SACRED TERROR: 
GLOBAL SALAFI JIHAD AND THE FUTURE OF AL QAEDA

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Introduction
Terrorist ideology is a powerful force that motivates individuals to turn to terrorism as a violent form of political and radical religious expression, and influences how communities victimized by terrorist activities respond to such forms of extremism. Understanding extremist ideologies makes possible national and international security apparatuses ability to react to the challenges that these organizations pose to target groups of all types. The importance of this force rests in its ability to compel individuals follow arms in order to enact specific institutional and societal change, garner financial support in attempts to fulfill their modus operandi, and ensure the longevity of a terrorist organization and the future of its cause.

Over previous years, “al-Qa’ida leaders,” according to Kim Cragin, “have had the greatest effect in translating their ideological appeal into action when they marry their global worldview with anti-Americanism and local political objectives.” This effect is a part of what necessitates the need to further understand the ideological motivation of Al Qaeda (AQ) as part of the relatively new wave of modern terrorism and the many hydra-heads within it.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first part presents an analysis of the group’s origins, its aims and objectives, ideology and motivations, leadership, structure, and strategies. The second part assesses how AQ’s ideology impacts these elements as well as the future of this terrorist organization. The argument is made that despite the recent setbacks as a result of the death of Osama bin Laden and the fundamental

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1 American officials have referred to the acute impact of terrorism fear as “psychogenic illness,” defining it as: A phenomenon in which social trauma or anxiety combines with a suspicious event to produce psychosomatic symptoms, such as nausea, difficulty breathing, and paralysis. If many individuals come to believe that the psychosomatic outbreak is connected to the cause of the trauma or anxiety, these symptoms can spread rapidly throughout a population. http://www.wired.com/threatlevel/2008/09/terrorism-fear/?
2 Cragin 2007, p. 6.
changes due to coalition forces operating in Central Asia, AQ possesses the
capacity to adapt beyond these challenges, reinventing itself with relative
success as the new terrorist network referred to as *Global Salafi Jihad*.

**Al Qaeda’s Origins, Aims, and Objectives**

Al Qaeda, Arabic for “The Base,” is an international terrorist organization
founded in 1984 by Osama bin Laden and is presumed to currently be
under the leadership Ayman Mohammad Rabie al-Zawahiri.³ The AQ
terrorist organization represents the essence of an extensive terrorist
network that is estimated to operate in at least 70 countries throughout the
contemporary world; it can justifiably be regarded as the most powerful
terrorist organization in existence, and to have ever existed in human
history.⁴ Al Qaeda, whose history is inextricably linked to political struggle
and war, emerged from the Afghan Service Bureau (MAK), which was a
clearinghouse for the international Muslim brigade that waged *Jihad* against
Soviet Communism during the Soviet Union’s invasion of Afghanistan – a
campaign that commenced on December 27, 1979.⁵

During the late-1980s, thousands of foreign mujahedeen (referred to
as holy warriors) were being recruited, financed, and organized into the
international Islamic volunteer effort of Afghan Arabs by the Services
Bureau.⁶ At the time, the MAK was being run by Osama bin Laden and the
influential Palestinian Sunni Islamic scholar and theologian Sheikh Abdullah
Azzam.⁷

The mujahedeen, that bin Laden and Azzam were successful in
recruiting and shaping into battle-ready units, were drawn from more than
50 countries; although there were disagreements between bin Laden and
Azzam regarding the future course of the mujahedeen recruits after the
achieving the expulsion of Soviet forces from Afghanistan (bin Laden
wanted to direct his forces beyond Afghanistan and continue the “holy war”
abroad), bin Laden formed AQ around 1988.⁸ In spite of the fact that AQ’s

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⁴ Weinberg 2005, p. 54.
⁵ [http://www.cfr.org/terrorist-organizations/al-qaeda-k-al-qaida-al-qaida/p9126; The Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan was a campaign that lasted for nine years and fifty days. Moscow (with the unofficial support of India) backed the Marxist-Leninist regime of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan against the Afghan Mujahedeen and a cadre of Arab and Afghan volunteers fighters. The campaign ended in military stalemate and the subsequent withdrawal of Soviet forces from the country (Emadi 2005, p. 45).](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1667010.stm).
base or operations was located in Peshawar, the organization’s recruiting effort has always been a worldwide affair; its recruiting campaigns even included a wide array of offices located in the very countries with which AQ was at war, including New York and other major North American and European cities.9

Al Qaeda enacted a bold but pivotal move to expand its operations beyond Afghanistan in February 1998, calling for increased violence against Westerners under the banner of “The World Islamic Front for Jihad Against the Jews and Crusaders.”10 It stated that all Muslims should be compelled to fulfil their duty to kill citizens of the United States (US) as well as members of its armed forces, and their allies at any point throughout the world.11 In establishing its Jihad well into the global arena, AQ set as its primary goal the establishment of a “pan-Islamic Caliphate throughout the world by working with allied Islamic extremist groups to overthrow regimes it deems “non-Islamic’ and expelling Westerners and non-Muslims” everywhere from states that are considered Muslim.12

Following the capture of a house in Afghanistan, previously occupied by AQ forces, statements were found that made clear the goals and objectives of the organization. According to the document, AQ called for (1) the establishment of “the rule of God on earth,” (2) the attainment of “martyrdom in the cause of God,” and (3) the “purification of the ranks of Islam from the elements of depravity (Global Security, 2011). Several years prior to the US-led invasion of Taliban-controlled Afghanistan, AQ issued a sharp declaration that called upon Muslims to “kill Americans – including civilians – as well as “those who are allied with them from the helpers of Satan.”13 Bin Laden issued a fatwa, or religious ruling, in 1996 and 1998 that sanctioning holy war on a global scale. Part of that ruling read thusly:

The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies, civilians and military, is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa mosque and the holy mosque (Mecca) from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim.14

As a terrorist organization that is not tied to a particular country or region, one that is comprised of many nationalities and conducting operations on a

12 Ibidem.
13 Ibidem.
global scale, AQ can rightly be considered a true transnational terrorist group. Their ultimate aims and objectives are premised on the indiscriminate murder of Islamic extremist opposition, affecting dozens of countries that play host to a vast array of political systems, religions, ethnic compositions, and national, political, and security interests; their tactics seek to incur mass-casualties through violent means.  

**Ideology and Motivations of the Group**

Al Qaeda’s *modus operandi* centers upon the removal of Western influence “from the House of Islam.” However, this overarching avowal, the comprehensive expulsion of Western elements, carried a number of connotations. First, it meant that the US and its Western allies must be forced to withdraw all forces from the Arabian Peninsula. The presence of the US and its allies in Middle East region meant that Islam’s two holiest sites at Mecca and Medina were threatened. A great extent of the violence and aggressive acts perpetrated by AQ and its affiliates is predicated on the belief that the US and its allies are present-day imperialists and nothing short of occupying forces of Muslim lands. AQ is also consumed by its aspiration to completely relinquish the Muslim world of the influence that the West has on it and its Muslim population. All expression of the media and other forms of political, social, and cultural penetration are extinguished.

The Jews and Judaism, according to Leonard Weinberg, “occupy a special place in AQ’s Islamic demonology.” The destruction of Israel and the restoration of Palestine to its rightful place as part of the “House of Islam” represent two critical pillars within the ideological apparatus of AQ. AQ portrays the international Jewry as a community engaged in a grand conspiracy to undermine Muslim institutions on a global scale. As such, representatives of the AQ network have expressed that, Synagogues and other Jewish buildings and institutions are appropriate targets for *Jihadists*.

So-called “false” Muslim states, such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia, also prefigure in the ideological motivations of AQ because they are considered the mediums through which American and other Western influence penetrates the Middle East and Islam. AQ sees the regimes that currently govern in both these countries as highly corrupt allies of the Western world,

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16 Weinberg 2005, p. 54.
17 *Ibidem*, p. 55.
18 *Ibidem*. 
and as such, demands the replacement of both with authentically Islamic ones.\textsuperscript{19} Subsequently, AQ seeks “not merely a political but [also] a spiritual restoration, a return to the ‘straight path’ of human conduct as provided by the Prophet many centuries ago.”\textsuperscript{20}

**Leadership and Structure**

Since the structure of AQ is one of complexity, it is best to begin understanding its compilation by perceiving the organization in terms of core-periphery dualism. Al Qaeda might even be understood in terms of a four-tiered cake, at the pinnacle of which stands Osama bin Laden, who until recently, represented the ultimate authority, acting as the organization’s “emir-general.” From his former position, bin Laden was able to deliver the statements and pronouncements necessary to bring his holy war to all reaches of the globe. His exhortations and instructions to kill were disseminated by the numerous outgrowths of AQ’s core element. The layer immediately below exists a consultative council or *shura majilis*, the various members of which comprise a flock or advisors who are appointed by and are loyal to the central figure.

The third level consists of four committees, each of which remains under the command of an emir who is required to report to the consultative council. This third layer is divided into four parts: (1) military, (2) finance and business, (3) *fatwa* and Islamic study, and (4) media and publicity. These three layers rest upon a very broad military base. The military foundation is responsible for the recruitment and training of new fighters in addition to acquiring the weaponry necessary to facilitate the combat doctrine as set from above. It is also responsible for developing new modes of weaponry such as chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear weapons (CBRNs) in order to fulfill the aim of inflicting as many casualties upon their enemies as possible.\textsuperscript{21}

The military committee is further responsible for securing proper intelligence regarding the position of relevant and priority targets, after which the committee assembles the human resources necessary to conduct terrorist attacks against these targets. The military committee also takes on the responsibility of lending military assets to fighters in other parts of the world such as Chechnya and Kashmir as well as playing a liaison role by forging relationships with agents who are then responsible for directing a

\textsuperscript{19} Benjamin, Simon 2002.
wide ranging network of local support and operational cells. AQ’s 9/11 attacks depict the intricacy of this support network and its critical importance since just after the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, support cells were detected in Albania, Italy, Germany, the US, South Africa, Tanzania, Kenya, and Yemen, among other countries.

The financial and business component deserves particular attention because since no terrorist organization in history has come close to the financial and business acumen of AQ, which prior to 2001 was able to boast a remarkable annual budget of approximately $30 million USD. In terms of the material resources at its disposal, the AQ network is unsurpassed by any other and seems unlikely to be challenged now or in the near future. Formed in 1989, this body managed the solicitation of funds by donors in Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and other Middle East countries, which then channel the funds to AQ. In many parts of the developing world, businesses owned or controlled by the organization focus on the distribution of products, making the proceeds available to fund further AQ operations.

Security sources are somewhat ambiguous as to whether AQ’s financial and business committee holds any relevance, “given the dispersion of group members and restrictions on travel since 2001.” Following the 1998 embassy bombings in Africa, AQ became increasingly involved in a form of financing in which their capital expenditures were kept off the record, relying instead on the trust-based hawala banking system in use in parts of the Muslim world, particularly in Dubai and Pakistan.

Al Qaeda operates under the direction of a council that “discussed and approved major undertakings, including terrorist operations.” As mentioned previously, bin Laden was the previous leader of the AQ terrorist network until his death as a result of the US raid that took place on May 1, 2001 under the codename “Operation Neptune Spear.” Presumably, about a month after bin Laden died as a result of ballistic trauma, Ayman Mohammad Rabie al-Zawahiri assumed leadership of the core organization.

Abu Yahya al-Libi, a Libyan national captured by Pakistani authorities in 2002 but who managed to escape from an American prison in Afghanistan in 2005, emerged as the public face of AQ and is now considered one of the network’s high-ranking figures. Reports by Pakistani

23 Ibidem.
26 Ibidem.
agencies on December 11, 2009, claiming that al-Libi was killed in a US secret missile strike in Pakistan’s tribal areas but subsequent reports identified the man as Saleh al-Somali.\(^\text{27}\) Some counter terrorism experts, notably Jarret Brachman, consider him a top strategist and a theological scholar, asserting that his religious scholarship makes him one of the most effective promoters of global Jihad. Brachman argues that al-Libi “has become the heir apparent to Osama bin Laden in terms of taking over the entire global jihadist movement.”\(^\text{28}\)

Egyptian national Mustafa Abu al-Yazid is one of AQ’s original members of the leadership council who acted as an advisor to bin Laden for more than ten years. Al-Yazid was forced to serve time in prison during the 1980s with al-Zawahiri for their role in the 1981 assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat.\(^\text{29}\) Saif al-Adel and Abdullah Ahmed Abdullah are two other important figures and part of AQ’s leadership apparatus. Both are wanted for their role in the murder of over 200 people in the 1998 attacks against the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.\(^\text{30}\)

Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the man bin Laden acclaimed “the prince of al-Qaeda in Iraq,” established the Sunni Muslim extremist group AQ Iraq (AQI), and is responsible for promoting and organizing violent terrorist attacks in the name of radical Islam, which included the beheadings of kidnapped foreigners.\(^\text{31}\) Al-Zarqawi pledged his allegiance to bin Laden in October 2004, and although he was instrumental in promoting violence in the Middle East, US forces killed al-Zarqawi in 2006 during an airstrike near Baghdad.\(^\text{32}\)

It is believed that Aubu Ayyub al-Masri has succeeded al-Zarqawi as the leader of AQI since the former’s death. The Yemeni element of AQ currently operates under the leadership of Nasser al-Wahishi, who was Osama bin Laden’s former secretary. US and Iraqi forces killed al-Masri during a military raid in late-April, 2010.\(^\text{33}\) In the aftermath of AQ’s strikes against the American homeland on September 11, 2001, a number of top officials and operatives within the AQ network have been captured and are currently detained by US authorities in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. These

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\(^{32}\) *Ibidem*, p. 8.

include senior lieutenant Abu Zubaydah (captured in Pakistan in March 2002), and Abd al-Hadi al-Iraqi, former senior commander who served against Western forces in Afghanistan. Khalid Sheikh Muhammad, the alleged mastermind of 9/11, and AQ’s treasurer, Mustafa Ahmed al-Hawsawi, are also held in US custody after they were both captured in Pakistan and charged with murder, terrorism, and violating the rules of war back in February 2008.

A handful of other senior AQ leaders, who have either been killed or captured in the US-led war on terror, include commander Muhammad Atef (killed in a US airstrike in Afghanistan), and Abu Obaidah al-Masri the man involved in the 2005 London subway and bus bombings, actually died as a result of hepatitis in Pakistan in April 2008. Abdul Rahman al-Muhajir and Abu Bakr al-Suri, two of AQ’s senior bomb-makers, were also recently killed in Pakistan.

The term “Al Qaeda” is typically employed with the intention of denoting a single global group united under the leadership of bin Laden. However, this is a popular misconception about the organization, and one that greatly hinders the US’ and its allies’ ability to combat the threat. In reality, AQ is a loose association of groups operating under an umbrella term that claim affiliation to the AQ core organization and its stated objectives of global Jihad. A number of the organizations operating under this banner may have operational ties to bin Laden’s core organization, but not all of them are so intricately connected as might be perceived. Increasingly, however, groups pledging allegiance to AQ retain absolutely no formal association with the core group, the former “emir-general,” or the ideological doctrine as it relates directly to the heart of the AQ network.

The AQ leadership apparatus and its organizational structure remains a complex system based, not solely upon a hierarchical framework, but rather the organization, as it spans numerous countries worldwide, should therefore be considered a horizontal structure. This means that although bin Laden and al-Zawahiri provided ideological leadership and inspiration to the extremist operating within it, the affiliated networks existing in other countries are left to carry-out attacks against certain types of targets as determined by official AQ ideology and combat doctrine. While many

36 Ibidem.
37 Ibidem.
analysts have referred to the structure of AQ in marketing terms in which
the organization is seen as a “brand” and its various cells as “franchises,”
others have described the process of AQ decentralization “in terms of a
core group of professionals, surrounded by new membership in “grassroots’
affiliates”\textsuperscript{39} This is a deliberate strategy, according to Elkus, who asserts:

\begin{quote}
al-Qaed\aa has been moving towards decentralization ever since the invasion
of Afghanistan, with isolated cells and loosely affiliated groups that have
only a tenuous connection to the greater al-Qaeda hierarchy tapping into
Bin Laden's “franchise,” appropriating its ideological “brand name” for their
actions.\textsuperscript{40}
\end{quote}

While a handful of “knock-off” groups conduct the own violent operations
in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and elsewhere throughout the world, even
more permutations of the AQ group have been known to exist. These are
“committed to their own version of Islamist transformation in their
respective regions and societies.\textsuperscript{41} The outgrowths of the AQ core network
and its numerous spinoffs has been described in these terms:

Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb is a new incarnation of another group, the
Salafist Group for Call and Combat, which has had a long, and violent,
commitment to overthrowing the Algerian government. The group’s sudden
commitment to “al-Qaeda- style’ global jihad should be taken with a grain of
salt or, at the least, examined in light of its local history.\textsuperscript{42}

The following table briefly describes the primary constituents presumed to
be among and operating within the AQ network.\textsuperscript{43}

\textbf{Table 1: The Al Qaeda Network}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AQ – Core Organization</th>
<th>The original group headed by Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AQ in Iraq</td>
<td>An organization founded after the US invasion of Iraq, AQI has morphed several times since.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Egyptian Islamic Jihad (Tanzim al-Jihad):</td>
<td>Egyptian Islamic Jihad was founded in the 1970s, and well known for its assassination of Egyptian President Sadat in 1981. It is a good example of an organization that has historically had a far greater interest in violent transformation of the Egyptian government</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{39} http://terrorism.about.com/od/groupsleade.
\textsuperscript{40} kms1.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/.../Vol2+No+1+Art+2.pdf.
\textsuperscript{41} http://terrorism.about.com/od/groupsleade.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibidem.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibidem.
than it has in a “global jihad.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ansar al-Islam</td>
<td>This Iraqi Kurdish organization was founded in 2001, and operates in the northern areas of Iraq and Iran. Its membership includes a number of members who trained or fought in Afghanistan, with bin Laden, and it is presumed to have close operational ties with AQ in the region.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Jemaah al-Islamiyya</td>
<td>Al-Jemaah al-Islamiyya (The Islamic Group) is a southeast Asian group dedicated to bringing Islamist rule to the area. The United States suspects it of ties to AQ, but these seem tenuous on a large scale.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lashkar-i-Tayyiba</td>
<td>This Kashmir-based Sunni Pakistani group has historically directed its attacks at India. Leaders and members have demonstrated ties to some AQ members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AQ Organization in the Islamic Maghreb</td>
<td>This Algerian group grew out of one dedicated to the overthrow of the Algerian government. Its name change was accompanied by a pledge to put Western targets in its sights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu Sayyaf</td>
<td>This Philippine group has been called an AQ affiliate, but there is little evidence of a meaningful operational tie. Indeed, the organization is more like a criminal network than one committed to an ideological goal.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Strategies**

As Islamic extremism, the kind that is espoused by AQ, has emerged as a direct response to Western influence as well as political, social, economic, and cultural repression in and around the Middle East, and due to the struggle against the forced and intentional displacement of Muslims (such as the Palestinians), AQ may be seen as a prevalently religious-based group concerned with the restoration of the former glory of Islam and little (if anything) more.\(^4\) In its search for reinstating Islam as AQ ideologically interprets it, the organization seeks to correct the injustices that also plague Muslim countries in all societal facets, including those mentioned above. In practical terms, the fruition of AQ’s ultimate objectives are now and will remain an impossibility – a verity that should be greatly understood by both Western governments as well as Muslim governments combating this radical Islamic threat.

\(^4\) kms1.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/.../Vol2+No+1+Art+2.pdf.
Several centuries into human history, Islam was the most practiced and dominant religion in the world. This dominance underwent a gradual process of erosion as a result of foreign occupation of Muslim lands, the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the influx of Western influences, and the advent of modern technology that stood in sharp contrast to the classic teachings and practice of Islam as a religion and religious way of life. In an attempt to bring to fruition the ideal Muslim community under the banner of extreme Islam, Salafi Jihadis have implemented four different strategies; they include: (1) Fatwa, (2) Dawa, (3) Salafi Jihad, and (4) Global Salafi Jihad.

There is a religious expectation placed on all Muslims to defend an Islamic land when it is invaded by an infidel enemy and ultimately threatens its religion and practice. When a recognized religious authority issues a fatwa, it becomes the responsibility of all Muslims to follow its exhortations. The pronouncement of such a ruling was made following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and served as a critical calling to all Muslims to expel the Soviet Communist invaders. Thousands of Muslims seeking to defend the sanctity of Islam responded to this call and herded their way to Afghanistan to fulfill their obligation to this defensive Jihad. The implementation of a fatwa, thusly, represents the first of the abovementioned strategies in confronting the presence of US and Western forces in the Middle East.

The second strategy is dawa. The meaning of dawa is a “calling” or “preaching.” It literally means “a calling to come closer to religion,” though the meaning in the context of AQ’s terrorist operations is “to attract followers” to its cause and the fulfillment of its grand strategy against the US and its Western allies. The central idea behind the dawa “stems from the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt based on the core belief that investing in educating Islamic values and social activity may bear fruit even if not in the immediate time range”. AQ uses the dawa as a primary mechanism with which to promote its movement against the West and those who are in direct and indirect collusion with it.

The dawa network enables AQ to broaden the base of public support imbuing the Muslim population around the world with extreme Islamic values and specifically with Jihadi ideology urging their resistance to the West. However, AQ refuses to extend the support of dawa to all Muslims. It views those who fail to answer the critical calling through its fatwa as

46 Ibidem.
48 Ibidem.
infidels, either influenced or coerced by the West; as such, they are deemed enemies of Islam.

*Salafi Jihad*, the guiding doctrine of AQ, was advocated by Egyptian *Salafists*, Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad abd-al-Salam Faraj.\(^4^9\) They saw the modern Muslim as one that predated the revelations of the Prophet, and a result of Muslim leaders’ refusal to impose *Sharia* – the body of doctrines that regulate the lives of those who profess Islam.\(^5^0\) The Islamic hardliners saw those who failed to impose *Sharia* as deserving death, and called for the removal of such regimes even if it meant that violent measures necessitated their actions. These were the necessary steps to restore a true Islamic community and way of life in Muslim societies. As such, the *Salafists* perceived themselves as confronting two enemies, those at home and those abroad.\(^5^1\)

Global *Salafi Jihad* was first proclaimed by Osama bin laden in his 1996 *fatwa*. This declaration signaled AQ’s focus on its enemies abroad, specifically the United States and Israel. This strategy is predicated on the profound shift of ending the US presence in the Holy Land to engaging US civilians and military personnel and their allies everywhere. The result would be, as Weinberg describes:

> [...] a Muslim world, one stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific which would resemble the great Muslim empires of the past and which would be ruled by a “Commander of the Faithful or caliph as existed during the “Golden Age” of Islam.\(^5^2\)

Given that the US would not stand by while AQ’s carries-out its violent acts to achieve this aim, the belief is that *Global Jihad* should be used to defeat the US. Accordingly, AQ’s strategy involves inflicting “the maximum casualties against the opponent, for this is the language understood by the West” and “concentrate on the method of martyrdom operations” that would inflict the most damage on the enemy with the least cost to the *Jihad*.\(^5^3\)

**Ideological Impact**

There is still the belief that AQ operates as and poses the same threat as any other terrorist group in the present-day world. However, this reading of the AQ network is dangerous for two reasons. First, it misinforms about the


\(^{50}\) Ibidem.

\(^{51}\) Ibidem.

\(^{52}\) Weinberg 2005, p. 54.

potential of the core group as well as its affiliates and supporters throughout the world. Second, it underestimates the threat that Global Salafi Jihad ultimately poses to international peace and security.\(^5^4\) Having escaped the confines of monolithic control and centralized structures, AQ has been able to add potency to its ideological impact in terms of its structure, strategy, targets, and tactics, and thus, does not rely on economic subjugation, for example, of Muslim minorities in order to garner attention and support for its cause.

The metamorphosis of this threat, from AQ to Global Salafi Jihad, is part of the formula that will likely ensure the longevity of the organization and the lethality of its threat matrix. One of the newest threats to emerge is the recruitment of non-Muslims. This reality greatly alters the threat facing the US and its allies while simultaneously suggesting that AQ continues to be successful in marketing its cause with relatively little financial basis, and to those who traditionally rest beyond its spheres of influence.

In terms of its structure, AQ’s ideology impact is profound; its horizontal nature is a deliberate and magnificently successful strategy to enhance its ability to deliver violent attacks against the sort of targets that have been designated in AQ’s ideology and combat doctrine in multiple theaters.

The success of its strategy is made apparent though the destructiveness of a number of main attacks in the organizations recent history. The US embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania in August 1998 killed over 200 people and wounded over 4,000.\(^5^5\) The September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon left nearly 3,000 people dead.\(^5^6\) The bomb attacks in Bali in October 2002 killed over 200 people and injured just over 200 more.\(^5^7\) The Madrid bomb attacks in March 2004 killed nearly 200 people and injured hundreds more.\(^5^8\) The London bombs attacks against its transport systems in July 2005 that killed nearly sixty people and injured a further 700.\(^5^9\)

The ideological base of AQ enabled it to conduct this scale of assaults, expanding its scope and the deliverance of lethal intent to numerous countries in a number of different continents with the ultimate goal of inflicting mass-casualties. The 9/11 attacks on US soil and a series

\(^{54}\) Wilkinson 2001, p. 42.


\(^{57}\) http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/2778923.stm.


of other attacks on an international scale including those mentioned above, according to Wilkinson,\textsuperscript{60} “demonstrates that the movement has no hesitation or compunction about killing hundreds of innocent civilians, including fellow Muslims.” These attacks also demonstrate that the organization espouses a variety of means with which to inflict its casualties, adhering to no singular or restrictive vehicle for violence in any single locale.

Table 2: Al Qaeda Base of Operations

![World Map](http://www.answercoalition.org/march-forward/statements/afghanistan-war-myths.html)


AQ’s tactics have compelled the US and its allies to employ and even become dependent on advanced technology and firepower, the type that will always result in collateral damage when moving against AQ terrorists. This results in popular resentment toward the West even though its operations seek to neutralize the AQ threat. Collateral damage as a result of operations conducted by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and US forces in Afghanistan have been popular fodder for AQ propagandists who seek to portray these actors as killers of Muslims and imperialists in foreign lands.

The ideological impact of AQ is also made apparent in its initiative. That is, one of the greatest misconceptions centering on this particular facet

\textsuperscript{60} Wilkinson 2001, p. 43.
of the war on terror is that the Pentagon and US military personnel retain
the ability to determine the battlefield. Terrorist activity does not adhere to
the mastery of major cities, securing access to vital resources or even the
control of fixed points on a map. Al Qaeda finds its base of operations in
nearly as many Western democratic nations as in non-Western, non-
democratic, second- and third-tier nations. As Elkus explains,61 “[t]errorist
networks do not have such a spatial limitation – the battlefield is anywhere a
lone jihadi can attack, whether it is a café, movie theater, shopping mall, or
home.”

Al Qaeda has succeeded in ensuring the real war will always be fought
on an ideological level. Even with the death of Osama bin Laden, and the
expulsion of the Taliban and the security that this regime provided for AQ
in Afghanistan, the US and its allies have committed to conducting a war
against a concept. So long as the Western allies fail to address the core
reasons for the rise of and augmentation of terrorist activities including AQ
and its affiliates, they will continue to ride the costly and dangerously cyclic
topographies of the war on terror.

The Future of Al Qaeda
Terrorism, particularly the kind that is espoused by AQ, will not disappear
in the near future. In the last three decades, religious-based terrorism has
undergone a tremendous growth process, and as the objectives of AQ to
eliminate all American and Western influence within the Middle East,
destroy the state of Israel, and establish an Islamic caliphate drives headlong
into increased American political, social, and economic interests in the same
region(s). Thus, it is likely that the war on terror has yet to reach its
crescendo.

One of the heaviest questions weighing on the minds of policy-
makers and analysts is: how and to what extent will the death of bin Laden
affect the future of the AQ terrorist organization? The death of Osama bin
Laden has been seen as a considerable impediment to the future of the
network and a significant achievement for the US and its allies (from a
Western point of view), and the core organization has undoubtedly felt the
brunt of this setback and will, at the very least, remain stunned from this
incident until it can reorganize its central committees and assure its inner
constituents that there is indeed a future for is group.

The future of AQ depends on a number of factors; these include: (1)
the resolution of its future leadership, (2) the impact of coalition forces on
the stability of AQ in Central Asia, including Afghanistan, Pakistan, as well

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61 kms1.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/.../Vol2+No+1+Art+2.pdf.
as the Caucasus, and (3) the ideological base of AQ as the primary mechanism with which to continue pumping life into its affiliate groups and cells. The capacity to address the issue of its leadership is perhaps the most critical issue for AQ to attend to at this critical juncture. At present, there seems to be no fault-lines in the networks ability to resolve this issue in terms of potential players filling Osama bin Laden’s place as emir. Ayman al-Zawahiri is perhaps the most logical choice as well as Abu Yahya al-Libi, however, Egyptian Saif al-Adel as interim AQ boss is also a possibility. Reports currently indicate that a set of officials within the inner-circle deem al-Adel as the most appropriate figure for the job, and even though there is no indication of an internal struggle for the title, the prospect of fragmentation of the core organization should be seen as having a casual relationship with any such contest, if one should arise.

Given that AQ has thus far successfully transitioned to the *Global Salafi Jihad*, and as a result of its network status, the leadership void should, in practical terms, provide no direct impediment to operations undertaken by the organization’s affiliates. Had AQ not restructured itself in the aftermath of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan then the death of bin Laden might have represented a shock from which the once hierarchical-structured AQ might not be able to recover. Nonetheless, having fundamentally reconfigured itself since, AQ’s network trait has provided it with the sort of insulation necessary to withstand such a hit. It is likely that AQ will be able to show the same sort of flexibility in reacting to dramatic changes imposed upon it, and therefore, its resilience should not be understated.

Since former bases established in Afghanistan no longer provide the training necessary for future terrorism, and Osama bin Laden’s funds no longer enable a steady influx of weaponry and materials, it may be justifiably averred that the current situation could even lead to a strengthening of the network by building an increasing sense of independence among its various cells. Whether or not the West is able to respond by formulating its counter-terrorism (CT) strategy along similar lines remains something to be seen. The notion of AQ delivering the death-blow to the US and its allies may be temporarily out of reach in light of the former leader’s death, but it might well be expected that AQ will fall back on a “long war” strategy, the sort of attrition style formula used to defy Moscow from 1979 to 1989 – to bleed its enemies white. It is well within the organization’s capacity to emulate an anti-colonial strategy by making it as costly as possible for American and Western forces to maintain their presence in the Middle East. In this sense, AQ might actually leverage itself despite its palpable, if not seemingly,
vulnerable position by obliging the US’ and the military forces of its allies to continuously involve themselves in operations for which they were neither designed.

Second, the strategic alliance operating against AQ in Central Asia is another factor that will undoubtedly impact the future of the network. At present, the tension between Pakistan and the US might reveal more serious fissures in the alliance, rendering the US’ and NATO’s ability to maintain security in the region even more difficult, particularly as Canadian forces have cashed-in their return ticket and the US and NATO have sought to reduce their operational strength and bring their troops home as well. This activity will prescribe AQ with the necessary time to correct the clefts that have surfaced in the *dramatis personae* on their end. A window of opportunity has opened for the West to apply greater pressure on the core organization in the hope that cracking the core as an instrument of ideological motivation might essentially neutralize the group and the prospect of a virulent *Global Salafi Jihad*.

With the core organization threatened, questions about the maintenance of the terrorist network continue to flourish as well. As the “Arab Spring” has given rise to hopes for a new and sustainable wave of democracy across North Africa and parts of the Middle East, it is prudent to call into question the opportunity that political, social, and economic uncertainty in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Yemen, and Syria brings to the table for AQ. Synchronously, however, the dismantling of previous frameworks of authority and governance provide AQ with fertile ground for establishing fresh roots. In March 2012, AQ chief al-Zawahiri called upon Pakistanis to come together in arms against the Pakistani government and its military that have sided with the US. He called upon Muslims to defend their right to have their interests voiced in the region and not American interests exclusively. Contradicting the underlying principles and motives behind the Arab Spring that swept North Africa and the Middle East beginning in January 2011, al-Zaqahiri has twisted the rhetoric of the 2011-revolutions to destabilize Pakistan and hopefully expel US forces and those friendly to the US potentially with the hope of establishing a new stronghold for AQ. The likeliness that AQ invests much of its attention to Pakistan, which has been experiencing very shaky relations with the US over the past several years, is high especially considering that AQ activity was absent during most of the revolutions and activity that took place in the region. The move has smacked distinctly of al-Zawahiri’s intention to exploit the Arab uprisings.

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63 *Ibidem.*
Some have called into question the viability of AQ to fuel its future in ideological terms with the collapse of acerbic Muslim regimes in the Middle East. Although, the destitution of many young Arabs in the wake of uncertainty in their countries and in their economic futures as a result of the 2008/2009 global economic crisis and the prospect of a new round of economic recession in parts of the world provide new a optimistic breeding ground for the future of AQ and transnational terrorism through its network structure. As the US discovers new pathways of exerting influencing the Middle East by establishing more pro-Western regimes and attitudes as a result of the “Arab Spring,” the prospect of an upsurge in AQ sympathy and a call to arms against the Western invaders could be a wildcard in the hands of AQ.

There is perhaps no embroidering the fact that AQ’s global reach gives it the ability to punch above its weight. We do not live in a dream world of self-contained spheres of security; even autonomous networks possess the skills and technology necessary to continue waging holy war in the name of Islamic extremism despite their size, structure, and experience, or even severe setbacks that some Western nations might perceive of as the coup de grâce. Al Qaeda and its affiliates have made substantial contributions to redefining the map of 21st century terrorism and terrorist operations. The entire world is, not a normal and secure society; rather, it is in its entirety a war zone where neither civilian nor military personnel can adequately be deemed safe or secure. No longer are there any restrictions on the level of violence that can be waged by AQ cells, and thus, their objective is to ensure that its assaults on the Western world deliver nothing short of a shocking impact that smacks beyond the parameters of their targets’ tolerance while simultaneously exemplifying a dissolution of the terrorist network’s moral strictures.

Targets will continue to include symbols of America and the West (politicians, representatives, statesmen), agents of the US and its allies (government officials and security forces, including the military, special operations forces, and domestic law enforcement), those deemed as coerced or corrupted by Western influence (fellow Muslims, and Muslim regimes that acquiesce in Western “imperialism”), as well as civilians of all types, in an attempt to promote a state of anxiety in all corridors of Western societies, forcing the issue of Islam and the goals of Global Salafi Jihad to remain at the upper-most in the Western psyche. Adding to the state of anxiety is the fear that citizens unable to tolerate the test of their resolve could create psychosomatic epidemics that might greatly threaten Western
governments abilities to continue to garner support for their cause in fighting transnational terrorism.

These tactics represent keystones in the context of the fundamental shift of the new terrorist network from AQ to Global Salafi Jihad, and its broad temporal and strategic swings related to the ultimate objectives as outlined in AQ’s ideology and combat doctrine. The combination of an uncompromising ideology, the commitment to the use of physical force, and the legacy set by those who have become martyrs in their epic struggle against the infidels coalesces into an unbreakable and watertight intransigence that will undoubtedly figure prominently in the new Global Salafi Jihad.

Teroarea sacră:
Jihadul salafist mondial și viitorul Al Qaeda

rezumat -

La un deceniu de la atacurile din 11 septembrie 2001 există încă incertitudini cu privire la moțiunea ideologică a extremiștilor islamiști și viitorul rețelei teroriste Al Qaeda având în vedere schimbările dramatice ce au avut loc în structura fundamentală a grupării și impactul acestor schimbări asupra diferitelor celule și diverșilor adepți Al Qaeda care operează în acest moment în țări din lumea întreagă. Din 9/11 adepții violentei ideologiilor Al Qaeda continuă să moară și să ucidă de bună voie într-o încercare sistematică de a împlini scopurile și obiectivele supreme stabilite de fostul lider Al Qaeda, Osama bin Laden, și de anturajul acestuia. Convingerile ideologice ale celor veșnic pregătiți să răspundă chemării la luptă împotriva occidentalilor, imperialiștilor și celor considerați neloiali, nu ar trebui minimizate sau trecute cu vederea în ideea că nu ideologia ar fi forța dominantă din arsenalul extremismului islamic. Aceasta poate, sau ar trebui, să fie văzută mai degrabă drept una dintre cele mai puternice arme din arsenalul grupărilor extremist și radicaliste, inclusiv a Al Qaeda, o modalitate de răspuns de la adepți și liderii pentru cauza grupării. În mod evident, ideologia teroristă este de o puternică forță moțivațională care determină individul să recurge la terorism ca formă violentă de exprimare a convingerilor politice și radicalist religioase și influențează modul în care comunitățile căzute victime ale unor acțiuni teroriste răspund la astfel de forme de extremism și chiar a felului în care ele aleg să combată amenințările prezente și viitoare reprezentate de extremismii ideologici și religioși și căile violente ale acestora. În ciuda numeroaselor schimbări care au avut loc în interiorul Al Qaeda și în ciuda valului de optimism că moartea lui bin Laden ar duce la slăbirea puterii sale, Al Qaeda deține capacitatea de adaptare la aceste provocări, în parte și ca urmare a unor noi tactici și campanii de recrutare în cadrul unor state occidentale precum SUA sau Regatul Unit, și de a se reinventă, cu oarecare succes, într-o nouă rețea teroristă cunoscută sub numele de Global Salafi Jihad (jihadul salafist mondial).
Bibliographical abbreviations


**Keywords:** Ideology, *Jihād*, Muslim states, networks, radical Islam.

**Cuvinte-cheie:** ideologie, *Jihād*, state musulmane, rețele, radicalism islamic.
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<th>Abreviere</th>
<th>Titlu</th>
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<td>AÉ</td>
<td>Arheologiei Értesítő a Magyar régészeti, művészt-történeti és éremtani társulat tudományos folyóirata. Budapest.</td>
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<td>AIGS</td>
<td>Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane „Gheorghe Şincai”. Târgu Mureş.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aluta</td>
<td>Aluta (Studii și comunicări - Tanulmányok és Közlemények). Sfântu Gheorghe.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AM</td>
<td>Arheologia Moldovei. Institutul de Istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol”. Iași.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AnEtn</td>
<td>Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei. Cluj-Napoca.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AOG</td>
<td>Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen. Wien.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Archaeologia Bulgarica</td>
<td>Archaeologia Bulgarica. Sofia.</td>
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<td>ATS</td>
<td>Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis. Sibiu.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAHC</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Archaeologica et Historica Corvinensis. Hunedoara.</td>
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BCȘS - Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Știrii Științei. Universitatea „1 Decembrie 1918” Alba Iulia. Alba Iulia.
BHAUT - Biblioteca Historica et Archaeologica Universitatis Timisiensis. Timișoara.
BS - Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis. Sibiu.
BSȘC - Buletinul Societății Științifice din Cluj. Cluj.
BUA - Bibliotheca Universitatis Apulensis. Universitatea „1 Decembrie 1918” Alba Iulia. Alba Iulia.
CA - Cercetări arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie a României. București.
CAn - Current Anthropology. Chicago.
Carpica - Carpica. Complexul Muzeal „Iulian Antonescu”. Bacău.
CCA - Cronica cercetărilor arheologice. București.
CCRPM - Cercetări de conservare și restaurare a patrimoniului muzeal. București.
CI - Cercetări Istorice. Muzeul de Istorie a Moldovei. Iași.
CNA

Corviniana

Crisia

Cultura creștină

Cumidava

Dacia

Delfo
- Il coltello di Delfo. Rivista di cultura materiale e archeologia industriale. Roma.

Der Anschmitt

DFS
- Deutsche Forschung im Südosten. Sibiu.

Dolgozatok

DP
- Documenta Praehistorica. Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolitika, neolitika in eneolitika v sloveniji. Ljubljana.

Drobeta

EA
- Environmental Archaeology. The Journal of Human Palaeoecology. Association for Environmental Archaeology.

EphNap

FoliaArch

FSI
- Forensic Science International.

FVL
- Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde. Sibiu.

GCA

Germania

HTRTÉ

IJO

Interacademica

Istros

JAA
- Journal of Anthropological Archaeology.

JAR

JAS

JFA
- Journal of Field Archaeology. Boston University.
JQS - Journal of Quaternary Science.
Materiale - Materiale și cercetări arheologice. București.
MB - Mitropolia Banatului. Timișoara.
Nemus - Nemus. Alba Iulia.
PA - Patrimonium Apulense. Alba Iulia.
PB - Patrimonium Banaticum. Timișoara.
PBF - Präehistorische Bronzefunde. München.
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<td>- Programm des evaghelischen Untergymnasium in Mühlbach und der damit verbundenen Lehranstalten. Mühlbach (Sebeş).</td>
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<tr>
<td>QSR</td>
<td>- Quaternary Science Reviews. The International Multidisciplinary Research and Review Journal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RVM</td>
<td>- Rad Vojvodanskih muzeja. Novi Sad.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SCIV(A)</td>
<td>- Studii şi cercetări de istoria veche. Bucureşti (din 1974, Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche şi arheologie).</td>
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<tr>
<td>SCIM</td>
<td>- Studii şi cercetări de istorie medie. Bucureşti.</td>
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<td>SOA</td>
<td>- Südostdeutsches Archiv. München.</td>
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<td>SlovArch</td>
<td>- Slovenská Archeológia. Nitra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>- Studii de Preistorie. Bucureşti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>StComSM</td>
<td>- Studii şi comunicări. Muzeul Judeţean Satu Mare. Satu Mare.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SV</td>
<td>- Siebenbürgische Vierteljahrschrift. Hermannstadt (Sibiu).</td>
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TISER - Travaux de l'Institut de Spéléologie « Emile Racovitza ».
București.
UPA - Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie.
Berlin.
VAH - Varia Archaeologica Hungarica. Budapest.
VAMZ - Vjesnik Arheološkog Muzeja u Zagrebu. Zagreb.
VTT - Veszprémi Történelmi Tár a Veszprém Megyei Múzeumi Igazgatóság kiadványa. Veszprém.