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**The Five Letters
To: The African Corps**

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In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The African Corps – The First Letter

Praise to God, and prayers and peace upon the messenger of God.

Dear Brother Saif,

Greetings to you and to your dear family

Before I attempt to respond, I have just reread the latest letters I received from you. Despite your prodding, I postponed trying to answer for several weeks. There are many reasons for the delay. I was supposed to address the situation here, as well as comment on the contents of your two letters regarding what is happening where you are. Hence, it was more than just writing an ordinary letter. It required writing long books, which is just about what happened, once I finished a relatively lengthy letter about the situation here entitled “Basic Elements of the Jihad War in Tajikistan.” The first letter is essentially directed at the Tajik leadership, in addition to referring to the main issues of action here. Hence, it is somewhat involves writing a separate letter to you in this regard. I attached that memorandum with my letter so the brothers could look at it.

I also hope that we can meet somewhere, somehow, sometime to discuss the African and Asian facets of the situation, in order to advance our work within a common intercontinental perspective. This will open the way for the other continents to join the international jihad club.

Commenting on the contents of your two letters, we say, and God grants success, that if we can compare the work of jihad to a locomotive, its motive force is faith, and it moves on two steel rails, one being political, the other economic. The leadership oversees the entire course. Unfortunately, the track is not yet complete for fully-integrated jihad action. With respect to Al-Qa'eda, the main outlines of its activity indicate a chronic error regarding political guidance. This was the case with Al-Qa'eda in Afghanistan, and I believe that it continues in its new battleground in Somalia.

It appears to me that Al-Qa'eda's Salafia tendencies have led it to search for a political ally in Somalia with an identical intellectual focus.

This is the greatest calamity. I think you know my view in detail regarding the [U/I] tendencies and jihad, and my belief that it is impossible for successful jihad action to be led under [U/I] leadership [TC: These [U/I] s refer to a series of symbols in the text inserted automatically when the electronic text was converted after acquisition. They appear to refer to the same adjective, person, or organization.] This is not the place to go into detail on this topic, but I use that result to evaluate the capability of the Somali group with which you are working, the isolationism it is manifesting in the movement, and the lethargy of its reactions to events. I'll mention to you a discovery which is merely thousands of years old. This discovery states that a movement that is isolated from its masses, that is suspicious of its people, and whose people are suspicious of it, can achieve nothing but destroy itself.

Based on the scarce amount of information we have regarding the situation in Somalia, including the simple yet magnificent report issued by the director of the branch of the Islamic World League last June, it appears to me that

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Somalia needs a comprehensive national front that agrees on general, not detailed, Islamic slogans. That front must lead to an expanded national

government approved by the major forces in the country: tribes and political groupings. The slogan acceptable to all is “Somali Freedom and Islamism.” It is no secret to you that the United Nations is the legal cover and the international league of western Crusader forces led by the Jews. Thus, United Nations forces are a purely Crusader army. I do not believe I was very far off when I called them the Knights of the Cross. They lead the most arrogant Crusader campaign against Islam. Therefore, the most important need is to expel them from Somalia, even were a semi-Islamic, semi-democratic, semi-etc. government subsequently to assume power. Unfortunately, we are going to have to accept the least consequential individuals to avoid the most extreme. That is the situation. For your information, the Knights of the Cross are preparing to go into Afghanistan in cooperation with Rabbani, Hikmatyar, Mas’oud, and others with the objective of ending the jihad in Tajikistan and central Asia and ending the presence of Arabs involved in jihad in Afghanistan and the region.

Dear Sayf,

Maneuvering in the political arena is more dangerous, more urgent, and more essential than maneuvering in military operations. Can you conceive of military action without maneuvering or proceeding according to a phased plan? Jihad action in the manner of a rhinoceros is stupid and futile. By this I mean jihad action that only considers military action, nothing else.

When you entered Somalia, the Somali arena was barren and futile. The situation changed, however, after the intervention by America and the Knights of the Cross. You most resembled a hunter aiming his rifle at the dead branch of a tree, with no leaves or birds on it. Suddenly, a bald eagle lands on the branch of the tree, directly in line with the rifle. Shouldn't the hunter pull the trigger to kill the eagle or at least bloody it?

The American bald eagle has landed within range of our rifles. You can kill it or leave it permanently disfigured. If you do that, you will have saved Sudan, Yemen, Bab al-Mandab, the Red Sea, the Arabian Gulf, and the waters of the Nile. Could you want more magnificent objectives of war than those?

I don't think you are allowed to pull back now; to do so would be a crime.

Fire at the bald eagle. Kill the Knights of the Cross. God is with you. After faith, God's greatest blessing is the brain. Use it wisely; do not fight like a rhinoceros.

God strengthens his religion through the iniquitous man and people who have no morals. There is a saying of the Prophet on this issue. We have all seen this confirmed in actuality in Afghanistan in its war against the Soviets. Is there any objection to this being repeated in Somalia, too? Are Aideed, Mahdi, and Khartest any worse than Sayyaf, Hikmatyar, and Burhan?

Nearly everywhere your situation and ours has no place for the ideal; just for that which is the least bad. Hence, the issue is not the tendency of a Salafi, a Sufi, or a Muslim Brother. The issue is whether we are to be or not to be. Will we survive, or become extinct? Will an Islam survive that includes smoke and deception, or will unambiguous Christianity come in its stead?

In terms of the military aspect, your suggestions are excellent and totally appropriate. Place your bases in the mountains and move everywhere. Kill them where you catch them; expand urban terror; plant mines on the roads; use all the covert weapons of war from rumor, to strangulation, poisons, explosions, lightning attacks on small targets, and sniping. Be like mercury; do not allow them to pick you up, determine your location, or draw you into a military confrontation. Fill their space like air, present yet unseen. Believe me, they are the timbers of complex military machinery led by semi-humans and bastards. Their hearts are stone or even harsher. Their hearts are air. Even when able to, they have no mercy. Even when they promise, they betray. Their life is luxury. They have nothing beyond this world, so they are afraid of death. They fear believers the way believers fear God or even greater.

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The hour of their punishment is much nearer. The Byzantines will always be Byzantines; their punishment is near. This punishment will be by our hands where you are, where we are, and everywhere, God willing.

The principles of military action are well-known. Their application is a matter of skill, while their continuity is a matter of morale. With respect to morale, faith is foremost, but it is something that rises and falls. Our

successful military blows increase the faith of the Muslim public, but the reverse is true when the blows are unsuccessful. In sum, military action has to be used to raise morale, the incentive to fight, and to become embroiled in combat when necessary. In any event, the field command is best suited to determining the proper methods of action.

I learned from your letter that there are very few weapons or ammunition in the area. I recall that when the events began many weapons were readily available and cheap. Where did they go? They are in the process of incredible intentional disappearance and ruin, whether because of internal clashes or because they are being taken outside the country. The same thing is happening in Afghanistan to facilitate the mission of the Knights of the Cross. In Afghanistan, the Knights of the Cross will be from the Islamic countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Algeria, Morocco, Bangladesh, Syria, et cetera.

Financing is a problem that grows more serious every day with respect to the Muslims generally and Islamic action in particular. This should come as no surprise, since today the world's riches are totally in the hands of the Jews. They are determined to dry up our financial resources. I therefore ask that you discuss the letter entitled "The Problem of Financing Islamic Action" and let us know what your theoretical and practical views are. I believe the letter reached you earlier, but just in case we shall send you another. For your information, Abu Qatada al-Shar`i has authorized it.

The announcement by Boutros Boutros Boutros [sic] Ghali that the Cross Organization intends to stay two more years in Somalia reflects both weakness and malice. The group anticipated swift success and was surprised as the African swamp gradually swallowed it up. However, it will make every effort to conquer Somalia and destroy Islam there within the time frame it has established.

Despite the small amount of information available, the following solutions can be envisioned:

1. Political and military cooperation among all Somali groups opposed to the international occupation of their country and the formation of a national Islamic front to that end.
2. Formation of a temporary government for the country with an agenda containing:

- A. Expulsion of the foreign international presence.
 - B. Rebuilding of state institutions.
 - C. Establishment of domestic security.
 - D. Comprehensive national reconciliation.
 - E. Economic reform and combating famine.
3. An urgent military program. It would be best that it come from the National Grouping and be based on a division of responsibilities for military action throughout the entire country. A security-defensive strategy needs to be outlined that includes:
- A. Resistance to foreign presence and action to force it to withdraw.
 - B. Supervision of liberated areas and securing the lives, funds, and property of all members of the populace.

Each group would carry out its assignment under this program within its geographical area. This would be temporary until a unified defense force could be established.

It is only natural that the Muslims will be unable to come to terms over a unified program. How much more difficult it will be if the program is a comprehensive one. It will be useful, therefore, to set forth a program of action for the forces available to you and a political, military, and economic program. Based on what we hear about operations in Mogadishu, it is clear that those carrying them out are fully knowledgeable about the technical aspects of the action. The political effort is clearly there and effective. Likewise, the military effort is simple, effective, and inexpensive.

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The Somali leadership with whom you are dealing has recommended waiting for the arrival of the occupation forces and a misunderstanding to arise between them and the residents before intervening. Frankly, don't be angry, but only a coward or a scoundrel would say such a thing. I have no doubt that even Saddam Hussein, Aided, Arafat, Sayyaf, Hikmatyar, and Burhan have more manhood than they have. Like the latter, they are useless. Beware of them. You must find men you can deal with, even if they are not from our venerable forefathers—men having instinctive enthusiasm for Islam like al-Afghani [TC: 19th Century Islamic thinker and modernizer], but

if you can't do that, you must not get bogged down with scoundrels. In the aphorisms of olden days they said: "Do not befriend a scoundrel, and do not let one befriend you." Or as they said: "Beware wasting time, effort, money, and perhaps even blood with such people." Look for a group that is effective with respect to goals that are achievable on behalf of Muslims in this country. I do not mind cooperating with Aideed if you have made sure that what he is doing with the Americans is not staged and agreed beforehand as was the case with Ataturk, Abd al-Nasir, Hikmatyar, etc.

By the way, what they said reminds me of the plan of the commander of the popular resistance in al-Sharqia after the disaster of [blank] who offered his plan to the military command saying:

"When the Jews attack Tell Basta, let's allow them occupy the town. They will put up barbed wire; then we'll infiltrate by night and cut the wire. After that, we'll sneak into the storehouses and steal their tinned beef." I think your group is dreaming of the tinned beef that will accompany the occupation forces, the most important thing being that it be ritually butchered.

Dear Sayf,

I think a practical political program, an inexpensive military program, and an adequate economic program can be drafted. But we must not be satisfied with what is possible now; we must work to do better and seek greater perfection as activities develop. Assembly and massing of Somali forces were available to us. The crime now, however, would be to leave that arena because it has become a line of confrontation with the international forces of the cross.

If they take that position, a large and critical link in our Islamic positions in the area will collapse.

Dear Sayf,

God fed Quraysh to ward off hunger and provided faith against fear. Hunger and fear destroy the underpinnings of the human self and undermine pride. God lifted the spirits of those who had lost the sense of their humanity. This point has to be addressed before we ask people to do things they are

incapable of. If you wish to be obeyed, order that which can be done. Isn't that so?

The memorandum about the financing problem contains some detail regarding this point. But I remind you, and I remind myself, of the great Badr raid [TC: A successful early Islamic battle against the Quraysh tribe of Mecca], and how as the greatest raid in the history of Islam it proceeded on a base of faith and economy. The raid was aimed at the adversary's economy and financial arteries; at capturing them on behalf of the Muslims and denying them to the infidels. So, contemplate, consider, and then act. Act according to the traditions of our noble Messenger.

I'll draw your attention again to a noble tradition related to assassinating the leaders of infidelity and inciters of sedition. The killing of a single man could possibly save much blood threatened in a major battle. So, contemplate, consider, and then act. Act according to the traditions of God's Messenger. We know everything, yet we are a people who do not consider this to be an armed economic war, low in cost, great in return, and having a tremendous impact on the souls of believers and infidels alike.

Contemplate, young man, and according to the traditions of our noble Messenger, put into action the practical points contained in your second letter for dealing with the situation you have. They are simple, practical, and useful. There is no doubt but that you have such successful solutions as rightly-guided battlefield leadership. You must depend on God and initiate action in the confident belief that God will grant victory.

You will be victorious in your battlefield there; we will be victorious in our battlefield here. It will be a day wherein the believers will be joyous at God's granting victory.

Peace, mercy and blessings of Allah upon you

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Your uncle,

Abu al-Waleed

Jihad Wal

Thursday, 30 September 93

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Second Letter to the Africa Corps

Praise to God, and prayers and peace on the messenger of God.

Dear brothers and members in the Somali Africa Corps,

Peace, mercy and blessings of Allah upon you.

Following is a summary of the situation on the eastern edge of the land of Khorasan, called Tajikistan, where are found the signs of the Mahdi, black banners, and the signs of the anti-Christ and the evil army that follows him.

We will now discuss:

1. The internal situation
2. The regional situation
3. The international situation

Later we will discuss the activities of the Khorasan Corps and developments regarding its actions and projects.

I. The Internal Situation

A. With respect to the Nahdha movement:

This is a recently-formed missionary movement that became involved in a complicated jihad situation. The movement lacks leadership expertise having abilities adequate to dealing with this prodigious event. It also lacks the appropriate organizational structure for conditions of jihad.

Add to this the fact that the intellectual superstructure of the movement is the legacy left by the Muslim Brotherhood, even though elements of traditional Sufi thought were to be found in the folds of that Islamic alliance, and that politically it appears the movement allied itself with democratic tendencies of marginal value.

Tremendous challenges are facing the movement, as follows:

- Clearly defining and developing its intellectual line.
- Building its leadership structure.
- Building its organizational structure
- Confronting the challenges of jihad action militarily, politically, and economically.

B. The internal situation in Tajikistan

Tajikistan's policy is weak and stupid, centered socially on an extremely narrow tribal layer and a collapsed political layer, the survival of which is totally dependent on outside support coming from Russia, the United States, and Israel.

The Tajik province of Badakhshan revolted against the central government and cooperated with the mujahedeen. It represents [U/I] of the area of the country. Militarily, it is the strategic key to Tajikistan, indeed to the entire area.

Consequently, it can be said that the mujahedeen have won the battle strategically. They just have to first establish themselves in Badakhshan and then expand from there throughout the rest of the country.

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II. The Regional Situation

The most important components are:

- A. The situation in Russia
- B. The situation in the Commonwealth countries
- C. The situation in Afghanistan
- D. The situation in China

A. The Situation in Russia

This can be summarized in one word: chaos. There is chaos in the political situation and division between parliament and Yeltsin, which in reality is a division between the old communists and the supporters of joining with the

capitalist West. A division also exists between Russia's developed industrial north and its backward agricultural south.

The economic situation is in chaos. An economy that had been socialist was unable to convert to capitalism. It currently is in the stage of having no identity. Inflation is grinding the people and carrying them to the brink of overwhelming poverty.

Social chaos is the certain result of political and economic chaos, plus the chaos and collapse of values, the mixing of concepts, and the absence of confidence in any practice or anything else.

Military chaos is expressed in a general's letter to the parliament, in which he says that the Russian army now lacks leadership. This was a comment on what happened to the Russian border guard in Tajikistan during the famous Sari Ghar [phonetic] operation. The republics divided up the Army's weapons and forces and sold off whatever weapons, factories, experts, and secrets could be sold in an effort to obtain the almighty dollar.

This has been reflected in the current situation of the Russian army in Tajikistan where the Army is shrinking in a strangely negative manner, as follows:

- Along the border strip with China and Afghanistan
- In the capital Dushanbe
- In the protection of gold mines
- In the protection of uranium mines

It is bizarre that along the borders the Russian Army does not intervene in crossing operations by armed mujahedeen. It moves only when it is attacked. The Army is no longer active in the area of Tawil Durra near the gold mines. They have left the mission to the militias and the Uzbeks. The Commonwealth has a weak combined force.

B. The Situation in the Commonwealth Countries

The Commonwealth countries are suffering from the same problems as the Russians, but worse so. Russia is the political and economic backbone of those countries, but since Russia has been so far incapable of treating their intractable and increasingly exacerbated problems, America is planning,

indeed has actually begun, to fill the political vacuum occurring in the area. It is doing so in cooperation with NATO and using the United Nations umbrella when conditions allow. The Russians have strongly rejected such intervention, but they can do nothing to stop it. The crisis, however, is still at the stage of theoretical discussion. Based on the little information we have, it has not developed any further than Security Council intervention and European cooperation in resolving the dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan regarding the province of Nagorno Karabach. I think that is just the beginning.

American-European intervention in the region is expected to increase once the proper conditions exist, including:

1. Increased strength of the jihad movement in the Islamic areas of central Asia.
2. As Russia continues to be in crisis and weakens.

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Several months ago America offered military cooperation with NATO to the Russians to combat Islamic extremism in central Asia and so on. It is extremely important to take this into consideration when conducting long-range planning for jihad action in the region.

The Commonwealth countries are obviously negative regarding military intervention in Tajikistan. When it comes to implementation, their repeated statements result in nothing worthy of mention. Military reinforcements having any weight have so far failed to arrive in Tajikistan.

The Situation in Afghanistan

The true danger to Islam in central Asia comes from Kabul, not from Moscow. This may come as a shock to current Islamic sensitivities, but an analysis of events unfolding in Kabul, in particular, and in Afghanistan in general, indicates that this conclusion is correct. For example:

In the practical arena, all ideological assertions of the party leaderships have ended for good. As earlier, they have begun to practice the worst forms of narrow-minded political self-interest that serve only individual or tribal interests.

Party leaders are striving to exert hegemony over the Tajik movement, then haggle over and sell it politically in exchange for financial returns and local political gains in Kabul.

The most prominent contestants for swallowing the Tajikistanis are:

Mas'oud – He controls the highest proportion of immigrants and has provided arms and training.

Rabbani – Along with Mas'oud, he controls the highest proportion of immigrants and has provided funds.

Dostum – He controls [U/I] of the immigrants. He is being covered by international and regional support. He is prepared to sell the immigrant Tajikistanis and attack the mujahedeen the moment he is issued the orders.

Sayyaf has provided arms and perhaps funds.

Inasmuch as the aforementioned are the distinguished pupils of Pakistani intelligence and the obedient boys of American intelligence, they are pursuing with respect to the Tajikistanis the same methods pursued by Pakistan and America during the Afghan war. The most prominent of these is containment through assistance, followed by isolating political decision-making.

As President of the Republic, Burhan has nearly finished establishing the framework for a political resolution of the Tajik issue in cooperation with his well-known masters and the American United Nations. Moreover, he has empowered Russian forces to pursue the Tajikistanis within Afghan territories whenever necessary!

What is preventing implementation of the program to eliminate the Tajikistanis from Afghan territory and sell them internationally, along with those fundamentalist Arabs remaining in the region, is that Afghan society still has many obstacles needing to be addressed.

Afghan decision-making is still divided within itself politically.

Afghanistan still has armed jihad forces rejecting the project.

The punishment for being divided is that America has gathered in its hands most or all of the political strings affecting the Afghan arena, with the exception of Khalis, [TC: Mawlawi Khalis Muhammadi] as a person, not as a party, and with the exception of the Shi`ite groupings that Iran is manipulating to obtain American concessions, not just in Afghanistan, but in the Gulf and in Lebanon as well. The more dangerous obstacle is the presence of armed jihad forces with the addition of undisciplined tribal forces prepared only to take money from any source, the foremost being Satan himself, yet unprepared to obey any order except within the weakest confines and for a limited period of time. This danger is compounded by the tremendous amount of weaponry and combat expertise of those groupings, which terrifies any external force contemplating entering Afghanistan.

In summary, I envision the American program as follows:

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1. The civil war is an important element for overcoming Afghan obstacles. The Somali and Lebanese examples illustrate this because civil war destroys activist social elements and forces resisting foreign intervention. It also prepares the people to accept any foreign occupation that might rescue them from the ordeal of civil war. The warlords in Kabul are playing the same game the warlords in Lebanon played in exchange for foreign funding and assistance with arms and supplies. This game has to be expanded to the maximum extent possible if its goals are to be achieved.

2. So far, the civil war being managed by America in Kabul has not been able to expand to cover the entire country. So the candidate now is the game of general elections in Afghanistan, which will not only convey the civil war into all the provinces, but into every village and home. All of the contesting parties have agreed to the concept of general elections—Mas'oud, Hekmat, Rabbani, Sayyaf, and the royalists.

We do not know the position of the Shi`ites and Dostum. We do not think that they are not opposed as a tactical position [sic].

3. In the event the chaos and bloodbaths expand, wicked Boutros and his Knights of the Cross will intervene based on a request by the legitimate government in Kabul, supported by all the country's parties, so that forces

from the Islamic World Organization can enter to establish security and order, so that a constitution for the country can be drafted for choosing a permanent government to create an intelligence agency to create a police organization to return the Tajik immigrants to their country, to eliminate the center of terrorism in the country—the Tajikistanis and the Arabs—and to close the country's entry points to prevent suspicious individuals and fundamentalists from coming in illegally.

Accordingly, Afghanistan's borders with Pakistan and Tajikistan will be monitored to eliminate the dens of terrorism and extremism and the camps of the Arabs, Tajikistanis, and Kashmiris and to eliminate the local war criminals—the jihad forces opposing Boutros and Rabbani—disarm them, and put them on trial in New York, Switzerland, or elsewhere. Arrest the members of terrorism and international fundamentalism and put them on trial. [sic]

Fortunately, plans in Afghanistan usually fail or are carried out so poorly that they may lose their meaning. We have seen what happened to Soviet plans, then those of the Americans. Only certain parts of them succeeded, while other parts failed.

Tajik leadership has a unique opportunity to leap once again into Tajikistan and reduce its reliance on Afghanistan to the minimum, but it must be done covertly. Tajik Badakhshan offers an excellent alternative and strategic focus for successful jihad warfare.

C. The Situation in China

China enjoys political and economic stability, and according to western assessments it will become the number one power in the world in less than half a century. China is concentrating on building its own strength and is determined not to get involved in international or regional struggles, at least not until it has finished building itself up to the point that it has an irresistible impact on international affairs. Academic research conducted by esteemed American centers has been published that points to the importance of preventing any type of cooperation between China and the Islamic world.

Russia provides China with modern weapons in exchange for money and to have China look the other way with respect to central Asia.

America has also ignited an arms race in East Asia that China is gradually turning to, and it has developed India technologically, military, and in nuclear terms as an alternative to the West to destroy China or to confront and exhaust it when necessary.

Israel has established growing relations with China and facilitates its acquisition of funds and technology from the West in exchange for not seeking any form of cooperation with the Muslims, indeed in exchange for actually oppressing the Muslims of China in Singkiang province where petroleum has been found in greater amounts than in Saudi Arabia.

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After half a century China may become the number one power in the world, or at least one of the greatest giants.

This in itself constitutes one of the primary features of the future.

Likewise, Chinese relations with the Islamic world in general, and with the Islamic movement in central Asia, are a matter of the greatest importance to both parties and to the entire world.

Thus far, China's position with respect to events taking place on its frontier with Tajikistan, and in central Asia in general, has been completely negative, but this does not mean that China will also have that position in the future.

D. Activities of the Khorasan Corps

This Corps consists of 20 persons, or less!

They are deployed across a geographic area absolutely appropriate to their size. They are deployed between the two states of al-Farouq and Jihad Wal, then the Republic of Takhteh Bek, then Kunduz and Takhar, then Tajikistani Badakhshan. Of course, we cannot forget the land of hypocrisy in Peshawar. The activity of the corps is confined to two elements:

- a. Transporting weapons
- b. Training

Regarding the first element, which is the more advanced, the following has been accomplished:

- The Khost airfield has been repaired, with rooms for the administration.
- Two AN-32 [sic] aircraft with arms and ammunition have been shipped to Kunduz, approximately [TC: Number missing from text] tons.
- A large vehicle of arms and ammunition was shipped to Kunduz. The operation then stopped because Rabbani stopped paying. He is the financier of the shipping operation.
- We have about [TC: Number missing from text] of arms and ammunition in our stores here. None of the amounts in Jalalabad have left there yet.

With respect to the second element which is training:

- We have explained why training is impossible in the north in previous letters.
- Training in the south is taking place slowly and is highly costly. [TC: Number missing from text] trainees have gone through the initial course, of which [TC: Number missing from text] have left for the front. We now have [TC: Number missing from text] approximately persons and [TC: Number missing from text] more will soon arrive for the mountain and urban warfare course. [TC: Small section of text appears to be missing here] are not choosing the elements required following our terms, but the Nahdha group are expressing interest in providing reliable cadres for training with us.

The training project is designed to create a mountain brigade. The weapons and ammunition are nearly all on hand, except for certain non-essential items, however the training budget only provides a decent number of nice prayers! We are supposed to send that brigade, or at least two companies, onto the battlefield sometime around next May.

Then there is the problem of the budget to operate this brigade. As calculated by our brother Abu Kan`an, it is an amount we had best not mention in order to protect everyone's nerves.

Were general conditions around the world to remain as they are at the present time in Russia and Tajikistan, and were we able to place this brigade onto the battleground, there is a possibility that we could reach the gates of a

decisive victory within the same year, provided we temporarily ignore Russia's military presence, i.e. let it sleep on the frontiers and within the mines until we are done with the capital. However, we expect Uzbekistan to lop off the province of Khuqand and annex it with support from Moscow because the area is the most industrially developed and has uranium mines!

Stability is impossible, however, and the Russian situation may become even more critical. Should we succeed in introducing that brigade onto the battlefield and using it well, I would expect wicked Boutros to intervene in the area of operations in Afghanistan and Tajikistan in wintertime—with Islamic and western forces.

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To depict just how fragile the regime in Tajikistan actually is, we'll relate the following incident:

About ten days ago a number of Tajikistani groups that managed to infiltrate into the little town of Shahr Toz located on the Uzbekistani frontier and take it under control, even though most of the groups were unarmed and their original mission was sabotage only. However, the groups found there was no government in the town, took it over, and destroyed vital installations. Upon receiving no response from the government, they remain there as of this writing. Radio information has now come in to the effect that our reconnaissance mission that was supposed to go to Tajikistani Badakhshan went to take part in conquering this town!

Accordingly, our military program from now until the end of [TC: Text missing] can be summarized as follows:

1. Training, arming, and operating one mountain brigade.
2. Training and outfitting a number of urban deterrence groups [TC. The writer uses this term for urban guerrillas] to operate in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan during the year of [TC. Text missing].

The obstacles are as follows:

1. Scarcity of a training team
2. Lack of a budget for training or for operating the brigade

3. The turmoil in the Afghan swamp
4. The lack of an Arab military team to operate the brigade in the field.

Success is God's.

Your brother,

Hassan al-Tajiki
Jihad Wal
Saturday

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Third Letter to the Africa Corps

Praise be to God, and prayers and peace on the messenger of God.

Dear brothers, leaders and cadres of the Africa Corps

Peace, mercy and blessings of Allah upon you

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We congratulate you, ourselves, and all Muslims for that great victory in the land of Islamic Somalia. God has accepted your efforts from you and all those who toil and has placed them in your scale for the day of judgment. May he looks upon them generously.

Since the tenth month of last year I have been trying continuously to come to you, particularly after receiving the historic letter from brothers Abu `Ubayda and Abu Hafs. But God ordained otherwise, and what He wished was done. The harder I tried to travel, the more complicated matters became until I was surprised to find during my last attempt that I was wanted for security reasons. My name was listed at airports and passport departments in the venerable country of hypocrisy, Pakistan. I still have no idea of the reason for this close concern or what its source is. However, this is the reality of the situation. God suffices us and is wonderful to trust.

The most difficult aspect of the matter is that I am compelled to write what I had wanted to say directly to you in gatherings I believe would have

pleasurable, lengthy, and filled with the give and take of ideas, as was always our habit during the enchanting evenings in Afghanistan now passed. How I wish they could return!

Putting or cramming all of those topics into a letter is a very difficult matter, but the attempt must be made. This is our situation as we grapple with impossible difficulties. Our good opinion of God compels us to accept the challenge magnanimously, with a sporting spirit, and optimistically since God's support is one of our rewards.

We begin this letter after praying that God grant us success in arranging the topics and filling you with patience and comfort upon reading it.

First: Somalia

I would have liked to write on this subject unemotionally and somewhat objectively, were it not for my overwhelming desire to kiss the heads and hands of all those who took part in this action. Dear ones, this is a splendid victory and a unique experience that deserves recording, evaluation, derivation of lessons, and determination of courses of future action in light of its results. But was that what we did in Afghanistan, which was more profound, more comprehensive, and more critical? This was one of our major shortcomings, and how many they were!

I was not there for the experience, and I'm sorry to say I did not take part, but monitored it from a distance. Nonetheless, I will imagine it, draw conclusions, and indeed, offer advice, to myself first of all, and to you. This may not be rational, but unfortunately, that is what I will do in the following lines.

General observations on the operation:

1. The Africa Corps did not enter the Somali arena with a clear vision, specifically a strategic vision, either militarily or politically.
2. Likewise, Americans did not enter the Somali arena with a clear vision of the objectives of its presence. Moreover, its vision of East Africa and the Horn of Africa failed to crystallize. I believe that the buffoon Clinton was motivated by election considerations and a personal inclination toward

flamboyance, as if for a fleeting moment he believed the falsehood that he was the leader of the most powerful country in the world.

These are not just my words. Rather, this is the considered opinion of many inside America and abroad. What was the result? The result was that our amazing Corps was equal to America for the first time, but in a limited area—the area of darkness regarding a strategic vision. So how were our amazing Corps and its starving African Muslim allies able to be victorious over the greatest power in the world today?

This question is at the core of this topic. Indeed, it is the essence of our clash with the pagan west, whether under America's leadership today, or Europe tomorrow, or the Jews for ever and ever.

I believe the answer is found abundantly in our Islamic literature—from texts in the Koran, to the noble traditions of the Sunna, to the statements of the jurists. Therefore we necessarily know it because of religion. not be repeated. It is the same

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It need eternal story of the struggle between truth and falsehood repeating every time, although the form changes to conform to the circumstances of the age.

When we are truly fighting in the name and on behalf of God, we have nothing to fear, even were we to be fighting thousands of battles against the most arrogant power on earth, because the result is known in advance. In every case it will be in our favor.

This is the essence of our clash against falsehood—past, present, and future until God comes to inherit the earth and all those on it.

Were we to forget this shining truth for a single second, we will most certainly be destroyed.

3. Let us return again to our beloved Corps. What was it doing in Somalia before America and the West arrived? It is true that it took part in achieving a brilliant victory over the Americans, but that was not part of its original objectives. It was an anomaly made imperative by subsequent events. Has

the Corps forgotten the objectives it started with, or will it resume them once the American tempest is over?

4. The Muslim victory in Somalia over the America has profound implications ideologically, politically, and psychologically that will require lengthy studies. You have the duty to record notes about these implications and keep them until it is time to study them in depth. Just the same, there is an important observation that we must not ignore, which is that the Americans were not defeated militarily in Somalia. Effective human and economic losses were not inflicted on them. All that happened was that the Somali battle revealed many of their psychological, political, and perhaps military weaknesses.

5. The Somali experience confirmed the spurious nature of American power and that it has not recovered from the Vietnam complex. It fears getting bogged down in a real war that would reveal its psychological collapse at the level of personnel and leadership. Since Vietnam America has been seeking easy battles that are completely guaranteed. It entered into a shameful series of adventures on the island of Grenada, then Panama, then bombing Libya, and then the Gulf War farce, which was the greatest military, political, and ideological swindle in history. The outcomes were 100 percent guaranteed. Even so, the Americans brought with them forces from 30 countries to take the blows on their behalf, should events not turn out the way they were supposed to. In the end, the Arabs, the Europeans, and Japan paid the costs of the war, plus fees!

America wanted to continue this series of farces. It assumed that Somalia was an appropriate space for another ridiculous act. But the Muslims were there—so the great disaster occurred. They fled in panic before their true capabilities could be exposed.

6. In Mogadishu and Beirut, urban deterrence operations caused the American forces to flee in a shameful and humiliating manner. Doesn't this demonstrate the importance of this type of warfare and the need to develop our warfare capabilities in terms of personnel, training syllabi, equipment being used, its level of technological advancement, development of security syllabi, development of security procedures, and training of competent elements for the security field.

On the subject of security, it should be noted that the enemy's greatest effort to pursue and eliminate Islamic action has become so dependent on his security agencies that the military apparatus is gradually being transformed into something resembling advanced Central Security. Doesn't this make it essential that we upgrade our security studies, institutions, and practices? Or should we leave the enemy with a free hand regarding espionage and sabotage activity against Islamic action, without any real deterrent on our part, whether awareness precautions or counter-penetration and deterrence operations. Likewise, here we also need a study of the experience of urban deterrence groups, the Somali experience, another study of the guerrilla warfare brigades prepared in advance, and an evaluation of that experience and its results with commentary. We intend to enter this experience in the future, God willing, but our circumstances here demand certain changes. It is important that we review the results of the experience before we undertake it.

7. There is an important military rule that states that victory must be exploited. When the enemy abandons the battleground, he must not be allowed to flee. He must be pursued from one position to the next until rooted out. This is what the Muslims did at the dawn of Islam when they began the jihad against the Persians and the Byzantines.

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The war against the Persians began in southern Iraq and progressed from one victory to the next until any Persian capability was completely eliminated. The end came at battles beyond the Jayhun River [TC. The Arabic name of the Amu Darya]. With respect to the Byzantines, and our perpetual battles with them, the early Muslims made progress in successive victories over them until they were expelled from Syria and North Africa. The struggle continued for several centuries until Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Romanic people, was conquered, and so on.

Now, what have you done to exploit the victory in Somalia and develop the battle against the Byzantines? I fear that you will repeat the crime that was committed in Afghanistan when we allowed the Russians to withdraw in safety, while the Afghans were preoccupied with civil strife in Kabul. We were preoccupied with civil strife in Peshawar, followed by a disorganized flight to we knew not where. The rule says that if you have failed to pursue the enemy once he flees, he will catch his breath, reorganize his ranks,

launch a counter-attack, and regain what he lost and maybe even more. The Byzantines are the quickest people to reassemble themselves following defeat, as `Amr ibn al-`Ass attested, God rest his soul.

8. Your early arrival on Somali soil ahead of the enemy America gave you an excellent opportunity to gain advance knowledge of the battleground and prepare in advance the implements of combat in terms of personnel and weaponry, and understand the conditions of the social and political situation. Early arrival at the battleground and readying it for combat offers an important advantage to ensure superiority over the enemy. This is also one of the advantages of the ambush. Can we say that this is one of the practical applications of the following noble saying of the Prophet: “My nation is blessed for its earliness?” The question is directed at religious scholars.

7. [sic] One victory may generate additional victories because it raises morale and offers an incentive to action, but it may lead to defeat if a sense of delusion and indifference sets in. A defeat can lead to additional defeats because it destroys morale and creates despair. Yet it can lead to great victories if the causes are analyzed and the lessons learned are used in a future successful action. What are the advantages and faults revealed by the Somali campaign in the ranks of the Africa Corps? The success or failure of future campaigns will depend on the precise answer to this question and how it is exploited in practice.

8. The essential advantage of the Africa Corps is that it is a storehouse of intensive military expertise in guerrilla warfare. This is the most critical aspect of the matter. It is the thickest truncheon in our arsenal and must be developed skillfully and wisely.

Muslims now and in the future have an acute need for that tool. Hence the Corps, with its expertise, trainers, and cadres, will constitute a successful Islamic arsenal in the severe confrontation with the pagan tyranny of the Jewish West. Be fully aware of this.

9. Your Afghani heritage and African victory have increased your value tremendously. Have you thought about this and prepared yourselves for the coming stage at your current value, which is radically different from your value before the Somali campaign? Without engaging in delusion, the Corps today has international value, credibility, and effectiveness that must be noted and evaluated with objectivity and neutrality so that it can be used for

the general Islamic good. The Corps must avoid sectarian and individual convulsions. Any error in evaluation, taking advantage, or development of the Corps will be a crime against our suffering nation and a betrayal of the trust that rests in our hands and will pass on to others in the future. Be careful. Be careful.

The Somali operation confirmed an important and correct military principle at the tactical and strategic levels, which is the sensitivity and critical nature of action on the flanks. Most battles, if not all, are won or lost in operations on the adversary's flanks. If we go back to the beginning of the Crusader wars, the reasons for their failure are that they tried to strike at the centers of Islam in Syria, Egypt, and the Arabian Peninsula. However when they began via what were called "geographical discoveries" to encircle the Islamic world with military centers on its periphery, then brought under control the international waterways, then began lopping off the remote parts piece by piece, they succeeded in finally reaching the heartland. They now fully control it, including the religious sanctuaries in the Peninsula and Palestine.

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Here once again I remind you of one of your fatal mistakes, which is the quick changing of strategic targets, whereby now every action is tactical and improvised. Despite whatever success some of these operations may have had, the general line of the march is lost, loses its direction, and possibly loses all of its accomplishments. This is an oppressive burden on our unfortunate nation.

I remind you that before you abandoned the Asian position under the slogan that you were going to work in the heartland region—the Arab region—you had totally rejected the concept of movement on the flanks claiming that the battle would be decided in the heartland. Indeed, you went so far as to lose hope in these foreigners, but now you say you have accomplished a strategic gain. Where? In Somalia? Where is Somalia? Is it not on the southern flank of the Arab world?

Consider this well, my dear friends. You went to work in the heartland, yet got involved in the southern flank where you achieved a brilliant victory that could only have been achieved on the flank. Meanwhile, the sick heartland remains ailing and suffering. You went to Somalia to assist the Somali

Salafia in its fight against Somali communism. The nature of the battle changed suddenly to an all-out Islamic battle against international infidelity. What happened? The West was defeated and fled Somalia, leaving pockets of the armies of infidelity and apostasy under the banner of the American United Nations.

The original problem that you went to address still exists. What happened to the Somali Salafia and where is it now? What is its stance? What is the role of Somali Marxism? What is your strategic objective in this complicated arena? How much of your original objective have you accomplished? Did you suddenly go to Somalia and then suddenly withdraw, as happened in Afghanistan, without accomplishing any clear objective or follow up the victory and benefit from it to accomplish additional victories?

In summary:

1. Set out a well-studied, clear, fixed strategic program and follow-up with determined action.
2. Do not leave Somalia the way you left Afghanistan. Plant firm pillars there and go on working in an adjacent or nearby geographical field in preparation for a battle in which you will wrest away from the adversary additional retreats on the flanks.
3. Continue active work in guerrilla warfare on the adversary's flanks—training, organizing, and planning—followed by very tenacious close battlefield supervision.
4. Your role in the heartland must have a clear and firm framework for a sufficient period of time that an obvious change in the balance of power occurs in the heartland area and the hour of preparation for the decisive battles arrives. This stage does not appear to be close at hand. Right now I suggest that you be satisfied with providing the following services to the mujahedeen in the heartland:

Training, both practical and theoretical; technical guidance and consultation; efforts to establish some type of joint coordination among the Arab jihad sectors and get beyond the phase of national jihad and ignore the Sykes-Picot boundaries, in the sense that all of North Africa is good as a single theater of operations. Likewise, Egypt, Libya, and Sudan are good as a

single theater of operations. The entire Arabian Peninsula can serve as a single theater of operations or as two, one being Yemen and Oman, the second being the rest of the Peninsula, and so on.

This, of course, is over the long term, but we can gradually work towards that goal. We can begin by providing some type of service exchange in technical matters at first, then financial matters, then tactical operations, and finally general strategic planning. We must keep completely away from any attempt at organizational merger for the reason that the practical experience of Muslims tells us that every attempt at merger causes numerous divisions and splits. So the attempts to merge must end. We have to be satisfied with coordination in practical fields. In and of itself, this will lay the proper groundwork for organizational unity in the distant future, or until God wills that the Mahdi appear.

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I am unable to provide a detailed program for development, but I would suggest two axes for developing action in the coming phase. They are:

1. The African axis, centered in Sudan – the Africa Corps
2. The Asian axis, centered in Afghanistan – the Asian Corps

I believe that the most suitable strategy governing joint action on these two axes is the concept of: “Operating on the enemy’s flanks with the objective of making progress in his areas of weakness, while providing whatever services are possible to mujahedeen in the heartland.”

Successes in Afghanistan and Somalia confirm the correctness of this approach. These are successes that can be developed to incredible proportions if we behave properly and if we make the best use of the scant resources we have available to us. Both corps must be strengthened and reorganized in order to perform more effectively. In my view, following the Somali operation the African Corps needs to reorganize these important elements: put its financial situation in order, reconsider its organizational situation, gently begin to build an underground political structure, and begin to establish a simple informational presence and an underground center.

The Asian Corps needs to make a greater effort. Its present situation is not much beyond the zero point. All we need to know is that it only has five

full-time personnel. The number of cadres cooperating with it from abroad is also five. Its financial situation is even worse than its organizational situation, and despite that it is working full bore to send the Corps onto the battleground within a month from now!

The Asian Corps suffers from the negative effects of sedition in Kabul that followed the conquest, the negative effects of disorganized evacuation and removal of the Arabs from the area, the negative effects of international pursuit of the Arabs in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and elsewhere, the negative effects of the Islamic shock at what happened in Afghanistan after the conquest, and the severe collapse, psychologically and in terms of morale, and Islamic withdrawal from the region and everything in it that it left behind. The young men here have picked up a pretty good amount of the effects of that psychological frustration.

Hence, the problems impeding the development of the Asian Corps can be summarized as follows:

- A problem of psychological morale resulting from the effects of the Afghan disaster.
- An organization problem because of the lack of an organizational framework and the scarcity of cadres.
- A financial problem of pittance contributions.
- The Afghan sedition.
- Pakistani pursuit.

Nonetheless, overcoming those obstacles and creating a real Corps qualified to perform its role is not an impossible operation.

In general, the potential for success in the region are beyond splendid. I hope that an independent discussion covering this aspect will take place.

In order to stabilize the conditions of the Asian Corps and upgrade its capabilities, we make the following overall recommendations:

1. Attach the Corps organizationally and financially to the Africa Corps and provide it with a fully integrated group for military training and another group to support military action in Tajikistan in the area of planning and battlefield direction.

2. The aforementioned support is the minimum, but it is sufficient under the current circumstances and perhaps for years ahead. This has several advantages:

- It keeps expenditures at the minimum.
- It reduces friction with the Pakistani and Afghan community to the minimum.

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- It is simple to administer and control.

3. Both Corps must enjoy great ability to act individually in a flexible decentralized fashion committed to the application of general strategic objectives.

4. The leadership of each Corps must set out its own tactical plan and plans for developing action in its area.

Other advantages of the foregoing recommendations are as follows:

They bring about jihad action having a unified strategic vision on two geopolitically critical flanks: a) the eastern flank of the Islamic world in central Asia, and b) the southern flank of the Arab world.

Both flanks are distinctive for being relatively relaxed, capable of deep penetration, and providing scope for jihad and armed opposition unanticipated by the adversary yet able to greatly affect his balance and cohesiveness. Moreover, such action constitutes application of the indirect approach strategy that is more appropriate for us in our current situation. The ultimate goal is to bring about conditions that will lead to reconquest of the Arab region through simultaneous external and internal jihad action.

Second: The Southern Arabian Peninsula

In the last few days fighting has broken out in Yemen—north and south. [TC: May 1994] I can imagine the state of tension and awareness you are in. How I wish I could be with you taking part in those stimulating discussions as the winds of paradise blow and the swords of jihad clash. Wouldn't it be

great if that sacred melody were coming from the southern part of our Arabian peninsula?

Once again the Yemen file is being opened for jihad after a wait of several years following the passing of one opportunity that had seemed suitable. Now a new opportunity has appeared on the horizon. How suitable will it be for a new Islamic thrust, albeit limited in scope and results? It may not be possible for us to make Yemen leap from its present situation into a fully-integrated Islamic status through military jihad action. I believe this is not possible, not in Yemen nor anywhere else. However, the alternative is not to stop the jihad but to carry out a phased advance through continuous jihad battles. As we push the enemy backward, we will gradually advance toward a position that presents us with a decisive and final battle at some time in the future.

There is nothing like the flanks, extremities, and fragile areas for accomplishing those jihad policies. Yemen is without doubt a fragile area, as is Afghanistan, central Asia, and other areas at the margins of the continents suffering from political, economic, and ideological disintegration.

I am imagining myself among you, inciting you towards Yemen. Why?

Let us at least scare the Jews and America and inflict real fright on them such as they have not seen this century. Is this exaggerated? I do not think so for the following reasons:

From the American perspective the Arabian Peninsula is a region of vital interests, namely petroleum. There can be no doubt that America and the West are prepared to enter into a war on behalf of oil.

From the Jewish-Crusader perspective the Arabian Peninsula is the center of Islamic threat. They are prepared to enter into a war should an Islamic threat appear in the Peninsula.

What would happen if we posed both an Islamic threat and a petroleum threat? Can this be done on the basis of the Yemeni fighting currently taking place?

I believe that with God's help and with a bit of effort it can. We have nothing to lose because the Peninsula is in their hands, petroleum is in their hands, Palestine is in their hands, and the entire world is in their hands.

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Any attack we make against them can only carry gains for Islam, God willing. We cannot lose anymore than we have already actually lost.

Islam is surrounded and pursued in the Arabian Peninsula itself. Its riches have been plundered and no one can demand them back.

If we take advantage of them, the events in Yemen:

- Can restore a feeling of pride in Islam to the population of the Peninsula.
- Can crystallize new objectives for Islamic action for the population of the Peninsula.
- Can be the beginning of an Islamic jihad program with excellent opportunities for progress on the shaky soil of Yemen. Any Islamic progress in Yemen is certain to be a serious threat to the Jews and the Crusaders in the entire Peninsula and in Greater Syria, i.e. in the Islamic heartland.

The events in Yemen provide an auspicious opportunity for declaring jihad in the Arabian Peninsula. The time may be right to announce an "Islamic Jihad Grouping" with these objectives:

- To rid the Peninsula of Jewish and Crusader influence.
- To rid the Peninsula of communism, secularism, and atheism.
- To restore God's rule to the Peninsula and make it a purely Islamic place once again: "Let no two religions come together in the Arabian Peninsula." **[TC: Statement attributed to the Prophet Muhammad]**

This "Islamic Grouping" would announce itself and begin its operations on Yemeni soil by declaring a jihad against communism and atheism in Yemen to purify it and restore it to God's path.

This Grouping would begin a concentrated propaganda attack over its radio stations in Yemen and Somalia against the Jewish-Crusader presence on the

soil of the Arabian Peninsula, whether military, economic, or political. The population of the Peninsula would demand to carry out their legal duty to combat this presence, cleanse the soil of the Peninsula, and restore God's path throughout all parts of it.

Over the radio the Grouping would demand:

- The evacuation of all Crusader and Jewish infidel forces from Peninsula soil.
- Restoration of the Peninsula to a life of simplicity and a boycott of the life of opulence and the Western lifestyle as an essential step towards breaking off economic dependency on the infidel states in the West.
- Destruction of the churches and Jewish and Buddhist temples throughout the Peninsula.
- Warn all those who defend the infidel presence in the Peninsula that they will be treated as apostates.
- Restoration of the wealth and property of Muslims, petroleum first and foremost, and its disposition in accordance with the provisions of Islamic law.
- Halt all transactions involving interest and recovery of balances from Western banks for investment in Muslim countries.

The events in Yemen could be the true beginning of infusing a spirit of jihad in the Arabian Peninsula and confrontation of the Jewish project in the region with an Islamic project flowing from the cradle of Islam. We do not expect sudden decisive changes; such knowledge is God's alone. We are seeking to revive that spirit of the call and combat together in the Yemeni arena, which has human, geographic, and political advantages unhidden to anyone.

Were we able, using Muslim youth in the Peninsula, to direct deterrent blows through martyrdom operations against Jews and Christians in the Peninsula, that would certainly be an important introduction to the

transformation of the course of Islamic jihad and Islamic trends for the Arabs in the Peninsula.

Jihad radio stations operating in Yemen and Somalia will have a more powerful effect on them than nuclear bombs. Jihad operations in Yemen against communism will give jihad action in the Peninsula credibility and effectiveness.

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Martyrdom operations on the soil of the Peninsula against Christians and Jews will arouse the Arab Islamic spirit the world knows and history keeps in its records of the past.

In my estimation, just several dozen young men like Shafiq and Sakhri would be more than enough to make matters right and discipline or expunge most of the Jewish, Christian, and apostate braggadocio from the soil of the Peninsula.

During the jihad in Yemen, such people can be prepared through training camps and expertise gained in battles.

Combat in Yemen must not be left to become simply tribal fighting or the settling of political scores between those competing to rule. The Islamic Grouping we seek must raise the banner of jihad. It must work using military and religious means to drive out the cultural and political presence of communism in Yemen. That effort on Yemeni soil will prepare the Peninsula and awake it militarily and religiously to throw the Crusader-Jewish incubus and their beliefs out of that land.

The situation in the rest of the Peninsula will heat up over the fires of jihad in Yemen. The longer there is a confrontation in Yemen and the more successful it is for the Muslims, the higher the Islamic temperature in the rest of the Peninsula will be and the more jihad battles will break out.

As the fragile southern end of the Arabian Peninsula, Yemen provides an excellent location for establishing Islamic jihad positions in the mountains to threaten the heartland and arouse terror in the hearts of the Jews and Christians in the fear that Islam is coming from the soil of the Peninsula, the

cradle of Islam, and out of concern for petroleum, the lifeline, wealth, and strength of the Christian West.

[TC: The text of the above letter is broken at this point, but resumes after the closing of the letter below.]

Letter Regarding the Tajikistani Negotiations

A letter of inquiry sent to the ambassador of the Furqan Project in Kunduz, Abu al-Hussein al-Misri, following the negotiations that recently took place between the Nahdha Party and the Dushanbe government.

Dear brother Abu al-Hussein,

Peace upon you and the mercy and blessings of God. After praising God and seeking prayer and peace for the Messenger of God, we pray God that you and all the brothers with you are well and healthy. To save time, we wish to say that we have a complete picture of the position of the Nahdha Party regarding the negotiations between Teheran and Moscow over a political settlement. Generally speaking, the firm position of the party was as follows:

They are demanding that Russian forces be kept in Tajikistan in cooperation with United Nations forces to oversee the procedures for a political settlement within the country. These procedures include:

1. Disarming both disputing parties—Nahdha and the Dushanbe government.
2. A general referendum to establish the country's system of government.
3. Prior to that, of course, supervision of the return of the émigrés.
4. Election of a parliament; establishing a constitution; selection of a head of state.

We have also learned that the negotiations failed because of procedural conflicts related to the level of official representation in the negotiations, especially from the side of the Dushanbe government, which sent two negotiators below the level appropriate to the delegation sent by Nahdha.

The stance of the Dushanbe government was as follows:

1. Not to touch the system of government.
2. Work to have the émigrés return to their homes.
3. General amnesty for those involved in bearing arms against the state.

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Despite the fact that the negotiations failed, or more correctly never began since each party only presented its point of view, we have heard that a committee was formed consisting of the Nahdha Party, the Dushanbe government, and the United Nations with the goal of conducting a census of the Tajikistani émigrés. This is the only practical measure that we have heard about in preparation for the proposals for a settlement which are unknown.

This is a summary of what we have learned about the political progress toward a settlement. We have a few comments in this regard:

First: The Nahdha Party has relinquished the Islamic identity of the Tajikistani cause and has converted it to merely a dispute over power between the opposition and the government.

The Nahdha Party has thereby relinquished its most powerful weapon and receiving nothing in exchange. It can now be said that the Nahdha Party lost the war in Tajikistan, even if some of their leaders were to receive some seats in any future parliament or government. Moreover, at the end of the day any military confrontation by Nahdha will be doomed to failure.

Second: Nahdha has recognized the legitimacy of the Russian presence on Tajikistani territory. This is a position that is not acceptable in either Islamic or nationalist terms.

Third: Nahdha has recognized the Russian right to military oversight of the organization of the future political situation in Tajikistan. As a consequence, this situation will be unable to escape the framework of serving Russian interests and total affiliation with Russia.

Fourth: It has requested United Nations intervention and to have the Russian forces operate under its banner. This is another gift from Nahdha to the Russians. Thus Russia's army of occupation represents "international legitimacy," thereby weakening the position of the mujahedeen politically.

Fifth: Nahdha placed its Islamic association in doubt when it demanded a referendum on the type of system of government. At the same time the Dushanbe government proudly established its communist identity for once and for all when it refused even to discuss a change in the type of regime.

Thus, while Nahdha relinquished its ideological identity, the Communists held on to theirs.

Sixth: The agreement to surrender weapons to the Russian Army is a positive admission of the relinquishment of Islamic identity, affirms the legitimacy of the Russian occupation of the country, and affirms the legitimacy of Russian guardianship and hegemony over the land and people of Tajikistan, to say nothing of its betrayal of jihad and the mujahedeen.

Seventh: Surrender of weapons by both parties, Nahdha and the Dushanbe government, leaves just one party in Tajikistan armed, organized, and capable of imposing its will fully and unopposed, namely the Russians.

Eighth: The Nahdha vision of the future political situation in the country can be summarized as merely offering an Islamic face to rule the country in Russia's interest, instead of its old and no longer desirable communist face.

Ninth: Formation of a committee to conduct a census of the émigrés means that the government's vision of a settlement is on its way to implementation. The practical steps with respect to the émigrés conform to the government's view that the essential nature of the regime is not open to discussion.

However, Nahdha should have insisted on changing the regime before making the effort to resolve the problem of the émigrés or even to discuss it.

Tenth: Nahdha has ignored the fact that the United Nations is an organization that expresses the interests of the colonial West, headed by the United States, that it is an original party in the West's battles against Islam, that the Jews control most of its operating agencies, and that the basic mission of that organization in the current international situation is to lay traps for Islam and the Muslims.

Eleventh: As with all failed negotiations, the enemy has benefited and had its legitimacy confirmed, whereas Nahdha has given up its legitimacy and

lost its credibility. It is going to suffer from internal division and perhaps an organizational split. This is how the enemy achieved through politics what it would have found impossible to achieve through war. This is what they call “victory without war.”

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Nahdha abandoned in advance its primary and singular weapon, which is its ideological weapon. What was the result? Naturally, the communists did not pay the price of the goods they were given by the foe. They made no concession to the Nahdha Party which conceded everything when it relinquished its Islamic identity. Now that Nahdha realizes the predicament into which it has fallen having relinquished everything for nothing, it has again come back demanding jihad and raising weapons. What does this mean?

What it means is that Nahdha, like any opportunistic political grouping, is attempting to exploit the Islamic card to make minor gains by threatening its foe with the sword of Islamic jihad, as Saddam did when he became enmeshed in the Kuwait war. Such Islamic tendencies are not so much an expression of true adherence to Islam as they are taking political advantage of Islam and exploiting the enthusiasm and sacrifice of Muslims to obtain a few seats in a government or parliament.

Nahdha’s latest political experiment has caused it to lose its credibility in terms of Islam and jihad, and its ideological concessions do not allow Muslim to fight on its side.

If Nahdha continues in this manner, it can only be defeated. Without Islam, weapons are of no use. On the heels of such damage, the march is difficult to fix but not impossible. The process of repair will require strength and determination in an amount equal to the gravity of the deviance that occurred. I believe that the following measures will accomplish what is required:

1. An official declaration of a halt to all political contacts.
2. Retraction of all proposals Nahdha submitted during previous contacts.
3. An announcement of the Islamic identity of the movement and the Islamic future of the country.
4. A demand for the immediate withdrawal of Russian forces.

5. An announcement that any foreign forces on Tajikistani soil shall be considered hostile forces, regardless of their source.
6. Isolation of the members of the previous negotiating delegation or assigning them to marginal tasks.
7. Appointment of a foreign relations official—Minister of Foreign Affairs—and an official spokesman for the movement who is a well-known warrior.
8. Rejection of the return of the émigrés until the current regime has been overthrown and replaced by a regime with an Islamic tendency.
9. Entry of first line leadership onto the battleground and initiation of their tasks from there.
10. Declaration of the material and moral protection and defense of Tajik émigrés in every possible way against any attempt to force them to return to their country against their will in light of the current communist regime.
11. Cutting off any cooperation with the United Nations or allowing them to participate in determining the political future of the country.
12. Considering the issue of émigrés to be a secondary issue that can only be resolved at its roots by overthrowing the communist regime, the original cause of the tragedy inflicted upon the émigrés and the entire Tajikistani people.

The brothers here are of the opinion that cooperation can not be continued with the Nahdha movement in view of its current deviance which is a violation of Islam. However, once this defect in the march has been corrected and the march has returned to the truth, we will not delay in carrying out our Islamic duty of jihad on God's behalf.

Therefore we ask you to look deeply into the matter with Mr. Abdullah Nuri and inform him of that letter or discuss it with him. We appeal to God to give you, us, and all Muslims success in that which is loved and satisfying to Him, so that we become aware that He hears and answers prayers. Peace be upon you and God's mercy and blessings.

Your brother Abu al-Walid

Date: [Text garbled]

[TC: The text that follows is a continuation of the letter interrupted at page 34.]

Third: Tajikistan

Perhaps you have read the accompanying letter full of questions which explains the current predicament between us and the Nahdha Party, indeed the internal predicament within Nahdha as an organization. [TC: Presumably he is referring to the immediately preceding letter.] Perhaps also, from our earlier letters several months ago, you are aware of our view of the Nahdha Party and that it is unsuited for the mission facing it, or in which it is bogged down, in terms of leadership, organization, and thought. So there is no need to repeat it.

In earlier letters we also explained to you that the basic danger to Islam in central Asia comes from Kabul, not from Moscow or Washington because Afghan political forces—the parties—are the spearhead striking at Islam in the region and reinforcing central Asia against Islamic jihad action at the direction of Washington and with support from Moscow.

Accordingly, we understand that fighting in Kabul is one in a series of steps following that course. The effects of that war led to [TC. Text garbled] and harm to the Tajikistani émigrés—aircraft and artillery shelling—in addition to the pressures of Rabbani and others on the Tajikistani leadership to stop the fighting and seek a political solution conforming to the international outlook of America.

Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, etc. also applied pressure. Nor do we forget, of course, the Islamic group, Pakistan, and the international Muslim Brotherhood, for they had a distinguished role in that effort. The results of the negotiations were as is clear from the letter full of questions: a disaster, as we understand it. The Nahdha negotiators maneuvered inside the forbidden zone, the area of beliefs and religious association, thereby framing the issue within a narrow and despicable circle as a political dispute between the government and the opposition.

- They exchanged recognition of legitimacy with the communist government in Dushanbe!

- They recognized the legitimacy of the Russian occupation of the country, indeed, they made it one of their demands; which is also a demand of the communist government, and they approved of a mutual surrender of weapons to the Russians!
- They demanded military intervention by the United Nations, and that Russian forces be one of its components.

By the way, this means that the international organization would have to be responsible for the costs of the Russian occupation of the country, which currently costs [text missing] million dollars per year. The evil Boutros has so far rejected this, claiming a lack of resources. But when necessary, King Fahd may volunteer to cover Boutros's shortfall and Moscow's problem and finance the international Russian forces to strike at Islam in central Asia. His Majesty might just do that.

In short, rather than negotiate, the Nahdha delegation prostrated itself, with the result that the Dushanbe regime is now taking a hard line and refusing to respond or even to send a reasonable delegation to complete the farce. This is the logical result, of course, because now that the foe—Nahdha—has surrendered and given up its weapons in advance, why should it receive compensation? This is exactly what Kissinger told Sadat after the latter expelled the Soviet advisers from Egypt and then went to ask for compensation from America. The Americans said to him: “We received the goods in advance; why should we have to pay for them?” The logic of the Jews!

Nahdha now says “come to jihad” after the enemy has kicked it.

But the honor of political parties is not like a matchstick. Instead, it is like a lighter that can be lit thousands of times.

The problem of confidence has now begun between us and Nahdha, within the ranks of Nahdha itself, between the religious scholars—figuratively speaking—and the politicians, and among the hawks, the doves, the Islamists, the democrats, etc. The foe has succeeded in transferring the battle to within the ranks of Nahdha with just a simple political maneuver.

He may have won the entire battle and is now preparing militarily to affirm his political victory.

What do we do now?

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The battles are supposed to begin and gradually intensify starting this month. We were supposed to participate in this effort through however much of the al-Furqan project we were able to accomplish—approximately [text missing] of the original plan.

It should be noted that the Nahdha party is compelled to fight to pressure the regime to accept negotiations on the former basis. There may be the possibility of further concessions from Nahdha's side because we only mentioned their initial proposals, i.e., from Nahdha's perspective the war aims at obtaining a limited number of seats in the municipal councils, or perhaps in the coffeehouses. For Nahdha to get signs of approval from Dushanbe, especially if the mujahedeen on the fronts get lucky, it is most likely to leave the battle and sit in those seats from where it will attack fundamentalism, the extremists, and the Afghan Arabs.

Nevertheless, the Asian Corps staff so far continue to support the notion of completing the steps of the project to the greatest degree possible, i.e., completing the paragraph regarding military participation. This is for the following reasons:

1. Despite the Corps' weak resources, it is one of the distinctive elements in the Tajikistani question. The leadership views the Corps as the best source of serious training and equipping of cadres. They cannot be compared to its original cadres. Radio Moscow speaks of Arab exercises in intense guerrilla warfare for the Tajikistani mujahedeen.

The amount of weapons and ammunition that were transported through the Corps' efforts were considerable and cannot be ignored relative to what they received from other richer and more powerful parties: Mas'oud, certain Afghan parties, Iran.

2. The religious, behavioral, and intellectual impact relayed to young Tajikistani men through the training camp is tremendous by the admission of Tajikistani leaders and the Arabs themselves.

The Corps hawks believe the contact should continue, whether regarding training or operations, regardless of the political results due to leadership weakness. This will lead to the rise and strengthening of a jihad trend

among young men that could change the course of events in Tajikistan and the region.

3. The Corps' training activity has become almost legendary thanks to the traditional exaggeration of the peoples of the region. The movements arising in the area around Tajikistan have begun to try to take advantage of that training effort, whether directly through bringing in trainers, or indirectly by sending elements of the graduates from their places. Training activity is likely to embark on unexpected horizons this year. Accordingly, the Asian Corps' hawks are demanding we continue our role here, and indeed escalate it to take advantage of the element of time to create a new fait accompli to control the course of events militarily and politically, not just in Tajikistan, but in the entire area, especially in Uzbekistan. However, as yet we have taken no final decisions while we await the arrival of our resident emissary with Nahdha so that we can crystallize a final visualization of the future for action and how it can be carried out.

The Action Program

If the situation between us and Nahdha does not explode, and if the decision is to escalate our military participation in all the resources available to us, the general features of the action program may be as follows:

1. Resume and upgrade military training in terms of the training programs and the nationalities benefiting from the training within the borders of central Asia and the Caucasus.
2. Ready the Tajikistani portion of the Pamir plateau as a solid base for unending guerrilla warfare in the area as the resources gradually becomes available.
3. Seek an appropriate strategy in the field for military action and carry it out.

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4. Arrange suitable land passages with Uzbekistan, activate the jihad situation there, and provide it with appropriate forms of assistance.

At the same time one must note that the paucity of human and financial resources leaves the rate of accomplishment extremely modest. In addition to this there is a lack of full agreement between us and Nahdha, and there are other problems, both Afghani and central Asian. Yet even slow achievement has benefits, as we have seen recently. Not least is the local Islamic element's need for a slow pace of change that allows it to absorb deeply and become knowledgeable about doctrinal issues, especially behavioral and intellectual issues which generally take a long time. This can not be accomplished rapidly no matter how many material resources are available.

As the Prophet, God's prayers and peace be upon him, said: "It is not poverty that I fear for you."

Fourth: The Situation of Nahdha

Season's greetings on the occasion of the blessed feast of sacrifice. Saturday, [text missing]. Approximately two days earlier we received an answer from the Nahdha Party to our aforementioned letter. Brother Abu HUSsein arrived with verbal details he relayed from the leadership to explain its position regarding the negotiations and answers to the contents of our letter to them. Here is a summary.

- Nahdha leadership is of the view that it has benefited greatly from the experience of entering into negotiations and that the result has been to isolate the Dushanbe regime and enable Nahdha to appear as a primary party on the political stage with others confident of its political and military capabilities.
- Nahdha's military preparations are proceeding apace and have not been affected by the negotiation process.
- Nahdha says that our letter to them failed to contain an important condition of Nahdha. That condition demands the resignation of the Dushanbe government, with governance of the country to be turned over to a neutral government for a two-year period. Nahdha also says that condition contains its strategy regarding the entire negotiation process. It thinks as follows:

"We must offer harsh terms. If the enemy accepts them, this will lead to his political downfall. If he rejects them, this will give us adequate justification to continue to fight."

Nahdha leadership was certain it would be impossible for the Dushanbe government to accept this condition, which is what actually happened. In practical terms this led to the failure of the negotiation process after Nahdha had already accomplished important objectives, including:

According to the testimony of the parties overseeing the negotiations, the Dushanbe government bears responsibility for the failure of the negotiations.

With the exception of Pravda, even the Russian newspapers have put the blame on the Dushanbe government and praised Nahdha's flexibility.

The malleable conditions that Nahdha offered once it was certain that it would be impossible for the Dushanbe government to accept the principle of resignation put the lie to the accusation of extremism and violence. Indeed, it was the Dushanbe government that came to be accused of extremism and rejecting reconciliation and peace.

In response, Nahdha leadership says that it has certain specific procedures it does not wish to reveal that in practical terms would make the surrender of weapons meaningless.

The response states that Nahdha has not so far included its representatives at any level in the negotiation process because the Dushanbe government has not sent any representatives at an appropriate level. Thus the two Nahdha representatives, Hammat Zadeh and Turjan Zadeh, merely conducted a dialogue in Moscow with the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Teheran-Moscow negotiations, meanwhile, were carried out by certain opposition factions allied with Nahdha.

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“We say this gave Nahdha an excellent opportunity to abandon any future negotiation process on any terms that do not suit it.”

Based on this, the Nahdha leadership says it offered no political concession impinging on the Islamic identity of Nahdha or the Tajikistani people. Nahdha believes that out of the negotiation process it has won recognition of its existence and legitimacy from all parties that participated in or oversaw the negotiation process.

Nahdha also believes that politically it has driven a wedge into the Moscow-Dushanbe relationship. Differences in the positions of the two parties regarding events in Tajikistan have arisen and are still there.

There are also disagreements within the communist wing in the country. There are now four or five differing movements, all of which, with the exception of the movement in power, are secretly negotiating with Nahdha over the political future of the country, from Nahdha's perspective. This alone is a large disintegrating factor in the structure of the current regime.

As for creating a committee to do a census of the émigrés, its objective is to strike at the legitimacy of the current regime and point out that any elections conducted under its authority would not be serious for the reason that about one million Tajikistani émigrés are outside the country in the commonwealth states and Afghanistan. This represents about [text missing] of those entitled to vote in the country. Thus there can be no true elections until they return to take part in the balloting. We also say that this Nahdha position has validity because the emigration process (escape) from the country is linked to the current political situation in which the communists took over the government as a result of mass slaughters carried out by armed communist militias supervised and armed by the American ambassador in Dushanbe in the fall of [text missing] AD. Consequently, a census of the émigrés and arranging for their return would automatically require a change in the current regime in Dushanbe. Tajikistani émigrés stressed this to United Nations representatives in Afghanistan when the latter, through a combination of deceit and pressure, attempted to return them to their country by offering cosmetic guarantees for their safety. However, the Dushanbe government killed young émigrés and detained old men and women. As a result, the project to have them emigrate back failed, and the émigrés stuck with Nahdha leadership and a change of regime in Dushanbe.

Finally, Nahdha leadership says that Russian statistics show that their forces in Tajikistan were subjected to about [text missing] attacks in the years [text missing]. During the first two months of the year [text missing] they were subjected to about [text missing] attacks.

This is why Nahdha leadership believes the Russians are under military pressure, agreed to sit down to negotiate with it, and that without jihad there will not be any response to any Nahdha demand.

This is a summary of the Nahdha movement's position regarding the recent negotiation processes. Our position in regard thereto is as follows:

Nahdha is moving politically within a framework that on the whole is integrated, correct, and well-suited to its extremely difficult circumstances.

Nahdha has made relative progress in the political area proportional to and reinforcing of the relative progress of the military action it carried out last year.

We have determined that there has been no splintering or division within Nahdha as a result of the recent negotiation processes, which we had feared.

Based on the information available to us the internal situation in Tajikistan is about to collapse and conditions are gradually slipping away from the Dushanbe government.

Meanwhile, the situation in Moscow is gloomy and depressing. Any wide-scale military adventure in Tajikistan could lead to a disaster on a scale known only to God.

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We therefore made the unanimous decision to complete the steps of the program, move to the front, take whatever steps are possible there, and engage in greater coordination with Nahdha leadership regarding this year's program and future action in general in Tajikistan and the remainder of the area.

In fact, this was the view of all the brothers even before the Nahdha response arrived and making the worst-case assumptions we explained in our letter. This group decision was motivated by the positive results achieved at al-Faruq camp despite all the obstacles.

The change in the trainees was noticeable and so effective that it convinced the brothers of the importance of the mission the Arabs are undertaking in this region. It is much deeper than simply using weapons or training on them.

The presence of Arab mujahedeen here assists with the reformation and recasting of the Islamic personality in the region. This is occurring in the best missionary environment, which is the jihad environment.

In short, this is our mission here, one that we hope to be able to perform in the best possible manner despite the shortage in funds, personnel, and accomplishments.

Peace, mercy and blessings of Allah upon you

Your brother,

Hassan

24 May 1994 A.D.

P.S.:

One excellent development recently is the noticeable and unexpected improvement in Nahdha's situation with respect to domestic Afghanistan policy in spite of the severe turmoil within Afghanistan which seemed to us to be a sure danger to the jihad movement in Tajikistan.

The story began on the eighth of last Ramadan when we sent a delegation from our side to Haqqani in Kabul, in his capacity as the head of the intermediary delegation. During the mediation we asked to include the topic of transfer of weapons and ammunition to the Tajikistani mujahedeen from the south of the country to the north under a guarantee by the contending parties. Haqqani's direct comment was: "This is the most impossible thing to do in Afghanistan at the present time." Hikmatyar happened to enter at the very same moment and surprisingly, he immediately agreed to the detailed proposals in the letter and the offer of land, air, and barter facilities!

Nahdha leadership was terrified over how Mas'oud would react, but once the transport operations started, which were by land only, Mas'oud did not object to the presence of his adversary at the other end of the operation.

Summarizing what has happened since then up to the writing of this letter, Nahdha has gained a political position putting it at the forefront of the contending parties and perhaps the object of internal auctioneering amongst them that included Abu Jahl al-Afghani! [TC: This appears to be a derisive

term for someone, probably one of the warlords, rather than a nom de guerre].

(EC: I believe he is referring to the Afghani president. Addressing him as Abu Jahl, Prophet Mohammed uncle, who died not believing in his nephew's message).

Nahdha movements have become possible by land and air for arms, supplies, Tajik personnel, and Arab collaborators and are guaranteed by all!

Nahdha leadership may be able to play the role of accepted mediator among the warring parties in Afghanistan. This may be of limited benefit to the Afghan situation, but it is of immense benefit to the Tajikistani jihad situation within Afghanistan itself.

Is this not a marvel, indeed a miracle?

Politics is fickle, yet serious. Afghan politicians are even greater heathens and hypocrites. We ask God for the help, success, and accuracy of his mujahedeen worshipers, even in the area of politics. We pray to God saying: "Even when you throw, you have not thrown: God has thrown."

Peace, mercy and blessings of Allah upon you

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Your brother,

Hassan

24 May 1994 A.D.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Fourth Letter about Jihad in the Caucasus

Brother Abu `Abdullah and brothers Abu Hafs and Abu `Ubayda

Peace, mercy and blessings of Allah upon you

We have the honor of bothering you once again with one of our lengthy letters that does more to raise more concern and apprehension than it does to inspire delight and joy. But, that is the state we are in, and in God is our help.

After our letter number [text missing] to the African Corps we went to North Afghanistan to meet with the leadership of the Nahdha Party and then continue our movement northward over the Jayhun River accompanied by that portion of the al-Furqan force that we were able to train. According to the original plan the Nahdha movement reviewed and approved as a whole and in detail, it was supposed to consist of a fully-armed brigade. However, the number trained did not exceed one third of the number scheduled, the reason being the failure of Nahdha to respond adequately by sending trainees to the camp. In terms of weapons, last Ramadan we began moving respectable amounts of ammunition and weapons to Nahdha headquarters in Taloqan. This was done with the knowledge and approval of all of the contending factions in Kabul. This was truly amazing, to us at least. It was a success granted by God, most High, that is inexplicable in the world of causes. The entire amount of arms and ammunition, and all the trainees, arrived with almost no problems.

We then met with the leader of Nahdha, Mr. `Abdullah Nuri. He asked us about our program. We were a bit surprised at his question because for the past two years we had discussed nothing but the al-Furqan Program project. Nonetheless, I gave him another brief review of the broad outlines of the project and its importance for them and the region.

We again received a full and comprehensive approval of the project. The only thing remaining is to move northward and cross the Jayhun River to begin operations in the Tajikistani region of Badakhshan as agreed. But as it turned out a short time later, all of those earlier and subsequent approvals were just a skillful maneuver on the part of Nahdha, directed by Mas'oud. Mas'oud's plan was to draw us in and show approval to us so that he could extract all the arms and ammunition we had. Until that was accomplished, his firm decision was that we could not participate in operations inside Tajikistan, neither the Arab personnel in our group, nor the force that had trained with us at al-Faruq camp. Abdullah Nuri was insistent that I stay at his side as a military advisor!

The purpose of requesting us was to freeze us and keep us away from the front while ensuring the continued drawdown of our weapons and ammunition remaining at the rear lines in the south.

As for the al-Furqan force, Radwan used force and threat to call it back into submission, which was a camp at Taloqan run by Radwan, Nahdha's Minister of Defense, with the assistance of a comical gang of scoundrels wearing American military dress and dark sunglasses.

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This gang of scoundrels terrorized the ranks of the poor Tajikistani mujahideen and raided their homes on the pretext of sending them into training camps and jihad. All of this was done with the support of Mas'oud's forces in the region.

Once Radwan had directed enough curses, rebuke, and charges against force personnel, most of which were directed at the Arabs and at us indirectly, every person or two went off in different directions. The result was that the majority of the young men snuck away and went back looking for work with their old area commanders.

`Abdullah Nuri offered an excuse uglier than sin to justify what happened. He said that Marshal Radwan had acted in accordance with decrees of the Shura Council to avoid a split within the Nahdha movement, because this force had trained, been armed, and would operate in the field under the supervision of the Arabs. Soon afterwards we received threats through a prominent member of the Shura Council that we would be killed by Radwan.

At this point we decided to return so the situation would not deteriorate any further. We did not want to suddenly cut off all lines as of the first visit or attempt to work through Nahdha in a region beyond the river.

From this brief violent experience, and on the basis of previous and later information, we developed a picture of the situation within the Nahdha movement, which is as follows:

1. Mas'oud so controls the Nahdha Party that it can be considered a natural extension of Shourai Nazar. **[TC: Mas'oud's political party]**

2. Nahdha's Minister of Defense Radwan is Mas'oud's number one man in Nahdha. He is the only decision-maker in Nahdha.
3. The role of `Abdullah Nuri within the Nahdha movement is only that of official spokesman in Radwan's name and the legal show window behind which he operates.
4. There are powerful signs of a coming split in Nahdha's ranks within the fronts and the politicians in exile opposed to the deteriorating situation of Nahdha as reported above.

Accordingly, we have decided to freeze our activities with Nahdha until developments within Nahdha and the fronts become clearer. We expect Hikmatyar's Hezb-e Islami to have a role in supporting the anticipated split inside Nahdha. It could develop into a situation where there is more than one split. There may also be a role for both Iran and Saudi Arabia. Our relations with Nahdha deteriorated further following our return. We received news from the Hikmatyar group that the ammunition we sent had reached Mas'oud, while the [Nahdha] party group was spreading the news in a distorted fashion saying that Al-Qa'eda is sending weapons and ammunition to Mas'oud. They spread this among the Arab fighters with the [Nahdha] party. Our relations here with the party's thieves in the area were tense from the outset, making relations even worse. We received confirmation from Muhammad Rasul, Nahdha's former Minister of Defense currently opposing the Nahdha farces, that our ammunition was making its way to Mas'oud.

We are now trying to contain the crisis with the party, but our relations with Nahdha are about to reach the point of no return. We are working very hard to prevent this from happening by simply taking a stance of wait and see in order to determine other means for acting beyond the river. Before we go on to the point related to how we envision action in the region in the future, we would like to add some finishing touches to the picture we have painted for you so that certain important aspects are clear.

What Nahdha did to us was not a mistake in behavior; it was a masterful scheme. As we review their positions toward us over the last year, we are certain of that.

Their overall position toward us can be summarized by their reckless attempts to receive the largest amount of weapons and ammunition, while sending the smallest possible number of trainees and filling us with large amounts of praise. They were bent on putting an end to the drawdown of weapons before we should arrive with the force to operate, whereupon everything would be exposed.

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They were actually able to draw respectable amounts, and they are currently trying to restore relations with the goal of continuing the attrition, particularly now that there is no room for operating on the front this year. They have more than enough time to steal the remaining weapons and ammunition we have, while they hint to us that our project could be restored next year. In other words, they are readying another poisonous opportunity for us from the same pit and with the same viper.

In July [text missing] `Abdullah Nuri visited Kabul for the first time, where he heard Mas'oud's decision and plan regarding working with us. From that time on the weapons requests grew, and they nearly stopped sending trainees. As you learned, at the same time we received threats from Sayyaf about closing the camp, relayed to me in particular. We also received news of the movement of our brothers against us and against the project from the state in Kabul, including Sayyaf, Mas'oud, and finally, Mr. `Abdullah Nuri. Some time earlier we had received the Mas'oud decision banning the Arabs from entering the Tajikistani arena militarily without his approval and planning. At the time we did not believe that; we believed the leaders of Nahdha who said they made their decisions independently.

A few days after we arrived in Taloqan we heard a news report on the radio about a security treaty for extradition of criminals between Tajikistan and Egypt having been signed. During the same period, Israel's Foreign Minister visited Uzbekistan where he signed security treaties to combat Islamic fundamentalism, in addition to economic and other agreements.

America has signed agreements to establish American military bases with a number of Islamic republics, including Kyrgyzstan, which neighbors Tajikistan.

Mas'oud is able to exploit the Tajikistani resistance card to reinforce his position when haggling with the Russians and the Dushanbe government. To a large degree he is dependent on petroleum supplies, especially for aircraft and many foodstuffs come to him over the Tajikistani borders. While we were there, Dostum's air force shelled one of these convoys while it was still inside Tajikistan and hit Russian border guard positions.

In view of the current situation in the north, it is almost impossible for the Arabs to operate without cover from Mas'oud through Nahdha. Even when such cover exists, the loathing of Mas'oud's commandants is obvious, but their enmity is concealed. The Tajikistani leadership has been affected, as have most of the mujahedeen, by Mas'oud's attitude toward the Arabs.

It is no secret to you that the position of the Arabs in Pakistan is going from bad to worse. Hostile language and provocations increase as the Arab presence weakens and the number of mujahedeen falls. Now there is nothing worthy of mention in Peshawar with respect to the jihad capabilities that at one time had built up there. Even the attitude of the Pathan Afghans, in particular, is bad in Peshawar. The Arabs have become subject to crude police harassment. The former communists, however, have occupied most of Hayatabad, where their conditions are good, as is their economic situation and financial resources. House rents have doubled because these lords from Kabul are able to pay any amount of money to rent any house. They usually assist the police by spying on Arabs and reporting them.

You can conclude that our situation here is one of being besieged. The Pakistani borders and even the Indian Ocean are officially off limits to us. Another blockade begins in Kabul where the duo of Rabbani and Mas'oud extends to the frontiers of central Asia.

All we have is the beleaguered space between our camp and Kabul in which to move with relative freedom. The process of pursuing the Arabs left over from the remains of the jihad phase continues. Based on news we have received, Egypt's Minister of Defense Tantawi came to Islamabad on a police mission. He rebuked the government for its dereliction in not eliminating the Arabs. He brought with him a list of those wanted and their addresses in Peshawar, and demanded that a Pakistani force be placed at his disposal to attack and arrest them!

The American chief of staff had visited the country just a few days before Tantawi, and there are joint military projects and exercises for cooperation between the armies of the three countries. This means the possibility of their conducting a military action against the Arab camps in Afghanistan cannot be dismissed.

The Pakistani government is using relatively new methods to destroy the Arabs here, such as fabricating charges of narcotics possession. In his most recent speech before the Parliament, the Minister of Interior went further than any Arab Minister of Interior. He accused the Arab mujahedeen of sexual perversion and wife-swapping. This, together with the required elements of slander, was published in all Pakistani newspapers in all languages amidst a disgusting campaign against the Arab mujahedeen, which is not strange coming from a government headed by a prostitute.

There are no political forces to oppose this American policy invading the Pakistani state. The anti-Arab campaign is just a deceitful manifestation of the collapse of the historical truce between the state apparatus in Pakistan and Islam as a folkloric practice. Combating Islam is now both state motto and policy.

However, the anti-Islamic measures in Pakistan are proceeding in accordance with a patient, well-studied, and phased American plan. The first phase or trial balloon was the elimination or distortion of the Arab, and then Afghani, jihad presence. Elimination of the Pakistanis and the Kashmiris will be next, followed by naturalization of relations with India and Israel, and then the employment of Pakistan human and military forces in combat on behalf of America throughout the world in general, and in Islamic areas in particular. The Pakistani people will then be impoverished, starved, and embroiled in a struggle for a bite to eat instead of a struggle on behalf of religion, even if only a folkloric religion, as is the situation in Pakistan.

With respect to Russia, the state there has not yet recovered its balance. Chaos rages in all aspects of life. The Jews have used that situation to their advantage at all levels. They have succeeded in exploiting the Soviet collapse and total Russian chaos on behalf of the historic Jewish project. They bought Russia for a most trivial price in about one year. The most

significant sites and buildings in Moscow are now in their hands: industries, projects, even the politicians and the parties. The economic plunder of Russia is occurring under the supervision and with the cooperation of the Russian regime, as it does in our Arabistan with the participation of the West. [TC: Writer is referring derisively to the Arab world in general, not Iran's Arabistan.] There is a systematic plundering of everything, from gold to weapons to radioactive material. I believe the Jews are planning for nuclear weapons to become weapons of the people, just like Molotov cocktails, by smuggling nuclear bomb components to all parts of the world at the cheapest prices. So, I do not dismiss the possibility that if we stay in our position here for another ten years, that during this time we will introduce courses in the manufacture and tactical use of nuclear bombs into our training programs in the camps.

We have to realize that the Jews' need of the West to implement their historical program ended once they controlled what they needed for their episode with respect to Greater Israel. In the new phase that is about to begin, or has actually already begun, Israel needs Armageddon, that nuclear holocaust that will wipe out Western civilization in its entirety and prepare the way for King Anti-Christ to descend to rule the world from Jerusalem. For this reason the Jews have built several roads leading to nuclear warfare, including the smuggling of radioactive materials.

That's enough for the finishing touches. I think the picture is now sufficiently clear that we can discuss our future program in central Asia. We can not discuss a detailed program, of course. That is impossible at this stage, characterized as it is by flux and the failure to have reached a stable structure to serve as the basis for planning. This is true with respect to our special position as a group cut off in the hills in a state of semi-siege, and it is also true regarding the general situation of Afghanistan with respect to central Asia. Indeed, one could say that the general international situation is still in the labor pain phase and has not reached its ultimate picture.

Hence we will discuss a general framework for an action program based on the current facts of the general situation around us, which are subject to change without prior notice. The starting point remains firm and unchanging, namely the need to continue jihad action beyond the river and advance it in the direction of Moscow as an intermediate objective.

The ultimate objective is Jerusalem with the army of the Mahdi, which the armies of Khorasan will pledge allegiance to and choose. The prevailing thought is that both the intermediate and the ultimate objective may come after Armageddon which will be touched off by the Jews. This allows us to understand realistically the features of the battles of the end of time as contained in prophetic tradition, in which the implements of war will be swords and horses.

With respect to the framework for our current action:

1. Work with the Nahdha organization is extremely difficult in its present state. Failing a radical change at the senior leadership level, it will be impossible to work with them.
2. If political or front splits occur, we may be able to work with the loyal movements inside the fronts, including a number we know about, within the limits of our resources.
3. In its basic form, the Furqan Project can not be implemented for an indefinite period of time.
4. Direct Arab participation in combat inside Tajikistan will remain very restricted and limited. Mas'oud may be able to end it or completely marginalize it. As far as we are concerned, it will be even more difficult now that we are infamous within Nahdha and with its master Mas'oud.
5. Uzbekistan continues to be the decisive word in central Asia; Tajikistan continues to be the bridgehead for Uzbekistan and the region in terms of jihad action. Afghanistan continues to be the essential rear base for all of that action.

As is clear, this is a very complicated equation in our current circumstances, but the preceding phrase makes it imperative that we have a framework for action that we cannot abandon. This framework is:

A-We must plan carefully from now to begin jihad action in Uzbekistan.

B-We must not abandon the Tajikistani arena, regardless of the cost, because it is the transit point for all vital areas of Uzbekistan.

C-We must continue the war for survival in Afghanistan, while improving the terms of such survival, i.e., gradually emerging from the state of siege

imposed upon us whenever the chance arises, whether in the northern direction toward the Jayhun River or to the south toward the Indian Ocean.

6. The previous paragraph leads us to the fact that the Turkish and Uzbek elements are the key to the entire area from Eastern Turkistan in China to the Anatolian plateau, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Black Sea. As a consequence, placing the weapons of jihad in the hands of Uzbekistan's Muslims is an Islamic act of extreme sensitivity for initiating a new, long, and historic struggle against Western civilization and atheism, and in preparation for the emergence of the inevitable caliphal state in this region.

7. We now have in our hands powerful strings for manipulating the jihad in Uzbekistan through Uzbek elements that are politically and militarily active and effective in the Tajikistani and Uzbek arenas. Of course their military activity is only in Tajikistan as of now.

8. One of the most important contributions that can be made to jihad in Uzbekistan is to prepare military cadres. This is one of our most important successes in our experience with Nahdha. We have discovered the importance of these cadres by working with them in the past period. We believe that focusing on the religious and military preparation of the cadres through our camps is work that has no equal. No other Islamic body talks about it with the exception of some superficial jesting that the brothers are always engaging in, as usual.

Agreement has been reached with the Uzbek jihad leadership to adopt the al-Faruq Camp as the basic and sole agency for preparing those cadres, both those being prepared for Uzbekistan itself and those currently engaged in combat action in Tajikistan who lack comprehensive training.

9. Regarding the arms resources that we still possess, the best use of them under our current circumstances is to send them to the two Uzbek groups just mentioned, but this must be kept well out of Nahdha channels.

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10. There is no other Islamic alternative here in the region that can undertake the critical and ambitious mission we have assumed because of the difficult and immense nature of the mission and the complicated nature of our circumstances as terrorists confronted with international pursuit. We

here need to reorganize our entire situation so that we will be able to continue to perform our tasks efficiently and successfully. We have appealed constantly to you for very humble human and financial support, but it fell on deaf ears. Worse than that, you are about to withdraw the few cadres you have here. There is no doubt that this will be a fatal blow to the entire program. What the region needs is that we commit to:

- A. A permanent human presence in terms of training cadres
- B. A known and specific annual budget. We are now proceeding along an amazingly contrived route with no assistance but that of God and the prayers of our parents.

As the untouchables being pursued, we have no state or universal movement in the world of causes to care for our projects. The region is too critical to be left so simply after the oppressive price we have paid, while we remain the price of that presence.

As long as we remain in our mountainous exile, threatened by dangers, we will be unable to find an appropriate solution to this problem. What we expect from you, in your relatively better situation with respect to movement, resources, and communications, is to assist with resolving the two parts of this problem—human and financial—on a permanent and systematic basis. The cost of work here is insignificant and has a tremendous impact. These advantages rarely exist. We ask that you freeze your decision to withdraw the cadres temporarily until you have the chance to discuss the entire matter one more time with a representative who will come to you specifically for this purpose.

We would like to direct your attention to two points:

First: America's intention to blockade Islam in central Asia.

Second: Al-Qa'eda's trend toward shrinking regionally, then nationally.

On the first issue, it is well-known that America wants to encircle central Asia with an iron fence of secular governments hostile to Islam in Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan. It has been completely successful in the first and the third, but in the second—Iran—more time is needed in order to exchange the regime there for a purely western government or to split Iran into a series of small states.

America's objective in the project to blockade central Asia is to weaken the Islamic spirit and isolate it from the impact of Afghanistan, which goes well beyond juridical purity. The type of Islam America is pushing in central Asia is the Islam of al-Azhar [TC: University in Cairo and center of Islamic orthodoxy for 1000 years] and Saudi Islam. Iranian Islam, on the other hand, is deemed undesirable by America except for the extent to which it causes confusion, turmoil, and perhaps even fighting within developing and weak Islamic ranks.

The significance of Afghanistan as a jumping off point and strategic rear base for the forward progress of jihad beyond the river is the basic issue behind America's directing the civil war in Kabul and kindling hatred among the tribes and ethnic groups. While the Afghan jihad parties have the primary role, it is well-known that America leaves its agents in the region to play various roles in kindling that war.

The second point regarding Al-Qa'eda's losing ground was demonstrated when it completely washed its hands of the central Asian region, indeed condemned or despised work there. This is a total contradiction of the charter that established Al-Qa'eda and its adoption of the motto of universal jihad. Despite my opposition to this motto because it goes beyond Al-Qa'eda's actual capabilities, Al-Qa'eda stuck with it, indeed took steps to implement it. It is dangerous for any group or organization to abandon the objectives for which it was established or to bypass those objectives and mottoes. This means the beginning of the end for action.

Al-Qa'eda has shrunk from engaging in universal action to regional action in the Arab region. I believe it is in the process of shrinking even further in the direction of national action in the Arabian Peninsula. I fear that if it continues on this path that it will be converted like some of our venerable Egyptian organizations to greater specialization in action in certain parts of the nation.

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What happened to us in Egypt is that organizations for Upper Egypt and others for Lower Egypt came into existence. I even heard about specific organizations for neighborhoods. These organizations would start out around a "fatwa section," i.e. some person of genius suffering from juridical

diarrhea who deems himself capable of resolving any issue in heaven or earth.

This is from the perspective of principle, but in practical terms it is useful, or perhaps essential given the prevailing adverse circumstances, for Al-Qa'eda to have a rear line for emergencies. Rapid and sudden international changes may turn front lines into rear lines and vice versa. Rear lines may be transformed into front lines. The Carlos incident and his extradition to France has led me to think further about the situation of Sudan with respect to its position in the overall Islamic situation, in particular those miserable wretches, the people of the Sunnah and the Jamaa`a. I used to think of Sudan as a small old boat bobbing on the surface of a raging sea, after the waves had swallowed up a huge ship—the Islamic world. Hundreds were struggling to get to the poor little boat, where they jammed into it and far exceeded its carrying capacity in a dark and gloomy sea of swells as high as mountains. The boat just might sink with all on board, so a diligent captain will have the passengers draw lots to see who he must throw overboard into the water. He must choose the least important passengers, those who weigh the most, or those who are the largest to lighten the boat and save the lives of whatever passengers he can.

In short, my dear friends, the story of Carlos's extradition brought this image into my mind. As I see it, Carlos was the first victim. The nature of the sea of international politics is far more brutal than that of the natural seas, which are among God's worshippers who never disobey Him, because the political sea is based on unbelief, warring against God, competing with God here on earth, and engaging God in a discussion of His divinity. For this reason, the political sea will not be satisfied with having just one or two victims thrown overboard. Rather its appetite and greed boil with rage and demand more. They will not stop until the sea has chewed up and swallowed the timbers of the boat, if it can.

Dear brothers, the island of mountainous horrors here in Afghanistan is much easier than the murky and malodorous interior of the sea of international politics, which never hides its insatiable desire to swallow us all, if it can.

Thus, I believe it is a matter of reason and wisdom that we hold on to the island we relatively own in Afghanistan and that we keep a hut there, a rifle for use against the beast of politics, and men to protect it and be based there

for their jihad and missionary campaigns in central Asia, as well perhaps as other parts of the world. One day you may feel the boat is beginning to list and groan from your weight, and you will still have the ability to swim or fly back to your beloved mountainous island to fight from its fortresses until God judges righteously between us, the infidels, and the apostates, for He is the wisest of judges. So ends the practical aspect of this unentertaining letter. The personal aspect remains, which is that I hope to transfer with my family to Sudan and retire there for the few days or hours remaining of this long life. Half a century of my life on this earth is over. It will be just a few days until I am beside the beloved Nile catching fish in its blessed waters, reading many books, and doing a little writing. I'll be able to engage in endless Byzantine discussions with you, since we rarely agree on anything, regarding minutiae of no value. How beautiful were those Afghan days—a dream I cannot believe passed that way and produced such fruit, most of which had the bitter taste of colocynth, but some of which was blessed and is the fruit of paradise.

What I hope is that my entire family will gather in an Arab country. The only place we have is Sudan, even though that weak boat is endangered by the international waves of unbelief. I feel bored in this life away from home under the harsh circumstances in which we find ourselves. This does not mean I am making a blanket call to abandon the entire region, for the fateful appointment with the armies of Khorasan is not very far away. We are waiting.

Peace, mercy and blessings of Allah upon you

Your brother Hassan

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In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

The Fifth Letter to the Africa Corps

Concerning Jihad in the Caucasus

As this report is being written, the battles for Grozny, the Chechen capital, are taking place, recording a new fight on behalf of the Islamic awakening at

the end of this century and offering the promise that the coming century is certain to be the century of Islam.

Ever since Afghanistan, and perhaps under the impact of that fight, Islamic battles and signs of a jihad renaissance have appeared successively in prominent locations, the most important being Algeria in the Arab world, Palestine, Somalia, and Yemen. Each brings with it undeniably new characteristics and progress in the level of jihad action.

Here I will now take a quick look at what is happening in Chechnya in order to point out the areas of assistance available to us to reinforce the jihad of that Muslim people. It is essential that we spotlight the international and regional situation surrounding that struggle before discussing our role there.

First: The International Situation

The Soviet empire collapsed as a direct result of the war in Afghanistan, leaving the United States in control as the number one power overseeing world affairs. The U.S. tries to run the world in an autocratic manner by assigning absolute priority to its interests, followed by the interests of its allies in the West and then its Asian satellites, Japan in particular.

The cracks in the ranks of this fragile alliance are increasing with time. Warfare is an absolute certainty in the nature of the makeup of the capitalistic system. It cannot be avoided. Within one or two decades the nuclear weapon that in the past prevented a clash between the superpowers, while proxy wars became a way acceptable to them, will be a people's weapon. History will take new course when that happens. One researcher summarized the situation within the American-led alliance of the major powers as follows: "America against everyone; and everyone against the Muslims." This statement is absolutely true. We have to absorb it and use it to explain the massacres to which we are being subjected.

The Jews have succeeded in creating an international alliance against Islam under their leadership, essentially covering the Crusader powers. These are America and Russia, with their three churches: Orthodox, Protestant, and Catholic. They added the Hindu and Confucian Buddhist powers in India, China, and Japan to these. This is how everyone came to be against the Muslims.

Of course, there is no need for us to point out that the financial power of international Jewry is what made it possible for them to gain intellectual and political control of the world today. Nor should we forget that this compact front is full of cracks that we can use, indeed which we must use. “Strong is their fighting (spirit) amongst themselves.” [TC. Koran, 59:14] Of course, we must never forget what happened during the Crusader wars of the 11th and 12th centuries when all the armies of Europe marched on Syria. The moment they stepped foot there, the internal struggle amongst them began for booty and spheres of influence. In the end this is what led to their destruction, as the spirit of Islam rose in the area and loyal leaders appeared.

This picture is unchanged except in form. This is exactly what is happening now in Islamic territory. Under current international conditions, the Russians appear to have been delegated internationally by Christians and Jews to wage war against Islam and defeat the Muslims in areas under the influence of the Orthodox Church in Europe, central Asia, and the Caucasus. Catholic France has similarly been delegated with respect to Algeria, Tunisia, and Lebanon. The biggest of all, the United States and its satellite Britain, constituting the Protestant axis, together with Israel as the political representative of international Judaism, have assumed responsibility for Syria, Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, Libya, and the Sudan. It is important to observe that Islam is the ideological foe of this unholy alliance containing the idols of the whole world, but the weight of Muslim armies poses no physical danger to those of the West.

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However, the jihad forces in the Islamic world are sounding the alarm against the West, which has announced the formation of a material force that can compete in the area of beliefs. Hence, defeat of the jihad forces in the Islamic world is at the top of the list of priorities of the satanic international alliance.

Here, too, we must take a look at the philosophy of the Crusader West concerning preventive “spoiling” operations to strike at the Islamic danger, even in its fetal state, as yet unborn, undeveloped, and unequal to the battle. A look at what is happening from Tajikistan to the Caucasus to Bosnia and throughout the Arab world makes it clear that this is the prevailing course in the confrontation.

The massacres are being directed by the West against the Muslims, whose relationship with their religion is simply one of historical ties and sentimental yearning. They have so far failed to reach the stage of full interaction with and practice of their religion and its rites.

Two: The Regional Situation

The Muslims of the Caucasus are affected by four important spheres, which are:

1. The Russian sphere
2. The Islamic depth in central Asia
3. The Turkish-Iranian sphere
4. The Arab depth

First: The Russian Sphere

Russia is suffering from a state of imbalance and loss of identity and direction. It has not yet recovered from the terrible shock of the loss of the Soviet empire.

The political leadership there does not know in which direction to proceed:

Should it reverse course and recover the lost empire, using the old communist umbrella?

Should it recover the colonies using a sacred nationalist orthodox banner as was the case in the Tsarist era?

Should it move forward by hanging onto the coattails of the West and becoming an inseparable part of it philosophically, economically, and politically?

How can this be done given the tremendous gap between the West's level of superiority and Russia's level of collapse?

Russia has not found itself. It has not stopped seeking a course; however it is doing so while rapidly falling into a bottomless abyss in all aspects of life.

The West could have stood by delighted at the downfall of a member of the Western Crusader gang because it would lead to the distribution of its estate

to the rest of the thieves. However, the problem is that the Russian thief is armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons. What would happen were it to export the problems of its collapse to the European world via a war outside its borders? That is the traditional solution to which nations resort to get themselves out of historical predicaments of that type. Hitler and Mussolini did nothing more than that during World War II.

The war in the Caucasus initiated by the Russians on January 1 of this year is a war in the permitted zone, indeed in the internationally desired zone, because it is against the Muslims. This is an area of unanimous agreement among the parties in the international alliance. It is also a type of painkiller for the regime during its attempt to recover dignity and relieve the pressures of containment and domestic subjugation. But what would happen were this dose of painkiller insufficient, or were it to lead to even greater pain rather than relief?

The voracious Slavic dog might leap in any direction to tear peoples apart. In its desperation, it may be unconcerned for the consequences because it possesses nuclear weapons. What would happen were it to leap in the direction of the Gulf, where oil is located, or once again in the direction of the Indian Ocean, or towards central Europe to recover its lost possessions? Everything is possible and reasonable. The West has to be on its guard. The Muslims, on the other hand, have other calculations. It suffices that they have nothing to lose but disgrace and servitude to something other than God.

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The worst possibilities in the eyes of the West mean only martyrdom and eternal paradise to the Muslims. “(So) which of the two parties has more right to be in security?” [TC: Koran, 6:81]

The pillars of the Russian nation are in a state of dissolution and collapse.

The army, the backbone of the nation, is suffering from a loss of discipline, the spread of corruption, theft, a shortage of financial resources, and the collapse of morale. Following the collapse of its former intelligence agency, the KGB, Russia has failed to create a similar agency. All the same, such an agency is a good candidate to grow once again given the police state that Russia is expected to become.

- The internal security forces suffer just like their predecessors, but more so. They have become fertile ground for organized crime.
- The church has made relative progress, but it is far from becoming the leader of its flocks or a spiritual force directed at the people.
- The Russian economy needs no introduction. The nation is in a state of genuine bankruptcy, except for the injections made by the rich West from time to time to help it revive.
- The parties have no real power in the street. They get no consideration from the decision makers. Political authority is concentrated in the hands of the President and senior army, intelligence, and security officers. The parliament is window dressing of no consequence, as has been clear since Yeltsin shelled it in the year [text missing].

Apart from political authority, the real power in the country is in the hands of the economic “whales.” These are the bankers, the oil industry, and the arms industry. Their interests do not pass through the parties, as is the case in the democratic system of the West. Instead, they contact the President, his retinue, and senior state officials directly and use the techniques of bribery and behind the scenes struggles between the conflicting interests of those monopolies.

Some think that the arms and weapons monopolies are exerting pressure for continuation of the Chechen war.

In light of the above, we do not believe that the Western political model will be achieved in Russia. Instead, it will continue its historical march of bloody governing regimes that cannot live without bathing in the warm blood of its people and that of Muslims in particular. The more Russia’s internal crises grow, the more furious are its blazes and bloody turmoil. Historically, Russian destroyed the weakest points around it, they being the Muslims. The Russians are once again repeating their bloody history and their unforgettable historic method. However, the situation on the Islamic front has changed. This time the Russian method, which the Crusader West and the Jews will encourage and back, may result in a disaster for the Russians and their allies. The Muslims may show them something they will hate and should be guarding against. “And that is not hard for Allah.” [Koran, 35:17] This is our duty, but God knows best.

With respect to the Russian sphere, we would point to the tight economic ties the Russians used to hobble their former colonies in central Asia and the Caucasus. Not a single one of those components can live independently of the Russian economy. Moreover, the ethnic and border problems the Russians carefully planted prevent those components from engaging in joint cooperation outside a Russian framework. In fact, just the opposite is true, because it is political, and perhaps military, struggle that constitutes the prevailing relationship. Everyone needs the Russians, their big sister, not just for food, but also to settle their internal disputes. Consequently, the road to independence for these satellite components will be extremely difficult. The road cannot be crossed without Islam, for it is the sole passageway through ethnic problems among the various nationalities and the gateway to a sound economic solution.

Second: Islamic Depth in Central Asia

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The Muslims of central Asia represent the primary weight of Muslims in the region demographically and economically. Those Muslims take various forms in five of the republics that received formal independence from the collapsed Soviet framework. However, they are politically, economically, and militarily dependent on the big sister in the north, as they used to call the Russian Federal Republic.

Those republics, or at least some of them, try to achieve some degree of independence in the fields of economics and politics. The most serious of those aspirations were those of Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan in the decade of massive petroleum agreements with America and the West. These agreements led to severe tension with the Russians and the Azerbaijani war—a petroleum war. In one of its aspects the current Chechen war is just one more step in the petroleum war in the central Asian region, where Chechnya is the primary crossing point into Russian territory and a strategic line of communications into its fields in Azerbaijan.

In view of the weight of the countries of central Asia and their great impact on the Russians, the latter gave top priority to addressing their problems and quieting matters there before turning to the Chechens. Although the specter of Dudayev had loomed into view one full year before the problem in

Tajikistan, the Russians did not turn to Chechnya until they were satisfied that matters in the south were in good shape, thanks to the treachery of the Nahdha Party, brother Ahmad Shah Mas'oud, and leader Rabbani.

Hence, we stress that the most important Islamic support for the Chechen people and easing the brutal Russian attacks on them must come about by directing strikes against the Russians in Tajikistan, and if possible, in Uzbekistan as well. This must not be carried out under the concept of an emergency military assistance mission, but in implementation of a firm Islamic strategy based on the principle of attacking on two axes. One would be from the south—essentially Tajikistan and Uzbekistan—with the other from the Caucasus, led for the most part by Chechens. Both axes are directed toward Moscow as the ultimate meeting point, despite the distance of the march.

Here we would like to make an important observation related to the behavior of the contemporary Muslim with respect to the obligation of jihad. This obligation is usually not carried out on the basis of ideological conviction, but as a security necessity. We have witnessed this in Afghanistan, and even in Tajikistan, Bosnia, and Chechnya. In other words, the Muslim does not pick up his weapon and pronounce the word jihad unless he has tasted killing or felt the knife as it passed across his throat. This is why one of the advantages of the international Crusader war against Islam and the Muslims is the return of Muslims to their religion in an overall sense and to that absent obligation in particular. Hence, the supporters of the Arab mujahedeen must realize this point. They are an extension of that missionary in the first age of Islam who called for monotheistic practice as he brandished his sword against injustice. Polytheism is the greatest injustice of all, without a doubt.

That armed missionary must realize that he is moving amongst Muslims whose Islam exists in name only. He has to start his mission with them from zero and draw them to paradise gently. He must not be hasty in consigning them to hellfire with an uncivil message out of his own ignorance. We have a lesson in Afghanistan.

Third: The Turkish-Iranian Sphere

The tsars were able to take over the Caucasus when they isolated the area from its Islamic depth in Turkey and Iran. Turkey was licking the wounds

of losing wars with the Russians and others. Iran received a financial bribe when the tsars forgave the debts it owed to Russia. History is now practically repeating itself as the Caucasus area remains blockaded from an Islamic perspective. Non-religious Turkey is powerfully chained to wheel of international Crusaderism. It is trying to spread its hapless model to the peoples of the region under the rotten banner of the Turkish race. Iran has taken a new bribe from the new tsars in the form of a deal. Iran is besieged, even threatened, on its Arab flank by America and its allies. The only Islamic depth it has is to the east, which is a Russian area of influence. To enter there, Iran must first remove its ideological shoes and deal economically with the region.

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In exchange, Russia will get Iran as a strong ally on the Gulf so that it does not merely become an American lake and Israeli territory. Look at the nuclear reactor that Russia is building on the shore of the Gulf!

Iran is of course the entry point and one link in a chain of Russian arrangements to return to the Arab region—the Middle East. So far, this chain appears to include Iraq, Syria, and possibly Yemen. The completion of this wall is continuing, but it may not succeed in its entirety depending on resistance or approval from the remaining members of the crusader alliance, America and Israel in particular, the uncontested masters of the area.

A strategic problem is that Muslims of the Caucasus find themselves in a blockade that intertwines geography and politics. There is a geographic blockade north and south [sic] between two seas—the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea—and a political blockade between Turkey and Iran that block to the west. Only the eastern door stays open to the lava flow of the Slavic armies of the Russian Orthodox.

Fourth: The Arab Depth

The Islamic armies carried the religion of Islam to the people of the Caucasus, who embraced it and defended it fiercely.

Jewish-Crusader planning is designed to isolate the Caucasus from the Arab Islamic depth and to cut off common interaction between those two regions. The Jews realize that the Caucasus is the crossing point for the Islamic army

coming from Khorasan and central Asia. Historically, Turkish armies coming from the innermost parts of Asia were the Islamic jihad implement that totally destroyed the crusader armies in Syria. Evidence in the Prophetic tradition indicates that the Islamic armies pouring out of those regions will also be decisive in the final battles for Syria between the Muslims, on the one hand, and the Jews and Byzantines, on the other. This is why they are trying to surround the Caucasus and Asia with impenetrable walls to prevent Islamic interaction between those major Islamic blocs and the Arabs. They are completely frightened by that jihad spirit that has started to boom in the Arab countries. They are trying to contain and then extinguish it before it spreads to other areas, especially the Caucasus and central Asia with their vast technological and human resources, plus nuclear resources, for fear they might fall into the hands of the Muslim mujahedeen and find their way into the jihad against the Jews in Palestine.

The Jews hope that Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan will continue to be an iron fence separating the Arabs from the Islamic people in the heart of Asia. Indeed, their ambition is to have “new” Afghanistan join that satanic alliance. As part of this plan, the Crusaders and the Jews are promoting distorted and mistaken Islamic models within the ranks of the region’s population. This is precisely the role of Saudi Arabia and Egypt in those places. Meanwhile, the flare-up of jihad in the Caucasus and areas of central Asia foils this scheme at its roots. It must become an opportunity for an Islamic jihad encounter between Arab youth and the people of those regions.

Second: The Internal Situation

The internal situation in the Caucasus poses advantages and disadvantages to the jihad movement there. The advantages include:

1. The appearance of strong leadership embodying the spirit of Islam, challenge, and relentless confrontation to the Russians, as represented by Chechen President Jawhar Musa Daud, a.k.a. Dudayev. The Grozny battles revealed him to be the undisputed leader of all the people of the Caucasus, not just the Chechens. There is a similarity between his personality and that of Imam Shamil, the famous Islamic leader of the war in the Caucasus in the 18th Century.

2. The Caucasian people have sufficient reason to fight against the Russians. The Grozny experience ended Russian prestige and revived hope in the possibility of resistance and victory.
3. The nature of this mountainous region and its tough people are totally suited to guerrilla warfare, the inevitable picture of future warfare. In the view of most observers the battle of Grozny was the initiation of this lengthy war.

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4. The region is rich in resources, especially petroleum.
5. The people of the region are deeply woven into the Russian social, economic, and administrative fabric. They are therefore able to direct deep and painful blows at Russia inside its own house via the Caucasians in the Army and security forces, even within the Mafia living in Russian territory. Chechens in particular constitute a high proportion of those gangs. It is specifically those gangs that could let the Muslims of the Caucasus defy “strategic impossibility” and set an historical precedent by becoming the first movement to engage in guerrilla warfare armed with nuclear weapons. The activities of the Russian mafia in smuggling nuclear weapons components to Europe and the world are well-known. In theory there is nothing in such a case to prevent the Chechen mafia from arming its people with nuclear weapons.
6. The amounts of weapons and ammunition in the region are sufficient for a long period of guerrilla combat, not urban combat as is the case in Grozny at present. It would be easy to get control of the adjacent areas needed, such as the Ukraine and even Russia itself. Russian officers are known to welcome the sale of their equipment, and sometimes consumables, in exchange for hard currency, or assuming the worst, for drugs. With respect to weapons, all we need to know is that Dudayev distributed about half a million automatic Kalashnikov weapons to his people.

There are 300,000 fighters under his command, including 200,000 in the militias and 100,000 regulars. It is said that they only amount to 16,000, which is closer to reasonable.

7. Several of the Caucasian peoples are prepared to get involved in guerrilla combat against the Russians when the spring sun rises. These include the peoples of Ingushetia, Dagestan, Abkhazia, and Azerbaijan.

The negative factors are as follows:

1. Some regional affairs specialists doubt Dudayev's ability to lead a guerrilla war in the Caucasus for various reasons. One is that he was a regular officer who served over 20 years, which means he is intellectually and technically unable to comprehend and practice guerrilla warfare. Partial support for this view may be found in Dudayev's decision to confront the Russians directly in Grozny. He prevailed there. Indeed, we could say that he was victorious despite the final results of the battle. It is enough that he was able to withstand the Russians for that entire period while they attacked him with four military divisions plus the Air Force.

In any event, holding out in Grozny had major morale value regardless of the losses on the Chechen side. It was a battle of dignity and challenge in which the Chechens succeeded notably.

However, will Dudayev be able to demonstrate that skill in guerrilla warfare? Many observers doubt that he can, but they cannot be absolutely certain. Those same observers have doubts about Dudayev because he is a former Marxist who assumed the presidency of Chechnya at Moscow's request, although he was selected in a general election supervised by a committee representing an external country. This confirms the unanimity of the people in selecting him. Dudayev's essential demand is for independence within the framework of a confederation with Russia. This is not a radical demand.

2. Dudayev's remaining personally alive will decide much of the course of Islamic resistance in the Caucasus. Even should he disappear from the scene of events, the Caucasus will never again be as quiet as it was. However, the Caucasus will lose one of its most important elements of success in any battle, which is competent leadership. This will continue until a new Shamil or another Dudayev emerges. Look at the difference between the situation where competent field leadership is present on the battleground and the absence of such leadership as was the case in Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Egypt, Syria, and so on.

3. The people of the Caucasus are racially divided and have political, border, and economic disputes. The Russians can exploit this to split up the Muslims and defeat them.

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4. The Islamic feeling is still very weak. In the popular mind, Islam is understood to be a nationality more than a religion. Consequently, jihad is even stranger. Russian brutality may have led the Muslims, and even the national groups, to overcome this obstacle. This will depend on the method of war command and the success of Muslim military operations.
5. The difficulty of gaining economic independence from Russia. Not doing so means starvation and economic collapse, particularly in case of a blockade imposed on the Caucasus and the lack of a short-term alternative.
6. The small size of the population, only six million. In other words, the population of Tajikistan is about equal to that of the Caucasus. Uzbekistan is four times as large in population. This brings us to a reminder of the importance of the jihad movement among the Muslims of central Asia.
7. The existence of strong Christian mini-states such as Armenia and Georgia, the largest assemblies of orthodox in the Caucasus. This presents an obstacle and a challenge to the Muslims of the region.

Following this brief review tour of the situation in the Caucasus we return to the original question: What can we do? We are not saying “what must we do?” because what must be done is to declare a general jihad throughout the entire Islamic nation. Yet this is impossible given the state of apostasy that rules in the land of the Muslims and the satanic situation governing the world.

The Chechens can currently be assisted in two ways:

- 1- Through direct support
- 2- Through indirect support

First: Direct Support: In-kind assistance in the form of blankets, clothing, medicine, money, etc.

This is the preferred method of jihad among the Arab people and many of its peaceful missionary groups. The mainstay of this activity could be in Jordan because of political and social circumstances. The political circumstances are His Excellency the King's need for an Islamic fig leaf to cover the evils of his treaty with the Jews. His good fortune endowed him with an Islamic cause he can trade on, as many did earlier in Afghanistan. The social circumstance is the presence of a large, powerful, and influential Chechen community as a pillar of the Jordanian state. This community has a lot to offer to the Chechen people if it wished to do so, and depending how much red or green light is being emitted by His Majesty's lamps.

Missionary and in-kind assistance should be coordinated with the Chechens of Jordan. They do not lack sincere Muslims and it is not out of the question that some of them might go there to take part in combat.

Turkey, the bearer of the standard of nationalism and secularism in central Asia, will attempt to discomfit the Russians politically and expand its area of influence in the region by exploiting the Russian mess and the wave of anti-Russian hostility. Of course, Turkey will not encourage jihad or any jihad movement by its citizens against the Chechens. I believe it fears a recurrence of the Afghanistan experience near its borders because it would be the next target. For that reason it will seek to envelop the Islamic impact of the crisis by banning the mujahedeen movement, but allowing the movement of assistance and media across its borders. So, Turkey may become an "aid and media support station" for the Caucasus.

In terms of the Arabs, the Jordan station will be easier to deal with and coordinate. God knows best. The dispatch of Arab volunteers to Chechnya is not advised. Although this would be very useful for morale, it is very dangerous and militarily ineffective. The region is isolated and surrounded and Russian military and security activity is expected to increase. This constitutes a danger to Arabs who do not know the area and its languages.

This will not prevent Arab attempts to arrive or try to go there, but we do not recommend it as a way of providing assistance except in the case of extreme necessity for a very limited number of highly competent personnel. This appears to be remote.

On the matter of training, Caucasian cadres can be trained in areas appropriate to the purpose and to very advanced levels. Such cadres will later on assume responsibilities for action and training in their countries. A small experiment of this type was conducted several months before fighting broke out and could be repeated with reasonable difficulties. Chechen jihad groups from Jordan and other regions, or jihad groups from Turkey, would be extremely beneficial if they were able to reach the fighting there, both militarily and for morale. They would also be an excellent tool for the Islamic mission for that country, which lacks an all-around Islamic cadre that simultaneously has combat and missionary capabilities.

It is advisable to look for and send such groups out there. If general conditions subsequently improve, Arab groups can be sent. No one denies the extreme value of such groups. This has been proven in Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Somalia, Bosnia, et cetera.

Second: Indirect Assistance:

This is more valuable and important. It is also more readily available, although it is not easy. Indirect assistance consists of activating the southern front in Tajikistan. The situation there was explained in an earlier report. An attempt can be made to revive the jihad movement there based on sincere elements still there and by adopting an appropriate policy with respect to the Nahdha Party, which is a real disaster for Islamic action in Afghanistan.

With some good planning, a small and very effective guerrilla war can be created there to wear down the Russians physically and psychologically. Based on what we currently see in Chechnya, and based on the collapse the Russians exhibited in Tajikistan, they are incapable of acting effectively on two fronts. They will be subject to a total collapse not too long from now.

The jihad movement still faltering in Uzbekistan can be activated. It has not begun acting for many reasons, including lack of funds and the absence of expertise needed for action.

These are obstacles we can help them to overcome without influencing the effectiveness of the jihad movement in other locations. Apart from reliance on God the Almighty; success in that action only requires the mobilization

of the right segment of our human and financial resources, putting them in the proper place, and setting them in motion in the correct way.

Hassan al-Tajiki

Success is from God; Peace, mercy and blessings of Allah upon you.

Jihadwal, dated Shaaban [text missing] equivalent to Saturday, [text missing]

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Edited