fikk møte bin Ladin 23. og 24. desember, men det var John Miller som stilte spørsmålene for *ABC News*.

Som en anekdote kan det nevnes at John Millers intervju ble trykt i det engelske livsstilsbladet for menn, *Esquire*.²⁴ Når den anerkjente islamforskeren Gilles Kepel nevner i en bok at han til sin store forundring en gang kom over et bin Ladin-intervju midt imellom lettkledte damer og whisky-reklamer, sikter han til Millers intervju.²⁵

“ABCNEWS: You have been charged with masterminding the bombings of the two US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Are these charges true?”

USAMA BIN LADIN: Praise be to God, the cherisher and sustainer of the worlds. Peace and blessings be upon Prophet Muhammad, his companions and his kin. Let me begin by stating that we in the *World Islamic Front for Jihad against Jews and Crusaders* have, by the grace of God Almighty, issued a crystal clear *fatwa* calling on the nation to carry on *jihad* aimed at liberating Islamic holy sites, and the Ancient House (the holy Ka‘ba), and al-Aqsa Mosque and all Islamic lands.

By the grace of God, praise and glory be to Him; this nation, the nation of Muhammad, God’s peace and blessings be upon him, has responded to this appeal and this instigation. We will continue this course because it is a part of our religion, and because God, praise and glory be to Him, ordered us to carry out *jihad* so that the word of God may remain exalted to the heights. If the instigation for *jihad* against the Jews and the Americans, in order to liberate Al-Aqsa Mosque, and the holy Ka‘ba, is considered a crime, let history be a witness that I am a criminal.

ABCNEWS: You warned that Americans would die. Then, two months later, the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar As Salaam were bombed. Were these bombings because of your *fatwa* (decree) against America?

UBL: By the grace of God, praise and glory be to Him, we have repeatedly issued warnings, over a number of years. Following these warnings and these calls, anti-American explosions took place in a number of Islamic countries. Most probably, these acts came about as a result of such calls and warnings. But only God knows the truth.

ABCNEWS: If the targets of *jihad* are Americans, how can the deaths of so many Africans be justified?

UBL: This question pre-supposes that it is me who carried out these explosions. My answer is that I understand the motives of the brothers who carry out acts of *jihad* against the enemies of the nation, namely the Americans and their supporters.

²³ http://abcnews.go.com/sections/world/DailyNews/transcript_binladen1_981228.html; for video, se <http://play.rbn.com/?swave/abc/demand/981228binladen.rm>.

²⁴ http://www.esquire.com/features/articles/2001/010913_mfe_binladen_1.html

²⁵ Gilles Kepel (2000), s 415.

Suppose that the Americans have attacked an Islamic country and kidnapped my children, the children of Usama bin Ladin, to use as a shield, and then started to kill Muslims as is the case in Lebanon, Palestine, and these days in Iraq, and also when they supported the Serbs in massacring the Muslims in Bosnia. According to Islamic jurisprudence, if we abstain from firing on the Americans lest we should kill these Muslims (used by them as shields), the harm that could befall Muslims at large, who are being attacked, outweighs the good of saving the lives of these Muslims used as a shields.

This means that in a case like this, when it becomes apparent that it would be impossible to repel these Americans without assaulting them, even if this involved the killing of Muslims, this is permissible under Islam. That is why I do understand the motives of those who carried out these acts. However, radio reports said that most of those killed were members of the American embassy in Nairobi, which housed the largest CIA center in the African continent. We do understand what happened. Many people were saddened by the death of some innocent people outside the embassy building.

ABCNEWS: The US has also said, in formal charges, that you are in a position to develop chemical weapons and try to purchase nuclear material for weapons. How would such weapons be used?

UBL: This is a multi-dimensional question. It presupposes that I do possess such weapons, and goes on to ask about the way in which we will use them. In answer I would say that acquiring weapons for the defense of Muslims is a religious duty.

To seek to possess the weapons that could counter those of the infidels is a religious duty. If I have indeed acquired these weapons, then this is an obligation I carried out and I thank God for enabling us to do that. And if I seek to acquire these weapons I am carrying out a duty. It would be a sin for Muslims not to try to possess the weapons that would prevent the infidels from inflicting harm on Muslims. But how we could use these weapons if we possess them is up to us.

ABCNEWS: Muhammad Rashid al-Uwhali has told investigators that he was in your camps and at the press conference you gave last May when you promised that the deserves of the *fatwa* would be seen within the next seven weeks. Then, he says he was given the job of going to Kenya to help carry out the Nairobi bombing. Is he lying? Is he telling the truth?

UBL: As I have stated before, it is our job to instigate (unintelligible). By the grace of God, we did that, and certain people responded to this instigation. As regards knowing those who attended the meeting referred to, I would say that the number of the brothers is large, thank God, and I do not know everyone who is with us in this base or this organization, let alone the individual Muslims who responded to the call for *jihad* to liberate the Ancient House (the Ka'ba) and the lands of Islam.

ABCNEWS: How would you describe the men arrested in Kenya and Tanzania? How many of them do you know?

UBL: Praise be to God. What I know is that those who risked their lives to earn the pleasure of God, praise and glory be to Him, are the real men, the true personification of the word 'men.' They managed to rid the Islamic nation of disgrace. We highly respect them and hold them in

the highest esteem, and pray to God, praise and glory be to Him, to accept them as martyrs and permit them to intercede on behalf of their kin.

ABCNEWS: Since the bombings, the US has maintained US forces in Saudi Arabia and recently used them to help in the renewed air strikes in Iraq. What can the US expect from you now?

UBL: The American forces should expect reactions to their actions, from the Muslim world. Any thief or criminal or robber who enters the countries of others in order to steal should expect to be exposed to murder at any time.

For the American forces to expect anything from me personally reflects a very narrow perception of things. There is a nation which compromises 1,200 million Muslims. This nation is angry. The latest events have proven the great extent of the anger of Muslim masses all over the Muslim world. The American forces should expect reactions from the Muslim world which are proportionate to the injustice these forces inflict.

ABCNEWS: Can you describe the US air strikes on your camps (in Afghanistan, shortly after the embassy bombings)? What did it look like there? What was the effect? And then there were rumors that you were hurt and that you are sick now. Do you have a problem like cancer?

UBL: Praise be to God for good health, and the blessing of Islam. As for the American bombardment, it has only shown that the world is governed by the law of the jungle. Before the investigations in the Nairobi explosion, and even on the same day when the person in charge of the investigation team traveled to Nairobi to complete the investigation, an Islamic country, namely Afghanistan, was bombarded without any justification. That brutal, treacherous attack killed a number of civilian Muslims in the province of Bakhtiary.

Some of our camps suffered minor damage. You personally have visited the camp and know that. Seven of our brothers were killed. These include three from Yemen, namely brother Bashir al-Awadi, brother Abu Jihad and brother ‘Abdallah Zarif, and two from Egypt, namely brother Siddik and brother Hamdi and a brother from al-Madina al-Munawwara, namely Zid bin ‘Abd al-Karim Salah Musaddakani, and another brother from Turkey.

We pray to God, praise and glory be to Him, to accept them as martyrs. A similar number of our Pakistani brothers were also killed. Some 20-something Afghans were killed. These were living in nearby towns and villages. May God accept all of them as martyrs. As for the material damage, it was minimal. By the grace of God, the missiles were ineffective. The raid has also proven that the American army is going down hill in its morale. Its members are too cowardly and too fearful to meet the young people of Islam face to face.

ABCNEWS: After the missile attack on your camp, you sent word to me, ‘The war has just begun. America should await the answer.’ Since then, the US has been able to prevent several attacks on US embassies. What will be next?

UBL: As I said before, for each action, there is a reaction. Thanks to our understanding of the Muslim nation, and our contacts with Muslim masses, we feel how angry they are at the bombardment. This anger was reflected in what took place, in the aftermath of the bombardment, all over the Islamic world.

We feel that there are strong and wide reactions. We are confident in the abilities of this Nation of Muhammad. We pray to God, praise and glory be to Him, to help Muslims expel the Americans and Jews from Islamic countries.

ABCNEWS: Who are these men? Most of them said they were in your camps and inspired by your messages. Some of them said they were acting directly on your behalf. Number one is Wadih al-Hage, who says he was once your personal aide. Number two is Fasil ‘Abdul lom Harrid (phonetic) [sic] also known as Harun Fasid. Number three is Muhammad Sadiq ‘Awda, who told authorities that he was part of your group and was a key player in the Kenya bombing. Number four is Muhammad Rashid al-‘Uwhali, who says he was at your press conference on the *fatwa* and that he (unintelligible) shortly to help with the Kenya bombing. Number five is Mamul Salid, who was captured in Germany. The police say he was a close associate of yours. And was he in Germany to organize an attack on the embassy?

UBL: As for brother Wadih al-Hage, he is one of our brothers whom God, praise and glory be to Him, was kind enough to steer them to the path of participating in relief work for Afghan refugees and in providing support for Muslims in Afghanistan. We pray to God, praise and glory be to Him, to accept his good deeds. I still remember him, though I have not seen him or heard from him for many years.

He had nothing to do with the allegations attributed to him by the United States of America. As for Mr Muhammad Rashid al-Uwhali we were informed that he is a Saudi from the province of Wajd. In your question, you said he was among those who attended my press conference. And I have already told you that I can not possibly know every one who attended that conference. Mr Mamduh Fahim is a righteous Shaykh, who memorizes the holy *Qur’an* and God has endowed him with a melodious voice which stirs people’s feelings when he recites from the *Qur’an*. He was our Imam in Peshawar. He had worked for a long time with Islamic relief organizations operating from Pakistan. We had a good relationship with him during that phase. He was never a member of any *jihad* organization. He is not a member of the base. The fact of the matter is that America, and in particular the CIA, wanted to cover up their failure, in the aftermath of the big events that took place in Riyadh, Khubar, Nairobi, Tanzania, Capetown, Campala, and other places, God willing, in the future.

They wanted to cover up their failure by arresting any person who had participated, at any point in the past, in the Islamic *jihad* in Afghanistan. He is innocent, He has nothing to do with anything. We pray to God, praise and glory be to Him, to end their plight, and we are confident that they will be exonerated.

ABCNEWS: And, also, this is the next question, there have been no direct attacks on western troops in Saudi Arabia although you (unintelligible) the Saudi people which forced them to pull out from the kingdom.

UBL: As regards the contacts with the Saudi government, I would like to state that the Saudi government initiated contacts during the last period in the Sudan. They sent several delegations to enter into negotiations aimed at convincing me to keep silent on the unjust American occupation of the land of the two mosques.

By the grace of God, praise and glory be to Him, we were able to reject these attempts. As for

Prince Turki bin Faisal, director of the Saudi Intelligence Service, he came to Kandahar several times and met with the Commander of the Believers, Mulla Muhammad ‘Umar. He asked him to surrender us to him or to expel us from Afghanistan.

The visits and the requests were met with great surprise, especially when Prince Turki came to Afghanistan, in the aftermath of the explosions in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salam. Even if there was a relationship between myself and those who carried out the explosions, it is now of the business of the Saudi regime to come and ask for handing over Usama bin Ladin, who was stripped of his (Saudi) identification card which is his right by birth, and whose assets were frozen, and who was forced to sever all relations with his kin.

This was met with great surprise on the part of the Taliban state. They had expected that the American government would be the one to come back to them after the failure of the last visit by (US envoy) Mr Richardson, who was rebuffed by the Taliban, may God give them the rewards they deserve. Prince Turki also returned empty-handed. It was as if he came as an envoy of the American government.

I would also like to add that our work targets world infidels in the first place. Our enemy is the crusader alliance led by America, Britain and Israel. It is a crusader-Jewish alliance. However, some regimes in the Arab and Muslim worlds have joined that alliance, preventing us Muslims from defending the holy Ka’ba. Our hostility is in the first place, and to the greatest extent, leveled against these world infidels, and by necessity the regimes which have turned themselves into tools for this occupation of the greatest House in the Universe and the first house of worship appointed for men.

ABCNEWS: Has the latest attack on Iraq proved the contention that they are the enemies of Islam and Muslims. Don’t you think that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein also has a role in inflicting suffering and misery on Iraqi people?

And I will add to this question: Where is it that the people in the Muslim and Islamic countries are demonstrating against the US and British attack on Iraq, but the governments of the same Islamic countries are either neutral or less critical on the attack on Iraq?

UBL: There is no doubt that the treacherous attack perpetrated a few days ago against the Muslim people of Iraq by the United States and Britain has confirmed several things, the most important of which is that Britain and America are acting on behalf of Israel and the Jews, to strike at any power in the Islamic world, with a view to paving the way for the Jews to divide the Muslim world once again and enslave it and boost the rest of its wealth.

As is known, a great part of the force that carried out the attack came from certain Gulf countries, which underlined the fact that these countries have lost their sovereignty. Now, infidels walk everywhere on the land where Muhammad, God’s Peace and blessing be upon him, was born, and where the *Qur’an* was revealed to him through Gabriel, peace be upon him. This happens while our scholars and ‘*ulama*’, who are the heirs of prophets, are in jail. These ‘*ulama*’ are jailed while infidels, be they Jews or Christians, are free to go wherever they want in these countries. The situation is very serious. From here, I call on all Muslims to make it possible for a number of good scholars, merchants and notables, intellectuals and heads of tribes to form a leadership for resisting this crusader-Jewish invasion. The rulers have become powerless.

The price would be paid by Muslims and the peoples of that region. Many of these rulers could face the fate of the Shah of Iran, who was forced to leave with his family and go to Egypt. The people are the ones who will pay the price. Unless the good and righteous people come forward to defend God, Ka'ba and God's religion as they defend themselves and Muslim women, everything will perish, be it religious or secular. But, by the grace of God victory will be the lot of Muslim peoples, as of the regimes, it has been proven beyond any doubt that they are useless and don't care for anybody. Under these circumstances, Muslims should carry out their obligations, since the rulers of the region have accepted the invasion of their countries. But these countries belong to Islam and not to those rulers. May God exact His revenge against all of them.

ABCNEWS: Since first launching the Islamic front against the US and Israel, has there been any formal meeting of the front and is it possible for you to keep in touch with the people and how many Islamic groups are joining this front?

And in addition, I will ask that besides your fight against Israel and the US, does your front also believe in fighting and overthrowing the pro-western governments in the Islamic countries?

UBL: Praise be to God. By the grace of God, praise and glory be to Him, this front has been established as the first step to pool together the energies and concentrate efforts against the infidels represented in the Jewish-crusader alliance, thus replacing splinter and subsidiary fronts. Many gains have been achieved. We pray to God, praise and glory be to Him, to bless these gains and augment them. This front meets from time to time, as necessary, in emergency meetings, in addition to its regular meetings. I cannot give you more details for reasons of necessity. The main focus of the front, as its name indicates, is the Jews and crusaders because they are the biggest enemy. The main effort, at this phase, must target the Jews and the crusaders.

ABCNEWS: The US government says it is trying to stop the flow of funds to your organization. Has it been able to do so and can it do so?

UBL: The United States of America knows that I have attacked it, by the grace of God, for more than ten years now. The Americans have pressured certain countries in the region, causing us some embarrassment and some difficulties. These included the freezing of assets and driving me out of some of these lands.

The United States alleges that I am fully responsible for the killing of its soldiers in Somalia. God knows that we have been pleased at the killing of the American soldiers in Somalia. This was achieved by the grace of God and the efforts of the *mujahidin* from among the Somali bothers and other Arab *mujahidin* who have been in Afghanistan before that.

Though these events took place several years ago, and America has been trying ever since to tighten its economic blockade against us, and to arrest me personally, it has failed in achieving its objective. As for being driven from one land to another, this is the nature of war. You win some and you lose some. By the grace of God, praise and glory be to Him, Muslims were able to defeat and force them out of Somalia, as they expelled them before, from Aden. This blockade and this tightening doesn't hurt us much. We expect to be rewarded by God, praise and glory to Him.

ABCNEWS: You have become your own model for Muslims and, in Pakistan, a number of couples have named their sons Usama. Does this make you happy? Do you think that your Islamic message is having an impact and, secondly, it is said that developments like the recent US-British air strikes on Iraq will create many more Usamas and already, it is said, that Usama is not the name of a person but a movement. Please comment.

UBL: Praise be to God. There is no doubt that we have been pleased and heartened by the widespread Islamic response across the whole Muslim world, and in particular, on the part of the people of Pakistan. They have been very effective in their movement and that was by the grace of God.

As regards your reference to parents naming their sons after me, I would like to tell you that I was named after one of the venerable companions of the prophet, namely Usama bin Zeid, may God be pleased with him and with them. He was someone whom the Prophet, God's peace and blessings be upon him, has loved and has loved his father before him.

When people call their children Usama, we consider that they do that after the venerable companion of the Prophet, God's peace and blessings be upon him. It is also an indication of the response of Muslims and their support of the *jihad* against the Americans in order to liberate Islam's holy places.

In answer to the second part of the question I would tell you that the winds of change have blown in order to lift the injustice to which the world is subjected by America and its supporters and the Jews, and those who are collaborating with them. Look at what is happening these days in Jakarta, in Indonesia, where Suharto, a despot who ruled for over thirty years, was overthrown. He was an oppressor who inflicted injustice and robbed the nation. During his reign the media glorified him, depicting him as the best president.

The media in the Arab countries, regrettably, is doing the same these days. But things will change. The time will come, sooner than later, by the grace of God, when criminal despots who betrayed God and His prophet, God's peace and blessings upon him, and betrayed their trust and their nation, will face the same fate and be subjected to questioning in order to restore right so that everybody may get their dues.

ABCNEWS: A number of people in the Muslim countries like you, but they have reservations and objections in your use of force to achieve your Islamic objectives. Please comment.

UBL: Praise be to God. We should fully understand our religion. The good is that which the religion considers good and the ugly is that which is considered ugly by the religion. When God, praise and glory be to Him, ordered us to carry out *jihad* and ordered us to kill and to fight, he said in His holy *Qur'an*: '*fight them, and God will punish them by your hands, cover them with shame, help you (to victory) over them, and heal the hearts of the believers.*'

Fighting is a part of our religion and our *Shari'a*. Those who love God and his prophet and this religion may not deny a part of that religion. This is a very serious matter. Whoever denies even a very minor tenet of religion would have committed the gravest sin in Islam. Such persons must renew their faith and rededicate themselves to their religion.

Jihad is part of our religion and no Muslim may say that he does not want to do *jihad* in the cause of God, praise and glory be to Him. These are the tenets of our religion and we ask, 'Is there another way to repel the infidels?' God almighty has said in His holy Book: '*Then, fight in God's cause - Thou art held responsible only for thyself - and rouse the believers. It may be that God will restrain the fury of the non-believers; for God is the strongest in might and in punishment.*'

Pushing back the assault of the non-believers can only be achieved through *jihad*. Those who sympathize with the infidels, such as the PLO in Palestine, or the so-called Palestinian Authority, have been trying for tens of years to get back some of their rights, and they laid down their arms and abandoned what is called 'violence' these days and ran after peaceful bargaining, but what did the Jews give them? They did not give them even 1% of their rights. Even the Gaza Airport and the so-called Palestinian Authority are under the mercy of their guns and under the control of the Jewish security forces. This shows that the right path is that which God has ordained. God, praise and glory be to Him, has prohibited the killing of women and children unless the women are active fighters.

ABCNEWS: You have been labeled as 'Public Enemy number 1' by the US government. Do you deserve this label? And, secondly, how can a person who is on the run and who is being pursued come to attack the world's only 'superpower'?

UBL: Hostility towards America is a religious duty and we hope to be rewarded for this by God, praise and glory be to Him. Praise be to God for guiding us to do *jihad* in His cause. To call us enemy number one or number two doesn't hurt us. What we do care for is to please God, praise and glory be to Him, by doing *jihad* in his cause and by liberating Islam's holy places from those wretched cowards.

America will be mistaken if it thought that Usama bin Ladin can fight such a great country. But Usama bin Ladin is confident that, by the grace of God, praise and glory be to Him, the Islamic nation will carry out this duty. I have been here for a few years and I have not left Afghanistan. But I am confident that Muslims and this nation of 12,000 million Muslims, will, God willing, be able by counting on the help of God to end the legend of the so-called superpower that is America.

ABCNEWS: You (unintelligible) from issuing statements by the Taliban and Mulla Muhammad 'Umar said that there cannot exist two (unintelligible) in Afghanistan. Were you unhappy, were you offended by this order by Taliban and, secondly, will you abide by it in the future?

UBL: The emir of the faithful, Mulla Muhammad 'Umar, managed, by the grace of God, to save Islamic *jihad* in Afghanistan after great sacrifices by the Muslim people. At one point, Afghanistan was divided into fine mini-states; a mini-state in the east consisting of some provinces, headed by Kadir, and a mini-state in the west comprised of three or four provinces, under the leadership of Muhammad Isma'il Khan, a mini-state in the north consisting of three or four provinces, headed by Dostum, the communist who was supported by the Russians, during the days of *jihad* and also in recent times, a mini-state in the middle headed by Najib, the former communist President who had as partners Ahmad Shah Masud and his collaborators, and mini-state in the south, which comprised the province of Kandahar and a few neighboring provinces and was headed by Mulla Muhammad 'Umar.

America managed, through its agents and especially some Arab countries and Pakistan, to perpetuate the division of the strongest Islamic people in this region, a people that was able to turn the Soviet Union into a myth. Some of these mini-states had mini-states with them controlled by some people who succumbed to the temptation of Satan and engaged in highway robbery and banditing using light and heavy weapons.

Then God bestowed his favors on Muslims guiding them to the application of *Shari'a*, which was a sign from God Almighty. Bandits and highway robbers fled. These great achievements were, by the grace of God, the result of an internal pull and not the result of pressure from abroad, as the media has been trying to portray, suggesting that the Taliban are American or Pakistani agents. Recent events witnessed by all show that the Islamic Party led by Hekmatyar has been the strongest party in Afghanistan throughout the period of *jihad* in numbers, military hardware and in terms of organization and planning.

It used to receive direct assistance from Pakistan. This force stayed at the outskirts of Kabul for four years and was unable to gain an inch. How then, can your students, with little experience, some of whom have only engaged in battles when the Commander of the faithful raised the banner of *jihad*; how can such people sweep the big provinces, including the Kabul province, in a week's time?

They managed to take over the provinces of Minbarhar, Laghban, Konar and Kabul within one week. It was a victory granted by God, praise and glory be to Him. As I said before, this was assisted by an internal pull. Many a tribe that had suffered from the injustices inflicted by the bandits and former parties would send their students to ask the Taliban leadership to come and take over the provinces of such tribes.

The Taliban state has been subjected to great pressure by Russia and its agents, with the support of the communists and by America, through its agents in the Arab region and Pakistan, in order to silence me. This bargaining has been going on for a long time. It dates back to the time when I was in my homeland and when I was in the Sudan. This American pressure kept following me until I reached Afghanistan. The Commander of the faithful is the only legitimate ruler of the state of Afghanistan, where God, praise and glory be to Him, has guided the steps of Muslims so that an Islamic country can be ruled by God's *Shari'a* for the first time in tens of years.

The people of Afghanistan now enjoy the security which they thought they would not see for tens of years to come. He ordered us not to use the territory of Afghanistan against anybody else. We pray to God, praise and glory be to Him, to provide us and the Commander of the faithful with (unintelligible) and a way out, so that at one point, God Almighty will enable us to do our duty in support of this religion with all our abilities.

However, despite the circumstances surrounding us, we, by the grace of God, shall continue to instigate the Nation. We are confident that the nation will do its duty against America and its supporters. Of course those who produce oil and the big powers can haggle over the Muslims' religion. But, by the grace of God, the Taliban State and the Commander of the faithful were granted courage by God Almighty, that enabled them to resist all these pressures, and turn back all these delegations, notwithstanding their bargaining aimed at expelling us or handing us over, and we thank God for that. May God, praise and glory be to Him, keep our feet and those of the Taliban firm and strong. They have taken these principled positions which are dictated by this great faith. Theirs are not political stances as the others depict.

Praise by to God. It is no secret that the Muslim world is being subjected these days to a ferocious crusader-Jewish offensive. If we look at the Muslim world, we will find out that pressures are being exercised against Pakistan. These are economic pressures in the first place. This of course is due to the fact that Pakistan now possesses nuclear weapons.

As is known, Usama bin Ladin is not in Pakistan. If we look at Afghanistan, we will find out that it has been subjected to pressures even before the arrival of Usama bin Ladin. Afghanistan was pressured because it has raised the banner of ‘There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the prophet of Allah.’

Should you look at the other parts of the map, you will see Iran for example. Iran has been under pressure for 20 years now, because it left the American orbit, and stopped following American orders as was the case under the Shah. Look at Iraq. At one point it was given support to attack Iran when it got away from American hegemony. But when Iraq managed to acquire some strength, it is now being heavily bombarded. The people of Iraq are being crushed, while the media tries to draw attention to some aspects of the conduct of Saddam Hussein, although a few thousand Iraqi Muslims die everyday.

Look at Syria. It has been placed on the black list for several years because it supports some Palestinian *mujahidin* who resist the Jews in Palestine. Take Lebanon. It also is occupied by this crusader-Jewish alliance. Today, news reports spoke of the killing of a mother and six of her children yesterday in an Israeli attack against civilians, including women and children. Of course the media doesn’t criticize such actions. If such an act was carried out by a Muslim young man, by mistake, the media would be defaming Muslims for a whole month. Take Palestine. It is totally occupied. Jordan has American bases and American planes occupying it.

Egypt also has a number of American bases. The six Gulf States are all occupied by American bases. In the case of Sudan, Usama bin Ladin left the Sudan three or four years ago. But up until now, pressures are being exercised and attempts being made to overthrow the government because it has raised the banner of the call for the application of *Shari’a*, although it has not completed the required steps for the application of *Shari’a*.

Plots continue and countless Muslims are being killed in the Sudan and in the south of Sudan. What happened in Somalia was a blatant invasion under the eyes of the whole world. Somalia was occupied for crusader-colonialist purposes. In Libya, a whole people have been starved for years, based on accusations which are, on the whole, baseless and false. This is also an aggression against Muslims.

That is how America treats the Muslim world. It is not true that Afghanistan is being pressured because of the presence of Usama bin Ladin. The whole Islamic world is being pressured. There is a design aimed at redividing the Muslim world, similar to what happened in Afghanistan when it was divided into five mini-states.

These days, there is also a plan to divide Iraq into three—one in the north for Muslim kurds, a state in the middle, and a third in the south. The same applies to the land of the two mosques (Saudi Arabia) where there is a plan to divide it into a state for the two mosques, another state for oil in the eastern region, and a state in the middle. This would make the people of the two mosques always busy trying to earn a living, and would leave a few people in the oil region who can be easily controlled. This is a world design and Muslims should not focus on side effects.

They should unify their ranks to be able to resist this occupation.

Praise be to God. Only God provides sustenance. Muslims believe that a lifetime is pre-determined and nobody can change it or push it forward or backward. Sustenance is also pre-determined. Nothing can increase it or decrease it. Sustenance is ordained when a person is still in the womb. Man should seek sustenance only from God, praise and glory be to Him, and God has ordered us to ask Him for our sustenance.

But to count on these non-believers, who steal the wealth of Muslims then give back some crumbs to certain Islamic states or mini-states reflects a flawed understanding of their duties. Look at Bangladesh for example. It is classified as one of the poorest countries in the world, and Usama bin Ladin doesn't live there. It is only God who provides food against hunger and security against fear. If people truly worshipped God, He will provide them with sustenance. God, praise and glory be to Him, said in His holy Book: *'And in heaven is your Sustenance, as also that which ye one promised.'*

He also said: 'Let them worship the Lord of the House, who provides them with food against hunger, and with security against fear.'

People should worship God, praise and glory be to Him, and pray to Him, then work hard and seek sustenance anywhere on earth as they were ordered. As for Pakistan, there are some governmental departments, which, lay the grace of God, respond to the Islamic sentiments of the masses in Pakistan. This is reflected in sympathy and cooperation. However, some other governmental departments fell into the trap of the infidels who committed aggression against the Ancient House and the Holy Ka'ba.

We pray to God, praise and glory be to Him, to return them smoothly to the right path. We also pray to God, praise and glory be to Him, to frustrate the evil designs of those who harbor any ill will towards Islam, and to afflict them with calamities that would make them too busy to think of hurting Muslims. As for the Taliban, we pray to God to keep their feet firm, and guide them on the right path. In our opinion, their positions are firm, right and principled. Those are not political stands or positions taken as a bargaining chip.

ABCNEWS: Do you have any option if the Taliban asks you to leave Afghanistan? Which country can accept you and where can you be saved? And, secondly, do you expect any more attacks on Afghanistan by the US and the western countries in case you keep living in Afghanistan?

UBL: Praise be to God. Leaving Afghanistan is not something that we foresee. As for security and peace of mind, we are all the servants of God, praise and glory be to Him, and he has prescribed for us killing and fighting.

This is an honor bestowed by God, praise and glory be to Him, on whoever from among His servants, He wants to support His religion. On this land and by the grace of God, praise and glory be to Him, I feel the great significance and the great meaning of this blessed migration in the cause of God, praise and glory be to Him. We do not expect to be driven out of this land. God's earth is large and wide. Whatever God has ordained, he has always in the past given us the ability to be patient and accept whatever he has ordained for us. A true Muslim should thank God in Prosperity and be patient in adversity. This is good for him in both cases. When a Muslim migrates repeatedly he is doubly rewarded. We pray to God, praise and glory be to Him,

to make our migration, a migration in His cause.

As for the other part of the question, namely if we expect any attacks against Afghanistan, as I have said before, any attack against Afghanistan does not target an individual. It would not target the Commander of the faithful, Mulla Muhammad ‘Umar personally, or Usama bin Muhammad bin Ladin personally. But the fact is that Afghanistan, having raised the banner of Islam, and started to seek to apply the *Shari‘a* of Islam, by the grace of God, has become a target of the crusader-Jewish alliance.

We expect Afghanistan to be bombarded, even though the non-believers would say that they do that because of the presence of Usama. That is why we together with our brother live on these mountains, far away from Muslims in villages and towns in order to spare them any harm. As for us, as I have said, killing and fighting have been prescribed for us, by the grace of God, who says in His holy Book: ‘*Fighting is prescribed for you, and ye dislike it. But it is possible that ye dislike a thing, which is good for you, and that ye love a thing which is bad for you. But God knoweth and you know not.*’

We expect attacks that would target Afghanistan as a Muslim nation, or rather the only state in this age which started to apply Islam, and all Muslims should support it. It the state of scholars. All Muslims should focus their efforts, in terms of relief, the call for God’s path, and in terms of knowledge, in support of this state. Muslims and Muslim merchants, in particular, should give their zakat and their money in support of this state which is reminiscent of the state of Medina (*al-Munawwara*), where the followers of Islam embraced the Prophet of God, God’s blessings and peace be upon him, and that was the beginning of the spread of Islam.

ABCNEWS: It was reported that you were attacked somewhere in (unintelligible) and that the Taliban was able to arrest your attackers. Is it true? And, secondly, has there been any attempt on your life in Afghanistan?

UBL: Praise be to God. An attempt on my life took place when the Saudi regime sent a number of people, who, though were born in the land of the two mosques (Saudi Arabia), were deprived of citizenship. The Saudi regime exploited this weakness and offered them large sums of money in return for trying to assassinate me.

By the grace of God, praise and glory be to Him, the Taliban were able to arrest one of them. His name is Saddik Ahwad. He confessed that Prince Salman bin-‘Abd al-‘Aziz, the brother of the current king of the land of the two mosques, has promised to give him citizenship and a million rials if he was able, together with two other colleagues of his, to assassinate Usama bin Ladin. We were not hurt. For us God suffices and as I said, lifetime is pre-ordained.

ABCNEWS: The former (unintelligible) of a *mujahidin* group has said that you are enrolled in activities, and they are also calling for your expulsion from Afghanistan. Is it because you are really close to the Taliban or because (unintelligible) wants the support of the US and Western governments?

UBL: As regards former *mujahidin*, God, praise and glory be to Him, has given them the privilege of raising the banner of *jihad* against the Soviet Union, which was the strongest power known to humanity in modern history. This atheist power was crushed. We pray to God, praise and glory be to Him, to reward those who carried out *jihad* during that period. We have been saddened by the fact that some of those who participated in *jihad* during that important phase,

have stumbled, were attracted by the lure of authority, and said things that hurt them and hurt the reputation of Muslims and the *mujahidin*. I can only say: for us God suffices, and he is the best disposer of affairs.

ABCNEWS: And last question, have you got any message for the Muslims in the world?

UBL: These days, we, as a nation, are being subjected to an unprecedented offensive. We migrated for one reason: the pleasure of God and to defend the religion of God, praise and glory be to Him, and to liberate holy Ka‘ba, to liberate the Ancient House, from the crusaders, and to liberate al-Aqsa Mosque and Palestine from the Jews.

This Ancient House is the center of attraction of people on this earth, physically and intellectually. Our life on this planet would be meaningless, if we do not worship the God of the Ancient House. God, praise and glory be to Him, will not accept our prayers unless we are facing the Ka‘ba. God, praise and glory be to Him, attributed this holy Ka‘ba, this Ancient House to himself as a sign of glorification and honor for the holy Ka‘ba. Abraham, peace be upon him said ‘O our Lord, I have made some of my offspring to dwell in a valley without cultivation, by thy Sacred House’

Abraham attributed the Ancient House to God, praise and glory be to Him. God also identified himself as the Lord of the Ancient House, when he said: ‘Let them worship the Lord of this House, who provides them with food against hunger, and with security against fear.’ These verses show the extent of the greatness of that House, in the eyes of God, praise and glory be to Him. It was the first house of worship appointed for Man. God, praise and glory be to Him, ordained that prayers cannot be accepted unless we face the holy Ka‘ba. Also, the fifth pillar of Islam, namely *haji*, has (unintelligible) compassing the Ka‘ba as an essential rite. Since our Prophet, Muhammad, God’s peace and blessings be upon him, was sent with His message, the holy Ka‘ba was never occupied. This shame and dishonor has only afflicted people of this time.

If we were not to defend God’s Ka‘ba and God’s Ancient House, how and for what else are we to do anything to please our God, praise and glory be to Him. God Almighty has told us in His holy Book what happened to the Christians, who came from Ethiopia in an attempt to damage the Ancient House. Abraham came, together with 60,000 Ethiopian Christians for this purpose. God revealed a short, but great *sura* in which God, praise and glory be to Him, shows his love for that Ancient House. God, praise and glory be to Him, said in His holy Book: ‘*Seest thou not how thy Lord dealt with the companions of the Elephant? Did He not make their treacherous plan go astray? And He sent against them flights of birds striking them with stones of baked clay. Then He made them like an empty field of stalks and straw of which the corn has been eaten up.*’

Whoever wants to harm this Ancient House, and whoever wants to let down this Ancient House, their designs will go astray, as God, praise and glory be to Him, has indicated. I would tell the Muslims to get rid of illusions, read and understand the Book of God, praise and glory be to Him. They should also read the interpretations of this great *Qur’an* as contained, for example in the abridged interpretation of Ibn Kathir, may God bless his soul and that of Muhammad al-Raedy [sic].

May God bless their souls. Muslims should consider with care the verses on loyalty, faith and *jihad*. They should sever any relations with the Jews and the Christians. That is of God, praise and glory be to Him, in His holy *Qur’an*. God almighty says: ‘*Ye who believe, take not the Jews*

and the Christians for your friends and protectors; They are but friends and protectors to each other. And he amongst you that turns to them for friendship is of them, verily God guideth not a people unjust', and 'Those in whose hearts is a disease thou seest how eagerly they run about amongst them saying, "We do fear lest a change of fortune bring us disaster." Ah, perhaps God will give (Thee) victory, or a decision according to His will. Then will they repent of the thoughts which they secretly harbored in their hearts.'

This text shows that whoever befriends Jews and Christians becomes like them, and becomes one of them in their religion and in their infidelity. God, praise and glory be to Him, indicated in many verses that whoever befriends the infidels becomes one of them: *'To the hypocrites give the glad tidings that there is for them but a gracious penalty.'* And: *'Yea, to those who take for friends unbelievers, rather than believers; Is it honor they seek among them? All honor is with God.'* That is why I advise Muslims not to count on present regimes. Instead, they should defend their religion and themselves and the sanctuaries of Muslims. They should consider with care the orders of God, praise and glory be to Him, to the Companions of the prophet, to do *jihad* and how he blamed them when they slowed down.

He said in His holy Book: *'Ye who believe, what is the matter with you that, when you are asked to go forth in the cause of God, ye cling heavily to the earth? Do you prefer the life of this world to the hereafter? But little is the comfort of this life, as compared with the hereafter.'* And God also says *'when at last the order for fighting was issued to them, behold, a section of them feared men as much or even more than they should have feared God.'*

They said: *'Our Lord, why has thou ordered us to fight? Wouldn't thou not grant us respite to our natural term, near enough.'* This is a great calamity that has afflicted people these days. They say it would be better to delay *jihad*. Now is not the right time for *jihad*. God, praise and glory be to Him, taught us the answer.

Whatever their reasons, the main reason is their attachment to this life. God says: *'Say, short is the enjoyment of this world. The hereafter is the best for thou who do right. Never will ye be dealt with unjustly in the very least.'* The enjoyment of this world is short since God, praise and glory be to Him, created earth and until he inherits it [sic]. That is why Muslims should take comfort in expecting the pleasure of God and their rewards in God's paradise. As the poet says: There is no good in this life for anyone who will have no place in God's paradise in the hereafter. For those who like this life I say enjoyment of life is indeed short and death is near. May God, praise and glory be to Him, give us faith and peace of mind, and help us do His orders and avoid His prohibitions. And God's peace and blessings be on our prophet Muhammad, and I conclude by praising God, the Cherisher and Sustainer of the worlds."

2.12 Intervju med *al-Jazira*, 1999

Her følger nedtegnelsen av et intervju som Usama bin Ladin gav til *al-Jazira* i 1999.²⁶ Forfatteren kjenner ikke til omstendighetene rundt dette programmet.

Question: What is your history?

Usama bin Ladin: I am Usama bin Muhammad bin Ladin. I was born to Muslim parents in the

²⁶ <http://hotline.yvod.com/1people/messages/224.html>; På dette nettstedet hevdes det at intervjuet fant sted i 1998, men det fremgår av innholdet i intervjuet at det må ha blitt gjennomført i 1999, muligens i januar/februar.

Arabian Peninsula in Riyadh, Maliz neighbourhood, in 1377 *hijra* [the Islamic year: AD 1957] and then, by the grace of God, we went to Medina six months after my birth, where I spent most of my life between Mecca, Jeddah and Medina.

My father, Shaykh Muhammad bin Awad bin Ladin, was born in Hadramut [Yemen], from where he came to Hijaz to work for more than 70 years. God honoured him by granting him the tenders to build the mosques of the holy sites where the Ka'ba is, and at the same time he also built the Prophet's holy site.

When my father found out that the Jordanian government had submitted a tender to renovate the Dome [in Jerusalem], he gathered all the engineers and asked them to submit a tender for a cost price only, excluding profits. They told him they could guarantee him winning the bid even if they added on a percentage for profit, but he insisted that it be exclusive of any profit. When they submitted their total figure to him, they were surprised that he (God rest his soul) had then gone ahead and reduced the total figure they had submitted for the project even further in an attempt to guarantee their company winning the renovation bid for the building of the holy site and the renovation of this particular one [the Dome of al-Aqsa mosque]. He won the bids and began the work. And on some days he was able to perform three of his daily prayers in three of the holiest sites.

I studied economics at Jeddah University and I began working in my father's company and on roads from an early age, even though my father passed away when I was 10. This is the brief history of Usama bin Ladin.

Q: What do you seek?

UBL: What I seek is what is right for any living being. We demand that our land be liberated from enemies. That our lands be liberated from the Americans. These living beings have been given an inner sense that rejects any intrusions [of their lands] by outsiders.

Let us take an example of poultry. Let us look at a chicken, for example. If an armed person was to enter a chicken's home with the aim of inflicting harm to it, the chicken would automatically fight back.

Q: Do you think that the British-American attacks against Iraq will increase the popularity of uprising people against America, or will such attacks subdue them into desisting from any actions militarily or otherwise against the US and its interests?

UBL: Our enemies roam and meander in our seas and lands and skies, attack and assault without seeking permission from anyone, in particular on this occasion when America and Britain were unable to muster alliance in this blatant, disgraceful plot.

The present [Arab] regimes no longer have the power. Either they are collaborators or have lost the power to do anything against this contemptible occupation. So Muslims should emigrate somewhere where they can raise the symbol of *jihad* and protect their religion and world, otherwise they will lose everything.

Are they incapable of appreciating the calamity that befell our brothers in Palestine and forgetting how the Palestinian people, once famous for their activity and agriculture and citrus and also for making soap, have become a refugee people, turned into slaves of those colonialist

Jews who dictate their movements? The situation is dangerous and if we do not move now when the ancient holy site of 1,200 million Muslims has been usurped, then when should people stir?

Those who believe that such attacks [against Iraq] will terrorise the Islamic movements are deluding themselves. We Muslims believe that our time of death is fixed. Our fortunes are in the hand of God. Since God created these spirits, granted people fortunes and exchanged them for heaven, why would they [Muslims] refrain from serving their religion?

Q: Following last year's attacks against Afghanistan, reports quoted you saying that you will retaliate. So far we have not seen any retaliation. Should there be further attacks against Afghanistan, will there be physical retaliation against the attackers and in what form will it come?

UBL: Our duty is to incite the *jihad* against America, Israel and their allies. We are following this route. Because of circumstances surrounding us, as well as our inability to move outside Afghanistan to take care of matters closely, we were unable to do so.

But, with the grace of God, we have established with a large number of our brothers in the 'International Islamic Front to confront Jews and the crusaders.' We believe that the affairs of many of those are moving in the right direction and have the ability to move widely. We pray to God to grant them victory and revenge on the Jews and Americans.

Q: The US has warned its citizens and interests in the Gulf of the possibilities of attacks by your followers. How serious are these threats and do you target American citizens in general or mainly the American forces in the Gulf and other Islamic areas?

UBL: I heard this news [of the US warning] a few days ago, which filled my heart with joy. But how serious the threat is I cannot say. If I knew the person who made the threat I could respond, but unfortunately I have no idea who undertook this blessed effort and we pray to God to help them, let them be successful and grant them the body bags of the infidel Americans and others. A target, if made available to Muslims by the grace of God, is every American man. He is an enemy of ours whether he fights us directly or merely pays his taxes.

You might have heard those who supported Clinton's attacks against Iraq formed three-quarters of the American population. A people that regards its president in high favour when he kills innocent people is a decadent people with no understanding of morality.

Q: The Pentagon has circulated news that you are suffering from muscular disease as a result of which you have a life expectancy of five to six years. How true is this report?

UBL: We are continuously thankful to God, for I enjoy very excellent health. We here in the mountains endure severe cold weather, as well as extreme hot summers.

My favourite hobby is horse riding and I can still ride a horse non-stop for 70 kilometres [40 miles]. These are intentional rumours, perhaps aimed at disheartening some of our Muslim supporters and maybe even to calm the fear of Americans by suggesting that Usama is incapable of doing anything.

The truth is that this issue is not purely tied to Usama, for this is a nation of 1,200 million Muslims who will never allow the house of God to remain with these tainted arrogant Jews and

Christians. We are confident in the knowledge that they will continue the *jihad* and unleash painful strikes against America and its allies.

Q: Last August 20 when the US air strikes were carried out against Afghanistan it was reported that you were attending a meeting which came under attack and that the air strike was timed to get you.

Were you attending this meeting, and is it true that you received a message from Pakistan asking you to leave that area immediately because of a possible strike? What is your relationship with Pakistan and do you think it will ever support the United States in its quest against you?

UBL: The intelligence that the Americans had was false. I was a few hundred kilometres away. As for the reports that we were pre-warned, I can say that thanks to God we have found a supportive people in Pakistan and one which has surpassed our expectations in the way it has supported us.

Q: Some newspapers say that you seek to acquire nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. How true are these reports?

UBL: We are seeking to drive them [the US] out of our Islamic nations and prevent them from dominating us. We believe that this right to defend oneself is the right of all human beings. At a time when Israel stocks hundreds of nuclear warheads and when the Western crusaders control a large percentage of these weapons, we do not consider this an accusation but a right and we reject anyone who accuses us of this. We congratulated the Pakistani people when they achieved this nuclear weapon and we consider it the right of all Muslims to do so.

Q: Considering the charges by the American administration, which relate to terrorism, will you be willing to confront such allegations in another country and in a neutral court of justice?

UBL: There are two sides to this conflict. The international crusaders and the Jewish-Zionist alliance headed by America, Britain and Israel. The second party is the Islamic world. It is unacceptable in such a conflict whereby he aggresses and enters my innermost consecrated land and robs the Muslims' oil and then when faced with any resistance by the Muslims accuses them of being terrorists. This is either stupidity or assuming the others are stupid. It is our legal duty to resist this occupation and to punish them with the same means they use against us.

Q: The Taliban said it would try you, should those governments accusing you present categorical evidence of your links to these charges. Do you expect a trial in accordance with laws used by Taliban and the Islamic *Shari'a*?

UBL: We accept any court of justice that applies Islamic *Shari'a* without being influenced by the infidels. We are willing and prepared, at any time, for any [Islamic] legal court of justice whereby the prosecutor and the accused can stand together. But if the prosecutor is the United States, then we too can become prosecutors and charge her with many things that it has committed in the land of Muslims.

But when the Americans, may Allah fight them, accused me they refused to agree to abide by our *Shari'a* and said they were demanding one thing only, and that is to hand over Usama bin

Ladin. They deal as if people are their slaves and sheep and with utmost arrogance. We pray to Allah to degrade them.

Q: You were accused of the attacks against the US embassies in Nairobi and Tanzania. What is your true stance with regards to these attacks?

UBL: Those who follow the international news would have worked out how much support there is in the Islamic world for attacks against Americans, even though people were saddened by the deaths of some innocent civilians of those countries. But it was clear that there was huge rejoicing and satisfaction in the Islamic world.

So I regard with honour those men who carried out bombing attacks in Riyadh, al-Khubar or East Africa. The same applies to the Palestinians, who are teaching the Jews great lessons.

Q: But the US says it has proof of your involvement in these attacks? In the investigation it is said that a person from your group has made confessions relating to your organisation and its links to bombings, including the World Trade Centre [in 1993]?

UBL: America's allegations are many, but they do not concern us much. Those people are resisting the international infidels who occupied their lands and what angers America most is when people it has abused resist its abuse.

Despite this I maintain that its allegations are false, unless it means that I am involved in inciting and goading them, which is very clear and to which I confess at all times. I was one of those who signed an edict calling for *jihad* and we have incited for several years now and, thank God, many brothers adhered to our calls.

Yes, they confessed during some interrogations that they were influenced by some of our statements that we made to people and in which we announced certain edicts about the obligation of Muslims to wage *jihad* against those occupying Americans.

What is wrong with resisting the aggressor. The North Koreans, the Vietnamese, they all resisted the Americans. This is a given right.

As I said in the past, we missed a great honour in that we were not involved in the killings of Americans in Riyadh. So these charges are false. If the charges against me are for incitement then they are true. It is I with other Muslim brothers who incite *jihad*.

Q: Muhammad Sadiq Huweida [one of those arrested in connection with the East African embassy bombings] claimed that he was trained in your camps and was personally acquainted to you. How true are his confessions?

UBL: In the training camps in Afghanistan more than 15,000 men were trained. As far as reports say I ordered him to carry out these attacks, I believe this is an erroneous American attempt against me. It has no evidence. Assuming that brother Huweida did say such things, it would have been under torture during which he was forced to make false confessions.

Q: After the air strikes against Afghanistan the US president called for an economic war against you. Will this cause you major discomfort?

UBL: War is war. You win some days, you lose others. America has created enormous

pressures against our activities from an early date and this did affect us. Certain countries in which we have money and properties ordered us to cease aggression against America, but it is our obligation to goad the *umma* and thanks to God we continue.

Q: Last February you called a *jihad* against the crusaders and the Jews and, in particular, against the Americans. This call came at a time many of the movements who had walked the path of armed struggle started to cease such activities and to start participating in their countries' parliaments. Don't you think that by calling a *jihad* you are going against the trend?

UBL: Those Muslims who say that these are not times for *jihad* are gravely wrong. Following the absence of *jihad* from our *umma* for such a long time we acquired a generation of people seeking education who had not experienced the reality of *jihad*, and they have been influenced by the American culture and media invasion that stormed the Muslim countries. Without even participating in a military war we find this generation has already been psychologically beaten.

What is true is that God granted the chance of *jihad* in Afghanistan, Chechnya and Bosnia and we are assured that we can wage a *jihad* against the enemies of Islam, in particular against the greater external enemy - the crusader-Jewish alliance.

Those who carried out the *jihad* in Afghanistan did more than was expected of them because with very meagre capacities they destroyed the largest military force [the Soviet army] and in doing so removed from our minds this notion of stronger nations.

We believe that America is weaker than Russia and from what we have heard from our brothers who waged *jihad* in Somalia, they found to their greatest surprise the weakness, frailness and cowardice of the American soldier. When only eight of them were killed they packed up in the darkness of night and escaped without looking back.

Q: A reward of \$5 million has been placed for your arrest or information leading to your arrest by the Americans. Are you afraid of being sold by a treacherous party?

UBL: These men left the world and came to these mountains and land, leaving their families, fathers and mothers. They left their universities and came here under shelling, American missiles, and attacks. Some were killed: six Arabs and one Turk. These men left the world and came for the *jihad*. America, however, which worships money, believes that people here are of this calibre. I swear that we have not had the need to change a single man from his position even after these reports were made. We do not suspect our brothers and accept them for their goodness.

Q: What kind of relationship is there between you and the Taliban. Are you part of it or do you function independently but from Afghan territory?

UBL: I call on all Muslims outside Afghanistan to support this nation. With their thoughts, their donations and their support, for it represents the symbol of Islam. Any aggression by America today against Afghanistan should not be seen as mere aggression against Afghanistan itself, but should be seen as an aggression against Afghanistan the carrier of the real and truest Islam in the Muslim world, the one waging *jihad* in the name of the Islamic world. Our relationship with the Taliban is very strong and it is an ideological relationship not based on mere political or

financial relationships. Many nations have tried to pressure the Taliban and force them into things, but by the grace of God they have been unyielding in their beliefs.

Q: How true are reports that the Taliban will hand you over should there be damning evidence against you?

UBL: From what I have heard the Taliban denied such reports and said it was untrue, but only God knows the truth.

Q: The CIA says there was a relationship with you during the Afghan-Soviet war.

UBL: In answer to your previous question as to whether we are working here independently of the Afghans, the truth is that we do not operate here in an independent fashion. We are in a state that has a prince of believers and we are obliged under the *Shari'a* to obey him.

We are committed to this nation and call upon the people's support and warn against America's propaganda, whereby it seeks to strike the Afghan state, but it seeks to do so under the pretext of hitting Usama bin Ladin. This will not serve her at all. As far as we are concerned, we are not intimidated by American missiles. But we warn them any strike against this people is an aggression against the Muslim nation. Because of many circumstances in Afghanistan, the Taliban has a view that we should not conduct any moves from inside Afghanistan against any other state. This was a decision from the head of believers. But we do incite others and the issue does not end because of our restricted movement during these times.

Q: Going back to the previous question of you and the CIA and American support for the war against the Soviets...

UBL: The Americans. Every Muslim the minute he can start differentiating, carries hate towards Americans, Jews and Christians, this is part of our ideology.

Ever since I can recall I felt at war with the Americans and had feelings of animosity and hate towards them. So what they say happened between them and myself is out of the question. It is only because the Americans were occupying the region that they threatened to use military force should the Soviets conduct such an intervention. So the Americans would be lying if they claim they had supported us. We challenge them to provide evidence supporting such claims. They were a burden on us and on the *mujahidin* in Afghanistan, for we were performing our obligations in protecting Islam in Afghanistan even though this obligation of ours was at times serving, though without our consent, the interests of America.

When the interests of two sides coincide at times, this does not amount to cooperation. We regard them with animosity and there are statements going far back with us calling for a boycott of American products, and even the necessity to attack American forces and America's economy. This goes back for over 12 years now.

Q: Reports suggest that your followers and supporters are also active in some Arab states such as Yemen. How true are these reports?

UBL: Well... [he smiles] our connections are rife in the entire Muslim world, be it in Pakistan, Yemen or anywhere else. With Yemen we have strong relations which go back a long way, in particular since our origins and those of my father date back to Yemen.

Q: What are your end objectives and what message would you like to make to the Islamic world in general?

UBL: We believe very strongly and I say this despite the pressures imposed on us by the regimes and media. They want to skin us from our manhood. We believe that we are men, Muslim men, committed to defend the grandest house in the universe. The Holy Ka‘ba is an honour to die and defend. So this is our aim - to liberate the lands of Islam from the sinners. America and some of its agents in the region bargained with me more than 10 times to keep quiet and silent this small tongue of mine. ‘Shut up’ and we will return to you your money. They believe that people only live for worldly matters and they forgot that our lives are meaningless if we do not seek to please the good will and pleasure of Allah.

Finally, I advise all Muslims to adhere to the *Qur’an*. This is the way out from our present predicament. Our cure is the *Qur’an*. When one reads the *Qur’an* one wonders: Do they not read the *Qur’an* or do they actually read but not understand as they should?”

2.13 Dokumentarprogram på *al-Jazira* med diverse intervjuer, juni 1999

Den 10. juni 1999 sendte *al-Jazira* et dokumentarprogram om Usama bin Ladin, som bestod blant annet av klipp fra samtaler mellom Usama bin Ladin og den palestinske journalisten Jamal Isma‘il. Dette lange programmet er i sin helhet svært interessant, fordi det også inneholder gode analyser og kommentarer fra politikere, journalister og forskere som kjenner fenomenet bin Ladin meget godt. Vi gjengir her nedtegnelsen av dette programmet, som ble ledet av Salah Najm:²⁷

“**Salah Najm:** When bin Ladin’s name is mentioned, a number of conflicting ideas cross one’s mind. Wealth, asceticism, terrorist, heroism, and *jihad*. What links all these words together is this man, whom some people consider to be a devil, while others believe he is a fighter with a cause.

Usama bin Ladin: Usama bin Muhammad bin Awad bin Ladin. God Almighty was gracious enough for me to be born to Muslim parents in the Arabian Peninsula, in al-Malazz neighborhood in al-Riyadh, in 1377 *hijra* [1957 or 1958 depending on the month in which he was born]. Then God was gracious to us as we went to holy Medina six months after I was born. For the rest of my life I stayed in Hijaz moving between Mecca, Jedda, and Medina. As it is well known, my father, Shaykh Muhammad bin Awad bin Ladin, was born in Hadramaut. He went to work in Hijaz at an early age, more than 70 years ago. Then God blessed him and bestowed on him an honor that no other contractor has known. He built the holy Mecca Mosque where the holy Ka‘ba is located and at the same time - because of God’s blessings to him - he built the holy Mosque in Medina for our prophet, God’s prayers be upon him. Then when he found out that the government of Jordan announced a tender for restoration work on the Dome of the Rock Mosque, he gathered engineers and asked them to estimate the cost price only, without profit. They said to him: ‘With God’s help, we will be awarded the project and make some profit as well.’ He said to them: ‘Calculate only the cost price of the project.’ When they did, they were surprised that he, God have mercy on his soul, reduced the cost price in

²⁷ <http://www.terrorism.com/terrorism/BinLadenTranscript.shtml>; Jamal Isma‘il har også skrevet bok om sine møter med Usama bin Ladin; Se Isma‘il (2001).

order to guarantee that God's mosques, and this mosque in particular, are well served. He was awarded the project. Because of God's graciousness to him, sometimes he prayed in all three mosques in one single day. May God have mercy on his soul. It is not a secret that he was one of the founders of the infrastructure of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Afterward, I studied in Hijaz. I studied economy at Jedda University, or the so-called King 'Abd al-'Aziz University. I worked at an early age on roads in my father's company, may God have mercy on his soul. My father died when I was 10 years old.

This is something brief about Usama bin Ladin. As to what he [Usama bin Ladin] wants; what he wants and demands is the right of any living being. We want our land to be freed of the enemies, we want our land be free of the Americans. God equipped these living creatures with an instinctive zeal and they refuse to be intruded upon. For instance, if an armed military man walks into a chicken's home wanting to attack it, the chicken will fight back and it is only a chicken. We are demanding a right given to all living creatures, not to mention the fact that it a right for all human beings, and a right for Muslims in particular.

There was an attack on the countries of Islam, especially on the holy shrines and on al-Aqsa Mosque, the prophet's first *qibla*. And then the aggression continued with the Crusader-Jewish alliance being led by the United States and Israel. Now they have taken the country of the two holy mosques. The only source of strength is Allah.

We seek to instigate the nation to get up and liberate its land, to fight for the sake of God, and to make the Islamic Law the highest law, and the Word of God the highest word of all.

Sa'd al-Din Ibrahim [Journalist and social sciences professor at the American University of Cairo]: With regards to bin Ladin, he is the exception that proves the rule, because he is the youngest child, and because his family, despite its considerable wealth, is still considered a marginal one in Saudi Arabia originating from Hadramaut, which is why he was not fully accepted in Saudi society despite his wealth. This marginalization sometimes explains the desire to rebel against the system, and if he is unable to do this on the inside, then he does it from the outside. This applies to some Saudi princes - even in the era of [former Egyptian President Jamal] 'Abd al-Nasir - who were not very popular among the Saudi royal family and who rebelled against the royal family, the system, and their class as a result of attempts to marginalize them.

'**Abd al-Bari 'Atwan** [Editor in chief of the London-based *al-Quds al-'Arabi* newspaper]: I found him to be a man who is very modest in nature. He believes in every word he says. He does not lie. He does not exaggerate. He does not complement anyone. He does not even try to hide anything. He expresses everything he feels. He is very enigmatic. His voice is calm and well-mannered. I spent a whole day with him and I truly sensed his charm, his refined manners, and true modesty, not exaggerated or with fake modesty. He is a man who seeks the after-life and who truly feels that he has lived more than enough. You feel that there is a sadness inside him - which he did not express - that he was not martyred when he was fighting the Soviet or the communists or the heathens. You feel like he is saying: Why am I alive?

Larry Johnson [Expert on terrorism and former US intelligence officer]: It is clear, he has killed and wounded more American citizens than any other group involved in terrorist attacks in the past seven years. No individual or group has killed as many Americans or foreigners. For example, if we were to count the number of victims per attack, we find that Usama bin Ladin

and his followers have killed about 125 victims per attack, while Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] - which is number two on the list - has killed six victims per attack.

This difference shows that bin Ladin is not doing the ordinary, but rather has taken it upon himself to carry out a clear mission. He believes that the United States is desecrating the cradle of Islam in Saudi Arabia, and has thus directed his war against American interests. Fortunately, his capabilities are limited; after all he is only human. He is not a giant, he is not superman, nor can he tell the future or read minds, but he is still a threat. He has pledged to kill people and has acted on it. I think that he is a man of his word. He made a threat and we should not just consider him an idiot. We should take his threat seriously.

Najm: Usama bin Ladin is the man that the United States has declared war on, and who has declared war in return. An attempt to assassinate him has cost several hundreds of millions of dollars that fell in the form of cruise missiles on his camp in (Khuft) mountain in Afghanistan. It is the same camp that the United States called 'the base'. The story does not start here.

The Afghan war was just starting after a series of military coups, the first of which toppled the monarchy, and brought pro-Soviet Union governments to this hard-to-invade country. The cold war, with all its implications, hit Afghanistan: Soviet troops entered Afghanistan, the United States issued a warning:

Jimmy Carter [Former US President; archive recording of speech, date not given]: I have sent a message today to the US Olympics Committee spelling out my own position, that unless the Soviets withdraw their troops within a month from Afghanistan, the Olympic games will be moved from Moscow to an alternate site or multiple sites, or postponed, or cancelled.

Najm: The resistance movement began. The *mujahidin* were fighting communist atheism, while the United States was fighting the progress of Soviet influence, and for the first time in centuries, the banner of *jihād* in the name of Islam and the war on the Soviets in the name of *jihād* was raised. There are those who say that this holy war was launched in the name of the United States and with its support. Were the *mujahidin* US agents who turned against Washington when it turned on them?

Bin Ladin: This is a US attempt to distort things. Praise be to God who made their plots backfire on them. Every Muslim who sees discrimination begins to hate the Americans, the Jews, and Christians. This is part of our religion and faith. Since I became aware of things around me, I have been in a war, enmity, hatred against the Americans. What they claim has never happened. Saying that they supported *jihād* or fighting, it became clear to us that this support was from the Arab states, particularly the Gulf states, for Pakistan to encourage it to support *jihād*. This support was not for the sake of Almighty God, but out of fear for their thrones from the Soviet advance. At the time time, Carter was the US President. He could not say anything significant until after some 20 days in 1399 [*hijra*], corresponding to 20 January [year not given]. He said any Russian interference in the Gulf region will be termed an aggression against the United States. This is because he occupies this region and its oil. This is why he said we will use military force if this interference takes place. The Americans are lying when they say that they co-operated with us in the past, and we challenge them to show any evidence of this. The truth of the matter is that they were a burden on us and on the *mujahidin* in Afghanistan. There was no agreement on this. We were doing our duty in support of Islam in Afghanistan, although this duty used to serve, against our desire, the US interests. This situation was similar to the Muslims' fight against the Romans. We know that fighting between the

Romans and the Persians has always been strong. So, no wise man can say that when the Muslims fought the Romans first at the Mu'tah battle they were agents to the Persians, but interests met at this point. In other words, your killing of the Romans, which is a duty for you, used to please the Persians. However, after they finished with the Romans, they began to fight the Persians. So, the conversion of interests without agreement does not necessarily mean relations or agency. In fact, we have been hostile to them since then. Praise be to God, we gave lectures during those days in Hijaz and Najd on the need to boycott the US goods and to attack the US forces and the US economy. This was more than 12 years ago.

Najm: The United States has always tried to belittle the size of the role it played there, however, it admitted that it extended aid. In the US capital, Washington, Larry Johnson, a former US intelligence employee, is still doing his job of training government quarters on how to combat terrorism. He speaks about that period:

Johnson: Several foreign powers before the Russians went into Afghanistan. The British went to Afghanistan and tried to control its people. The British and the Russians failed. I do not think that there is anyone who can control Afghanistan other than its people. However, saying that the United States went there and trained the *mujahidin* how to use rifles or plant explosives, this is nonsense. Did we do this? Yes, we went and helped in training and we provided them with aid which helped them in expelling the Russians. However, this was not a phenomenon that was created by the United States. This practice has been going on there for centuries, and we should realize this.

Najm: At the beginning of that war, the Arabs used to flow into Afghanistan, *mujahidin* and journalists. Jamal Isma'il, *al-Jazira* correspondent, used to study there at the time. He was acquainted with a wealthy young man who was full of enthusiasm of *jihad* against the infidels. Usama bin Ladin was in Peshawar:

Jamal Isma'il [*al-Jazira* correspondent who conducted an interview with bin Ladin]: I was first introduced to Shaykh Usama bin Muhammad bin Ladin when he used to visit the Pakistani city of Peshawar during the Afghan *jihad* against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. At the time, I was a student at Peshawar University. I used to visit the Arab relief aid offices to report news to those interested at the time. I knew him first in 1984 when he established a services center. It was called the 'Mujahidin Services Center' [MSC]. I knew him in the city of Peshawar in 1984 when the MSC was established in cooperation between Shaykh Usama bin Muhammad bin Ladin and the Palestinian Shaykh 'Abdallah 'Azzam who was killed in Peshawar in 1989. At the time, Usama bin Ladin used to finance the biggest part of the MSC budget and some Arab preachers or *mujahidin* at the Afghan fronts. However, he was not a permanent resident in Peshawar or on the Afghan territories. He used to come to these areas once every three or four months. Most of the time, he used to come to Peshawar to acquaint himself with the situation and to meet with the Afghan *mujahidin* leaders, Shaykh 'Abdallah 'Azzam, and others. He used to visit the internal Afghan fronts. Later, things developed for him. So, he financed the establishment of the first camp for the Arab *mujahidin* in 1986 or at the end of 1986. This camp began to prepare and train Arab fighters in an areas in Afghanistan and close to the Pakistani border. It was called the (Geiji).

Golbuddin Hekmatyar [Prominent Afghan leader]: Usama bin Ladin came to Afghanistan when many states used to encourage their youths to go to Afghanistan to take part in the battles there. The United States also did not object to this. A number of Muslims used to come from the United States too. They participated in the battles during the Russian invasion of Afghanistan.

Usama bin Ladin also came at the same time. The Saudi government also did not object to this. He stayed in Afghanistan.

Najm: However, the losing party in this war had another viewpoint. General (Valenkov), commander of the Soviet land forces in Afghanistan, laid down his arms and became a member of the Soviet Parliament. However, several years ago, when the war was at its peak, the general was at the frontline, fighting the *mujahidin*. Then he withdrew.

Valenkov [Commander of Russian ground troops in Afghanistan during the Russian invasion of the country]: The United States played a really decisive role. Since we sent our forces into Afghanistan, the Americans knew about our decision which was very well known. However, the Americans kept silent. They did not show any stand for fear that we might change our opinion. They wanted us to go there. But when we entered Afghanistan, they did their utmost to fully support the Afghan opposition, materially, technologically, and ideologically. They exploited the presence of Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran.

They provided every material need to establish military camps, training centers, arsenals, and bases. Some other countries also contributed to this, including Pakistan for a clear purpose; namely, preparing the Afghan refugees in the best possible way. Obviously, we called those who constituted armed factions gangs but they were real armed groups. They used to dispatch arms convoys to Afghanistan through Pakistan. They knew that they had definite tasks and that they were fighting not only for religion or a cause but for the substantial amounts of money they were receiving. The *mujahidin* had a direct financial interest in fighting and this is very important.

Najm: During the battles that raged in Afghanistan between the government forces and the *mujahidin*, Usama bin Ladin visited Afghanistan several times. During these visits, his participation in the operations with the *mujahidin* developed from one level to the next.

Bin Ladin: This military camp was called the ‘al-Ansar Lions’ Den’, or the Arab camp. In 1987, it was exposed to land and air attacks from the Soviet and Afghan communist government forces against the Arab camps at the time. The Afghan fighters who were there withdrew when the battles, the air attacks, and the landing of paratroopers began. The Arab fighters, led by Shaykh ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam and Usama bin Muhammad bin Ladin and a group that, as far as we knew, did not exceed 35 persons, held their ground for two weeks of fierce fighting. Then the so-called legend of bin Ladin or the Arab fighters in Afghanistan was born and began to develop gradually, especially [...] [sentence incomplete; voice fades out]

Najm: This was Usama bin Ladin’s experience that was accumulated in years of fighting. An experience of which he is proud because he believes it ended with a victory over the Soviets, an experience he used to establish a training camp which was attacked by the United States with missiles. The United States called this camp the ‘base camp.’

Two main characters were the driving force behind receiving and organizing Arab fighters and then sending them to the battlefield. They were Shaykh ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam, a Palestinian shaykh who decided to undertake *jihad*, and Usama bin Ladin.

[Begin recording of Shaykh ‘Azzam’s voice over video clip of tanks firing, battle scenes, piles of ammunition, scenes of destruction, and the 1996 house and camp of bin Ladin]

To the widowed mothers, orphaned children, our righteous martyrs, makers of glory, and leaders of conquests, we present this tape entitled: The buzzing of bullets.

Bin Ladin: Shaykh ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam, may God have mercy on his soul, is a man worth a nation. After his assassination, Muslim women proved to be unable to give birth to a man like him. The people of *jihad* who lived that epoch know that Islamic *jihad* in Afghanistan has not benefited from anyone as it has from Shaykh ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam. He instigated the nation from the farthest east to the farthest west. During that blessed *jihad*, the activities of Shaykh ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam, may God bless his soul, as well as the activities of our brother *mujahidin* in Palestine, particularly Hamas, increased. His books, particularly his book *The Verses of the Merciful*, began to enter Palestine and instigate the nation for *jihad* against the Jews. The shaykh proceeded from the narrow, regional, and often city atmosphere that was familiar to Islamists and shaykhs, to the larger Islamic world and began to instigate this Islamic world. We and the shaykh were in one boat, as is known to you, together with our brother Wa’il Jalidan.

A plot was concocted to assassinate all. We were very careful not to be together all the time. I often asked the shaykh, may God have mercy on his soul, to stay away from Peshawar in (Sada) due to the increasing plots, especially since one or two weeks earlier a bomb was discovered in the mosque where the shaykh lived in Sab’ al-Layl. The Jews were mostly harmed by Shaykh ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam’s movement. It is believed that Israel, together with some of its Arab agents, were the ones who assassinated the shaykh. As for this accusation, I think that it is being promoted today by the Jews, Americans, and some of their agents. However, this is not worth a response. It is illogical for a person to chop off his head while the one who was in the field knows the extent of the strong relationship between me and Shaykh ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam. This accusation is silly and baseless. There was no competition [between me and him]. Shaykh ‘Abdallah’s field was that of call [*da’wa*] and instigation, while we were on the (Baktia) mountains in the interior. He sent us young people as well as directives. We did what he ordered us. We pray that God will accept him and his two sons, Muhammad and Ibrahim, as martyrs, and to compensate the nation by giving it one who can carry out the duty he used to perform.

Ibrahim: This was a phenomenon that was considered healthy by all those opposing occupation and colonialism, even if this colonialism was by a friendly state like the Soviet Union at that time. When the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan came to an end, a large number of the volunteers maintained fighting as part of their lifestyle. They diverted their attention from fighting a non-Muslim foreign occupier to an attempt to topple regimes in Arab and Islamic states, which they did not consider sufficiently Islamic. Those Arab nationals were called the Afghan Arabs or Arab Afghans. Some of them returned to Algeria, Egypt, Yemen, and other states and tried to do so. They originally came from middle-class society and had some degree of knowledge and education. They had an ambition to be something in this life through public service, educational excellence, or vocational prominence. When they faced obstacles to the attainment of their ambition, which I think was legitimate, they either left their country in search of other opportunities abroad, or began to question the legitimacy of the regime, which does not allow them to fulfill this legitimate ambition.

Valyankov: We evacuated Afghanistan in circumstances that I vividly remember, because I was there. There were lots of flowers. Similarly, the people were tearful. Of course, this was not the sentiment of all Afghans. For those who were hurt by the war or suffered a setback as a result of it had completely different sentiments. Nonetheless, most Afghans had fears about the repercussions of our withdrawal from the country. They even tried to obstruct this withdrawal. If we are to talk about Afghan leaders, they did not want this at all. I am talking about Najibullah

and others. [video footage from archives shows hostilities in the Afghan war]

Najm: The Soviets left. They withdrew after it had become clear that Afghanistan was a quagmire that drowned the Soviet Union in stagnant political and military waters. The entire Soviet empire was about to collapse. The *mujahidin* felt victorious and proud, because they felt that they brought the greatest military power on earth to its knees. They waged the war and won it. An enemy was vanquished while another is still to be overcome.

Bin Ladin: Nowadays, *jihād* needs to be waged by the nation. The obligation to engage in *jihād* may be dropped if people suffer from disability. But, we believe that those who participated in the *jihād* in Afghanistan bear the greatest responsibility in this regard, because they realized that with insignificant capabilities, with a small number of RPG's, with a small number of antitank mines, with a small number of Kalashnikov rifles, they managed to crush the greatest empire known to mankind. They crushed the greatest military machine. The so-called superpowers vanished into thin air. We think that the United States is very much weaker than Russia. Based on the reports we received from our brothers who participated in *jihād* in Somalia, we learned that they saw the weakness, frailty, and cowardice of US troops. Only 80 US troops were killed. Nonetheless, they fled in the heart of darkness, frustrated, after they had caused great commotion about the new world order.

Isma'il: Until the year 1989, he [bin Ladin] was in Peshawar or in Afghanistan in general. He used to frequent Peshawar. Afterwards, he left for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on a visit. He was denied travel for domestic reasons. However, the former Pakistani government said that this had something to do with the Pakistani Government, which asked that he be deported from Pakistani territory.

Najm: A short while after his return to Saudi Arabia, the region was boiling with change. The following year, the earthquake occurred. [video shows footage from the archives of the Iraqi-Kuwaiti crisis]

George Bush [Former U.S. President]: We're here to protect freedom, we're here to protect our future, and we're here to protect innocent lives. But we won't pull punches, we are not here on some exercise. This is a real world situation. And we are not walking away until our mission is done, until the invader is out of Kuwait. And that may well be where you come in. [Gulf War footage from archives]

Najm: Arab Afghans began to return to their home countries at almost the same time. Since that date, their presence was felt in several Arab capitals which pointed a finger of accusation at them regarding many operations which extremist Islamic groups were accused of. In Algeria, in Egypt, in Saudi Arabia, and many of them appeared in the United Kingdom.

Isma'il: After the second Gulf War, the War of Kuwait, Usama bin Ladin was given a passport by the Saudi Government - and at the time he was not permitted to have a passport - with an exit-only visa. The following day, he left for the Pakistani city of Peshawar. At the time, his movement and activity was engulfed with some secrecy in fear of being exposed to assassination, especially since Shaykh 'Abdallah 'Azzam was assassinated in Peshawar with his two sons Muhammad and Ibrahim two years earlier.

Bin Ladin: We were in deep grief during the dispute between these factions and the parties of the *mujahidin*. But God Almighty was gracious to the Arab nations by giving it the Taliban

Movement, which came to rescue this *jihad* from the US scheme which supported Najib [Najibullah] and was pressuring the *mujahidin*, through Pakistan, to form a secular government. Fifty percent of its members would be former communists and some of those who had studied in the west, and the rest would be from the seven Afghan parties.

Praise be to God, we were blessed with the coming of this movement. It came at a time when things came to a head and people got sick and tired of bandits of which there were becoming more and more, unfortunately. The Americans and their allies managed to divide Afghanistan to five small states. You, in Pakistan, no doubt are watching this. There was a state in the east, which is called (Hawzat Sharq), Jalalabad. They are (Ningirhar) (Lughman) and (Kunar). There was a state and a president of a state. Their leader was Haji Qadir. In the west there was another state, there was a state and a president of a state led by Haji Qadir. In the West there was another state, (Hawzat Gharb). Muhammad Isma'il Khan and he ruled over three to four provinces between (Hirat), (Farah), and Numruz) and that too was a virtually independent government from Afghanistan. In the north there was the state that was supported by the communists in the past and it was led by Dostum. He had provinces there. In the north and the center there was a government ruled by Ahmad Shah Masud and Najib and Sayyaf.

What is shocking is that every time Muslims are deceived. How can we believe that a government can be established in Kabul and in one neighborhood we have, Najib the communist who killed more than 70,000 Muslims, and right next to him there is Ahmad Shah Masud? How can we believe that they had a joint government in the full sense of the word and that the former communist president Najib signs the state budget? Then we are told: 'We are not Communists and we do not support the communists.' In reality, it was a joint government being supported by foreign parties and Najib was part of it.

The southern part was a state for the Taliban. It consists of the provinces of Qandahar, Zabol, and (Hilmend). So there were five governments in this small state, not to mention the bandits who were considered small states with the states.

God blessed the Muslims with the coming of the Taliban rule. It was not a force being pushed in from abroad, as the crusaders in the western media try to depict them; but it was rather a pulling force from the inside. People had become sick and tired of road bandits and from paying taxes and protection money. So any tribe that had students of religion who had connections with the Taliban they [the Taliban] would ask the students to come to this or that province [sic]. This is why we see that engineer Hekmatyar was on the borders of Kabul for four years. He had the public support of Pakistan and was trying to move forward a few meters to seize Kabul, but he could not. It is known that the Islamic party led by Hekmatyar is the best Afghan party in terms of power, organization, and deployment in Afghanistan. He could not move forward. On the other hand, it is also known, these students of religion are generally young and many of them had not participated in fighting. But because of the popular support after the people had reached a state of despair from previous events, they were successful.

Hekmatyar: I honestly think that this war was forced on us just like these wars were imposed on all the Muslims in the world. I ask you: Why are all the wars taking place in the Muslim world? Why are Muslims being killed and their houses destroyed? Why are the problems in Europe and the United States easily solved, while simple issues in the Muslim world ignite vicious wars? Why the problems in Algeria, Palestine, and Kashmir? I think that the Hizb-e Islami is the underdog. Unfortunately, the Muslim world does not know how this war was imposed, starting with the war that the coalition government in Kabul declared against the Hizb-

e Islami and later the Taliban Movement.

Why does the US State Department say: We are the ones who did not permit Hekmatyar to enter Kabul? The US Defense Minister said: We cannot allow the Hizb-e Islami to rule Kabul; while a CIA official tells CNN: We have decided to destroy the Hizb-e Islami. This is what they say, but there are people who do not know how the war started, who is funding it, and why it is being launched against the Hizb-e Islami, or why the coalition government and later the Taliban movement are waging a war against the party. The United States was behind this war just to prove to everyone that *jihad* is a failure. If an Islamic government was formed by the *mujahidin* after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States believed that this type of government will spread to the rest of the rest of the region. They thought to themselves: We must strike at this movement and not allow the *mujahidin* to form an Islamic government. They consequently imposed this war on us.

Isma‘il: In 1991 and 1992, I interviewed him [bin Ladin] more than once to find out some details. At that time I was a correspondent for [London-based] *al-Hayat* newspaper and he was the head of a reconciliation committee between the Afghan factions that were at war in some states. He was chosen by these factions as a neutral party that is supportive of Afghan *jihad* in general. After 1992, when the *mujahidin* parties entered the Afghan capital, Kabul, and were at war with each other, which stunned all observers, especially the Muslims, Usama bin Ladin - along with a number of Arab Islamic activists who were in Peshawar and other Arab countries - exerted intensive mediation efforts between Hekmatyar, Masud, and Rabbani, but all these efforts failed, so he moved to Sudan in mid-1992 and stayed there until May 1996, when the Sudanese Government was forced to ask him to leave.

According to the Afghan information minister in the Taliban government, a deal was made between the United States and Sudan to drive Usama bin Ladin out to Afghanistan because Afghanistan has no means of communication. In return for this, the sanctions and economic and political pressure on Sudan was to be eased off.

‘Atwan: He [bin Ladin] told me about attempts to tempt him to stop his *jihad* and the money he was offered. He said - and he was telling the truth - that he was offered hundreds of millions of dollars and he refused them. He named the mediators who visited him, whether in Sudan or even in Afghanistan, to talk him into going back, and he refused. He used to affirm that he will stick with this approach until the end and that he has dedicated his life to the cause of God and Islam. He was saying this without hesitation.

He told me about his days in Sudan and the challenge he faced when Arab aid to Sudan stopped and how he was able to survive with limited local resources. He told me about the agricultural projects he carried out in the *al-Jazira* area in Sudan. He told me that this country can feed the whole world if it were allowed to be properly invested. He told me about how he was able to produce a record number of sunflowers. His agricultural projects were many and included cotton farms. He wished he could have stayed in Sudan and continued his projects, but he was forced to flee back to Afghanistan.

Najm: In 1994 [1995, red anm], we saw the first attack against US targets in the Middle East begin. The target was Riyadh, the headquarters of the US mission which was training the Saudi National Guard. In 1996, an attack was carried out in al-Khubar, the headquarters of the US Marine force. Some reports linked both with Usama bin Ladin, who made every effort to praise the men who carried out the attacks.

Bin Ladin: These were popular reactions by young men who willingly offered their lives, seeking the satisfaction of Almighty God. I hold in great esteem and respect these great men because they removed the brand of shame from the forehead of our [Islamic] nation, whether those who carried out attacks in Riyadh or those who carried out bombing attacks in al-Khubar and East Africa and other places. I also view with great esteem our brother cubs in Palestine who are teaching the Jews lessons in faith and the pride of the faithful. Regrettably, after these daring operations in Palestine, the world's infidelity was gathered. It is a cause of sadness that they gathered on the soil of Egypt. They gathered their agents from the rulers of the region, the Arab rulers, who had been deceiving the Islamic nation for more than half a century. Whenever a president and a king met they used to say that they discussed the Palestinian cause. Fifty years later, the clear picture emerged; namely, they met not only to betray the *mujahidin* in Palestine but to denounce these cubs whose fathers and brothers were killed, imprisoned, and tortured in defense of their religion and for endeavoring to evacuate the infidels from their land. The proverb says: Clear things are impossible to explain.

'Atwan: Following the attacks on the US forces in al-Khubar and in Riyadh, he [bin Ladin] expressed unusual sympathy with those who carried out the attacks. He was very close to saying that they were from among his supporters. He was close but he did not say this. You sense pride in his eyes, that these real men, as he told me, were capable of implementing these two successful operations.

Najm: However, the real turning point which drew the attention of the United States was the issuance of a *fatwa*.

Bin Ladin: The previous *fatwa* says that in our religion, we have divisions that are different from what they claim, even if they claim something and act in the opposite way. We differentiate between the man, the woman, the child, and the old people. The man is a fighter, whether he carries arms or helps kill us by paying taxes and by gathering information. He is a fighter. With regards to reports among Muslims that 'Usama is threatening to kill civilians', then, what are they killing in Palestine? They are killing children, not only civilians, but children as well. The United States has an advantage media-wise and has great media power that varies its standards according to its needs. Our enemy, the target - if God gives Muslims the opportunity to do so - is every American male, whether he is directly fighting us or paying taxes.

You may have heard these days that almost three quarters of the US people support Clinton's strikes on Iraq. They are a people whose president becomes more popular when he kills innocent people. They are a people who increase their support for their president when he commits some of the seven cardinal sins. They are a lowly people who do not understand the meaning of principles.

As I said, we are pursuing our rights to have them [the Americans] evicted from the Muslim world countries and to prevent them from dominating us. We believe that the right to self-defense is to be enjoyed by all people. Israel is stockpiling hundreds of nuclear warheads and bombs. The Christian West is largely in possession of such weapons. Hence, we do not regard this as a charge, but rather as a right. We do not accept to see anybody level charges against us in this regard. It is as if you were accusing a man of being a courageous knight and fighter. It is as if you were denying him this. Only a man who is not in his right mind would level such accusations. This is a right. We supported the Pakistani people and congratulated them when

God was gracious enough to enable them to acquire the nuclear weapon. We regard this as one of our rights, of Muslim rights. We disregard such worn-out US charges.

Let us say that there are two parties to the conflict: The first party is world Christianity, which is allied with Zionist Jewry and led by the United States, Britain, and Israel; while the second party is the Muslim world. In such a conflict, it is unacceptable to see the first party mount attacks, desecrate my lands and holy shrines, and plunder the Muslims' oil. When it is met by any resistance on the part of the Muslims, this party brands the Muslims as terrorists. This is stupidity. People's intelligence is being belittled. We believe that it is our religious duty to resist this occupation with all the power that we have and to punish it using the same means it is pursuing against us.

The US claims are numerous. If we presume that they are true, we are not concerned by them. These people are resisting the forces of world infidelity that occupied their lands. Why should the United States get angry when the people resist its aggressions? Its claims are baseless. However, if it means that I have something to do with instigating them, I would like to say that this is obvious. I have frequently admitted to having done so. I admitted that I was one of those who cosigned the *fatwa* that urged the nation to engage in *Jihad* . We did so a few years ago. Thanks be to God, many people responded favorably to our *fatwa*. Of these people were the brothers whom we regard as martyrs. They were brother 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Mi'thim, who was killed in Riyadh, brother Muslih al-Shamrani, brother Riyadh al-Hajiri, and brother Khalid al-Sa'id. The only strength is that bestowed by God. We beseech Almighty God to accept them all. During interrogation, they admitted to coming under the influence of some of the statements and circulars we issued to people. In these statements and circulars, we communicated the *fatwas* issued by clergymen regarding the need to engage in *Jihad* against these US occupiers.

'Atwan: I felt that the man had his own vision and special strategy. This strategy is based on his concept of the region. The first point in this strategy is that the US Administration or the US forces, which he considers occupation forces in the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula, are a prelude to a comprehensive Israeli-Jewish hegemony over the region with the aim of looting its wealth and humiliating its Muslim people. One senses this as the essence of his creed and strategy.

Therefore, he believes that expelling these US forces from the Arab world is a top priority. He believes that the regimes should be reformed or, more correctly, changed. The regimes immune to reform should be changed, the *Shari'a* should be applied properly, and a just Islamic system should be set up in the Islamic and Arab states, particularly the Gulf states. This is a summary of his strategy. Currently, he does not want to fight the regimes. That is what he told me. He wants to fight the Americans, who are protecting these regimes.

Najm: Although Usama bin Ladin insists in all his statements that his role is confined to the issuance of *fatawa* and instigation, he almost stated in the interview conducted with him by our correspondent Jamal Isma'il that he was aware of all aspects of the US Embassy explosion in Nairobi.

Bin Ladin: It was a painful blow. They [the Americans] had not sustained such a blow since the blowing up of the marines in Lebanon. The Nairobi [US] Embassy was actually six embassies combined in one. The brutal US invasion of Somalia kicked off from there. Some 13,000 from among our brothers, women, and sons in Somalia were killed under the banner of the United Nations. Reports, corroborated by photographs, said that our Somali brothers were grilled as if they were sheep. It is only God who bestows strength. They did not speak about the scope of

brutality or aggression and so forth and so on. Muslims are always reproached when they defend themselves. For the past few decades, plots have been hatched to partition Sudan from there. These plots are hatched in Nairobi. As is widely known, the US Embassy in Nairobi is the agency that is doing this. The greatest CIA center in eastern Africa is located at this embassy. Thanks to God's grace to Muslims, the blow was successful and great. They deserved it. It made them taste what we tasted during the massacres committed in Sabra, Shatila, Deir Yasin, Qana, Hebron, and elsewhere.

Najm: The United States did not make do with the bombardment. It issued an arrest warrant against Usama bin Ladin and promised a \$5 million prize to whoever provides information leading to his arrest. It tried to freeze his financial assets. Usama bin Ladin began his odyssey in Afghanistan when he was 22 years old. Now, he is 42 years old. He was the paramount Arab Afghan. The number of Arab Afghans in Afghanistan is diminishing. Those who met him said that he is no longer the same man.

'Atwan: I believe that the Nairobi and Dar es Salam bombings changed bin Ladin. He was aware that the Americans were targeting him, but not with this intensity. There was not a single piece of evidence that he was behind the al-Khubar and Riyadh bombings. He may have been wanted by the Americans. But, there was no powerful evidence incriminating him. I think that the situation now is different. Nonetheless, even prior to these two incidents, the man took all the necessary security precautions. For example, I know that he built a camp in the open air to give the impression that it was his base when he was interviewed by CNN. It was not a base. I am aware of this. He did not allow the CNN team to bring its own camera. The team left for the camp and found the camera waiting for it. It was bin Ladin's camera. He asked the team members not to bring anything with them. The CNN team members were inspected, pursued, and monitored indirectly to make sure that they were neither followed nor monitored by the US intelligence service. The man knows how to take care of his security concerns. I hope that he will be successful in his efforts in this regard. He is taking his own precautions. I know that he is now in a secure place, that his moves are banned, not because Taliban wants to restrain his moves, but because it wants to protect him. Taliban officials have strong convictions that the press and press men are the trap that could track his whereabouts and bring about his liquidation.

Isma'il: It goes without saying that he feels that he is under siege. He as well as the Afghan Taliban-led government have admitted that his moves in Afghanistan are not restrained. Nonetheless, he is banned from engaging in any action originating in Afghan territory against any country whatsoever regardless of whether or not it has recognized the Taliban-led government. All that he is currently doing on Afghan territory is confined to addressing appeals, engaging in media-related activities, and issuing *fatawa*, along with a group of Afghan or other clergymen, promoting fighting, which Taliban cannot ban or restrain, because this is enshrined in Quranic verses and traditions of the Prophet.

Najm: The base was destroyed, but bin Ladin survived. He is trying to mobilize more supporters even though he has fears that their number may shrink in the future.

Bin Ladin: When *jihad* was obscured for a long time, we saw the emergence of a generation of students who did not experience the heat of *jihad*. They were affected by the US media that invaded Islamic countries. Without even engaging in combat, they suffered a psychological defeat. They acknowledge the necessity for *jihad*. Nonetheless, they say that they cannot fulfill such an obligation. The people who had the honor of engaging in *jihad* in Afghanistan, Bosnia-

Herzevogina, or Chechnya - we had such an honor - are certain that the nation nowadays can, God willing, engage in *jihad* against the enemies of Islam, particularly, the external archenemy, the crusader-Jewish alliance.

Najm: All this brings us back to the Arabian Gulf, which some call the Persian Gulf. Shiites are living on one of its coasts, while the other coast is inhabited by a combination of Sunnites and Shiites. Holy shrines are located to the west of the Gulf: In Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. Similarly, holy shrines are located to the north: In al-Najaf and Karbala'. There are also holy shrines in the east: In Qom and Mashhad. Afghanistan is a stone's throw away. Iraq is under siege. Weapons are deployed at sea, on land, and in the air. An oil artery is running through its waters. It is the embodiment of wealth and conflict. What we forget in the midst of routine details is the cumulative effect of things. When somebody drops a stone in a river, this may cause the river course to change once and for all. Washington and Usama bin Ladin are part of this mosaic. To them, the targets have been delineated and the pursuit has begun."

2.14 Intervju med avisen *al-Ra'i al-'Amm*, publisert 13. november 2000

Den 13. november 2000 offentliggjorde den kuwaitiske avisen *al-Ra'i al-'Amm* et kort intervju med Usama bin Ladin.²⁸ I intervjuet, som ifølge avisen ble gjennomført over telefon, sa bin Ladin at han ikke hadde noe å gjøre med angrepet på USS Cole. Videre sa han at han ikke hadde noen forbindelser med dem som noen dager tidligere hadde blitt arrestert av kuwaitiske myndigheter, mistenkt for å ha planlagt terroraksjoner i Kuwait og andre land i Den persiske golf. Bin Ladin understreket at "verken jeg eller mine følgesvenner har planer om å slå til mot oljeinstallasjoner eller sivile eller militære mål i Kuwait eller i noe annet arabisk land."

2.15 Intervju med *Ummat* offentliggjort 28. september 2001

Den 28. september offentliggjorde den pakistanske avisen *Ummat* et intervju med Usama bin Ladin. Det er usikkert om det dreier seg om et ekte intervju, ettersom språket og innholdet i dette intervjuet skiller seg noe fra bin Ladins andre utsagn. Dersom intervjuet mot formodning skulle være autentisk, er det det første intervjuet med bin Ladin etter terrorangrepene 11. september 2001.²⁹

"The *al-Qa'ida* group had nothing to do with the 11 September attacks on the USA, according to Usama bin Ladin in an interview with the Pakistani newspaper *Ummat*. Usama bin Ladin went on to suggest that Jews or US secret services were behind the attacks, and to express gratitude and support for Pakistan, urging Pakistan's people to *jihad* against the West. The following is the text of an interview conducted by a 'special correspondent', published in the Pakistani newspaper *Ummat* on 28 September, place and date of interview not given.

UMMAT: You have been accused of involvement in the attacks in New York and Washington. What do you want to say about this? If you are not involved, who might be?

USAMA BIN LADIN: In the name of Allah, the most beneficent, the most merciful. Praise be

²⁸ <http://www.alraialaam.com/13-11-2000/frontpage.htm#01>; <http://www.intellnet.org/news/2000/11/13/1320-1.html>

²⁹ <http://www.khilafah.com/home/category.php?DocumentID=2392&TagID=2>; http://serendipity.magnet.ch/wot/obl_int.htm

to Allah, who is the creator of the whole universe and who made the earth as an abode for peace, for the whole humankind. Allah is the Sustainer, who sent Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) for our guidance. I am thankful to the *Ummat Group of Publications*, which gave me the opportunity to convey my viewpoint to the people, particularly the valiant and *mu'min* (true Muslim) people of Pakistan who refused to believe the lies of the demon (Pakistani military dictator General Pervez Musharraf).

I have already said that I am not involved in the 11 September attacks in the United States. As a Muslim, I try my best to avoid telling a lie. I had no knowledge of these attacks, nor do I consider the killing of innocent women, children and other humans as an appreciable act. Islam strictly forbids causing harm to innocent women, children and other people. Such a practice is forbidden even in the course of a battle. It is the United States, which is perpetrating every maltreatment on women, children and common people of other faiths, particularly the followers of Islam. All that is going on in Palestine for the last 11 months is sufficient to call the wrath of God upon the United States and Israel. There is also a warning for those Muslim countries, which witnessed all these as a silent spectator. What had earlier been done to the innocent people of Iraq, Chechnya and Bosnia? Only one conclusion could be derived from the indifference of the United States and the West to these acts of terror and the patronage of the tyrants by these powers that America is an anti-Islamic power and it is patronizing the anti-Islamic forces. Its friendship with the Muslim countries is just a show, rather deceit. By enticing or intimidating these countries, the United States is forcing them to play a role of its choice. Put a glance all around and you will see that the slaves of the United States are either rulers or enemies of Muslims.

The US has no friends, nor does it want to keep any because the prerequisite of friendship is to come to the level of the friend or consider him at par with you. America does not want to see anyone equal to it. It expects slavery from others. Therefore, other countries are either its slaves or subordinates. However, our case is different. We have pledged slavery to God Almighty alone and after this pledge there is no possibility to become the slave of someone else. If we do that it will be disregarding to both our Sustainer and his fellow beings. Most of the world's nations upholding their freedom are the religious ones, which are the enemies of the United States, or the US itself considers them as its enemies.

The countries which do not agree to become the US slaves are China, Iran, Libya, Cuba, Syria [Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iraq, Sudan, Indonesia, Malaysia] and Russia. Whoever committed the act of 11 September are not the friends of the American people. I have already said that we are against the American system, not against its people, whereas in these attacks, the common American people have been killed. According to my information, the death toll is much higher than what the US Government has stated. But the Bush Administration does not want the panic to spread. The United States should try to trace the perpetrators of these attacks within itself; the people who are a part of the US system, but are dissenting against it. Or those who are working for some other system; persons who want to make the present century as a century of conflict between Islam and Christianity so that their own civilization, nation, country, or ideology could survive. They can be anyone, from Russia to Israel and from India to Serbia. In the US itself, there are dozens of well-organized and well-equipped groups, which are capable of causing a large-scale destruction. Then you cannot forget the American-Jews, who are annoyed with President Bush ever since the elections in Florida and want to avenge him. Then there are intelligence agencies in the US, which require billions of dollars worth of funds from the Congress and the government every year. This [funding issue] was not a big problem till the existence of the former Soviet Union but after that the budget of these agencies has been

in danger. They needed an enemy. So, they first started propaganda against Usama and Taliban and then this incident happened. You see, the Bush administration approved a budget of 40 billion dollars. Where will this huge amount go? It will be provided to the same agencies, which need huge funds and want to exert their importance. Now they will spend the money for their expansion and for increasing their importance. I will give you an example. Drug smugglers from all over the world are in contact with the US secret agencies. These agencies do not want to eradicate narcotics cultivation and trafficking because their importance will be diminished. The people in the US Drug Enforcement Department are encouraging drug trade so that they could show performance and get millions of dollars worth of budget. General Noriega was made a drug baron by the CIA and, when needed, he was made a scapegoat. In the same way, whether it is President Bush or any other US President, they cannot bring Israel to justice for its human rights abuses or to hold it accountable for such crimes. What is this? Is it not that there exists a government within the government in the United States? That secret government must be asked as to who carried out the attacks.

UMMAT: A number of world countries have joined the call of the United States for launching attacks on Afghanistan. These also include a number of Muslim countries. Will al-Qa‘ida declare a *jihad* against these Islamic countries as well?

UBL: I must say that my duty is just to awaken the Muslims; to tell them as to what is good for them and what is not. What does Islam say and what do the enemies of Islam want. Al-Qa‘ida was set up to wage a *jihad* against infidelity, particularly to counter the onslaught of the infidel countries against the Islamic states. *Jihad* is the sixth undeclared pillar of Islam. Every anti-Islamic person is afraid of *jihad*. Al-Qa‘ida wants to keep *jihad* alive and active and make it a part of the daily life of the Muslims. It wants to give it the status of worship. We are not against any Islamic country. We do not consider a war against an Islamic country as *jihad*. We are in favour of armed *jihad* only against those infidel governments, which are killing innocent Muslim men, women and children just because they are Muslims.

Supporting the U.S. act is the need of some Muslim countries and the compulsion of others. However, they should think as to what will remain of their religious and moral position if they support the attack of the Christians and the Jews on a Muslim country like Afghanistan. The orders of Islamic *Shari‘a* for such individuals, organizations and countries are clear and all the scholars of the Muslim brotherhood are unanimous on them. We will do the same, which is being ordered by the *Amir al-Mu‘minin* Muhammad ‘Umar and the Islamic scholars. The hearts of the people of Muslim countries are beating with the call of *jihad*. We are grateful to them.

UMMAT: The losses caused in the attacks in New York and Washington have proved that giving an economic blow to the US is not too difficult. US experts admit that a few more such attacks can bring down the American economy. Why is al-Qa‘ida not targeting their economic pillars?

UBL: I have already said that we are not hostile to the United States. We are against the [US Government] system, which makes other nations slaves of the United States, or forces them to mortgage their political and economic freedom. This system is totally in the control of the American Jews, whose first priority is Israel, not the United States. It is clear that the American people are themselves the slaves of the Jews and are forced to live according to the principles and laws laid down by them. So the punishment should reach Israel. In fact, it is Israel, which is giving a blood bath to innocent Muslims and the US is not uttering a single word.

UMMAT: Why is harm not caused to the enemies of Islam through other means, apart from the armed struggle? For instance, urging the Muslims to boycott Western products, banks, shipping lines and TV channels.

UBL: The first thing is that Western products could only be boycotted when the Muslim fraternity is fully awakened and organized. Secondly, the Muslim companies should become self-sufficient in producing goods equal to the products of Western companies.

Economic boycott of the West is not possible unless economic self-sufficiency is attained and substitute products are brought out. You see that wealth is scattered all across the Muslim World but not a single TV channel has been acquired which can preach Islamic injunctions according to modern requirements and attain an international influence. Muslim traders and philanthropists should make it a point that if the weapon of public opinion is to be used, it is to be kept in the hand. Today's world is of public opinion and the fates of nations are determined through its pressure. Once the tools for building public opinion are obtained, everything that you asked for can be done.

UMMAT: The entire propaganda about your struggle has so far been made by the Western media. But no information is being received from your sources about the network of al-Qa'ida and its *jihadi* successes. Would you comment?

UBL: In fact, the Western media is left with nothing else. It has no other theme to survive for a long time. Then we have many other things to do. The struggle for *jihad* and the successes are for the sake of Allah and not to annoy His bondsmen. Our silence is our real propaganda. Rejections, explanations, or corrigendum only waste your time and through them, the enemy wants you to engage in things which are not of use to you. These things are pulling you away from your cause. The Western media is unleashing such a baseless propaganda, which makes us surprise but it reflects on what is in their hearts and gradually they themselves become captive of this propaganda. They become afraid of it and begin to cause harm to themselves. Terror is the most dreaded weapon in modern age and the Western media is mercilessly using it against its own people. It can add fear and helplessness in the psyche of the people of Europe and the United States. It means that what the enemies of the United States cannot do, its media is doing that. You can understand as to what will be the performance of the nation in a war, which suffers from fear and helplessness.

UMMAT: What will be the impact of the freeze of al-Qa'ida's accounts by the US?

UBL: God opens up ways for those who work for Him. Freezing of accounts will not make any difference for al-Qa'ida or other *jihad* groups. With the grace of Allah, al-Qa'ida has more than three alternative financial systems, which are all separate and totally independent from each other. This system is operating under the patronage of those who love *jihad*. What to say of the United States, even the combined world cannot budge these people from their path. These people are not in hundreds but in thousands and millions. Al-Qa'ida comprises of such modern educated youths who are aware of the cracks inside the Western financial system as they are aware of the lines in their hands. These are the very flaws of the Western fiscal system, which are becoming a noose for it and this system could not recuperate in spite of the passage of so many days.

UMMAT: Are there other safe areas other than Afghanistan, where you can continue *jihad*?

UBL: There are areas in all parts of the world where strong *jihadi* forces are present, from Indonesia to Algeria, from Kabul to Chechnya, from Bosnia to Sudan, and from Burma to Kashmir. Then it is not the problem of my person. I am a helpless fellowman of God, constantly in the fear of my accountability before God. It is not the question of Usama but of Islam and, in Islam too, of *jihad*. Thanks to God, those waging a *jihad* can walk today with their heads raised. *Jihad* was still present when there was no Usama and it will remain as such even when Usama is no longer there. Allah opens up ways and creates loves in the hearts of people for those who walk on the path of Allah with their lives, property and children. Believe it, through *jihad*, a man gets everything he desires. And the biggest desire of a Muslim is the life after death. Martyrdom is the shortest way of attaining an eternal life.

UMMAT: What do you say about the Pakistan Government policy on Afghanistan attack?

UBL: We are thankful to the *mu'min* and valiant people of Pakistan who erected a blockade in front of the evil forces and stood in the first file of battle. Pakistan is a great hope for the Islamic brotherhood. Its people are awakened, organized and rich in the spirit of faith. They backed Afghanistan in its war against the Soviet Union and extended every help to the *mujahidin* (freedom fighters) and the Afghan people. Then these are very Pakistanis who are standing shoulder by shoulder with the Taliban. If such people emerge in just two countries, the domination of the West will diminish in a matter of days. Our hearts beat with Pakistan and, God forbid, if a difficult time comes we will protect it with our blood. Pakistan is sacred for us like a place of worship. We are the people of *jihad* and fighting for the defense of Pakistan is the best of all *jihads* to us. It does not matter for us as to who reforms Pakistan. The important thing is that the spirit of *jihad* is alive and stronger in the hearts of the Pakistani people.”

2.16 Intervju med Taysir Aluni, *al-Jazira*, oktober 2001

I oktober 2001 ble Usama bin Ladin intervjuet av *al-Jaziras* korrespondent Taysir Aluni på et hemmelig sted i Afghanistan. Dette intervjuet regnes som det første sikre intervjuet med bin Ladin etter 11. september 2001 og er derfor svært interessant. Intervjuet ble imidlertid ikke vist på TV, og på grunn av frykt for politiske reaksjoner fra USA nektet faktisk *al-Jazira* en stund for at intervjuet eksisterte.

Det hele utviklet seg til en liten skandale da CNN på ukjent vis fikk tak i en kopi av intervjuet og bekreftet dets eksistens ved å legge ut et referat i engelsk oversettelse på Internett.³⁰ Ledelsen i *al-Jazira* ble rasende og brøt alle forretningsforbindelser med CNN.

”TAYSIR ALUNI: Dear viewers, welcome to this much-anticipated interview with the leader of the al-Qa‘ida organization, Shaykh Usama bin Ladin.

Shaykh, the question that’s on the mind of many people around the world: America claims that it has convincing evidence of your collusion in the events in New York and

³⁰ <http://europe.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/asiapcf/south/02/05/binladen.transcript/index.html>; Se også <http://crime.about.com/library/blfiles/blUsamainterview.htm> og <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/interviews/aljazeera10-21-2001-1.cfm>. Se <http://nandotimes.com/entertainment/story/237142p%2D2266239c.html> for dekning av konflikten mellom CNN og *al-Jazira*.

Washington. What's your answer?

Usama bin Ladin: America has made many accusations against us and many other Muslims around the world. Its charge that we are carrying out acts of terrorism is an unwarranted description. We never heard in our lives a court decision to convict someone based on a 'secret' proof it has. The logical thing to do is to present a proof to a court of law. What many leaders have said so far is that America has an indication only, and not a tangible proof. They describe those brave guys who took the battle to the heart of America and destroyed its most famous economic and military landmarks. They did this, as we understand it, and this is something we have agitated for before, as a matter of self-defense, in defense of our brothers and sons in Palestine, and to liberate our sacred religious sites/things. If inciting people to do that is terrorism, and if killing those who kill our sons is terrorism, then let history be witness that we are terrorists.

TA: Shaykh, those who follow your statements and speeches may link your threats to what happened in America. To quote one of your latest statements: 'I swear that America won't enjoy security before we live it for real in Palestine.' It is easy for anyone following developments to link the acts to your threats.

UBL: It is easy to link them. We have agitated for this for years and we have issued statements and *fatawa* to that effect. This appeared in the investigations into the four young men who destroyed the American center in Ulayya in Riyadh, as disclosed and published by the Saudi government. The [Saudis] reported that they were influenced by some of the *fatawa* and statements that we issued. Also, apart from that, incitement continues in many meetings and has been published in the media. If they mean, or if you mean, that there is a link as a result of our incitement, then it is true. We incite because incitement is our [unintelligible] today. God assigned incitement to the best of all mankind, Muhammad, who said, 'Fight for the sake of God. Assign this to no one but yourself, and incite the faithful.' [Bin Ladin recites verses from the *Qur'an*.] This is a true response. We have incited battle against Americans and Jews. This is true.

TA: Al-Qa'ida is facing now a country that leads the world militarily, politically, technologically. Surely, the al-Qa'ida organization does not have the economic means that the United States has. How can al-Qa'ida defeat America militarily?

UBL: This battle is not between al-Qa'ida and the US. This is a battle of Muslims against the global crusaders. In the past when al-Qa'ida fought with the *mujahidin*, we were told, 'Wow, can you defeat the Soviet Union?' The Soviet Union scared the whole world then. NATO used to tremble of fear of the Soviet Union. Where is that power now? We barely remember it. It broke down into many small states and Russia remained. God, who provided us with his support and kept us steadfast until the Soviet Union was defeated, is able to provide us once more with his support to defeat America on the same land and with the same people. We believe that the defeat of America is possible, with the help of God, and is even easier for us, God permitting, than the defeat of the Soviet Union was before.

TA: How can you explain that?

UBL: We experienced the Americans through our brothers who went into combat against them in Somalia, for example. We found they had no power worthy of mention. There was a huge aura over America - the United States - that terrified people even before they entered combat.

Our brothers who were here in Afghanistan tested them, and together with some of the *mujahidin* in Somalia, God granted them victory. America exited dragging its tails in failure, defeat, and ruin, caring for nothing.

America left faster than anyone expected. It forgot all that tremendous media fanfare about the new world order, that it is the master of that order, and that it does whatever it wants. It forgot all of these propositions, gathered up its army, and withdrew in defeat, thanks be to God. We experienced combat against the Russians for 10 years, from 1979 to 1989, thanks be to God. Then we continued against the communists in Afghanistan. Today, we're at the end of our second week. There is no comparison between the two battles, between this group and that. We pray to God to give us His support and to make America ever more reluctant. God is capable of that.

TA: You said you want to defeat America on this land. Don't you think that the presence of al-Qa'ida on Afghanistan soil is costing the Afghan people a high price?

UBL: This is a partial point of view. When we came to Afghanistan to support the *mujahidin* in 1979, against the Russians, the Saudi government asked me officially not to enter Afghanistan due to how close my family is to the Saudi leadership. They ordered me to stay in Peshawar, because in the event the Russians arrested me that will be a proof of our support of the *mujahidin* against the Soviet Union. At that time, the whole world was scared of the Soviet Union. I didn't obey their order. They thought my entry into Afghanistan was damning to them. I didn't listen to them and I went into Afghanistan for the first time.

We sacrificed a lot in order to keep the Muslim faith alive and save the children. This is a duty for every Muslim, in general, not the Afghans especially. If I run to the rescue of my brothers in Palestine, it doesn't mean it's Usama's duty alone. This is a duty of all Muslims. The *jihād* is a duty for everyone, not just for the Afghans. The Afghans are suffering, that's true, but this is their Islamic duty. As far as the bombing of Afghanistan, this is not a personal vendetta. America didn't take my money or hurt me in any way. The bombing is a direct effect of our inciting against the Jews and the Americans.

America is against the establishment of any Islamic government. The prophet has said, 'They will be target because of their religion.' Not because Usama bin Ladin is there. When I came here the first time it was because of a desire to revive the Muslim spirit and an attempt at rescuing the children and the powerless. The British attacked Afghanistan before Usama bin Ladin was here, Russians came here before me and now the Americans. We pray that God will defeat them just like He did their allies before them. We ask God to give us the power to defeat them as we did others before.

TA: Let's get back to what happened in New York and Washington. What is your assessment of the attacks on America? What's their effect on America and the Muslim world?

UBL: The events of Tuesday, September the 11th, in New York and Washington are great on all levels. Their repercussions are not over. Although the collapse of the Twin Towers is huge, but the events that followed, and I'm not just talking about the economic repercussions, those are continuing, the events that followed are dangerous and more enormous than the collapse of the towers. The values of this Western civilization under the leadership of America have been destroyed. Those awesome symbolic towers that speak of liberty, human rights, and humanity

have been destroyed. They have gone up in smoke.

The proof came when the US Government pressured the media not to run our statements that are not longer than very few minutes. They felt that the truth started to reach the American people, the truth that we are not terrorists as they understand it but because we are being attacked in Palestine, Iraq, Lebanon, Sudan, Somalia, Kashmir, the Philippines and everywhere else. They understood the truth that this is a reaction from the youth of the Muslim nation against the British government. They forgot all about fair and objective reporting and reporting the other side of the issue. I tell you freedom and human rights in America are doomed. The US Government will lead the American people and the West in general will enter an unbearable hell and a choking life because the Western leadership acts under the Zionist lobby's influence for the purpose of serving Israel, which kills our sons unlawfully in order for them to remain in their leadership positions.

TA: What is your assessment of the Arabic reaction and the effects on the Islamic world? Some were joyous. Others said, 'We can't accept this. This is terrorism, not Islam.'

UBL: The events proved the extent of terrorism that America exercises in the world. Bush stated that the world has to be divided in two: Bush and his supporters, and any country that doesn't get into the global crusade is with the terrorists. What terrorism is clearer than this? Many governments were forced to support this 'new terrorism.' They had to go along with this although they knew that we are defending our brothers and defending our sacred values. Many Western and Eastern leaders have said that the true roots of terrorism should be dealt with; they meant the Palestinian cause. Then we have a righteous cause, but they couldn't admit this out loud of fear of America. They say we are terrorists but solve the Palestinian cause. All of a sudden, Bush and Blair declared, 'The time has come to establish an independent state for Palestine.' Throughout the past years the time hasn't come, until after these attacks, for the establishment of the Palestinian state. They only understand the language of attacks and killings. Just as they're killing us, we have to kill them so that there will be a balance of terror. This is the first time the balance of terror has been close between the two parties, between Muslims and Americans, in the modern age. American politicians used to do whatever they wanted with us. The victim was forbidden to scream or to moan. [unintelligible]

Clinton has said, 'Israel has the right to defend itself,' after the massacres of Qana. He didn't even reprimand Israel. When the new President Bush and Colin Powell declared in the first few months of their taking office that they will move the American embassy to Jerusalem. They said Jerusalem will be the eternal capital of Israel. They got a standing ovation in Congress and the Senate. This is the biggest bigotry, and this is tyranny loud and clear.

The battle has moved to inside America. We will work to continue this battle, God permitting, until victory or until we meet God before that occurs.

TA: Shaykh, I see that most of your answers are about Palestine and the Palestinian cause. In the beginning, your focus on killing the unfaithful and the Jews ... and you specified then that the Americans should be sent out of the Arabian Peninsula. Now you're turning your attention to Palestine first and the Arabian Peninsula second. What's your comment?

UBL: *Jihad* is a duty to liberate al-Aqsa, and to help the powerless in Palestine, Iraq and Lebanon and in every Muslim country. There is no doubt that the liberation of the Arabian Peninsula from infidels is a duty as well. But it is not right to say that Usama put the Palestinian

issue first. I have given speeches in which I encourage Muslims to boycott America economically. I said Americans take our money and give it to Israel to kill our children in Palestine. I established a front a few years ago named ‘The Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and the Crusaders.’ Sometimes we find the right elements to push for one cause more than the other. Last year’s blessed intifada helped us to push more for the Palestinian issue. This push helps the other cause. Attacking America helps the cause of Palestine and vice versa. No conflict between the two; on the contrary, one serves the other.

TA: Shaykh, now let’s talk about Christians and Jews. You issued a *fatwa* for *jihad* against the Christians and the Jews. As we can see, some other clerics also issued *fatwas*. There might be some who share your views, and some who oppose them and said this is against the teachings of Islam They ask how can you kill a Jew or a Christian or a Catholic just because of his religion? They say that your statements contradict what Muslim clerics teach.

UBL: God bless Allah, many *fatwas* have been declared on these issues, especially in Pakistan. Sami Zai in Pakistan is a very well known authority on this. He has written many times on the subject. So did the famous ‘Abdallah bin Ukhma al-Shahabi of Saudi Arabia. I read a book titled ‘The Truth About The New Crusades.’ They all wrote about and allowed the fighting of Americans and Israelis in Palestine and allowing their killings and destroying their economies and properties.

TA [interrupting]: How about the killing of innocent civilians?

UBL: The killing of innocent civilians, as America and some intellectuals claim, is really very strange talk. Who said that our children and civilians are not innocent and that shedding their blood is justified? That it is lesser in degree? When we kill their innocents, the entire world from east to west screams at us, and America rallies its allies, agents, and the sons of its agents. Who said that our blood is not blood, but theirs is? Who made this pronouncement? Who has been getting killed in our countries for decades? More than 1 million children, more than 1 million children died in Iraq and others are still dying. Why do we not hear someone screaming or condemning, or even someone’s words of consolation or condolence?

How come millions of Muslims are being killed? Where are the experts, the writers, the scholars and the freedom fighters, where are the ones who have an ounce a faith in them? They react only if we kill American civilians, and every day we are being killed, children are being killed in Palestine. We should review the books. Human nature makes people stand with the powerful without noticing it. When they talk about us, they know we won’t respond to them. In the past, an Arab king once killed an ordinary Arab man. The people started wondering how come kings have the right to kill people just like that. Then the victim’s brother went and killed the king in revenge. People were disappointed with the young man and asked him, ‘How could you kill a king for your brother?’ The man said, ‘My brother is my king.’ We consider all our children in Palestine to be kings. We kill the kings of the infidels, kings of the crusaders, and civilian infidels in exchange for those of our children they kill. This is permissible in law and intellectually.

TA: So what you are saying is that this is a type of reciprocal treatment. They kill our innocents, so we kill their innocents.

UBL: So we kill their innocents, and I say it is permissible in law and intellectually, because

those who spoke on this matter spoke from a juridical perspective.

TA: What is their position?

UBL: That it is not permissible. They spoke of evidence that the Messenger of God forbade the killing of women and children. This is true.

[Break in tape.]

TA: This is exactly what I'm asking about.

UBL: However, this prohibition of the killing of children and innocents is not absolute. It is not absolute. There are other texts that restrict it.

I agree that the Prophet Muhammad forbade the killing of babies and women. That is true, but this is not absolute. There is a saying, 'If the infidels killed women and children on purpose, we shouldn't shy way from treating them in the same way to stop them from doing it again.' The men that God helped [attack, on September 11] did not intend to kill babies; they intended to destroy the strongest military power in the world, to attack the Pentagon that houses more than 64,000 employees, a military center that houses the strength and the military intelligence.

TA: How about the twin towers?

UBL: The towers are an economic power and not a children's school. Those that were there are men that supported the biggest economic power in the world. They have to review their books. We will do as they do. If they kill our women and our innocent people, we will kill their women and their innocent people until they stop.

TA: Media organizations as well as intelligence information says that you run a big network in some 40 to 50 countries. There is information that al-Qa'ida is very influential and powerful and it is behind attacks and Islamic foundations and terrorist organizations. How much is al-Qa'ida dependent on Usama bin Ladin?

UBL: This has nothing to do with this poor servant of God, nor with the al-Qa'ida organization. We are the children of an Islamic nation whose leader is Muhammad.

We have one religion, one God, one book, one prophet, one nation. Our book teaches us to be brothers of a faith. All the Muslims are brothers. The name 'al-Qa'ida' was established a long time ago by mere chance. The late Abu Ubayda al-Banashiri established the training camps for our *mujahidin* against Russia's terrorism. We used to call the training camp al-Qa'ida [meaning 'the base' in English]. And the name stayed. We speak about the conscience of the nation; we are the sons of the nation. We brothers in Islam from the Middle East, Philippines, Malaysia, India, Pakistan and as far as Mauritania.

Those men who sacrificed themselves in New York and Washington, they are the spokesmen of the nation's conscience. They are the nation's conscience that saw they have to avenge against the oppression.

Not all terrorism is cursed; some terrorism is blessed. A thief, a criminal, for example feels terrorized by the police. So, do we say to the policeman, 'You are a terrorist?' No. Police terrorism against criminals is a blessed terrorism because it will prevent the criminal from

repeating his deed. America and Israel exercise the condemned terrorism. We practice the good terrorism which stops them from killing our children in Palestine and elsewhere.

TA: What's al-Qa'ida's strategic plan in the Arab world? Some countries had commented about what's going on while others supported the Americans in their position toward you. The Saudi interior minister warned people against you, and against what you say, and against what you do and the path you follow. What's your reaction to his statement?

UBL: We are a part of that nation. We work hard to lift it out of oppression, and to stop those who want to manipulate its book and its God. I heard some of what the Saudi Interior Minister said when he said that we are turning Muslims to atheists, God forbid. Our goal is for our nation to unite in the face of the Christian crusade. This is the fiercest battle. Muslims have never faced anything bigger than this. Bush said it in his own words: 'crusade.' When Bush says that, they try to cover up for him, then he said he didn't mean it. He said 'crusade.' Bush divided the world into two: 'either with us or with terrorism.' Bush is the leader; he carries the big cross and walks. I swear that every one who follows Bush in his scheme has given up Islam and the word of the prophet. This is very clear. The prophet has said, 'Believers don't follow Jews or Christians.' Our wise people have said that those who follow the unfaithful have become unfaithful themselves. Those who follow Bush in his crusade against Muslims have denounced God. [Bin Ladin recites verses from the *Qur'an* on same subject.] Those who support Bush, even with one word, have fallen.

TA: Even with one word: You are putting a big group of Muslims in the circle.

UBL: Know the truth and its roots. The book of God is our guide. Either Islam or atheism.

TA: Can small countries like Qatar, or Bahrain or Kuwait, which don't have much control, be excused? The Qatari foreign minister said, 'I am surrounded by superpowers that will very easily wipe me off the map. That's why I have to ally myself with Americans and others.'

UBL: In the subject of Islam and the killing of the faithful, what those people are doing cannot be excused. If the emir of Qatar orders someone to kill your child, and you ask this person why he did it, he'll say, 'Look, brother Taysir, I like you very much, but I was forced to do it.' Nothing will excuse him for aiding the tyrant to kill your child. Your child's blood goes to waste like this. They claim that they don't have much control. Their claim that they were forced into it is not considered righteous in Islam. People's blood is being wasted in this case.

TA: What do you think of the so-called 'war of civilizations'? You always keep repeating 'crusaders' and words like that all the time. Does that mean you support the war of civilizations?

UBL: No doubt about that: The book mentions this clearly. The Jews and the Americans made up this call for peace in the world. The peace they're calling for is a big fairy tale. They're just drugging the Muslims as they lead them to slaughter. And the slaughter is still going on. If we defend ourselves, they call us terrorists. The prophet has said, 'The end won't come before the Muslims and the Jews fight each other till the Jew hides between a tree and a stone. Then the tree and stone say, 'Oh, you Muslim, this is a Jew hiding behind me. Come and kill him.' He who claims there will be a lasting peace between us and the Jews is an infidel. He'll be denouncing the book and what's in it. Begin, the leader of the massacre of Kfar Yassin, and the

traitor, Anwar Sadat, who sold the land and the blood of the *mujahidin* both were given the Nobel Peace Prize. There will come some deceiving times where the liars will be believed and the truthful won't be believed. That's the situation in the Arab world with its great leadership. They are lying to people. But God's relief and victory is coming soon.

TA: As you call it, this is a war between the crusaders and Muslims. How do you see the way out of this crisis?

UBL: We are in a decisive battle with the Jews and those who support them from the crusaders and the Zionists. We won't hesitate to kill the Israelis who occupied our land and kill our children and women day and night. And every person who will side with them should blame themselves only. Now how we will get out of the tunnel, that is the [unintelligible] of the other side. We were attacked, and our duty is to remove this attack. As far as the Jews are concerned, the prophet has announced that we will fight them under this name, on this land. America forced itself and its people in this [unintelligible] more than 53 years ago. It recognized Israel and supported its creation financially. In 1973, under Nixon, it supported Israel with men, weapons and ammunition from Washington all the way to Tel Aviv. This support helped change the course of history. It is the Muslim's duty to fight. [...]

[America] made hilarious claims. They said that Usama's messages have codes in them to the terrorists. It's as if we were living in the time of mail by carrier pigeon, when there are no phones, no travelers, no Internet, no regular mail, no express mail, and no electronic mail. I mean, these are very humorous things. They discount people's intellects.

We swore that America wouldn't live in security until we live it truly in Palestine. This showed the reality of America, which puts Israel's interest above its own people's interest. America won't get out of this crisis until it gets out of the Arabian Peninsula, and until it stops its support of Israel. This equation can be understood by any American child, but Bush, because he's an Israeli agent, cannot understand this equation unless the swords threatened him above his head.

TA: Do you have anything to do with anthrax that is spreading around the world?

UBL: These diseases are a punishment from God and a response to oppressed mothers' prayers in Lebanon, Iraq and Palestine. There is no wall between the prayer of the oppressed and God. This is God's response to these prayers.

TA: Do you have a message for the viewers of *al-Jazira*? You know *al-Jazira* is now translated into so many languages and transmitted around the world.

UBL: In this fighting between Islam and the crusaders, we will continue our *jihad*. We will incite the nation for *jihad* until we meet God and get his blessing. Any country that supports the Jews can only blame itself. If Shaykh Sulayman Abu Ghayth spoke specifically about America and Britain, this is only an example to give other countries the chance to review their books. What do Japan or Australia or Germany have to do with this war? They just support the infidels and the crusaders. This is a recurring war. The original crusade brought Richard, and the crusading countries rushed as soon as Bush raised the cross. They accepted the rule of the cross.

What do the Arab countries have to do with this crusade? Everyone that supports Bush, even with one word, is an act of great treason. You change your name and you help the enemy to kill our children, and you are telling me we are facilitating things between us and the Americans.

What are they talking about? Those who talk about the loss of innocent people didn't yet taste how it feels when you lose a child, don't know how it feels when you look in your child's eyes and all you see is fear, don't know how it feels when, in Palestine, our brothers are being hunted by army helicopters in the middle of their own homes with their families and children.

Everyday. They show you the injured and the dead, and they shed tears, but no tears are shed for our women and children killed in Palestine. Are they not afraid that one day they get the same treatment? [Bin Ladin recites verses from the *Qur'an* on same subject.] The Europeans are free, but when they side with the Jews, that their [unintelligible]. I tell Muslims to believe in the victory of God and in *jihad* against the infidels of the world. The killing of Jews and Americans is one of the greatest duties.

[More Quranic verses.]

Remember the saying, 'If they want to exile you, they can't exile you unless it is written by God.' Don't ask anyone's opinion when it comes to the killing of Americans, and remember your appointment with God and the best of the prophets.

[More Quranic verses.]

As far as Pakistan siding with the crusaders, our brothers in Pakistan and their actions will facilitate our attack on the coalition of crusaders. Everyone supporting America, even medically, is considered renouncing Islam. Our brother in Pakistan should react pretty quick and strong in order to praise God and his prophet. Today, Islam is calling on you to act quickly.

[Quoting the farewell speech of Muhammad] 'Oh, Islam, oh, Islam, there is no other god than God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God.'"

2.17 Intervju med Hamid Mir, *The Dawn*, 7. november 2001

Den pakistanske journalisten Hamid Mir intervjuet Usama bin Ladin på et hemmelig sted utenfor Kabul natt til 7. november 2001, mens de amerikanske militæroperasjonene pågikk for fullt (se figur 2.3). Ayman al-Zawahiri var også til stede. Dette intervjuet er det siste kjente intervjuet med bin Ladin etter terroraksjonene i USA 11. september 2001.³¹

³¹ <http://www.dawn.com/2001/11/10/top1.htm>; se også <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/interviews/index.cfm>.



Figur 2.3 Bilde av Usama bin Ladin og Hamid Mir, dato ukjent (Kilde: The Dawn)

”Hamid Mir: After American bombing on Afghanistan on Oct 7, you told the *al-Jazira* TV that the Sept 11 attacks had been carried out by some Muslims. How did you know they were Muslims?

Usama bin Ladin: The Americans themselves released a list of the suspects of the Sept 11 attacks, saying that the persons named were involved in the attacks. They were all Muslims, of whom 15 belonged to Saudi Arabia, two were from the UAE and one from Egypt. According to the information I have, they were all passengers. Fateha [sic] was held for them in their homes. But America said they were hijackers.

HM: In your statement of Oct 7, you expressed satisfaction over the Sept 11 attacks, although a large number of innocent people perished in them, hundreds among them were Muslims. Can you justify the killing of innocent men in the light of Islamic teachings?

UBL: This is a major point in jurisprudence. In my view, if an enemy occupies a Muslim territory and uses common people as human shield, then it is permitted to attack that enemy. For instance, if bandits barge into a home and hold a child hostage, then the child’s father can attack the bandits and in that attack even the child may get hurt.

America and its allies are massacring us in Palestine, Chechenya, Kashmir and Iraq. The Muslims have the right to attack America in reprisal. The Islamic *Shari’a* says Muslims should not live in the land of the infidel for long. The Sept 11 attacks were not targeted at women and children. The real targets were America’s icons of military and economic power. The holy Prophet (peace be upon him) was against killing women and children. When he saw a dead woman during a war, he asked why was she killed? If a child is above 13 and wields a weapon against Muslims, then it is permitted to kill him.

The American people should remember that they pay taxes to their government, they elect their president, their government manufactures arms and gives them to Israel and Israel uses them to massacre Palestinians. The American Congress endorses all government measures and this proves that the entire America is responsible for the atrocities perpetrated against Muslims. The entire America, because they elect the Congress [sic]. I ask the American people to force their government to give up anti-Muslim policies. The American people had risen against their

government's war in Vietnam. They must do the same today. The American people should stop the massacre of Muslims by their government.

HM: Can it be said that you are against the American government, not the American people?

UBL: Yes! We are carrying on the mission of our Prophet, Muhammad (peace be upon him). The mission is to spread the word of God, not to indulge in massacring people. We ourselves are the target of killings, destruction and atrocities. We are only defending ourselves. This is defensive *jihad*. We want to defend our people and our land. That is why I say that if we don't get security, the Americans, too would not get security. This is a simple formula that even an American child can understand. This is the formula of live and let live.

HM: The head of Egypt's mosque al-Azhar has issued a *fatwa* (edict) against you, saying that the views and beliefs of Usama bin Ladin have nothing to do with Islam. What do you have to say about that?

UBL: The *fatwa* of any official '*alim*' has no value for me. History is full of such '*ulama*' who justify *riba*, who justify the occupation of Palestine by the Jews, who justify the presence of American troops around the two holy places. These people support the infidels for their personal gain. The true '*ulama*' support the *jihad* against America. Tell me if Indian forces invaded Pakistan what would you do? The Israeli forces occupy our land and the American troops are on our territory. We have no other option but to launch *jihad*.

HM: Some Western media claim that you are trying to acquire chemical and nuclear weapons. How much truth is there in such reports?

UBL: I heard the speech of American President Bush yesterday (Oct 7). He was scaring the European countries that Usama wanted to attack with weapons of mass destruction. I wish to declare that if America used chemical or nuclear weapons against us, then we may retort with chemical and nuclear weapons. We have the weapons as deterrent.

HM: Where did you get these weapons from?

UBL: Go to the next question.

HM: Demonstrations are being held in many European countries against American attacks on Afghanistan. Thousands of the protesters were non-Muslims. What is your opinion about those non-Muslim protesters?

UBL: There are many innocent and good-hearted people in the West. American media instigates them against Muslims. However, some good-hearted people are protesting against American attacks because human nature abhors injustice. The Muslims were massacred under the UN patronage in Bosnia. I am aware that some officers of the State Department had resigned in protest. Many years ago the US ambassador in Egypt had resigned in protest against the policies of President Jimmy Carter. Nice and civilized people are everywhere. The Jewish lobby has taken America and the West hostage.

HM: Some people say that war is no solution to any issue. Do you think that some political formula could be found to stop the present war?

UBL: You should put this question to those who have started this war. We are only defending ourselves.

HM: If America got out of Saudi Arabia and the al-Aqsa mosque was liberated, would you then present yourself for trial in some Muslim country?

UBL: Only Afghanistan is an Islamic country. Pakistan follows English law. I don't consider Saudi Arabia an Islamic country. If the Americans have charges against me, we too have a charge sheet against them.

HM: Pakistan's government decided to co-operate with America after Sept 11, which you don't consider right. What do you think Pakistan should have done but to co-operate with America?

UBL: The government of Pakistan should have the wishes of the people in view. It should not have surrendered to the unjustified demands of America. America does not have solid proof against us. It just has some surmises. It is unjust to start bombing on the basis of those surmises.

HM: Had America decided to attack Pakistan with the help of India and Israel, what would have we done?

UBL: What has America achieved by attacking Afghanistan? We will not leave the Pakistani people and the Pakistani territory at anybody's mercy. We will defend Pakistan. But we have been disappointed by General Pervez Musharraf. He says that the majority is with him. I say the majority is against him. Bush has used the word crusade. This is a crusade declared by Bush. It is no wisdom to barter off blood of Afghan brethren to improve Pakistan's economy. He will be punished by the Pakistani people and Allah. Right now a great war of Islamic history is being fought in Afghanistan. All the big powers are united against Muslims. It is *sawab* to participate in this war.

HM: A French newspaper has claimed that you had kidney problem and had secretly gone to Dubai for treatment last year. Is that correct?

UBL: My kidneys are all right. I did not go to Dubai last year. One British newspaper has published an imaginary interview with Islamabad dateline with one of my sons who lives in Saudi Arabia. All this is false.

HM: Is it correct that a daughter of Mulla 'Umar is your wife or your daughter is Mulla 'Umar's wife?

UBL: (Laughs). All my wives are Arabs (and all my daughters are married to Arab *mujahidin*). I have a spiritual relationship with Mulla 'Umar. He is a great and brave Muslim of this age. He does not fear anyone but Allah. He is not under any personal relationship or obligation to me. He is only discharging his religious duty. I, too, have not chosen this life out of any personal consideration."

3 INTERVJUER MED ANDRE SENTRALE AL-QA‘IDA-MEDLEMMER

3.1 Abu Hafs “Mauritaneren” intervjuet på *al-Jazira*, 30. november 2001

Den 30. november 2001 sendte *al-Jazira* et intervju med den sentrale al-Qa‘ida-lederen Mahfuz Walad al-Walid, bedre kjent som Abu Hafs ”Mauritaneren”.³² *Al-Jaziras* korrespondent i Kandahar, Yusuf al-Shuli, gjennomførte intervjuet på et ukjent sted i Afghanistan.

”Q: ...the Al-Qa‘ida spokesman [Suleiman Abu Gheith, in the video broadcast by *al-Jazira*] threatened another storm of airplanes...

Abu Hafs: He didn’t threaten. He said: ‘The Americans, with their old policy, bore the fruit of the events of September 11. The fact that they continue with their old policy in addition to the new American aggression against Afghanistan will multiply these matters. But let me complete [this] by telling you another very important thing’: In the U.S. [administration] there are [agencies] legally responsible for safeguarding the security of America and the Americans. It is they who should be held accountable. The biggest budget of all the intelligence apparatuses in the world is spent on American intelligence. The FBI, with offices everywhere and dozens of other apparatuses, is entrusted with safeguarding America’s security, on which the Americans spend billions of dollars of their tax money and their private funds so they will ensure their security. Where were these apparatuses when these things occurred? These apparatuses have satellites, ground stations, millions of spies, and huge budgets. It is said that they know what is happening in the bedrooms, that they know the shoe sizes of the wanted [men]. How did a group of people manage to stay for years, to train inside the U.S., and to plan this operation? They trained in America, not Afghanistan. The caves of Afghanistan are unsuitable for training pilots on the newest American airplanes. Those people found a security breach as big as a whole fleet of hijacked civilian aircraft, and managed to shove America's nose into the ground, to strike it with this lightning, to take it by surprise, and to strike it with the greatest of military, security, political, and economic blows.

What every American should do is to call his administration to account for its oppressing, tyrannical policy that incited those people to do what they did. The intelligence, security, and defense apparatuses should be held accountable for their failure and their inability to deal with these attacks. The heads of these apparatuses must, at the very least, submit their resignations and apologize to the American public – but instead of doing this, instead of acknowledging their responsibility, they blamed others, sought a scapegoat, and found one in Afghanistan.

Q: You're saying, then, that these operations brought about the results you hoped for?

Abu Hafs: ...I cannot conceal the fact that we here in Afghanistan, like hundreds of millions of Muslims throughout the world could not contain our joy when we saw America taste, for one day, what the Islamic people has been swallowing every day for decades because of the actions of the U.S., both directly and indirectly. We rejoiced at this. Although we did not carry them

³² Se Middle East Media Research Institute, *Special Dispatch Series*, 313; http://www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=countries&Area=persianguulf&ID=SP31301#_edn1; Abu Hafs er også kjent under navnet Khalid al-Shanqiti.

out, these blows coincided with our interests, and their results were significant for us.

Q: Now, after America has gone to war against you [i.e. Al-Qa'ida] and against Afghanistan, are you promising anything?

Abu Hafs: We are not promising anything, and we do not need to promise. We are now engaged in open war. We declared [war] on the Americans and the Americans declared [war] on us. The Americans are sparing no means. So far, the [amount of explosives in the] bombs and missiles that have fallen on Afghanistan is many times greater than the atom bombs that the U.S. dropped on Japan during World War II. If you count up all the explosives that have fallen in over a month on Afghanistan, the amount is double. America has used weapons it never used before in any previous war. But so far America has not managed to accomplish any of the goals it set for itself when it declared its Crusader war against Afghanistan.

Q: All right. What is your military situation, forty-two days after the beginning of the war?

Abu Hafs: Our battle with the Americans has not yet begun. In the meantime, it's all aerial bombing from a distance. Eighty percent of the targets hit by the American planes and smart bombs are civilian. You at *al-Jazira* broadcast horrible pictures that express American cultural and moral values; you broadcast pictures of the children killed in their mothers' arms; you broadcast pictures of the ruined mosques and the charred *Qur'ans* inside them; you broadcast pictures of the villages destroyed along with all their residents. These are the results of the American bombing so far. In contrast, we, as a military force, have not yet used the forces of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, the al-Qa'ida forces, and other forces. Not a single bullet has been fired. We are still waiting for the day the Americans come to fight on land. On that day, the real war with the Americans will begin. The Americans are still postponing that day, meanwhile, after the failed landing operations that they tried to carry out, and during which they have so far lost eight military aircraft – only some of which they acknowledged. You broadcast the pictures of the debris of the other airplanes that they did not acknowledge.

Q: All right. Now, the Taliban has retreated and is losing positions. It has lost the North, it has lost the capital Kabul, it has lost Herat, it has lost other cities. This rapid retreat... or, perhaps better to say, if the expression can be used... sorry, this rapid retreat – how do you analyze this?

Abu Hafs: Anyone who follows Afghanistan's history realizes that shifts in control of a particular city or district have little meaning, militarily speaking. Before America came, and before the Crusader war it is waging in Afghanistan, there were exchanges of control over the city of Mazar al-Sharif, and other cities such as Bamyan. Yesterday, Mazar al-Sharif fell; today, the students [i.e. the Taliban movement] announced that they have retaken it. The students withdrew from many positions, but they will retake them. We are not talking about a real success against the Taliban movement, against the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, or against Al-Qa'ida. America set goals for itself, and only the goals that are accomplished should be credited to America.

America stated that its first goal was to destroy the Al-Qa'ida infrastructure, and to assassinate or arrest its leaders. So far, none of this has been accomplished. America has managed to destroy a few houses made of tin and mud in the mountains. The value of all these houses together does not approach the value of one of the thousand missiles it launched to destroy us.

These positions were evacuated long before. Americans tried to land on the house of the Emir of the Believers [Mulla Muhammad ‘Umar]; you saw the debris of the American airplanes downed by the *mujahidin*, although the guarding force was very small – because the site had been evacuated long before.

America has not succeeded in toppling the Taliban movement, and so far the movement has maintained its cohesion, and has not become more flexible in its political positions. America has pinned its hopes on creating a schism in the movement, and Pakistan supported it. America used every means of temptation and intimidation, but did not manage to seduce even one of the students [Taliban] leaders into creating a schism. The ranks are still united. So far, not even one of the American offensive’s goals has been met – something which has made them change strategy and push the opposition to take several cities. If truth be told, in the long term this is a card against the American political plan, because the media broadcast the atrocities carried out by the opposition today and yesterday in Mazar al-Sharif, as well as how the plunder and intimidation continued. The UN saw it too.

The model that we saw in Mazar al-Sharif is the model that will recur in every city or village taken by the opposition. Then, the people will know the value of the Taliban movement, and what security and stability it brought; how it defended the honor and property of the people after the dirty war in which all sides participated. History is repeating itself now. The cities taken by the opposition in the past two days have begun to return to their life before the Taliban. These are the same conditions that prepared the ground for the Taliban. They are the same conditions that will prepare the ground for the Taliban to return and take over in the future, Allah willing.

Q: I sense in your words more support for the Taliban movement than for the Al-Qa‘ida movement. Why do you support the Taliban so strongly?

Abu Hafs: I support the Taliban for several reasons. First, because support for it is support for the truth. We are Muslims, preaching the truth; we are commanded to make the truth prevail... I would not be exaggerating if I said that today there is no regime on the face of the earth that rules according to Islam, according to the Book, the *Sunna*, and the clerics of the [Islamic] nation, in a pure manner, except the Islamic Emirate ruled by the Taliban.

Q: But some accuse the Taliban of violating human rights and of religious extremism, even in implementing the religion of Islam.

Abu Hafs: Anyone who knows the truth knows that these are no more than idle accusations, disseminated by elements hostile first of all to Islam and then to the Taliban. Let me give you an example: When the Islamic Emirate [the Taliban] decided to destroy the Buddha [statues], the world cried aloud, and opposed it. It was obvious why the infidel world cried out, since it opposes any policy in this direction. But many of those belonging to the Islamic faction also cried out; I am not talking about ordinary folk. A delegation of Islamic clerics met and came to conduct negotiations with the Taliban. They came with the emotional baggage loaded on them by the Western media. When they came and met with the people of the Islamic Emirate, they admitted that they were victims of media deception. This is what happened to the elite among the clerics of the [Islamic] nation – so what can we say about the ordinary public? The delegation that came went back with a different face. They went back and began to preach in favor of the Taliban [in actuality, the delegation returned after Mulla ‘Umar refused to meet with it].

The accusations directed at the Taliban movement are false. They [the members of the delegation] saw with their own eyes the college of medicine that girls attend; they saw clinics run by entire staffs of women; they saw with their own eyes specialist wards for women in the public hospitals; with their own eyes they also saw schools giving all the education that can be given to girls. They testified that the secret behind the girls' non-education is not the policy of the Emirate, but a shortage that does not allow men to be taught, let alone women. I lived with the Taliban movement and I saw how they live. I saw how they rule by means of Islamic religious law. By Allah, there is no regime on the face of the Earth like them, or one that even approaches them.

Q: ...everyone knows that Afghanistan is a country of rapidly shifting loyalties and alliances – to the point where it earned the nickname ‘stock market’, in which prices change every minute. Do you expect the loyalties and alliances in Afghanistan [to continue] to change?

Abu Hafs: Loyalties that are based on an incorrect foundation change. Loyalties based on political interests and the benefits of this world change and shift. We have seen how Pakistan turned its back on the Taliban movement. In contrast, loyalties based on ideology derived from faithfulness to Allah and his Prophet – loyalties like those of the believers – do not change, and do not shift. The Islamic Emirate has declared and proved its loyalty in practical terms to the immigrants and to the *mujahidin* within it. This is religious ideological loyalty, and loyalty of this kind does not change or die.

Q: How do you see Afghanistan’s future in light of what we are seeing now on the ground?

Abu Hafs: By Allah, my brother... We the Muslims are distinct in that we have an ideological outlook regarding everything that takes place on the face of the Earth. It has been proven, in Muslim sources that the Prophet said: ‘There remains a group in this [Islamic] nation that preserves the truth; it will not be hurt by those who abandon it or rise up against it until the Hour [i.e. Judgment Day] comes.’

We in Afghanistan do not pretend to claim that only we belong to this group, but we absolutely think, that the Islamic Emirate and the immigrant Mujahedeen in this land now constitute the spearhead in slaughtering the current Crusader offensive... We believe with a perfect faith in this *hadith*. The Prophet told us [that this group] would not be harmed by those who rose up against it... This is the victorious group, and, as the Prophet said, it is impossible that victory would not be on its side. But perhaps it must undergo tests.

Allah told us in his precious book how the best among His creatures, the Prophets, are subjected to tests. Allah said: ‘*Do you reckon that you will enter Paradise while you have not yet been subjected to the like of that which those were subjected to who have passed away before you? They were affected with indigence and adversity and were sorely tried, so that the Messenger sent to them and those who believed along with him should beseech. When will succor arrive from Allah? Yea, surely, at such times the succor of Allah is nigh [Qur’an 2:214].*’

When the friends of the Prophet heard this verse, they waited for the day they would be tested, because it was something promised by Allah to all the believers who follow this path. When the *ahzab* [factions] of Quraysh gathered along with the infidels, and when the [Jewish] Bani Quraiza tribe violated the al-Medina pact, the battle of al-Ahzab took place – which, because of its intensity, the friends of the Prophet were forced to suffer because they could not go to

perform their bodily functions... Then the friends of the Prophet realized that they were walking on the right path – the path of the Prophets and of the *mujahidin* who preceded them...

We think that this group is being tested. It suffers damage to property and life, and is stricken with hunger and fear. But Allah will not abandon it. If Allah does not give this group victory, and does not avenge them upon this Crusader enemy – who will vanquish [the Crusaders]?! We accomplished all the Earthly elements [of this victory]. All that remains now is the victory that will come from Allah. We, by Allah, are convinced of the certainty of this victory. Allah has promised this victory to the believers by saying: *'Yours will be the upper hand if you believe,'* and also *'If you support Allah, Allah will steady your feet.'*

A man can wonder about this optimism and this certain belief in victory in light of the conflict of a people comprised mostly of widows, orphans, and cripples... facing the strongest power on the face of the earth, which is feared by international alliances and organizations. A man can wonder about this. But we, as I have already said, are convinced of victory, because Allah has told us so. The money and the budgets that America spends on defense do not frighten us, because Allah has said: *'Those who disbelieve spend their wealth to turn people away from Allah's way. They will continue to spend it in this way till in the end this spending will become a source of regret for them'* [Qur'an 8:36]. The soldiers and their tremendous amount of equipment do not frighten us... These promises come from Allah and they must be believed.

Q: If you are so optimistic about the future of Afghanistan despite the bombing and destruction, why do you not advise the Taliban to set up a broad-based government that will include all the classes of the Afghan people?

Abu Hafs: The broad-based government is an American plan, not an Islamic plan. The broad-based government was tried in various governments in the past. Everyone realized that the way the Taliban went, which it instituted in the country, thus uniting it, was the only effective way with this people. You know what they mean when they say broad-based government? They want General Dostum. He is a Communist general whose hands are stained with the blood of hundreds of thousands of the Afghan people and the Mujahedeen; they want people supported by India to be in the government... They want seats for those who are supported by Russia, seats for those who are supported by Iran, seats for those who are supported by Pakistan. In the end, people will become agents fighting for the interests of the countries that applied pressure to get them into this government. This is unacceptable.

Not to mention the second problem – that this government will not institute Islamic religious law and will not set up an Islamic state that will satisfy the will of this people – which sacrificed a million and a half martyrs to establish an Islamic state. Acceding to this government is a betrayal of the blood of the martyrs, betrayal of the *jihad* of this great people, betrayal of the hopes of the [Islamic] nation that put its full weight into material and human support for the Afghan *Jihad*. The proper reward for this support and this *jihad* is the Islamic government, established by the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan.

Q: What is your view regarding the future of the Al-Qa'ida organization, considering the conditions and the open war declared against you by the U.S., the strongest country in the world?

Abu Hafs: In our opinion, America has entered the phase of the beginning of the end. America is talking about wanting to uproot terrorism in Afghanistan, but the truth is that those in

Afghanistan have succeeded in uprooting America from its fortresses and bases and have dragged it, humiliated and shame-faced, to Afghanistan, where their hands, bayonets, and weapons can reach her. America lost even before it entered into battle.

Q: ...why don't you fight a *jihad* in Palestine or another Arab country, such as Mauritania?

Abu Hafs: You are probing an open wound in my heart. There is no doubt that the Palestine problem is the most important problem for every Muslim. This is the Holy Land, the land of the Night Journey [of the Prophet Muhammad], the land of the Ascension into the Heavens; it is the first direction of prayer and the third [most holy] site [in Islam]. It is the land of the Prophets. No people has suffered [the like of] the barbaric Jewish crimes from which the Palestinian people has suffered, with American and British Crusader support. The *jihad* in Palestine does not need encouragement; it is a *jihad* that is the personal obligation of every Muslim. But how will we fight *jihad* in Palestine? If you stand on each of the borders of the Arab states [i.e. Israel's borders] and fire a single shot at the Jews within Palestine, many times more shots will be fired at you – not by the Jews but by the Arab states that guard these borders. We maintain that the *jihad* is an obligation, and that *jihad* in Palestine is a personal obligation [applying to every Muslim]. We see Palestine as the most important Islamic issue in the entire Islamic world. But so far, we have not had a chance to engage in it. But we strike at the Jews, we strike at the Americans, and we are acting to establish an extensive Islamic state beginning in Afghanistan. We are serving all the Islamic causes, and, first and foremost, the cause of Palestine.

Q: And what about Mauritania?

Abu Hafs: Mauritania is part of the Islamic world, and the fact that I come from there does not advance it, in my eyes, in the Islamic order of priorities... When conditions are right for *jihad* in Mauritania or any other country, we, Allah willing, will be prepared for this *jihad*. But we think that the cause in which there is a possibility for all Muslims to participate in supporting by means of money, men, or any kind of help, is the cause of Afghanistan. Afghanistan is the first goal for the Crusaders, for the Crusader-Jewish alliance; they want to add it to the booty that they have already accumulated. They believe that they have already secured Palestine, but that the struggle over Afghanistan is still going on. We maintain that protecting what already exists precedes obtaining what is lacking.

Q: The U.S. has posted a reward for whoever arrests you, offers information about you, or kills you. Why, and how much?

Abu Hafs: First, this question should be directed towards the U.S., as it is the one who set the amount. However, I know the reason. I obey Allah. One of the acts of grace of this generation was to kill the Americans, to incite to this killing, to fight in the *jihad* against them with full force. I and my brothers in the al-Qa'ida organization, and in other organizations, swore an oath to carry out the mission. We obey Allah and one of the most binding commandments of our generation is *jihad* and fighting the Americans. All resources should be marshaled to this end. Perhaps this is the reason.

The truth is that when America puts our names at the head of the list of wanted men and allocates rewards of millions of dollars – at first it allocated five million dollars for each and then it raised the amount, and [the amount] continues to grow as its panic increases – we think

that it is doing us a favor. This is a medal of honor, driving every Muslim to try to attain it – to be classified as Enemy No. 1 of the U.S., the most barbaric and tyrannical power on the face of the earth, despotic, aggressive, oppressing, and plundering the rights of others.

Q: Mr. Mahfuz, you are accused of being terrorists. How do you defend someone who killed innocent people? Are you really terrorists?

Abu Hafs: If terrorism is killing people who are really innocent, that is, those whose killing Allah has prohibited, such as women, children, and the elderly, and non-combatants, then we are not terrorists. Just as we worship Allah by waging *jihad* against those who should be fought and killed, thus we worship Allah by refraining from killing those whose killing was prohibited by Allah.

However, [we are terrorists] if terrorism means refraining from carrying out prohibited actions, defending holy places, and waging *jihad* against whomever Allah has ordered [us] to wage *jihad* against by saying, ‘[...] *Fight these leaders of disbelief that they may desist, for they have no regard for their pledged word*’ [Qur’an 9:12] and ‘*When the period of four months during which hostilities are suspended expires, without the idolaters having settled the terms of peace with you, resume fighting with them and kill them wherever you find them and make them prisoners and beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them at every place of ambush*’ [Qur’an 9:5].

This terrorism is a divine commandment. Allah has said: ‘*Make ready for them whatever you can of armed strength and of mounted pickets at the frontier, whereby you may daunt the enemy of Allah and your enemy and others beyond them whom you know not*’ [Qur’an 8:60]. Striking horror, panic, and fear in the hearts of the enemies of Allah is a divine commandment, and the Muslim has in this matter two choices: Either he believes in these verses, which are clear, or he denies these verses, and [becomes] an infidel. The Muslim has no other option.

Regarding what happened on September 11, and what was said and written about the killing of innocents and so on, I have a clarification. First, as I said, we are not responsible for this act and therefore we are not responsible for [issuing] religious explanations for it. That’s on the one hand. However, many clerics have issued clear religious rulings [in this matter] and explained them by means of the *Qur’an* and the *Sunna*, and with the words of the clerics of the [Islamic] nation, and have proved that if this act was carried out by *mujahidin* Muslims, then it was an unblemished act of *jihad*.

Q: Al-Qa‘ida leader Usama bin Ladin has supposedly said that you have chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons. Is this true?

Abu Hafs: ...If such a weapon is at Al-Qa‘ida’s disposal, then it is a deterrent weapon, and not for initiating an action. Let the Americans fear the worst possible scenario when they use any unconventional weapons. We are lying in wait for them, Allah willing...”

3.2 Sulayman Abu Ghayth intervjuet av avisen *al-Yawm*, 9. juli 2002

Den 9. juli 2002 trykte den algeriske avisen *al-Yawm* et intervju med den antatte hovedtalsmannen for al-Qa‘ida, Suleyman abu Ghaith (se figur 3.1).³³

³³ <http://www.el-youm.com/pages090702/1.pdf>; <http://www.el-youm.com/pages090702/5.pdf>; For omtale og kommentarer, se <http://www.nandotimes.com/world/story/460645p-3687222c.html>;



Figur 3.1 Forsiden på den algirske avisen al-Yom, tirsdag 9. juli 2002. Overskriften er et sitat fra avisens intervju med al-Qa'idas talsmann Suleyman abu Ghaith: "Vi rette nye angrep mot amerikanske interesser"

Ifølge redaktøren i *al-Yawm*, Hamida Ayashi, var intervjuet gjennomført søndag 7. juli via to mellomledd: avisen hadde sendt sine spørsmål per telefaks til en person som viderefremmet spørsmålene til en person nr. 2, som igjen hadde direkte tilgang til Abu Ghayth. Det kom ikke frem hvor disse mellomleddene eller Abu Ghayth selv befant seg.

Abu Ghayth gjentok budskapet han hadde formidlet i lydopptaket sendt 23. juni på *al-Jazira* (se kapittel 4.23), nemlig at al-Qa'ida var fullstendig intakt som organisasjon på tross av militæraksjonene i Afghanistan. I intervjuet sa han blant annet at "al-Qa'ida har beholdt sine militære, sikkerhetsmessige, økonomiske og informasjonsmessige strukturer", at "al-Qa'ida fungerer ut i fra en rigorøs og hemmelig logikk, og kan ikke uskadeliggjøres", og at "al-Qa'ida vil gjennomføre flere angrep på amerikansk territorium og andre steder." Videre kalte han det amerikanske militære nærværet i Afghanistan for en "Hollywood-aksjon".

3.3 *Al-Jaziras* intervju med Ramzi bin al-Shibh og Khalid Shaykh Muhammad, sendt 12. september 2002

Torsdag 12. september viste *al-Jazira* et særdeles interessant dokumentarprogram som omhandlet et intervju med to sentrale al-Qa'ida-ledere, Ramzi bin al-Shibh og Khalid Shaykh Muhammad.³⁴ Intervjuet var gjennomført i Karachi (Pakistan) i juni 2002 av *al-Jazira*-journalisten Yusri Fuda. I mangel av et referat fra *al-Jaziras* program gjengir vi her *Sunday Times*' artikkel om dette intervjuet, som er basert på samtaler med Yosri Fouda.³⁵ *Al-Jaziras* dokumentarprogram er tilgjengelig på video.³⁶

“Two of Usama bin Ladin’s closest aides have revealed for the first time how they masterminded the September 11 attacks on America, boasting that they want ‘a thousand operations like these’. The two ringleaders, Khalid Shaykh Muhammad, 38, and Ramzi bin al-Shibh, 30, are among the FBI's most wanted terrorists. They have evaded capture despite the \$25m bounties on their heads. Khalid, the head of al-Qa'ida's military committee, devised the idea of targeting ‘prominent’ buildings in America. Bin al-Shibh co-ordinated the operation from his base in Germany, where he shared an apartment in Hamburg with Muhammad ‘Atta, the lead hijacker. In an exclusive interview, they spoke of their pride in the devastation and laughter inflicted on what they refer to as ‘Holy Tuesday’.

‘The attacks were designed to cause as many deaths as possible and to be a big slap for America on American soil,’ said Khalid. Speaking at a hideout in Pakistan, they gave a chilling account of how they organised and executed the death flights with the approval of bin Ladin. One of their agents also claimed that bin Ladin was ‘alive and well’, although he provided no evidence.

The two terrorist plotters reveal:

The fourth target of the hijackers was Capitol Hill and not the White House. United Airlines flight 93 was heading for Congress when the passengers overpowered the terrorists and the plane crashed into the Pennsylvanian countryside.

The initial plan was to crash the hijacked jets into nuclear power plants. They decided against it for fear ‘it would go out of control’. But future nuclear targets have not been ruled out. The decision to launch a massive suicide attack on the United States was taken by the al-Qa'ida military committee in early 1999. They called it ‘a martyrdom operation inside America’.

Atta, the operational commander, was called to a council of war with key hijackers in the summer of 1999 in Kandahar, the Taliban stronghold in Afghanistan. He had been an al-Qa'ida sleeper in Germany since 1992.

At least four reconnaissance units were sent to America before ‘Atta and the would-be hijack pilots crossed the Atlantic for their training at flying schools in the summer of 2000.

Atta communicated with Bin al-Shibh in German through the internet. He posed as a student in America contact- ing his girlfriend ‘Jenny’ in Germany.

³⁴ <http://www.islamonline.net/English/News/2002-09/09/article45.shtml>; *The Sunday Times*, 8. september 2002; *The Times* 9. september 2002.

³⁵ *The Sunday Times*, 8. september 2002.

³⁶ Videokassetene er tilgjengelig i FFIs bibliotek.

They referred to the targets as university departments. The twin towers were the 'faculty of town planning', 'Atta's academic speciality. Capitol Hill was the 'faculty of law' and the Pentagon was 'the faculty of fine arts'.

They recruited the 'muscle' for the hijacks from al-Qa'ida's so-called Department of Martyrs - which, they claim, is still active and 'never short of potential martyrs'. Bin al-Shibh wanted to be the 20th hijacker but was refused entry to the United States.

In hiding, he still has a suitcase full of planning materials used to plot the attacks - which he dubs his 'souvenirs'. They include flying manuals, flight simulator CD-Roms, airline guides, handwritten notes and illustrations of 'how to perform sudden manoeuvres' and an air navigation map of America's eastern seaboard.

Bin al-Shibh has written a 112-page justification of the attacks based on al-Qa'ida's heretical interpretation of Islam. He said that he wanted it translated into English and lodged in the library of Congress in Washington.

His document states that the thousands of deaths and injuries do not 'blow out the fire in the hearts of Muslims against America. We therefore need a thousand operations like these'. He hopes the attacks will be the 'beginning of the end of America'. The statement and interview are the first full admission by senior figures from bin Ladin's network that they carried out the September 11 attacks.

The interview with the two terrorists was conducted in June by Yusri Fuda, the chief investigative reporter for the Gulf-based *al-Jazira* Television channel, which has previously screened bin Ladin videos. It will be shown on Thursday night.

He was invited by a go-between to Karachi, where - after a series of complex journeys with several handlers - he was blindfolded and driven to a six-room apartment where Khalid and Bin al-Shibh were hiding out. He was with them for 48 hours.

Khalid did most of the talking. Bin al-Shibh, sitting on the floor surrounded by laptops and mobile phones, appeared to be more passive; Fuda concluded that he had the ability to be 'the next bin Ladin'. Bin al-Shibh, a Yemeni, is suspected of involvement in the bombing of the USS Cole in Aden in October 2000 that killed 17 American sailors. Khalid is the uncle of Ramzi Yusuf, who is now serving a life sentence for the first terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in 1993. While Yusuf was on the run he and his uncle devised a plot to attack 12 prominent American landmarks. This was aborted after being uncovered by intelligence agencies but was resurrected and perfected for September 11.

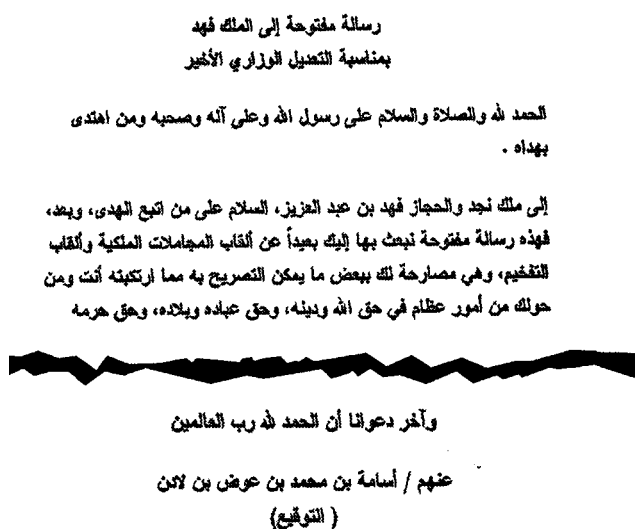
At the end of his two days with Khalid and Bin al-Shibh, Fuda was instructed to leave his videotapes of the interviews behind so their faces could be blanked out. He was promised they would be returned within two weeks, but the tapes have never turned up - a puzzling move since the entire exercise had been conducted at the behest of al-Qa'ida.

Fuda sees it as evidence of 'some sort of disruption' in the al-Qa'ida leadership, possibly an indication that bin Ladin is dead. He did, however, eventually receive voice tapes of the interviews."

4 KOMMUNIKÉER

4.1 Åpent brev til kong Fahd – 3. august 1995

I august 1995 skrev bin Ladin et åpent brev til kong Fahd av Saudi-Arabia. Dette brevet anses som et av bin Ladins første store offentlige verbale angrep mot saudiske myndigheter. Det har ikke lyktes forfatteren å få tak i dokumentet i sin helhet. Vi gjengir imidlertid her deler av brevet slik det foreligger på en webside kalt www.jihadunspun.net.³⁷ Det er usikkert hvor nøyaktig eller korrekt denne oversettelsen er, ettersom det har vært vanskelig å finne brevet på originalspråket. I appendiksen til Roland Jacquards bok om bin Ladin finner man imidlertid en faksimile av deler av brevet, som er signert av bin Ladin selv (se figur 4.1 og 4.2).³⁸



Figur 4.1 Faksimile av deler av bin Ladins åpent brev til kong Fahd av Saudi Arabia fra 1995 (Kilde: Roland Jaquard [2001])

“We send to you this open letter, far removed from royal complimentary titles and words of glorification. It shall be a frank manifesto to make apparent that which you, and those around you, have committed against Allah and Islam, against the Land of Islam and the Muslims, and against the Sacred City and the Muslim Nation. We hope that our frankness in displaying the glaring truth to you will tear through the barriers you have set up between you and it.

O King, this letter is in response to the roguery and mind-games you and your implementer Princes have played on people, so that you may suppress their anger upon you and your ways. Your marginal and deceiving ‘rectifications’ are nothing but short-term sedative measures to ease this anger. Examples of the former would be the *shura* Council that you have set up, which the Muslim Nation has awaited for a long time. And to their disappointment, it was born dead.

³⁷ <http://www.jihadunspun.net/articles/05272002-Open.Letter.To.King.Fahd/>

³⁸ Jacquard (2001), s 300-3.

Now you established this ministerial marginal change, that didn't have any effects on the sources of all evil – namely you, your Defence Minister, Internal Affairs Minister, Prince of Riyadh, and the likes of you all.

The main reason for writing this letter to you is not your oppression of people and their rights (especially the scholars, the callers to righteousness, the merchants, and the senior chiefs of tribes). It's not your insult to the dignity of our nation, your desecration of its sanctuaries, and your embezzlement of its wealth and riches. It's not what has been spread during your reign of bribery, forging, and disintegration of management and morals. It's not the economic breakdown that has hit the country and almost made it reach the level of bankruptcy. These things are all important, but we shall discuss them at another time after we expose to you the quintessence of our dispute with you. The quintessence of our dispute is the fact that your ruling system has transgressed '*la ilaha illa Allah*', and that is the basis on which rests *tawhid* that differentiates between belief and disbelief. All the aforementioned problems are a result of your transgression against the basic tenants of *tawhid*. Since we are, Allah willing, soon going to release detailed findings of a research about your transgression, we will confine our letter to two main aspects:

- Ruling By And Legislating Other Than That Which Allah Has Sent

It has recurred in Quranic verses, the *Sunna*, and the sayings of the Scholars of the Muslim Nation, that whomsoever vindicates for himself or others to follow a positivistic legislature or a man-made law that transgresses the laws of Allah, he, in fact, is a disbeliever and is out of our creed.

Allah – Exalted be He – says:

'Have you seen those hypocrites who claim that they believe in that which has been sent down to you, and that which was sent down before you, and they wish to go for judgment (in their disputes) to the taghut while they have been ordered to reject them. But Shaytan wishes to lead them far astray' [4:60].

Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman bin Hassan Al al-Shaykh – may Allah have mercy on him – has said in the interpretation of this verse: Whomsoever calls to arbitrating other than Allah and His Messenger, he has then left what the Messenger – peace and blessings of Allah be upon him – brought, refuted it, and has ascribed partners in his obedience to Allah and he has gone against what the Prophet – peace and blessings of Allah be upon him – taught us when the following verses were revealed to him:

'And so judge (you O Muhammad) between them by what Allah has revealed and follow not their vain desires, but beware them lest they turn you (O Muhammad) far away from some of that which Allah has sent down to you. And if they turn away, then know that Allah's will is to punish them for some sins of theirs. And truly, most of men are fasiqun' [5:49], and:

'But no, by your Lord, they can have no faith, until they make you (O Muhammad) judge in all disputes between them, and find in themselves no resistance against your decisions, and accept (them) with full submission' [4:65].

Whomsoever contradicts that which Allah and His Messenger have ordered and arbitrates between people by other than that which Allah has sent. Or ordered that so as to fulfill his desires, he indeed has disbelieved and expelled himself from the folds of Islam – even if he says that he's a believer. Allah – Exalted be He – has disavowed their belief and refuted it in the verse (mentioned above) when He used the word 'claim' – referring to the false claim of them

still believing – for they were ‘ordered to reject them’ (the false judges). The disbelief in *taghut* is an essential basis for believing in monotheism and the Oneness of God, as mentioned in the verse: ‘*Whoever disbelieves in taghut and believes in Allah, then he has grasped the most trustworthy handhold that will never break*’ [2:256]. If this pillar is not fulfilled, the person is not a monotheist, and monotheism is the base of the belief whose presence a man’s deeds and its absence hinders them (From the book ‘Fat-h al-Majid, Sharh Kitab al-Tawhid’ pp. 392-393).

Shaykh Muhammad bin Ibrahim Al al-Shaykh – may Allah have mercy on him – said in regards to the interpretation of the verse: ‘*Have you seen those hypocrites who claim that they believe in that which has been sent down to you, and that which was sent down before you, and they wish to go for judgment (in their disputes) to the taghut while they have been ordered to reject them. But Shaytan wishes to lead them far astray*’ [4:60].

Allah has disavowed the belief of those hypocrites who arbitrate between people by other than that which the Messenger – peace and blessings of Allah be upon him – brought. Allah – Exalted be He - used the word ‘claim’ – referring to the false claim of believing, for belief and arbitration by other than that which the Messenger – peace and blessings of Allah be upon him – cannot be combined in the heart of a believer. In fact, they annul each other. The word ‘*taghut*’ is derived from ‘*tughyan*’, the transgression of boundaries. Whomsoever rules by other than that which the Messenger – peace and blessings of Allah be upon him – brought, he has in fact ruled by the *taghut* (From the letter ‘Tahkim al-Qawanin’ by Shaykh Muhammad bin Ibrahim Al al-Shaykh).

Allah says: ‘*Do they then seek the judgment of (the days of) ignorance? And who is better in judgment than Allah for a people who have firm faith?*’ [5:50]

Ibn Kathir says with regards to the interpretation of this verse: Whoever disregards the Laws of Allah, the Laws that comprise all goodness and forbid all evil, and takes on man-made laws, views, and desires, which were put in place without any reference to the laws of Allah – as is the case in the times of ignorance, when people would rule by laws laid out to satisfy their whims and desires. Or like the Tatars who ruled by laws derived from the doctrine ‘*the Yasiq*’ put for them by their King ‘Jankiz Khan’. The *Yasiq*, which is a collection of rules he derived from Judaism, Christianity, Islam and other creeds, as well as things he put from his own self to suit his whims. That became a prioritized legislature to be followed and implemented before the Book of Allah and the *Sunna* of His Messenger – peace be upon him. Such a person is to be regarded as a disbeliever and should be killed - unless he returns to ruling by the laws of Allah and His Messenger in all matters, big or small. Is this *Yasiq* but a modern example of the rules that you and your ruling system go by and those like you? The arbitration of positivistic laws and judging by them is, without doubt, a form of worship to the author of these laws, and a form of distancing those who follow these legislations from the ones set by Allah.

This meaning has been clarified by the Messenger – peace and blessings of Allah be upon him – to Adiy bin Hatim in the *hadith* related by at-Tirmithi and others: While Adiy bin Hatim was still a Christian, he heard the Prophet – peace and blessings of Allah be upon him – reciting the verse: ‘*They (the Jews and Christians) took the rabbis and their monks to be their lords besides Allah (by obeying them in things which they made lawful according to their own desires without being ordered by Allah), and (they also took as their lord) Messiah, son of Maryam [...]*’ [9:31]. He said: ‘O Messenger of Allah, we did not worship them’. The Messenger – peace be upon him said: ‘Did they not make forbidden that which Allah has made lawful for you, and so you

forbade it? And they made lawful what Allah has forbidden, and you then legitimized it?' He said 'They did.' The Messenger replied: 'That is a form of worshiping them.'

Adiy bin Hatim used to think that worship was confined to the religious rituals such as prayers and the like - and when the Christians didn't pray to their rabbis and priests – he thought that they, therefore, were not worshiping them. But the Prophet – peace and blessings of Allah be upon him – cleared up Adiy's misconception and clarified that by obeying them in legitimizing and forbidding matters in a way that is contradictory to the legislation of Allah, they have then taken them as Gods besides Allah. This concept of worship that the Messenger – peace and blessings of Allah be upon him – has clarified and explained to Adiy bin Hatim – may Allah be pleased with him – is the concept that the Muslim Nation has agreed upon. And it has recurred in the explanations of the Scholars, which we shall mention below in brief:

Ibn Hazm says about the verse: '*They (the Jews and Christians) took the rabbis and their monks to be their lords besides Allah (by obeying them in things which they made lawful according to their own desires without being ordered by Allah), and (they also took as their Lord) Messiah, son of Maryam [...]*' [9:31]. When the Jews and Christians used to forbid what their rabbis and priests would declare unlawful and enjoin what they legitimized, that was a form of taking them as their lords and a form of worship to those rabbis and priests. Allah has called their act a form of taking them as lords besides Him, and that certainly is a form of ascribing partners to Allah (The Fasl 3/66).

The Shaykh of Islam Ibn Taymiya, may Allah have mercy on him – said (after mentioning the above *hadith* about Adiy bin Hatim): 'And so has said Abu al-Bakhtari: even though they didn't direct their prayers to them, they obeyed them in legitimizing the unlawful and forbidding the lawful; thus, they have taken them as lords besides Allah. The Prophet – peace and blessings of Allah be upon him – has clarified that their worship to the rabbis and priests was in obeying them in the aforementioned matter, and not necessarily by directing prayers and fasts to them. Obeying them is a form of associating partners with Him in worship.' Allah says: '[...] *La illaha illa huwa. Praise and glory be to Him, (far above is He) from having the partners they associate (with Him)*' [9:31].

Shaykh Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wahhab – may Allah have mercy on him – quoted the aforementioned *hadith* and said: 'Whomsoever obeys the scholars and princes in forbidding what Allah has made legitimate and enjoying that which Allah has forbidden, has taken them as lords besides Allah' (A.H. From the side notes in the *Book of Tawhid*, p. 146).

The Shaykh of Islam Ibn Taymiya – May Allah have mercy on him – said: 'It is known from resolution from the sources of the religion of Islam, and by agreement of all Muslims, that whomsoever vindicates the following of a religion other than Islam, and a legislature other than the legislature brought by Muhammad – peace be upon him – he is a disbeliever' (*Fatawa*, part 12/524). He also said – may Allah have mercy on him – 'Islam encompasses the submission to Allah alone, so whomsoever submits to Allah and someone else, he therefore is a *mushrik*. And whomsoever doesn't submit to Allah, he therefore is a *mustakbir*. So the *mushrik* and *mustakbir* are disbelievers. Submission to Allah requires that one submits fully and solely to the worship and obedience of Him alone' (*Fatawa* 3/91).

Shaykh Muhammad bin Ibrahim Al al-Shaykh (the former interpreter of Islamic law in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia) – may Allah have mercy on him - said: 'It is a major and clear disbelief – that of putting the wicked laws at the level of the laws that descended through the

angel Gabriel unto the heart of Muhammad – peace of Allah be upon him – who was sent as a Warner, in a clear Arabic tongue, with rulings to judge between people, and to serve as a guide and a reference for settling disputes.’

In a letter directed to the of Prince of Riyadh at the time, the Shaykh said with regards to the man-made laws that are applied in the trading rooms in Riyadh: ‘Considering any of the man-made rules or ruling by them – even in the slightest manner – is, with no doubt, a dissatisfaction with the rules of Allah and His Messenger. And it reflects a person’s belief that the rules of Allah and His Messenger are inadequate for solving matters, returning rights to people, and ruling justly between them. Believing that is an apostasy that expels one from the Islamic creed – and that is a serious matter not one that is unclear and needing clarification. Deploying the legislations of Allah alone is the twin half of the worship of Him alone. For the gist of the declaration of faith is that the only deity worthy of worship is Allah alone with no partners ascribed, and that His Messenger would be the example to follow. The rules that have been revealed to him by Allah are the rules to be followed. Have the swords of *jihad* been put to action except for that cause – to restore the laws of Allah among mankind?’ (*Fatawa* 12/251)

The prominent Scholar Shaykh Muhammad al-Amin al-Shanqiti says in the book *Adwa’ al-Bayan*: ‘Deploying a system of ruling to judge between people and take care of their matters, that is contradictory to the legislations of the Creator of the heavens and the earth, is disbelief in the Creator of the heavens and the earth. And it is a rebellion against the divine system which was revealed to the best of Creation (Muhammad peace be upon him). He (Allah) knows best about that which is of benefit to the creation. Exalted be He from ever having a competitor in legislating laws for His creation: “Say (O Muhammad) to these polytheists: ‘Tell me, what provision Allah has sent down to you! And you have made of it lawful and unlawful.’ Say (O Muhammad): ‘Has Allah permitted you (to do so), or do you invent a lie against Allah?’” [10:59] (*Adwa’ al-Bayan* 4/84).’

Shaykh Muhammad Hamid al-Faqiy – may Allah have mercy on him – says in his commentary on the *Book of Tawhid*, on the topic of deploying man-made laws: ‘He who does that and insists upon it, refusing to rule by that which Allah has sent down, with no doubt, is a disbeliever and an apostate. His title as a Muslim and all his deeds (prayers and fasting) shall not avail him’ A. H. (From *Fath al-Majeed* – The explanation of the *Book of Tawhid* – side note 3/296).

Shaykh Ahmad Muhammad Shakir – may Allah have mercy on Him – with regards to deploying man-made laws: ‘This is revolt against the rules of Allah and His religion, and is a preference to the rules of the disbelievers over the rules of Allah the Almighty. It is an act of disbelief, which no Muslim doubts, despite their difference on whether or not the person himself becomes an apostate’ (from *Umdat al-Tafsir* 4/157).

These are authentic evidences from revelation and straight forward quotations of Islamic scholars that lie at the heart of the matter, and that are designed to end disagreement, put bickering to rest, and silence arrogance. But for avoidance of lengthiness, we would have cited more evidence and quotations, as this issue constitutes the principal theme in the entire Noble *Qur’an*. Nonetheless, we believe that it is sufficient for any that has a heart and understanding or who gives ear and earnestly witnesses the truth.

It remains to remind you (King Fahd) of what you and your regime are doing by enforcing these *kufir* (disbelieving, non-Islamic) laws and abrogating Allah’s legitimate rulings. The average man, let alone the punctilious researcher will not have to labor long in order to prove that you,

as well as your regime, are legislating and enforcing secular laws which you are making binding on the people.

In point of fact, a quick glance at the statutes of commercial courts, and laws that legalize usurious transactions in banks and so forth, as well as at work and workers' law, Saudi Arabia's army's regulations, and similar *kufir* laws, will underscore the extent to which these *kufir* laws have expanded and taken hold in the country. Further, the *Memorandum of Advice* (drawn up by a group of alarmed scholars to recommend the king to enact reforms in the kingdom) mentioned the existence of dozens of legal committees that adjudicate between citizens by means of secular laws, with which you rule the country and the people within, let alone such laws that govern foreign relations abroad.

An example is your submission to the decisions of the committee for conflict resolution between countries of *the Gulf Council for Cooperation*. Without doubt, this council, headquartered in Saudi Arabia and the main member, is a secular non-Islamic legislative organization. This committee provides in article 9 of its principal charter:

'The committee shall issue its recommendations and rulings in accordance with;

- 1) The provisions of the main constitution of the Council of Cooperation
- 2) International law
- 3) International norms
- 4) Principles of Islamic law

Its reports with regards to the issue shall then be submitted to the Supreme Council so that the latter may decide that which is appropriate.'

What mockery of Allah's religion and what disdain of His Law!!! You have put the Islamic law only at the very end of the above mentioned list of legislative sources even after the garbage of human thoughts, norms and traditions of the disbelieving nations and the laws of the disbelieving regimes!! Is all this not enough disbelief and straying for you that you finally even subjugated Allah's Law to the condescension of your Supreme Council, which is free to pick and choose which laws to honor at the council's whims and desires? What do the protectors of religion, guardians of the creed and callers to *tawhid*, say to submission to such committees and courts, O 'Servant of al-Haramayn'?

The answer, as we have indicated on previous occasions, is so evident that it is comparable to the sun at high noon, admitting no hesitancy, nor stammering, or dodging, or evasiveness, or appeasement. It is clear that *kufir* is taking you out of the fold of Islam according to the Noble Book, and the *Sunna* and the consensus of the *umma*. Here are some statements by notable scholars, which speak to these *kufir* laws and express the pertinent Islamic ruling:

Shaykh Muhammad bin Ibrahim, may Allah have mercy upon him, wrote in a letter he sent to Riyadh's prince at the time concerning the laws of the commercial courts, 'We have received a copy titled *the Charter of the Commercial Court of Saudi Arabia*, upon perusing half of which we have found it consisted of non-Islamic secular illegal systems... The implementation of any of these (non-Islamic) laws, however trifling, is undoubtedly tantamount to displeasure with the judgment of Allah and His Prophet... and that is clear *kufir* which takes one outside the realm of the Islamic *umma*' (Excerpted from the *Fatawa* of the Shaykh, 12/251).

The Shaykh, may Allah have mercy upon him, in a letter he addressed to the chair of the Supreme Court in Riyadh regarding the rules and regulations issued by the Office of Work and Workers, and the duty of Islamic courts with respect to that office, says,

‘From Muhammad bin Ibrahim to his Excellency, chair of the Supreme Council in Riyadh. *Al-salam alaykum wa rahmat Allah*, we have received your memo on the transactions that we get from the Office of Work and Workers. The appropriate procedures in this case fall into two categories:

- 1) As to that transaction which is referred to the court for deliberation and finalization, the court should take it up, as that is the core of its mission.
- 2) As for that transaction which is submitted for mere approval and afterwards to be returned to the Office of Work for finalization through directives from this office, which are unjustifiable by what Allah sent down, it is the duty of the court to ignore them. If else, then such action will be regarded as approval, nay complicity in ruling that which Allah has stripped of any authority’ (10/23/H1379 Excerpted from the *Fatawa* of the Shaykh 12/251).

Also on the issue of the Charter of Work and Workers Supreme Justice ‘Abdallah bin Hamid, may Allah have mercy upon him, wrote that referral to the laws of the charter is *kufir*, which places one outside the pale of Islam.

The aforementioned *fatawa* prove the existence of such laws as well as express the Islamic rulings as to them. Hence, we need not elaborate further as the matter is clear and evident. It is also known that there is a clear difference between those who commit such *kaba'ir* as usury, all the while believing it prohibited, and those that legislate laws that give license to indulge in all types of *kaba'ir*. One who engages in usury, though admitting it is prohibited, is a perpetrator of one of the most egregious *kaba'ir*, from which we seek protection in Allah, whereas one who legislates and passes laws that sanction usury is an apostate disbeliever. We need only point to the towers of usurious banks that crowd the minarets of the Noble Al-Haramayn, and that put into execution your secular rulings. The statement of Allah Most High, ‘*But no, by your Lord, they can have no Faith until they make you, O Muhammad, judge in all disputes between them, and find in themselves no dislike against your decisions, and accept with full submission*’ [4:65], asserts that he is a disbeliever who does not resign to His Law in complete surrender and submission. Allah stresses this fact using various syntaxes expressive of emphasis, foremost of which is an oath on His exalted and majestic name. This verse along with the explanation by the Prophet (peace be upon him) to Adiy Ibn Hatim of the verse: ‘*They have appointed their rabbis and monks as gods besides Allah [...]*’[9:31] clears away any misconception and washes away any ground a dissenter may stand on.

There is not a more striking example in your foreign policy than your partnership to the interests of Western and crusading countries and ‘Taghoutic’ regimes in the Muslim World. The verification of this truth does not need a great deal of labor as everyone realizes the extent of these affiliations. In point of fact, while your regime crows over protecting the creed and serving al-Haramayn, it declared in 1991 payment of 4 billion dollars to the ex-Soviet Union which at the time had not even washed its hands of the blood of the Muslim people of Afghanistan.

Further, It was your regime, O ‘guardian’ of the tolerant creed, that gave billions of dollars to the Nusairis (non-Muslim minority still ruling Syria) in 1982, as a reward for slaughtering tens of thousands of Muslims in Hama as well as supporting the Christian Maronite Phalanges against Muslims in Lebanon. It was your ‘wise’ regime that lavished billions of dollars on that ‘Taghoutic’ regime which is fighting Islam and grinding under its heel the Muslims in Algeria.

Your very regime is the one shoring up Christian rebels in southern Sudan with money and weapons.

Numerous as these great crimes against the religion and the *umma* are, and notwithstanding that your regime had managed for a while to fool some people and steer them away from these facts, Allah made certain to reveal the truth during the recent events in Yemen, which tore up the last mask you had been camouflaged under while you misled the people. Your political and military support to the communists of Yemen dealt you a devastating blow, as it nullified your Islamic credibility... The events of Yemen threw you into the dreadful contradiction which revealed that your support for the Afghan *mujahidin* was not for the sake of Islam but rather to protect Western interests which were under threat of a Russian victory there. For, the Afghan communist is certainly no different from the Yemeni communist, as is the Muslim Yemeni no different from the Muslim Afghan. So how do you justify your simultaneous support for Muslims against communists in Afghanistan and support the communists against Muslims in Yemen?!

No one can decipher this contradiction except those who are aware that your policy is dictated upon you by the western crusading world that you have linked your destiny to. Your sporadic support for some Muslim causes is not motivated, as we have made clear, by a sincere embrace of Islamic causes and the strengthening of its respective principles, but is actually driven by a motive to protect the interests of the Western *kufir* countries, which may in some instances advocate Islamic causes as was the case in Afghanistan. In fact, you have always acted against those Islamic causes which oppose Western interest and to the detriment of Muslims. For example, with respect to the Muslim people of Somalia, you were against its interests and worked in tandem with the United States, providing resources robbed from the *umma*, including men bound by duty.

And on top of all, there is the Palestinian cause, the mother of all causes. You have blessed the march toward humiliation, normalization and bewilderment, and continued the farce of 'peace' which in fact is forced submission. Volunteering to pay for a great share of the expenses of the process despite the economic hardship besetting the country, you donated 100 million dollars to Yasser Arafat's secular authority which was formed to do what the Jewish occupational forces had failed to achieve - the oppression of the Muslim Palestinian people and the war on its *jihadi* movements, chief among which is the Islamic resistance movement, Hamas. You did not deterred from supporting Arafat's authority and greeted him in Riyadh, even after his hostility during the Gulf War and by his ostentatious support for Saddam Hussein. You swallowed this insult in order to indulge America's sponsorship of this false 'peace' process.

Yet all that does not really surprise us. Even if you yourself are not convinced of the alleged peace process, you will have no recourse but to submit to your US warden. Was not US President Clinton the one who, upon visiting the country, refused to call on you in Riyadh and insisted that you come to him in humiliation, at the US bases in Hafr al-Batin? The US president underscored two points:

- To emphasize that his visit was primarily to see his stationed troops at those bases.
- To teach you a lesson of humiliation and you doom to failure so that you understand that he is your true guardian, even inside your kingdom which is all truthfulness is a US state, subject to US jurisdiction.

There is no doubt nor disagreement among Muslim scholars, that taking the *kuffar* as allies and supporting them against Muslims is regarded as an absolute nullifier of Islam. This fact was

expounded by Shaykh al-Islam Ibn Taymiyya as well as Muhammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab in his *Ten Negators of Islam*. Allah Most High indeed says, ‘*O you who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians as awliya’, they are but awliya’ to one another. And if any amongst you takes them as awliya’, then surely he is one of them. Verily, Allah guides not those people who are the wrongdoers*’ [5:51]. He also says, ‘*You will not find people who believe in Allah and the Last Day, befriending those who oppose Allah and His Prophet, even if they are their fathers, progeny, brothers or tribesmen*’ [58:22]. In fact, Allah informs us that taking *kuffar* as allies in order to gain power is a characteristic of hypocrites, as He says, ‘*Give to the hypocrites the tidings that there is for them a painful torment; Those who take disbelievers for awliya’ instead of believers, do they seek honour, power and glory with them? Verily, then to Allah belongs all honour, power and glory*’ [4:138-139].

Taking *kuffar* for *awliya’* consists, according to the scholars, in honoring, praising, supporting and aiding them against the believers; as well as sharing one's life with them and not dissociating oneself from them openly. All of this is regarded as apostasy, whoever engages in it becomes subject to the ruling relevant to apostates, as borne out by the Noble Book, *Sunna* and the statements of the *umma’s* exemplary scholars.

A poet, may Allah bless his heart, said:
 ‘Whoever takes *kuffar* for *awliya’* is like them...
 There's no doubt about his disbelief to the least sensible person.
 And those who love, aid or support them...
 and openly approve their actions,
 Are like them as far as *kufr* is concerned...
 This is the discourse of someone who knows truth from error.’

So what do those that adhere to the pure creed and crystal clear monotheism say, O King, as to your *kufr* deeds? On what grounds would those falsely argue who debate on your behalf?

‘*Lo! You are those who have argued for them in the life of this world, but who will argue for them on the Day of Resurrection against Allah, or who will then be their defender?*’ [4:109]

Having established that your regime does not meet the necessary conditions of the word of monotheism (There is no God but Allah) and its tolerant creed which you boast the claim of protecting, and having exposed your true nature through Islam’s criteria, let us now evaluate with full objectivity your achievements in the worldly domain. We will indeed discuss with you the following points: [...]”

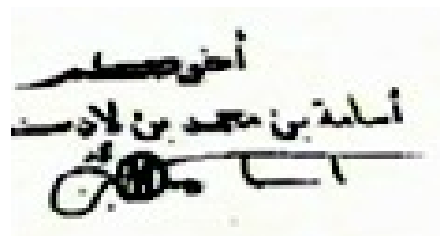


Fig 4.2 Usama bin Ladins underskrift på brevet til kong Fahd av Saudi-Arabia (Kilde: Roland Jacquard [2001])

4.2 Krigserklæringen mot USA – 23. august 1996

Den 23. august 1996 ble det sendt en telefaks fra Afghanistan til en rekke arabiske aviser verden over. Denne telefaksen inneholdt den første i en rekke stadig mer ytterliggående erklæringer mot USA og Vesten.³⁹ Dokumentet illustrerer den paradoksale blandingen av det høyteknologiske og det middelalderske som kjennetegner al-Qa'ida: Dokumentet var skrevet på en *Apple Macintosh* datamaskin og distribuert elektronisk, men det var sendt "fra høydene av Hindukush, Afghanistan", og det var spekket med tusen år gamle religiøse referanser.

Teksten foreligger i to forskjellige engelske oversettelser, som er ganske ulike i tonen.⁴⁰ Den ene, som er gjengitt her, har en mer militant tone og stammer fra www.azzam.com. Den andre, som tilegnes *The Committee for the Defense of Legitimate Rights* (CDLR) har tittelen *The Ladenese Epistle* og er noe mer moderat i tonen.⁴¹ Begge utgavene har hatt en vid distribusjon i islamske sirkler verden over (se figur 4.3).



Figur 4.3 Et eksemplar av bin Ladins erklæring funnet i et hus i Kabul høsten 2001 (Kilde: *New York Times*)

³⁹ <http://www.azzam.com/>; <http://www.outpost-of-freedom.com/opf980830a.htm>;
<http://www.comw.org/pda/fulltext/960823binladen.html>;
<http://www.jihadunpun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/dowaa.cfm>.

⁴⁰ Gilles Kepel (2000), s 416.

⁴¹ Se Gilles Kepel (2000), s 221 for en beskrivelse av CDLR. Denne mer moderate versjonen er ikke gjengitt her, ettersom nettstedet som inneholder teksten (<http://msanews.mynews.net>) ikke var operativt da denne rapporten ble skrevet.

Denne erklæringen er mest kjent ved sin undertittel, nemlig ”Kast ut avgudsdyrkerne fra den arabiske halvøy”, eller *Expel the Infidels From the Arabian Peninsula*. Det er interessant å merke seg at i islamistiske miljø er dette slagordet kjent som ”*Akhrijū al-yahūd wa-al-nasara min jazirat-al-arab*” (kast ut **jødene og de kristne** fra den arabiske halvøy). Dette er en kurios blanding av to forskjellige *ahadith* fra forskjellig tidsperioder. Sammenstilt utgjør de imidlertid et hendig ”bevis” for at Profeten selv var den første til å kjempe mot jøder og kristne.⁴²

Det er verdt å merke seg at de fleste religiøse referansene i denne teksten stammer fra en samling *ahadith* som kalles *Sahih al-Jami' al-Saghir*, som regnes i tradisjonell islam for mindre troverdige enn for eksempel hadith fra Bokhari. Gilles Kepel påpeker at bruken av såkalte ”svake” *ahadith* er svært vanlig hos såkalte salafi-jihadister.⁴³

”DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST THE AMERICANS OCCUPYING THE LAND OF THE TWO HOLY PLACES⁴⁴”

A message from Usama bin Muhammad bin Ladin unto his Muslim brethren all over the world generally, and in the Arab Peninsula specifically,

Praise be to Allah, we seek His help and ask for His pardon. We take refuge in Allah from our wrongs and bad deeds. Whoever has been guided by Allah will not be misled, and whoever has been misled, he will never be guided. I bear witness that there is no God except Allah, no associates with Him and I bear witness that Muhammad is His slave and messenger.

‘O you who believe! Be careful of your duty to Allah with the proper care which is due to Him, and do not die unless you are Muslim’ [Al-Imran; 3:102]; *‘O people, be careful of your duty to your Lord, who created you from a single being and created its mate of the same kind and spread from these two, many men and women; and be careful of your duty to Allah, by whom you demand one of another your rights, and (be careful) to the ties of kinship; surely Allah watches over you always’* [Al-Nisa; 4:1]; *‘O you who believe! Be careful of your duty to Allah and speak the right word; He will put your deeds into a right state for you, and forgive you your faults; and whoever obeys Allah and His apostle, he will indeed achieve a mighty success’* [Al-Ahzab; 33:7071].

Praise be to Allah, reporting the saying of the prophet Shu‘aib: ‘I desire nothing but reform so far as I am able, and with none but Allah is the direction of my affair on the right and successful path; on Him do I rely and to Him do I turn’ [Hud; 11:88]. Praise be to Allah, saying: *‘You are the best of the nations raised up for the benefit of men; you enjoin what is right and forbid the wrong and believe in Allah’* [Al-Imran; 3:110].

Allah’s blessing and salutations on His slave and Messenger who said: *‘The people are close to an all encompassing punishment from Allah if they see the oppressor and fail to restrain Him’* It should not be hidden from you that the people of Islam had suffered from aggression, iniquity and injustice imposed on them by the zionist-crusader alliance and their collaborators; to the

⁴² Gilles Kepel (2000), s 416.

⁴³ Gilles Kepel (2000), s 416. Al-Qa‘ida er en slik salafi-jihadistisk gruppe.

⁴⁴ Teksten er kraftig redigert av undertegnede for å gjøre den mer leservennlig. Originalteksten er slurvete redigert og skrevet på dårlig engelsk.

extent that the Muslims' blood became the cheapest and their wealth became loot in the hands of the enemies. Their blood was spilled in Palestine and Iraq. The horrifying pictures of the massacre of Qana in Lebanon are still fresh in our memory. Massacres in Tajikistan, Burma, Kashmir, Assam, the Philippines, Fatani, Ogadin, Somalia, Eritrea, Chechnya and in Bosnia-Herzegovina took place, massacres that send shivers in the body and shake the conscience. All of this happened while the world watched and listened, not only without responding to these atrocities, but also with a clear conspiracy between the USA and its allies and under the cover of the iniquitous United Nations, the dispossessed people were even prevented from obtaining arms to defend themselves.

The people of Islam awoke and realized that they are the main target for the aggression of the Zionist-crusader alliance. All false claims and propaganda about 'human rights' were hammered down and exposed by the massacres that took place against the Muslims in every part of the world. The latest and the greatest of these aggressions, incurred by the Muslims since the death of the Prophet (Allah's blessings and salutations on him) is the occupation of the land of the two holy places, the foundation of the house of Islam, the place of the revelation, the source of the message and the place of the noble Ka'ba, the *qibla* of all Muslims by the armies of the American crusaders and their allies (we bemoan this and can only say: '*No power and power acquiring except through Allah*').

Under the present circumstances, and under the banner of the blessed awakening which is sweeping the world in general and the Islamic world in particular, I meet with you today. And after a long absence, imposed on the scholars and callers of Islam by the iniquitous crusader movement under the leadership of the USA, who fears that they, the scholars and callers of Islam, will instigate the *umma* of Islam against its enemies as their ancestor scholars (may Allah be pleased with them) like Ibn Taymiyya and Al'iz Ibn 'Abd al-Salam did. And therefore the Zionist-crusader alliance resorted to killing and arresting the truthful '*ulama*' and the working *du'at* (We are not praising or sanctifying them; Allah sanctify whom He pleaseth). They killed the *mujahid* Shaykh 'Abdullah 'Azzam, and they arrested the *mujahid* Shaykh Ahmad Yasin and the *mujahid* Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd al-Rahman

By orders from the USA they also arrested a large number of scholars, *du'at* and young people in the land of the two holy places, among them the prominent Shaykh Salman al-'Awda and Shaykh Safar al-Hawali and their brothers (we bemoan this and can only say: '*No power and power acquiring except through Allah*'). We, myself and my group, have suffered some of this injustice ourselves; we have been prevented from addressing the Muslims. We have been pursued in Pakistan, Sudan and Afghanistan, hence this long absence on my part. But by the grace of Allah, a safe base is now available in the high Hindukush mountains in Khurasan, where, by the grace of Allah, the largest infidel military force of the world was destroyed. And the myth of the superpower withered in front of the *mujahidin* cries of '*Allahu akbar*').

Today we work from the same mountains to lift the iniquity that had been imposed on the *umma* by the Zionist-crusader alliance, particularly after they have occupied the blessed land around Jerusalem, route of the journey of the Prophet (Allah's blessing and salutations on him) and the land of the two holy places. We ask Allah to bestow us with victory, He is our patron and He is the most capable. From here, today we begin the work, talking and discussing the ways of correcting what had happened to the Islamic world in general, and the land of the two holy places in particular. We wish to study the means that we could follow to return the situation to its normal path. And to return to the people their own rights, particularly after the large damages and the great aggression on the life and the religion of the people. An injustice that had affected

every section and group of the people; the civilians, military and security men, government officials and merchants, the young and the old people as well as schools and university students. Hundred of thousands of the unemployed graduates, who became the widest section of the society, were also affected.

Injustice had affected the people of the industry and agriculture. It affected the people of the rural and urban areas. And almost everybody complained about something. The situation at the land of the two holy places became like a huge volcano on the verge of eruption that would destroy the *kufir* and the corruption and its sources. The explosion at Riyadh and al-Khubar is a warning of this volcanic eruption emerging as a result of the severe oppression, suffering, excessive iniquity, humiliation and poverty.

People are fully concerned about their everyday living; everybody talks about the deterioration of the economy, the inflation, the ever-increasing debts and the jails full of prisoners. Government employees with limited income talk about debts of ten thousands and hundred thousands of Saudi riyals. They complain that the value of the riyal is greatly and continuously deteriorating among most of the main currencies. Great merchants and contractors speak about hundreds and thousands of million riyals owed to them by the government. More than three hundred and forty billions of riyals are owed by the government to the people in addition to the daily accumulated interest, let alone the foreign debt. People wonder whether we are the largest oil exporting country?! They even believe that this situation is a curse put on them by Allah for not objecting to the oppressive and illegitimate behaviour and measures of the ruling regime:

Ignoring the divine *Shari'a* law; depriving people of their legitimate rights; allowing the Americans to occupy the land of the two holy places; imprisonment, unjustly, of the sincere scholars. The honourable '*ulama*' and scholars as well as merchants, economists and eminent people of the country were all alerted by this disastrous situation.

Quick efforts were made by each group to contain and to correct the situation. All agreed that the country was heading toward a great catastrophe, the depth of which is not known except by Allah. One big merchant commented: 'The King is leading the state into "sixtysix-fold disaster" (we bemoan this and can only say: '*No power and power acquiring except through Allah*'). Numerous princes share with the people their feelings, privately expressing their concerns and objecting to the corruption, repression and the intimidation taking place in the country. But the competition between influential princes for personal gain and interest has destroyed the country. Through its course of actions the regime has torn off its legitimacy:

(1) Suspension of the Islamic *Shari'a* law and exchanging it with man made civil law. The regime entered into a bloody confrontation with the truthful '*ulama*' and the righteous youths (*we sanctify nobody; Allah sanctify whom He pleaseth*).

(2) The inability of the regime to protect the country, and allowing the enemy of the *umma*, the American crusader forces, to occupy the land for the longest of years. The crusader forces became the main cause of our disastrous condition, particularly in the economical aspect of it due to the unjustified heavy spending on these forces. As a result of the policy imposed on the country, especially in the oil industry where production is restricted or expanded and prices are fixed to suit the American economy, ignoring the economy of this country. Expensive deals were imposed on the country to purchase arms. People are asking: what is the justification for the very existence of the regime then?

Quick efforts were made by individuals and by different groups of the society to contain the situation and to prevent the danger. They advised the government both privately and openly; they sent letters and poems, report after report, reminder after reminder, they explored every avenue and enlisted every influential man in their movement of reform and correction. They wrote with style and passion, diplomacy and wisdom asking for corrective measures and repentance from the ‘great wrong doings and corruption’ that had engulfed even the basic principles of the religion and the legitimate rights of the people. But to our deepest regret the regime refused to listen to the people accusing them of being ridiculous and imbecile. The matter got worse as previous wrongdoings were followed by mischiefs of greater magnitudes. All of this was taking place in the land of the two holy places! It is no longer possible to be quiet. It is not acceptable to give a blind eye to this matter.

As the extent of these infringements reached the highest of levels and turned into demolishing forces threatening the very existence of the Islamic principles, a group of scholars who could take no more, supported by hundreds of retired officials, merchants, prominent and educated people, wrote to the King asking for implementation of the corrective measures. In 1411 A.H. (May 1991), at the time of the Gulf War, a letter, the famous ‘Letter of Shawwal’, with over four hundred signatures was sent to the King demanding the lifting of oppression and the implementation of corrective actions. The king humiliated those people and chose to ignore the content of their letter; and the very bad situation of the country became even worse. People, however, tried again and sent more letters and petitions. One particular report, the glorious ‘Memorandum of Advice’, was handed over to the King on Muharram, 1413 A.H (July 1992), which tackled the problem, pointed out the illness and prescribed the medicine in an original, righteous and scientific style. It described the gaps and the shortcomings in the philosophy of the regime and suggested the required course of action and remedy. The report gave a description of:

- (1) The intimidation and harassment suffered by the leaders of the society, the scholars, heads of tribes, merchants, academic teachers and other eminent individuals;
- (2) The situation of the Law within the country and the arbitrary declaration of what is *halal* and *haram* regardless of the *Shari‘a* as instituted by Allah;
- (3) The state of the press and the media which became a tool of truth-hiding and misinformation; the media carried out the plan of idolising certain personalities and spreading scandals among the believers to turn the people away from their religion, as Allah, the Exalted said: ‘*Surely as for those who love that scandal should circulate between the believers, they shall have a grievous chastisement in this world and in the hereafter*’ [Al-Nur, 24:19].
- (4) Abuse and confiscation [sic] of human rights;
- (5) The financial and the economical situation of the country and the frightening future in the view of the enormous amount of debts and interest owed by the government; this is at the time when the wealth of the *umma* being wasted to satisfy personal desires of certain individuals, and while more custom duties and taxes are imposed on the nation (the prophet said about the woman who committed adultery: ‘She repented in such a way sufficient to bring forgiveness to a custom collector!!’).
- (6) The miserable situation of the social services and infrastructure especially the water service and supply (the basic requirement of life).
- (7) The state of the ill-trained and ill-prepared army and the impotence of its commander in chief despite the incredible amount of money that has been spent on the army. The Gulf War clearly exposed the situation.
- (8) *Shari‘a* Law was suspended and man-made law was used instead,

(9) And as far as the foreign policy was concerned, the report exposed not only how this policy has disregarded Islamic issues and ignored Muslims, but also how help and support were provided to the enemy against the Muslims; the cases of the Gaza-Jericho agreement and the communists in the south of Yemen are still fresh in memory, and more can be said.

As stated by the people of knowledge, it is not a secret that to use man-made law instead of the *Shari'a* and to support the infidels against Muslims is one of the ten 'voiders' that would strip a person from his Islamic status (turn a Muslim into a *mushrik*). The Almighty said: '*And whoever did not judge by what Allah revealed, those are the unbelievers*' [Al-Ma'ida, 5:44], and '*But no! By your Lord! They do not believe (in reality) until they make you a judge of that which has become a matter of disagreement among them, and then do not find the slightest misgiving in their hearts as to what you have decided and submit with entire submission*' [Al-Nisa'; 4:65].

In spite of the fact that the report was written with soft words and very diplomatic style, reminding of Allah, giving truthful sincere advice, and despite of the importance of advice in Islam, being absolutely essential for those in charge of the people and the large number who signed this document as well as their supporters, all of that was not an intercession for the Memorandum. Its content was rejected and those who signed it and their sympathisers were ridiculed, prevented from travel, punished and even jailed. Therefore it is very clear that the advocates of correction and reform movement were very keen on using peaceful means in order to protect the unity of the country and to prevent blood shed. Why is it then that the regime closed all peaceful routes and pushed the people toward armed actions, which is the only choice left for them to implement righteousness and justice? To whose benefit does prince Sultan and prince Nayeff push the country into a civil war that will destroy everything? And why consult those who ignite internal feuds, playing the people against each other and instigate the policemen, the sons of the nation, to abort the reform movement? While leaving in peace and security such traitors who implement the policy of the enemy in order to bleed the financial and the human resources of the *umma*, and leaving the main enemy in the area, the American-zionist alliance, enjoy peace and security?! The advisor (Zaki Badr, the Egyptian ex-minister of the interior) to prince Nayif, the minister of the interior, was not acceptable even to his own country; he was sacked from his position there due to the filthy attitude and the aggression he exercised on his own people, yet he was warmly welcomed by prince Nayif to assist in sins and aggressions. He unjustly filled the prisons with the best sons of this *umma* and caused miseries to their mothers. Does the regime want to play the civilians against their military personnel and vice versa, like what had happened in some of the neighbouring countries?! No doubts this is the policy of the American-Israeli alliance as they are the first to benefit from this situation.

But with the grace of Allah, the majority of the nation, both civilians and military individuals were aware of the wicked plan. They refused to be played against each other and to be used by the regime as a tool to carry out the policy of the American-Israeli alliance through their agent in our country: the Saudi regime. Therefore everyone agreed that the situation cannot be rectified (the shadow cannot be straightened when its source, the rod, is not straight either) unless the root of the problem is tackled. Hence it is essential to hit the main enemy who divided the *umma* into small and little countries and pushed it, for the last few decades, into a state of confusion. The Zionist-Crusader alliance moves quickly to contain and abort any 'corrective movement' appearing in the Islamic countries. Different means and methods are used to achieve their target; on occasion the 'movement' is dragged into an armed struggle at a predetermined unfavourable time and place.

Sometime officials from the Ministry of Interior, who are also graduates of the colleges of the

Shari'a, are unleashed to mislead and confuse the nation and the *umma* (by wrong *fatwas*) and to circulate false information about the movement. At other occasions some righteous people are tricked into a war of words against the '*ulama*' and the leaders of the movement, wasting the energy of the nation in discussing minor issues and ignoring the main one that is the unification of the people under the divine Law of Allah. In the shadow of these discussions and arguments truthfulness is covered by the falsehood, and personal feuds and partisanship created among the people increasing the division and the weakness of the *umma*; priorities of the Islamic work are lost while blasphemy and polytheism continue their grip and control over the *umma*. We should be alert to these atrocious plans carried out by the Ministry of the Interior. The right answer is to follow what have been decided by the people of knowledge, as was said by Ibn Taymiyya (Allah's mercy upon him): 'people of Islam should join forces and support each other to get rid of the main *kufir* who is controlling the countries of the Islamic world, even to bear the lesser damage to get rid of the major one, that is the great *kufir*'.

If there is more than one duty to be carried out, then the most important one should receive priority. Clearly, after belief (*iman*) there is no more important duty than pushing the American enemy out of the holy land. No other priority, except belief, could be considered before it; the people of knowledge, Ibn Taymiyya, stated: 'To fight in defence of religion and belief is a collective duty; there is no other duty after belief except 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' (Ref: Supplement of Fatawa). If it is not possible to push back the enemy except by the collective movement of the Muslim people, then there is a duty on the Muslims to ignore the minor differences among themselves; the negative effects of ignoring these differences, at a given period of time, are much smaller than the negative effect of the occupation of the Muslims' land by the main *kufir*. Ibn Taymiyya had explained this issue and emphasised the importance of dealing with the major threat on the expense of the minor one. He described the situation of the Muslims and the *mujahidin* and stated that even the military personnel who are not practising Islam are not exempted from the duty of *jihad* against the enemy.

Ibn Taymiyya, after mentioning the Mongols and their behaviour in changing the Law of Allah, stated that: 'The ultimate aim of pleasing Allah, raising His word, instituting His religion and obeying His messenger (Allah's blessing and salutations on him) is to fight the enemy, in every aspects and in a complete manner; if the danger to the religion from not fighting is greater than that of fighting, then it is a duty to fight them even if the intention of some of the fighter is not pure, i.e. fighting for the sake of leadership (personal gain) or if they do not observe some of the rules and commandments of Islam. To repel the greater of the two dangers at the expense of the lesser one is an Islamic principle which should be observed. It was the tradition of the people of the *Sunna* (*Ahl al-Sunna*) to join the fight with the righteous and non-righteous men. Allah may support this union of righteous and non-righteous people as told by the prophet (Allah's blessing and salutations on him). If it is not possible to fight except with the help of non-righteous military personnel and commanders, then there are two possibilities: either fighting will be ignored and the others, who are the great danger to this life and religion, will take control; or to fight with the help of non-righteous rulers and therefore repelling the greatest of the two dangers and implementing most, though not all, of the Islamic laws. The latter option is the right duty to be carried out in these circumstances and in many other similar situations. In fact many of the fights and conquests that took place after the time of Rashidun, the guided Imams, were of this type' (Majmu' al-Fatawa, 26/506). No one, not even a blind or a deaf person, can deny the presence of the widely spread mischiefs or the prevalence of the great sins that had reached the grievous iniquity of polytheism and to share with Allah in His sole right of sovereignty and

making of the Law. The Almighty stated: ‘*And when Luqman said to his son while he admonished him: O my son! Do not associate ought with Allah; most surely polytheism is a grievous iniquity*’ [Luqman; 31:13]. Man-fabricated laws were put forward permitting what has been forbidden by Allah such as usury and other matters. Banks dealing in usury are competing for land with the two holy places and declaring war against Allah by disobeying His order, ‘*Allah has allowed trading and forbidden usury*’ [Baqarah; 2:275]. All this is taking place at the vicinity of the Holy Mosque in the holy land! Allah stated in His holy Book a unique promise (that had not been promised to any other sinner) to the Muslims who deals in usury: ‘*O you who believe! Be careful of your duty to Allah and relinquish what remains (due) from usury, if you are believers. But if you do (it) not, then be appraised of war from Allah and His apostle*’ [Baqarah; 2:278-279]. This is for the ‘Muslim’ who deals in usury (believing that it is a sin), what is it then to the person who makes himself a partner and equal to Allah, legalising (usury and other sins) what has been forbidden by Allah. Despite all of the above we saw that the government misled and dragged some of the righteous ‘*ulama*’ and *du‘at* away from the issue of objecting to the greatest of sins and *kufir* (we bemoan this and can only say: ‘*No power and power-acquiring except through Allah*’).

Under such circumstances, to push the enemy, the greatest *kufir*, out of the country is a prime duty. No other duty after belief is more important than the duty of *jihad*. Utmost effort should be made to prepare and instigate the *umma* against the enemy, the American-Israeli alliance occupying the country of the two holy places and the route of the apostle (Allah’s blessings and salutations may be on him) to the al-Aqsa Mosque. Also to remind the Muslims not to be engaged in an internal war among themselves, as that will have grievous consequences, namely:

- 1) Consumption of the Muslims’ human resources as most casualties and fatalities will be among the Muslims people.
- 2) Exhaustion of the economic and financial resources.
- 3) Destruction of the country infrastructures.
- 4) Dissociation of the society.
- 5) Destruction of the oil industries. The presence of the US crusader military forces on land, sea and air of the states of the Islamic Gulf is the greatest danger threatening the world’s largest oil reserves. The existence of these forces in the area will provoke the people in the country and induce aggression on their religion, feelings and prides and push them to take up armed struggle against the invaders occupying the land; therefore the spread of the fighting in the region will expose the oil wealth to the danger of being burned up. The economic interest of the Gulf states and the land of the two holy places will be damaged and an even greater damage will be caused to the world economy. I would like here to alert my brothers, the *mujahidin*, the sons of the nation, to protect this (oil) wealth and not to include it in the battle as it is a great Islamic wealth and a large economical power essential for the soon-to-be-established Islamic state, by Allah’s permission and grace. We also warn the aggressors, the USA, against burning this Islamic wealth (a crime which they may commit in order to prevent it, at the end of the war, from falling in the hands of its legitimate owners and to cause economical damages to the competitors of the USA in Europe or the Far East, particularly Japan which is the major consumer of the oil of the region).
- 6) Division of the land of the two holy places, and annexing of the northerly part of it by Israel.

Dividing the land of the two holy places is an essential demand of the Zionist-crusader alliance. The existence of such a large country with its huge resources under the leadership of the forthcoming Islamic State, by Allah's grace, represents a serious danger to the very existence of the Zionist state in Palestine. The noble Ka'ba, the *qibla* of all Muslims makes the land of the two holy places a symbol for the unity of the Islamic world. Moreover, the presence of the world's largest oil reserves makes the land of the two holy places an important economical power in the Islamic world. The sons of the two holy places are directly related to the life style of their forefathers, the Companions, may Allah be pleased with them. They consider the *sira* of their forefathers as a source and an example for reestablishing the greatness of this *umma* and to raise the word of Allah again. Furthermore, the presence of a population of fighters in the south of Yemen, fighting in the cause of Allah, is a strategic threat to the Zionist-crusader alliance in the area. The Prophet (Allah's blessing and salutations on him) said: 'around twelve thousand will emerge from Aden/Abian helping the cause of Allah and His messenger, they are the best, in the time, between Me and them' (narrated by Ahmad with a correct and trustworthy reference).

7) An internal war is a great mistake, no matter the reasons. The presence of the occupier, the US forces, will control the outcome of the battle for the benefit of the international *kufir*.

I address now my brothers of the security and military forces and the national guards, may Allah preserve you, hoard for Islam and the Muslims people: O you protectors of unity and guardians of faith; O you descendents of the ancestors who carried the light (torch) of guidance and spread it all over the world. O you grandsons of Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas, al-Muthanna ibn Haritha al-Shaybani, al-Ja'ja' ibn 'Amru al-Tamimi and those pious companions who fought *jihād* alongside them; you competed to join the army and the guard forces with the intention to carry out *jihād* in the cause of Allah raising His word and to defend the faith of Islam and the land of the two holy places against the invaders and the occupying forces. That is the ultimate level of believing in this religion. But the regime had reversed these principles and their understanding, humiliating the *umma* and disobeying Allah. Half a century ago the rulers promised the *umma* to regain the first *qibla*, but fifty years later new generation arrived and the promises have been changed; Al-Aqsa Mosque has been handed over to the Zionists and the wounds of the *umma* are still bleeding there. At the time when the *umma* has not regained the first *qibla* and the route of the journey of the Prophet (Allah's blessings and salutations may be on him), and despite of all of the above, the Saudi regime had stunt [sic] the *umma* in the remaining sanctities, the holy city of Mecca and the mosque of the Prophet (al-Masjid al-Nabawy), by calling the Christians' army to defend the regime. The crusaders were permitted to be in the land of the two holy places. Not surprisingly though, the King himself wore the cross on his chest. The country was widely opened from the north to the south and from east to the west for the crusaders. The land was filled with the military bases of the USA and the allies. The regime became unable to keep control without the help of these bases. You know more than anybody else about the size, intention and the danger of the presence of the US military bases in the area. The regime betrayed the *umma* and joined the *kufir*, assisting and helping them against the Muslims. It is well known that this is one of the ten 'voiders' of Islam, deeds of de-Islamisation. By opening the Arab Peninsula to the crusaders the regime disobeyed and acted against what has been enjoined by the messenger of Allah (Allah's blessings and salutations may be on him), while he was on his deathbed: 'Expel the polytheists from the Arab Peninsula' (narrated by al-Bukhari) and: 'If I survive, Allah willing, I'll expel the Jews and the Christians out of the Arab Peninsula' (Sahih al-Jama' al-Saghir).

It is out of date and no longer acceptable to claim that the presence of the crusaders is a

necessity and only a temporary measure to protect the land of the two holy places. Especially when the civil and the military infrastructure of Iraq was savagely destroyed, showing the depth of the Zionist-crusaders' hatred of the Muslims and their children, and the rejection of the idea of replacing the crusaders forces by an Islamic force composed of the sons of the country and other Muslim people. Moreover, the foundations of the claim and the claim itself were demolished and wiped out by the sequence of speeches given by the leaders of the *kuffar* in America. The latest of these speeches was the one given by William Perry, the Defence Secretary, after the explosion in al-Khubar, saying that: 'the presence of the American soldiers there is to protect the interest of the USA'. The imprisoned Shaykh Safar Al-Hawali, may Allah hasten his release, wrote a book of seventy pages; in it he presented evidence and proof that the presence of the Americans in the Arab Peninsula is a pre-planned military occupation. The regime wants to deceive the Muslims people in the same manner that the Palestinian fighters, *mujahidin*, were deceived, causing the loss of al-Aqsa Mosque. In 1304 A.H (1936 CE) the awoken Muslim nation of Palestine started their great struggle, *jihad*, against the British occupying forces. Britain was unable to stop the *mujahidin* and their *jihad*, but their devil inspired that there is no way to stop the armed struggle in Palestine except through their agent King 'Abd al-'Aziz, who managed to deceive the *mujahidin*. King 'Abd al-'Aziz carried out his duty to his British masters. He sent his two sons to meet the *mujahidin* leaders and to inform them that King 'Abd al-Aziz would guarantee the promises made by the British government to leave the area and respond positively to the demands of the *mujahidin* if the latter stop their *jihad*. And so King 'Abd al-Aziz caused the loss of the first *qibla* of the Muslim people. The King joined the crusaders against the Muslims and instead of supporting the *mujahidin* in the cause of Allah, to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque, he disappointed and humiliated them.

Today, his son, king Fahd, trying to deceive the Muslims for the second time so as to lose what is left of the sanctities. When the Islamic world resented the arrival of the crusader forces to the land of the two holy places, the king told lies to the '*ulama*' (who issued *fatwas* about the arrival of the Americans) and to the gathering of the Islamic leaders at the conference of Rabitah which was held in the holy city of Mecca. The King said that: 'the issue is simple, the American and the alliance forces will leave the area in few months'. Today it is seven years since their arrival and the regime is not able to move them out of the country. The regime made no confession about its inability and carried on lying to the people, claiming that the American would leave. But never, never again; a believer will not be bitten twice from the same hole [sic] or snake! Happy is the one who takes note of the sad experience of the others!! Instead of motivating the army, the guards and the security men to oppose the occupiers, the regime used these men to protect the invaders, and further deepening the humiliation and the betrayal (we bemoan this and can only say: 'no power and power-acquiring except through Allah'). To the small group of men within the army, police and security forces who have been tricked and pressurized by the regime to attack the Muslims and spill their blood, we would like to remind them of the narration: 'I promise war against those who take my friends as their enemy' narrated by al-Bukhari. And his (Allah's blessings and salutations may be on him) saying of: 'In the day of judgement a man comes holding another and complaining being slain by him. Allah, blessed be His names, asks: "Why did you slay him?!" The accused replies: "I did so that all exaltation may be Yours." Allah, blessed be His names, says: "All exaltation is indeed mine!" Another man comes holding a fourth with a similar complaint. Allah, blessed be His names, asks: "Why did you kill him?!" The accused replies: "I did so that exaltation may be for Mr. X!" Allah, blessed be His names, says: "Exaltation is mine, not for Mr. X, carry all the slain man's sins (and proceed to the Hell fire)". In another wording of al-Nasa'i the accused says: 'for strengthening the rule or kingdom of Mr. X'.

Today your brothers and sons, the sons of the two holy places, have started their *jihad* in the cause of Allah, to expel the occupying enemy out of the country of the two holy places. And there is no doubt you would like to carry out this mission too, in order to re-establish the greatness of this *umma* and to liberate its occupied sanctities. 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. And as you know, it is wise, in the present circumstances, for the armed military forces not to be engaged in a conventional fighting with the forces of the crusader enemy (the exceptions are the bold and the forceful operations carried out by the members of the armed forces individually, that is without the movement of the formal forces in its conventional shape and hence the responses will not be directed, strongly, against the army) unless a big advantage is likely to be achieved; and great losses induced on the enemy side (that would shaken and destroy its foundations and infrastructures) that will help to send the enemy defeated out of the country. The *mujahidin*, your brothers and sons, are requesting that you support them in every possible way by supplying them with the necessary information, materials and arms. Security men are especially asked to cover up for the *mujahidin* and to assist them as much as possible against the occupying enemy; and to spread rumours, fear and discouragement among the members of the enemy forces. We bring to your attention that the regime, in order to create a friction and feud between the *mujahidin* and yourselves, might resort to take a deliberate action against personnel of the security, guards and military forces and blame the *mujahidin* for these actions. The regime should not be allowed to have such opportunity. The regime is fully responsible for what had been incurred by the country and the nation; however the occupying American enemy is the principal and the main cause of the situation. Therefore efforts should be concentrated on destroying, fighting and killing the enemy until, by the grace of Allah, it is completely defeated. The time will come by the permission of Allah when you'll perform your decisive role so that the word of Allah will be supreme and the word of the infidels (*kafirun*) will be the inferior. You will hit with iron fist against the aggressors. You will re-establish the normal course and give the people their rights and carry out your truly Islamic duty. Allah willing, I'll have a separate talk about these issues.

My Muslim brothers (particularly those of the Arab Peninsula):

The money you pay to buy American goods will be transformed into bullets and used against our brothers in Palestine and tomorrow (future) against our sons in the land of the two holy places. By buying these goods we are strengthening their economy while our dispossession and poverty increases.

Muslim brothers of the land of the two holy places:

It is incredible that our country is the world's largest buyer of arms from the USA and the area's biggest commercial partners of the Americans who are assisting their Zionist brothers in occupying Palestine and in evicting and killing the Muslims there, by providing arms, men and financial support. To deny these occupiers the enormous revenues of their trading with our country is a very important help for our *jihad* against them. To express our anger and hate toward them is a very important moral gesture. By doing so we will have taken part in (the process of) cleansing our sanctities from the crusaders and the Zionists and forcing them, by the permission of Allah, to leave disappointed and defeated.

We expect the women of the land of the two holy places and other countries to carry out their role in boycotting the American goods. If economical boycotting is intertwined with the military operations of the *mujahidin*, then defeating the enemy will be even nearer, by the permission of

Allah. However, if Muslims do not co-operate and support their *mujahidin* brothers then, in effect, they are supplying the army of the enemy with financial help and extending the war and increasing the suffering of the Muslims.

The security and the intelligence services of the entire world cannot force a single citizen to buy the goods of his/her enemy. Economical boycotting of the American goods is a very effective weapon for hitting and weakening the enemy, and it is not under the control of the security forces of the regime. Before closing my talk, I have a very important message to the youths of Islam, men of the brilliant future of the *umma* of Muhammad (Allah's blessing and salutations on him). Our talk with the youths about their duty in this difficult period in the history of our *umma* [sic]. A period in which the youths and no one else came forward to carry out the variable and different duties [sic]. While some of the well-known individuals had hesitated in their duty of defending Islam and saving themselves and their wealth from the injustice, aggression and terror exercised by the government, the youths (may Allah protect them) were forthcoming and raised the banner of *jihad* against the American-Zionist alliance occupying the sanctities of Islam. Others who have been tricked into loving this materialistic world, and those who have been terrorised by the government, chose to give legitimacy to the greatest betrayal, the occupation of the land of the two holy places (we bemoan this and can only say: '*No power and power-acquiring except through Allah*'). We are not surprised by the action of our youths. The youths were the Companions of Muhammad (Allah's blessings and salutations may be on him), and was it not the youths themselves who killed Abu Jahl, the pharaoh of this *umma*? Our youths are the best descendents of the best ancestors.

'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Awf (may Allah be pleased with him) said: 'I was at Badr where I noticed two youths one to my right and the other to my left. One of them asked me quietly (so not to be heard by the other): 'O uncle, point out Abu Jahl to me.' 'What do you want him for?', said 'Abd al-Rahman. The boy answered: 'I have been informed that he, Abu Jahl, abused the messenger of Allah (Peace be upon him), I swear by Allah, who has my soul in His hand, that if I see Abu Jahl I will not let my shadow leave his shadow till one of us is dead.' 'I was astonished', said 'Abd al-Rahman, then the other youth said the same thing as the first one. Subsequently I saw Abu Jahl among the people; I said to the boys: 'do you see? This is the man you are asking me about.' The two youths hit Abu Jahl with their swords till he was dead. Allah is the greatest, praise be to Him: Two youths of young age but with great perseverance, enthusiasm, courage and pride for the religion of Allah, each one of them asking about the most important act of killing that should be induced on the enemy.' That is the killing of the pharaoh of this *umma*, Abu Jahl, the leader of the unbelievers at the battle of Badr. The role of 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Awf, may Allah be pleased with him, was to direct the two youths toward Abu Jahl. That was the perseverance and the enthusiasm of the youths of that time and that was the perseverance and the enthusiasm of their fathers. This is this role that is now required from the people who have the expertise and knowledge in fighting the enemy. They should guide their brothers and sons in this matter; once that has been done, then our youths will repeat what their forefathers had said before: 'I swear by Allah, if I see him I will not let my shadow leave his shadow till one of us is dead.' And the story of 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Awf about Umayyay Ibn Khalaf shows the extent of Bilal's (may Allah be pleased with him) persistence in killing the head of the *kufir*: 'the head of *kufir* is Umayyay Ibn Khalaf... I shall live not if he survives', said Bilal.

Few days ago the news agencies had reported that the Defence Secretary of the crusading Americans said that 'the explosion at Riyadh and al-Khubar had taught him one lesson: that is not to withdraw when attacked by coward terrorists'. We say to the Defence Secretary that his

talk can induce a grieving mother to laughter! And it shows the fear that had enshrined you all. Where was this false courage of yours when the explosion in Beirut took place on 1983 CE (1403 A.H)? You were turned into scattered pits and pieces at that time; 241 mainly marines soldiers were killed. And where was this courage of yours when two explosions made you leave Aden in less than twenty-four hours?

But your most disgraceful case was in Somalia; where, after vigorous propaganda about the power of the USA and its post cold war leadership of the new world order, you moved tens of thousands of international troops, including twenty-eight thousand American soldiers into Somalia. However, when tens of your soldiers were killed in minor battles and one American pilot was dragged in the streets of Mogadishu you left the area with disappointment, humiliation, defeat and your dead with you. Clinton appeared before the whole world threatening and promising revenge, but these threats were merely a preparation for withdrawal. You have been disgraced by Allah and you withdrew; the extent of your impotence and weaknesses became very clear. It was a pleasure for the heart of every Muslim and a remedy to the 'chests' of believing nations to see you defeated in the three Islamic cities of Beirut, Aden and Mogadishu.

I say to Secretary of Defence: The sons of the land of the two holy places came out to fight against the Russians in Afghanistan, the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and today they are fighting in Chechnya and by the permission of Allah they have been made victorious over your partner, the Russians. By the command of Allah, they are also fighting in Tajikistan.

I say: Since the sons of the land of the two holy places feel and strongly believe that fighting against the *kuffar* in every part of the world is absolutely essential, then they would be even more enthusiastic, more powerful and larger in number upon fighting on their own land, their birthplace, defending the greatest of their sanctities, the noble Ka'ba (the *qibla* of all Muslims). They know that the Muslims of the world will assist and help them to victory. To liberate their sanctities is the greatest of issues concerning all Muslims; It is the duty of every Muslim in this world. I say to you, William, that: These youths love death as you love life. They inherit dignity, pride, courage, generosity, truthfulness and sacrifice from father to father. They are most delivering and steadfast at war. They inherit these values from their ancestors (even from the time of the *jahiliyya*, before Islam). These values were approved and completed by the arriving Islam as stated by the messenger of Allah (Allah's blessings and salutations be on him): 'I have been sent to perfect the good values' (Sahih al-Jama' Al-Saghir). When the pagan king 'Amru Ibn Hind tried to humiliate the pagan 'Amru Ibn Kulthum, the latter cut the head of the king with his sword, rejecting aggression, humiliation and indignation.

If the king oppresses the people excessively, we reject to submit to humiliation. By which legitimacy (O 'Amru bin Hind) you want us to be degraded?! By which legitimacy (O 'Amru bin Hind) you listen to our foes and disrespect us?! Our toughness has, O 'Amru, tired the enemies before you, never giving in! Our youths believe in paradise after death. They believe that taking part in fighting will not bring their day nearer; and staying behind will not postpone their day either. Exalted be Allah who said: '*And a soul will not die but with the permission of Allah, the term is fixed*' [Al-Imran; 3:145]. Our youths believe in the saying of the messenger of Allah (Allah's blessings and salutations may be on him): 'O boy, I teach a few words; guard (guard the cause of, keep the commandments of) Allah, then He guards you, guard (the cause of) Allah, then He will be with you; if you ask (for your need) ask Allah, if you seek assistance, seek Allah's; And know definitely that if the whole World gathered to (bestow) profit on you they will not profit you except with what was determined for you by Allah, and if

they gathered to harm you they will not harm you except with what has been determined for you by Allah; Pen lifted, papers dried, it is fixed, nothing in these truths can be changed' (Sahih al-Jama' al-Saghir). Our youths took note of the meaning of the poetic verse: 'if death is a predetermined must, then it is a shame to die cowardly' and the other poet saying: 'who does not die by the sword will die by other reason; many causes are there but one death.'

These youths believe in what has been told by Allah and His messenger (Allah's blessings and salutations be upon him) about the greatness of the reward for the *mujahidin* and martyrs; Allah, the most exalted, said: '*And so far those who are slain in the way of Allah, He will by no means allow their deeds to perish. He will guide them and improve their condition and cause them to enter the garden paradise which He has made known to them*' [Muhammad; 47:46]. Allah the exalted also said: '*And do not speak of those who are slain in Allah's way as dead; nay [sic] they are alive, but you do not perceive*' [Baqara; 2:154]. His messenger (Allah's blessings and salutations may be on him) said: 'For those who strive in His cause Allah prepared hundred degrees (levels) in paradise; inbetween two degrees as the inbetween heaven and earth' (Sahih al-Jama' al-Saghir). He (Allah's blessings and salutations may be on him) also said: 'The best of the martyrs are those who do not turn their faces away from the battle till they are killed. They are in the high level of *janna*. Their Lord laughs to them (in pleasure) and when your Lord laughs to a slave of His, He will not hold him to an account' (Narrated by Ahmad with a correct and trustworthy reference). And: 'A martyr will not feel the pain of death except like how you feel when you are pinched' (Sahih al-Jama' al-Saghir). He also said: 'A martyr's privileges are guaranteed by Allah; forgiveness with the first gush of his blood, he will be shown his seat in paradise, he will be decorated with the jewels of belief, married off to the beautiful ones, protected from the test in the grave, assured security in the day of judgement, crowned with the crown of dignity, a ruby of which is better than this whole world and its entire content, wedded to seventy-two of the pure Houries and his intercession on the behalf of seventy of his relatives will be accepted' (narrated by Ahmad and al-Tirmithi with the correct and trustworthy reference).

Those youths know that their rewards in fighting you, the USA, is double their rewards in fighting someone else not from the people of the book. They have no intention except to enter paradise by killing you. An infidel and enemy of God like you, cannot be in the same hell with his righteous executioner. Our youths chant and recite the word of Allah, the most exalted: '*Fight them, Allah will punish them by your hands and bring them to disgrace, and assist you against them and heal the heart of a believing people*' [Al-Tawba; 9:14] and the words of the prophet (Allah's blessing and salutations on him): 'I swear by Him, who has my soul in His hand, that no man get killed fighting them today, patiently attacking and not retreating, surely Allah will let him into paradise.' And his (Allah's blessings and salutations may be on him) saying to them: 'Get up to a paradise as wide as heaven and earth.' The youths are also reciting the Almighty words of: 'so when you meet in battle those who disbelieve, then smite the necks [...]' (Muhammad; 47:19).

Those youths will not ask you (William Perry) for explanations, they will tell you singing there is nothing between us that need to be explained, there is only killing and neck-smiting. And they will say to you what their grand father, Harun al-Rashid, Amir al-Mu'minin, replied to your grandfather, Nagfur, the Byzantine emperor, when he threatened the Muslims: 'From Harun al-Rashid, Amir al-Mu'minin, to Nagfir, the dog of the Romans; the answer is what you will see not what you hear.' Harun al-Rashid led the armies of Islam to the battle and handed Nagfur a devastating defeat.

The youths you called cowards are competing among themselves to fight and kill you. Reciting what one of them said: ‘The crusader army became dust when we detonated al-Khubar with courageous youth of Islam fearing no danger.’ If (they are) threatened: ‘The tyrants will kill you’, they reply: ‘my death is a victory. I did not betray that king, he betrayed our *qibla* And he permitted in the holy country the most filthy sort of humans. I have made an oath by Allah the Great, to fight who ever rejected the faith.’ For more than a decade, they carried arms on their shoulders in Afghanistan and they have made vows to Allah that as long as they are alive, they will continue to carry arms against you until you are (Allah willing) expelled, defeated and humiliated, they will carry on as long as they live saying:

‘O William, tomorrow you will know which young man is confronting your misguided brethren!
A youth fighting in smile, returning with the spear coloured red.
May Allah keep me close to knights, humans in peace, demons in war.
Lions in Jungle but their teeth are spears and Indian swords.
The horses witness that I push them hard forwarded in the fire of battle.
The dust of the battle bears witnesses for me, so also the fighting itself, the pens and the books!’

So to abuse the grandsons of the companions, may Allah be pleased with them, by calling them cowards and challenging them by refusing to leave the land of the two holy places shows the insanity and the imbalance you are suffering from. Its appropriate remedy, however, is in the hands of the youths of Islam, as the poet said: ‘I am willing to sacrifice self and wealth for knights who never disappointed me, Knights who are never fed up or deterred by death, even if the mill of war turns.’ In the heat of battle they do not care, and cure the insanity of the enemy by their ‘insane’ courage.

To terrorize you while you are carrying arms on our land is a legitimate and morally demanded duty. It is a legitimate right, well known to all humans and other creatures. Your example and our example is like that of the snake which entered into a house of a man and got killed by him. The coward is the one who lets you walk, while carrying arms, freely on his land and provides you with peace and security.

Those youths are different from your soldiers. Your problem will be how to convince your troops to fight, while our problem will be how to restrain our youths to wait for their turn in fighting and in operations. These youths are commended and praiseworthy. They stood up tall to defend the religion at the time when the government misled the prominent scholars and tricked them into issuing *fatwas* (that have no basis neither in the book of Allah, nor in the *Sunna* of His prophet [Allah’s blessings and salutations be upon him]) of opening the land of the two holy places for the Christian armies and handing the al-Aqsa mosque to the Zionists. Twisting the meanings of the holy text will not change this fact at all. They deserve the praise of the poet:

‘I rejected all the critics, who chose the wrong way,
I rejected those who enjoy fireplaces in clubs discussing eternally,
I rejected those who, despite being lost, think they are at the goal,
I respect those who carried on, not asking or bothering about the difficulties,
Never letting up from their goals, inspite all hardships of the road,
Whose blood is the oil for the flame guiding in the darkness of confusion
I feel still the pain of (the loss) al-Quds in my internal organs,
That loss is like a burning fire in my intestines.
I did not betray my covenant with God, when even states betrayed it!
As their grandfather Asim bin Thabit said, rejecting a surrender offer of the pagans:

“For what reason should I surrender, while I am still able, while I have arrows and my bow has a tough string?!”

Death is truth and ultimate destiny, and life will end any way.

If I do not fight you, then my mother must be insane!’

The youths hold you responsible for all of the killings and evictions of the Muslims and the violation of the sanctities, carried out by your Zionist brothers in Lebanon; you openly supplied them with arms and money. More than 600,000 Iraqi children have died due to lack of food and medicine and as a result of the unjustifiable aggression (sanction) imposed on Iraq and its nation. The children of Iraq are our children. You, the USA, together with the Saudi regime are responsible for the shedding of the blood of these innocent children. Due to all of that, whatever treaty you have with our country is now null and void.

The treaty of Hudaibiyya was cancelled by the messenger of Allah (Allah’s blessings and salutations may be on him) once Quraysh had assisted Bani Bakr against Khusa’a, the allies of the Prophet (Allah’s blessings and salutations may be on him). The Prophet (Allah’s blessings and salutations may be on him) fought Quraysh and conquered Mecca. He (Allah’s blessings and salutations may be on him) considered the treaty with Bani Qaynuqa’ void because one of their Jews publicly hurt one Muslim woman, one single woman, at the market. Let alone then, the killing you caused to hundred of thousands Muslims and occupying their sanctities. It is now clear that those who claim that the blood of the American soldiers (the enemy occupying the land of the Muslims) should be protected are merely repeating what is imposed on them by the regime, fearing the aggression and interested in saving themselves. It is a duty now on every tribe in the Arab Peninsula to fight *jihad* in the cause of Allah and to cleanse the land from those occupiers. Allah knows that it is permitted to spill their blood and their wealth is a booty; their wealth is a booty to those who kill them. The most exalted said in the verse of al-Sayf: ‘*So when the sacred months have passed away, then slay the idolaters wherever you find them, and take them captive and besiege them and lie in wait for them in every ambush*’ [Al-Tawba; 9:5]. Our youths knew that the humiliation suffered by the Muslims as a result of the occupation of their sanctities cannot be kicked and removed except by explosions and *jihad*. As the poet said: ‘The walls of oppression and humiliation cannot be demolished except in a rain of bullets
The freeman does not surrender leadership to infidels and sinners, Without shedding blood no degradation and branding can be removed from the forehead’

I remind the youths of the Islamic world, who fought in Afghanistan and Bosnia-Herzegovina with their wealth, pens, tongues and themselves that the battle had not finished yet. I remind them about the talk between Jibril and the messenger of Allah (Allah’s blessings and salutations may be on both of them) after the battle of Ahzab when the messenger of Allah (Allah’s blessings and salutations may be on him) returned to Medina and before putting his sword aside, when Jibril (Allah’s blessings and salutations may be on him) descended, saying: ‘are you putting your sword aside? By Allah the angels have not dropped their arms yet; march with your companions to Bani Qurayda; I am (going) ahead of you to throw fears in their hearts and to shake their fortresses on them.’ Jibreel marched with the angels (Allah’s blessings and salutations may be on them all), followed by the messenger of Allah (Allah’s blessings and salutations may be on him) marching with the immigrants, *muhajirun*, and supporters, *ansar* (narrated by al-Bukhari).

These youths know that if one is not to be killed one will die (any way) and the most honourable death is to be killed in the way of Allah. They are even more determined after the martyrdom of the four heroes who bombed the Americans in Riyadh. Those youths who raised high the head

of the *umma* and humiliated the Americans the occupier by their operation in Riyadh. They remember the poetry of Ja'far, the second commander in the battle of Mu'ta, in which three thousand Muslims faced over a hundred thousand Romans:

'How good is the Paradise and its nearness, good with cool drink
But the Romans are promised punishment (in Hell), if I meet them I will fight them.'

And the poetry of 'Abdallah bin Rawaha, the third commander in the battle of Mu'ta, after the martyrdom of Ja'far, when he felt some hesitation:

'O my soul if you do not get killed, you are going to die, anyway.
This is death pool in front of you!
You are getting what you have wished for (martyrdom) before, and you follow the example of the two previous commanders you are rightly guided!'

As for our daughters, wives, sisters and mothers they should take prime example from the Prophet's (Allah's blessings and salutations may be on him) pious female companions, may Allah be pleased with them; they should adopt the lifestyle of the female companions of courage, sacrifice and generosity in the cause of the supremacy of Allah's religion. They should remember the courage and the personality of Fatima, daughter of Khattab, when she accepted Islam and stood up in front of her brother, 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab and challenged him (before he became a Muslim) saying: 'O 'Umar, what will you do if the truth is not in your religion?!' And (they should) remember the stand of Asma', daughter of Abu Bakr, on the day of Hijra, when she met the Messenger and his Companion in the cave and split her belt in two pieces for them. And (they should) remember the stand [sic] of Nasiba bint Ka'b striving to defend the messenger of Allah (Allah's blessings and salutations may be on him) on the day of Uhud, in which she suffered twelve injuries, one of which was so deep that it left a deep lifelong scar! They should remember the generosity of the early woman of Islam who raised finance for the Muslims army by selling their jewellery. Our women had set a tremendous example of generosity in the cause of Allah; they motivated and encouraged their sons, brothers and husbands to fight in the cause of Allah in Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Chechnya and in other countries. We ask Allah to accept from them these deeds, and may He help their fathers, brothers, husbands and sons. May Allah strengthen the belief of our women in the way of generosity and sacrifice for the supremacy of the word of Allah. Our women weep not, except over men who fight in the cause of Allah; our women instigate their brothers to fight in the cause of Allah. Our women bemoan only fighters in the cause of Allah, as said: 'Do not moan on any one except a lion in the woods, courageous in the burning wars Let me die dignified in wars, honourable death is better than my current life.'

Our women encourage *jihad*, saying:

'Prepare yourself like a struggler, the matter is bigger than words!
Are you going to leave us for the wolves of *kufr* eating our wings?!
The wolves of *kufr* are mobilising all evil persons from everywhere!
Where are the free men defending free women by the arms?!
Death is better than life in humiliation! Some scandals and shames will never be otherwise eradicated.'

My Muslim brothers of the world:

Your brothers in Palestine and in the land of the two holy places are calling upon your help and asking you to take part in fighting against the enemy, your enemy and their enemy, the

Americans and the Israelis. They are asking you to do whatever you can, with your own means and ability, to expel the enemy, humiliated and defeated, out of the sanctities of Islam. Exalted be Allah who said in His book: ‘*And if they ask your support, because they are oppressed in their faith, then support them!*’ [Anfaal; 8:72]. O you horses (soldiers) of Allah, ride and march on. This is the time of hardship, so be tough. And know that your gathering and cooperation in order to liberate the sanctities of Islam is the right step toward unifying the word of the *umma* under the banner of ‘No God but Allah’. From our place we raise our palms humbly to Allah asking Him to bestow on us His guidance in every aspects of this issue.

Our Lord, we ask you to secure the release of the truthful scholars of Islam, ‘*ulama*’, and the pious youths of the *umma* from their imprisonment. O Allah, strengthen them and help their families.

Our Lord, the people of the cross had come with their horses (soldiers) and occupied the land of the two holy places, while the Zionist Jews do as they wish with the al-Aqsa mosque, the route of the ascendance of the messenger of Allah (Allah’s blessing and salutations on him).

Our Lord, shatter their gathering, divide them among themselves, shaken the earth under their feet and give us control over them; Our Lord, we take refuge in you from their deeds and take you as a shield between us and them

Our Lord, show us a black day in them [sic]!

Our Lord, show us the wonder of your ability in them!

Our Lord, you are the one who revealed the Book, who created the clouds, you defeated the allies (Ahzab); defeat them and make us victorious over them.

Our Lord, you are the one who helps us and you are the one who assists us; with your power we move and by your power we fight. On you we rely and you are our cause.

Our Lord, those youths got together to make your religion victorious and raise your banner.

Our Lord, send them your help and strengthen their hearts.

Our Lord, make the youths of Islam steadfast and descend patience on them and guide their shots!

Our Lord, unify the Muslims and bestow love among their hearts!

Our Lord, pour down upon us patience, and make our steps firm and assist us against the unbelieving people!

Our Lord, do not lay on us a burden as you laid on those before us;

Our Lord, do not impose upon us that which we have no strength to bear; and pardon us and grant us protection and have mercy on us, you are our patron, so help us against the unbelieving people.

Our Lord, guide this *umma*, and provide the right conditions (by which) the people of your obedience will be in dignity and the people of disobedience in humiliation, and by which the good deeds are enjoined [sic] and the bad deeds are forbidden.

Our Lord, bless Muhammad, your slave and messenger, his family and descendants and companions and salute him with a (becoming) salutation.

And our last supplication is: All praise is due to Allah.

Usama bin Muhammad bin Ladin

Friday, 9/4/1417 A.H (23/8/1996 CE), Hindukush Mountains, Khurasan, Afghanistan.”

4.3 Erklæring av Jihad mot jøder og korsfarere – 23. februar 1998

Den 23. februar 1998 kom den andre store krigserklæringen mot USA og vesten.⁴⁵ Dette er kanskje det aller mest kjente dokumentet knyttet til Usama bin Ladin og al-Qa'ida, og det er hyppig sitert og kommentert i både bøker og media.

Erklæringen ble trykt i den London-baserte avisen *al-Quds al-'Arabi* i kjølvannet av et møte i Afghanistan i februar 1998 mellom lederne av en rekke islamske organisasjoner (se figur 4.4).⁴⁶ Det var i forbindelse med dette møtet at det ble knyttet tettere, nærmest formelle, bånd mellom al-Qa'ida og enkelte egyptiske og pakistanske grupper. Denne alliansen kalte seg ”Den islamske verdensfront for jihad mot jøder og korsfarere”.⁴⁷

Det foreligger to spesielt gode analyser av denne teksten, den ene av midtøstehistorikeren Bernard Lewis, den andre av terrorismeforskeren Magnus Ranstorp.⁴⁸



Figur 4.4 Faksimile av al-Qa'idas erklæring av "jihad mot jøder og korsfarere", al-Quds al-'Arabi, 23 februar 1998 (Kilde: Cornell University Library)

”DECLARATION FROM THE WORLD ISLAMIC FRONT FOR JIHAD AGAINST THE JEWS AND THE CRUSADERS

Praise be to Allah, who revealed the Book, controls the clouds, defeats factionalism, and says in His Book: ‘But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the

⁴⁵ <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/docs/980223-fatwa.htm>;

<http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/jajac.cfm>.

⁴⁶ Se *al-Quds al-Arabi*, 23. februar 1998, s 3;

<http://data.alquds.co.uk/Alquds/1998/02Feb/23%20Feb%20Mon/QudsPage03.pdf>.

⁴⁷ Det dreide seg om blant andre al-Qa'ida, Egyptisk Islamsk Jihad, Islamsk Gruppe (Egypt), Jamiat ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan og The Jihad Movement in Bangladesh.

⁴⁸ Lewis (1998); Ranstorp (1998).

pagans wherever ye find them, seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem (of war)'; and peace be upon our Prophet, Muhammad bin 'Abdallah, who said: I have been sent with the sword between my hands to ensure that no one but Allah is worshipped, Allah who put my livelihood under the shadow of my spear and who inflicts humiliation and scorn on those who disobey my orders.

The Arabian Peninsula has never - since Allah made it flat, created its desert, and encircled it with seas - been stormed by any forces like the crusader armies spreading in it like locusts, eating its riches and wiping out its plantations. All this is happening at a time in which nations are attacking Muslims like people fighting over a plate of food. In the light of the grave situation and the lack of support, we and you are obliged to discuss current events, and we should all agree on how to settle the matter.

No one argues today about three facts that are known to everyone; we will list them, in order to remind everyone:

First, for over seven years the United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorizing its neighbours, and turning its bases in the Peninsula into a spearhead through which to fight the neighbouring Muslim peoples. If some people have in the past argued about the fact of the occupation, all the people of the Peninsula have now acknowledged it. The best proof of this is the Americans' continuing aggression against the Iraqi people using the Peninsula as a staging post, even though all its rulers are against their territories being used to that end, but they are helpless.

Second, despite the great devastation inflicted on the Iraqi people by the crusader-Zionist alliance, and despite the huge number of those killed, which has exceeded 1 million... despite all this, the Americans are once again trying to repeat the horrific massacres, as though they are not content with the protracted blockade imposed after the ferocious war or the fragmentation and devastation. So here they come to annihilate what is left of this people and to humiliate their Muslim neighbours.

Third, if the Americans' aims behind these wars are religious and economic, the aim is also to serve the Jews' petty state and divert attention from its occupation of Jerusalem and murder of Muslims there. The best proof of this is their eagerness to destroy Iraq, the strongest neighbouring Arab state, and their endeavour to fragment all the states of the region such as Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Sudan into paper statelets and through their disunion and weakness to guarantee Israel's survival and the continuation of the brutal crusade occupation of the Peninsula.

All these crimes and sins committed by the Americans are a clear declaration of war on Allah, his messenger, and Muslims. And '*ulama*' have throughout Islamic history unanimously agreed that the *jihad* is an individual duty if the enemy destroys the Muslim countries. This was revealed by Imam bin Qadama in '*Al-Mughni*,' Imam al-Kisa'i in '*Al-Bada'i*,' al-Qurtubi in his interpretation, and the shaykh of al-Islam in his books, where he said: 'As for the fighting to repulse [an enemy], it is aimed at defending sanctity and religion, and it is a duty as agreed [by the '*ulama*']. Nothing is more sacred than belief except repulsing an enemy

who is attacking religion and life.’ On that basis, and in compliance with Allah’s order, we issue the following *fatwa* to all Muslims:

The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies - civilians and military - is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa mosque and the holy mosque [Mecca] from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim. This is in accordance with the words of Almighty Allah, ‘*and fight the pagans all together as they fight you all together,*’ and ‘*fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and justice and faith in Allah prevails.*’

This is in addition to the words of Almighty Allah: ‘*And why should ye not fight in the cause of Allah and of those who, being weak, are ill-treated (and oppressed)? - Women and children, whose cry is: “Our Lord, rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from thee one who will help!”*’

We - with Allah’s help - call on every Muslim who believes in Allah and wishes to be rewarded to comply with Allah’s order to kill the Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it. We also call on Muslim ‘*ulama*’, leaders, youths, and soldiers to launch the raid on Satan’s US troops and the devil’s supporters allying with them, and to displace those who are behind them so that they may learn a lesson. Almighty Allah said: ‘*O ye who believe, give your response to Allah and His apostle, when He calleth you to that which will give you life. And know that Allah cometh between a man and his heart, and that it is He to whom ye shall all be gathered.*’

Almighty Allah also says: ‘*O ye who believe, what is the matter with you, that when ye are asked to go forth in the cause of Allah, ye cling so heavily to the earth! Do ye prefer the life of this world to the hereafter? But little is the comfort of this life, as compared with the hereafter. Unless ye go forth, He will punish you with a grievous penalty, and put others in your place; but Him ye would not harm in the least. For Allah hath power over all things.*’

Almighty Allah also says: ‘*So lose no heart, nor fall into despair. For ye must gain mastery if ye are true in faith.*’

4.4 Brev til Islamist-konferansen i Islamabad, september/november 1998

Ifølge Yossef Bodanskys bok om al-Qa’ida ble Usama bin Ladin høsten 1998 invitert til en ”islamist-konferanse” i Pakistan, men han valgte å ikke møte, fordi Islamabad hadde signalisert at hans tilstedeværelse ville være problematisk i forkant av Nawaz Sharifs forestående besøk til Washington.⁴⁹ Ifølge Bodansky sendte derfor bin Ladin i stedet følgende brev til konferansearrangørene:

”We are thankful to God who blessed us with the wealth of faith and Islam. We are pleased to express our gratitude to you and the Pakistani *mujahid* nation. We thank you for your efforts to support the *mujahidin*’s struggle to expel the US forces from the sacred land. I do not need to tell you that this sacred struggle should continue until Bayt-al-Muqaddas and other holy places

⁴⁹ Bodansky (1999), ss 348-49. Bodansky skriver at denne konferansen fant sted i november, men denne datoen kan være feil. Avisen *al-Akhbar* skrev nemlig en artikkel 12. September 1998 med tittelen “Osama bin Laden Sends Message to Anti-US Conference”, og det er sannsynlig (dog ikke 100% sikkert) at det dreier seg om samme konferanse.

of Muslims are liberated from the occupation of non-Muslims and the Islamic *Shari'a* is enforced on the land of God. Obviously, for the enforcement of *Shari'a*, it is essential for all Muslims that they should establish an Islamic system on the basis of the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. At this moment, Israel and the United States are dominating Palestine and other holy places in such a way that *mujahidin* are being killed and besieged and Muslims have been economically ruined. Therefore, it is obligatory for all muslims to continue *jihād* by sacrificing their wealth and life as long as their holy places are not liberated from the subjugation of Jews and Christians. This freedom is not possible until we sacrifice all our wealth and our lives. As it is a religious obligation for every muslim to support the *mujahidin* fighting for freedom of sacred places, similarly they are also obligated by their religion to support the Taliban government in Afghanistan, because by enforcing *Shari'a* in Afghanistan, Taliban have established the system of God on God's land. They are busy in *jihād* to rid the muslims of Afghanistan from the tyranny of non-muslims. In conclusion, I pray that God may enlighten us with the light of faith and forgive our sins and help us all time."

4.5 Bin Ladins støtteerklæring til 'Umar 'Abd al-Rahman (*al-Jazira*, 22. september 2000)

Fredag 22. september 2000 viste *al-Jazira* et video-opptak hvor Usama bin Ladin erklærer at han vil forsøke å få Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd al-Rahman ut av amerikansk fengsel (se figur 4.5).⁵⁰ 'Umar 'Abd al-Rahman ble dømt til livsvarig fengsel i 1996 for å ha gitt inspirasjon og støtte til flere terroraksjoner i USA. Bin Ladin sa også at han vil arbeide for frigjøringen av "alle våre fanger" i USA, Egypt og Saudi-Arabia.

Mens Taliban-regimet sa det dreide seg om en forfalskning, var amerikanske eksperter sikre på at videoen var ekte. Det var også tvil om når opptaket hadde blitt gjort; *al-Jazira* sa de hadde indikasjoner på at videoen var fire måneder gammel.



Figur 4.5 Til venstre: Usama bin Ladin slik han fremstod på videoen sendt på *al-Jazira* 22. september 2000. Til høyre: Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd al-Rahman under rettssaken mot ham i 1996 (Kilde: CNN)

⁵⁰ <http://europe.cnn.com/2000/WORLD/meast/09/22/Osama.bin.laden/>

4.6 Video fra bryllupet til bin Ladins sønn, (*al-Jazira*, 12. januar 2001)

Den 12. januar 2001 viste den arabiske TV-kanalen *al-Jazira* ferske bilder fra bryllupet mellom bin Ladins 19 år gamle sønn Muhammad og den 14 år gamle datteren til Muhammad 'Atif (se figur 4.6).⁵¹ *Al-Jazira* rapporterte at de hadde fått tak i en 16 minutter lang video fra bryllupet som fant sted i Kandahar den 10. januar. Størsteparten av denne videofilmen viser Usama bin Ladin mens han holder en tale under bryllupet, men den viser også andre scener fra selskapet, blant annet en fire minutter lang hyllest fra bin Ladins åtte år gamle sønn Usman til sin far.



Figur 4.6 Bilder fra bryllupet til bin Ladins sønn, Muhammad bin Ladin (Kilde: BBC)

Her følger bin Ladins tale slik den gjengis på internettsiden www.jihadunspun.net.⁵²

”My current pronouncements and teachings are forever directed towards those who are forever ready to die for the cause of Islam and are always prepared for *jihad*. The might and power of the *kuffar* has in no way made cowards of them. They and their desire for *jihad* is a continuation and endorsement of that *hadith*, which reflects Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) attribution to those *mujahidin* engaged in the last battles of Syria, who prided themselves living under the sword and they were sons of the holy soil.

Your lives and the last drops of your blood are to be shed for the everlasting glory of the *umma* and it is through these martyrs and their blood that shall bring forth the grace and goodness of the *umma*. They shall always serve as the bridge to help give honor and dignity to the *umma*. Your sacrifices and your blood shall rise as the ultimate in giving respect and help educate and bring an understanding to those deviants for their being uninitiated towards this sacred cause. It is through them, their sacrifices that the enemy shall be subjugated and thus the al-Aqsa mosque be liberated. All of you have given your blood to infuse an existence and life to the holy land of Palestine.

None of you have shown any duplicity or lack of faith in this struggle. And all this shall give added impetus to your struggle. All of you gave your lives and shed your blood in the name of Allah, the merciful, and none of you ever placed your self before dying for this cause. Oh children, you are all the braves of al-Quds and ordinary people of age and maturity can hardly compare well with you. Your manhood and bravery have put to shame as courageous men of lore. And Aqsa prides in your manhood and bravery. Your bravery and courage has lifted that

⁵¹ http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/monitoring/media_reports/1110108.stm;
<http://old.smh.com.au/news/0101/12/pageone/pageone8.html>

⁵² <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/ouutej.cfm>

veil which *kufir* had embalmed in the eyes of the followers. You surfaced and created a wall against *kufir*.

When the *umma* was on the brink of annihilation, the caliph of the Muslim *umma* reneged on his faith and endeared himself to Christianity. The Cross of Christ was seen hanging on his chest (referred to Shah Fawad, so garlanded by Queen Elizabeth).

Our history is being rewritten. This is my country. It has been declared out of bounds for Christianity and yet the nefarious designs of Jews are hell bent upon destroying this country. All await another Salahuddin Ayubi who shall come and liberate this sacred country from their intended subjugation. I envision you all as Salahuddin Ayubi in self, wielding his all conquering sword and his sword is dripping with the blood of the infidels. I envision Salahuddin Ayubi coming out of the clouds and in our hearts and minds is recreated the remembrance of the battles of Badr and Khyber.

Umma is being energized and reinvigorated. And their conscience is being emboldened through a newer and stronger faith. Your brethren have taken up your struggle through out East and have come out to fight against *kufir* and the West has been threatened by their rise. The West fears that the *mujahidin* shall annihilate their very existence. Much that the West take sustenance in their arms and might, in their hearts of hearts they fear and are scared of the *mujahidin*.

Two *lashkars*, (The forces of West and Islam) have been pitted against one another. One *lashkar* is endowed with the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and is imbued with a desire to be martyrs, while the second *lashkar* is manned and directed by a worn-out, aged infidel leadership (*kaisar*). A confrontation is now bound to take place and the war clouds have truly engulfed both the *lashkars*.

Unafraid of the might and size of the infidels, an appreciable small number of committed *mujahidin*, shall prevail upon them. While they pride on their military resources, the *mujahidin* take the field through faith and conviction. The *mujahidin* shall recreate the old Islamic chivalry against the Cross and has history ever witnessed such bravery as of these *mujahidin* who endorse themselves as true descendants of those Islamic heroes of yesteryear. You should all shed tears assessing the prevailing conditions in which the *umma* is going through now. Your hearts should bleed and bemoan the insensitivity the *umma* is reflecting now. It is only your faith, your religion that can be prided upon.

Your verses should be *tawhid*, your slogan ‘*Allahu-akbar*’. None should have second thought about you since you follow the spirit and conviction of your forefathers. None should infer that you are all without that light which your forefathers had carried in their hearts in fights against the infidel. All kinds of greed and vice should be eliminated from your hearts. And never ever shall fear be depicted in your eyes, however insurmountable the odds. Remember he who fears not death, is protected from death itself.

The Palestinians are the one who in name of Allah, take on the enemies without arms and equipment. Deserve credit those traders and businessmen who give *zakat* so that they can help arm that ill-equipped *lashkar*. They, the Palestinians sacrifice their lives, can you (the traders) not part with your riches. Where are those followers who adhering to Quranic directions, mortgaged their souls for a heavenly repose? And where are those that to seek the Almighty’s benevolence, are ever ready to die for a cause?

How can any one blame my father or hold him accountable if he, filled with the love and respect of the *umma*, endeavored to instill in one and all a feeling and desire to stand against the might of *kufir*? My father raised a voice and urged the Muslims to unite against the infidels. But he so ever does not heed this does not harbor a desire to go for *jihad*. My mother taught and instilled in me an unending, everlasting feeling that I should always be motivated to fight and die for the glory of Islam. I stand for a *jihad* against *kufir* today, and shall so do till eternity. *Jihad* is in my mind, heart and blood veins. No fear, nor intimidation can ever take this feeling out of my mind and body.”

4.7 Brev til deobandi-konferanse i India (9. april 2001)

Den 9.-11. april 2001 arrangerte den radikale pakistanske organisasjonen Jamiat-e-Ulama en stor samling ved en deobandi-skole i India.⁵³ Arrangementet samlet 200,000 deobandi-muslimer og en rekke talere, deriblant Mulla ‘Umar (på lydopptak). Selv om Usama bin Ladin ikke var direkte involvert i dette arrangementet, sendte han en uttalelse til pakistanske nyhetsbyråer den 9. april som tydelig var ment å sammenfalle med samlingen.

Erklæringen, som var skrevet på arabisk, inneholdt ifølge nyhetsbyråene følgende hovedpoenger:⁵⁴

“Bin Ladin urged wealthy Muslims to support the Taliban with money to be used to rebuild their war-shattered nation. His statement, which was not read aloud at the convention, also urged the new generation to train for holy war.

‘Issue a call to the young generation to get ready for the holy war and to prepare for that in Afghanistan because *jihad* in this time of crisis for Muslims is an obligation of all Muslims’, bin Ladin said.

‘I appeal to you to teach Muslims that there is no honor except in *jihad* in the way of God.’ In his statement, bin Ladin praised ‘Umar’s edict, calling it a ‘great Islamic decision’”.⁵⁵

4.8 Bin Ladin hyller Taliban og Mulla ‘Umar (*al-Jazira*, 12. april 2001)

Den 12. april 2001 viste den arabiske TV-stasjonen *al-Jazira* et innslag som inneholdt et lydopptak av en tale som bin Ladin skal ha holdt i Peshawar (Pakistan) på et ukjent tidspunkt.⁵⁶ BBC hevder at denne videoen ble spilt av for deltakerne på deobandi-konferansen 9.-11. april, men dette ble benektet av arrangørene.⁵⁷ Teksten er interessant fordi den gir en indikasjon på forholdet mellom al-Qa‘ida og Taliban-regimet. Bin Ladin gir her sin anerkjennelse til omtalen av Mulla ‘Umar som *amir al-mu‘minin* (prinsen av de rettroende), en tittel med sterk historisk og religiøs betydning – det var nemlig tittelen brukt av kalifen i tidlig islam.

”O Muslim ‘*ulama*’. Teach the Islamic nation that there is no Islam without a congregation, no congregation without an emirate, and no emirate without obedience. You are aware that at these

⁵³ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/south_asia/1269655.stm;

http://www.pcpafg.org/news/Afghan_News/year2001/2001_04_09/Bin_Laden_Urges_Preparation_for_War.shtml

⁵⁴ <http://www.miraserve.com/pressrev/EN12april01.htm>

⁵⁵ “‘Umar’s Edict” er en referanse til Mullah ‘Umars bestemmelse i februar 2001 om at Buddha-statuen ved Bamiyan-klippen skulle ødelegges.

⁵⁶ <http://www.miraserve.com/pressrev/EN12april01.htm>

⁵⁷ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/monitoring/media_reports/1273473.stm

difficult days, God has bestowed on the Islamic nation the rise of an Islamic state that applies God's *Shari'a* and raises the banner of monotheism, praise be to God; namely, the establishment of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan led by the prince of the faithful Mulla Muhammad 'Umar, may God protect him. It is your duty to call on the people to adhere to this emirate, to support it with souls and resources, and to back it in resisting the overwhelming currents of the world's infidelity.

Weakening the infidels and warding off their evil, and upholding principles of monotheism can only be effected through a unified approach and by the Muslims' unanimous choice of one leader from among their men. I take this opportunity to assert that it is God's desire that I should pledge allegiance to the prince of the faithful Mulla Muhammad 'Umar, that I have indeed given him my word of allegiance. I hope that my action will serve only God the Almighty."

4.9 Fraskrivelse av ansvar for terroraksjonene 11. september 2001 (*al-Jazira*, 17. september 2001)

Den 17. september leste en nyhetsreporter fra *al-Jazira* opp en erklæring som angivelig kom direkte fra Usama bin Ladin.⁵⁸ Meldingen skal ha vært håndskrevet, signert av bin Ladin selv, og sendt per faks til den Qatar-baserte nyhetsstasjonen.⁵⁹ Nedenfor følger en oversettelse av erklæringen, hentet fra www.jihadunspun.net:

"After the recent attacks on the United States of America, its leaders have indicted us and accused us for standing behind these events. We are accustomed to America's accusations as we are blamed on every occasion, even though America has many enemies.

On this occasion I confirm that I did not do this action that appears to have been done for personal motives of America.

I reside in the Islamic principedom of Afghanistan and have sworn allegiance to the Prince of Believers, Mulla 'Umar, to obey all the laws of Afghanistan. Mulla 'Umar does not permit these kinds of actions from Afghanistan."

4.10 Oppfordring til motstandskamp i Pakistan (*al-Jazira*, 24. september 2001)

På søndagskvelden 24. september 2001 formidlet den arabiske TV-stasjonen *al-Jazira* et brev signert av Usama bin Ladin som var sendt til nyhetskanalen via telefaks.⁶⁰ Dette var det første sikre livstegn fra bin Ladin etter angrepene på World Trade Center 11. september 2001.

"To our Muslim brothers in Pakistan:

I heard with much regret the news of the murder of some of our Muslim brothers in Karachi while they were expressing their rejection of the aggression by America's crusader forces and its allies on Muslim soil in Pakistan and Afghanistan. We ask God to receive them as martyrs and

⁵⁸ *Al-Hayat*, 17. september 2001, s 4;

<http://www.alhayat.com/pages/old%20issues/2001/09Sep/16SepSun/17P04.pdf>;

<http://europe.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/asiapcf/central/09/17/afghan.pakistan/>;

<http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/fd911a.cfm>.

⁵⁹ http://wildcat.arizona.edu/papers/95/20/05_1_m.html

⁶⁰ http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/military/terroristattack/binladen-letter_9-24.html ; se også <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/fdhw.cfm>.

to place them among prophets and the righteous and martyrs and the pious who are the best of company, and to grant their families solace and bless their children and property and reward them for being good Muslims. The children that they left behind are my children and I will care for them, God willing.

No wonder the Muslim nation in Pakistan should rise in defence of Islam, for it is considered Islam's first line of defence in this region, as Afghanistan was the first line of defence for itself and for Pakistan against the Russian invasion more than 20 years ago. We hope those brothers are the first martyrs in the battle of Islam in this age. The new Jewish crusader campaign is led by the biggest crusader, Bush, under the banner of the cross. This battle is considered one of the battles of Islam...

We incite our Muslim brothers in Pakistan to deter with all their capabilities the American crusaders from invading Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Prophet, may peace be upon him, had said: He who did not fight or prepare a fighter or take responsibility for the family of the martyr fighter, God will punish him before judgment day - cited by Abu Daoud.

I assure you, dear brothers, that we are firm on the road of *jihad* for the sake of God, inspired by His Prophet, may peace be upon him, and with the heroic faithful Afghani people under the leadership of the emir of the faithful Mulla Muhammad 'Umar and to make him triumph over the infidel forces and the forces of tyranny and to destroy the new Jewish Crusade campaign on the soil of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

'If God helps you, none can overcome you. If He forsakes you, who is there after that, that can help you? In God, then, let believers put their trust.'

Your brother in Islam, Usama bin Muhammad bin Ladin."

4.11 Bin Ladin hyller terroraksjonene 11. september 2001 (*al-Jazira*, 7. oktober 2001)

Den 7. oktober 2001 kringkastet *al-Jazira* de første levende bildene av bin Ladin etter terroraksjonene i USA 11. september.⁶¹ På denne videoen ser og hører vi bin Ladin lese opp en erklæring på et uspesifisert sted (se figur 4.6). Det er ikke kjent på hvilket tidspunkt denne videoen ble spilt inn eller hvordan den kom *al-Jazira* i hende.

⁶¹ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/south_asia/1585636.stm; Dette er ikke den samme videoen som ble omtalt i en CNN-reportasje 4. oktober 2001. I denne reportasjen vises det til en film som skal ha blitt sendt til *al-Jazira*, men filmen inneholder bare gamle opptak. Se CNN-reportasjen på <http://europe.cnn.com/video/us/2001/10/04/mb.new.Osama.afl.med.exclude.html>.



Figur 4.7 Bin Ladin fremfører sitt budskap i videoen som ble kringkastet 7. oktober 2001
(Kilde: BBC News)

“Praise be to God and we beseech Him for help and forgiveness. We seek refuge with the Lord for our bad and evildoing. He whom God guides is rightly guided but he whom God leaves to stray, for him wilt thou find no protector to lead him to the right way. I witness that there is no God but God and Muhammad is His slave and Prophet.

God Almighty hit the United States at its most vulnerable spot. He destroyed its greatest buildings. Praise be to God. Here is the United States; It was filled with terror from its north to its south and from its east to its west. Praise be to God. What the United States tastes today is a very small thing compared to what we have tasted for tens of years. Our nation has been tasting this humiliation and contempt for more than 80 years. Its sons are being killed, its blood is being shed, its holy places are being attacked, and it is not being ruled according to what God has decreed. Despite this, nobody cares.

When Almighty God rendered successful a convoy of Muslims, the vanguards of Islam, He allowed them to destroy the United States. I ask God Almighty to elevate their status and grant them Paradise. He is the one who is capable to do so. When these defended their oppressed sons, brothers, and sisters in Palestine and in many Islamic countries, the world at large shouted. The infidels shouted, followed by the hypocrites. One million Iraqi children have thus far died in Iraq although they did not do anything wrong. Despite this, we heard no denunciation by anyone in the world or a *fatwa* by the rulers’ *‘ulama’*. Israeli tanks and tracked vehicles also enter to wreak havoc in Palestine, in Jenin, Ramalla, Raza, Beit Jala, and other Islamic areas and we hear no voices raised or moves made.

But if the sword falls on the United States after 80 years, hypocrisy raises its head lamenting the deaths of these killers who tampered with the blood, honour, and holy places of the Muslims. The least that one can say about these people is that they are morally depraved. They champion falsehood, support the butcher against the victim, the oppressor against the innocent child. May God mete them the punishment they deserve. I say that the matter is clear and explicit. In the aftermath of this event and now that senior US officials have spoken, beginning with Bush, the head of the world’s infidels, and whoever supports him, every Muslim should rush to defend his religion.

They came out in arrogance with their men and horses and instigated even those countries that belong to Islam against us. They came out to fight this group of people who declared their faith in God and refused to abandon their religion. They came out to fight Islam in the name of terrorism. Hundreds of thousands of people, young and old, were killed in the farthest point on earth in Japan. [For them] this is not a crime, but rather a debatable issue. They bombed Iraq and considered that a debatable issue.

But when a dozen people of them were killed in Nairobi and Dar es-Salaam, Afghanistan and Iraq were bombed and all hypocrite ones stood behind the head of the world's infidelity - behind the Hubal of the age - namely, America and its supporters. These incidents divided the entire world into two regions - one of faith where there is no hypocrisy and another of infidelity, from which we hope God will protect us.

The winds of faith and change have blown to remove falsehood from the [Arabian] peninsula of Prophet Muhammad, may God's prayers be upon him. As for the United States, I tell it and its people these few words: I swear by Almighty God who raised the heavens without pillars that neither the United States nor he who lives in the United States will enjoy security before we can see it as a reality in Palestine and before all the infidel armies leave the land of Muhammad, may God's peace and blessing be upon him.

God is great and glory to Islam.

May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you."

4.12 Bin Ladin, al-Zawahiri og Abu Ghayth fordømmer militæroperasjonene i Afghanistan (*al-Jazira*, 10. oktober 2001)

Bare tre dager etter å ha sendt bin Ladins første videoerklæring viste *al-Jazira* en video hvor al-Qa'idas talsmann, Sulayman Abu Ghayth, leser opp en erklæring fra organisasjonen som på dette tidspunkt var utpekt av USA og England som hovedansvarlig for terrorangrepene 11. september 2001.⁶² Det er ikke kjent når eller nøyaktig hvor videoen er spilt inn (se figur 4.8).



Figur 4.8 Fra venstre mot høyre: Sulayman Abu Ghayth, Usama bin Ladin og Ayman al-Zawahiri (Kilde: BBC News)

⁶² http://news.bbc.co.uk/low/english/world/middle_east/newsid_1590000/1590350.stm

“We thank Almighty God, who said in His holy Book: *‘Ye who believe, take not the Jews and the Christians for your friends and protectors. They are but friends and protectors to each other. And he amongst you that turns to them is of them. Verily God guideth not a people unjustly.’* May God’s peace and blessings be upon our Prophet Muhammad, his companions, and those who followed his course.

I address this message to the entire Muslim nation to tell them that the confederates have joined forces against the Islamic nation and the Crusader war, promised by Bush, has been launched against Afghanistan and against this people who have faith in God.

We now live under this crusader bombardment that targets the entire nation. The Islamic nation should know that we defend a just cause. The Islamic nation has been groaning in pain for more than 80 years under the yoke of the joint Jewish-crusader aggression. Palestine is living under the yoke of the Jewish occupation and its people groan from this repression and persecution while no-one lifts a finger. The Arabian Peninsula is being defiled by the feet of those who came to occupy these lands, usurp these holy places, and plunder these resources.

The Islamic nation must also know that the US version of terrorism is a kind of deception. Is it logical for the United States and its allies to carry out this repression, persecution, plundering, and bloodletting over these long years without this being called terrorism, while when the victim tries to seek justice, he is described as terrorist? This type of deception can never be accepted in any case whatsoever. Let the United States know that the Islamic nation will not remain silent after this day on what it is experiencing and what takes place in its land, and that *jihad* for the sake of God today is an obligation on every Muslim in this land if he has no excuse. God Almighty has said: *‘Then fight in God’s cause, thou art held responsible only for thyself and rouse the believers.’* It may be that God will restrain the fury of the unbelievers, for God is the strongest in might and in punishment.

US interests are spread throughout the world. So, every Muslim should carry out his real role to champion his Islamic nation and religion. Carrying out terrorism against the oppressors is one of the tenets of our religion and *Shari’a*. *‘Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into the hearts of the enemies of God and your enemies.’*

I would like to touch on one important point in this address. The actions by these young men who destroyed the United States and launched the storm of planes against it have done a good deed. They transferred the battle into the US heartland. Let the United States know that with God’s permission, the battle will continue to be waged on its territory until it leaves our lands, stops its support for the Jews, and lifts the unjust embargo on the Iraqi people who have lost more than one million children.

The Americans should know that the storm of plane attacks will not abate, with God’s permission. There are thousands of the Islamic nation’s youths who are eager to die just as the Americans are eager to live.

They should know that with their invasion of the land of Afghanistan, they have started a new phase of enmity and conflict between us and the forces of infidelity. We are confident that we will achieve victory thanks to our material and moral strength and confidence and faith in Almighty God. The Americans have opened a door which will under no circumstances be shut. I address Muslim youths, men, and women and urge them to shoulder their responsibility. They

should know that the land of Afghanistan and the *mujahidin* there are really facing an all-out crusader war which is aimed at eliminating this group which believes in God and fights on the basis of a creed and religion. Thus, the nation must shoulder its responsibility. It would be a disgrace if the Islamic nation fails to do so.

Finally, I thank Almighty God who enabled us to engage in this *jihad* and fight this battle, which is a decisive one between infidelity and faith. I ask Almighty God to grant us victory on our enemy, make their machinations backfire on them, and defeat them. May God's peace, mercy, and blessings be upon you."

4.13 Sulayman Abu Ghayth truer med flere flyangrep (*al-Jazira*, 13. oktober 2001)

Tre dager senere sender *al-Jazira* enda en video med en erklæring fra al-Qa'ida, denne gangen også fremført av organisasjonens talsmann Sulayman Abu Ghayth (se figur 4.9).⁶³



Fig 4.9 Sulayman Abu Ghayth, talsmann for al-Qa'ida, slik han fremsto på videoen sendt på *al-Jazira* 13. oktober 2001 (Kilde: BBC News)

"Praise be to God, the cherisher and sustainer of the worlds, and may God's peace and blessings be upon our Prophet Muhammad, may he and all his household and companions be blessed by God.

Based on the questions and queries that we have received regarding how we view the incidents that have taken place over the past five days, we would like to say that the crusade spearheaded by the two crusaders Bush and Blair is continuing on the territory of Muslim Afghanistan and its population, who are demonstrating day in and day out their sacrifices, firmness and determination to uphold their religion and creed. We pray to the Almighty God to hold their feet firmly, to strengthen their resolve, and to grant them victory over the infidels.

We also would like to declare our full support for this emirate and for the Muslim Afghan people in the face of this ferocious assault, offering all the material and moral resources that we have under the command of Mulla Muhammad 'Umar, Commander of the Faithful, may God protect him and grant him certain victory. This holds true regardless of the duration of the war. The issue at hand is the issue of an entire nation that opposes humiliation and subservience under the yoke of US arrogance and Jewish persecution.

The al-Qa'ida organization declares that Bush Senior, Bush Junior, Clinton, Blair and Sharon

⁶³ http://news.bbc.co.uk/low/english/world/middle_east/newsid_1598000/1598146.stm

are the arch-criminals from among the Zionists and Crusaders who committed the most heinous actions and atrocities against the Muslim nation. They perpetrated murders, torture and displacement. Millions of Muslim men, women and children died without any fault of their own. Al-Qa'ida stresses that the blood of those killed will not go to waste, God willing, until we punish these criminals.

Bush, in the midst of his arrogance, media frenzy, and the Enduring Freedom operation that he boasts about, must not forget the video footage of Muhammad al-Durra and his brothers, Muslim children in Palestine and Iraq. If he forgot that scene, then we will never forget it. He must know that his 'Enduring Freedom' which he boasts of has wiped out entire villages in Nangahar near Jalalabad in Afghanistan. Villages were completely wiped out. It was not a mistake but a deliberate action. What mistake is that which is repeated three times? This village was bombed in the beginning of night, in the middle of the night, and before dawn.

Those who supported this crusader campaign should realise after things have been clarified that it is a crusader campaign against Islam and the Muslims. Those who supported those criminals go away from Prophet Muhammad, may God's peace and blessings be upon him, who said that the destruction of earth is more tolerable to God than killing a believer without cause. What would they say when their deeds are displayed in front of God, praise be to Him? What would they say when the female infant buried alive is questioned?

In this regard, we support the religious rulings issued by senior clerics in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, led by his eminence Shaykh Humud bin Uqla al-Shu'aybi, who said that it is impermissible to co-operate with Jews and Christians and that he who co-operates with them and gives them his opinion or take actions in supporting them becomes apostate and revokes his faith in God and His Prophet, may God's peace and blessings be upon him.

The al-Qa'ida organisation orders the Americans and the infidels in the Arabian Peninsula, particularly the Americans and the British, to leave the Arabian Peninsula. If the mothers of these need their sons then they should ask them to leave the Arabian Peninsula, because the land will be set on fire under their feet, God willing.

In this regard we greet the *mujahidin* youths who knew their role and the way to respond to the aggression of the unjust, and killed them. We also greet the Muslims, both in the East and West, who staged demonstrations rejecting this criminal aggression, repression, and injustice.

We say to them that they should continue this pressure, especially since the Islamic countries' foreign ministers announced their support for this unjust campaign. These do not represent the nation in any case. They do not have the legitimacy that qualifies them to dispose of the nation's destiny and resolutions.

As for the decisions made by Bush and the US administration to prevent satellite channels and world news agencies from making our voice heard in the world, then this is clear evidence that the US administration fears the revelation of the truth that led to the Tuesday events. This truth shows that Bush is an agent of Israel and sacrifices his people and his country's economy for those and helps them occupy the Muslims' land and persecute their sons.

Finally, I address the US secretary of state, who cast doubt about my previous statement and downplayed what we said that there are thousands of Muslim youths who are eager to die and that the aircraft storm will not stop, God willing. Powell, and others in the US administration,

know that if the al-Qa‘ida organisation promises or threatens, it fulfils its promise or threat, God willing. Therefore, we tell him tomorrow is not far for he who waits for it. What will happen is what you are going to see and not what you hear. And the storms will not calm, especially the aircraft storm.

These storms will not calm until you retreat, defeated in Afghanistan, stop your assistance to the Jews in Palestine, end the siege imposed on the Iraqi people, leave the Arabian Peninsula, and stop your support for the Hindus against the Muslims in Kashmir.

We also say and advise the Muslims in the United States and Britain, the children, and those who reject the unjust US policy not to travel by plane. We also advise them not to live in high-rise buildings and towers.

But honour belongs to God, and his Apostle, and to the believers; but the hypocrites know not. Peace and God’s blessings be upon you.”

4.14 Bin Ladin fordømmer FN (*al-Jazira*, 3. november 2001)

Den 3. november 2001 viste *al-Jazira* nok en video med en uttalelse fra al-Qa‘ida (se figur 4.10).⁶⁴ Denne gangen er budskapet noe lengre.



Figur 4.10 Usama bin Ladin i videoen som ble kringkastet 3. november 2001 (Kilde: *al-Jazira*)

“We praise God, seek His help, and ask for His forgiveness. We seek refuge in God from the evils of our souls and our bad deeds. A person who is guided by God will never be misguided by anyone and a person who is misguided by God can never be guided by anyone. I bear witness that there is no God but Allah alone, who has no equal.

Amid the huge developments and in the wake of the great strikes that hit the United States in its most important locations in New York and Washington, a huge media clamour has been raised.

⁶⁴ En liten del av videoen kan sees på

http://www.aljazeera.net/mritems/streams/video/2001/11/3/1_64614_1_12.asf. Vår gjengivelse er hentet fra http://news.bbc.co.uk/low/english/world/monitoring/media_reports/newsid_1636000/1636782.stm. Se også <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/ootcwatun.cfm>.

This clamour is unprecedented. It conveyed the opinions of people on these events. People were divided into two parts. The first part supported these strikes against US tyranny, while the second denounced them. Afterward, when the United States launched the unjust campaign against the Islamic Emirate in Afghanistan, people also split into two parties. The first supported these campaigns, while the second denounced and rejected them. These tremendous incidents, which have split people into two parties, are of great interest to the Muslims, since many of the rulings pertain to them.

These rulings are closely related to Islam and the acts that corrupt a person's Islam. Therefore, the Muslims must understand the nature and truth of this conflict so that it will be easy for them to determine where they stand. While talking about the truth of the conflict, opinion polls in the world have shown that a little more than 80 per cent of Westerners, of Christians in the United States and elsewhere, have been saddened by the strikes that hit the United States. The polls showed that the vast majority of the sons of the Islamic world were happy about these strikes because they believe that the strikes were in reaction to the huge criminality practiced by Israel and the United States in Palestine and other Muslim countries. After the strikes on Afghanistan began, these groups changed positions. Those who were happy about striking the United States felt sad when Afghanistan was hit, and those who felt sad when the United States was hit were happy when Afghanistan was hit. These groups comprise millions of people.

The entire West, with the exception of a few countries, supports this unfair, barbaric campaign, although there is no evidence of the involvement of the people of Afghanistan in what happened in America. The people of Afghanistan had nothing to do with this matter. The campaign, however, continues to unjustly annihilate the villagers and civilians, children, women, and innocent people.

The positions of the two sides are very clear. Mass demonstrations have spread from the farthest point in the eastern part of the Islamic world to the farthest point in the western part of the Islamic world, and from Indonesia, Philippines, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan to the Arab world and Nigeria and Mauritania.

This clearly indicates the nature of this war. This war is fundamentally religious. The people of the East are Muslims. They sympathized with Muslims against the people of the West, who are the crusaders. Those who try to cover this crystal clear fact, which the entire world has admitted, are deceiving the Islamic nation. They are trying to deflect the attention of the Islamic nation from the truth of this conflict. This fact is proven in the book of God Almighty and in the teachings of our messenger, may God's peace and blessings be upon him. Under no circumstances should we forget this enmity between us and the infidels. For the enmity is based on creed.

We must be loyal to the believers and those who believe that there is no God but Allah. We should also renounce the atheists and infidels. It suffices me to seek God's help against them. God says: *'Never will the Jews or the Christians be satisfied with thee unless thou follow their form of religion.'* It is a question of faith, not a war against terrorism, as Bush and Blair try to depict it. Many thieves belonging to this nation were captured in the past. But, nobody moved.

The masses which moved in the East and West have not done so for the sake of Usama. Rather, they moved for the sake of their religion. This is because they know that they are right and that they resist the most ferocious, serious, and violent crusader campaign against Islam ever since the message was revealed to Muhammad, may God's peace and blessings be upon

him. After this has become clear, the Muslim must know and learn where he is standing vis-à-vis this war.

After the US politicians spoke and after the US newspapers and television channels became full of clear crusader hatred in this campaign that aims at mobilizing the West against Islam and Muslims, Bush left no room for doubts or the opinions of journalists, but he openly and clearly said that this war is a crusader war. He said this before the whole world to emphasize this fact.

What can those who allege that this is a war against terrorism say? What terrorism are they speaking about at a time when the Islamic nation has been slaughtered for tens of years without hearing their voices and without seeing any action by them? But when the victim starts to take revenge for those innocent children in Palestine, Iraq, southern Sudan, Somalia, Kashmir and the Philippines, the rulers' *'ulama'* and the hypocrites come to defend the clear blasphemy. It suffices me to seek God's help against them.

The common people have understood the issue, but there are those who continue to flatter those who colluded with the unbelievers to anesthetize the Islamic nation to prevent it from carrying out the duty of *jihad* so that the word of God will be above all words. The unequivocal truth is that Bush has carried the cross and raised its banner high and stood at the front of the queue. Anyone who lines up behind Bush in this campaign has committed one of the 10 actions that sully one's Islam. Muslim scholars are unanimous that allegiance to the infidels and support for them against the believers is one of the major acts that sully Islam.

There is no power but in God. Let us investigate whether this war against Afghanistan that broke out a few days ago is a single and unique one or if it is a link to a long series of crusader wars against the Islamic world. Following World War I, which ended more than 83 years ago, the whole Islamic world fell under the crusader banner - under the British, French, and Italian governments. They divided the whole world, and Palestine was occupied by the British. Since then, and for more than 83 years, our brothers, sons, and sisters in Palestine have been badly tortured. Hundreds of thousands of them have been killed, and hundreds of thousands of them have been imprisoned or maimed.

Let us examine the recent developments. Take for example the Chechens. They are a Muslim people who have been attacked by the Russian bear which embraces the Christian Orthodox faith. Russians have annihilated the Chechen people in their entirety and forced them to flee to the mountains where they were assaulted by snow and poverty and diseases. Nonetheless, nobody moved to support them. There is no strength but in God.

This was followed by a war of genocide in Bosnia in sight and hearing of the entire world in the heart of Europe. For several years our brothers have been killed, our women have been raped, and our children have been massacred in the safe havens of the United Nations and with its knowledge and cooperation. Those who refer our tragedies today to the United Nations so that they can be resolved are hypocrites who deceive God, His Prophet and the believers.

Are not our tragedies but caused by the United Nations? Who issued the partition resolution on Palestine in 1947 and surrendered the land of Muslims to the Jews? It was the United Nations in its resolution in 1947. Those who claim that they are the leaders of the Arabs and continue to appeal to the United Nations have disavowed what was revealed to Prophet Muhammad, God's peace and blessings be upon him. Those who refer things to the international legitimacy have disavowed the legitimacy of the holy Book and the tradition of Prophet Muhammad, God's

peace and blessings be upon him. This is the United Nations from which we have suffered greatly. Under no circumstances should any Muslim or sane person resort to the United Nations. The United Nations is nothing but a tool of crime. We are being massacred everyday, while the United Nations continues to sit idly by.

Our brothers in Kashmir have been subjected to the worst forms of torture for over 50 years. They have been massacred, killed, and raped. Their blood has been shed and their houses have been trespassed upon.

Still, the United Nations continues to sit idly by. Today, and without any evidence, the United Nations passes resolutions supporting unjust and tyrannical America, which oppresses these helpless people who have emerged from a merciless war at the hands of the Soviet Union. Let us look at the second war in Chechnya, which is still underway. The entire Chechen people are being embattled once again by this Russian bear. The humanitarian agencies, even the US ones, demanded that President Clinton should stop supporting Russia. However, Clinton said that stopping support for Russia did not serve US interests. A year ago, Putin demanded that the cross and the Jews should stand by him. He told them: 'You must support us and thank us because we are waging a war against Muslim fundamentalism.' The enemies are speaking very clearly. While this is taking place, the leaders of the region hide and are ashamed to support their brothers.

Let us examine the stand of the West and the United Nations in the developments in Indonesia when they moved to divide the largest country in the Islamic world in terms of population. This criminal, Kofi Annan, was speaking publicly and putting pressure on the Indonesian government, telling it: 'You have 24 hours to divide and separate East Timor from Indonesia. Otherwise, we will be forced to send in military forces to separate it by force.' The crusader Australian forces were on Indonesian shores, and in fact they landed to separate East Timor, which is part of the Islamic world. Therefore, we should view events not as separate links, but as links in a long series of conspiracies, a war of annihilation in the true sense of the word. In Somalia, on the excuse of restoring hope, 13,000 of our brothers were killed. In southern Sudan, hundreds of thousands were killed.

But when we move to Palestine and Iraq, there can be no bounds to what can be said. Over one million children were killed in Iraq. The killing is continuing. As for what is taking place in Palestine these days, I can only say we have no one but God to complain to. What is taking place cannot be tolerated by any nation. I do not say from the nations of the human race, but from other creatures, from the animals. They would not tolerate what is taking place. A confidant of mine told me that he saw a butcher slaughtering a camel in front of another camel. The other camel got agitated while seeing the blood coming out of the other camel. Thus, it burst out with rage and bit the hand of the man and broke it. How can the weak mothers in Palestine endure the killing of their children in front of their eyes by the unjust Jewish executioners with US support and with US aircraft and tanks?

Those who distinguish between America and Israel are the real enemies of the nation. They are traitors who betrayed God and His prophet, and who betrayed their nation and the trust placed in them. They anesthetize the nation. These battles cannot be viewed in any case whatsoever as isolated battles, but rather, as part of a chain of the long, fierce, and ugly crusader war. Every Muslim must stand under the banner of 'There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is God's Prophet.'

I remind you of what our Prophet, may God's peace and blessings upon him, told ibn Abbas, may God be pleased with him. He told him: 'Boy, I am going to teach you a few words. Obey God, He will protect you. Obey Him, you will find Him on your side. If you ask for something, ask God. If you seek help, seek the help of God. You should know that if all people come together to help you, they will only help you with something that God has already preordained for you. And if they assemble to harm you, they will only harm you with something that God has already preordained for you. God wrote man's fate and it will never change.' I tell the Muslims who did their utmost during these weeks: You must continue along the same march. Your support for us will make us stronger and will further support your brothers in Afghanistan. Exert more efforts in combating this unprecedented war crime.

Fear God, O Muslims and rise to support your religion. Islam is calling on you: O Muslims, O Muslims, O Muslims. God bear witness that I have conveyed the message. God bear witness that I have conveyed the message. God bear witness that I have conveyed the message. God's peace and blessings be upon you."

4.15 Bin Ladins "tilståelse" (november 2001)

I november 2001, mens militæraksjonen mot al-Qa'ida pågikk for fullt, kunngjorde amerikanske myndigheter at de hadde funnet en video i et hus i Jalalabad i Afghanistan som inneholdt en regelrett "tilståelse" fra Usama bin Ladin angående terrorangrepene 11. september. Amerikanerne nølte med å offentliggjøre denne videoen, ettersom de fryktet at den dårlige lyd- og bildekvaliteten kunne få den muslimske opinionen til å tro at det dreide seg om en forfalskning (se figur 4.11).



Figur 4.11 Bilde fra den omstridte al-Qa'ida-videoen (Kilde: US Department of Defense)

Opptaket skal ha blitt gjort rundt 9. november 2001.⁶⁵ Videoen ble imidlertid ikke offentlig tilgjengelig før den 13. desember 2001, da USA og Storbritannia distribuerte små videosekvenser til verdens TV-stasjoner, samt la ut et referat av samtalene på deler av videoen

⁶⁵ <http://www.msnbc.com/news/793217.asp#BODY>

på Internett. Det er denne teksten som er gjengitt her.⁶⁶ I etterkant av denne offentliggjøringen ble det sådd tvil om kvaliteten på oversettelsen av deler av samtalene. Enkelte språkprofessorer mente at noen av oversettelsene var søkt, og at lyd kvaliteten på båndet ikke gav grunnlag for entydige tolkninger.⁶⁷ Videoen provoserte også frem reaksjoner blant al-Qa‘ida-sympatisører på Internett, og Reuven Paz har publisert en interessant analyse av disse reaksjonene.⁶⁸ Her følger det amerikanske forsvarsdepartementets offisielle gjengivelse av samtalen i videoen:

“[In mid-November, Usama bin Ladin spoke to a room of supporters, possibly in Qandahar, Afghanistan. These comments were video taped with the knowledge of bin Ladin and all present.

Note: The tape is approximately one hour long and contains three different segments: an original taping of a visit by some people to the site of the downed US helicopter in Ghazni province (approximately 12 minutes long); and two segments documenting a courtesy visit by bin Ladin and his lieutenants to an unidentified Shaykh, who appears crippled from the waist down. The visit apparently takes place at a guesthouse in Qandahar. The sequence of the events is reversed on the tape—the end of his visit is in the beginning of the tape with the helicopter site visit in the middle and the start of the Usama bin Ladin visit beginning approximately 39 minutes into the tape. The tape is transcribed below according to the proper sequence of events.

Due to the quality of the original tape, it is NOT a verbatim transcript of every word spoken during the meeting, but does convey the messages and information flow.

EDITOR’S NOTE: 39 minutes into tape, first segment of the bin Ladin meeting, begins after footage of helicopter site visit]

Shaykh: [...inaudible...] You have given us weapons, you have given us hope and we thank Allah for you. We don’t want to take much of your time, but this is the arrangement of the brothers. People now are supporting us more, even those ones who did not support us in the past, support us more now. I did not want to take that much of your time. We praise Allah, we praise Allah. We came from Kabul. We were very pleased to visit. May Allah bless you both at home and the camp. We asked the driver to take us, it was a night with a full moon, thanks be to Allah. Believe me it is not in the countryside. The elderly... everybody praises what you did, the great action you did, which was first and foremost by the grace of Allah. This is the guidance of Allah and the blessed fruit of *jihad*.

UBL: Thanks to Allah. What is the stand of the mosques there (in Saudi Arabia)?

Shaykh: Honestly, they are very positive. Shaykh al-Bahrani (phonetic) gave a good sermon in his class after the sunset prayers. It was videotaped and I was supposed to carry it with me, but unfortunately, I had to leave immediately.

UBL: The day of the events?

Shaykh: At the exact time of the attack on America, precisely at the time. He (Bahrani) gave a

⁶⁶ <http://www.number-10.gov.uk/default.asp?pageid=5646>

⁶⁷ Se CNN, 21. desember 2001; <http://www.cnn.com/2001/US/12/21/ret.bin.laden.translation/index.html>.

⁶⁸ Se blant annet <http://66.78.57.63/harb/index.htm> for noen av disse reaksjonene. Reuven Paz’ artikkel finnes på <http://www.ict.org.il/articles/articledet.cfm?articleid=420>.

very impressive sermon. Thanks be to Allah for his blessings. He (Bahrani) was the first one to write at war time. I visited him twice in al-Qasim.

UBL: Thanks be to Allah.

Shaykh: This is what I asked from Allah. He (Bahrani) told the youth: ‘You are asking for martyrdom and wonder where you should go (for martyrdom)?’ Allah was inciting them to go. I asked Allah to grant me to witness the truth in front of the unjust ruler. We ask Allah to protect him and give him the martyrdom, after he issued the first *fatwa*. He was detained for interrogation, as you know. When he was called in and asked to sign, he told them, ‘don’t waste my time, I have another *fatwa*. If you want me, I can sign both at the same time.’

UBL: Thanks be to Allah.

Shaykh: His position is really very encouraging. When I paid him the first visit about a year and half ago, he asked me, ‘How is Shaykh bin Ladin?’ He sends you his special regards. As far as Shaykh Sulayman ‘Ulwan is concerned, he gave a beautiful *fatwa*, may Allah bless him. Miraculously, I heard it on the *Qur’an* radio station. It was strange because he (‘Ulwan) sacrificed his position, which is equivalent to a director. It was transcribed word-by-word. The brothers listened to it in detail. I briefly heard it before the noon prayers. He (‘Ulwan) said this was *jihad* and those people were not innocent people (World Trade Center and Pentagon victims). He swore to Allah. This was transmitted to Shaykh Sulayman al-['Umar] Allah bless him.

UBL: What about Shaykh al-[Rayan]?

Shaykh: Honestly, I did not meet with him. My movements were truly limited.

UBL: Allah bless you. You are welcome.

Shaykh: (Describing the trip to the meeting) They smuggled us and then I thought that we would be in different caves inside the mountains so I was surprised at the guest house and that it is very clean and comfortable. Thanks be to Allah, we also learned that this location is safe, by Allah’s blessings. The place is clean and we are very comfortable.

UBL: [...inaudible...] when people see a strong horse and a weak horse, by nature, they will like the strong horse. This is only one goal; those who want people to worship the lord of the people, without following that doctrine, will be following the doctrine of Muhammad, peace be upon him.

(UBL quotes several short and incomplete Hadith verses, as follows):

‘I was ordered to fight the people until they say there is no god but Allah, and his prophet Muhammad.’

‘Some people may ask: why do you want to fight us?’

‘There is an association between those who say: I believe in one god and Muhammad is his prophet, and those who don’t [...inaudible...]

‘Those who do not follow the true *fiqh*. The *fiqh* of Muhammad, the real *fiqh*. They are just accepting what is being said at face value.’

UBL: Those youth who conducted the operations did not accept any *fiqh* in the popular terms,

but they accepted the *fiqh* that the prophet Muhammad brought. Those young men [...inaudible...] said in deeds, in New York and Washington, speeches that overshadowed all other speeches made everywhere else in the world. The speeches are understood by both Arabs and non-Arabs, even by Chinese. It is above all the media said. Some of them said that in Holland, at one of the centers, the number of people who accepted Islam during the days that followed the operations were more than the people who accepted Islam in the last eleven years. I heard someone on Islamic radio who owns a school in America say: 'We don't have time to keep up with the demands of those who are asking about Islamic books to learn about Islam.' This event made people think (about true Islam) which benefited Islam greatly.

Shaykh: Hundreds of people used to doubt you and few only would follow you until this huge event happened. Now hundreds of people are coming out to join you. I remember a vision by Shaykh Salih al-[Shu'aybi]. He said: 'There will be a great hit and people will go out by hundreds to Afghanistan.' I asked him (Salih): 'To Afghanistan?' He replied, 'Yes.' According to him, the only ones who stay behind will be the mentally impotent and the liars (hypocrites). I remembered his saying that hundreds of people will go out to Afghanistan. He had this vision a year ago. This event discriminated between the different types of followers.

UBL: [...inaudible...] we calculated in advance the number of casualties from the enemy, who would be killed based on the position of the tower. We calculated that the floors that would be hit would be three or four floors. I was the most optimistic of them all. [...inaudible...] Due to my experience in this field, I was thinking that the fire from the gas in the plane would melt the iron structure of the building and collapse the area where the plane hit and all the floors above it only. This is all that we had hoped for.

Shaykh: Allah be praised.

UBL: We were at [...inaudible...] when the event took place. We had notification since the previous Thursday that the event would take place that day. We had finished our work that day and had the radio on. It was 5:30 p.m. our time. I was sitting with Dr. Ahmad Abu al-[Khair]. Immediately, we heard the news that a plane had hit the World Trade Center. We turned the radio station to the news from Washington. The news continued and no mention of the attack until the end. At the end of the newscast, they reported that a plane just hit the World Trade Center.

Shaykh: Allah be praised.

UBL: After a little while, they announced that another plane had hit the World Trade Center. The brothers who heard the news were overjoyed by it.

Shaykh: I listened to the news and I was sitting. We didn't... we were not thinking about anything, and all of a sudden, Allah willing, we were talking about how come we didn't have anything, and all of a sudden the news came and everyone was overjoyed and everyone until the next day, in the morning, was talking about what was happening and we stayed until four o'clock, listening to the news every time a little bit different, everyone was very joyous and saying 'Allah is great,' 'Allah is great,' 'We are thankful to Allah,' 'Praise Allah.' And I was happy for the happiness of my brothers. That day the congratulations were coming on the phone non-stop. The mother was receiving phone calls continuously. Thank Allah. Allah is great, praise be to Allah.

(Quoting the verse from the *Qur'an*)

Shaykh: ‘Fight them, Allah will torture them, with your hands, he will torture them. He will deceive them and he will give you victory. Allah will forgive the believers, he is knowledgeable about everything.’

Shaykh: No doubt it is a clear victory. Allah has bestowed on us... honor on us... and he will give us blessing and more victory during this holy month of Ramadan. And this is what everyone is hoping for. Thank Allah America came out of its caves. We hit her the first hit and the next one will hit her with the hands of the believers, the good believers, the strong believers. By Allah it is a great work. Allah prepares for you a great reward for this work. I’m sorry to speak in your presence, but it is just thoughts, just thoughts. By Allah, who there is no god but him [sic]. I live in happiness, happiness... I have not experienced, or felt, in a long time. I remember, the words of al-Rabbani, he said they made a coalition against us in the winter with the infidels like the Turks, and others, and some other Arabs. And they surrounded us like the days... in the days of the prophet Muhammad. Exactly like what’s happening right now. But he comforted his followers and said, ‘This is going to turn and hit them back.’ And it is a mercy for us. And a blessing to us. And it will bring people back. Look how wise he was. And Allah will give him blessing. And the day will come when the symbols of Islam will rise up and it will be similar to the early days of *al-Mujahidin* and *al-Ansar* (similar to the early years of Islam). And victory to those who follow Allah. Finally said, if it is the same, like the old days, such as Abu Bakr and Uthman and ‘Ali and others. In these days, in our times, that it will be the greatest *jihād* in the history of Islam and the resistance of the wicked people.

Shaykh: By Allah my Shaykh. We congratulate you for the great work. Thank Allah.

Tape ends here

Second segment of bin Ladin’s visit, shows up at the front of the tape

UBL: ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam, Allah bless his soul, told me not to record anything [...inaudible...] so I thought that was a good omen, and Allah will bless us [...inaudible...]. Abu al-Hasan al-[Masri], who appeared on *al-Jazira* TV a couple of days ago and addressed the Americans saying: ‘If you are true men, come down here and face us.’ [...inaudible...] He told me a year ago: ‘I saw in a dream, we were playing a soccer game against the Americans. When our team showed up in the field, they were all pilots!’ He said: ‘So I wondered if that was a soccer game or a pilot game? Our players were pilots.’ He (Abu al-Hasan) didn’t know anything about the operation until he heard it on the radio. He said the game went on and we defeated them. That was a good omen for us.

Shaykh: May Allah be blessed.

Unidentified man off camera: ‘Abd al-Rahman al-[Ghamri] said he saw a vision, before the operation, a plane crashed into a tall building. He knew nothing about it.

Shaykh: May Allah be blessed!

Sulayman [Abu Ghaith]: I was sitting with the Shaykh in a room, then I left to go to another room where there was a TV set. The TV broadcasted the big event. The scene was showing an Egyptian family sitting in their living room, they exploded with joy. Do you know when there is a soccer game and your team wins, it was the same expression of joy. There was a subtitle that

read: 'In revenge for the children of al-Aqsa, Usama bin Ladin executes an operation against America.' So I went back to the Shaykh (meaning UBL) who was sitting in a room with 50 to 60 people. I tried to tell him about what I saw, but he made gesture with his hands, meaning: 'I know, I know...'

UBL: He did not know about the operation. Not everybody knew [...inaudible...]. Muhammad [‘Atta] from the Egyptian family (meaning the al-Qa‘ida Egyptian group), was in charge of the group.

Shaykh: A plane crashing into a tall building was out of anyone’s imagination. This was a great job. He was one of the pious men in the organization. He became a martyr. Allah bless his soul.

Shaykh (referring to dreams and visions): The plane that he saw crashing into the building was seen before by more than one person. One of the good religious people has left everything and come here. He told me, 'I saw a vision, I was in a huge plane, long and wide. I was carrying it on my shoulders and I walked from the road to the desert for half a kilometer. I was dragging the plane.' I listened to him and I prayed to Allah to help him. Another person told me that last year he saw, but I didn't understand and I told him I don't understand. He said, 'I saw people who left for *jihad*... and they found themselves in New York... in Washington and New York.' I said, 'What is this?' He told me the plane hit the building. That was last year. We haven't thought much about it. But, when the incidents happened he came to me and said, 'Did you see... this is strange.' I have another man... my God... he said and swore by Allah that his wife had seen the incident a week earlier. She saw the plane crashing into a building... that was unbelievable, my God.

UBL: The brothers, who conducted the operation, all they knew was that they have a martyrdom operation and we asked each of them to go to America but they didn't know anything about the operation, not even one letter. But they were trained and we did not reveal the operation to them until they are there and just before they boarded the planes.

UBL: [...inaudible...] Then he said: Those who were trained to fly didn't know the others. One group of people did not know the other group [...inaudible...] .
(Someone in the crowd asks UBL to tell the Shaykh about the dream of [Abu Da'ud].

UBL: We were at a camp of one of the brother's guards in Qandahar. This brother belonged to the majority of the group. He came close and told me that he saw, in a dream, a tall building in America, and in the same dream he saw Mukhtar teaching them how to play karate. At that point, I was worried that maybe the secret would be revealed if everyone starts seeing it in their dreams. So I closed the subject. I told him if he sees another dream, not to tell anybody, because people will be upset with him.

(Another person's voice can be heard recounting his dream about two planes hitting a big building).

UBL: They were overjoyed when the first plane hit the building, so I said to them: be patient.

UBL: The difference between the first and the second plane hitting the towers was twenty minutes. And the difference between the first plane and the plane that hit the Pentagon was one hour.

Shaykh: They (the Americans) were terrified thinking there was a coup.

[Note: Ayman al-Zawahiri says first he commended UBL's awareness of what the media is saying. Then he says it was the first time for them (Americans) to feel danger coming at them.]

UBL (reciting a poem):

I witness that against the sharp blade
 They always faced difficulties and stood together...
 When the darkness comes upon us and we are bit by a
 Sharp tooth, I say...
 'Our homes are flooded with blood and the tyrant
 Is freely wandering in our homes...'
 And from the battlefield vanished
 The brightness of swords and the horses...
 And over weeping sounds now
 We hear the beats of drums and rhythm...
 They are storming his forts
 And shouting: 'We will not stop our raids
 Until you free our lands...'

[end transcript]

Bin Ladin visit footage complete. Footage of the visit to the helicopter site follows the poem.”

4.16 Bin Ladin fordømmer krigsforbrytelser i Afghanistan (*al-Jazira*, 27. desember 2001)

Den 27. desember viste *al-Jazira* en video med enda en av bin Ladins erklæringer, som i skrivende stund er det siste man har hørt fra verdens mest ettersøkte mann.⁶⁹ *Al-Jazira* var under sterkt politisk press fra USA om ikke å sende denne videoen, fordi amerikanerne fryktet den kunne mobilisere befolkningen i den muslimske verden eller inneholde kodede meldinger til al-Qa'ida-celler rundt om i verden.

Den 33 minutter lange videoen er spilt inn i et telt på et uspesifisert tidspunkt og sted og viser en tydelig sliten bin Ladin (se figur 4.12). Man regner imidlertid med at videoen er spilt inn i midten eller slutten av november 2001, ettersom bin Ladin refererer til bombingene av en moské i Khost-regionen i Afghanistan som noe som skjedde ”for noen dager siden”. Ifølge amerikanske kilder skal denne bombingene ha funnet sted 16. november.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ http://news.bbc.co.uk/low/english/world/middle_east/newsid_1729000/1729882.stm; Se også <http://www.jihadunpun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/obluttuse.cfm>.

⁷⁰ <http://www.msnbc.com/news/793217.asp#BODY>



Fig 4.12 Bin Ladin slik han fremstod på al-Jaziras video 26. desember 2001 (Kilde: BBC)

Her følger BBCs oversettelse av utdrag fra bin Ladins erklæring.⁷¹

“Three months after the blessed strikes against world atheism and its leader, America, and around two months after the fierce crusade against Islam, we must review the impact of these events. The latest events have proved important truths. It has become clear that the West in general and America in particular have an unspeakable hatred for Islam.

Those who lived under continuous US raids for the past months are aware of it. How many villages have been destroyed and how many millions have been pushed out in the freezing cold? These men, women and children who have been damned and now live under tents in Pakistan, have committed no sin. They are innocent. But on a mere suspicion, the United States has launched this fierce campaign.

We have witnessed the true crimes of those who call themselves humanists and claim to be defenders of freedom. Only seven grammes of explosives are needed to kill someone, but the United States has used bombs weighing seven million grammes proving their hatred of the Taliban and Muslims. When the youths - may God receive them as martyrs - blew up (the US embassy) in Nairobi, less than two tonnes were used.

The United States then said it was a terrorist act and a mass destruction weapon, while they unscrupulously used two seven-tonne bombs, of seven million grammes each. After they (the Americans), for no reason, bombed entire villages to scare the inhabitants, the Defence Secretary said it was the United States’ right to exterminate the peoples since they are Muslim and since they are not American. It is a blatant crime.

A few days ago, they bombed al-Qa‘ida positions in Khost (eastern Afghanistan) and dropped - in what they said was a mistake - a radio-guided bomb on a mosque where ‘*ulama*’ were praying.

They targeted the mosque, killing 150 Muslim worshippers. It is the hatred of crusaders.

Terrorism against America deserves to be praised because it was a response to injustice, aimed at forcing America to stop its support for Israel, which kills our people. We say that the end of the United States is imminent, whether bin Ladin or his followers are alive or dead, for the awakening of the Muslim *umma* has occurred. It is important to hit the economy (of the United

⁷¹ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/low/world/middle_east/1729882.stm

States), which is the base of its military power [...]. If the economy is hit they will become reoccupied.”

4.17 ”Qa‘idat al-Jihad” støtter den palestinske intifadaen (www.alneda.com, 9. april 2002)

Den 9. april 2002 dukket det opp en bemerkelsesverdig erklæring på en webside drevet av en Jordan-basert islamist med nære ideologiske bånd til al-Qa‘ida, Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi.⁷² Erklæringen inneholdt informasjon som så ut til å stamme fra al-Qa‘idas indre sirkler, og var signert *Qa‘idat al-Jihad* (Jihad-basen). Dette var den første i en serie internett-baserte erklæringer under dette banneret. Reuven Paz og andre eksperter anser det som sannsynlig at den stammer fra kilder nær lederskapet i al-Qa‘ida.⁷³ Det er imidlertid uklart hvorfor disse erklæringene ble underskrevet med det nevnte navnet. Enkelte hevder at al-Qa‘ida og Egyptisk Islamsk Jihad slo seg formelt sammen i juni 2001 og tok navnet *Qa‘idat al-Jihad*, men dette er ikke bekreftet.⁷⁴ Vi gjengir her en oversettelse av den første erklæringen slik den foreligger på www.jihadunspun.net:⁷⁵

“Praise be to Allah, all prayers and blessings be upon the mercy sent unto this world, the Prophet of epic wars, Muhammad bin ‘Abdullah and whoever follows him with benevolence until the last Hour.

Allah (SWT) says: *‘Think not of those who are killed in the way of Allah as dead. Nay, they are alive, with their Lord, and they have provision. They rejoice in what Allah has bestowed upon them of His bounty, rejoicing for the sake of those who have not yet joined them, but are left behind (not yet martyred) that on them no fear shall come, nor shall they grieve. They rejoice in a grace and a bounty from Allah, and that Allah will not waste the reward of the believers. Those who answered (the Call of) Allah and the Messenger (PBUH) after being wounded; for those of them who did good deeds and feared Allah, there is a great reward. Those (i.e. believers) unto whom the people (hypocrites) said, “Verily, the people (pagans) have gathered against you (a great army), therefore, fear them.”*

But it (only) increased them in Faith, and they said: “Allah (Alone) is sufficient for us, and He is the best disposer of affairs (for us).” So they returned with grace and bounty from Allah. No harm touched them; and they followed the good pleasure of Allah. And Allah is the owner of great bounty. It is only shaitan that suggests to you the fear of his awliya’, so fear them not, but fear Me, if you are (true) believers. And let not those grieve you [O Muhammad (PBUH)] who rush with haste to disbelieve; verily, not the least harm will they do to Allah. It is Allah’s Will to give them no portion in the hereafter. For them there is a great torment. Verily, those who purchase disbelief at the price of Faith, not the least harm will they do to Allah. For them, there is a painful torment.

And let not the disbelievers think that our postponing of their punishment is good for them. We postpone the punishment only so that they may increase in sinfulness. And for them is a

⁷² Originalen forelå på www.almaqdes.com/afghanistan/fatwa/resalah.html, men denne linken er dessverre ikke lenger tilgjengelig.

⁷³ <http://www.ict.org.il/articles/articledet.cfm?articleid=436>

⁷⁴ *The New Yorker*, 16. september 2002.

⁷⁵ <http://www.jihadunspun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/alftboj.cfm>

disgracing torment. Allah will not leave the believers in the state in which you are now, until He distinguishes the wicked from the good. Nor will Allah disclose to you the secrets of the gha'ib (unseen), but Allah chooses of His Messengers whom He pleases. So believe in Allah and His Messengers. And if you believe and fear Allah, then for you there is a great reward' [Qur'an 3:169-179].

To begin with, and before mentioning anything else, we assert that Shaykh Usama bin Ladin (may Allah protect him) is safe and that he is in a safe location. He is blessed with good health, prosperity and worthy companions with whom he strives and prepares his next phase (and whoever doesn't thank the people, doesn't thank Allah). Indeed, al-Qa'ida sends its thanks and gratitude to whoever has joined it and to whoever walks in its path, either with their lives, wealth, tongues or especially with their supplications. We designate our memory to the tribes of Afghanistan and Pakistan, who have opened their hearts and their actions to us, who also introduced us to their sons and relatives and supplied us with their food, beverages, clothing and shelter, may Allah reward them with good deeds. Indeed, the glory of religion and the blessings of the Hereafter is theirs by helping the *mujahidin* and by standing with them. How could they not, when the proud imperialist British forces were destroyed on mountain rocks that belong to these tribes.

Dear beloved *umma*, rest your eyes and do not sadden. Indeed, what has happened in Afghanistan is a slip-up that will heal soon, with the permission of Allah (SWT). And know that the children of Allah's knowledge are still bound to their promise with their swords held up high and with their souls set on their palms, wanting what Allah has to offer, their slogan being: 'We have ridden hardships, We have donned resistance.' Let us raise a force that will dominate the existence. O *umma*, indeed, happy are the ones of your children that were chosen by Allah and were martyred by the Crusaders' bombs. Indeed, with the permission of Allah, each of them will have the reward of two martyrs. Blessed is the one who is covered with a medal on his body. These wounds will increase his levels (with Allah) and will wipe away his bad deeds. As to the one who is afflicted with capture, seek Allah's help and we promise that we will work on freeing him and that is a duty on every Muslim that is capable of doing so, be certain of this. As for condolences, they are for the ones which have left the marketplace of martyrdom and who haven't been blessed with life under its shadows, hoping to grasp it in another location.

We foretell our *umma* that Allah (SWT) has given us, and whoever is with us, success in planning a *jihad* program that corresponds to our present phase and has also given success to the changing and unfolding events. All that has affected us in Afghanistan won't hinder our motion and it won't impact what we have resolved on attaining. Indeed, your sons (O *umma*) are the sons of The Base of Jihad (al-Qa'ida). They are prepared and ready for days like these. No decision will bear upon them. No matter what, until they attain victory or the eternal life. 'Verily, the home of the Hereafter - that is the life indeed (i.e. the eternal life that will never end), if they but knew' [Qur'an 29:64].

With the realm of this message, we would like to confirm that the declarations made by the American Minister of Defense pertaining to our casualties and losses, indeed 90% of them are sheer allegations and lies. To clear things up, the number of the *mujahidin* that confront the crusaders' invasion is much smaller than what is declared by the crusaders and this is due to the fact that the current phase is in need of small numbers. But, in their eyes, our small numbers appear to them as very large, due to Almighty Allah's help to us. And so that you know, O *umma*, that the number of the martyrs of the *mujahidin* - we ask Allah (SWT) to accept them as such and we trust he will give them their due reward - do not amount to the quarter of the total

casualties of the crusaders and the apostates. Indeed, we have killed from both sides close to 6,000 since the beginning of the battle and the numbers they have killed from the *mujahidin* - thanks to Allah (SWT) - do not even reach a quarter of that amount, out of which a little more than a tenth represent Arab casualties. One has to take into consideration the great differences between our capabilities, preparations, support and arrangements. Indeed, we are still in the beginning of the battle and in front of us lie ahead rounds and rounds. *'And those who do wrong will come to know by what overturning they will be overturned'* [Qur'an 26:227].

Remember, O Minister and likewise the White House goof, that your frightened soldiers escaped from Aden (Yemen). They were defeated in Somalia and kicked in Kenya and Tanzania. You received the deep backstab in Aden again and you were slapped in the middle of your sanctuary in New York and Washington - and that is all sheer success from Allah to the brigades of good deeds from the children of our Muslim *umma*. Indeed, good is still present in our *umma* and the days to come will prove to you that you won't be able to evade the stronghold of the children of our *umma*, no matter how long your oppression lasts and no matter how great your evil.

As to your standing with your own people, it can be summed up by the words of Allah (SWT): *'Thus he (Pharaoh) befooled (and misled) his people, and they obeyed him. Verily, they were ever a people who were Fasiqun'* [Qur'an 43:54]. May the American people understand this and may they be certain that we are - thanks to Allah - watchful over their actions. Indeed, the American system was born from the American people, it is part of them and it belongs to them, and similarly, to the Jewish nation in Palestine. We and Shaykh Usama (may Allah protect him) are bound to an oath which we have given to Allah (SWT), and not to humans, that America, and whoever lives in America, will not dream of safety, until safety becomes a reality for us living in Palestine, until all the soldiers of the disbelievers depart from the land of Muhammad (PBUH), until all our children return from the American and Cuban prisons and until all the glory and strength returns to the *umma* of Islam, which will lift the banner of *tawhid* (the Oneness of Allah) up high, so that it can control and elevate the world and it will not be feared except by the submissive and the shallow ones.

May every person that cooperates and works under the Banner of the Cross, from leaders who have paved the roads for them, to clans and individuals that have fought with them, know that the last Hour is coming. Indeed, those people will only have themselves to blame, those who sold the Hereafter for the world, those who turn back on their heels in loss and have caused mischief to their *umma*, which has nothing to do with them.

As to the heroes of the blessed *jihad* in Palestine, who have smudged the nose of the Zionist enemy and forced him to ask for a truce. Indeed, know that the Arab leaders that recently held a summit in Beirut hide behind it to cover their laughter and their true allegiances. With their so-called summit, they extend their right hand to Sharon, and with their left they stab the heroic people of Palestine in the back. They diminish the enthusiasm of our Islamic nation, they seal off its victory and they secure the future of the Jews in the regions, whose flags are still raised over their homes. Indeed, they work on burying *jihad* alive, whose fragrance has filled the horizons with the blood of the purified martyrs due to their cunning. The one that has built this heroism is indeed the Palestinian people. As to the Arab leaders, they beg the Americans and the Jews in order to keep their authority which derives from them (Americans and Jews). As to the ones who derive their authority from Allah (SWT), they will not receive anything from them but the sword.

Jihad in Palestine is only represented by that heroic people of Palestine and the Islamic nations who support it. As to the ones who barter with the bloods of martyrs at a low price, they drug the consciences that are faithful to the truth with compensations. Indeed, know that the blood and souls of martyrs cannot be bought or sold or bargained upon and its only price tag is the surrender or extinction of the Jews and the death of whoever allies them.

To begin with, those Arab leaders, who have hid behind their people and who have released evil demons to suppress them, should have build their armies and readied them for days like these. Indeed, they are the ones who have exhausted the wealth of the *umma* in order to stabilize their authority upon the rights of the Muslims and their religious freedom.

O our beloved *umma*, we implore you to make available your full support, in terms of weapons, wealth, men and supplications, to be able to carry on the blessed *jihad* in Palestine, while confirming that *jihad* today is appointed on all the nations which are in the vicinity of Palestine, and in excess, to the entire *umma* wherever they were not pushed towards this rambling enemy and also to continue defending the vulnerable borders.

O *umma* of Islam, neglect your rulers and destroy your straps and your limits. Transcend them while desiring what Allah has to offer, wishing his satisfaction, while being afraid of his annoyance and revenge.

As to the heroic, *mujahid* and *murabit* people, indeed Allah (SWT) says to them and to the believers: ‘*O you who believe! Endure and be more patient (than your enemy), and guard your territory by stationing army units permanently at the places from where the enemy can attack you, and fear Allah, so that you may be successful*’ [Qur’an 3:200].

Until we meet again in the land of glory, Palestine.

The Base of Jihad (*Qa‘idat al-Jihad*)”

4.18 Video med kaprerene al-Haznawis ”testamente” (*al-Jazira*, 15. april 2002)

Etter en lengre periode uten nyheter om Usama bin Ladin og resten av lederskapet i al-Qa‘ida, dukket det opp to nye videoer i midten av april 2002.⁷⁶ Begge videoene var forholdsvis like, men med enkelte mindre variasjoner. Videoene bestod av en rekke mindre sekvenser som var klippet sammen i to ulike kombinasjoner. Det ble viet mest oppmerksomhet til to sekvenser som stod sentralt i begge videoene. Den ene scenen viste Usama bin Ladin og Ayman al-Zawahiri sittende side om side (se figur 4.13). Bin Ladin sier ingenting i denne sekvensen, mens al-Zawahiri hyller de 19 kaprerne fra 11. september. I den andre oppsiktsvekkende sekvensen ser vi et opptak av en av kaprerne (Ahmad al-Haznawi al-Ghamdi) som leser opp en erklæring. I bakgrunnen har redigerere klippet inn et bilde av World Trade Center og et slagord som sier ”kast de vantro ut av den arabiske halvøy” (se figur 4.13). I tillegg til disse to sekvensene viser filmene kortere avsnitt med bilder av flere forskjellige al-Qa‘ida-ledere, blant annet Muhammad

⁷⁶ For kommentarer, se <http://europe.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/meast/04/15/terror.tape/>. På denne siden kan man også se utdrag fra videoen mot betaling; Se også <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/04/15/attack/main506166.shtml>; <http://abcnews.go.com/sections/world/DailyNews/aljazeera020415.html>; http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/south_asia/1931212.stm; <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/americas/1931350.stm>.

‘Atif og Sulayman Abu Ghayth. En fortellerstemme er lagt til der personene på bildet ikke sier noe.

Det er verdt å merke seg at det i disse to videoene spilles noe mer på det symbolske registeret knyttet til Palestina-spørsmålet. I tillegg til at al-Haznawi har palestina-skjerf på hodet, kan man i en annen sekvens høre Muhammad ‘Atif si: ”frigjøringen av Palestina starter her.”⁷⁷



Figur 4.13 Utdrag av en al-Qa‘ida-video som ble vist på al-Jazira 15. april 2002 (Kilde: al-Jazira)

Den ene av videokassetene havnet hos *al-Jazira*, som viste de første utdragene mandag 15. april, for så å vise hele den times lange videoen torsdag 18. april. Sjefredaktøren i *al-Jazira*, Ibrahim Hilal, sa de hadde mottatt videoen en uke tidligere fra et produksjonsselskap med nære tilknytninger til al-Qa‘ida. Det var imidlertid vanskelig å datere videoen, ettersom den er redigert på en forholdsvis profesjonell måte og inneholder en blanding av nyere og eldre elementer. Ifølge *al-Jazira* hadde opptaket av al-Haznawi blitt gjort seks måneder før 11. september. Bildene av al-Zawahiri og bin Ladin må ha blitt tatt opp senest høsten 2001, ettersom landskapet i bakgrunnen er grønt, og hovedpersonene ikke har på seg varme klær. Ifølge analytikere er disse bildene eldre enn videoen som ble sendt 26. desember.⁷⁸ Samtidig er det tydelig at fortellerstemmen er lagt til i midten av mars, ettersom den nevner møtet i den arabiske ligaen (27.-28. mars) som ”nært forestående”.

Her følger en oversettelse av noen utdrag fra Haznawis og Zawahiris uttalelser:⁷⁹

“Al-Haznawi’s will:

We left our families to send a message, which has the colour of blood, to reach the whole world: the friends and enemies, the near and far, the lofty and humiliated, the honest and the collaborator.

⁷⁷ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/americas/1936242.stm>

⁷⁸ <http://www.msnbc.com/news/793217.asp#BODY>

⁷⁹ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/monitoring/media_reports/1931523.stm

This message says: O Allah, take from our blood today until you are satisfied. O Allah, do not make a grave for our bodies, nor soil to be buried in, nor a tomb to cover them, so that, on the Day of Judgement, they will be blessed with an eternal Paradise - blessed be its Builder.

The message says: The time of humiliation and slavery is over.

It is time to kill the Americans in their own backyard, among their sons and near their forces and intelligence. It is time to prove to the whole world that the United States of America has worn a garment, which was not originally made for it, when it merely thought about facing or resisting the *mujahidin*.

The United States is nothing but propaganda and a huge mass of false statements and exaggeration. The purpose of this propaganda was to make the United States big in the eyes of the world. What it wanted has happened. However, the truth is what you saw. We killed them outside their land, praise be to Allah. Today, we kill them in the midst of their own home.

O Allah, revive an entire nation by our deaths. O Allah, I sacrifice myself for your sake, accept me as a martyr. O Allah, I sacrifice myself for your sake, accept me as a martyr. O Allah, I sacrifice myself for your sake, accept me as a martyr.

To the Garden of Eden, our first house. We shall meet in the eternal Paradise with the prophets, honest people, martyrs and righteous people. They are the best of companions. Praise be to Allah. Allah's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you.

Al-Zawahiri praises victory:

This great victory, which was achieved, is due, in fact, to the grace of Allah alone. It was not due to our skilfulness or superiority, but it is due to Allah's blessing alone. Allah Almighty grants His mercy to whoever He wants. Allah looks into the hearts of His slaves and chooses from them those who are qualified to win His grace, mercy and blessings. Those 19 brothers, who left [their homes], made efforts and offered their lives for Allah's cause - Allah has favoured them with this conquest, which we are enjoying now."

4.19 Video med al-Haznawis "testamente" (*Middle East Broadcast Corporation*, 16. april 2002)

Den 16. april 2002 viste den London-baserte og saudisk-sponsede TV-kanalen *Middle East Broadcasting Corporation* (MBC) en al-Qa'ida-video (se figur 4.14).⁸⁰ Videoen var forholdsvis lik den som ble vist dagen før på *al-Jazira*, med mindre modifikasjoner. MBC-videoen inneholdt begge de to sentrale sekvensene i *al-Jazira*-videoen, nemlig "testamentet" til kapreren al-Haznawi og bildene av bin Ladin og al-Zawahiri (se kapittel 4.18). I sitt innslag viste imidlertid MBC en sekvens der bin Ladin selv snakker om terroraksjonene 11. september (på *al-Jaziras* video snakket bare al-Zawahiri). Bin Ladin snakker her om de økonomiske konsekvensene terroraksjonene må ha hatt, og han presenterer sine egne "regnestykker".

⁸⁰ <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/04/22/attack/main506842.shtml>;
<http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/04/17/attack/main506369.shtml>;
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/americas/1936242.stm>;
http://www.nandotimes.com/special_reports/terrorism/story/365749p-2956568c.html; Utdrag fra videoen kan sees på
<http://www.cbsnews.com/htdocs/videoplayer/newVid/framesource2.html?clip=/media/2002/04/17/video506449.rm>.

MBC sa ingenting om når eller hvordan de hadde fått tak i videoen.



Figur 4.14 Utdrag fra en al-Qa'ida-video vist på TV-stasjonen Middle East Broadcast Corporation, 16. april 2002. Til venstre: Usama bin Ladin; til høyre: Sulayman Abu Ghayth (Kilde: MBC)

Her følger noen oversatte utdrag av bin Ladins erklæring, klippet fra nyhetsbyråene:⁸¹

“According to their studies, the loss reached 16 percent and they said this loss is the greatest since the market was opened [...] This whole achievement came because of one strike [...] They say that they could not work because of the psychological shock. If you multiply \$20 billion in one week, they would have lost \$140 billion. Add this to \$640 billion this equals around \$800 billion. Add to this the loss in navigation companies. They also say that people are still suffering psychologically since the two towers incident.”

4.20 ”Qa’idat al-Jihad” legitimerer terroraksjonene 11.september 2001 (www.alneda.com, 24. april 2002)

I slutten av april 2002 dukket det opp nok en erklæring signert *Qa’idat al-Jihad*, denne gangen på en nettside kalt www.alneda.com.⁸² Denne nettsiden var en periode ansett som al-Qa’idas talerør på Internett, før den ble hacket og lagt ned av CIA. Erklæringen, som er datert 24. april 2002, kom kort tid etter offentliggjøringen av videofilmen som inneholdt bilder av en av flykaprerne fra 11. september (se kapittel 4.18 og 4.19). Flykapreren Ahmad al-Haznawi al-Ghamdi er nevnt ved navn i denne teksten, noe som tyder på at den er ment som en kommentar og oppfølging til videobildene. Vi gjengir her en oversettelse av deler av denne erklæringen, hentet fra internettsiden www.outtherenews.com.⁸³

“Statement by the Base of Jihad about the testaments of the heroes and the legality of the operations in Washington and New York

⁸¹ <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/04/22/attack/main506842.shtml>

⁸² www.alneda.com/print.asp?id=566&ty=pr&img=no; Denne nettsiden er dessverre ikke tilgjengelig per januar 2003. Erklæringen omtales av Reuven Paz i hans artikkel om *Qa’idat al-Jihad*: <http://www.ict.org.il/articles/articleDet.cfm?articleid=436>.

⁸³ <http://www.megastories.com/attack/alqaeda/legality02apr.shtml>

[The statement starts with a Quranic quotation – ‘*Fight those who do not believe in God and the Last Day*’ - and a hadith of the Prophet about unbelievers – ‘You have come to slaughter.’]

We presented, as support for the course of *jihad* and sacrifice and seeking martyrdom in this nation, the first of the testaments of the heroes of the two attacks on Washington and New York, as part of a series of all their testaments which were recorded before their departure for enemy territory, beginning with hero Ahmad al-Ghamdi may God Almighty have mercy on him.

We only present this series to show to the nation that the sole motivation for those young men was to defend the religion of God, their honour and that which is sacred, not to serve mankind or in support of any Eastern or Western ideology, but in service to Islam and to defend its people entirely for their benefit whether they wished it or not. We also present it as a message to all the nation’s enemies saying that we will strike the heads of our enemies with a steel fist however strong they are and however weak we are. We present it at this time in particular only to assert to the nation which is living through tragedies everywhere in these days that the only way to be free of this humiliation is by the sword, the only language the enemy knows to respond with.

We know the state of some of our poor brothers, who will say that publishing these testaments will be considered as evidence to condemn the *mujahidin*, so if they had concealed them they would not have enabled the enemy to use them to condemn them and it would have been better for them. We say, the tyrannical enemy does not need any documents or excuses to continue the war which he began decades ago against Islam and the Muslims, for, please God, what are the documents which have condemned the Palestinian people to be slaughtered for more than 50 years and until this day at the hands of Jews and crusaders? What verdict of guilty has been passed against the people of Iraq, that they should be besieged and killed in a way unparalleled in history? What are the documents which condemned the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina that the Crusader West, led by America, under the cover of the United Nations, should give their Serbian ally a free hand to destroy and expel the Muslim people in this region? What is the crime of the Kashmiri people, what are the documents which the worshippers of cows have against them, that their blood should be deemed lawful for more than 50 years? What crime did the Muslims commit in Chechnya and Afghanistan, and in the republics of Central Asia, that the crusader, then later the communist, tyrannical Soviet military machine should invade them, and tens of millions of them be killed and exterminated and forced into exile? What proofs did America have on the day it destroyed Afghanistan, killing Muslims and making them homeless, and even before that impose a tyrannical siege on them under the cover of the United Nations? And under the same cover, it tore apart Indonesia and drove the Muslims out of Timor, and exterminated them in the Moluccas and (?) Boso, and under the cover of the United Nations also intervened in Somalia and killed and defiled the territory of Islam there? And was the first supporter of crusader rule in the Philippines to exterminate our Muslim brothers there? And in countless other issues?

We say that none of the Muslim peoples being exterminated by the world crusader-Zionist machine has committed any crime other than saying that their Lord is God. The crusader-Zionist alliance has no need of documents or verdicts against the Muslims to begin its war or continue it. It did not wait with crossed arms for excuses to wage wars of extermination against Muslims, so enough for the nation of this stupidity of thinking that this alliance depends on reasons from Muslims to allow itself to continue its plans of extermination, rape and expulsion against Muslims.

Just as it is stupid to think that the crusader enemy was waiting for excuses to attack the Muslims and expel them and wage war on their religion, it is also foolish for Muslims to think that Zionist-crusader public opinion, which supports its governments, was waiting for the Muslims to take some initiative which would drive it to support the crusader war against Islam, and inflame in it the spirit of enmity towards Islam and the Muslims. Crusader-Zionist public opinion has put all it possesses into standing behind the states of the Cross to carry out their war against Islam and the Muslims from the time the countries of the Muslim world first began to be colonised right up to this day. If successive crusader and Zionist governments had not found support from their peoples, they would not have continued their war against Islam and the Muslims in this public and blatant manner - since they derive sovereignty only from the votes of their peoples. So enough of this foolishness and stupidity imagining these thoughts which have no reality or value.

We showed this document to deal America a new blow, and to prove to the world the falseness of the American claims to have hallmarked proof that the mujahedeen carried out this operation - for America, as it says, has 24,000 leads pointing to the identity of those who carried out the operation, but the only proofs it has shown are flimsier than a spider's web, and the American courts cannot rely on them to condemn suspects any more than convince the world with them - we in this document say to America that hiding the tracks of those who carried out the operation was not an idea that just occurred to us. Some of the heroes took care to leave Islamic fingerprints on the operation, so this is a new blow for the American security services which searched high and low in unparalleled confusion in order to find the tracks of the heroes who entered their country proudly and scornfully right under their noses. Through this document we send a message to America and the world behind it, that whatever America does we are coming, with the permission of God Almighty, and they will never be safe from the wrath of Muslims, for they began this war and they will lose the battle with the permission of God Almighty.

Despite the greatness of the events which changed the face of history, and the enormity of what happened, there have appeared with great regret in the nation people who called those who carried out the operations of Jumada (September) criminals. But those reprehensible people did not speak on the basis of proof in Islamic law, or acceptable logic, but with the tongues of their masters and the concepts of the enemy of the nation. Let everyone know that those who carried out the operations did so only to seek the favour of God, may He be praised and exalted. Let everyone also know that the first lives lost in these operations were those of the heroes themselves, and we never treat lightly the sacrifice of a life especially a Muslim life. This is what compels us to lay out the matter according to the proofs in Islamic law with regard to every aspect, without letting any one aspect dominate another, and without ignoring any issue in favour of another. After study and consultation we have found that such operations are the way to restore the dignity of the nation, and convince the tyrannical enemy of the rights of the Muslim nation.

We will pass quickly over the proofs of the legality of such operations without detail or extensive exposition, but to give a quick message to those who dress up their political inclinations in the guise of Islamic legal opinions, and that this may also be an invitation to those who opposed the operations or deemed them criminal to fear God and repent and return to legal proof, even if they are too cowardly to help the mujahedeen or at least to keep quiet. Firstly - America with regard to Muslims is like the Jews, they are both People of War, and what is allowable towards the enemy occupier of the land of Palestine is also allowable with regard to those who resemble him in description and in supporting and helping the occupier. If you are amazed, then you ought more to be amazed by those who have issued legal opinions that

martyrdom operations which kill civilians in Palestine are among the highest forms of *jihad*, but then issue opinions that the martyrdom operations in America are forbidden because of killing civilians. How amazing is this contradiction? How can it be permissible to kill the branch but not the trunk and support. Everyone who declares martyrdom operations in Palestine against the Jews permissible should also declare them permissible in America, otherwise this contradiction is considered a trivialisation of legal opinion.

America has no treaty at all. There never was a treaty. Even if we conceded and agreed with the transgressor and agreed that they are a nation with a treaty, we say that they have become a nation of War again because of their violation of the treaty and support for the Jews occupying Palestine and expelling and killing its people more than 50 years ago. It became a nation of War in violation of its treaty the day it attacked and besieged Iraq, and attacked and besieged Sudan, and attacked and besieged Afghanistan, and attacked Muslims everywhere for decades, and openly supported Islam's enemies against it.

Some people who do not know the meaning of the Islamic legal proofs disputed and said that the victims of the operations in America included women, old men and children, and those are people whose lives Islam forbids to be taken with proofs in Islamic law, so how could the operations be permissible in Islamic law? We say that the prohibition on killing infidel women, children and old men is not absolute. There are special circumstances in which it is allowed to kill them if they are among the People of War. These circumstances are in particular contexts. We say that the operations of Jumada in America killed a number of sacrosanct people, but they were within the circumstances in which killing them is permissible. We will mention these briefly...

[the statement then lays out seven grounds in Islamic law on which it is permissible to kill 'sacrosanct infidels' and six grounds on which it is permissible to kill Muslims.]

4.21 "Qa'idat al-Jihad" kommenterer al-Haznawis testamente, (www.alneda.com, 26. april 2002)

Den 26. april 2002 dukket den tredje erklæringen signert *Qa'idat al-Jihad* opp på www.alneda.com.⁸⁴ Denne teksten refererer spesifikt til video-opptaket med al-Haznawi som ble frigjort noen uker tidligere (se kapittel 4.18 og 4.19).

Her følger en oversettelse av denne teksten, hentet fra www.outtherenews.com.⁸⁵

"Statement by the Base of Jihad: al-Haznawi – Why the Tape now?"

Thanks be to God who said: *'If you are afflicted by a wound, the whole nation will be afflicted by the same wound. We will alternate those days among the people so that God may know who has believed and take martyrs from them, for God does not love the evil-doers.'* And who said: *'Those who respond to God and his Prophet after they are afflicted - those that have done right and behaved piously will have a great reward.'* Prayers and peace be upon the Prophet of mercy, the Prophet of slaughter, continuously deadly, Muhammad bin 'Abdallah those who faithfully followed him to the day of religion.

⁸⁴ <http://www.ict.org.il/articles/articleDet.cfm?articleid=436>

⁸⁵ <http://www.megastories.com/attack/alqaeda/tape02may.shtml>

Some friends and others are asking, why the tape now? We reply:

Firstly: The al-Haznawi tape deals a new blow to the grey face of the United States which believes it has terminated the al-Qa'ida organisation and the Taliban movement. But lo, God has enabled al-Qa'ida by his grace to reorganise its ranks, distribute its forces and arrange cooperation with the Afghan *mujahidin*. Serious work has begun inside Afghanistan. As for work abroad against the Americans and the Jews, matters have been arranged so that if one link is removed, however large its organisational importance, the organisation will not be struck by fatal blows, for new units have been formed and given authority, and the extent of information available to the well known, famous leaders has been restricted. The United States will have to work for decades to know who it is fighting. We challenge them now to get any useful information from Abu Zubayda.

Secondly: We affirm that al-Qa'ida has never since it was founded adopted a cause in order to achieve governmental power. Its causes were the causes of the Islamic nation in Afghanistan, Somalia, Bosnia and Chechnya, and the main motivation for these operations was to defend Islamic sacred sites (the two Noble Sanctuaries and the blessed Aqsa) and the territory and honour of the Muslims, to support all those who raised the banner of *jihad* in purity in the path of God, and to humiliate of our enemies whatever the colour of their flags, and to increase the awareness of the nation that a small number of its sons were enabled by God to achieve that - so how much more could be achieved by the whole nation.

The recent operations confirmed what we had already said about supporting the blessed *jihad* in Palestine against the Jewish enemy. We said at the time of the Cole operation (the American destroyer) that this was the first serious operation in support of the Palestinian uprising and that it would have sisters, if God willed. Then came the blessed operations of 11 September, fulfilling this vow. They hit the World Trade Center, the biggest financial centre ever, which supported the Jews. They hit the Pentagon, the main source and military support of the Jewish military machine whose name Arab leaders are afraid to pronounce.

So people began to ask why? The American administration did not blush with embarrassment when it announced that Sharon was a man of peace, and all the defeated Arabs tried to condemn this blessed strike so that we should not lose the minority sympathising with us in the West. I do not know what is the desired value of this Western minority? It appears that these defeated people have forgotten history and the massacres which the West committed in our Arab and Islamic lands. What about Dinshaway, O people of Egypt? With whose blood was the Suez Canal dug? What about the slaughterhouses of Italy in Libya? What about the massacres of the French in Syria and Algeria? What about the Belgians, who roasted Somalis on the fire in the recent past? This is history, so study it. As for this alleged minority, this is simply a distribution of roles in the West so that naïve Arabs will buzz for them. So why all this shame and blushing in front of the grey European-American face?

We affirm to the masses of the nation that the way of *jihad* is the only way at this time to support the religion of God everywhere. As for negotiations, shame, and requests for international help, they are the way of the defeated searching for crumbs. The nation must pay attention to this and not knock at their door but rise up to carry out the obligation of *jihad* which is their duty in Palestine and elsewhere. The West understands only the logic of force, and this should be well understood by those who claim to be reasonable and who turn their backs to receive the lash of the Jews.

Thirdly: What happened in Afghanistan makes clear. The United States - government, people

and armed forces - carried out a barbaric attack targetting the forces of al-Qa'ida and the Taliban in the battlefronts, and when they did not succeed in shaking them and none of us was hit at that time, they escalated their barbarity and bombed civilians from the Muslim people of Afghanistan, and bombed villages and towns and destroyed arable land and breeding stock - but did not cause any harm to the *mujahidin*.

They bore down in this way which quickly spread because of some mistakes which were difficult to realise at the time and events ran without guidance. But God enabled us to protect and ensure the safety of the bulk of the Arab forces which numbered at that time about 1,600 *mujahidin* who had emigrated from all parts of the Islamic world, distributed on four main fronts which were north of Kabul, Kabul, Kandahar and Jalalabad. About 325 *mujahidin* were martyred, about 150 *mujahidin* were taken prisoner, and more than 1,000 *mujahidin* were saved. By the grace of God more than 300 families were moved. The total of them who were martyred was 9 women and 10 children. Then what is the regime which they have installed. Is it not contradictory to Islam? They have exchanged virtue for vice, health for decay, safety for fear and Islam for unbelief. O you rulers, is the programme of America and its followers in Afghanistan what the Muslim nation wishes?

Fourthly: We assert that *jihadi* action continues. It has not stopped inside or outside Afghanistan. Inside Afghanistan there have been operations around the airports of Khost and Kandahar, and the recent operation in Kandahar which resulted in the deaths of 20 - the American forces announced the death of 3. We will have further meetings in Kabul, Jalalabad and other big cities in Afghanistan if God wills. Abroad, in Tunis [there has been an operation] against the Jewish synagogue in the village of Djerba carried out by a single individual who was the hero Nizar (Saif al-Din al-Tunisi) for which the media has avoided mentioning al-Qa'ida's claim of responsibility, in order to continue in the same manner and procedure of blessed *jihad* in defence of our Islamic sacred sites and to support the *jihad* of our Muslim brothers in various parts of the world, and the good news is that there are other operations which we have announced and which we will announce at the appropriate time.

Last but not least, to the Americans we say, here we are in the battlefields once again and where are you? You have won a round but war is a number of rounds and our appointment with you is inside Afghanistan and outside Afghanistan. As for our Muslim nation and our heroic people in Palestine, we remind you of the the saying of God be He exalted: '*God has promised those of you who have believed and have done good deeds that he will appoint them his agents on earth, as he appointed those before you and made possible for them their religion which he approved for them, and that he will give them safety instead of fear, so that you will worship Me and not attribute any equals to Me.*' Any who disbelieve after that are sinners.. Peace

Qa'idat al-Jihad, 10 Safar 1423 [23 April 2002]"

4.22 Sulayman Abu Ghayth tar ansvar for Djerba-bombingen (*al-Jazira*, 23. juni 2002)

Den 23. juni 2002 spilte *al-Jazira* et lydopptak av en erklæring angivelig fremført av al-Qa'idas talsmann Sulayman Abu Ghayth.⁸⁶ Lydopptaket hadde dukket opp noen dager tidligere på en

⁸⁶ http://www.nando.net/special_reports/terrorism/retaliation/story/443754p-;
http://www.nandotimes.com/special_reports/terrorism/impact/story/461702p-3694999c.html;
http://www.nandotimes.com/special_reports/terrorism/investigation/story/446595p-3573971c.html;
http://www.nandotimes.com/special_reports/terrorism/story/443753p-3549804c.html;
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/2060561.stm;

radikal islamsk nettside. Abu Ghayth hevdet i sin erklæring blant annet at al-Qa‘ida er 98 prosent intakt, samt at bin Ladin er i live og snart vil gi lyd fra seg. Som et eksempel på at al-Qa‘ida er i full vigør nevner Abu Ghayth terrorangrepet i Djerba i Tunis. Dette er en svært interessant bemerkning fordi det er ytterst sjelden at al-Qa‘ida-medlemmer eksplisitt påberoper seg ansvaret for spesifikke terroraksjoner. Det har ikke vært mulig å finne en komplett og pålitelig gjengivelse av erklæringen i sin helhet, så vi gir her oversettelser av forskjellige utdrag:

BBCs nyhetstjeneste gjenga følgende sitater:

“I would like to reassure Muslims that Shaykh Usama bin Ladin, praise be to God, is well and in good health [...] The reports that Shaykh Usama is ill or was wounded in Tora Bora are completely unfounded [...] Also, the reports that Dr Ayman al-Zawahiri was wounded in Tora Bora are totally baseless [...] I can say that 98% of al-Qa‘ida leaders escaped unhurt, praise be to God, and they are running things in the best possible way [...] The whole world, the zealous people in this Muslim world, and those who love the *mujahidin* for the sake of Almighty God will be pleased to watch an interview with Shaykh Usama bin Ladin soon, God willing, on television screens [...]

I say ‘yes’ to what American officials are saying... that we are going to carry out attacks on America [...] As long as America insists on its unjust and biased policy towards Muslims in favour of Jews and Christians around the world, then... we will continue to hit it anywhere in the world [...] Neither Dick Cheney nor Defence Secretary [sic] nor their president will be able to specify the place, the time or the manner in which these attacks will be carried out [...]

[Mr Abu Ghayth said the 11 April synagogue attack in Tunisia] was carried out by the al-Qa‘ida network [...] A youth could not see his brothers in Palestine butchered and murdered... [while] he saw Jews cavorting in Djerba [...] This provoked his *jihad* spirit and zeal and carried out this successful quality operation [...]

Følgende utdrag finner man på den noe mindre pålitelige www.outtherenews.com.⁸⁷

“The two most important objectives of the Americans have been the capture of Usama bin Ladin and Mulla ‘Umar and the destruction of the al-Qa‘ida organization. And, by the grace of God - may He be praised and exalted - they have not succeeded.

The US campaign - praise be to God and thanks to His grace - has not succeeded in destroying the organisation. The organisation still exists. I am able to give Muslims the good news that the organisation exists and is functioning with all its capacities and capabilities. In fact, it is functioning with even greater capacity, stronger willpower and determination to continue and avenge the blood of the innocent victims. The al-Qa‘ida organization is not a jelly-like or fragile organization - as some people think - that can be so easily destroyed. This is particularly true because we knew who we were up against and we knew that some day the whole world would face us and stand against us. And this is what has happened. So we built our organisational structure on this basis.

http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/2062737.stm.

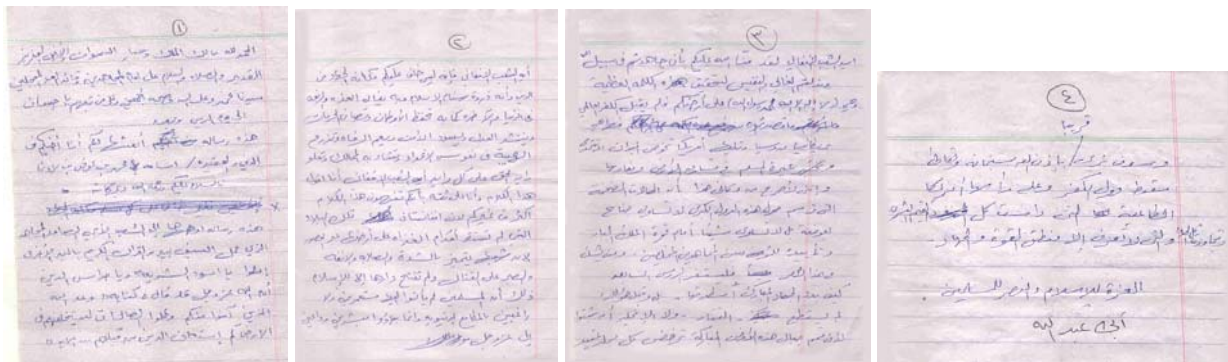
⁸⁷ <http://www.megastories.com/attack/alqaeda/abughaiith02jun.shtml>

And praise be to God, our operations are proceeding in an organised fashion, with precision and in complete secrecy, and by means of cells that have been isolated and to which there is no access via other cells. Our numerous military, security, economic, media and other organisational apparatuses have not been affected. I would like to quote an example by means of which I can provide reassurance to Muslims who have fallen victim to the hostile US media and false US propaganda. I would like to tell them, for example - and this is an item of information that has not yet been made public - that our security and military apparatuses are undertaking surveillance, investigations and monitoring of new US targets other than those previously monitored, and that we will be hitting them in the near future.

Muslims - with the permission of God - may He be praised and exalted - will be overjoyed. Our martyrdom elements are ready and eager to undertake operations against US and Jewish domestic and foreign targets. And there is no doubt that, by the grace of God - may He be praised and exalted - we have many such martyrdom elements. We will undertake these martyrdom operations against that arrogant enemy that can be hit only by means of these operations. America should get ready, should be on the alert, and should fasten its seatbelts because we will hit them from directions which they are not expecting.”

4.23 Brev fra bin Ladin med appell til det afghanske folk (august 2002)

Søndag 25. august meldte nettstedet www.islamonline.net at deres korrespondent i Pakistan hadde fått tilgang til et brev skrevet to uker tidligere av Usama bin Ladin selv (se figur 4.15).⁸⁸



Figur 4.15 Bilder av brevet som angivelig ble skrevet av Usama bin Ladin i august 2002 (Kilde: US State Department)

Det udaterte brevet på fire håndskrevne sider vakte nok interesse i Washington til at US State Department la det ut på sine nettsider, selv om ingen har kunnet bekrefte om brevet er ekte eller ikke.⁸⁹ Brevet er en slags appell til det afghanske folk om å fortsette sin hellige krig mot amerikanerne i Afghanistan. Det har ikke vært mulig å finne en komplett oversettelse av dette brevet, så vi gjengir her sitatet som nevnes av www.islamonline.net :

“I can tell from my place that these great venerations drawn around the super powers do not equal a mosquito wing ... it is not worth anything in comparison with the power of God the

⁸⁸ <http://www.islamonline.net/English/News/2002-08/25/article19.shtml>;

<http://www.islamonline.net/English/News/2002-08/27/article08.shtml>.

⁸⁹ <http://abc.net.au/news/newsitems/s663540.htm>

Almighty with His support to His faithful *mujahidin* [...] We will closely witness, Allah willing, the fall of the United States of America, which ignored all human values, passed over all limits, and understands no logic but that one of power and *jihad*.”

4.24 Video med kapreren al-‘Umaris ”testamente” (*al-Jazira*, 9. september 2002)

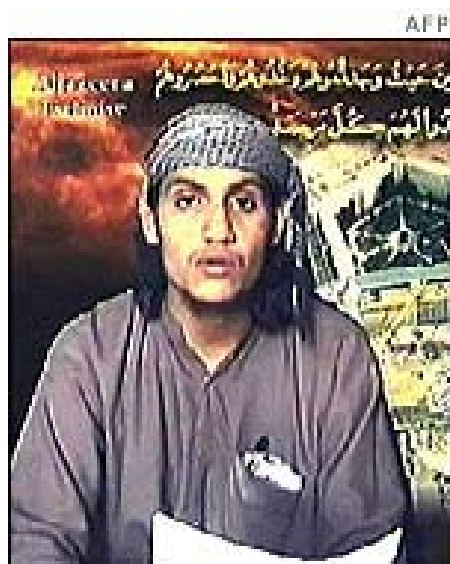
Mandag 9. september 2002 viste *al-Jazira* utdrag fra en video som de hevdet å ha mottatt fra al-Qa‘ida-kilder. Videoen ble vist i sin helhet 10. september.⁹⁰ Som mange andre slike filmer var den satt sammen av en rekke forskjellige klipp og sekvenser. To av disse sekvensene var spesielt interessante. Den første var et lydopptak av en erklæring angivelig lest opp av Usama bin Ladin. Opptaket var lagt til et stillbilde som viste flere av kaprerne fra 11. september 2001 (se figur 4.16).



Figur 4.16 Skjerm bilde fra al-Qa‘ida-videoen vist på al-Jazira 9. september 2002 (Kilde: BBC)

I erklæringen snakker oppleseren om terroraksjonene 11. september og nevner en rekke av kaprerne ved navn. Det er imidlertid ikke klart om stemmen tilhører bin Ladin eller noen andre. I den andre interessante sekvensen (se figur 4.17) kunne man se og høre ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-‘Umari (en av kaprerne fra 11. september) lese opp en erklæring eller et ”testamente” på samme måte som kapreren Ahmad al-Haznawi gjorde i al-Qa‘ida-videoen som ble vist i april 2002 (se kapittel 4.18).

⁹⁰ <http://www.islamonline.net/English/News/2002-09/10/article02.shtml>;
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/2247495.stm.



Figur 4.17 'Abd al-'Aziz al-'Umari leser opp sin erklæring på *al-Qa'ida*-videoen som ble vist på *al-Jazira* 9. september 2002 (Kilde: BBC/AFP)

I tillegg til disse to sekvensene inneholdt videoen bilder som *al-Jazira* hevdet var tatt opp i Kandahar under planleggingen av terroraksjonene, noen måneder før 11. september 2001. Bildene viser fire menn som blant annet studerer kart over Washington og leser flyhåndbøker. *Al-Jazira* mente å kunne identifisere de fire mennene som Wail al-Shahri, Hamza al-Ghamdi, Sa'id al-Ghamdi og Ahmad al-Nami, alle blant de 19 kaprerne fra 11. september. Anonyme etterretningskilder mener imidlertid at det ikke er mulig å identifisere disse fire mennene, og at hele denne sekvensen er en forfalskning. Her følger en oversettelse av bin Ladins (?) og al-'Umaris utsagn på denne videoen:⁹¹

“Bin Ladin:

When you talk about the New York and Washington raids, you talk about those men who changed the course of history and cleansed the chapters of the nation from the filth of the treasonous rulers and their followers, regardless of their names and titles. Those great men entrenched faith in the hearts of the believers, demonstrated loyalty [to God] and dissociation [from infidels] and torpedoed decades of scheming by the crusaders and their agent rulers in the region. Time does not allow us to mention all these men for what they are worth. The pen cannot numerate their good qualities and the effects of their blessed raids.

Muhammad 'Atta is the leader of the group, from Egypt, the destroyer of the first tower. He is a serious, diligent and faithful person. He carries the nation's concerns. We beseech God to accept him as a martyr.

Ziad Jarrah, purity and clarity, from Lebanon, *Bilad al-Sham*, a descendant of Abu Ubayda bin al-Jarrah, may God be pleased with him.

Marwan al-Shahhi, from the United Arab Emirates, the destroyer of the second tower. Life in this world wanted him, but he ran away from it because he wanted to meet God.

Hani Hanjur, from al-Ta'if, the destroyer of the centre of the US defence, the Pentagon. Clear

⁹¹ http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/2248894.stm

purity and a splendid sacrifice. We beseech God to accept him as a martyr.”

“Abd al-‘Aziz al-‘Umari:

I am writing this will and I do not know where I should begin. Ideas are accumulating in my mind, and I do not know which one I should begin with. This is why I chose to put these ideas into letters written with my heart through my pen. I am writing it while I am aware of what I say. I am writing it at the moment of the end, an end like the beginning. It is a presence, pleasure and a delighted heart.

My work is a message to anyone who heard about it, to anyone who saw it and to anyone whom you addressed through my letters. At the same time, this is a message to all the infidels and to America. The message says: ‘Leave the Arabian Peninsula defeated and stop supporting the coward Jews in Palestine.’ Otherwise, you will be severely tortured in this life before the hereafter. You should know that we can destroy you and other enemies. We will continue to seek your death and humiliation so long as the book of God and the teachings of Prophet Muhammad - may God's peace and blessings be upon him - are in our hands. We will die for the sake of this goal.

May God reward all those who trained me to tread this path and contributed to this great action. I would like to particularly mention *mujahid* leader Shaykh Usama bin Ladin, may God preserve him from the plots of the plotters, the envy of the envious ones and the rancour of the rancorous ones. May God add these deeds to his balance of good deeds. The one who does good things should be thanked. God acknowledges the good deeds of people.”

4.25 Bin Ladin oppfordrer amerikanerne til å bli muslimer (*al-Jazira*, 6. oktober 2002)

Søndag 6. oktober 2002 sendte *al-Jazira* et lydopptak av erklæring angivelig fremført av Usama bin Ladin.⁹² *Al-Jazira* var ikke i tvil om at det var bin Ladins stemme, og spilte av opptaket med et bilde av bin Ladin på skjermen. Tonen og språket i meldingen liknet også bin Ladins. *Al-Jazira* opplyste ikke om hvordan de hadde fått tak i opptaket eller hvor gammelt det var. Det var få tidsmessige holdepunkter i erklæringen, bortsett fra en indirekte referanse til 11. september 2001.

Her følger en oversettelse av erklæringen:⁹³

“In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate, a message to the American people: Peace be upon those who follow the right path. I am an honest adviser to you. I urge you to seek the joy of life and the afterlife and to rid yourself of your dry, miserable and spiritless materialistic life. I urge you to become Muslims, for Islam calls for the principle of ‘there is no god but Allah’, and for justice and forbids injustice and criminality.

I also call on you to understand the lesson of the New York and Washington raids, which came in response to some of your previous crimes. The aggressor deserves punishment. However, those who follow the movement of the criminal gang at the White House, the agents of the Jews,

⁹² <http://www.aljazeera.net/news/asia/2002/10/10-6-10.htm>; http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/2304475.stm; http://story.news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story&u=/nm/20021006/ts_nm/attack_binladen_jazeera_dc_1; http://story.news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story&u=/ap/20021006/ap_on_re_mi_ea/bin_laden_tape_9.

⁹³ Oversettelsen er hentet fra http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/2304569.stm. Lydopptaket kan høres på http://www.aljazeera.net/showMedia.asp?item_No=117546&videoPath=&oldMediaURL=1_117546.

who are preparing to attack and partition the Islamic world, without you disapproving of this, realise that you have not understood anything from the message of the two raids.

Therefore, I am telling you, and God is my witness, whether America escalates or de-escalates this conflict, we will reply to it in kind, God willing. God is my witness, the youth of Islam are preparing things that will fill your hearts with fear. They will target key sectors of your economy until you stop your injustice and aggression or until the more short-lived of us die. We beseech Almighty God to provide us with His support. He is the protector and has the power to do so. Say: O people of the Book! Come to common terms as between us and you: *That we worship none but Allah; that we associate no partners with Him; that we erect not from among ourselves lords and patrons other than Allah. If then they turn back, say ye: Bear witness that we at least are Muslims bowing to Allah's will* (Quranic verse).”

4.26 Ayman al-Zawahiri truer USAs allierte (*AP Television News*, 9. oktober 2002)

Onsdag 9. oktober meldte *Associated Press Television News* at de hadde fått tak i en CD-Rom som inneholdt en video med et lydopptak av en erklæring framført av Ayman al-Zawahiri.⁹⁴ Opptaket innledes med en tittel på skjermen som presenterer al-Zawahiri og som gir navnet på produsenten av innslaget, *al-Sahab Foundation for Islamic Media*.⁹⁵ Deretter hører man et slags intervju med al-Zawahiri mens skjermen viser bilder av 11. september-aksjonene og andre nyhetsklipp, blant annet anti-amerikanske demonstrasjoner. Al-Zawahiris erklæring er oversatt og teksten til engelsk på skjermen. I det fem minutter lange opptaket refererer al-Zawahiri blant annet til USAs planer om å intervensere i Irak, samt en bombeaksjon i Afghanistan som fant sted 1. juli 2002. Dette lydopptaket er således det første daterbare livstegnet fra al-Zawahiri, bin Ladins høyre hånd, siden høsten 2001. I mangel av et referat fra dette opptaket gjengir vi her sitater fra *Associated Press*:

“In the recording, al-Zawahiri issues a warning to U.S. allies - ‘the deputies of America’ - to get out of the Muslim world, specifying Germany and France.

‘The *mujahid* youth has already sent messages to Germany and France; However, if these doses are not enough, we are prepared with the help of Allah, to inject further doses ... As for America itself, it should expect to be treated the same way it has acted,’ al-Zawahiri says, pointing to suffering of Muslims in Afghanistan and in the Palestinian territories.

‘It will have to pay the price. [...] The settlement of this overburdened account will then indeed be heavy. We will also aim to continue, by permission of Allah, the destruction of the American economy.’ Al-Zawahiri said the year-old U.S.-led campaign in Afghanistan ‘has not achieved its goals. [...] Neither America nor its allies have been able to harm the leadership of al-Qa‘ida and Taliban, including Mulla Muhammad ‘Umar and Shaykh Usama bin Ladin, may Allah protect them all. They are both in good health.’

⁹⁴ <http://www.aljazeera.net/news/asia/2002/10/10-9-2.htm> ; <http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/international/AP-Attacks-Tape-Al-Qaida.html>;
http://story.news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story2&cid=514&ncid=514&e=3&u=/ap/20021009/ap_on_re_eu/attacks_tape_al_qaida_9;
http://story.news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story2&cid=540&ncid=540&e=4&u=/ap/20021010/ap_on_re_mi_ea/al_qaida_s_voice_2.

⁹⁵ Dette selskapet står bak distribusjonen av en rekke andre al-Qa‘ida-videoer.

‘The campaign against Iraq has aims that go beyond Iraq into the Arab Islamic world ... Its first aim is to destroy any effective military force in the proximity of Israel. Its second aim is to consolidate the supremacy of Israel ... America and its deputies should know that their crimes will not go unpunished ... We advise them to make a hasty retreat from Palestine, the Arabian Gulf, Afghanistan and the rest of the Muslim states, before they lose everything.’”

4.27 Bin Ladins ”testamente” (*al-Majalla*, 27. oktober 2002)

Det London-baserte arabiske ukebladet *al-Majalla* trykt i slutten av oktober 2002 en tekst som ble presentert som Usama bin Ladins testamente.⁹⁶ Dokumentet var datert til 14. desember 2001 og skal angivelig ha blitt funnet i Afghanistan og deretter havnet hos en *al-Majalla*-korrespondent basert i Kandahar. *Al-Majalla* skal ha vært i besittelse av dokumentet i lengre tid, men ifølge redaktøren valgte de å vente med å publisere det inntil de var sikre på at det var autentisk.

Det er svært vanskelig å bedømme hvorvidt dette dokumentet er ekte eller ikke, men dets troverdighet ble noe undergravet da det al-Qa‘ida-relaterte nettstedet *al-Nida*’ postet en erklæring som hevdet at *al-Majallas* dokument var en forfalskning.⁹⁷

”In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. The Will of One Seeking the Support of Allah Almighty, Usama bin Muhammad bin Ladin.

Praise be to Allah and peace be upon the Master of the Messengers, his family, and his companions. We ask for His forgiveness, seek His guidance, and seek refuge from Him for our sins and evil actions. And such as Allah doth guide there can be none to lead astray; to such as Allah rejects from His guidance, there can be no guide. I witness that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is His slave and Messenger. We pray to Allah, praise and glory be to Him, to accept us with the martyrs and the virtuous ones among His worshippers and to make us die Muslims.

Allah commended to us that when death approaches any of us that we make a bequest to parents and next of kin and to Muslims as a whole who are in the ill-omened age like parents and next of kin. What grieves them grieves me and what saddens them saddens me and Allah, praise and glory be to Him, is a witness to what I say.

Allah bears witness that the love of *jihad* and death in the cause of Allah has dominated my life and the verses of the sword permeated every cell in my heart, ‘*and fight the pagans all together as they fight you all together.*’ How many times did I wake up to find myself reciting this holy verse!

If every Muslim asks himself why has our nation reached this state of humiliation and defeat, then his obvious answer is because it rushed madly for the comforts of life and discarded the Book of Allah behind its back, though it is the only one that has its cure and deliverance in the fleeting and after life. The Jews and Christians have tempted us with the comforts of life and its

⁹⁶ Se *al-Majalla*, 27. oktober – 2. november 2002; For oversettelse, se <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/ladin-will.htm>.

⁹⁷ <http://europe.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/europe/11/01/binladen.will/index.html>

cheap pleasures and invaded us with their materialistic values before invading us with their armies while we stood like women doing nothing because the love of death in the cause of Allah has deserted the hearts.

My *mujahidin* brothers and I were grieved when we saw our nation in the east and west watching the United States, the head of unbelief, inflicting the worst of torment on the oppressed men, women, and children while the nation watched the painful scene as if it was watching an entertainment movie. The principal cause of our nation's ordeal is its fear of dying in the cause of Allah. The situation was overturned as we saw the coward crusaders and the humiliated Jews remain steadfast in the fighting while the soldiers of our nation lifted a white flag and surrendered to the enemies like women -- may Allah give us strength. Only very few of the students of religion remained steadfast. The rest surrendered or fled before they encountered the enemy. Today, the nation has failed to support us and support the loyal ones from the students of religion who established the first Islamic state in Afghanistan that applied Allah's *Shari'a*. The evidence of this is America's hatred for the students of religion and their fundamental laws.

It, in collusion with its agents in the Northern Alliance and other governments who mobilized their intelligence services to serve the United States, Britain, and the infidel West, repealed the fundamental laws that the students of religion's government had enacted. It repealed the laws on veils and growing beards and restored the practices of imitating the infidels.

The nation is guided to the straight path by its clerics. Our disease today is that the nation's clerics have turned away from their mission of guiding the nation. Their aberrance and misguidance have reached a level that the Muslim does not believe. They came to Afghanistan to deter its clerics from destroying the Buddhist statues but the virtuous students of religion's clerics sent them back empty handed.

The argument of shaykh [...] and his companions was the need to satisfy the Jews, Christians, and their public opinion. They forgot Allah Almighty's words '*never will the Jews or the Christians be satisfied with thee unless thou follow their form of religion.*'

These clerics betrayed their mission of serving the nation and its causes, championed its enemies, and became hostile to its *mujahid* vanguards that inflicted on the United States the first defeat in its history, and which, Allah willing, will be like the Mu'tah conquest that was commanded by the Messenger of Allah and led to the disappearance of their state.

The New York and Washington action represented the third of the increasing blows dealt to the United States. The first was the bombing of the Marines in Lebanon and the second was the bombing of the US Embassy in Nairobi from where the US invasion of Somalia was launched during which 31,000 of our brothers were killed under the UN flag. Despite the setback that Allah, praise and glory be to Him, has tried us with, this battle will lead to the disappearance of the United States and the infidel West, even after dozens of years.

O youth of the nation. Crave death and life will be given to you. Listen to the few of the nation's clerics who are adhering to the rule, guiltlessness, and loyalty and who are hostile to those loyal to the nation's enemies who have adopted the temporal ideas and the customs and corruptions of the pagan nations, such as borrowing from usurious banks, the criminal penal codes, and the secular dealings and insurances and allowed the establishment of parties, labor associations, women's societies, all of which are unacceptable fads as the ancestral clerics and their

successors had unanimously ruled.

O clerics of Islam. You are today a small minority and I know you by name and read your statements and your truthful *fatwas*. But I do not want to mention you by name so as not to give the enemies of Allah the excuse they are looking for to persecute you in these days that are critical for us.

O women kinsfolk. Do not ever use cosmetics or imitate the whores and mannish women of the West. Be a school that graduates men and *mujahidin* in the cause of Allah, protect your honor and be a good example for the mothers of the faithful.

O wives. May Allah bless you. You were, after Allah, praise and glory be to Him, the best support and the best help from the first day you knew that the road was full of thorns and mines. You left the comforts of your relatives and chosen to share the hardships next to me. You renounced worldly pleasures with me, renounce them more after me. Do not think of remarrying and you need only to look after our children, make sacrifices, and pray for them.

As to you my children, forgive me because I have given you only a little of my time since I answered the *jihad* call. I have shouldered the Muslims' concerns and the concerns of their causes. I have chosen a road fraught with dangers and for this sake suffered from hardships, embitterment, betrayal, and treachery. If it was not for treachery, the situation would not be what it is now and the outcome would not be what it is now. I advise you to fear Allah for it is the most precious provision in life. I advise you not to work with al-Qa'ida and the Front [*Islamic Front for Fighting the Jews and Christians*], as 'Umar bin al-Khattab advised his son 'Abdallah, may Allah be pleased with them. He forbade him from becoming caliph and said; 'If it is good, then we have had our share; if it is bad, then it is enough for Al al-Khattab what 'Umar had had from it.'

My last advice to all the *mujahidin* wherever they are: Recover your breath and forget for the time being the fight against the Jews and crusaders. Devote yourselves to purging your ranks from the agents and the weak and the bad clerics who are refraining from jihad and who have let the nation down.

Your brother Abu 'Abdallah Usama Bin Muhammad Bin Ladin,
Friday, 28 Ramadan 1422 Hijra (14 December 2001)."

4.28 Sannsynlig bekreftelse på at bin Ladin lever (*al-Jazira*, 12. november 2002)

På kvelden tirsdag 12. november spilte *al-Jazira* av et lydbånd med en erklæring som angivelig skal ha blitt lest inn av Usama bin Ladin. Det spesielle med dette opptaket var at det inneholdt referanser til konkrete hendelser fra høsten 2002 og dermed var daterbart. Dersom opptaket er autentisk, er det det første bevis siden høsten 2001 på at Usama bin Ladin er i live.

Det eneste som er kjent om opphavet til denne erklæringen, er at *al-Jazira*-journalisten Ahmad Zaidan sa at han mottok lydbåndet av en maskert mann i Islamabad i Pakistan på morgenen 12. november.⁹⁸ På bakgrunn av stemmeanalyser fastslo amerikanske eksperter at opptaket sannsynligvis var ekte, selv om den dårlige kvaliteten gjorde det umulig å fastså med hundre

⁹⁸ <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/11/15/international/asia/15TAPE.html?tnemail1>

prosents sikkerhet.⁹⁹ Noen uker senere hevdet imidlertid en gruppe sveitsiske forskere at stemmen sannsynligvis *ikke* var Usama bin Ladins.¹⁰⁰ Det er likevel grunn til å gå ut i fra at opptaket er ekte, både fordi de aller fleste subjektive bedømmelsene av toneleiet, talehastigheten, intonasjonen og språkbruken i dette opptaket konkluderer med at det er bin Ladin, og fordi en rekke etterretningsorganisasjoner i forkant av dette lydopptaket hevdet at de antok bin Ladin var i live.¹⁰¹

Innholdsmessig er denne uttalelsen interessant fordi man her finner direkte henvisninger til et større spekter av USA-allierte land enn i tidligere uttalelser, deriblant Italia, Canada og Australia. Det er også interessant å merke seg at bin Ladin omtaler Bali-aksjonen som en hevn for Australias involvering i Øst-Timor og i Afghanistan, og som et eksempel på hva som vil skje med andre land som velger å støtte USA.

Vi gjengir her BBCs oversettelse av bin Ladins uttalelse:¹⁰²

“In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate, from the slave of God, Usama bin Ladin, to the peoples of the countries allied with the tyrannical US Government. May God’s peace be upon those who follow the right path. The road to safety begins by ending the aggression.

The incidents that have taken place since the raids on New York and Washington up until now - like the killing of Germans in Tunisia and the French in Karachi, the bombing of the giant French tanker in Yemen, the killing of marines in Faylaka [in Kuwait] and the British and Australians in the Bali explosions, the recent operation in Moscow and some sporadic operations here and there - are only reactions and reciprocal actions. These actions were carried out by the zealous sons of Islam in defence of their religion and in response to the order of their God and prophet, may God’s peace and blessings be upon him.

What Bush, the pharaoh of this age, was doing in terms of killing our sons in Iraq, and what Israel, the United States' ally, was doing in terms of bombing houses that shelter old people, women and children with US-made aircraft in Palestine were sufficient to prompt the sane among your rulers to distance themselves from this criminal gang. Our kinfolk in Palestine have been slain and severely tortured for nearly a century. If we defend our people in Palestine, the world becomes agitated and allies itself against Muslims, unjustly and falsely, under the pretence of fighting terrorism.

What do your governments want by allying themselves with the criminal gang in the White House against Muslims? Do your governments not know that the White House gangsters are the biggest butchers of this age? Rumsfeld, the butcher of Vietnam, killed more than two million people, not to mention those he wounded. Cheney and Powell killed and destroyed in Baghdad more than Hulegu of the Mongols. What do your governments want from their alliance with America in attacking us in Afghanistan? I mention in particular Britain, France, Italy, Canada,

⁹⁹ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/2490303.stm

¹⁰⁰ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/2526401.stm

¹⁰¹ Undertegnede er av den oppfatning at lydopptaket utvilsomt høres ut som bin Ladin, og dette er en oppfatning som deles av alle al-Qa'ida-forskere jeg har snakket med. Direktøren for Interpol, Ronald Noble, uttalte 8. november 2002 (dvs 4 dager før bin Ladin-opptaket dukket opp) at Interpol anså det som sannsynlig at bin Ladin var i live; se <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2420327.stm>.

¹⁰² http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/2455845.stm

Germany and Australia. We warned Australia before not to join in [the war] in Afghanistan, and [against] its despicable effort to separate East Timor. It ignored the warning until it woke up to the sounds of explosions in Bali. Its government falsely claimed that they [the Australians] were not targeted.

If you were distressed by the deaths of your men and the men of your allies in Tunisia, Karachi, Faylaka, Bali and Amman, remember our children who are killed in Palestine and Iraq everyday, remember our deaths in Khowst mosques and remember the premeditated killing of our people in weddings in Afghanistan. If you were distressed by the killing of your nationals in Moscow, remember ours in Chechnya. Why should fear, killing, destruction, displacement, orphaning and widowing continue to be our lot, while security, stability and happiness be your lot? This is unfair. It is time that we get even. You will be killed just as you kill, and will be bombed just as you bomb. And expect more that will further distress you. The Islamic nation, thanks to God, has started to attack you at the hands of its beloved sons, who pledged to God to continue *jihad*, as long as they are alive, through words and weapons to establish right and expose falsehood.

In conclusion, I ask God to help us champion His religion and continue *jihad* for His sake until we meet Him while He is satisfied with us. And He can do so. Praise be to Almighty God.”

4.29 Brev til det amerikanske folk (*The Observer*, 24. november 2002)

Den 24. november 2002 trykte den engelske avisen *The Observer* et brev som ble omtalt som ”Et nytt brev fra Usama bin Ladin”. Teksten inneholder ifølge avisen ”den mest fullstendige forklaringen av bin Ladins ideologi som er blitt utstedt på mange år”.¹⁰³ Brevet skal først ha dukket opp på en saudi-arabisk internettside for så å ha blitt oversatt til engelsk og distribuert elektronisk, hovedsakelig i Storbritannia.

Det dreier seg antakeligvis om det samme brevet som *al-Jazira*-journalisten Yusri Fuda beskrev i et intervju med CNN 16. november 2002.¹⁰⁴ Fuda sa han hadde mottatt dokumentet gjennom ”tidligere utprøvde kanaler” og anså det for å være ekte. Fuda offentliggjorde imidlertid ikke brevet, som altså først ble publisert gjennom artikkelen i *The Observer* en uke senere.

Det er svært vanskelig å bedømme hvorvidt brevet er autentisk, men det er grunn til undres hvorfor denne teksten har fulgt et noe annet distribusjonsmønster enn tidligere al-Qa‘ida-uttalelser, spesielt ettersom det henvender seg, i alle fall retorisk, til et vestlig publikum.¹⁰⁵ Inntil det foreligger mer informasjon om opphavet til dette brevet, bør det derfor leses som et dokument fra al-Qa‘ida-sympatiserende miljøer, og ikke nødvendigvis som en ideologisk utredning fra al-Qa‘idas innerste sirkler.

¹⁰³ <http://www.observer.co.uk/worldview/story/0,11581,846511,00.html>

¹⁰⁴ <http://europe.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/meast/11/16/alqaeda.threat/index.html>

¹⁰⁵ Blant annet skal brevet ha blitt sendt ut på e-post-listen til Muhammad al-Massari, en leder for den London-baserte organisasjonen kalt ”Komiteen for forsvaret av legitime rettigheter”, som arbeider for regimeskifte i Saudi-Arabia. Al-Massari er imidlertid kjent for å lede den liberale vingen av denne splittede organisasjonen (den islamistiske delen er ledet av en person ved navn *al-Fakih*). Det er svært usikkert om al-Massari har direkte forbindelser til al-Qa‘ida. Se <http://inic.utexas.edu/menic/oil/game/simulation/profiles/1996/0017.html>.

Her følger *The Observers* oversettelse av dokumentet:¹⁰⁶

“In the Name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful,

‘Permission to fight is given to those who are fought against, because they have been wronged and surely, Allah is Able to give them (believers) victory’ [Qur’an 22:39]. ‘Those who believe, fight in the cause of Allah, and those who disbelieve, fight in the cause of taghut. So fight you against the friends of Satan; ever feeble is indeed the plot of Satan.’[Qur’an 4:76].

Some American writers have published articles under the title ‘On what basis are we fighting?’ These articles have generated a number of responses, some of which adhered to the truth and were based on Islamic Law, and others which have not. Here we wanted to outline the truth - as an explanation and warning - hoping for Allah’s reward, seeking success and support from Him. While seeking Allah’s help, we form our reply based on two questions directed at the Americans: (Q1) Why are we fighting and opposing you? And (Q2): What are we calling you to, and what do we want from you?

As for the first question: Why are we fighting and opposing you? The answer is very simple:
(1) Because you attacked us and continue to attack us.

(a) You attacked us in Palestine:

(i) Palestine, which has sunk under military occupation for more than 80 years. The British handed over Palestine, with your help and your support, to the Jews, who have occupied it for more than 50 years; years overflowing with oppression, tyranny, crimes, killing, expulsion, destruction and devastation. The creation and continuation of Israel is one of the greatest crimes, and you are the leaders of its criminals. And of course there 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 towards this crime must pay its price, and pay for it heavily.

(ii) 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 them in the *Tora*. 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. Muslims believe in all of the Prophets, including Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad, peace and blessings of Allah be upon them all. If the followers of Moses have been promised a right to Palestine in the *Tora*, then the Muslims are the most worthy nation of this. When the Muslims conquered Palestine and drove out the Romans, Palestine and Jerusalem returned to Islam, the religion of all the Prophets peace be upon them. Therefore, the call to a historical right to Palestine cannot be raised against the Islamic *umma* that believes in all the Prophets of Allah (peace and blessings be upon them) - and we make no distinction between them.

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.observer.co.uk/worldview/story/0,11581,845725,00.html>

(iii) The blood pouring out of Palestine must be equally revenged. You must know that the Palestinians do not cry alone; their women are not widowed alone; their sons are not orphaned alone.

(b) You attacked us in Somalia; you supported the Russian atrocities against us in Chechnya, the Indian oppression against us in Kashmir, and the Jewish aggression against us in Lebanon.

(c) Under your supervision, consent and orders, the governments of our countries which act as your agents, attack us on a daily basis;

(i) These governments prevent our people from establishing the Islamic *Shari'a*, using violence and lies to do so.

(ii) These governments give us a taste of humiliation, and places us in a large prison of fear and subdual.

(iii) These governments steal our *umma*'s wealth and sell them to you at a paltry price.

(iv) These governments have surrendered to the Jews, and handed them most of Palestine, acknowledging the existence of their state over the dismembered limbs of their own people.

(v) The removal of these governments is an obligation upon us, and a necessary step to free the *umma*, to make the *Shari'a* the supreme Law and to regain Palestine. And our fight against these governments is not separate from our fight against you.

(d) You steal our wealth and oil at paltry prices because of your international influence and military threats. This theft is indeed the biggest theft ever witnessed by mankind in the history of the world.

(e) Your forces occupy our countries; you spread your military bases throughout them; you corrupt our lands, and you besiege our sanctities, to protect the security of the Jews and to ensure the continuity of your pillage of our treasures.

(f) You have starved the Muslims of Iraq, where children die every day. It is a wonder that more than 1.5 million Iraqi children have died as a result of your sanctions, and you did not show concern. Yet when 3000 of your people died, the entire world rises and has not yet sat down.

(g) You have supported the Jews in their idea that Jerusalem is their eternal capital, and agreed to move your embassy there. With your help and under your protection, the Israelis are planning to destroy the al-Aqsa mosque. Under the protection of your weapons, Sharon entered the al-Aqsa mosque, to pollute it as a preparation to capture and destroy it.

(2) These tragedies and calamities are only a few examples of your oppression and aggression

against us. It is commanded by our religion and intellect that the oppressed have a right to return the aggression. Do not await anything from us but *jihad*, resistance and revenge. Is it in any way rational to expect that after America has attacked us for more than half a century, that we will then leave her to live in security and peace?!!

(3) You may then dispute that all the above does not justify aggression against civilians, for crimes they did not commit and offenses in which they did not partake:

(a) This argument contradicts your continuous repetition that America is the land of freedom, and its leaders in this world. Therefore, the American people are the ones who choose their government by way of their own free will; a choice which stems from their agreement to its policies. Thus the American people have chosen, consented to, and affirmed their support for the Israeli oppression of the Palestinians, the occupation and usurpation of their land, and its continuous killing, torture, punishment and expulsion of the Palestinians. The American people have the ability and choice to refuse the policies of their Government and even to change it if they want.

(b) The American people are the ones who pay the taxes which fund the planes that bomb us in Afghanistan, the tanks that strike and destroy our homes in Palestine, the armies which occupy our lands in the Arabian Gulf, and the fleets which ensure the blockade of Iraq. These tax dollars are given to Israel for it to continue to attack us and penetrate our lands. So the American people are the ones who fund the attacks against us, and they are the ones who oversee the expenditure of these monies in the way they wish, through their elected candidates.

(c) Also the American army is part of the American people. It is this very same people who are shamelessly helping the Jews fight against us.

(d) The American people are the ones who employ both their men and their women in the American Forces which attack us.

(e) This is why the American people cannot be not innocent of all the crimes committed by the Americans and Jews against us.

(f) Allah, the Almighty, legislated the permission and the option to take revenge. Thus, if we are attacked, then we have the right to attack back. Whoever has destroyed our villages and towns, then we have the right to destroy their villages and towns. Whoever has stolen our wealth, then we have the right to destroy their economy. And whoever has killed our civilians, then we have the right to kill theirs. The American Government and press still refuses to answer the question: Why did they attack us in New York and Washington? If Sharon is a man of peace in the eyes of Bush, then we are also men of peace!!! America does not understand the language of manners and principles, so we are addressing it using the language it understands.

(Q2) As for the second question that we want to answer: What are we calling you to, and what do we want from you?

(1) The first thing that we are calling you to is Islam.

(a) The religion of the Unification of God; of freedom from associating partners with

Him, and rejection of this; of complete love of Him, the Exalted; of complete submission to His Laws; and of the discarding of all the opinions, orders, theories and religions which contradict with the religion He sent down to His Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). Islam is the religion of all the prophets, and makes no distinction between them - peace be upon them all. It is to this religion that we call you; the seal of all the previous religions. It is the religion of Unification of God, sincerity, the best of manners, righteousness, mercy, honour, purity, and piety. It is the religion of showing kindness to others, establishing justice between them, granting them their rights, and defending the oppressed and the persecuted. It is the religion of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil with the hand, tongue and heart. It is the religion of *jihad* in the way of Allah so that Allah's Word and religion reign Supreme. And it is the religion of unity and agreement on the obedience to Allah, and total equality between all people, without regarding their colour, sex, or language.

(b) It is the religion whose book - the *Qur'an* - will remain preserved and unchanged, after the other Divine books and messages have been changed. The *Qur'an* is the miracle until the Day of Judgment. Allah has challenged anyone to bring a book like the *Qur'an* or even ten verses like it.

(2) The second thing we call you to, is to stop your oppression, lies, immorality and debauchery that has spread among you.

(a) We call you to be a people of manners, principles, honour, and purity; to reject the immoral acts of fornication, homosexuality, intoxicants, gamblings, and trading with interest. We call you to all of this that you may be freed from that which you have become caught up in; that you may be freed from the deceptive lies that you are a great nation, that your leaders spread amongst you to conceal from you the despicable state to which you have reached.

(b) It is saddening to tell you that you are the worst civilization witnessed by the history of mankind:

(i) You are the nation who, rather than ruling by the *Shari'a* of Allah 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. You flee from the embarrassing question posed to you: How is it possible for Allah the Almighty to create His creation, grant them power over all the creatures and land, grant them all the amenities of life, and then deny them that which they are most in need of: knowledge of the laws which govern their lives?

(ii) You 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 its 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 - precisely what Benjamin Franklin warned you against.

(iii) You are a nation that permits the production, trading and usage of intoxicants. You also permit drugs, and only forbid the trade of them, even

though your nation is the largest consumer of them.

(iv) You are a nation that permits acts of immorality, and you consider them to be pillars of personal freedom. You have continued to sink down this abyss from level to level until incest has spread amongst you, in the face of which neither your sense of honour nor your laws object. Who can forget your President Clinton's immoral acts committed in the official Oval office? After that you did not even bring him to account, other than that he 'made a mistake', after which everything passed with no punishment. Is there a worse kind of event for which your name will go down in history and remembered by nations?

(v) You are a nation that permits gambling in its all forms. The companies practice this as well, resulting in the investments becoming active and the criminals becoming rich.

(vi) You are a nation that exploits women like consumer products or advertising tools calling upon customers to purchase them. You use women to serve passengers, visitors, and strangers to increase your profit margins. You then rant that you support the liberation of women.

(vii) You are a nation that practices the trade of sex in all its forms, directly and indirectly. Giant corporations and establishments are established on this, under the name of art, entertainment, tourism and freedom, and other deceptive names you attribute to it.

(viii) And because of all this, you have been described in history as a nation that spreads diseases that were unknown to man in the past. Go ahead and boast to the nations of man, that you brought them AIDS as a satanic American invention.

(xi) You have destroyed nature with your industrial waste and gases more than any other nation in history. Despite this, you refuse to sign the Kyoto agreement so that you can secure the profit of your greedy companies and industries.

(x) Your law is the law of the rich and wealthy people, 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.

(xi) That which you are singled out for in the history of mankind, is that you have used your force to destroy mankind more than any other nation in history; not to defend principles and values, but to hasten to secure your interests and profits. You who dropped a nuclear bomb on Japan, even though Japan was ready to negotiate an end to the war. How many acts of oppression, tyranny and injustice have you carried out, O callers to freedom?

(xii) Let us not forget one of your major characteristics: your duality in both manners and values; your hypocrisy in manners and principles. All manners, principles and values have two scales: one for you and one for the others.

(a) The freedom and democracy that you call to is for yourselves and for white race only; as for the rest of the world, you impose upon them your

monstrous, destructive policies and Governments, which you call the 'American friends'. Yet you prevent them from establishing democracies. When the Islamic party in Algeria wanted to practice democracy and they won the election, you unleashed your agents in the Algerian army onto them, and to attack them with tanks and guns, to imprison them and torture them - a new lesson from the 'American book of democracy'!!!

(b) Your policy on prohibiting and forcibly removing weapons of mass destruction to ensure world peace: it only applies to those countries which you do not permit to possess such weapons. As for the countries you consent to, such as Israel, then they are allowed to keep and use such weapons to defend their security. Anyone else who you suspect might be manufacturing or keeping these kinds of weapons, you call them criminals and you take military action against them.

(c) You are the last ones to respect the resolutions and policies of International Law, yet you claim to want to selectively punish anyone else who does the same. Israel has for more than 50 years been pushing UN resolutions and rules against the wall with the full support of America.

(d) As for the war criminals which you censure and form criminal courts for - you shamelessly ask that your own are granted immunity!! However, history will not forget the war crimes that you committed against the Muslims and the rest of the world; those you have killed in Japan, Afghanistan, Somalia, Lebanon and Iraq will remain a shame that you will never be able to escape. It will suffice to remind you of your latest war crimes in Afghanistan, in which densely populated innocent civilian villages were destroyed, bombs were dropped on mosques causing the roof of the mosque to come crashing down on the heads of the Muslims praying inside. You are the ones who broke the agreement with the *mujahidin* when they left Qunduz, bombing them in Jangi fort, and killing more than 1,000 of your prisoners through suffocation and thirst. Allah alone knows how many people have died by torture at the hands of you and your agents. Your planes remain in the Afghan skies, looking for anyone remotely suspicious.

(e) You have claimed to be the vanguards of Human Rights, and your Ministry of Foreign affairs issues annual reports containing statistics of those countries that violate any Human Rights. However, all these things vanished when the *mujahidin* hit you, and you then implemented the methods of the same documented governments that you used to curse. In America, you captured thousands the Muslims and Arabs, took them into custody with neither reason, court trial, nor even disclosing their names. You issued newer, harsher laws. What happens in Guantanamo is a historical embarrassment to America and its values, and it screams into your faces - you hypocrites, 'What is the value of your signature on any agreement or treaty?'

(3) What we call you to thirdly is to take an honest stance with yourselves - and I doubt you will do so - to discover that you are a nation without principles or manners, and that the values and

principles to you are something which you merely demand from others, not that which you yourself must adhere to.

(4) We also advise you to stop supporting Israel, and to end your support of the Indians in Kashmir, the Russians against the Chechens and to also cease supporting the Manila Government against the Muslims in Southern Philippines.

(5) We also advise you to pack your luggage and get out of our lands. We desire for your goodness, guidance, and righteousness, so do not force us to send you back as cargo in coffins.

(6) Sixthly, we call upon you to end your support of the corrupt leaders in our countries. Do not interfere in our politics and method of education. Leave us alone, or else expect us in New York and Washington.

(7) We also call you to deal with us and interact with us on the basis of mutual interests and benefits, rather than the policies of subdual, theft and occupation, and not to continue your policy of supporting the Jews because this will result in more disasters for you. If you fail to respond to all these conditions, then prepare for fight with the Islamic Nation.

The Nation of Monotheism, that puts complete trust on Allah and fears none other than Him.

The Nation which is addressed by its *Qur'an* with the words: *'Do you fear them? Allah has more right that you should fear Him if you are believers. Fight against them so that Allah will punish them by your hands and disgrace them and give you victory over them and heal the breasts of believing people. And remove the anger of their (believers') hearts. Allah accepts the repentance of whom He wills. Allah is All-Knowing, All-Wise'* [*Qur'an* 9:13-1].

The Nation of honour and respect: *'But honour, power and glory belong to Allah, and to His Messenger (Muhammad- peace be upon him) and to the believers'* [*Qur'an* 63:8]. *'So do not become weak (against your enemy), nor be sad, and you will be superior (in victory) if you are indeed (true) believers'* [*Qur'an* 3:139].

The Nation of Martyrdom; the Nation that desires death more than you desire life: *'Think not of those who are killed in the way of Allah as dead. Nay, they are alive with their Lord, and they are being provided for. They rejoice in what Allah has bestowed upon them from His bounty and rejoice for the sake of those who have not yet joined them, but are left behind (not yet martyred) that on them no fear shall come, nor shall they grieve. They rejoice in a grace and a bounty from Allah, and that Allah will not waste the reward of the believers'* [*Qur'an* 3:169-171].

The Nation of victory and success that Allah has promised: *'It is He Who has sent His Messenger (Muhammad peace be upon him) with guidance and the religion of truth (Islam), to make it victorious over all other religions even though the polytheists hate it'* [*Qur'an* 61:9]. *'Allah has decreed that "Verily it is I and My Messengers who shall be victorious." Verily Allah is All-Powerful, All-Mighty'* [*Qur'an* 58:21].

The Islamic Nation that was able to dismiss and destroy the previous evil Empires like yourself; the Nation that rejects your attacks, wishes to remove your evils, and is prepared to fight you. You are well aware that the Islamic Nation, from the very core of its soul, despises your haughtiness and arrogance.

If the Americans refuse to listen to our advice and the goodness, guidance and righteousness that we call them to, then be aware that you will lose this Crusade Bush began, just like the other previous Crusades in which you were humiliated by the hands of the *mujahidin*, fleeing to your home in great silence and disgrace. If the Americans do not respond, then their fate will be that of the Soviets who fled from Afghanistan to deal with their military defeat, political breakup, ideological downfall, and economic bankruptcy. This is our message to the Americans, as an answer to theirs. Do they now know why we fight them and over which form of ignorance, by the permission of Allah, we shall be victorious?"

4.30 Al-Qa'ida tar ansvar for Kenya-bombingen (div. nettsteder, desember 2002)

Den 1. eller 2. desember 2002 dukket det opp en erklæring på en rekke forskjellige radikale islamske nettsteder.¹⁰⁷ I denne interessante erklæringen, som angivelig stammer fra "al-Qa'idas politiske byrå", påtar al-Qa'ida seg ansvaret for en rekke terrorangrep, deriblant aksjonene i Mombasa (Kenya) den 28. november 2002. Det er grunn til å anse denne erklæringen som autentisk, spesielt ettersom al-Qa'idas talsmann Sulayman Abu Ghayth refererer til dette dokumentet i sin lydinnspilte erklæring som ble offentliggjort en drøy uke senere (se kapittel 4.34).

Her følger ABC News' oversettelse av erklæringen:¹⁰⁸

"In the name of God the merciful,

Thank God who said: *'Kill the atheist wherever you find them and take them and besiege them.'* Prayer and peace be upon the noblest of prophets Muhammad and on all his people. In this holy month, and in the blessed last ten days of it, we greet our people in Palestine first and the Islamic nation second. We intentionally delayed this greeting for it to be timed with the two Kenyan, Mombasa operations against Israeli interests, so that the greeting becomes more meaningful under the circumstances that the nation is suffering from on the hands of its enemies of Crusaders and Jews.

From the same place, where the Crusader-Jewish coalition was hit four years ago, specifically in Nairobi and Dar Es Salam against the American embassies, here are the fighters (*mujahedin* from al-Qa'ida) returning once again to hit this treacherous coalition, but this time it's against the Jews, thereby delivering the following message: what you practice in terms of damage and occupation of our sanctities and criminal acts against our people in Palestine, killing children, women and the elderly and destroying homes and pulling out trees and the continuous siege will not go without you suffering from similar acts that are more effective if God permits. Your children in return for our children, your women in return for our women, and in return for our elderly your elderly and in return for our homes your buildings and in return for the siege on food and living the siege of terror and fright, we will follow you with it with God's permit wherever you are, on land, sea or in the air.

The fighters fulfilled their promise to God for victory of his religion and fulfilled their promise to the nation in lifting the humiliation and degradation through launching painful strikes and successful operations with God's help against the treacherous Crusader-Jewish coalition

¹⁰⁷ Deriblant www.mujaheedoon.net, www.jehadonline.org og www.islammemo.com.

¹⁰⁸ http://abcnews.go.com/sections/world/DailyNews/qaeda_statement021202.html

wherever it is and thank God for the following:

- The destruction of the American embassy in Nairobi
- The destruction of the American embassy in Dar Es Salam
- The destruction of the American destroyer (Cole) in Aden
- The destruction of World Trade Center Towers in New York
- The destruction of the Pentagon
- The hijacking of the American passenger plane in Pennsylvania, which was headed towards the American Congress

America went crazy because of all this, it was in a state of horror and shock for what it saw and heard and did not understand what it suffered from, it was shaken and its dignity was brought down forever and so it forced the whole world to go under its flag and follow it on its unjust campaign - unprecedented in old or contemporary history - against this faithful group of fighters and Islamic nations, thinking that they would thereby be able to stop the fighting and extinguish the soldiers of God.

The whole world turned into one of the CIA offices, following them in every land and under every sky, forgetting that the Islamic faith is about devoutness, which becomes stronger during hardships, suffering and distress. This was proven by the fighters as a reality as they were able, with God's help, to aim their strikes and launch their attacks during a year when they were being followed and chased. They tried and were able to do the following since the launch of the Crusader attack on Afghanistan in mid-Ragab 1422:

- The Djerba operation against the Jewish temple in Tunis
- The shoe explosions in the American plane
- The attack on the French military in Pakistan
- The attack on the huge tanker in Yemen
- The killing of the marines in Faylaka in Kuwait
- The destruction of the night club in Bali and other operations that accompanied it on the same day in Indonesia
- The two Mombasa operations in Kenya against Jewish interests (firing two missiles on an Israeli plane and destroying an Israeli hotel)
- Tens of operations in Afghanistan and other places in different parts of the world
- Other operations that are not mentioned for certain considerations

Assuring that their strikes will continue with God's permit, so that the whole world knows that the Crusader war against Islam and Muslims has failed and will not be fruitful as the Jews and Crusaders desire, because in short it is a war between faith and atheism, between what's right and what's wrong, between justice and injustice. God will bring victory to this religion and is supportive of its fighters.

The Mombasa operations — in Kenya against Israeli targets — comes at this time specifically to emphasize a number of important facts, including: the fighters were able to reach their chosen target — chosen with great care thank God — at a time when the whole world, east and west, stands against them and chases them in every spot on earth, which proves how fragile and distracted this campaign is and that it stands paralyzed in front of the moves and attacks of the fighters with God's help.

These operations also come to put an end to all dreams (of the Jewish-Crusader coalition) in safeguarding their strategic interests in the region and prove the failure of the US and its allies, who amassed their huge naval fleets around the Horn of Africa to chase the *mujahidin* in this

area and to stop them from reaching it or bringing in supplies and to stop attacks similar to those that took place four years ago.

These operations also come - with God's help - as another slap to the Israeli Mossad — as it slapped it by hitting the Jewish synagogue in Djerba and as it slapped all American security agencies before - a slap that destroys its legacy and its image - used to horrify the whole world from its ability to reach and get who it wants - and to cut the arm that Sharon announced will reach anyone who tries to touch Israel's internal or external security.

The operations also come to put a thousand question and exclamation marks in front of the nations of this alliance, which has spent billions on the plane safety programs from the inside. There they are facing the fighters' storm from the outside. What will they do about this?!

The two operations also come to ensure that nations that push their assassins, killers and criminals of war to become leaders, as the Americans and Jews and others do, will suffer the consequences of their acts and their desires and will not escape the Godly revenge on the hands of his servant fighters. Our proof for that is what happened in Bali and what followed, disturbing the sleep of enemies of the nation everywhere.

These two operations come also to announce to Muslims everywhere that the fighters are united with their people in Palestine, they will continue on the road and are willing to withstand whatever will happen to them in serving God, they intend to lift humiliation and with God's help alone they can still surprise the enemy and hit it strategically at the convenient time and place that they determine.

Finally, the two operations come to announce that the nation - with its Arabs, its black and white people - stands united as one man in face of this enemy and in face of the declared attack against Muslims. We call here for all our brothers with black arms on this continent - who have been suffering the most from colonialism which has raped their lands and stole its good and humiliated them depriving them from the simplest of human rights - to follow the footsteps of the heroes of the Mombasa operations to turn the land into a hell under the feet of the Jewish and Crusader occupiers.

At the end, we call for Muslims in the east and west to be united and cooperate, and to leave their differences and disunity. We also call for them to take full responsibility in face of this Crusader-Jewish attack, which aims primarily at uprooting Muslims, destroying their faith, occupying their homes and stealing their wealth. They have to know that they are capable of doing something against this enemy. The 'victim' conflict, which we have suffered from for over a century, is gone without return. The years of defeat and confusion, which the enemy wanted us to live, have turned into days of victory, glory and strength. *'Two men who fear God said open the door on them, if you enter, you are winners' [Qur'an].*

What your brothers have offered through their operations, what they paid for with their blood, money and time, is enough proof on the ability of this nation to give and confront and stand fast and win with God's permit. On this blessed occasion we do not forget to remind the Muslims from falling into the sin of accepting what the US and its allies prepare against the Iraqi Muslim people. They have to bring victory to their brothers by what they own and not to allow the American occupier's foot to step on their land and to resist it through different ways to make him (the American occupier) feel that there is no place for it on the land, no shadow for it under its sky and that it is among people who hate it and despise it.

God is great, glory to God and to the faithful, but the hypocrites don't know."

4.31 Sulayman Abu Ghayth bekrefter al-Qa'idas ansvar for Kenya-bombingen (www.jihad.net , 6. desember 2002)

Den 6. desember 2002 la det radikale islamske nettstedet www.jihad.net ut en lydinnspilt erklæring som angivelig var lest opp av al-Qa'idas talsmann Sulayman Abu Ghayth.¹⁰⁹ Amerikanske sikkerhetskilder uttalte i etterkant at det er grunn til å anse lydopptaket som ekte.¹¹⁰ I erklæringen bekrefter Abu Ghayth hovedbudskapet fra en tidligere skriftlig melding, nemlig at al-Qa'ida var ansvarlig for terroraksjonene i Mombasa (Kenya) 28. november 2002. Denne erklæringen er viktig fordi den gir et særlig godt innblikk i al-Qa'idas politiske ideologi og strategi ved årsskiftet 2002/2003. Erklæringen er konsis og velkomponert, og gir en av de klareste framstillingene så langt av hovedprinsippene i al-Qa'idas ideologi.

Vi gjengir her en oversettelse hentet fra nettstedet www.jihadunpun.net :¹¹¹

“All praise be to Allah – Lord of the Worlds – and peace and blessings be upon our Prophet Muhammad and his family and companions. The *mujahidin* in all places greet the victorious Islamic *umma* with blessings on the occasion of the blessed *'Id al-Fitr*. We ask our almighty Lord to accept from all people the good deeds and that He may bring it back to the *umma* while it is in a state of victory and dignity and stability.

In this declaration I would like to reconfirm what the Political Bureau of the Qa'idat al-Jihad Organization has stated concerning the two attacks in Mombasa, Kenya against the Jewish interests and the other *mujahidin* operations against the Crusader-Jewish alliance during one year of persecution, expulsion that are mentioned in the aforesaid statement. 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. Generally speaking, we take the current situation in which we pass into consideration when we claim responsibility. Furthermore, I would like to focus on a few facts as follows:

(1) The Crusader-Jewish alliance will no longer be immune from the *mujahidin* attacks anywhere by the permission of Allah and we are going to strike at its vital installations and strategic interests with all means at our disposal and whoever acts upon the principal of reciprocal is not unjust.

(2) The liberation of the our Holy Places and countries first and foremost Palestine and the Land of the two Holy Mosques is our primary goal for which all efforts and forces must unite. It is the issue that demands all the Muslims apart from their different races and languages and colors to work for it as the Muslims are like one body, if one part of it gets ill, the whole body reacts (with a general mobilization of all forces).

¹⁰⁹ Lydfilen kan nå høres på <http://www.hodhod33.com/oorum/gh.rm>; Erklæringen ble for alvor kjent da *al-Jazira* spilte den av på kvelden søndag 8. desember.

¹¹⁰ Se http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/2556089.stm.

¹¹¹ Full oversettelse finnes på <http://www2.jihadunpun.net/BinLadensNetwork/statements/agok.cfm>; Oversettelse av deler av lydopptaket finnes på <http://www.megastories.com/attack/alqaeda/gaith02dec06.shtml>.

(3) The hunt for the enemy who is represented in the Crusader-Jewish Alliance by the weapon of (spreading) fear by which Allah (swt) has led our Prophet (saws) and his noble companions to victory as it is an effective weapon which must be used against the enemy by widening the front lines and carrying out focussed and quick operations against his body which is spread over a large area in this world so that he shall feel threatened, insecure and instable on the land, sea and in the air.

(4) The *mujahidin* are a part of this blessed and victorious *umma*. They are the vanguard that has pledged itself to spark the confrontation between our enemies and us. Thus it is not fighting instead of the *umma* but it is working as an activator for the *umma* against its enemies so that it may rise altogether to face the occupying and invading enemy. It is a mistake to reduce the *jihad* to one limited organization since *jihad* is faith and original (Islamic) ideology that encounters the enemies of Islam and is a continuation of the way of the Prophet Muhammad (saws) and his companions.

(5) In this crucial stage of the history of the *umma*, it is the great obligation of the scholars, callers, intellectuals, business men and the young people and other groups among the men and sons of this *umma* especially the Islamic and *jihad* movements to directly resist this enemy and to seriously prepare themselves for the coming phase which will be the greatest and most dangerous.

(6) It is upon the Muslim youth all over the world who symbolize the pillar and hopes of this *umma* not to follow the propaganda of the hesitators, scaremonger, atheists and liberals and those who are blended by the West. Furthermore, they should be careful not to be drawn to side-fights that don't contribute to the attacks against the Head of International Disbelief that is represented in the Crusader-Jewish Alliance. Moreover it is important not to get distracted by (fights with) their tails and agents (i.e. Arab regimes) which is exactly what the enemies of *jihad* desire in order to disperse our efforts. Our goal is clear and our guidelines of our policy are well known for we don't adopt any action that doesn't contribute in the right direction against the Crusader-Jewish Alliance.

(7) The Muslims should know the reality of their enemy and his goals that he is pursuing. The danger of what America and its allies are preparing against Iraq and its people is not limited to overthrowing the infidel regime and a tyrant but is aimed at killing children, women and the elderly among the Muslims and balkanizing this great country, pillaging its wealth and occupying a vital part of our Arab world that enables them to directly protect the Jewish occupiers and realize their dream in establishing their 'Greater State' from the Nile to the Euphrates. So it is upon the (Muslim) people to be aware of that and more important to let the American occupiers and their allies to enter their country even if their traitorous regimes have given the permission for that. Furthermore, they must resist the occupiers by all means possible so that they shall feel that they are standing on a land which doesn't tolerate them, and under a sky that doesn't provide them shade and among people who are hostile towards them and who hate them

Finally, we pledge to Allah - the Sustainer of Heaven and Earth to continue on the way of *jihad* and dignity with determination and in Allah - Our Lord we have put our trust and for the sake of Allah we take any hardships since we are sure that nothing can harm us but what Allah has preordained for us. We ask Allah alone to strengthen our hearts and make firm our feet and to grant us victory over the disbelievers and all praise is to Allah - Lord of the Worlds.

Your brother Sulayman bin Jassim Abu Ghayth.”

5 UBEKREFTEDE ELLER UTILGJENGELIGE INTERVJUER OG KOMMUNIKÉER

5.1 Issam Dirraz’ dokumentarfilmer fra Afghanistan-krigen

Det tidligste og muligens eneste primærkildematerialet om Usama bin Ladins tid i Afghanistan på 1980-tallet finner man i filmopptakene og bøkene til Issam Derraz. Derraz var en egyptisk filmregissør som reiste til Afghanistan på 1980-tallet for å filme blant *mujahidin*. Filmopptakene hans er ikke offentlig tilgjengelige, men enkelte journalister og forskere har studert dem, deriblant BBC-journalisten Jane Corbin.¹¹²

”Issam Diraz, an Egyptian film director and former army officer, was one of the many volunteers who came to Afghanistan, via bin Ladin and ‘Azzam’s MaK (*Maktab al-Khidamat*, tjenestekontoret). ‘It was something new when he started to gather Arabs together,’ Diraz told me. ‘It was my duty as a Muslim and as a film-maker to go and experience it’. Now a middle-aged man, balding and round, Issam Diraz had a wishful look in his eyes as he showed me the grainy footage he had shot of Usama bin Ladin and his men in the Tora Bora cave complex in the south of Afghanistan.

The soldiers look amateurish: men wandering around in *shalwar kamiz*, the loose pyjama-style shirts and trousers, with turbans on their heads and bandoleers slung around their shoulders. They casually cradle RPGs, rocket propelled grenade launchers, in their arms, as they bounce along the rocky scree in rusty jalopies. Diraz’ pictures show a scene of indescribable beauty: green plains, the tinkling of bells from herds of animals moving below, the Hindu Kush blue and smoky in the horizon. The *mujahidin* are literally wedged in cracks in the rocks high up in the mountains, laughing at the attempts of the clumsy Soviet bombers to find them. [...]

Diraz would spend a week at a time with bin Ladin and his fighters in the mountains. His film footage shows a tall rangy figure in khaki *shalwar kamiz*, towering over the others in the group; Diraz points out his Saudi head-dress. Bin Ladin speaks on a field radio, clearly the commander: ‘Send water and food to the other post’, he orders. Stooping, he enters what looks like a horizontal crevice in the rock. Inside the cave, dark but for a beam of light filtering through a crack in the roof, he squats with the others in a circle as they eat from a plate of mutton and rice. There are sleeping bags on the floor. Bin Ladin is smiling, shy, waving his hand at the intrusive camera. ‘Enough Issam’, he protests. ‘I will shut off your electricity supply. [...]

The film footage which Issam Diraz shot of Usama bin Ladin marked the start of the Saudi dissident’s Afghan adventure; a shy, young man, neatly dressed, looks awkwardly at the camera as he drives his bulldozer slowly along a dirt track, a plateau dotted with khaki army tents behind him. This was the image of the fund-raiser, using his contacts to build a military infrastructure.

There is another piece of film that captures the man that bin Ladin had become eight years later.

¹¹² Corbin (2002), ss 17-18 og s 25.

A black horse gallops headlong towards the camera, enveloped in a cloud of dust. Then it slows and its rider, dressed in flowing robes, raises his hand in greeting. 'Salam alaykum', he says courteously as he passes. Usama bin Ladin inclines his head graciously, almost regally; he is relaxed and totally at home in the wild landscape. The symbolism is already there; it is Saladin, the Islamic warrior prince on horseback in the desert."

Issam Diraz skal også ha gitt ut en bok som inneholder bin Ladins egne gjenfortellinger av hendelser fra Afghanistan-krigen.¹¹³ Boken ble gitt ut på ukjent forlag i Kairo i 1991, og har således vist seg vanskelig å få tak i.

5.2 Grunnleggelsen av al-Qa'ida

Det aller tidligste skriftlige materialet som kan knyttes til organisasjonen al-Qa'ida, består av en artikkel skrevet av 'Abdallah 'Azzam i et tidsskrift kalt *al-Jihad*.¹¹⁴ 'Azzam var en islamsk skriftlærd av palestinsk opprinnelse som spilte en sentral rolle under hele Afghanistan-krigen som organisator og ideolog for de såkalte afghan-araberne. *Al-Jihad* var et av flere tidsskrifter skrevet av og for *mujahidin*-geriljaen i Afghanistan.¹¹⁵ I april 1988 skriver 'Azzam om opprettelsen av det han kaller *al-Qa'ida al-Sulba* [den solide basen], og denne artikkelen kan ifølge Rohan Gunaratna regnes som al-Qa'idas grunnleggelsesdokument. Det har ikke lyktes forfatteren å få tak i originalartikkelen, derfor gjengir vi her de utdragene som nevnes i Gunaratnas bok *Inside al-Qa'ida*.¹¹⁶

"Every principle needs a vanguard to carry it forward and, while focusing its way into society [sic], puts up with heavy tasks and enormous sacrifices. There is no ideology, neither earthly nor heavenly, that does not require such a vanguard that gives everything it possesses in order to achieve victory for this ideology. It carries the flag all along the sheer, endless and difficult path until it reaches its destination in the reality of life, since Allah has destined that it should make it and manifest itself. This vanguard constitutes *al-Qa'ida al-Sulba* for the expected society. [...]

It must jump into the fire of the toughest tests and into the waves of fierce trials. The training leadership shares with them the testing march, the sweat and the blood. The leadership must be like the motherly warmth of a hen whose chicks grow under its wings, throughout the long period of hatching and training. This vanguard has to abstain from cheap worldly pleasures and must bear its distinct stamp of abstinence and frugality. In like manner it must be endowed with firm belief and trust in the ideology, instilled with a lot of hope for its victory. There must be a strong determination and insistence to continue the march, no matter how long it takes. Travel provision is among the most important items on this march. The provision consists of meditation, patience and prayer. Loyalty and devotion [sic]. They must be aware of the existence of anti-Islam machinations all over the world."

¹¹³ Darraz (1991); Se referanse i Anonym (2002), s 294.

¹¹⁴ Abdallah Azzam, "Al-Qa'ida al-Sulba", *Al-Jihad*, 41 (april-utgaven), s 46.

¹¹⁵ Gunaratna (2002), s 3.

¹¹⁶ Gunaratna (2002), s 3-4. Reuven Paz har oversatt teksten. Se også Paz (2000a) og (2000b) for omtale av den såkalte "al-Qa'ida al-Sulba-doktrinen".

5.3 Uttalelser 1990-1995

Før Usama bin Ladin for alvor ble kjent i vesten rundt midten av 1990-tallet, var han en aktiv offentlig person som holdt foredrag og skrev kunngjøringer. Det finnes med andre ord store mengder materiale fra bin Ladins tid i Saudi-Arabia (1989-91) og i Sudan (1991-96) som ikke er kjent og som er vanskelig tilgjengelig, spesielt på Internett. Peter Bergen skriver følgende i sin bok om bin Ladin:

”Selvsagt hadde bin Ladin fordømt amerikanerne lenge før han ble tvunget til å finne seg i deres fysiske nærvær. Da han kom tilbake fra Afghanistan-krigen i 1989, var han mye etterspurt som taler i moskéer og hjem, og et av hans hovedtemaer var en oppfordring til boikott av amerikanske varer på grunn av landets støtte til Israel. Hundretusener av opptak av hans taler var i omløp i det saudi-arabiske kongedømmet.”¹¹⁷

I et senere intervju uttalte bin Ladin selv at:

”Et år før Hussein gikk inn i Kuwait advarte jeg i mange av mine taler i moskéene om at Saddam ville rykke frem mot Golfen. Men ingen trodde meg. Jeg distribuerte mange kassetter i Saudi-Arabia, og det var etter at det skjedde at de begynte å tro meg og tro på min analyse av situasjonen.”¹¹⁸

En høytstående FBI-tjenestemann har uttalt følgende:

“At various times from about 1992 until about 1993, Usama bin Ladin, working together with members of the *fatwa* committee of al-Qa‘ida, disseminated *fatawa* to other members and associates of al-Qa‘ida which directed that the United States forces stationed in the Horn of Africa, including Somalia, should be attacked. Indeed, bin Ladin has claimed responsibility for the deaths of 18 US servicemen killed in ‘Operation Restore Hope’ in Somalia in 1994.”¹¹⁹

Vi vet også at bin Ladin i 1994 åpnet et ”representasjonskontor” (*The Advice and Reformation Committee*, eller *Lajnat-al-Nasihah wa'l-Islah*) i London som antakeligvis også har produsert skriftlig materiale.¹²⁰ Den tidligere lederen for dette kontoret, Khalid al-Fawwaz, har i ettertid blitt intervjuet av en rekke journalister, og utgjør en viktig kilde i seg selv. Al-Fawwaz sitter nå fengslet i Storbritannia.

5.4 Intervju med bladet *Takbir*, trykt 5. august 1990

I boken *Through Our Enemies' Eyes* refererer den anonyme forfatteren til en artikkel fra 1990

¹¹⁷ Bergen (2002), s 86; Faiza Saleh Ambah, “Saudi Militant’s Wish: To Die Fighting America”, *Associated Press*, 30. august 1998; se også Bodansky (1999), s 28; eventuelt Reeve (1999), s 169.

¹¹⁸ Intervju med CNN, 1997; oversettelse fra Bergen (2002), s 87.

¹¹⁹ *FBI Congressional Statement* gitt av J T Caruso, 18. desember 2001.

<http://www.fbi.gov/congress/congress01/caruso121801.htm>; se også Bodansky (1999), s 52-3, 56-90.

¹²⁰ Jacquard (2001), s 134, 346; Labevière (2000), s 100.

som ut fra tittelen å dømme er basert på et intervju med Usama bin Ladin.¹²¹ Artikkelen skal ha blitt trykt i et blad kalt *Takbir*, som er ukjent for undertegnede. Det har ikke vært mulig å verifisere denne referansen, men den ovennevnte boken anses for å være pålitelig, så det er grunn til å tro at et slikt intervju har funnet sted.

5.5 Intervju med *al-Quds al-'Arabi*, trykt 9. mars 1994

I februar eller mars 1994 skal de to journalistene Al 'Abd al-Karim og Ahmad al-Nur al-Nur ha intervjuet bin Ladin for den London-baserte arabiske avisen *al-Quds al-'Arabi*. Intervjuet skal ha blitt publisert, men undertegnede har ikke fått tak i denne artikkelen.¹²²

5.6 Pressemelding om åpning av informasjonskontor i London (*al-Quds al-'Arabi*, 8. august 1994)

I august 1994 skal den London-baserte arabiskspråklige avisen *al-Quds al-'Arabi* ha trykt en pressemelding fra Usama bin Ladin som annonserte opprettelsen av det såkalte *Advice and Reform Committee* i London.¹²³ Undertegnede har imidlertid ikke fått tak i denne artikkelen.

5.7 Intervju med uidentifisert fransk journalist, april 1995

På internettsidene til det seriøse amerikanske dokumentarprogrammet *Frontline* refereres det til et intervju Usama bin Ladin gav til en fransk journalist i april 1995. Det har imidlertid ikke lyktes forfatteren å finne andre referanser til dette intervjuet. Vi gjengir her sitatene, slik de fremstår på *Frontlines* internettsider.¹²⁴

“In a never-published interview with a French journalist, Usama bin Ladin says that his decision to fight alongside Afghan *mujahidin* dated from ‘the time when the Americans decided to help the Afghans fight the Russians.’

‘To counter these atheist Russians, the Saudis chose me as their representative in Afghanistan... I did not fight against the communist threat while forgetting the peril from the West.’

‘For us, the idea was not to get involved more than necessary in the fight against the Russians, which was the business of the Americans, but rather to show our solidarity with our Islamist brothers. I discovered that it was not enough to fight in Afghanistan, but that we had to fight on all fronts against communist or Western oppression. The urgent thing was communism, but the next target was America... This is an open war up to the end, until victory.’”

¹²¹ Se Anonym (2002), s 294; Referansen som oppgis er: ”Osama Interview: Not Up to Him to Call for Holy War”, *Takbeer*, 5.-12. august 1990. Tittelen og datoen på denne artikkelen kan tyde på at den omhandler bin Ladins reaksjon på Saddam Hussains invasjon av Kuwait 1. august 1990.

¹²² ”Interview with Saudi Businessman Osama Bin Laden”, *al-Quds al-'Arabi*, 9. mars 1994, s 4. Se også Anonym (2002), s 293.

¹²³ ”The Saudi Islamic Opposition 'Advice and Reform Commission' Headed by Shaykh Osama Bin Laden Has Announced the Opening of an Office in London”, *al-Quds al-'Arabi*, 8. august 1994; referansen er hentet fra Anonym (2002), s 374.

¹²⁴ <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/who/edicts.html>

5.8 Intervju med *al-Watan al-'Arabi* Fayza Sa'd, februar 1996

Richard Labevière nevner i sin bok *Dollars for Terror* at :

”In February 1996, Fayza Sa'd interviewed bin Ladin for the weekly magazine *al-Watan al-'Arabi*, published in London. Partially recapitulated in the Egyptian weekly magazine *Rhuz al-Yusuf*, this interview was held at Khalid al-Fawwaz's, in Wembley. The Islamist bulletin *Yamani al-Haqq* reprinted extracts calling for an international holy war. According to several authorised sources, Usama bin Ladin travelled many times to the British Capital between 1995 and 1996, on his private jet.”¹²⁵

Andre har imidlertid sådd tvil om dette intervjuet faktisk fant sted. At bin Ladin skal ha reist frem og tilbake mellom London og Midtøsten i sitt private jettfly, betegnes av Peter Bergen som det reneste sludder.¹²⁶ Atter andre legger til at det regnes som lite sannsynlig at bin Ladin besøkte London på dette tidspunktet, gitt at bin Ladin var i Sudan, og at amerikanske myndigheter hadde knyttet ham til terrorangrepene i Saudi-Arabia i 1995.¹²⁷

5.9 Intervju med Gwynne Roberts fra den engelske dokumentarserien *Dispatches*, november 1996

Internettsidene til det amerikanske dokumentarprogrammet *Frontline* skriver at en britisk journalist ved navn Gwynne Roberts intervjuet bin Ladin i november 1996 for det britiske programmet *Dispatches*.¹²⁸ Som kilde oppgir *Frontline* en melding fra *Reuters* tre måneder senere.¹²⁹ Den anonyme forfatteren av boken *Through Our Enemies' Eyes* refererer også til et program kalt *Dispatches* fra februar 1997, men journalisten er her feilaktig oppgitt som en viss ”Robert Gwyn”.¹³⁰ Det har ikke lyktes forfatteren å spore opp et referat fra dette intervjuet, men Gwynne Roberts skrev i oktober 2001 en kort artikkel hvor han beskriver sin tur til Afghanistan i 1996.¹³¹

5.10 Bin Ladin-uttalelse om muslimer i Europa (*Ruz al-Yusuf*, 9. desember 1996)

Det egyptiske ukebladet *Ruz al-Yusuf* skal i desember 1996 ha trykt en artikkel med tittelen ”Osama Bin Laden: Muslims Who Live in Europe are Kafirs”.¹³² Fra tittelen å dømme er denne artikkelen skrevet på bakgrunn av et mulig medieutspill fra Usama bin Ladin. Det finnes en annen kjent uttalelse fra bin Ladin fra denne perioden, nemlig *Nida' al-Islams* intervju fra november 1996 (se kapittel 2.5), men ettersom dette intervjuet ikke inneholder noen referanser til muslimer i Europa, kan det være grunn til å tro at *Ruz al-Yusuf*s artikkel er basert på et annet bin Ladin-utsagn.

¹²⁵ Labevière (2000), s 101. Se også det egyptiske bladet *Ruz al-Yusuf*, nr 3549, 17. juni 1996.

¹²⁶ Bergen (2002), s 43.

¹²⁷ *Intelligence Newsletter* (Indigo Publications), 20. juni 1996.

¹²⁸ <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/etc/cron.html>

¹²⁹ *Reuters*, 20. februar 1997.

¹³⁰ Anonym (2002), s 357.

¹³¹ http://www.nzz.ch/english/background/2001/10/19_bin_ladin.html

¹³² ”Osama Bin Laden: Muslims Who Live in Europe are Kafirs”, *Ruz al-Yusuf*, 9. desember 1996. Det samme ukebladet trykte et intervju med bin Ladin i juni samme år (se kapittel 5.8, fotnote).

5.11 Intervju med Hamid Mir, *Pakistan*, 18. mars 1997

Hamid Mir er en pakistansk journalist som også skal ha gode kontakter i bin Ladins organisasjon, og han skal nylig ha skrevet en biografi om bin Ladin. Den 18. mars 1997 intervjuet han bin Ladin for den pakistanske avisen *Pakistan*, som han er redaktør for. Dette intervjuet er referert til av flere andre skribenter, men undertegnede har ikke fått tak i det.¹³³

5.12 Kommuniké nr. 19 fra "The Advice and Reformation Committee", 16. april 1997

I boken *Through Our Enemies' Eyes* refereres det til et dokument utgitt av den såkalte *Advice and Reformation Committee*.¹³⁴ Dette organet var al-Qa'idas representasjonskontor i London på 1990-tallet, og det er derfor stor grunn til å tilskrive dette dokumentet til al-Qa'ida. Det bar tittelen "Communiqué nr. 19: The Saudi Regime and the Recurrent Tragedies of the Pilgrims", og skal ha vært datert til 16. april 1997. Det har imidlertid ikke vært mulig å få tak i det.

5.13 Intervju med *al-Ahram al-'Arabi*, april 1997

Simon Reeve refererer til et intervju som bin Ladin skal ha gitt til ukebladet *al-Ahram al-'Arabi* [sic] i april 1997.¹³⁵ Dette er den eneste referansen det har vært mulig å oppdrive om dette intervjuet.

5.14 Bin Ladins utfordring til amerikanske kommandosoldater (*Pakistan*, 6. juli 1997)

Den pakistanske journalisten Hamid Mir skrev i juli 1997 en artikkel med tittelen "Bin Laden Dares US Commandos to Come to Pakistan".¹³⁶ Innholdet i denne artikkelen er ikke kjent for undertegnede, men det er grunn til å tro at artikkelen er basert på en uttalelse fra al-Qa'ida og/eller bin Ladin fra sommeren 1997.

5.15 Intervju med *al-Akhbar*, trykt 31. mars 1998

Den Egyptiske avisen *al-Akhbar* skal i mars 1998 ha trykt en artikkel med tittelen "Interview with Osama bin Laden Reported", noe som kan tyde på at bin Ladin har gitt et intervju i februar-mars 1998.¹³⁷ Det er imidlertid også mulig at artikkelen omhandler et annet og allerede kjent intervju. Dette kan ikke fastslås ennå da undertegnede ikke har fått tak i denne artikkelen.

5.16 Advarsel til USA, 15. april 1998

I forbindelse med den amerikanske diplomaten Bill Richardsons besøk til Afghanistan i midten av april 1998 sendte bin Ladin en uttalelse til avisen *al-Quds al-'Arabi* hvor han advarte USA på

¹³³ Jacquard (2001), s 52, 73, 96; Reeve (1999), forordet.

¹³⁴ Anonym (2002), s 292.

¹³⁵ Reeve (1999), s 177.

¹³⁶ Hamid Mir, "Bin Laden Dares US Commandos to Come to Pakistan", *Pakistan*, 6. juli 1997; Referansen er hentet fra Anonym (2002), s 367.

¹³⁷ Azim Siddiqi, "Interview with Osama bin Laden Reported", *al-Akhbar*, 31. mars 1998; Referansen er hentet fra Anonym (2002), s 377.

det sterkeste mot å forsøke å fjerne de såkalte afghan-araberne fra Afghanistan.¹³⁸ Avisen gjengav bare utdrag fra denne uttalelsen, og artikkelen foreligger ikke i engelsk oversettelse.

5.17 Al-Qa‘idas pressekonferanse, 28. mai 1998

Den 28. mai 1998 holdt al-Qa‘ida en pressekonferanse i Afghanistan for å annonsere dannelsen av ”Den islamske verdensfront for jihad mot jøder og korsfarere”, som var en allianse av radikale islamske organisasjoner, deriblant al-Qa‘ida. I tillegg var konferansen ment å skape publisitet rundt *jihad*-erklæringen mot USA som var formulert skriftlig i februar samme år (se kapittel 4.3). Bare utvalgte journalister fra pakistanske og arabiske medier ble invitert til konferansen, og det førte til at den ble noe underrapportert i vestlige medier. Det har ikke lyktes undertegnede å få tak i referater fra denne konferansen, men rapporter fra den foreligger i diverse (hovedsakelig pakistanske) avisartikler.¹³⁹

5.18 “Islams atombombe”, 29. mai 1998

Rundt 29. mai 1998 kom bin Ladin med en uttalelse med tittelen “Islams atombombe”. I likhet med erklæringen 23. februar samme år, var denne uttalelsen underskrevet av ”Den islamske verdensfront for jihad mot jøder og korsfarere”. I dette dokumentet gratulerer al-Qa‘ida Pakistan med ervervelsen av atomvåpen, og sier blant annet at: “it is the duty of Muslims to prepare as much force as possible to terrorize the enemies of God.”¹⁴⁰ Uttalelsen foreligger ikke i engelsk oversettelse.

5.19 Intervju med Abu Shiraz, *Pakistan*, mai 1998

I boken *Through Our Enemies' Eyes* refererer den anonyme forfatteren til et intervju bin Ladin skal ha gitt til en journalist ved navn Abu Shiraz i mai 1998.¹⁴¹ Intervjuet skal ikke ha blitt publisert, men Abu Shiraz skal ha gjengitt utdrag av intervjuet i en artikkel i den pakistanske avisen *Pakistan* i februar 1999.¹⁴² Undertegnede har ikke fått tak i denne artikkelen.

5.20 *Fatwa* fra ”Ulama Union of Afghanistan”, mai 1998

Ifølge amerikanske myndigheter sendte *The Ulama Union of Afghanistan* ut en *fatwa* hvor USA ble beskrevet som en ”fiende av Islam”, og hvor det ble erklært *jihad* mot USA og dets allierte. Denne *fatwa*en skal ha blitt trykt i *al-Quds al-‘Arabi*. Rundt den 7. mai skal Muhammad ‘Atif ha sendt et brev til Khalid al-Fawwaz hvor han diskuterer bin Ladins deltakelse i dette oppropet.¹⁴³ Det har imidlertid ikke lyktes undertegnede å få tak i denne *fatwa*en.

¹³⁸ *Al-Quds al-‘Arabi*, 15. april 1998, s 1.

¹³⁹ ”Laden Declares Jihad Against US Forces”, *News*, 28. mai 1998; I den store samlingen videofilmer som CNN plukket opp i Afghanistan i 2002 (se kapittel 7) finnes en kassett med et lengre opptak fra denne pressekonferansen. Mange kommentatorer har påpekt at konferansen kan ha vært ment som et forvarsel og ”hint” om de store terroraksjonene i Kenya og Tanzania i august 1998.

¹⁴⁰ *Al-Quds al-‘Arabi*, 1. juni 1998; se også <http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/terror/99129502.htm>

¹⁴¹ Anonym (2002), s 285.

¹⁴² Abu Shiraz, ”May 1998 Interview with Bin Laden Reported”, *Pakistan*, 20. februar 1999.

¹⁴³ <http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/pol/terror/99129502.htm>; Se også ”Osama Urges Ummah to Continue Jihad”, *News*, 7. mai 2001; Muhammad ‘Atif (aka Abu Hafis al-Misri) var et sentralt medlem av al-Qa‘ida helt fra gruppens

5.21 ”Uttalelse nr. 4” fra Verdensfronten for jihad mot jøder og korsfarere (*al-Hayat*, 19. august 1998)

I august 1998 skal avisen *al-Hayat* ha trykt en al-Qa‘ida-erklæring under tittelen ”World Front for Fighting the Jews and the Crusaders, Statement No. 4”.¹⁴⁴ Undertegnede har ikke fått tak i denne artikkelen, men på bakgrunn av datoen er det grunn til å tro at den omhandler terroraksjonene i Kenya og Tanzania som fant sted tidligere samme måned.

5.22 Krav om løslatelse av Khalid al-Fawwaz, 30. september 1998

Den London-baserte arabiske avisen *al-Quds al-‘Arabi* trykte i oktober 1998 en uttalelse fra den såkalte *Advice and Reform Committee*, al-Qa‘idas *politburo*.¹⁴⁵ Uttalelsen bar tittelen ”Åpent brev til den britiske regjering” og inneholdt et krav om at Khalid al-Fawwaz skulle løslates.¹⁴⁶ Uttalelsen foreligger ikke i engelsk oversettelse.

5.23 Jamal Isma‘ils intervju med Ayman al-Zawahiri, desember 1998

Da *al-Jazira*-journalisten Jamal Isma‘il intervjuet bin Ladin i desember 1998 (se kapittel 2.9) fikk han også anledning til å intervju Ayman al-Zawahiri. Dette intervjuet foreligger ikke i engelsk oversettelse, men er omtalt i Isma‘ils bok, *Bin Ladin, al-Jazira...og jeg*, fra 2001.¹⁴⁷

5.24 Uttalelse om den amerikanske verdensorden (*Pakistan*, 9. januar 2000)

I boken *Through Our Enemies' Eyes* refereres det til en artikkel trykt i den pakistanske avisen *Pakistan* den 9. januar 2000, som bærer tittelen ”Osama bin Laden Denounces U.S.-sponsored 'World Order'”.¹⁴⁸ Etter tittelen å dømme kan artikkelen være basert på en uttalelse fra bin Ladin fra desember 1999 eller januar 2000, men dette kan ikke bekreftes ettersom undertegnede ikke har fått tak i denne artikkelen.

5.25 Bin Ladin-uttalelse i *Al-Jihad Newsletter*, 22. juni 2000

I boken *Through Our Enemies' Eyes* refereres det til et artikkel med tittelen ”Osama speaks on Hijra and the Islamic State” som skal ha forekommet i et nyhetsbrev kalt *Al-Jihad Newsletter* juni 2000.¹⁴⁹ Det har ikke vært mulig å oppdrive dette dokumentet, så det er vanskelig å vurdere

begynnelse til han ble drept av alliert bombing i Afghanistan høsten 2001. Han var blant annet omtalt som al-Qa‘idas militærkommandant. Khalid al-Fawwaz drev et informasjonskontor i London på 1990-tallet som var nært knyttet til al-Qa‘ida.

¹⁴⁴ ”World Front for Fighting the Jews and the Crusaders, Statement No. 4”, *al-Hayat*, 19. august 1998; Referansen er hentet fra Anonym (2002), s 382.

¹⁴⁵ *Al-Quds al-‘Arabi*, 1. oktober 1998, s 1.

¹⁴⁶ Khalid al-Fawwaz ble arrestert i 1998, nettopp fordi han drev *Advice and Reform Committee* mens den var basert i London.

¹⁴⁷ Isma‘il (2001), ss 26-48.

¹⁴⁸ Anonym (2002), s 358; Referansen som oppgis er: Hasrat, Bakhit Ullah Jan, ”Osama bin Laden Denounces U.S.-sponsored 'World Order'”, *Pakistan*, 9. januar 2000.

¹⁴⁹ Anonym (2002), s 369; Referansen som oppgis er: ”Osama speaks on Hijra and the Islamic State”, *Al-Jihad Newsletter* (Followers of Shariah Web site) 4 (22. juni 2000).” *Followers of Shariah* er for øvrig en Yemen-basert organisasjon ledet av Abu Hamza al-Masri, som var imam ved Finsbury Park-moskéen i nord-London.

dets autenticitet.

5.26 Intervju med *Ghazi Magazine*, trykt 20. august 2000

Ifølge den anonyme forfatteren av boken *Through Our Enemies' Eyes* skal bin Ladin ha gitt et skriftlig intervju til et ukeblad kalt *Ghazi Magazine* på sensommeren i 2000.¹⁵⁰ Dette intervjuet skal ha blitt trykt i august 2000, men det har ikke lyktes oss å få tak i dette intervjuet.¹⁵¹

5.27 Bin Ladin gjentar jihad-erklæring mot jøder og korsfarere (*Pakistan Observer*, 2. september 2000)

Den pakistanske avisen *Pakistan Observer* skal i september 2000 ha trykt en artikkel med tittelen "Bin Laden Calls for Holy War against Jews, Christians".¹⁵² Da det ikke foreligger andre bin Ladin-uttalelser fra denne perioden, er det mulig at denne artikkelen er basert på et separat dokument eller intervju. Det kan imidlertid også dreie seg om en artikkel basert på gamle al-Qa'ida-kommunikéer. Undertegnede har ikke fått tak i artikkelen og kan dermed ikke vurdere dette.

5.28 Erklæring i kjølvannet av USS Cole-bombingen (*Jang*, 17. oktober 2000)

Etter angrepet på det amerikanske krigsskipet USS Cole i Yemen i oktober 2000 ble mistanken av naturlig grunner rettet mot Usama bin Ladin. Som svar på tiltale publiserte bin Ladin en erklæring i den pakistanske avisen *Jang* hvor han advarte USA mot å angripe leirene hans i øst-Pakistan (slik de gjorde etter ambassadebombingene i 1998).¹⁵³ Uten å nevne Yemen-aksjonen direkte skrev han at et angrep ikke ville drepe ham, og at han ville fortsette kampen mot "islams fiender". *Associated Press* skriver i sin omtale av denne erklæringen at det er den første siden desember 1998, da Taliban kuttet bin Ladins kommunikasjonslinjer. Erklæringen skal ha kommet fra Kandahar sør i Afghanistan. Selve teksten har imidlertid ikke vært mulig å oppdrive.

5.29 Bin Ladin takker Gud for USS Cole-bombingen (*al-Hayat*, 4. november 2000)

Avisen *al-Hayat* trykte i november 2000 en artikkel med tittelen "Bin Laden Thanks God for US Destroyer Bombing".¹⁵⁴ På bakgrunn av tittelen er det grunn til å tro at denne artikkelen er basert på en bin Ladin-uttalelse fra denne perioden, men da undertegnede ikke har fått tak i artikkelen, er dette vanskelig å bekrefte eller avkrefte.

¹⁵⁰ Anonym (2002), s 292.

¹⁵¹ "Interview (Written) of Osama bin Laden", *Ghazi Magazine*, 20.-27. august 2000.

¹⁵² Tariq Seed, "Bin Laden Calls for Holy War against Jews, Christians", *Pakistan Observer*, 2. september 2000; Referansen er hentet fra Anonym (2002), s 375.

¹⁵³ <http://www.intellnet.org/news/2000/10/17/944-1.html>

¹⁵⁴ "Bin Laden Thanks God for US Destroyer Bombing", *al-Hayat*, 4. november 2000; Referansen er hentet fra Anonym (2002), s 383.

5.30 Uttalelse mai 2001

På internettsidene til avisen *Dallas News* finnes en kronologi over enkelte av bin Ladins utsagn. På en side med overskriften "A History of Threats" finner man følgende:¹⁵⁵

“**May 2001:** He vows retaliation after four of his alleged operatives are convicted in New York for their roles in the 1998 embassy bombings in Africa. Two of the bombers were scheduled to be sentenced Wednesday in New York. In making the threat, Mr. bin Ladin declares a new level of holy war against the United States and Israel.”

Jeg har ikke lyktes å finne andre referanser til en slik uttalelse rundt dette tidspunktet, og man skulle normalt kunne tenke seg at det dreier seg om en feilsitering. Det er imidlertid grunn til å tro at disse opplysningene er riktige, ettersom de spesifikt nevner rettssaken mot de fire mistenkte i ambassadebombe-saken som pågikk på denne tiden.

5.31 Bin Ladins "e-post", september 2001

Like i etterkant av terroraksjonene 11. september rapporterte enkelte pakistanske aviser at de hadde mottatt en e-post fra en mann som hevdet å være Usama bin Ladin.¹⁵⁶ Ryktene om bin Ladins e-post gikk deretter verden rundt, men det er lite trolig at denne e-posten var autentisk. Det finnes uansett ingen måter å verifisere dette på.

Rykter om e-poster fortsatte å versere gjennom hele vinteren, og så sent som i slutten av mars 2002 hevdet redaktøren for den anerkjente London-baserte avisen *al-Quds al-'Arabi* at avisen hadde mottatt en e-post fra bin Ladin.¹⁵⁷

5.32 Bin Ladin rundt leirbålet, omtalt 15. april 2002

I forbindelse med omtalen av videoen som ble vist på *al-Jazira* mandag 15. april, nevnte *CBS News* og *The Wall Street Journal* at amerikanske myndigheter var i besittelse av minst ett upublisert video-opptak med Usama bin Ladin. Videoen skal ha blitt funnet av proamerikanske afghanske soldater på et ukjent tidspunkt i Kulangar, i Logar-provinsen av Afghanistan. Ifølge *Wall Street Journal* viser dette opptaket bin Ladin og noen få andre som har slått leir for natten. Dette ble tolket som en indikasjon på at bin Ladin i etterkant 11. september 2001 hadde forlatt sin store gruppe støttespillere til fordel for et lite antall følgesvenner.¹⁵⁸

5.33 Brev fra Usama bin Ladin, mars 2002

Ifølge Reuven Paz kunne man observere en klar økning i aktiviteten på al-Qa'ida-relaterte internettsider tidlig på våren 2002. På en av disse internett-sidene dukket det i slutten av mars

¹⁵⁵ <http://www.dallasnews.com/specialreports/2001/attack/Usamabinladen/Usamahistory.html>

¹⁵⁶ http://wildcat.arizona.edu/papers/95/20/05_1_m.html

¹⁵⁷ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/south_asia/1898624.stm

¹⁵⁸ <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/04/15/attack/main506166.shtml>; *The Wall Street Journal*, 15. april 2002.

2002 opp et brev som angivelig var skrevet av Usama bin Ladin selv.¹⁵⁹ Brevet var gjengitt i PC-fonter, og det forelå ikke noe bilde av originalen. Redaktørene av nettstedet hadde klippet inn en bildefil med bin Ladins signatur etter selve teksten, men filen kan ha kommet fra et annet dokument, så det er uklart hvorvidt det dreier seg om et ekte brev eller en forfalskning. Det er heller ikke mulig å si noe om innholdet i denne teksten, da nettstedet ble lagt ned før undertegnede fikk lagret det.

5.34 Eldre opptak av bin Ladin (*AP Television News*, 22. april 2002)

Den 22. april viste *Associated Press Television News* bilder fra en hittil ukjent video av Usama bin Ladin.¹⁶⁰ Bildene viser en bin Ladin som snakker til en forsamling utenfor kamera (se figur 5.1).



Figur 5.1 Utdrag fra en al-Qa'ida-video vist på *Associated Press Television News*, 22. april 2002 (Kilde: BBC)

Videokassetten skal ha blitt funnet i Kabul av en lokal innbygger som sa den stammet fra et forlatt al-Qa'ida-hus. Kvaliteten på bildene er relativt dårlig, og ifølge kommentatorer kan det dreie seg om opptak som er gjort for flere år siden. Det har ikke vært mulig å få tak i referater fra bin Ladins tale. Innholdet i talen hans skal ifølge media ha dreiet seg mer om religion enn politikk.

5.35 CD-rom med kryptert bin Ladin-video (*al-Ansar Islamic News Agency*, 19. mai 2002)

Den 19. mai 2002 meldte det Birmingham-baserte islamske nyhetsbyrået *al-Ansar Islamic News Agency* at de hadde mottatt en CD-rom fra Pakistan som inneholdt en kryptert 40 minutter lang video med "nye" bilder av bin Ladin.¹⁶¹ Bildene ble ikke vist i media, men inneholder ifølge nyhetsbyråene en rekke mindre sekvenser som er klippet sammen til en lengre video. Det ble sagt lite om innholdet i bin Ladins utsagn, men ifølge *Sunday Times* (som fikk et eksemplar av

¹⁵⁹ <http://www.ict.org.il/articles/articledet.cfm?articleid=436>; Referansen som Reuven Paz oppgir, er en internetts-adresse som per januar 2003 dessverre ikke er tilgjengelig (<http://66.78.6.55/~jehad/Osama-alquds.htm>).

¹⁶⁰ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/world/south_asia/1943785.stm

¹⁶¹ <http://europe.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/europe/05/19/binladen.tape/>;
<http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/05/16/world/main509377.shtml>; <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/1997369.stm>.

videoen fra *al-Ansar*) var det ikke noe nytt budskap. Et av de få sitatene som ble nevnt i media, var imidlertid et som fokuserte på Israel: “The war is between us and the Jews - any country that steps into the same trench as the Jews has only herself to blame.” I tillegg til den 2 minutter lange ”nye” sekvensen med bin Ladin, inneholder videoen deler av et tidligere bin Ladin-intervju med *al-Jazira*, samt bilder med andre al-Qa‘ida-medlemmer.

Grunnen til at nyheten om denne filmen vakte spesiell interesse, var at journalistene i det ovennevnte nyhetsbyrået hevdet noen av bildene var knapt tre måneder gamle, og at de derved beviste at bin Ladin var i live så sent som i mars 2002. I følge nyhetsbyrået var de ”nye” bildene filmet i den afghanske byen Spinboldak nær grensen til Pakistan. Ingen av disse påstandene var imidlertid mulig å bekrefte. *Al-Jazira* hevdet på sin side at de hadde sett de samme bildene så tidlig som i januar, og at det dreide seg om opptak gjort i oktober 2001. Ifølge *Sunday Times* var det mulig å fastslå at opptaket av bin Ladin var gjort ”en vårkveld”, men det var ingenting ved opptaket som knyttet det spesifikt til våren 2002.

5.36 Abu Layth al-Libis uttalelse på www.jehad.net , 9. juli 2002

På kvelden den 9. juli 2002 sendte nyhetsstasjonen *Middle East Broadcasting Corporation* et lydopptak med en viss Abu Layth al-Libi, som utgav seg for å være en talsmann for al-Qa‘ida.¹⁶² Lydopptaket dukket opp på internett-siden www.jehad.net tidligere samme dag. Denne meldingen kom samtidig som den algirske avisen *al-Yawm* publiserte et intervju med Sulayman Abu Ghayth. I media ble dette lydopptaket overskygget av intervjuet med Abu Ghayth i *al-Yawm*, og det har derfor vært vanskelig å finne referater fra opptaket.

5.37 Bin Ladin appellerer til ”Den pakistanske nasjon” (*The Dawn*, 9. oktober 2002)

Tirsdag 9. oktober rapporterte *Reuters* og den pakistanske avisen *The Dawn* om et ”brev fra Usama bin Ladin” som skal ha blitt distribuert i afghanske flyktningeleirer i Peshawar-området i Pakistan.¹⁶³ Det trykte brevet forelå både på arabisk og i urdu oversettelse, og ved foten av brevet sto bin Ladins navn. Det var imidlertid ikke mulig å bekrefte om brevet faktisk stammet fra bin Ladin selv. Brevet, hvis distribusjon sammenfalt med det nært forestående valget i Pakistan, inneholdt en oppfordring til pakistanere om å styrte president Musharraf, samt til muslimske ledere om å lede sitt folk til *jihad* mot vesten. Det har ikke latt seg gjøre å finne teksten i sin helhet, så vi gjengir her de utdrag det har vært mulig å finne i pressen:

“My Pakistani Muslim brothers [...] get rid of the shameful Musharraf and my call is especially to the Pakistani clerics [...] No doubt, the rulers have turned Pakistan into an American military base. The Muslims are massacred across the world. Musharraf has let loose a reign of terror against the *mujahidin* and has put the warriors in prisons [...] General Pervez has not only attacked Afghanistan, but also betrayed the Kashmir cause by closing the LoC [? sic] for the freedom fighters and described the freedom struggle as terrorism [...]”

¹⁶² http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/2119102.stm;

http://www.nandotimes.com/special_reports/terrorism/impact/story/461282p-3690459c.html.

¹⁶³ http://story.news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story&u=/nm/20021009/wl_nm/pakistan_Osama_letter_dc_1;
<http://www.dawn.com/2002/10/10/top8.htm>.

6 ANDRE PRIMÆRKILDER

6.1 “The Encyclopaedia of the Afghan Jihad”

CNN-journalisten Peter Bergen skriver følgende i sin bok om bin Ladin:

”Mellom 1990 og tidlig i 1993 påtok noen medlemmer av gruppen seg den massive oppgaven å skrive et leksikalsk verk om Afghanistanens hellige krig. Dette verket på flere tusen sider, i flere bind, inneholder detaljer om alt Afghanistan-araberne opplevde i sin *jihad* mot sovjetunionen. Alle bøkene er tilegnet deltakerne i den hellige krigen, men de eneste som er nevnt med navn er den avdøde ‘Abdallah ‘Azzam og bin Ladin, ‘som til denne dag ikke har gitt opp å føre eller oppfordre til hellig krig’. Leksikonet inneholder åtte hundre sider om våpen, inkludert en forklaring på hvordan amerikanske Stinger-raketter skal brukes, og 250 sider om hvordan man skal utføre terrorangrep og paramilitære angrep. En CD-ROM-versjon av verket ble lagt ut til salg i basarene i Pakistan i midten av 1990-årene.”¹⁶⁴

Da jordanske myndigheter avverget et større terrorangrep mot turistmål i Jordan i forbindelse med milleniefeyringen, fant de håndbøker som var kopier eller varianter av *The Encyclopedia of the Afghan Jihad*.¹⁶⁵ Disse ble siden overlevert til amerikanske myndigheter.

Den 2. oktober 2001 meldte nyhetsbyrået *Associated Press* (AP) at de hadde fått tak i et eksemplar av verket og offentliggjorde en innholdsfortegnelse.¹⁶⁶ Ifølge AP stammet dette 11-binds verket fra et av bin Ladins hovedkvarter i Kandahar. APs nyhetsmelding ble etterfulgt av en strøm artikler om al-Qa‘idas ”terrorismehåndbøker”.

6.2 “Military Studies in the Jihad Against the Tyrants”, funnet i Manchester, 2000

I 2000 ransaket engelsk politi hjemmet til al-Qa‘ida-medlemmet Anas al-Libi i Manchester. På en datamaskin fant de en fil kalt ”The Military Series” som inneholdt en slags håndbok i terrorisme på arabisk med en tittel som har blitt oversatt som *Military Studies in the Jihad Against the Tyrants*. Dette dokumentet ble deretter overlevert amerikanske myndigheter, som oversatte det og brukte det i rettssaken mot de tiltalte for ambassadebombingene i 1998.¹⁶⁷

Håndboken er tilgjengelig i nesten komplett form på Internett.¹⁶⁸ Sidene 70-74, 99-152 og 161-69 mangler imidlertid fortsatt. Det amerikanske justisdepartementet holder disse sidene tilbake

¹⁶⁴ Peter Bergen (2002), s 92-93.

¹⁶⁵ Judith Miller, ”Holy Warriors”, *New York Times*, 15. januar 2001; Se <http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/nea/sasia/afghan/read/15jan01.htm> og http://abcnews.go.com/sections/world/DailyNews/binladenterror_000918.html.

¹⁶⁶ <http://multimedia.belointeractive.com/attack/binladen/1009jihad.html>;
<http://www.unl.edu/eskridge/encyclopedia.html>.

¹⁶⁷ Dokumentet er nevnt i rettsreferatene fra dag 22, 37, 38, 42 og 47, på henholdsvis s 3333 ff, s 5273 ff, s 5475 ff, s 5986 ff, og s 6288 ff.

¹⁶⁸ <http://cryptome.org/alq-terr-man.htm>; <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/manualpart1.html>

av sikkerhetsmessige grunner. Noen av de sensurerte sidene skal være tilgjengelige på en uavhengig nettside kalt www.thesmokinggun.com.

6.3 Eksempel på en al-Qa'ida-rekrutteringsvideo

I Kuwait i juni 2001 dukket det opp en video som hadde sirkulert i radikale islamske miljøer en stund.¹⁶⁹ På filmen refererer Usama bin Ladin for første gang til bombingen av USS Cole. Columbia University har på sine internettsider gjengitt deler av den 99 minutter lange filmen, som etter alt å dømme er laget i rekrutteringsøyemed.¹⁷⁰ Den anerkjente midtøsten-eksperten ved Columbia University, Fawwaz A. Gerges, anser filmen som autentisk og anslår at den ble laget minst seks måneder før 11. september.¹⁷¹ Forsvarets forskningsinstitutt besitter en video som er svært lik den beskrevet av Columbia University.

6.4 Utdrag fra Ayman al-Zawahiris bok – offentliggjort desember 2001

Den 2. desember 2001 offentliggjorde den anerkjente arabiske avisen *al-Sharq al-Awsat* utdrag fra det de hevdet var en bok skrevet av al-Qa'idas nestleder Ayman al-Zawahiri. Disse utdragene er tilgjengelige i engelsk oversettelse, men de er ikke tatt med i denne rapporten av plassmessige hensyn.¹⁷² Dersom dette er et autentisk dokument (noe det sannsynligvis er), er det liten tvil om at det vil ha stor betydning for forståelsen av historien og ideologien bak de to organisasjonene Egyptisk Islamsk Jihad og al-Qa'ida.

6.5 "Usama bin Ladins poesi"

Et gjennomgående trekk i al-Qa'idas kommunikéer og Usama bin Ladins intervjuer er den hyppige bruken av sitater fra de hellige skrifter og en forkjærlighet for poesi. I krigserklæringen fra 1996 (se kapittel 4.2) finner man mange poetiske vers, deriblant noen som kan stamme fra bin Ladins egen diktning.¹⁷³ Vinteren 2002 fant man et nytt dikt angivelig skrevet av Usama bin Ladin i et forlatt al-Qa'ida-hus i Kabul.¹⁷⁴ Diktet har tittelen "Lidelsene til et barn som har forlatt De to helligdommers land" (*mu'anat tifl muhajir min aradi al-haramayn*), og har et forord som sier at "halvparten er skrevet av poeten Dr 'Abd al-Rahman al-Ashmawi, og den andre halvparten er skrevet av shaykh Usama bin Ladin".¹⁷⁵ Diktet er i trykt form, noe som tyder på at det er ment for distribusjon. Dersom det er autentisk, er det enda et tegn på at bin Ladin forsøker å bruke poesi til å formidle sitt budskap og til selv å fremstå som en mytisk pan-

¹⁶⁹ *Associated Press*, 20. juni 2001, se f eks <http://www.chron.com/cs/CDA/story.hts/world/947589>.

Se også CNNs reportasje på <http://Europe.cnn.com/video/world/2001/09/21/mb.bin.laden.affl.med.html>; <http://europe.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/europe/06/21/video.binladen/>.

¹⁷⁰ http://www.ciaonet.org/cbr/cbr00/video/cbr_v/cbr_v.html

¹⁷¹ På disse internettsidene finner man også gode kommentarer og analyser til videoen.

¹⁷² http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/ayman_bk.html; Det dreier seg om et dokument på 42500 ord.

¹⁷³ Se avsnittet fra "William, tomorrow [...]" frem til "[...] the pens and the books."

¹⁷⁴ "Verses From bin Laden's War", *New York Times*, 7. april 2002, se

<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/04/07/international/asia/07POEM.html>; Man har også funnet dikt skrevet av andre enn bin Ladin, se "Three Other Poems Found With Qaeda Documents", *New York Times*, 7. april 2002, <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/04/07/international/07MORE-WEB.html>.

¹⁷⁵ Identiteten til denne al-Ashmawi er ikke kjent, verken for amerikansk etterretning eller for eksperter i arabisk litteratur.

islamsk kriger.¹⁷⁶ Her følger bin Ladins poesi i engelsk oversettelse:¹⁷⁷

“The Travail of a Child Who Has Left the Land of the Holy Shrines

‘Father, where is the way out [of all our troubles]?

When are we to have a settled home?

Oh, Father, do you not

See encircling danger?

Long have you made me travel, Father,

Through deserts and through settled lands.

Long have you made me travel, Father,

In many a sloping valley,

So I forget my kinsfolk,

My cousins, and all men.

How is it our house has vanished

From our sight, leaving no trace?

Why has my mother not returned?

How strange! Has she taken a taste to travel?

And my dear brother — may I be his ransom!

Time has passed and he does not appear.

Why in our area do we see

Nothing but parapets and pits?

Is it because America has come

Manipulating funds and media?

You, Father, do not crave

An easy living from mankind.

It is eternity that awaits us

If God should will us to prevail.

Tell me, Father, for I find

No brief, enlightening explanation.’

‘Forgive me, son, for I am struck

Both powerless and speechless.

My tongue is tied. My eyes are flowing springs.

My consciousness is hell.

What can I say when living in a world

Of contention and of recklessness?

What can I utter to a world bereft

¹⁷⁶ Poesi har som kjent en helt spesiell plass i den arabiske og muslimske verden, og bin Ladin er ikke den første politiske lederen som bruker poesi og litteratur til å fremstå som en respektabel representant for arabisk og muslimsk kultur; jf romanene ”Zabiba og kongen” og ”Det befestede slott” som skal være skrevet av selveste Saddam Hussain.

¹⁷⁷ Oversettelsen er hentet fra ”Of Exile and Betrayal”, *New York Times*, 7. april 2002, se <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/04/07/international/07LADE.html?ntemail1>; Bilder av det originale arabiske dokumentet finnes på http://www.nytimes.com/images/2002/04/07/international/020407_for_POEM.html. Det er liten grunn til å betvile troverdigheten til disse kildene.

Of physical and moral vision,
 Where nations are bought and sold
 In an inflationary and speculative trade?
 Forgive me, son, for nothing do I see
 In our terrain but a declivity.
 A decade has passed, whose years were spent
 In homelessness and wanderings.
 Of whom do you enquire? Of a people
 Reduced to stupor?
 I have migrated westward
 To a land where flows the Nile.
 Of Khartoum I love the character,
 But I was not permitted to reside.
 So then I traveled eastward
 Where there are men of radiant brows.
 Kabul holds its head up high
 Despite the hardship and the danger.
 Kabul, with a smiling face,
 Offers all-comers shelter and help.
 Shaykh Yunus there appears
 A lion who strikes terror when he roars,
 As, marked by manliness and pride,
 Does our commander, Mulla 'Umar.'

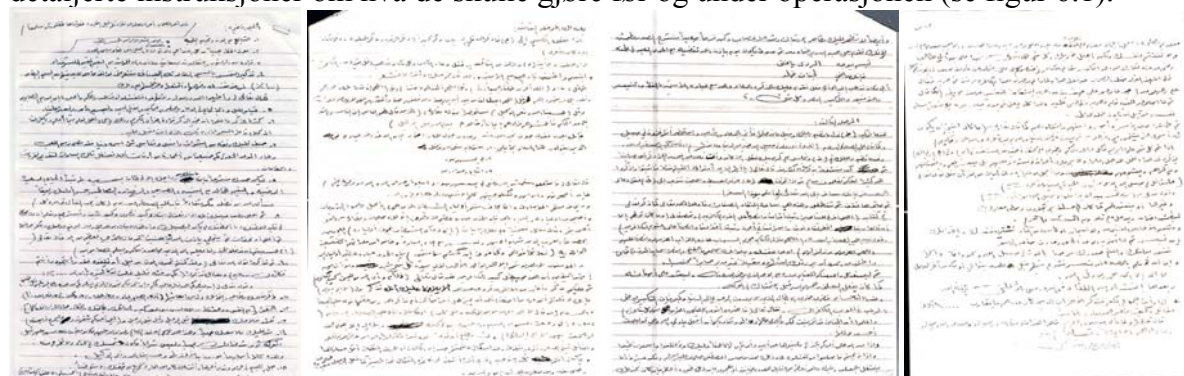
'Why, Father, have they sent
 These missiles, thick as rain,
 Showing mercy neither to a child
 Nor to a man shattered by old age?
 Father, what has happened
 So we are pursued by perils?
 Father, what has happened
 So your likenesses are depicted?
 Is your redeeming of an ancient house
 A crime that cannot be forgiven?'

'Here are we, [locked] in tragedy:
 All safety gone — it does not show itself.
 It is a world of criminality, my son,
 Where children are, like cattle, slaughtered.
 Zion is murdering my brothers,
 And the Arabs hold a congress!
 They are America's henchmen,
 Blinded and devoid of vision.

[Nothing but] ink on paper. They neither
 Are truthful, nor have they made a difference.
 Why have they not equipped a force
 To shield the little one from harm?
 This, by your Lord, is a major brand
 Of shame to be recorded,
 A treachery being pieced together —
 Is our defense to come from traitors?
 I swear by God the great
 That I shall fight the infidel.”

6.6 Brev fra Muhammad ‘Atta til de andre flykaperne 11. september 2001

Under etterforskningen av flykapingene 11. september 2001 fant politiet tre eksemplarer av et håndskrevet brev på arabisk som tydelig var skrevet for flykaperne og som inneholdt svært detaljerte instruksjoner om hva de skulle gjøre før og under operasjonen (se figur 6.1).¹⁷⁸



Figur 6.1 Bilder av brevet som Muhammad ‘Atta formidlet til flykaperne (Kilde: FBI)

Brevene ble funnet i bagasjen som noen av kaperne hadde etterlatt på flyplassen. Det faktum at det ble funnet på tre forskjellige steder, tyder på at det ble delt ut til flere av de 19 kaperne. Det er tydelig av brevets innhold at det var tiltenkt alle kaperne, og ikke bare ”pilotene”.

Det er ikke sikkert hvem som skrev disse brevene, men Muhammad ‘Atta (mannen som regnes som koordinatoren av operasjonen) er en meget sannsynlig kandidat. Brevet gir en helt unik innsikt i det mentale bildet flykaperne hadde før de utførte verdenshistoriens største terrorangrep. Den norske islameksperten Kari Vogt, den israelske terrorforskeren Reuven Paz, og den britiske journalisten Brian Whitaker har alle foretatt gode og innsiktsfulle analyser av dette brevet.¹⁷⁹

Her følger den engelske avisen *the Guardians* oversettelse av brevet:¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ Se <http://www.fbi.gov/pressrel/attack/arabic/letter.htm> for leselige bilder.

¹⁷⁹ Reuven Paz, ”Programmed Terrorists: a Glimpse Into the Minds of the September 11 Hijackers”,

<http://www.ict.org.il/>; Vogt og Heger (2002), s 10-20; Brian Whitaker i *The Guardian*,

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/elsewhere/journalist/story/0,7792,561350,00.html>.

¹⁸⁰ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,4267264,00.html>

“THE LAST NIGHT

- 1) Making an oath to die and renew your intentions.
Shave excess hair from the body and wear cologne.
Shower.
- 2) Make sure you know all aspects of the plan well, and expect the response, or a reaction, from the enemy.
- 3) Read *al-Tawba* and *Anfal* and reflect on their meanings and remember all of the things God has promised for the martyrs.
- 4) Remind your soul to listen and obey [all divine orders] and remember that you will face decisive situations that might prevent you from 100 per cent obedience, so tame your soul, purify it, convince it, make it understand, and incite it. God said: *‘Obey God and His Messenger, and do not fight amongst yourselves or else you will fail. And be patient, for God is with the patient.’*
- 5) Pray during the night and be persistent in asking God to give you victory, control and conquest, and that He may make your task easier and not expose us.
- 6) Remember God frequently, and the best way to do it is to read the Holy *Qur’an*, according to all scholars, as far as I know. It is enough for us that it [the *Qur’an*] are the words of the Creator of the Earth and the plants, the One that you will meet [on the Day of Judgment].
- 7) Purify your soul from all unclean things. Completely forget something called ‘this world’ [or ‘this life’]. The time for play is over and the serious time is upon us. How much time have we wasted in our lives? Shouldn’t we take advantage of these last hours to offer good deeds and obedience?
- 8) You should feel complete tranquility, because the time between you and your marriage [in heaven] is very short. Afterwards begins the happy life, where God is satisfied with you, and eternal bliss ‘in the company of the prophets, the companions, the martyrs and the good people, who are all good company’. Ask God for His mercy and be optimistic, because [the Prophet], peace be upon him, used to prefer optimism in all his affairs.
- 9) Keep in mind that, if you fall into hardship, how will you act and how will you remain steadfast and remember that you will return to God and remember that anything that happens to you could never be avoided, and what did not happen to you could never have happened to you. This test from Almighty God is to raise your level [levels of heaven] and erase your sins. And be sure that it is a matter of moments, which will then pass, God willing, so blessed are those who win the great reward of God. Almighty God said: *‘Did you think you could go to heaven before God knows whom amongst you have fought for Him and are patient?’*
- 10) Remember the words of Almighty God: *‘You were looking to the battle before you engaged in it, and now you see it with your own two eyes.’* Remember: *‘How many small groups beat big groups by the will of God.’* And His words: *‘If God gives you victory, no one can beat you. And if He betrays you, who can give you victory without Him? So the faithful put their trust in God.’*
- 11) Remind yourself of the supplications and of your brethren and ponder their meanings. (The

morning and evening supplications, and the supplications of [entering] a town, and the [unclear] supplications, and the supplications said before meeting the enemy.

12) Bless your body with some verses of the *Qur'an* [done by reading verses into one's hands and then rubbing the hands over whatever is to be blessed], the luggage, clothes, the knife, your personal effects, your ID, passport, and all your papers.

13) Check your weapon before you leave and long before you leave. (You must make your knife sharp and must not discomfort your animal during the slaughter).

14) Tighten your clothes [a reference to making sure his clothes will cover his private parts at all times], since this is the way of the pious generations after the Prophet. They would tighten their clothes before battle. Tighten your shoes well, wear socks so that your feet will be solidly in your shoes. All of these are worldly things [that humans can do to control their fate, although God decrees what will work and what won't] and the rest is left to God, the best One to depend on.

15) Pray the morning prayer in a group and ponder the great rewards of that prayer. Make supplications afterwards, and do not leave your apartment unless you have performed ablution before leaving, because the angels will ask for your forgiveness as long as you are in a state of ablution, and will pray for you. This saying of the Prophet was mentioned by al-Nawawi in his book, *The Best of Supplications*. Read the words of God: '*Did you think that we created you for no reason [...]*' from the *al-Mu'minun* Chapter.

THE SECOND STEP

When the taxi takes you to (M) [this initial could stand for *matar*, airport in Arabic] remember God constantly while in the car. (Remember the supplication for entering a car, for entering a town, the supplication of place and other supplications).

When you have reached (M) and have left the taxi, say a supplication of place ['Oh Lord, I ask you for the best of this place, and ask you to protect me from its evils'], and everywhere you go say that prayer and smile and be calm, for God is with the believers. And the angels protect you without you feeling anything. Say this supplication: 'God is more dear than all of His creation.' And say: 'Oh Lord, protect me from them as You wish.' And say: 'Oh Lord, take your anger out on [the enemy] and we ask You to protect us from their evils.' And say: 'Oh Lord, block their vision from in front of them, so that they may not see.' And say: 'God is all we need, He is the best to rely upon.' Remember God's words: '*Those to whom the people said, "The people have gathered to get you, so fear them," but that only increased their faith and they said, "God is all we need, He is the best to rely upon."*' After you say that, you will find [unclear] as God promised this to his servants who say this supplication:

- 1) They will come back [from battle] with God's blessings
- 2) They were not harmed
- 3) And God was satisfied with them.

God says: '*They came back with God's blessings, were not harmed, and God was satisfied with them, and God is ever-blessing.*'

All of their equipment and gates and technology will not prevent, nor harm, except by God's will. The believers do not fear such things. The only ones that fear it are the allies of Satan, who

are the brothers of the devil. They have become their allies, God save us, for fear is a great form of worship, and the only one worthy of it is God. He is the only one who deserves it. He said in the verses: *'This is only the Devil scaring his allies' who are fascinated with Western civilisation, and have drunk the love [of the West] like they drink water [unclear] and have become afraid of their weak equipment, 'so fear them not, and fear Me, if you are believers.'* Fear is a great worship. The allies of God do not offer such worship except for the one God, who controls everything. [unclear] with total certainty that God will weaken the schemes of non-believers. God said: *'God will weaken the schemes of the non-believers.'*

You must remember your brothers with all respect. No one should notice that you are making the supplication, 'There is no God but God,' because if you say it 1,000 times no one will be able to tell whether you are quiet or remember God. And among its miracles is what the Prophet, peace be upon him, said: 'Whoever says, "There is no God but God," with all his heart, goes to heaven.' The prophet, peace be upon him, said: 'If you put all the worlds and universes on one side of the balance, and "No God but God" on the other, "No God but God" will weigh more heavily.' You can repeat these words confidently, and this is just one of the strengths of these words. Whoever thinks deeply about these words will find that they have no dots [in the Arabic letter] and this is just one of its greatneses, for words that have dots in them carry less weight than those that do not. And it is enough that these are the words of monotheism, which will make you steadfast in battle [unclear] as the prophet, peace be upon him, and his companions, and those who came after them, God willing, until the Day of Judgment.

Do not seem confused or show signs of nervous tension. Be happy, optimistic, calm because you are heading for a deed that God loves and will accept. It will be the day, God willing, you spend with the women of paradise.

[poetry] 'Smile in the face of hardship young man/For you are heading toward eternal paradise You must remember to make supplications wherever you go, and anytime you do anything, and God is with his faithful servants, He will protect them and make their tasks easier, and give them success and control, and victory, and everything [...]'

THE THIRD PHASE

When you ride the (T) [probably for *tayyara*, aeroplane in Arabic], before your foot steps in it, and before you enter it, you make a prayer and supplications. Remember that this is a battle for the sake of God. As the prophet, peace be upon him, said, 'An action for the sake of God is better than all of what is in this world.' When you step inside the (T), and sit in your seat, begin with the known supplications that we have mentioned before. Be busy with the constant remembrance of God. God said: *'Oh ye faithful, when you find the enemy be steadfast, and remember God constantly so that you may be successful.'* When the (T) moves, even slightly, toward (Q) [unknown reference], say the supplication of travel. Because you are traveling to Almighty God, so be attentive on this trip.

Then [unclear] it takes off. This is the moment that both groups come together. So remember God, as He said in His Book: *'Oh Lord, pour your patience upon us and make our feet steadfast and give us victory over the infidels.'* And His words: *'And the only thing they said Lord, forgive our sins and excesses and make our feet steadfast and give us victory over the infidels.'* And His Prophet said: 'Oh Lord, You have revealed the book, You move the clouds, You gave us victory over the enemy, conquer them and give us victory over them.' Give us victory and make the ground shake under their feet. Pray for yourself and all your brothers that they may be victorious and hit their targets and ask God to grant you martyrdom facing the enemy, not

running away from it, and for Him to grant you patience and the feeling that anything that happens to you is for Him.

Then every one of you should prepare to carry out his role in a way that would satisfy God. You should clench your teeth, as the pious early generations did.

When the confrontation begins, strike like champions who do not want to go back to this world. Shout, '*Allahu Akbar*,' because this strikes fear in the hearts of the non-believers. God said: '*Strike above the neck, and strike at all of their extremities.*' Know that the gardens of paradise are waiting for you in all their beauty, and the women of paradise are waiting, calling out, 'Come hither, friend of God.' They have dressed in their most beautiful clothing.

If God decrees that any of you are to slaughter, dedicate the slaughter to your fathers and [unclear], because you have obligations toward them. Do not disagree, and obey. If you slaughter, do not cause the discomfort of those you are killing, because this is one of the practices of the prophet, peace be upon him. On one condition: that you do not become distracted by [unclear] and neglect what is greater, paying attention to the enemy. That would be treason, and would do more damage than good. If this happens, the deed at hand is more important than doing that, because the deed is an obligation, and [the other thing] is optional. And an obligation has priority over an option.

Do not seek revenge for yourself. Strike for God's sake. One time 'Ali bin Abi Talib [a companion and close relative of the prophet Muhammad], fought with a non-believer. The non-believer spit on 'Ali, may God bless him. 'Ali [unclear] his sword, but did not strike him. When the battle was over, the companions of the prophet asked him why he had not smitten the non-believer. He said, 'After he spat at me, I was afraid I would be striking at him in revenge for myself, so I lifted my sword.' After he renewed his intentions, he went back and killed the man. This means that before you do anything, make sure your soul is prepared to do everything for God only.

Then implement the way of the prophet in taking prisoners. Take prisoners and kill them. As Almighty God said: '*No prophet should have prisoners until he has soaked the land with blood. You want the bounties of this world [in exchange for prisoners] and God wants the other world [for you], and God is all-powerful, all-wise.*'

If everything goes well, every one of you should pat the other on the shoulder in confidence that (M) and (T) number (K). Remind your brothers that this act is for Almighty God. Do not confuse your brothers or distract them. He should give them glad tidings and make them calm, and remind them [of God] and encourage them. How beautiful it is for one to read God's words, such as: '*And those who prefer the afterlife over this world should fight for the sake of God.*' And His words: '*Do not suppose that those who are killed for the sake of God are dead; they are alive [...]*' And others. Or they should sing songs to boost their morale, as the pious first generations did in the throes of battle, to bring calm, tranquillity and joy to the hearts of his brothers.

Do not forget to take a bounty, even if it is a glass of water to quench your thirst or that of your brothers, if possible. When the hour of reality approaches, the zero hour, [unclear] and wholeheartedly welcome death for the sake of God. Always be remembering God. Either end your life while praying, seconds before the target, or make your last words: 'There is no God but God, Muhammad is His messenger'.

Afterwards, we will all meet in the highest heaven, God willing.

If you see the enemy as strong, remember the groups [that had formed a coalition to fight the prophet Muhammad]. They were 10,000. Remember how God gave victory to his faithful servants. He said: ‘When the faithful saw the groups, they said, this is what God and the prophet promised, they said the truth. It only increased their faith.’
And may the peace of God be upon the prophet.”

6.7 Rettsreferater

Den kanskje aller viktigste primærkilden for forståelsen av al-Qa‘idas operasjonsmønster er å finne i rettsreferater. Våren og sommeren 2001 fant det sted to store rettssaker, den ene kjent som *The LAX Millenium Bombing Case (USA vs Ahmed Ressam; USA vs Mukhtar Hawari)*, den andre kjent som *The Embassy Bombings Trial (USA vs bin Ladin et al)*, og i begge kom det frem unike opplysninger om organisasjonen.

Referatene fra de nevnte rettssakene er tilgjengelige i sin helhet på en rekke nettsteder.¹⁸¹ De er imidlertid svært lange (titusener av sider) og foreligger i et lite leservennlig format, slik at det kan være nyttig å benytte seg av sammendrag.¹⁸² Det finnes et utall analyser av og kommentarer til disse dokumentene, som i sum utgjør grunnsteinen i det åpne kildematerialet om al-Qa‘idas operasjonsmønster og kapasiteter.

Det finnes også andre rettssaker som antakeligvis har frembragt nyttig informasjon om al-Qa‘ida. Her kan spesielt nevnes en rettssak som fant sted i Egypt i 1999, da 107 medlemmer av Egyptisk Islamsk Jihad var tiltalt. Denne saken er bedre kjent som *The Case of the Returnees from Albania*. Så vidt forfatteren kjenner til, er imidlertid referatene fra disse rettssakene ikke offentlig tilgjengelig.

7 DOKUMENTER FRA AFGHANISTAN – ET UTVALG

De militære operasjonene i Afghanistan høsten 2001 drev al-Qa‘ida på flukt, og dette gjorde at store mengder dokumenter og annet materiale ble liggende igjen i flere av organisasjonens hus i Kabul samt i treningsleirene rundt om i landet. Dette er unike kilder som vil øke vår forståelse for fenomenet al-Qa‘ida dramatisk.

Situasjonen er imidlertid ennå ganske uoversiktlig i Afghanistan, og det er vanskelig på dette tidspunkt å få et overblikk over hvor mye og hva slags type informasjon som ble forlatt av al-Qa‘ida. Det er heller ikke lett å vite hvor mye av dette materialet som har blitt tatt hånd om, eller av hvem. Anthony Davis, som er korrespondent for *Jane’s Intelligence Review*, har rettet skarp kritikk mot det allierte etterretningsarbeidet som ble gjort under militæroperasjonen.¹⁸³ Han

¹⁸¹ <http://news.findlaw.com/legalnews/us/terrorism/cases/background.html>; <http://cryptome.org>.

¹⁸² <http://europe.cnn.com/LAW/trials.and.cases/case.files/0012/embassy.bombing/>

¹⁸³ Davis (2002), s 17.

hevder at det ikke var noen koordinert innsamling av materiale, og det ikke var noe samarbeid med lokale personer om utlevering av informasjon. Resultatet, sier han, var at verdifullt materiale ble spredt for alle vinder i løpet av kort tid. Spesielt gjelder dette al-Qa'idas mange hus i Kabul der datautstyr og dertilhørende lagringsmedier ble stjålet av lokale afghanere.

Denne situasjonen har blant annet gjort det svært enkelt for utenlandske journalister selv å samle sammen dokumenter fra Kabul, og man ser derfor stadig nye bilder av al-Qa'ida-dokumenter på nettstedene til kjente og ukjente aviser. *New York Times* og *Jane's Intelligence Review* har publisert en del informasjon om sine funn i Afghanistan. Det disse dokumentene først og fremst gjør, er å gi oss et generelt innblikk i hvordan al-Qa'ida drev opplæring, hvordan de forvaltet sitt materiell, hvordan de rekrutterte og indoktrinerte, samt hvordan livet var på grasrotnivå i organisasjonen. De forteller oss imidlertid forholdsvis lite om al-Qa'idas ledelse, organisasjonsstrukturer eller beslutningsprosesser.

Det er *The Wall Street Journal* (WSJ) og *CNN* som har gjort de to viktigste funnene i Afghanistan. Høsten 2001 ble korrespondenten for WSJ frastjålet sin bærbare PC i Kabul, og han gikk deretter på svartebørsen og skaffet seg en ny. Hans "nye" datamaskin viste seg å stamme fra et al-Qa'ida-hus i Kabul som svartebørshaiene hadde tømt i kaoset som oppstod da Taliban flyktet fra byen. Selgerne hadde imidlertid ikke tatt seg bryet med å slette harddisken, og det viste seg at datamaskinen hadde tilhørt toppledelsen i al-Qa'ida. Harddisken inneholder etter sigende personlige notater og brev som kan knyttes til Usama bin Ladin, Ayman al-Zawahiri, og en rekke andre. WSJ har til nå bare offentliggjort deler av dette materialet.¹⁸⁴

Tidlig i august 2002 kunngjorde *CNN* at deres korrespondent Nic Robertson hadde fått tak i hele 64 al-Qa'ida-relaterte videokassetter gjennom en anonym kilde i Afghanistan. Dette materialet innbefatter blant annet opptak av treningsmetoder, kjemiske eksperimenter, samt det som kan være al-Qa'idas eget historiske videoarkiv. En del av dette unike materialet er tilgjengelig på CNNs internettsider.¹⁸⁵

I denne rapporten har vi tatt med noen få eksempler på al-Qa'ida-dokumenter fra Kabul, kun for å illustrere i grove trekk hva slags typer materiale det dreier seg om. Det dreier seg om et ørlite utvalg, og de som ønsker flere dokumenter og kommentarer henvises til *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal* og *CNN*s internettsider, samt *Jane's Intelligence Review*.¹⁸⁶

7.1 Trening og opplæring

Al-Qa'ida drev omfattende, systematisk og usedvanlig koordinert militær opplæring på flere språk (se figur 7.1)

¹⁸⁴ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2002/08/03/wtal03.xml>

¹⁸⁵ <http://europe.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2002/terror.tapes/>

¹⁸⁶ Davis (2002).

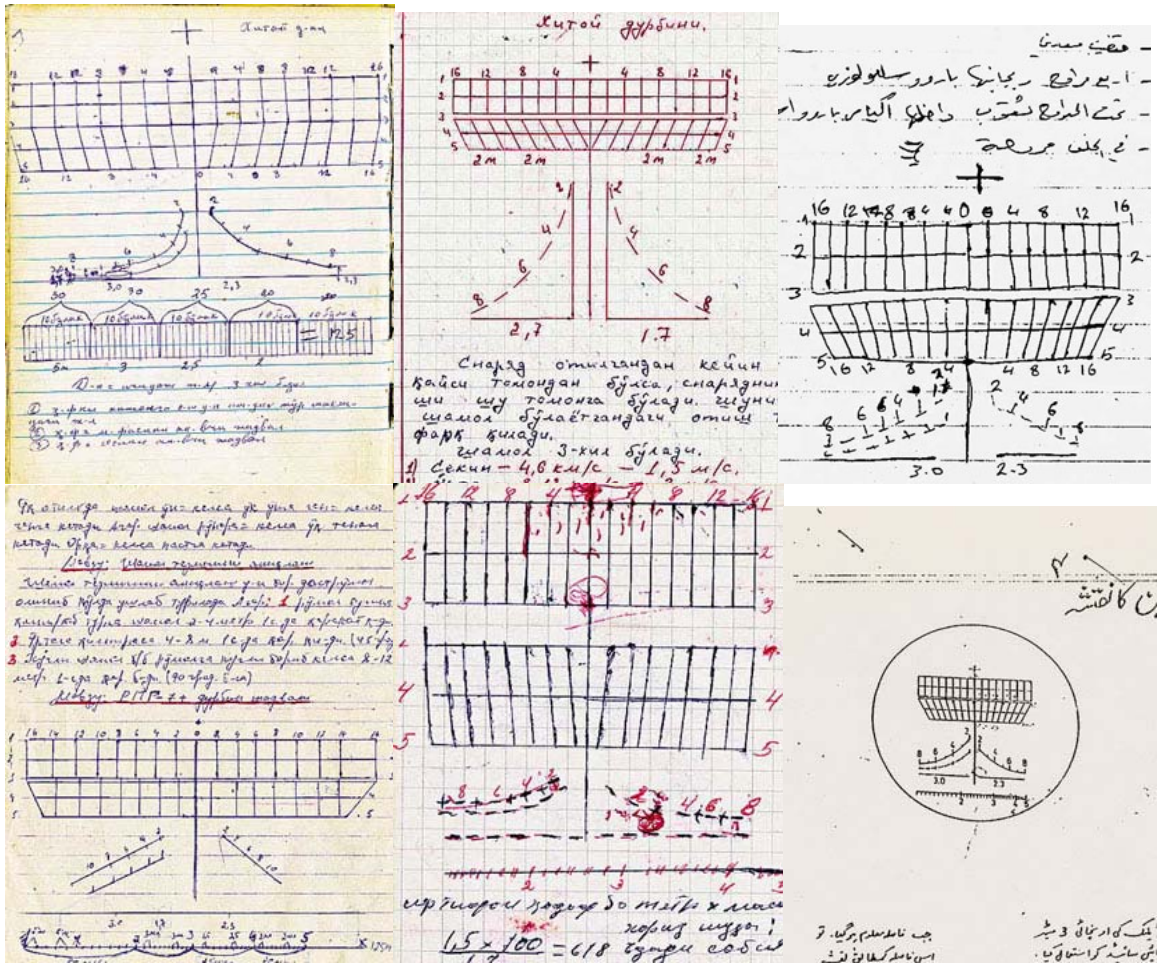


Fig 7.1 Dokumenter fra Kabul. Notater gjort av mujahidin-studenter fra ulike land. Likhetstrekken viser den høye graden av standardisering og organisering av opplæringen. (Kilde: New York Times)

Selv om en del av dokumentene vitner om opplæring i terroraksjoner, virker det som hovedfokus lå på paramilitær opplæring (se figur 7.2). De fleste al-Qa'ida-rekrutter ble med andre ord opplært som geriljakrigere og sabotører, ikke terrorister i streng forstand. Det fremgår imidlertid av en del dokumenter at terrorisme-opplæringen lå på et høyere stadium i opplæringsfasen og var forbeholdt et lite antall rekrutter.

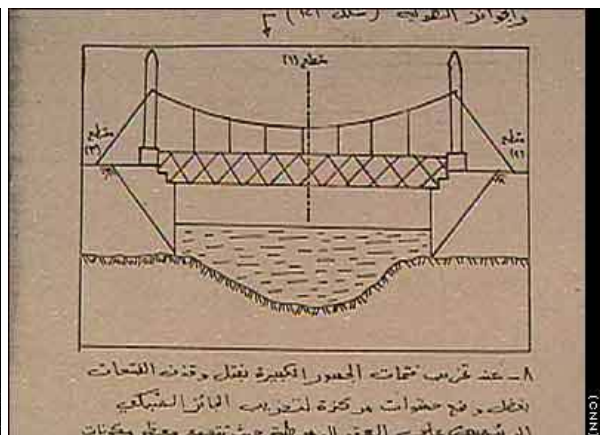
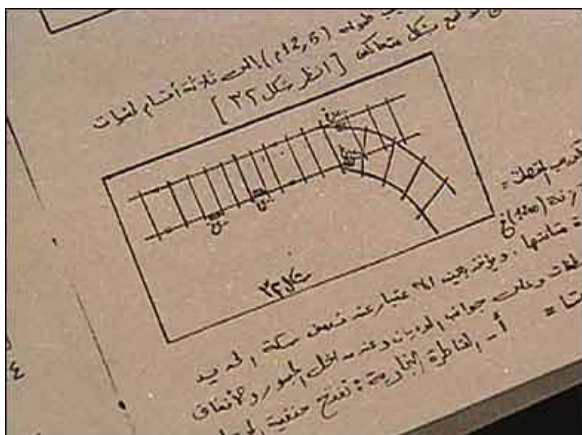


Fig 7.2 Læringsmaterieell fra al-Qa'idas opplæringsprogram som beskriver sabotasjeteknikker mot jernbanespor og broer (Kilde: CNN)

7.2 Brev og personlige notater

Enkelte dokumenter gir et visst innblikk i dagliglivet til al-Qa'ida-medlemmene (se figur 7.3)

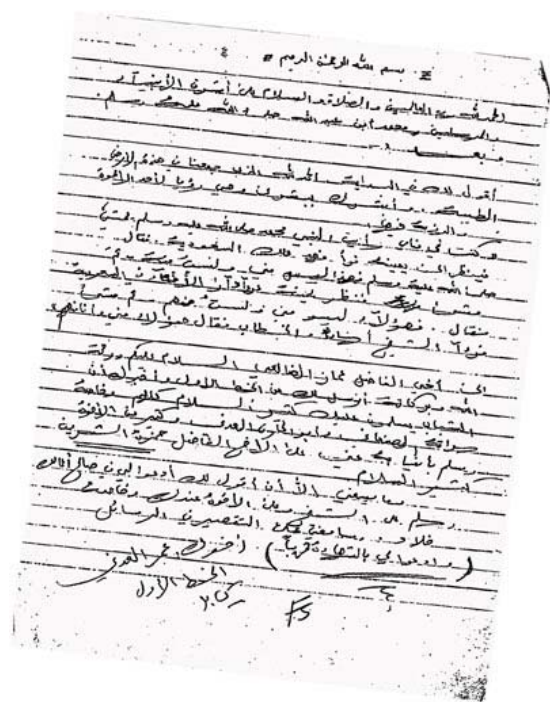


Fig 7.3 Et håndskrevet brev fra en al-Qa'ida-rekrutt som beskriver hvordan han i en drøm så Profeten Muhammad sammen med Shaykh Usama bin Ladin og martyrene. Han forteller at profeten sa: "de er av mine, og jeg er en av dem". Brevet ble funnet i et hus i Kabul (Kilde: New York Times)

Det foregikk også en viss kommunikasjon fra topp til bunn i organisasjonen (se figur 7.4)



Fig 7.4 Brev fra Usama bin Ladin. Brevet ber muslimer om å anerkjenne Mulla 'Umar som "de troendes leder" (Kilde: New York Times)

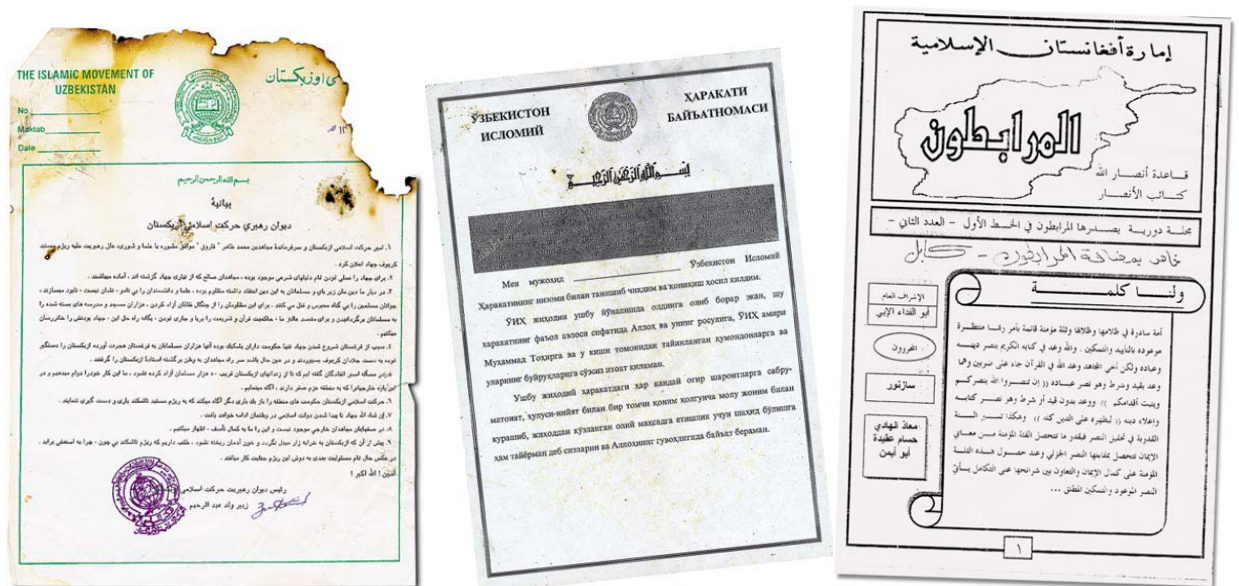
Al-Qa'ida-medlemmene ble også holdt løpende underrettet om nyhetsutviklingen på verdensbasis (se figur 7.5)



Fig 7.5 Dokumenter fra al-Qa'idas mediakontor. Fra høyre mot venstre: Utskrift fra BBCs arabiske hjemmesider - artikkelen omhandler offentliggjøringen av en av al-Qa'idas treningsvideoer; Forsiden av et sammendrag av nyheter plukket fra internett i mars 2001 (Kilde: New York Times)

7.3 Ideologi og rekruttering

Det manglet ikke på dokumenter som skulle vise rekruttene den rette ideologiske vei (se figur 7.6 og 7.7).



Figur 7.6 Fra venstre mot høyre: Jihad-erklæring utstedt av IMU; kontrakt for edsavleggelse til IMU; en utgave av *al-Murabitan*, en arabiskspråklig skriftserie utgitt i Kabul (Kilde: *New York Times*)



Figur 7.7 En kassett med islamske prekener, funnet i et hus i Kabul (Kilde: *New York Times*)

7.4 Våpenteknologi

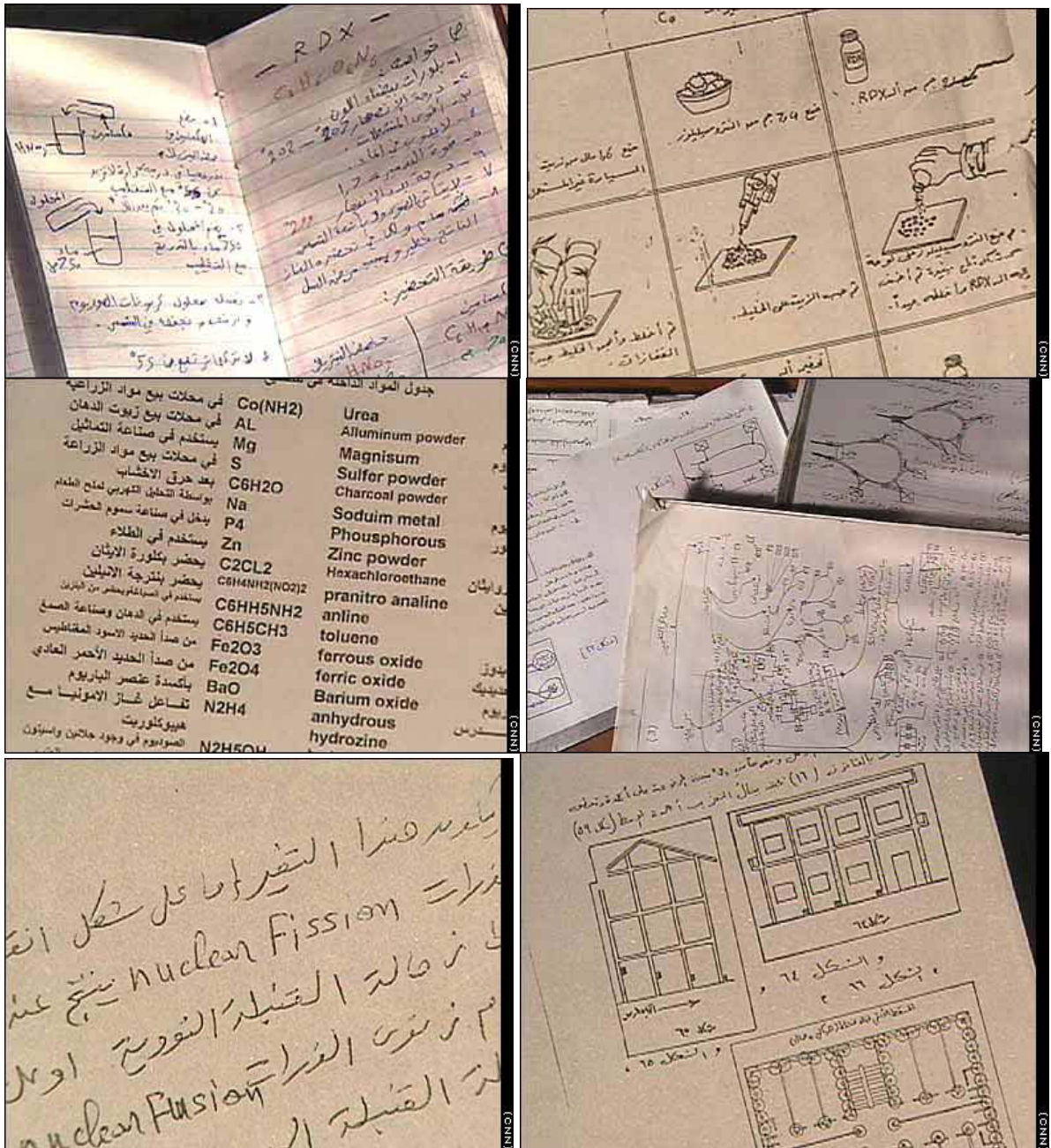
I lang tid før 11. september 2001 hadde det versert rykter om al-Qa'idas forsøk på å skaffe seg ikke-konvensjonelle midler. Det forelå imidlertid få håndfaste bevis for slike våpenprogrammer før materiale fra Afghanistan ble tilgjengelig. De aller viktigste offentliggjorte funnene på dette området ble gjort av *CNN* høsten 2001 og sommeren 2002.

I november 2001 rapporterte *CNN* at de hadde funnet en rekke urovekkende dokumenter i Afghanistan og i Pakistan som indikerte at al-Qa'ida hadde arbeidet mot å utvikle radiologiske og nukleære våpen.¹⁸⁷ *CNN* inngikk deretter et samarbeid med forskere ved det anerkjente *International Institute for Science and Security* (ISIS [sic]) for å undersøke disse dokumentene nærmere, og i Januar 2002 ble dette analysene av dette materialet tilgjengelig på internettssidene til ISIS (se figur 7.8).¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ <http://www.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0111/16/asb.00.html> ;

<http://www.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/asiapcf/central/11/16/ret.amanpour.otsc/index.html>

¹⁸⁸ www.isis-online.org ; <http://www.isis-online.org/publications/terrorism/cnnstory.html>



Figur 7.8 Bilder av noen av dokumentene som ble samlet inn av CNN-journalister høsten 2001 (Kilde: ISIS)

Sommeren 2002 gjorde CNN et enda større funn, da en journalist kjøpte 64 al-Qa'ida-relaterte videokassetter av en anonym kontakt i Afghanistan.¹⁸⁹ I begynnelsen av august 2002 sendte CNN en serie utdrag fra noen av disse filmene, blant annet opptak av eksperimenter med kjemiske midler på dyr.

¹⁸⁹ <http://europe.cnn.com/2002/US/08/19/terror.tape.chemical/index.html>

8 KONKLUSJON

Målet med denne rapporten har vært å gjøre det noe enklere å finne frem i informasjonsjungelen rundt Usama bin Ladin og al-Qa‘ida og dermed kritisk vurdere det tilgjengelige primærkildegrunnlaget. Rapporten gjør et forsøk på å bekrefte eller avkrefte autentisiteten av kildematerialet der det er mulig.

Forfatteren håper at denne samlingen vil gjøre det lettere å studere den kronologiske utviklingen av al-Qa‘idas ideologi og strategiske doktrine. Det gjenstår mye analysearbeid for å finne ut hvordan organisasjonen har utviklet seg gjennom 1990-tallet. Dette gjelder også forståelsen av de enkeltvise dokumentenes oppbygning, retorikk, bildebruk og sitatbruk.

Det som kommer klart frem av denne rapporten er at Usama bin Ladin og al-Qa‘ida har vært svært aktive på mediafronten, også før 11. september. Det fremkommer også helt tydelig at organisasjonen de siste årene har hatt en helt bevisst og gjennomtenkt mediestrategi.¹⁹⁰ Dette går klartest frem av de hyppige mediautspillene i etterkant av 11. september.

Denne rapporten har et klart forbedringspotensiale, spesielt når det gjelder å få oversikt over kilder om al-Qa‘ida og relaterte grupper på arabisk eller urdu. Dette vil kunne gjøres forholdsvis enkelt ved en mer systematisk bruk av databasene til *Foreign Broadcast Information Service* eller *BBC Monitoring Service*, samt ved en systematisk gjennomgang av nettsteder viet til radikal islamsk ideologi.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ En amerikansk historieprofessor sa til bladet *Time* i oktober 2001: ”Prior to Sept. 11, we did not realize that we were in a propaganda war, but we were”; ”The Battle for Hearts and Minds”, *Time*, 22. oktober 2001.

¹⁹¹ Det ligger mye ”ubehandlet materiale” på nettsteder som www.jehad.net, www.aljihad-online.has.it, www.alneda.com, www.almaqdese.com, www.aloswa.org, www.attawhid.com, www.sahwah.net, www.erhap.com, og www.h-alali.net. Se for øvrig Paz (2002b) for et innblikk i al-Qa‘ida-sympatisørers internett-aktiviteter våren 2002.

ORDLISTE

<i>ahl al-Sunna</i>	(lit. Folk av Sunna), de som forholder seg til Sunna, dvs. salafister
<i>(sg. hizb), ahzab</i>	Partier, fraksjoner
<i>'alim, pl. 'ulama'</i>	Skriftlærd
<i>allah akbar</i>	"Gud er stor"
<i>al-salam alaykum wa rahmat Allah</i>	"Fred og Guds barmhjertighet over deg"
<i>amir al-mu'minin</i>	"De rettroendes overhode" (= kalifen)
<i>al-ansar</i>	Følgesvennene (til Muhammad)
<i>(sg. wali) awliya'</i>	De som står gud nær, helgener
<i>da'wa</i>	Kall (til islam), forkynnelse
<i>du'at</i>	Forkynnere
<i>(sg. fasiq) fasiqun</i>	Syndere
<i>fatwa, pl. fatawa</i>	Juridisk erklæring
<i>fiqh</i>	Rettsvitenskap, vitenskapen om Shari'a
<i>hadith, pl. ahadith</i>	Fortelling om profeten Muhammad
<i>hajj</i>	Pilegrimsferd (til Mekka)
<i>halal</i>	Tillatt
<i>haram</i>	Forbudt
<i>hijra</i>	Utvandring, eksil; (Om årstall:) "etter utvandringen i 622"
<i>'Id al-Fitr</i>	Feiringen av fastens slutt
<i>iman</i>	Troen
<i>jahiliyya</i>	Før-islamisk tid, hedendom
<i>janna</i>	Himmelen (lit. "hagen")
<i>jihad</i>	Hellig krig (lit. "anstrengelse")
<i>(sg. kabira), kaba'ir</i>	Store synder (lit. "de store")
<i>kufir</i>	Vantro
<i>kafir, pl. kuffar/kafirun</i>	Vantro (person)
<i>la illah illa Allah / huwa</i>	"Der finnes ingen gud uten Allah / Ham"
<i>mujahid, pl. mujahidun</i>	En som utkjemper jihad, "hellig kriger"
<i>mu'min, pl. mu'mininun</i>	Rettroende
<i>murabit</i>	Utstasjonert
<i>mushrik</i>	Avgudsdyrker, hedning
<i>mustakbir</i>	Arrogant/hoverende person
<i>qibla</i>	Retning/orientering under bønn (= mot Mekka); NB: "den første qibla" = Jerusalem)
<i>Qur'an</i>	Koranen
<i>riba</i>	Rente
<i>sawab</i>	Korrekt, riktig, legitimt
<i>sekina</i>	Ro

<i>Shari'a</i>	Den islamske loven
<i>Shaytan</i>	Satan
<i>shura</i>	Rådslagning, konsultasjon
<i>sira</i>	Livsførsel, biografi
<i>Sunna</i>	(Profetens) tradisjon
<i>sura</i>	Kapittel i Koranen
<i>taghut</i>	Avgud, djevel, tyrann
<i>tawhid</i>	(Guds) enhet
<i>umma</i>	Det islamske felleskap
<i>yasiq</i>	Lovsystemet under mongolene
<i>zakat</i>	Almisse

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