THE "AFGHAN ARABS" MEDIA AT JIHAD

AHMAD MUAFFAQ ZAIDAN

The PF

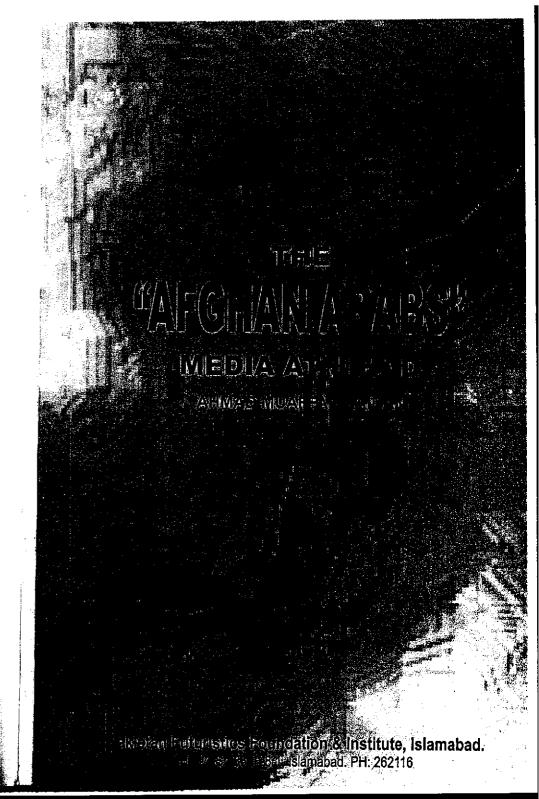


Prosper in Peace

The Pakistan Futuristics Foundation & Insitute, Islamabad. H. 37, St. 33, F-8/1, Islamabad. Ph. 262116

Biodata Brief:

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DEDICATION

This Labour of Love is Dedicated to:

My beloved Daughter

Banan (1-1/2 years old)

Who fell in a small pool while playing

In the Peshawar University campus and was laid to rest

In the Martyrs Graveyard in Pabbi.

May Allah bless her soul and make her

A Shafi for us in the Hereafter!

Also: To my colleagues in our Jihad of the Pen:

Both living and lost or Martyred!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Before starting this study I want to thank my Ex-Chairman of the Dept. of Journalism, University of Peshawar, Mr. Sanaullah, who rendered much help in this regard. And I benefited from his valuable advice and I also want to thank Mr. Naeem Gul and Shah Jan the then Chairman of the department who were teaching at the department, for their guidance. I am very grateful, to my Arab and Afghan brothers as well, who helped me. I should not leave without mentioning Mr. Imad Al Abid, Ex-Editor-in-Chief of Al-Jihad magazine. Mr. Issam Abdul Hakim, the then Chief Editor of Al-Jihad, and Mr. Ahmad Syar, the Ex-Director, Public Relations with Arabic Organizations served the Afghan people. They supported me much by presenting the material to me.

I am very grateful to my wife for her help and service. A number of other persons have helped me in this study over the past two years. It is difficult to name them all. Therefore I express my gratitude to all for their valuable help and assistance.

I have to express my gratitude to Dr. Raja Ikram, (Chairman, The PFI) for his valuable editing, and his encouragement to publish this book.

FOREWARD

By: Dr. Ikram Azam, Chairman The PFI, July, 1999

The Spirit of Jihad:

It is the Spirit if Jihad that is the secret of survival of Islam ever after the death of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (SAS!). this spirit symbolizes the Muslim's lust for spiritual life: here and Hereafter. It is the quintessence of Islam's Self-Renewal, Revivalism and Renaissance down the centuries—despite the crusades, colonialism and imperialism. This spirit of Jihad is the key to the Islami and Muslim World Collective Futures. Spirit of Jihad. Is no friend of Islam or the Muslims?

Ahmad Muaffaq Zaidan is my student for his Ph.D. (Futuristic) study is a revealing glimpse of the Spirit of Jihad, as enacted by some glorious Arabs in Afghanistan. Their Jihad was both of the pen and of arms. The present volume is the story of the Journalist Jihad for the Afghan cause. This study is also inspiring, Jihad-wise! Let us hope and pray that the Ghazis' Mujahid's and Shaheed's blood will bear fruit every where before long; in Afghanistan, Kushmir, Palastine Bosnia, Cosovo, Chechnya and ourcommon causes for which they perished—nor their families—which are the sacred responsibility of the Ummah! The Spirit of Jihad is eternal and so is Islam. That is Allah's own promise in the Holy Quran! The Literary, Journalistic and Scholarly Jihad carry forward the message in their own manner.

PREFACE

Ever since my joining the Journalism Department of University of Peshawar, I was thinking of this topic for my thesis in the M.A. (Journalism). When I offered this topic to my Chairman. Mr. Sanaullah, he welcomed it and encouraged me much.

I intended in this work to apprise the readers, particularly non-Arabs, about the role of Arabs in the Afghan Jihad, which was unique in this period of history. My focus is on the Media. There are many aspects of their role, like humanitarian and military, which are the concern of other people to write about it.

This vast extent of Arab media in Peshawar represents the Arab interest in this Jihad, and in fact, the Islamic media all over the world which belong to the Islamic movement, have been strengthened and gained momentum after this Jihad, many Arabs gained skill and experience from this work. And this is a new phenomenon in the media. They have succeeded to convey their news and sentiments to their like-minded readers. But they failed, or did not care to convey their views and news to the secular-mind-people.

My source of research for this topic is the people who were or working for the media at site. Secondly, I am not writing from far away. I have with this Jihad's Media, and know all of the Chief Editors of the related magazines and newspapers, and their workers.

I have tried to start with the oldest newspaper, and I have followed the chronological order in writing this study.

What typifies almost all the journalism covered in this short study is:

- i) The Spirit of Jihad.
- ii) A practical Pragmatic approaches to cater to the needs of the moment. Demand and supply, felt or expressed needs and response there to, started and ended papers.
- iii) The Mujahids of the Pen were totally undoubted by financial, administrative, logistic and other constraints, many of them also saw as action at the fronts and were even injured, martyred.
- iv) The rallying role of the late Prof. Dr. Shaheed Abdullah Azzam (and his two teen-aged sons who got martyred with him—which was inspiringly exemplary, on the part of a contemporary Muslims scholar.
- v) What is remarkable is that the Journalistic Jihad depended largely on volunteers, nominal subsistence wages and numerous conditions,

OF THE N.W.F.P.

Geography of N.W.F.P.

The N.W.F.P. (North-West Frontier Province) of Pakistan consists of five former British India districts: Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu, Kohat, Peshawar and Hazara, with the total area of 13, 193 square miles, of which rather less than one third is cultivated of the cultivated area, 70 percent depends solely on rainfall. The Chief Commissioner, as Agent to the Governor, controls beyond the Provincial Administrative boundary, territory occupied by independent tribes, which cover approximately an area of 25,500 sq. miles. in 1911, the population of British districts was 21,961,933 and that of the tribal territory is estimated to exceed 1,600,000. In the districts, 93 persons in every hundred profess Islam, and over 38 percent are Pathan.

1. Dera Ismail Khan lies to the North of Dera Ghazi Khan and is very similar to it. In its physical features, it is divided into three areas, Dera Ismail Khan and Kulachi have a long river frontage on the West, and are bounded on the East by the Suliman Range. The Kachchhi of Dera Ismail Khan corresponds to the Sind of Dera Ghazi Khan, but is much narrower and is not served by inundation canals, except in the extreme North. It total area is 3,780 sq., miles. Cultivated area is 818 sq. miles. Population is 2, 56, 120.

2. Bannu. The small Bannu district occupies a basin surrounded by hills and drained by the Kurram and its affluent, the Tochi. It total area is 1,641 square miles, cultivated area is 818 sq. miles. and it has 2,501,086 population.

Most of the irrigation this district is dependent on rainfall and some of it depends canals and streams. The Deputy Commissioner of the District has also political charge of some 17,884 tribesmen living across the border. There are good roads to Dera Ismail Khan and Kohat.

- 3. Kohat is a large district, but most of it is unfit for tillage, only 1/6 is actually cultivated, and its area is around, 2,973 sq. miles. Cultivated area is 512 sq. miles. its population is more than 222,960. The district stretches East on the Indus to the South of the Kurram valley. The two places are now connected by railways.
- 4. Peshawar is a large basin encircled by hills. The gorge of the Indus separated it from Attock and Hazara. Its area is 2,611 sq. miles. Cultivated area is 1,398 sq. miles. The population is around 865,009. The basin is drained by the Kabul River, the chief affluent of which are in Peshawar.
- 5. Hazara is a typical mountainous and sub-mountainous district. It has every kind of cultivation. Its area is 2,858

sq. miles. Cultivated area is 673 sq. miles. The population is 6,031,028.

Hazara is divided into three Tahsil: Haripur, Abbottabad and Mansehra. Hazara was a part of the Kashmir territory sold to Raja Golab Singh by the British in 1846, but he handed it back in exchange for some districts near Jammu. The majority of its population are Sunni, There are some Shia and Ismailes.

The N.W.F.P. THROUGH HISTORY.

The city of Peshawar has been the capital of Pakistan's North West Frontier Province (N.W.F.P.) for centuries. Peshawar is a Persian word, which means before coming, i.e. the gate of the sub-continent, or some historic referred to it as the name of an old tribe. Peshawar has been a meeting place for marchants and nomads from South Asia, the Middle East, Central Asia, and the Far East. In the surrounding countryside, Alexander's armies passed by Buddhist monastries, which were visited by pilgrims long before the advent of Islam. Muslims came down through the Khyber Pass into South Asia and founded dynasties like those of the great Moghuls, whose very mention evokes a sense of wealth of power. The British rules in the subcontinent reversed the flow of armies, going from Peshawar through the Khyber Pass to Kabul in what Kibling called the 'Great Game'.

The inhabitants of the NWFP are Pathans, who speak the Pushto language, common some Afghans. Some historians trace their origins to the Jews, particularly the names of places are like those of Jews, for instance, Khyber Pass. It is also the name of a place in Saudi Arabia where Jews once lived. Some experts in languages say that Pushto is closer to Hebrew.

When Pakistan separated from India in 1947, the NWFP decided by an overwhelming majority to join Pakistan, in spite of some opposing voices, which were in a microscopic minority.



AFGHANISTAN CRISIS

The Roots of the Tragedy:

Many historians say that the Afghanistan crisis started on 5th July 1973, when Muhammad Daud overthrew his cousin, while he was in Italy for medical check-up. Many Parchami elements belonging to the Communist party participated in the coup and were appointed to key posts. Moscow was the first to recognise the regime. The coup took place with the help of the Army which was supplied entirely with Russian equipments, and according to U.S. cources, with 1500 Soviet Advisers and technicians in their midst.

Daud Changes his Attitude:

In 1975, Daud began to purge the Parcham leaders; but he retained the general thrust of Zahir's programmes. He attempted to replace the old guards with political retainers close to him, and moderate or non-partism officials from previous liberal cabinet, at the time of Daud's coup. A shrewd observer commented on behalf of the American Ambassador in Afghanistan.

"I give Daud six years before the Communist decide to dispense with him." The communists dispensed with him sooner than six years when Daud tried to eliminate from his cabinet. Some observers said that he took this decision after he assured himself that the Communist with the help of Russia, were going to topple him and take power.

The 1978 Coup Detate:

Daud's regime started the purge by murdering Communist leaders like Mir Akbar Kahiber, according to a report, he told a number of his friends that the time had come to finish off the Communists before they got too strong. Events began unfold when Mir Akbar Kahiber, a leading Parchamist ideologist, was assassinated on 17th April 1978. A large gathering attended his funeral and shouted slogans against Daud the U.S. and CIA agents. The two wings of Communist party, Parcham and Khalq get reunited when they saw that Daud was against both of them. When Daud saw that their activities were intensifying, particularly after the assassination of Kahiber, he issued orders to capture all key Communist leaders like Taraki, Kamal, Amin and others but Amin himself ordered Watan Jar on his way to jail to start their coup. The coup was launched on April 26, 1978. 600 officers commanding two divisions and an armored brigade were involved in it. Col. Abdul Qadir, Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force, who had played a key role in 1973 coup was the key figure in 1978 coup detat, as well. The Communists took power the next day of the coup, and killed Daud and his family. They freed the Communist leaders from the jails and appointed Taraki as President of the new republic and Babrak Karmal as the vice President. Eleven ministers

belonged to the Khalq, while them ministers were from the Parcham. But the honey their moon between the two communist parties did not last long the differences between the two wings started, so that the Khalq faction wield many Parchami elements as Ambassadors abroad, after they discovered a conspiracy against the Khalq faction. But after sometime there was a meeting between Taraki, leader of the Khalq faction, and Karamal, the leader of Parcham, in Moscow. The latter put a condition for his coming back to Kabul: to oust Amin from his post of the Prime Minister. When Amin was informed about this meeting by his close friends who attended that meeting, he arranged a plan to kill Taraki at the airport, but failed. Later on he succeeded in killing him and proclaimed himself as President. The Soviet Union was unhappy with him, so after some months the soviets intervened in the Afghan affairs, killed Amin and installed Karamal, who was brought from Moscow.

The Mjahideen:

There was two stories about the origin of the Islamic movements in Afghanistan. The first is that it started in 1968 at the Kabul University and was led by Hikmatyar and his colleagues. The other story is that Islamic movement originated in 1958 among the religious circles. The movement was supported and protected by Dr. Ghulam Muhammad Niyazi, the future Dean of the Faculty of Religious Sciences. Another story said that Niazi formed this movement with the motivation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Rabbani, Sayyaf and other personalities supported him in this regard, the battle between Islamists and Communists was brewing in the Kabul University. When Daud came into power, many Mujahideen leaders escaped to Pakistan, like Rabbani, Hikmatyar and others. In Pakistan, they differed and while Rabbani established (Jamiat-e-Islami), the Islamic Society,

and Hikmatyar started (Hizb-e-Islami) Islamic party. Armed struggle has already been started against Daud's regime; but it intensified after the Communist came power, the Islamic movements gained momentum particularly when the people saw for themselves how the situation created by Daud and his regime will lead to the creation of Communist power in Afghanistan.

Nooristan was the first to revolt and declare itself independent, Paktia, Nangarhar, Kapisa, Uruzgan, Parwan and others followed.

Soviet intervention in Afghanistan could not achieve its objectives so the USSR decided to sign the Geneva accord, independently from the Mujahideen, and pulled out their troops from Afghanistan. At this time the Mujahideen established their first government led by Ahmed Shah Ahmad Zai, which failed. They established a new one and appointed Muhadidi as the Head of State, Sayyaf as the Premier, and other leaders were appointed as ministers.



AN ARAB COMMUNITY IN PESHAWAR

I do not want to go to far back in history to discuss how long ago the Arabs came to Peshawar. I only want to focus on the presence of Arabs during the Afghan Jihad, when they started to come to Peshawar after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan on 27 December 1979.

I will divide the Arabs presence and role here into two parts:

- 1. The humanitarians.
- 2. The Mujahideen
- A. The humanitarians: More than fifteen Arab welfare organizations came to serve the Afghan Mujahideen and refugees. I will mention their names and some of their roles, as under:
 - i. The Saudi Red Crescent: started its work in November 1980 and concentrated on medical, welfare among the refugees. Some work was done inside

Afghanistan, in addition to supporting refugees in Pakistan with essential commodities.

- ii. Saudi Relief Committee: It was originally part of the Saudi Red Crescent; then left it in late 1983 and worked among Afghan Mujahideen by providing them with ammunition, guns and whatever else they needed. The Committee concentrated on the refugees, it distributed money to the parties; and ran many schools in Pakistan and inside Afghanistan as well.
- iii. Kuwait Red Crescent: Started in 1981; and has very progressive and advanced hospitals. It is concentrating on medical work and is giving scholarships to some Afghan women and men to study medicine in Pakistani medical colleges.
- iv. Islamic Dawa Committee: Started its work in Pakistan late in 1984. Concentrating its work in the medical field and education high education and secondary schools. In addition, it has established some refugee villages with full facilitates. They are particularly interested in orphans.
- v. Services Office: This office started its work late in 1984, led by Shaik Adbullah Azzam. The activities of the office are divided between assistance to the Mujahideen inside Afghanistan and focused on the media, education and medical aid. The role of the office has been subsided after the car bomb episode in Nov. 1989, in Peshawar.
- vi. Islamic Relief Agency (ISRA): Started in 1984. Most of its workers are from Sudan, It is a branch of the head office in Sudan. Its activities are in the medical field, where they have a clinic for nervous and

psychological case. It also helped the orphans. The ISRA has schools for them. It also care orphans inside Afghanistan. The Agency is active in developing the rural areas.

- wii. Human Concern Agency: As reaction to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan some Muslims in Canada decided to help the Afghans and formed an organisation named of (Box for supporting Afghanistan). In 1985 the agency started its work in Afghanistan under a new name. In the past it was only donating funds to the Mujahideen. It was concentrating on orphans and the medical field inside Afghanistan and in Pakistan.
- viii. Muslim World League: This was founded in late 1985. Its first supervisor was Shaik Azzam, who was succeeded by Imad Salim a Jordanian. They concentrated on education. Wail Julidan, a Saudi, followed Salim to supervise the work.
 - x. Muslim Aid: its main office is in London, led by Yousef Islam. He was a prominent British singer, Christian Kat Steven, who embraced Islam and started to serve Muslims He visited Peshawar in 1987. Azzam convinced him to open a branch here and started work in the educational field.
 - Education Center: Led by Shaik Fathi Al Refhai, an Egyptian and backed by a Saudia University. It was formed in 1987, to prepare a unified education programme for all Afghan parties, this center had a Shura of all parties to devise a unified education programme. They succeeded in their objectives.

- xi. International Islamic Relief Agency: This organisation originally worked with the Muslim World League, but due to some differences wit its branch in Peshawar, it got separated and formed its own offices in 1987. It is very active in medical field, particularly in Afghanistan, and is supporting the Mujahideen there.
- xii. Lajant Al Bir Al Islamiah: (Islamic Charity Committee) Founded in 1987, it belongs to the Muslim World Youth (Sudan). It is very active in education and medical fields inside and outside Afghanistan.
- xiii. Afghanistan Reconstruction Office: led by the Engineer Ahmad Farid Mustafa, who is an expert in engineering. He established office after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, for Afghan reconstruction. He prepared a good programme to reconstruct Afghanistan in all aspects. This office was directly financed by the Kind Fahad in Saudia Arabia.
- xiv. Reviving Islamic Heritage Society: It started work in Peshawar at the beginning of 1989. In the past it was supporting the Mujahideen, individually by digging wells constructing mosques in Afghanistan and making donations to the Mujahideen leaders, in addition to caring for orphans. It is a Kuwaiti Organisation.
- xv. Al Madina Institute: It was formed in 1987. It restricted its programme to help orphans especially for education. It is also a Saudi organisation.

B. The Mujahideen:

Many Arab volunteers came to participate in Afghan's struggle. Thousands of them from Arab and Muslim countries came to impart and get training for the Jihad. The most effective agency in this regard was the Services Office. It has a guest office and camps for Arabs and is sending them after training inside Afghanistan. It also collected donations from Arab States for the Afghan Jihad.

Most of the Arab youth coming for training and participation for the limited period they have return to their countries, because either they are students or clerks, who must go back to work.

Many students come during the summer vacations or long holidays. Some came during Haj (Pilgrimage) in 1990. Most of the flights went empty form Saudi Arabia to their countries except (PTA), because many Arabs came to participate in the Jihad.

The Arabs reached all the Afghan provinces, and have also fought at some specific fronts on the borders. According to the statistics of the Al-Bunyan magazine issued in October 1988. There was 40 Arab martyrs in Afghanistan since the beginning, but the number increased in the battle of Jalalabad.

Most of the Arabs are concentrated in the city of Peshawar, and some of them are in Hayatabad, an outskirts of the city. According to Kabul regime sources, 185 Arabs killed and 85 Arabs sustained injuries in Afghanistan since the signing of Geneva Accord on April 14, 1988. (See Alsyasha based in Kuwait issue, 6th March 1990).

It the beginning the Arabs offered the Friday (Juma) congregation prayers at the Service office on Arbab Road. Then, due to security reasons, some shifted to the mosque of the Kuwait Red Crescent. But the majority used to pray at the (Saba Alail) mosque, where Azzam delivered his sermons. But after his killing, the Arabs divided themselves in the Pakistani mosques for security reasons.

ARAB JOURNALISTS'S LOSSES:

The Arab journalists are limited to Peshawar. They are working as correspondent for foreign newspapers. It is only I who was working as a correspondent for Alsharq Al east "Middle East" and "Al Muslimoon" a weekly newspaper based in Jedda and issued by the same company of Alsharq Al Awsat. I worked with the latter a free lancer. There is also Adnan Ibrahim who worked for Al Hayat (Life) daily newspaper based in London, and Ahamd Mansoor who was wirking for Almujtame (society) a weekly magazine based in Kuwait, but he left for Kuwait to work as the Vice-Chief Editor of this magazine. There was also Mustafa Hamid who was working as a correspondent of Al Ittihad (The Unity) daily newspaper based in Abu Dhabi; then he left it.

The other Arab journalists worked with Arabic publications based in Peshawar. I want to acquaint the readers about the Arab journalist losses in Afghanistan.

JOURNALISTS MARTYRED:

Dr. Abdullah Azzam, publisher and proprietor of Al Jihad magazine.

Shaihk Azzam, a Palestinian holding a Jordanian passport and the leader of an Arab guerialla group in Afghan resistance, and his two sons Ahmad (19) and Ibrahim (15) years respectively, were killed in a bomb explosion near Abdara Chowk on the main University Road in Peshawar on 24 Nov. 1989. Azzam was a former professor at the Islamic University, Islamabad and Saudi Arabia.

He took premature retirement form the Islamic University Islamabad in 1986, having been moved by the Spirit of Jihad in Afghanistan. He reportedly opened an office in the University in Peshawar under the name of Daftar-e-Khidmat (Service Office) and was coordinator and leader of the Arab guerilla fighters in the Afghan resistance. His body was laid to rest the same day in the Pabi graveyard near the house of Prof. Sayyaf, among many Arab martyrs who were buried there.

ABDUL SAMAD:

He was the first Arab journalist to seek martyrdom in Afghanistan. He was the correspondent of AL Jihad magazine. His age was about 27 years. He was killed During his participation in Jihad with the Afghan Mujahideen in Jalalabad on December 1985. The Al-Jihad magazine did not wrife about his life but only condoled with his family and published the news of his martyrdom. He was laid to rest near Jalalabad; (see Al – Jihad issue No. $10-1^{st}$ January 1986).

ABU HUSSAM:

A syrian born photo- journalist working for Al Bunyan Al Marsus was killed near Jalalabad on 16 March 1989.

The A.N.S. (Abdunyan News Agency) said the photo –journalist. Abu Hassam, 33, was taking photographs of the hand—to-hand battle between the Mujahideen and Kabul forces at Karez-e-Kabir on the outskirts of Jalalabad. He was killed in indiscriminate bombing by the Kabul regime aircraft on Mujahideen positions. The deceased was laid to rest in pabi village. He left behind widow, two sons and five daughters.

ABID AL SHAIK:

He was an Arab journalist belonging to the U.A.E. He is a brother of Zahid Al Shaik, the Ex-Director of Lajnat ul Dawa Al-Islamia. Abid was among the three Arabs killed in a mine blast near Jalalabad in aerial bombing near Samarkhel. The 27 year old Abid, a staff writer of the Arabic language magazine Al-Bunyan Al Marsus, was killed at the Parker military post South of Jalalabad on 7th April-89. He left behind a widow and two children. Abid's burial ceremony was near Peshawar which was attended by a large number of Afghan Mujahideen and refugees, including the ex-interim government Prime Minister, Prof. Sayyaf.

ABU MUAZ (ZAKARIYAH):

He was an Arab journalist hailing from Alleop in Syria. Abu Muaz was killed during the fighting in Khost on 30 August, 1989. He was participating in Jihad with the Haqqani group. He was very close to Haqqani. He was 20

years old. Zakariyah was working as the Chief, Bureau of Al Bunyan news agency in Miran Shah, and covered the Consultative Council which was held in Rawalpindi in February 1989. Hel also covered many battles in Afghanistan, in addition to his articles written in the Al-Bunyan Al-Marsus magazine.

ABU MOHAMMAD:

He was an Arab journalist, also from Libya, born in 1956 in the capital. He came to Afghanistan in 1988 for participation in the Jihad. He was working for Al-Bunyan Al-Marsus as a correspondent inside Afghanistan. During his participation, he was killed in Jalalabad in May 1990. Abu Mohammad left a widow and four sons and daughters.

2. CAPTURED JOURNALISTS:

HUSSAM AL DIN MAHMOOD.

Hussama Al Mahmood was captured alive in Jalabalbd around August 1989. His age was 23 years old. He was working as a reporter in Al-Jumhoria (Republic) daily newspaper in Cairo. But he came to Afghanistan as Journalist. The Kabul regime sentenced him 20 years. Imprisonment.

There was another Egyptian journalist before him, who was captured inside Afghanistan a around 1983 and showed on the Kabul TV. Then the regime released him, but there is no information about him.

ABU OMAR:

Abu Omar, 32 years old, an engineer graduated from. Pakistan. He was working first in the Al-Jihad magazine. Then he because vedio photographer for Al-Bunyan news agency. He was captured with another Arab volunteer in Jalalabad. When he was on his mission, in August 1989. He was married and had some sons and daughters. The news about his life is contradictory. The Kabul regime claimed that they killed him, Some Mujahideen refused to accept.

INJURED JOURNALISTS:

Issam Daraz in late November 1987, an air craft of PIA. Which was going from Lahore to Peshawar crashed. Many passengers died. But Issam Daraz, an Egyptian journalist, and an old Egyptian officer who participated in the six- day Arab-Israel war in 1973. Escaped from this disaster. He lost his video film which he recorded in Afghanistan. This film contained rare pictures, Which were supposed to come out in the press of fire languages (English, French, Arabic, Germany and the Spanish). He spent much of his time inside Afghanistan, and the Mujahideen camps there.

The Pakistan Times (a daily newspaper in Lahore). Conducted an interview with Daraz and estimated that the cost of the film around 100,000 dollar. Daraz sustained injury in this accident, but later on he recovered.

SALEH AL HAMI:

A Jordanian journalist was working as a corespondent for the Al-Jihad magazine in Afghanistan. He was 26 years old and graduated the Journalism from the University of Jordan. His leg was amputated during his participation in the Jihad at Khost in March 1990. He was to leave to Saudi Arabia for treatment.

Arab publication based in Peshawar were publishing the news of journalist martyred and there wills. Their lives, Jihad and martyrdom—all are a tribute and testimony to spirit of Jihad...



AL-MAUQIF (THE STANCE):

A monthly magazine, belonging to the Hizb-e-Islami.

This magazine can be considered as the oldest periodical concerned with Afghanistan, in the Arab language. Mohammad Zaman Mouzamil, the ex-Chief Editor, is a graduate, Shariah, from Saudi Arabia said: "I was in Makka when the Communist coup of 27 April 1978 took place in Kabul, and I heard that Rabbani and other Islamic parties and non-Islamic parties leaders coordinated their work against the regime. This coalition pushed me to issue a newspaper to show our stand. I named it as Al-Mauqif which means that this is our attitude which can be considered as a reaction towards Rabbani's step, but now I consider that as emotional"

The eighth issue of the magazine was in Afghan local languages (Pashot, Darri) It was named (Darize) meaning stance, Then in the 9th issue it was changed to Arabic, But the ex-Chief editor considered his writing for the first issue in Arabic as the ninth and had to be the first issue.

The first issue of the Al-Muaqif appeared in September 1978, from Makka, which consisted of first page typed on ordinary paper. Mauzamil, who was a student there, said that it concentrated in the beginning on the fact that we did not benefit from non-Muslims in our Jihad.

In the fifth issue, the editorial was about Saudi Arabia cutting off its relations with the Kabul regime. It appreciated this step, but mostly the magazine focused on military news and assured that the Russians will withdraw from Afghanistan. In the sixth issue the editorial was about the role of Missionaries among Afghan refugees; and it continued its review about Muslims in the Phillipines. From the 13th, 14th and 15th issues, the magazine started to publish the news of the battle launched by the Islamic movement in Syria against its regime. It got the news from (ALNZIR) magazine. The Movement was backed by the Muslim Brotherhood. There was article about the role of the Afghan Muslim women in Jihad.

From the 12th issue, the magazine published an editorial by the title (why does America send assistance to us). It rejected the view that America was supporting the Mujahideen. It also conducted an interview with Prof. Rabbani, who was at that time the leader of Mujahideen Unity.

I could not get the last issue of this magazine but it might have been the 16th. The magazine Al-Muaqif has been replaced by the new magazine owned by Mujahideen Unity (Al-Nafeer Alam).

AL-MUAQIF as Newspaper:

I could not get all the issue of the paper. However it was able to get from the 10th issue to 21st. In the 10th issue,

which appeared in March 1980, the banner heading was "Afghanistan between the red afternoon and the red evening". The writer discussed in it the details of the 1978 coup and its victims, On second page there was a long article the title They Said the Unity Conditions. What is your justification? The article concentrated on the conditions for unity, particularly the participation of every party must be according to its strength. On the third page was the opinion of Hezb-e-Islami on the issue of unity. On the fourth page there was the completion of the magazine articles. The second issue was about Palestine.

From the 15th issue, the newspaper started to have editorials by the title (After they failed in Tehran, they are planning for Kabul). The editorial was not restricted to Afghanistan only, for example, in the next issue, the editorial was on Turkey.

In the 17th issue the banner headline was a speech of Abdul Rahim Niazi one of the Islamic Movement founders in Afghanistan. He said that there was no alternative for salvation except Jihad.

In 20th issue there was a long interview with the Islamic thinker Mohammad Qutab, the brother of Sayyed Qutab, one of the biggest Islamic Movement thinkers in the world, who was hanged by late President of Egypt, Jamal Abdul Nasir, in 1966.

The newspapers concentrated also on military news.

Policy:

The policy of the newspaper was the backing of the Hezb-e-Islami and sympathising with Iran, for instance, its editorial (After they failed in Tehran, they are planning for Kabul). In the 19th issue the banner headline was (on Western Civilization). You will leave the competition arena but to who? Under it they put some pictures of Islamic leaders, and one of them was of Khomini.

Distribution and Readers:

It was printed in three to four thousand copies and sent to the Arab States, particularly to the Gulf States, free of charge. Mauzamil was working in it, alone, and one typist, who was working overtime. The Arab readers responded much to it. The newspaper was typed, except 9th and 21st issues, which were handwritten.

From the newspaper to the magazine:

Giving the reason why the newspaper was changed into a magazine, Mauzamil said "We changed it because the magazine can be preserved but the newspaper cannot. And the second reason is that the magazine can contain many articles and reviews, but the newspaper cannot."

At this juncture the magazine concentrated on the introducing the heroes of the Afghan Jihad: analytical articles, about the political and historical aspects of the Jihad. The magazine also tried to project one Islamic personality in every issue, like Hassan Al Bana, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood in the world, and Abdul Rahim Niazi, one of the founders of the Islamic Movement in Afghanistan.

The magazine was written entirely by Mauzamil, himself; and he commented that the magazine had only such, type of writing which was of prime "importance to the Jihad. We focused also in this period that the Russians cannot remain in Afghanistan. This concentration was the

backbone of our articles. We also wrote many articles about the weak points of the Russian army and the differences between the army and the K.G.B. on the intervention in Afghanistan." Mauzamil said: At that time we also attacked the parties which were not backing the Jihad."

Printing and Distribution:

In 1982 the magazine closed due to the formation of Afghan Unity. The magazine indicated in its last issue that it was going to sacrifice itself in favour of Unity. At that time it was replaced by a magazine backed by the Unity. The magazine faced many financial, administrative and policy problems, like its shifting from political and cultural committees.

Al-Muaqif Again:

After the dissolving of the Islamic Unity in 1985, every party started to issue its own magazine. Sayyaf, issued Albunyan Almarsus, Jamiat issued the Voice of Battle; and the Hezb-e-Islami restarted the magazine, Al-Muaqif. The first issue came after the dissolvation. Al-Muaqif wrote its editorial under the title; (Al-Muaqif is Returning). From this issue and after, the magazine focused on exposing the Russian troops in a series of articles. It wrote many articles about Geneva negotiations between the Kabul regime and Pakistan, In addition to military and martyrs news. The issues were not numbered the new was the translation of the speeches of Hikmatyar into Arabic. It has only 38 pages, except number 6-7, which had 58 pages, because the magazine focused on the proposal of the Kabul regime about reconciliation). It was a special issue.

The distribution in this period was the same as it was in the previous time.

Arab Period:

When the Hezb-e-Islami realised that it could not compete with other Arabic magazines, run by Arabs, the Hezb decided to hand it over to the Arabs. In March 1988 the first Arab issue made its debut. It was smaller than the previous ones, but more professional, particularly. There was one professional journalist working with it, and the designer had experience because of his previous services with Albunyan Almarsus. But the problem of Hezb was that it did not select the Arab workers carefully, because they were from different Islamic parties. There was some misunderstanding between them. So some of them left it after the first issue. Then was just a designer and archive expert, left. They appointed (Sayed Ishaq Dalio) Chief, Cultural Committee of the Hezb as the Chief Editor of the magazine, in spite of his ignorance about the Arabic language. That was just to put on end to Arab differences in the magazine.

In the new issue, in the cover story Hekmatyar said: "I declare the Jihad will continue." The first article was by Hekmatyar, under the little: Ditch of Al-Jihad). This was a new thing for the magazine. It followed the style of Albunyan Almarsus in which Sayyaf wrote the first article to impress the Arabs. Then there was military and political news, an interview with Hekmatyar—Afghanistan in the Media, and other articles. This issue contained 44 pages. But the next one had 56 pages, which concentrated on the stand of the Mujahideen towards the Geneva Accord, and the support of the Palestinian uprising. The third issue had only 46 pages. It seems that the magazine published whatever it had, and was not bound by a particular number of pages. It has been concentrating on the Mujahideen government, which was formed by Ahmad Shah the

defacto chief Editor Abdul Rehman Namous said that the problems was financial, so that there were delaying in the magazine, and the nature of some, Afghan who worked with it were rather responsible said Namous.

Printing and Distribution:

From the first issue till the seventh, the magazine was printed in Lahore, except the third issue, which was printed in Peshawar. The circulation of the magazine was two thousand copies, except the last, the circulation of which was eight thousand Namous who was the first Chief Editor, said: "as long as the magazine belonged to the organisation, it could not cover its expenditure, because it focused on projecting Hezb views, and not making any profit."

Its circulation was in the Gulf States and Western countries. The magazine was being sent to the Hezb offices, which distributed them to the people concerned, the particularly Ulama (Scholars), officials, and others. Saudi Arabia took about half the issues published. The magazine was being sent free except for the 250 copies sent to Jordan for selling through a brother Namous in a book shop there. As for subscriptions, there were not more than 30 subscribers, all of them from Saudi Arabia. Namous said they received donations for the furniture of the office. The staff was limited, including some Afghan translators.

New Juncture:

The Hezb decided to deliver the magazine to other Arabs who guaranteed the collecting of money for it, because the main problem was the financial. There were many mistakes in the new issue, claimed as the 67th, but that was not correct, because the magazine had not issued such a large number. Another mistake was that they dated

the issue March, in spite of the previous issues dated as March, April and May. The new feature of this magazine was that it removed the name of Daljo as the Chief Editor.

This issue had an interview with Sheikh Azzam. But its layout had deteriorated.

The next issue was numbered 68, 69 together. It concentrated on Azzam's killing. The distribution was the same as the previous one. For financial relief the Saudi Relief Committee donated Rs.2,300,000/- to the magazine.

Al-Muaqif with the Consultative Council:

After this, the magazine emerged with as the Mujahideen Monthly. Their administration was under one command: Faizullah Kakr, and itself. The magazine started to issue a weekly bulletine, became a bi-monthly. The 70th and 71st issues were bigger in size than the previous ones. The 70th issue concentrated on Hikmatyar as a target of super power the US. Super Power. It carried an interview with commander and other outstanding commanders. There was supplement on the Tanai coup.

The next issue concentrated on the coup and defended the position of Hezb. It included other subjects about Muslim World like Eritrea; military and political news.

Printing and Distribution:

From 70th issue, the magazine became a bimonthly, published in Karachi. The circulation was 25 thousand copies, which were send to the representatives of Hezb-e-Islami abroad and also to some companies abroad. In Peshawar they distribute about 1000 copies to Arab offices

and organizations, and sent to Islamabad by car and to other cities in Pakistan by P.I.A. mail.

Staff:

The staff consists of seven Arabs and four Afghans.

Aims:

This was the first time Al-Mauqif disclosed its aims in writing. Mr. Kakr said; "We have six aims:

- 1. To explain the position of Hezb-e-Islami and its relations with important issues.
- 2. Combating the propaganda against Mujahideen generally and Hezb particularly.
- 3. To explain the political and military situation of Jihad, generally, and Hezb, particularly.
- 4. Disclosing the conspiracies of the enemies.
- 5. Exposing the real face of our enemy.
- 6. Publishing some important news concerning the Islamic World.

6

SOUT AL-JIHAD (The Voice of Jihad)

A MONTHLY POLITICAL MAGAZINE BACKED BY JAMIAT ISLAMI (ISLAMIC SOCIETY) LED BY PROF.BURHAN UDDIN RABBANI).

The Beginning:

Abdul Ahad Attarshy, Chief Editor of this magazine, who studied at the Islamic University of Saudi Arabia, could not complete his studies due to his participation in the Afghan Jihad. He said, "After backing by Saudi Arabia, I proposed to Prof. Rabbani the idea of issuing an Arabic magazine, for our Arab supporters in backing us. At that time Al-Muaqif (newspaper) owned by the Hezb-e-Islami had already started. I suggested this magazine as an additional means to inform our Arab brothers about the tragedies and miseries of the Afghan people, in addition to the Russian atrocities. Professor Rabbani agreed and appointed me as: the Chief Editor. Then we started the magazine, bearing in mind the basic difference between a daily newspaper and a periodical magazine).

Contents of the Magazine:

The magazine was medium-sized. It was not bound by a specific number of pages. Sometimes there were sixty eight, like the second issue, and sometimes seventy four pages, like the 12th issue.

The second issue concentrated on the Russian intervention in Afghanistan. It carried a statement on behalf of Afghan community all over the world particularly the Arab countries, on the Russian intervention. There was a life sketch of Eng. Habibul Rehman,, who was one of the Islami Movement's founders. Also a statement of the Jamiat Islami addressed to the non-aligned countries' foreign ministers assembling in Delhi, about the Russian intervention, the Afghan martyrs and Military news.

The circulation from the first issues was 5,000 copies, which rose to 6,000 copies in the fourth issue. In the 14th issue the circulation was 8,000 copies. The Cultural Committee of the Jamiat was the sponsor of its distribution. Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States were its main market, in addition to bookshops and some subscribers. Sometimes free copies were also gifted. The administration of Fatwa in Saudi Arabia subscribed to 1,000 copies of every issue.

Source of News:

The magazine depended for news the Jamiat, particularly the Committee of Dawa and Planning, in addition to the representatives of Afghan provinces based in Peshawar.

Publishing and Distribution:

Attarchi said that in the beginning the typing of the magazine was in Saddar, Peshawar. Then they took it to Lahore, because the printing is more developed there. There were two persons who were supervising the typing. Both of them were working as designers in Pushto and Persian magazines owned by the Jamiat).

Ceasure of the Magazine:

The magazine ceased publication because of the formation of the Unity of Mujahideen, led by Ustad Sayyaf. It was merged with Al-Nafeer Alam. But when this Unity got dissolved the magazine, which depended on it, was in financial straits.

Finance:

The magazine depended on the Jamiat sources, donations and subscriptions.

Policy:

Since the Magazine was owned by the Jamiat, it followed the Jamiat policy, supporting it, and publishing its news, both political and military.

ALNAFEER ALAM (General Reinforcement)

A Monthly Magazine owned By The Islamic Unity of the Afghan Mujahideen.

The magazine started appearing after the information of the Afghan Mujahi'deen Unity in February 1981.

The editorial was titled (al-Nafeer Alam) Instead of Almouqif) and the (Voice of Al-Jihad). The Chief Editor of Al-Mauqif became the Chief Editor of (Al-Nafeer Alam), and the Chief Editor of the (Voice of Jihad) became that of the voice Al-Nafeer Alam.

The news of the first issue concentrated on the Unity and its activities. There was also an interview with a Mujahid who came from Punsheir province after the big offensive by the Russians. A letter from Masood, the Commander, Mujahideen in Punjsheir to Prof. Rabbani, was printed in it. Military news was provided, as well.

Contents:

Al-Nafeer was large sized. In the second issue it published news about Rabbani as President of the Unity. The significance of Al-Nafeer was concentration on long articles, particularly about the atrocities of Russians; and the causes of Islamic movements. Military news did not get enough space. There was also news of martyrdom in every issue. In combined fourth and fifth issue Al-Nafeer published a controversial statement that Sayyaf had become the president of the Unity instead of Rabbani. The magazine continued to quote it. The news of the fighting in Syria was lifted from the Muslim Brotherhood's magazine. From this issue the magazine started to publish articles by Arab thinkers and scholars. In the fifth issue, the editorial was about the political solution which and the Mujahideen refused. It had about 60 pages.

In the 6th issue the editorial was too long about the attitude of Indera Gandhi. The assassinated Prime Minister of India against Mujahideen and attacked them too much.

Al-Nafeer was not restricted to the Afghan issue only, it was publishing the news of Palestine and Syria as we mentioned.

In the 7th and 8th issue collectively the magazine concentrated in its editorial on the statement of the Unity toward the Geneva negotiation and also published the letters from the Afghan leader which shows that they are resigned from the leadership, their organizations and joined the Unity and all the letters were in Arabic by their signatures. The magazine continued till the dissolving of the Unity in 1985.

Policy:

It was articulated the policy of the Unity and concentrated on the necessities of Unity among Mujahideen but sometimes concentrated on the front of Hezb militarily or Jamiat like the first issue when they focussed on the Punjsheir valley battles.

Financial Matters:

It was financed by the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahideen.

Cadre:

The same staff of Al-Muafiq and Voice of Al-Jihad and sometimes the Arabs were forwarding articles in it.

Printing and Distribution:

It was printed in Lahore and distributed to Arab countries freely. Mauzamil said (we were distributing it to the same addresses of Al-Mauqif and Voice of Al-Jihad previously).

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AL-JIHAD MAGAZINE:

The Al-Jihad Magazine is considered as the most effective about Afghanistan, in the NWFP for the following reasons:

- 1. Its staff has more skilled people than any other magazine, and they work harder as compared with others.
- 2. +Its regular continuation. Efforts are made to publish the magazine every month, in spite of several constraints.
- 3. It does not belong to any party. That enables it to convey the different points of view among the Mujahideen leaders and parties. It analyses the situation without such restrictions.
- 4. The Al-Jihad magazine considers the history and reality of the Afghan Jihad, from many aspect, like military, political economic etc. Other magazines focus one or two aspects, only.

It has an interesting history of evolving through several stages of development, as detailed below:

The Al-Jihad magazine started to introduce the Afghan issue to the supporters of the Afghan Jihad in the Arab countries. The Afghans, themselves, could not convey the news of the Jihad to the Arabs through their own magazines or papers' due, to many reasons, like financial problems. The second factor is their busyness in the military matters, and inadequate staff in the media, especially Arabic Journalism.

So Dr. Abdullah Azzam aimed from the beginning to convey the Jihad news to the Arabs and Muslims, generally. The intention to win their support for fighting and for training purposes. Azzam decided to start this magazine in addition to the one for the Mujahideen, because at that time there was only the Al-Jihad. Others had been dissolved and merged with Al-Nafeer Alam "(The General Crowd)".

Policy:

The Al-Jihad magazine adopted from the beginning till the formation of the Mujahideen government, the policy of supporting the so called 'fundamentalist parties, Azzam, as an emotional person, sometimes supported Rabbani too much due to his going with him to the North, and sometimes supported Hikmatyar; but he did not attack any one of them.

The magazine ignored the moderate parties. If sometimes attacked them for their support to the ex-King Zehir Shah. But when the Mujahideen formed their government on 24 February 1989, the magazine published an interview, with the moderate parties, like Mujaddids'

and Gilani. Mohamdai had already published for him one or two interviews.

To analyzes the policy of the magazine, let us take as examples, two important events as under:

- 1. The Takhar event took place in 1989 after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. A group of people from Hikmatyar's party killed many commanders and ordinary people from the Jamiat group in Takhar. But magazine did not analyse or comment on the news. It just presented the news without any comment. This is where it succeeded to keep itself away from the differences of the Mujahideen.
- 2. The Tanai Coup. The magazine could not keep itself away from the differences, because it thought that cooperation with Hikmatyar will harm the Jihad. But in fact this attitude did not represent All the writers in the magazine.

Finances:

Publishing and distribution of the magazine depended on donations from Arabs, particularly, and Muslims, generally. Shaik Azzam played a pivotal role in the collection of donations. He also did his best in introducing the Jihad. In the beginning of 1988, some Saudi merchants tried to finance the magazine. But Shaik Azzam and some other members in the magazine council disagreed. They were afraid that the magazine would get out of their control.

Staff:

The Al-Jihad magazine differed from others in that most of its staff are Arabs. A few Afghans are working in administrative departments like Arachieve and translation; except for one Afghan who is working as an Editor, because, of his writing and speaking good Arabic. Imad Al Abid, who is a Palestinaian and graduate of Islamiat from Saudia Arabia, worked from its beginning as the Chief Editor. A Syrian national, Alshawaf, who graduated also from a Saudia Arabian University in Arabic language, worked for sometimes as the Vice-Chief Editor. Issam Abdul Hakim, who graduated from Egypt in Arabic language, worked as a designer and then as vice-Chief Editor, . He was later promoted as Chief editor after Imad's departure. I worked as the Editor since 1986, when I was a student at the Islamic University, Islamabad. I went to Peshawar once a week to follow up, the work and write a monthly article. There were other editors and workers.

Distribution and Readers:

The magazine was distributed much in the Islamic World particularly Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States. The personality of Dr. Azzam played a pivotal role in this dissemination. The magazine recorded an increase in circulation from issue to issue-the first till the last. It was not a normal increase. It was in tune with the events and the spirit of Jihad even among the common people, and not just the Mujahideen.

Most of the circulation of the magazine depended on agents rather than individual subscription.

Issam (the Chief Editor) said that, "The magazine is available now in the open market. We want it to self-

dependent. We want to make it a selling magazine, unlike before, when we made it only for zeal and spirit. According to a survey among readers, more than ten readers read one copy of this magazine, because they like it, as no magazine resembled it. Another recurrent that fact is that the magazine called for Jihad and announced its readiness to receive volunteers in Peshawar at its Service Office led by Dr. Azzam.

Another reason for its popularity is free distribution among people who cannot afford to subscribe to it. Rich people make generous to support the magazine. A merchant donated 1000 Dollars for complimentary subscription.

The first 50 issues were printed in Lahore, after which its publication was they shifted to Karachi, where the means of transport and labour were cheaper.

The magazine sent abroad by PIA flights. Distribution in Peshawar was by motor vehicles. Every Arab organisation was given a few copies, apart from the Afghan offices.

It is noteworthy that the periodical was first started as a News-bulletin by the Arab students in Peshawar. That reflected their spirit of Jihad, and spiritual empathy with the Afghan cause.

1. AL-MUHAHID BULLETIN:

It started on 28 December, 1982 in Peshawar. It consisted of a paper printed by the Muslim Students' Union run by Arab students who came to study in Peshawar. They published 500 copies of the first issue then raised it to 2000 copies. Jamal Abdu Alia, one of its editors, said that, "The ideas was proposed by Moustafa Al Tahan, the ex-chief of

the International Muslim Student Union who guaranteed its financing. But with the last issue. Shaik Azzam and Sayyaf, who was the President of the Mujahideen Unity, financed the bulletin."

The bulletine was stenciled and sent free to the Arab countries. It played a role notable in collecting donations for the Mujahideen and introducing the Afghan Jihad. As cadres were working free, as part time employees, because they were students. It was a weekly. The bulletine concentrated on Military news, and sometimes gave political news. But there was no analysis or comments. Its source of news was the offices of Mujahideen parties.

2. From the Bulletine to the Magazine:

Imad Al Abid said: "I came to the Afghan Jihad in 1984. At that time Sayyaf was the President of the Mujahideen Unity, and they were working hard to start a magazine in Arabic for all Mujahideen parties. In this period Dr. Azzam proposed to start a new magazine run by his office. Azzam forwarded my name to take over the editing of the Al-Mujahid, which has changed to Al-Jihad presently."

Al Abid admitted that he had no experience in journalism at that time, he had a desire to join the Jihad of the pen. The first three issues were published in Peshawar. It was then shifted to Lahore to publish a tinted issue (coloured) there.

3. First Volume: Zeal without Planning:

The first two issues were black and white, and restricted to military news, with the editorial of Dr. Azzam. The printing was columnless. They started writing

in columns, with the third issue, and started to include world-wide news on Afghanistan from the world media. Al-Abid thought there was improvement in the magazine by the fifth issue, when he conducted an interview with Muslim Scholars who came for the Jihad. They confirmed their satisfaction with the magazine.

Dr. Azzam wrote a letter in this volume to Muslims, generally, and Muslim Doctors and Scholars in particular, about the necessity of their participation in the Jihad. In the 10th issue came the first analytical article about Afghanistan. It was about the conflict in the Afghan Communist Party.

From the first issue till the third, the magazine appeared as a monthly. From the fourth issue it was changed to a fortnightly till 17th issue of the second volume. The source of news was the Afghan parties the Mujahideen who came to the fronts, particularly Arabs. The editor started to write only in the seventh issue inspirit of the condition that the magazine was excluding for the Afghan Jihad, the ninth issue it published the cover story about the Atrocities of Amal Shiat militian in Lebanon against Palestanian camps.

Assessment:

Al Abid termed this juncture as of zeal and without planning. There was no follow up on the departments. There was lack of financial administration. "We were only just I and a typist and a distributor. We tried to ask scholars to write for us but they were reluctant. The designer was also on part time employment.

Some Merits:

- 1. The first volume is more like a book than a magazine. Its layout shows the lack of experience and skill, and also the scarcity or inadequacy of facilities.
- 2. The an experienced people who ran the magazine, did not follow the rules and principles of professional Journalism.
- 3. This volume can be considered as a lesson for many people.
- 4. The material was weak, lacked depth. It did not deal with the Afghan issue from the roots. There was no grass-roots approach to it. The material only discussed general matters about Islam and Jihad.

There were not many readers in the beginning.

SECOND VOLUME: STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION:

Al-Abid said: "We have focused our efforts in this volume on the layout and pictures which clarify the events of Jihad in Afghanistan. For one year we looked for a designer. With this volume a Tunisian brother came and started working with us."

The circulation of this volume continued as before. The cover stories and articles started to concentrate on Afghanistan in depth, to a certain extent. I started working for this magazine with the 19th issue and the second volume, when I published an article, "Israel –Russian-Relation", without any restrictions. Also, the magazine published an in-depth study in a series about the reality of the Soviet intervention, without mentioning the writer. He

was Mostafa Hamid, ex-correspondent of Al Itfihad, a daily newspaper based in Abu Dhabi. The magazine introduced a new column for women. It started to publish Military news from its correspondents in Afghanistan.

Assessment:

This period signifies the availability of news editors and writers, like Major Adnan Ibrahim, who used to write a monthly analysis about Afghanistan, and Abdul Rehman Namous, to mention but a few. I also started to write an article in about every issue.

- 1. The editors were facing a problem of language, because they did not know English or Dari. In this issue eminent Algerian scholar sent his book about the compulsion of Jihad. It was published in the magazine, His contribution the first among scholars, which set an example for others.
- The magazine came out in a new format. It mentioned the names of correspondents on the front page.
- 3. The magazine started from the 17th issue to publish a supplement in English, consisting of a few pages in the middle. But it could not continue, due to the lack of cadre, and other problems.
- 4. Some writers started to send their articles from abroad, e.g., from Saudi Arabia.
- 5. Al Abid termed this period as the most difficult, because of the sensitivity of the Mujahideen towards any writing about any particular. The magazine tried to play a balanced role in this regard.

- 6. In the first issue of the second volume, the magazine started to present the readers. Mail.
- 7. The volume was printed in columns, and was tinted.

5. THIRD VOLUME-MAGAZINE STABILITY; MARTYRDOM TALKS:

The third volume started with the 25th issue, which consists of the cover story of an interview with the Directors of Muslim Volunteer Organizations about their activities and role among refugees. Qazi Hussain Ahmad, who became the president of Jamat-e-Islami of Pakistan, wrote an article, on "The Afghan Issue and Russian Strategic Amendments," in the 31st. Talks about the Afghanistan became deeper. The magazine was interested in investigations and study like Jihad in the Heart province. It also showed important photos to attract Muslims to this Jihad, particularly about the Battle of Jaji in Paktia province and the attacks of Russia against Jawar front in Paktia. (See 32nd issue of the magazine). In this issue also, the magazine addressed a letter to the ministry of Information in Arab countries for allowing the magazine to be distributed freely.

In this volume the magazine started to publish monthly statistics of Jihad as quoted by the (I.P.S.) Institute of Policy Studies Islamabad. Concerning the martyrs, the magazine particularly Dr. Azzam, concentrated on projecting them to inspire Muslims to Jihad, and donate to it. Dr. Azzam started to write in every issue about their life and how they had been killed. The magazine also reported the activities of the branches of its Services Office.

Assessment:

This period signifies the stability of the magazine, which adopted a specific shape and form, after a confusing and ill-planned start with this volume, Issam Abdul Hakim started as a designer. He tried his best to develop and promote the magazine, and in fact, he succeeded to a certain extent, in spite of the lack of ill facilities. But the problem was that the magazine adopted the policy of encouraging people to come to Jihad, but without discussing the real situation in Afghan. This unclear picture caused some people to be come nervous, because they saw some thing different from what the magazine published. This policy was corrected later on, to a certain extent.

6. FOURTH VOLUME, FOLLOWING UP INDEPTH:

The magazine registered in this volume an important leaf forward with the formation of an editing committee, which consisted of the editors. I was one of them. We used to assemble before every issue, to specify the writers and kind of articles. In this volume the magazine published a study by me about the history of the Afghan Communist party, which was serialized in sixteen issues. It has been collected in a separate book, lately. The magazine also covered the event of the Geneva Accord. It translated the text of the Geneva Accord and got commented on it by experts in the (I.P.S.), editors, the Mujahideen leaders, reflecting their reaction towards it.

When the Soviet Union withdraw from Afghanistan, the cover story was about the next strategy of the Communists in Afghanistan, and of the Mujahideen. This proved the its credibility in following up the situation. When the concerned circles were discussing the

reconstruction of Afghanistan, the magazine held a convention of the directors of Muslim volunteer organizations and published it, in addition to a unique investigative reports about the problem of mines in speriod which witnessed the Afghanistan. This assassination of Gen Zia Ul Haq. Dr. Azzam wrote an editorial about Zia and praised him much. But the editors advised him to avoid it, due to his not implementing the Sharia. So Azzam accepted their views, and instead wrote another article. The comment of the magazine on the killing of Zia was that the Afghan Jihad started before Zia and will continue after him. like Islam which was not affected by the death of Prophet Muhammad (SAS!). The point which is not according journalistic rules in this magazine, generally, and this volume, particularly, is that the editorial by Azzam does not deal with the latest situation of Afghanistan. For instance, when the Geneva Accord was signed and all the people were thinking about the post-Geneva period, Azzam wrote an article by the title; "Sweet Ramazan on the Plate of Palestine and Afghanistan." (See 42 nd issue in May 1988). A similar thing happened when the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan. The editorial was not about this event. Instead, Dr. Azzam wrote about the encouragement of a Sahabi (companion of Mohammad (SAS!) (See July issue 19880.

Any person who follows this magazine closely, will see the differences in the points and view of its writers. For instance, when the Khost battle took place in late December 1987, Dr. Azzam wrote from the battle field about it,. He considered it a battle which Afghanistan had not witnessed before. The magazine published many pages on it in spite of opposition by the editing staff, which, in their view, would repeat what had happened in Vietnam, when one American leader had said: "Declare your victory and then withdraw". The Russians gained some victory in this battle;

but it was so hard on them that they withdraw, after it. Many observers at that time considered this Soviet concentration on Khost to show the world that Russia defeated the Afghans and then withdrew like the Chines did to the Indians in 1962. After this, I wrote an article in the next issue, i.e., 39th issue February 1988; Why Khost? This led one of our colleague editors to say that this magazine is a multi-magazine, due to the different views of the editors.

For the first time the magazine published two issues together, i.e; 54^{th} and 55^{th} . It carried an interview of Sayyaf, who was the Prime Minister of the Interim Government.

7. FIFTH VOLUME COMPUTER PERIOD:

This volume can be considered as the start of its computer period, because it started its printing on computer, with the 49th issue. That facilitated printing and layout. In this volume Dr. Ahmad Al Assal, the Vice-President of the Islamic University in Islamabad, wrote a general article about Islam. The magazine concentrated in this period on the Mujahideen government.

In the 56th issue, the editorial staff tendered their resignations, because of its unrealistic articles, and for not deriving news from the sources. But some of them, went back, except I and another. Dr. Azzam convinced them back and allowed them to include in every issue a letter criticizing the situation and discussing Afghanistan from their own differing point of view. But unfortunately the magazine started to justify the letter in its own favour.

When Al Abid left the magazine, Issam became the Chief Editor along with a new one who had come recently

8. THE REST OF THE ISSUES:

Issam said that in these and in future, they were to depended on them selves, financially. "We want to enter the market as a magazine, not like before, when we depended on Islamic bookshops. We will take the importance of distribution in our consideration. Also, the titles, layout, and other factors which are different from others."

In this period the magazine lost two of its strongest supporters. Sheikh Tamim Al Adnanie, Director of the Services Office, who died in America during his lecture on the Afghan Jihad. He died of heart attack. Dr. Azzam was killed in Peshawar along with his two sons, in a car bomb blast the magazine covered two events with good photos.

After the Mujahideen took over power in Kabul, Infighting among engaged. The magazine decided to shut down particularly after the Arabs started to leave the country.

The infighting was a big disappointment for them, as for so many other supporters of the Jihad because a civil war among Muslims is considered to be against the Spirit of Jihad. It is a negation of Jihad, per se.

0

AL-BUNYAN AL-MARSUS (UNSHAKABLE FOUNDAITON)

A MONTHLY POLITICAL MAGAZINE OWNED BY HEZB ITTIHAD ISLAMI LED BY ABDUL RABB RASOOL SAYYAF.

The first issue of this magazine appeared in July 1985, after the failure of the Mujahideen Unity led by Sayyaf. In the first issue and under the title, "Why the magazine wrote: Unfortunately, some of these conspiracies have succeeded, which tore the ranks of the Mujahideen. It was like Al-Bunyan Al-Marsus. All of these conspiracies demand clear confronting and encountering. From here we will confront the conspiracies, in addition to work for unity to pure the Muslims ranks. This magazine has made its debut as a unique organ of the Islamic front line in Afghanistan". The words 'unique Islamic lines' upset other Afghan parties, because it means according to their understanding, the other parties are not unique and fundamentalist.

Contents:

The magazine used to publish at least one article in every issue as an editorial by Prof. Sayyaf. In the first issue their was an investigative report about orphans. General topics about Communism, the relation between India and Russia, preaching Islam, military news, Afghanistan in the media and cartoons, were also available.

Other issues followed the same plan, in addition to some topics on Islamic law, and literature concerning Afghanistan. The magazine concentrated on investigative reports from inside Afghanistan. In every issue there was a big review about one front and interviews with commanders with photos and good layout. The magazine did not touch much the political aspects of the Jihad. It also published many articles about other Muslims and the countries like the Philippine, Lebanon, and Indonesia.

The magazine published in its last issue, the diary of Sayyaf in Jail, and was interested much with the Arab martyers inside Afghanistan. Its problem was delayed appearance—sometimes after more than two months, which tired the readers.

Source of News:

The magazine depended in the beginning on Arab and Afghan correspondents who are worked without charge for some time. Some of its editors went inside Afghanistan and wrote investigative reports from the battle-fields. There was also one office for it based in Quetta. This office which sent news and investigative reports, also depended on the sources of the Ittihad party led by Sayyaf. When the Al-Bunyan news agency was established, the magazine depended on it for news.

The Staff:

The magazine started with two Sudanese, one Egyptian, one Syrain and myself None of us had any previous journalistic experience. I was editing the political news, sometimes the military news, and wrote about the political parties in Lebanan a series, by the title: Lebanan-An Open Wound. The Many Arab volunteers who came to Jihad, wrote for it free of charge. In its 30th issue, the Chief Editor was changed from an Egyptian to a Sudani, and the magazine came under the control of Sudanis, who are skilled in journalism. Some people attributed this change to the situation in Sudan, because after the salvation revolution, all the newspapers ceased. They made, these Islamist journalists to come to Peshawar and help Islamic magazines belonging to the Mujahideen. There were also a few Afghanis working in it.

Finance:

The magazine succeeded in projecting a favourable picture about Afghanistan to the Arab readers, particularly. It depended on the spiritual emotional appeal of martyrdom. This motivated the Arabs to donate to Sayyaf. The donations came to Sayyaf, himself, or Ahmad Shah, his Vice.

Policy:

About its policy, the magazine mentioned in its first issue that it followed the unique Islamic line given by the Quran and the Hadith of Prophet Muhammad (SAS!). But it was concentrated on the Ittimad party led by Sayyaf, which he owned.

Printing and Distribution:

The magazine was printed in Lahore. Later it was shifted to Islamabad. The circulation of the first issue was 3-5 thousand copies; then it rose to 12-15 thousand. From the 12th issue till the 20th, the circulation was from 20-25 thousand copies. Later on it was raised to 35-40 thousand copies. In the middle of 1989, the Saudi Distributing Company started to take 5,000 copies. The magazine was sent to other Arab countries by mail and the bookshops there sold it. There were also some subscribers to it. In addition, the magazine is sent to the representatives of the Sayyaf party all over the world.

10

SOUT ALMA RAKHA (The Voice of Battle)

(Newsletter Backed By Jamiat Islami)

The Beginning:

Inayatullah Khalil, the Chief Editor said: "We started our newsletter after the dissolving of the Islamic Afghan Unity in 1985, led by Prof. Sayyaf. We waited for some times, because we thought that may be there will be unity in the media, but when we saw Al-Bunyan Al-Marsus came out and then Al-Mauqif resumed, we adopted our decision to start our own newsletter fortnightly, permanently, Still we continued to hope that may be there will be Unity in the media. They could then pool their resources."

Contents:

The first issue appeared in January 1985. Its editorial declared: "My believer brothers in the East and the West, this is the voice of battle. The voice of your Mujahideen brothers in Jihad: Allah Akbar: Allah is greatest. We want

to convey the news to the Muslims, precisely according to our ability without exaggeration". The first issue contained military and political news and had four pages.

Most issues have from 3-5 pages. There was no political news and no editorial. The paper only concentrated on military aspects, according to the Arab taste.

In the 10th issue of December 1985, the bulletin published its first political news, which was about the tour of Gorbacheave to France. It was condemned by the bulletin. In the next issue, political news was about the tour of the Mujahideen delegation to the U.N., demanding a seat for Afghanistan in the U.N. After this issue the bulletin started to published political news and editorials, which represented the policy of newsletter. From 13th issue it started to write about the difficulties faced by the Afghan Jihad. The pieces were written by Prof.Rabbani, without mentioning his name. The Chief Editor told us that the articles were about the problems of youth, like education, and the media. The newsletter continued till 27th issue; then changed its name to Al-Mujahidoun magazine.

Sources of Newsletter:

The newsletter depended on the news of the Jamiat. Military news was quoted from the "Afghan News," a fortnightly bulletin in English, backed by the Jamiat, also. The Voice of the Battle" was run by the political office of the Jamiat.

Cadre, Printing and Distribution:

Khalil, the Editor said: "I was alone writing, typing and distributing. We were printing at the political office of

the Jamiat. We were distributing 800-1000 copies to the Jamiat offices in Arab and European countries."

Policy:

The Bulletin articulated the aims of the Jamiat, only, and concentrated on publishing the news of the Jamiat front.

11

WAH ISLAMAH (Oh Islam)

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE BACKED BY THE NURISTAN GROUP

The name of this magazine was attributed to the Muslim lady who, when she feel captive to the Christian forces long ago, she shouted: "Wah Mutasimah" which meant the leader of the Muslims at that time. This pushed the leader to prepare an army to rescue her, and they did it. So when the people ever after say: "Wah Islamah", it means they are asking for help from the Muslims.

The first issue which appeared in April 1985, was, also the last. There were three Arabs working in One of them was a Palestinian who supported the Nuristani group at that time and supervised it. The magazine claimed that it was going to change the miserable plight of the Muslims. It was an ordinary paper. Contained an article about Russia, generally, news of the world history of Nursitan, Afghanistan in the media and other items. It published 6,000 copies, which were distributed free to the Arabs in Peshawar and Arab States. It was published in Peshawar, but the photos were made in Lahore. It had 35 pages, only.

12

THE BULLETIN OF THE LAJNAT AL DAWA AL ISLAMIAH

The information committee of lajnat Al Dawa Al Islamiah is a part of the society's reform organisation based in Kuwait. This Lajnat is working among the Mujahideen and refugees in health and education fields. The three-person information committee consists of Abdul Rehman Namous, graduate from the Media College, an Iraqi, and Abu Yakub. The latter worked as translator from Persian to Arabic, and as a photographer, well.

The first issue came out in February 1986, consisting of a few typed pages. It was Photostatted and distributed. The circulation was only from 40-50 copies, given to Islamic magazines in Peshawar and Arab Organizations, in addition to a few copies to the main centre of Lajnat in Kuwait. The centre gave a copy each to Arabic magazines and newspapers based in Kuwait. They also published information about the Afghan Jihad. "Al Mujtaima" (Society) which is published from Kuwait, cited

information from this source. The Bulletin lasted till the 10^{th} issue, when it stopped, because its editor left the job.

In 1988 L.D. I. Resumed publication by an Egyptian journalist named Ahmad Mansoor. He was working as Director of the Information Committee of the Lajnat, and was also a correspondent of Al Mujtama and other Islamic magazines. It became regular. The news editor used to read his Bulletine every Friday after prayers in the "Saba Alail" Mosque (the Night Lion), where all the Arabs offered their Friday prayers and where Sheikh Abdullah Azzam gave his sermon. So most Arabs listened to the latest news of Afghanistan through this bulletine.

Contents:

The first ten issues contained analysis or news reports on the latest development, followed by news of the provinces and military action there, in addition to an interview with Sayyaf Hikmatyar, Rabbani, and Khalis about their attitude towards the political solution. They were concentrating on these four leaders, (not on moderate leaders), particularly Sayyaf. In the last issue they focused on the activities of L.D.I.

Source of Bulletin:

According to Abdul Rehman, their primary sources for the first ten issues were the office of Afghan parties, for military news. They also met the people who came from inside Afghanistan, particularly Arab volunteers who had special houses in Peshawar.

The last issue edited by Ahmad Mansoor depended as its sources on the (AMRC) Afghan Media Resource Centre,

Afghan agencies and Pakistan and Kabul radios. It was financed by the L.D.I.

Policy:

It was supporting the Islamists or so-called fundamentalist parties, particularly Sayyaf's party.

13

AL-MUJAHIDOUN MAGAZINE (Holy Warriors)

A monthly political magazine backed by the Jamiat-e-Islami led by Prof. Rabbani.

The editorial of the first issue of the magazine, which appeared in November 1986, mentioned that the magazine came another Arabic magazine, which was restricted to some specific as a reaction to parties and published some specific provincial military news, and neglected other provinces. So the magazine came to publish news of all the Mujahideen and concerning all of Afghanistan.

Mr. Inayatullah Khalil Hadaf, the Chief Editor of the magazine, said that the first issue of the magazine was supervised by Musa Tawana, who was one of the Islamist founders of the Islamic Movement in Afghanistan. It seems that the mentioning of His name was well-known and his personality had its propaganda value. He know Arabic, and was well known among Arabs. The second issue of the magazine mentioned Inayatullah Khalil Hadaf as the Chief Editor.

The latter said: "I started the magazine myself, with two brother people, and chose the name of magazine, which Prof. Rabbani approved. In spite of issuing the magazine in black and white, Rabbani and the brothers in the Jamiat admired the magazine, and supported us by editing, writing for and financing it."

Magazine Contents:

Prof. Rabbani wrote two articles in the first issue. The first was about the dying leader of the Muslim Brotherhood Omar Al telmasani in Egypt: Hearts Are Wounded with the Departure of Telmasani." He wrote another article about his tour of America and dinner with Reagan, ex-president of the U.S. Many supporters disapproved of it and created confusion about the Jamiat, so he justified his stand in this article.

Musa Tawana, right from the first issue, started to record the history of the Islamic Movement: "heality About the Islamic Movement in Afghanistan." The Afghan News backed by the Jamiat, translated some of it into English and published it.

The magazine concentrated to some extent on the situation of the Jihad in Punjshir, because it was considered the strong hold of the Jamiat Islami. The magazine published the letter of Masood to Rabbani, and other Jihad news. The magazine tried to publish an article in every issue about one outstanding commander from the Jamiat, with his photo.

From the first issue, Dr. Haq Shinas, who graduated with a Ph.D. from Tehran in History, started to publish his

Source of the News:

The magazine depended on its source on the news released by the political commission and military commission, of the Jamiat in addition to the provincial representatives.

Magazine Staff:

Hadaf said: "the first Arab brother who came to help us was a Tunisian brother financed by the Services office. His name was Abu Jaffar. He was helping us in the lay-out, from the ninth issue. An Egyptian brother, Ahmad Abdul Aziz, came and worked with us as designer. He had previous experience. Other Arab brother also helped us. His name was Ahmad Mansoor, who was working as a correspondent of the Al-Mujtama magazine. Then an other Arab, Hussam came from Yemen and helped us. Most of them worked for some time and then left."

The magazine had also three or four Afghans who knew Arabic and graduated either from Saudi Arabia or from the International Islamic University, Islamabad.

PRINTING AND DISTRIBUTION:

The magazine was printed in black and white, from the first issue till 18th, in Lahore. It was distributed from Peshawar, inside Pakistan and outside. The circulation of the first issue reached 6,000 copies, and the second issue was 7,000 copies. In the ninth and tenth issue the circulation reached 10,000 copies. After this, the magazine cooperated with distribution companies for marketing, so that its circulation reached 15,000 copies.

From 18th issue, the magazine shifted to Karachi for economizing on expenditure and for mailing facilities. The magazine started to publish tinted issues. The cost of a copy in the beginning was about Rs.4/- But by the last issue, it reached Rs.15/- in Lahore; but in Karachi it decreased to Rs.12/- only.

The Chief Editor said. "We started from the 20th issue to send 8,000 copies to a marketing company in Saudi Arabia, where every copy is sold Rs. 30/-. The company takes Rs.8/- as its commission, rest is for us. There are companies for distribution in Bahrain and UAE. We are also sending the magazine to the Jamiat representative offices abroad. The subscription of the magazine reached 2,000 persons. The magazine has 46 pages in every issue."

Financial Matters:

Hadaf said that the financing of the magazine was by the Jamiat-e-Islami, "Of course we are receiving some donations from Arabs, who do not want to mention their names. More than once; I found cheques in our accounts without a name."

Policy of Magazine:

The magazine is following the policy of the Jamiat and publishing its news, particularly. In addition, it writes about the lives of Jamiat commanders.

14

AL MUMINAT

(Women Believers):

BACKED BY THE AFGHAN ISLAMIC WOMEN'S ORGANISATION

This newspaper, which changed after the first issue to a magazine, is the first in Arabic about Afghan women. The first issue appeared around October, 1987. We could not get it in spite of our contacts with the Supervisors of the magazine.

Contents:

The Supervisor of the paper said about the contents of the first issue: "We concentrated on discussing the role of women in the Afghan Jihad. The Position of women in the Afghan society was covered, also the activities of the women's organizations which backed this magazine, led by Fatima Yaser, a graduated of the Science University in Kabul.'

The second and last issue was magazine. They mentioned in the second issue that the magazine was a

translation of an Afghan magazine backed by their organisation.

The next issue had an open letter to Muslim brethren striving in the way of Allah; an article about the organization and its background; a letter to women believers; Afghanistan from the geographical and historical point of view, and a story of Muslim women in the time scene of Prophet Muhammad (SAS!).

The Staff:

The staffs were Afghan women. The widow of Prof. Azzam and other Arab women like Aum Subhaib were helping them in writing. The supervisor explained the delay in issuing the magazine to be due to the lack of staff.

Printing and Distribution:

1,000 copies of the magazine were published in Peshawar. They were sent to Arab countries, especially Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Jordan, United Arab Emirates and other Arab donor countries, which helped to collect donations for the paper.

15

WEEKLY REPORT:

This report may be considered to be the first Arabic weekly publication in Peshawar.

The first issue started on 6th of December 1987 from Islamabad. Then it was shifted to Peshawar. The first report was only two pages, which summarised the military and political situation. The second issue was of three pages. Later the report contained 6-8 pages. Its style was to summarise first the political and military situations, then offer details of these two aspects. The last issue came out on 22nd of August, 1989.

Motive Behind the Report:

Adnan Ibrahim, the Supervisor of the report, said: "We started from Islamabad because it was at that time the centre of information about the Afghan issue, and the centre of decisions, in addition to the availability of communication facilities. The idea of the report came from Wall Julydan –The ex-Director of Saudi Red Crescent in Peshawar, who worked as the Director of the Muslim World League in Peshawar." Ibrahim added that: "After we

saw a report of Western diplomats based in Islamabad concerning Afghanistan, and dealing with this issue from a particular biased point of view, serving special purposes, and realizing the absence of proper reports among Muslims, we have started this report to be objective and true."

The report avoided rhetoric, which was common in magazines. It was interested in the factual aspects of news. It was aimed at policy makers in Muslim States, and the Arab diplomatic community, which was, and stills, dependent on Western diplomatic reports.

In July 1988 the report shifted from Islamabad to Peshawar. Adnan Ibrahim attributed this shifting to Peshawar-which became the center of news gathering and spreading on Afghanistan at that time.

Printing and Distribution:

In the beginning the report was being printed without attributing it to any organisation. But in its 2nd January 1989 issue, it was mentioned that the report was to be published from Al-Jihad House backed by the Al Jihad Magazine supervised by Sheikh Azzam. Adnan Ibrahim said in this connection "We were seeking an organisation to attribute it to and we agreed with Al Jihad House."

The report started with an ordinary typewriter. Then the third or fourth issue was typed on an IBM machine; and it improved much. On 14th November 1988, they started to print it on a computer. It was on white paper and photostated (200-250) copies) and distributed to Arab diplomats in Islamabad, Mujahideen leaders, offices of Mujahideen, Arab Volunteer Organisations, Arabic Educational Institutions, Arab States and European States by mail.

except Saudi Arabia where they were sending a copy by fax. There the matter was photo-stated and distributed to people interested in the Afghan Jihad to raise funds and for moral support. On certain occasions, branches of Service Offices led by Dr. Azzam distributed it to Arab Communities in America, also.

For the Afghans who did not know Arabic, the report was translated in Dari and Pushto, for a short period. Later it was printed on computer to publish about 100 copies. It was distributed to Afghan leaders.

Source of Report:

Direct interviews with Afghan leaders, local Afghan News Agencies, Pakistani Newspapers, World Services Radios and Some Arabic Newspapers.

Financial Matters:

It was financed by some Arab donors.

Closure of the Report:

The report ceased to be published on 22nd of August 1989 after the mysterious incident of the burning Ibrahim's house when he was out of Peshawar.

Ibrahim said in this connection: "I do not think there is A linkage between the burning of the house and my report. I was in Islamabad when this event took place on 17th August, 1989. I was prepared for the next issue but the material was burnt among other things, then the report stopped." Ibrahim added that: the decision of the closure had been already adopted, but it might be that the incident coincide with the closure of the report."

Staff:

The cadre consisted of the Chief Editor and three translators (from English to Arabic, Persian to Arabic and Pushto, Urdu into Arabic), a typist, and a distributor of news within Peshawar.

Policy:

It was publishing the views of all Afghan leaders; but concentrated the Islamist leaders.



AKBAR AL BUNYAN (The News of Al-Bunyan)

This bulletin was first delivered on 26 of August 1988, backed by Al Bunyan News Agency by Prof. Sayyaf, the leader of the Islamic unity party. The bulletin just published the news of the Agency on ordinary paper. It depended on the sources of the party, radio Kabul, newspapers. The topics which was covered in its first Gen. Zia's killing, statements of Ahmad Shah, the P.M. of Mujahideen government at that time and other big military operations. Sometimes it was publishing analytical article's life: "Who killed Zia?"

The bulletin came out to meet the needs of Arabs in Peshawar, because many of them could not follow the situation due to their not knowing the local languages. So it was published every Friday and distributed in the mosques where Arabs prayed together. The circulation was not more than 100 copies. The bulletin reached the 5th issue, then ceased because of the appearance of Laheeb Al Maraka. The latter became the weekly for Arabs, and served the

same objective. The Supervisor of the bulletin decided to come out with a newspaper. The cadres were Arabs of the Al-Bunyan News Agency. Its policy was to support Mujahideen, generally, and Sayyaf, particularly.



LAHEEB AL MARAKA (The Battle of Flames)

Weekly Bulletin issue by the Services Office for the Mujahideen (S.O.M).

The first issue of this periodical was issued on ordinary paper. It contained a statement by Engineer Hikmatyar, President Mujahideen Alliance at that time, which was signed by him but written by Dr. Azzam. It was dated May 1, 1988. The second issue had military and provincial news from Afghanistan, besides political news. The third issue contained a summary of the political and military situation followed by some elaborations. The fourth consisted of Mujahideen statement about their apprehension on signing the Geneva Accord.

This trend and style continued till the ninth issue, after which some changes were introduced in the Bulletine. They published it on special paper of the services Office. It was mentioned on the top that the bulletin was specially for donors.

In the 16th issue they named it as the voice of the Battle. But when some people argued with Dr. Azzam that

there was Bulletin by this name belonging to Jamiat-e-Islami, he readopted the old name: "Laheeb Al Maraka".

Contents:

The Bulletin usually carried a preface by Dr. Azzam in every issue, which had two or three pages, calling the readers to support the Jihad, morally and financially. Usually he presented the positive aspects of the Afghan struggle and encouraged the youth for participate. He succeeded in collecting thousands of youth from all over the Arab and Muslim countries, generally, and from Pakistan, as well. He was called the spokesman of the Afghan Jihad among Arabs. In addition to Dr. Azzam's editorial, political and Military developments were covered. There were articles. Propaganda for the activities of Services Office and also a statement to support the Jihad signed by Dr. Azzam, himself, because the masses in Arab countries admired him.

Sources:

The Bulletin depended translation of Pakistani paper clippings, Al Bunyan news service, A.M.R.C., Mujahideen news Agencies like Midia and ANA, in addition to Radio Pakistan, kabul monitoring and Arab eye witnesses accounts of places in Afghanistan, who belonged to services office.

Financial Matters:

It was financed by the Service Office which depend on donations.

Policy:

Natural in dealing with fundamentalist Mujahideen. But after the interim government was established, it joined other parties from the moderate side.

Staff:

Its cader consisted of just a few people without journalistic background. They mostly relied on translated material.

Publication and Circulation:

It is published by the Al-Jihad House of the (S.O.M.).

350 copies were brought out of the first issue with a blue frame and the mass head in red colour. In the beginning, it was circulated to a limited number. As the magazine attracted the attention of people the number was increased from the 20th issue to 500 copies, by the 30th issue its circulation reached 1200 copies, and from the 50th issue 5000 copies were brought out later. The 50-70 the issues published 7000 copies. The 70th -80th issues published 7500 copies. The 80th - 90th issues published 11000 copies. From 90th till its closure, they published 12000 copies of it.

The Bulletin did not exceed 10 pages, printed on both sides, for saving expenditure on printing and mailing. The last page was reserved for the stamp and address.

Most subscriptions were from Saudi Arabia. Only subscribers copies were issued; none to any agencies or bookshop agents, except in the last days when they sent 3000 copies to bookshops in North Yemen.

The subscription was not more than 500 persons. The publishers sent it free to convince people to support the Afghan Jihad, generously, so that they would to donate it donate big sums of money were received this way. The number of copies sent to Saudi Arabia was about 4000. After Saudia Arabia and Yemen, Algeria came third in distribution.

The other declared objective of this bulletin was to revive the spirit of Jihad among all the Muslims.

Copies in Urdu:

There was one Pakistani and a typist who translated this bulletin into Urdu and distributed it among Pakistani people by mail for some time. But later on it was stopped.

The circulation was a few hundred copies.



SOUT AL JIHAD AL ALMI (The Voice of International Jihad)

Backed By Haqqani.

The first, only and last issue came out on 22 June 1988. They mentioned in the beginning that this magazine was the Voice of Haq (truth) in the face of Batil (False). The editorial asked Who are and What We Want? And it repaid We want the magazine to abide with the, truth (Haq) and follow it, and we want it for all Muslims."

The magazine took the articles form other magazines like the writings of Shaik Omar Abdul Rehman, spiritual leader of Al Jama Islamiha in Egypt who is Jailed now in the USA. They also published news about the first Mujahideen government led by Ahmad Shah. There was military news of Afghanistan and an articles about Egypt. They published a few thousands copies and distributed them free. The Editor in Chief was an Egyptian who had no background in journalism.

The magazine, was financed and supervised by Egyptians who were opposed to the Egyptian regime, this might be the first declared indication against he Egyptian Regime in Peshawar. Other wise before, that the Arab volunteers were restricting their activities to the Afghan Jihad.

19

AI THABAT (firmness):

Backed By Sayyaf's Party

After the closing of the "News of Al-Bunyan" by the House of Al-Bunyan, after sometimes the House of Al-Bunyan started to publish a new weekly newspaper. Politically and newswise it concentrated on the latest Afghan Jihad news. The Newspapers contained five columns. In the first issue of this paper, which was published on 9th September 1989, there was no opinion about it, but on the top of the front page there were three small boxes. The right one had written inside it an interview with Shaik Sawaf an Iraqi died about 1992. The middle box had written inside it the name of the newspaper. The last box contained a small column by the title, "Wallah Allam" meaning "Allah Knows". The writer focussed on the internal problems of Arabs living among Mujahideen, without mentioning the names of the persons but only just hinting at it. This made some Arabs angry and upset with the newspaper. That forced the writer to leave the box empty in the seventh issue, but he resumed wiring it after the eight issue. But in 3th issue it was stopped with the request of some Arabs to proprietor of the house, who is professor Sayyaf. This column was replaced by the title "Omatee" (My Nation). It called upon Muslims to heed the problems and difficulties suffered by fellow Muslims. From the second issue, the newspaper editor wrote in the right box, which was ten lines, only.

Concentrating the latest news of the Afghan Jihad, this trend were the Holy continued till the 26th issue. Then these two boxes abolished, to be replaced by verses of the Holy Quran, and Hadith of Prophet Muhammad (SAS!). With 27th issue, the newspaper started a big column on the front page to express its views on the news under the title: "Words of Al Thabat or Opinion of Thabat.

Newspaper Contents:

The banner headline for every issue was military news of the Mujahideen or statements by Mujahideen leaders, and particularly Sayyaf or leaders of the government. After it was formed. Under it there was small military news or political news. The second page was for Afghanistan in the Pakistani press, and Peshawar society. This corner continued for two or three issues. The newspaper translated from the Mujahideen press and chose one topic for this translated material. The third page was mostly for Muslim Liberation Movements like Kashmir, Phillipine, Palesitne and others. In addition to analysis there were shariat topics and interviews with commanders. The last page had a big photo with a comment under it. There was weekly analysis on this page.

Staff:

In the beginning the Supervisor of this newspaper was Mohanna an Egyptian, who was also the Editor of Al-Bunyan. But his inability to the coming out with the magazine in time, led to complaints to Sayyaf, Later on

Mohanna tendered his resignation to Sayyaf in March 1990. There were some Arabs who did not have enough journalistic skills, but they worked in the paper. There were also some Afghans who graduated from Arab countries, like Waliullah Slaim who spoke Arabic fluently, and others. After Mohannad, Sudanese people took over, who had come recently from their country, particularly some after the coup by Hasan Al Bashir.

Policy:

The paper followed the policy of Sayyaf's party. On the Takhar incident between the Jaimat Islami and Hezbe-Islami, the paper refrained to publish any thing because it wanted to be neutral between them. The other incident which clarified the policy of the paper even more, was the Tanai coup. The paper said that it was a struggle of power between the Khalq and Parcham. This view represented the policy of the government. Hikmatyar was opposed to it. The paper succeeded to speak to the Arabs, which gained publicity for Sayyaf.

Finance: It was financed by Sayyaf, himself.

Printing and Distribution:

Al thabat it was publishing 18,000 copies and sending to Saudi Atabia 8,000 copies, but after March 1990, the sale of the paper in Saudia Arabia went down. When Dr. Azzam was killed, the paper published 25,000 copies. The paper was published from the beginning in Islamabad. It cost Rs.4-5 a copy. After Saudi Arabia Gulf States and Sudan were its man distribution market. It also had some subscribers. The paper sent some issues to Sayyaf representatives all over the world, particularly in Arab countries.

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AL MUJAHID MAGAZINE:

A Monthly Magazine Backed By Shaik Jamiul Rehman-Leader Of Jamat Al Dawa Ila Al Quran Wal Sunnah. (Group Preaching the Holy Quran and the Path of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (SAS!).

The magazine declared from the first issue that it was backed by the Jamiul Rehman group, which called itself as Salafi or Ahl Hadith following the Prophet Mohammad (SAS!)- not the traditional thought of the Afghan school (Imam Abu Hanifa), one of the four Islamic schools of thought. This group concentrated most of its activities in Kunhar province on the Pakistani borders.

The first issue of this magazine appeared in December 1988.

Contents:

The magazine had 46 pages, which contained a letter from the publisher about the latest Afghan situations; the Al-Mujahid opinion which represented also the stand of the magazine towards the events, and military and political

news. The cover story was about the Afghan situation; in addition to the interviews with the scholars of Ahle Hadith, like Shaik Nasir Uddin Al Albani from Suyria, Shaik Abdul Aziz Ibn Naz from Saudi Arabia, and Ibn Oathymin, also from Saudi Arabia.

The other parts of the magazine carried articles on Islami culture and ideology, written by scholars. These articles were sent by fax and by mail. The magazine was delayed sometimes, so the fifth and sixth issues appeared collectively to cover the delay.

Source of News:

The magazine depended for its news on Pakistani newspapers, radio stations, Mujahideen agencies, and some volunteer correspondents, who were fighting along with the Jamat.

Al-Mujahid Staff:

The staff was small because most of its articles concentrated on "Fiqh" (Jurispundance) and "Aqida" (faith) written by a few free lance scholars. From the beginning the Chief Editor was an Egyptian, Abu Suhaib who had close relations with Shaik Jamil Al Rehman. He attracted some workers the Al-Jihad magazine, with better salaries. From After some issues, Mustafa Hamid started to write for it cover stories and other important articles. In the sixth issue Nizar Al Jarboa (a Saudi) replaced Abu Suhaib. After some time he brought an Egyptian, Abu Khalid who had graduated from the Shariat University, only to supervise the magazine, because of his lack of experience in the media.

The layout of the magazine was good from the beginning, due to the experience of workers in the Al-Jihad magazine.

I started work with the magazine from the 10th issue, when Mustafa Hamid wrote an article which was not accepted by the magazine. Then Mustafa left his job, and the Committee asked me to work. After three issue, I started to write the cover story: for it. Al. Mujahid Opinion, and a letter from the publisher.

Financial Matters:

The magazine was financed by donations which were collected by Nizar, depending on his inspirational sermons and speeches in mosques. He collected the money from the Ahle Hadill merchants. The magazine has strong support from the Gulf States and Saudi Arabia.

Policy:

The policy of the magazine can be divided into two stages:

First Stage:

From the first issue to the sixth, the magazine published the views of seven Afghan leaders, including Jamil ul Rehman. It focussed on Islamist leaders, and called for the unity of Mujahideen. Four leaders are Sayyaf, Rabbani, Hekmatyar and Khalis.

Second Stage:

From the sixth issue till it's the closure in about 1993, it changed its stand, particularly after Nizar came to it.

They never wrote anything about the seven leaders, because the supervisor did not consider them to have, in proper aqeeda (faith). But from 15th issue, magazine they more flexible. The magazine wrote about the Shias in Afghanistan, particularly, and generally it published studies about. The afghan Shias.

The magazine did not publish any picture of any living creature, because it believed that photo are unlawful in Islam.

Printing and Distribution:

The magazine started to be printed in Lahore till the fifth and sixth issue collectively.

The circulation of the first issue was 15,000 copies and continued till the combined fifth and sixth issues, which reached 50,000 copies. The circulation of 7th, 8th and 9th issues was 25,000 copies. The 10th issue was 20,000 copies.

The magazine was distributed free of charge. But at some stage it had 3,000 subscribers; and 1,000 copies were sent as a gift and on cultural exchange Basis.

The magazine sent to the Saudi Arabia Marketing Company 5,000 copies. Copies not sold were distributed free. After Saudi Arabia came Kuwait and then Algeria, as it main market. The magazine was sent to the Islamic Centres in Europe and America.

The magazine shifted printing from Lahore to Karachi, to save expenditure, and for the facilities to sending it abroad.

This department has a problem because its cadre is Aghan who confused about the names and addresses of Arabs and for every issue it needs N.O.C. from the Commissioner signed by Shaik Jamil like other publications.

21

ZATT AL NITAKAIN:

The Two-Belted Woman
The magazine was backed by the Services Office (Azzam)

Dr. Abdullah Azzam wrote for the first issue of this magazine, before his death on 24th November 1989. "After intensive pestering from my family I opened this magazine with these few words, and I pray for the success of this magazine." Dr. Azzam praised in his writing the role of Arab women who came with their husbands to help and minimise the burden of their Afghan sisters in Islam.

The first issue appeared September 1989. It contain many items. The name of this magazine came from a historical event when (Asmma), the daughter of Hazrat Abu Bakr, the companion of the Prophet (SAS!) tore her belt into two pieces when the Prophet (SAS!) and Hazrat were migrating to Madina that was done for two purposes: the first belt was put around her chest, and the other to tie the luggage with. So, from that time onwards the (SAS!) called her "Zatt Al Nitakain".

In the first issue there was an article about the Arab Women's Commission and its activities in the Afghan

Jihad. It had many committees like for Public Relations, Schools, Women's Hospital, Refugee Camps and Families, guiding, preaching, workshops and sewing. In this issue also there was an interview with Fatema Yaser the origins of the women's organisation of the Hizb-I-Islami (Hikmatyar).

The second issue had articles about Muslim women, the martyrdom of Dr. Azzam and an interview with his widow, and reviews of the late Professor's publications.

MAGAZINE CADRE:

The widow of Dr. Azzam was the supervisor of this magazine with the help of some Arab ladies who wished to serve the Jihad along with their husbands. They gave information about the sufferings of Afghan women, and raised funds for the Afghan refugees.

PUBLICATION AND CIRCULATION:

The magazine was published by the Al Jihad House which belonged to the Services Office. It had 50 pages. A few thousand copies were printed and distributed to the Arab States. It was financed by the women organizations. Its policy was to support the Jihad and propagate views of Islamist personalities among the Mujahideen ranks.

The magazine was monthly. But sometimes delays occurred on account of cader and other problems.

The magazine has stopped after few issues only.

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WEEKLY AL-MAUQIF (THE STANCE)

BACKED BY HEZB-E-ISLAMI-HEKMATYAR

The first issue of this newspaper started on the 3rd of March 1990. It was small in size, like a small notebook, and contained 8 pages. The second issue was like a newsletter in size and contained 8 pages. From the eight issue, the newspaper issues only 4 pages.

Why weekly Al-Mauqif?

This question was answered in the first editorial: That the events were so fast changing that they needed to be monitor and constantly since a daily was not possible, a weekly was the next best option. From the second issue it was announced that the weekly Bulletins was issued by the Al-Mauqif Magazine.

Contents:

In the first issue there was an interview with Hekamtyar about his insistence on elections. There was also military news, in addition to political analysis by the title: "America Jihad-Hekmatyar" by an Afghan writer. Also an interview with the new Director of the Services Office, Sheikh Muhammad Abbas who succeeded. An article about Pakistani tribesmen and their support and on the last page, there was some Jihad terminology was published. The second issue concentrated on the Tanai coup and the supportive of Hezb-e-Islami towards it. It included an interview of the Tass Agency with Hekmatyar, and some military news. The problem of this newspaper was that it was not a newspaper in style and layout, for instance, the editorial took half of the carried paper, and the first page sometimes analysis, not news.

The first issue concentrated on support to Tanai's coup and holding elections. When the Kahsmir issue arose, the newspaper started to focus it.

Policy:

It articulated the policy of the Hezb-e-Islami, particularly on issues like the holding of elections and defending its stand in supporting the Tanai coup attempt.

Staff:

Its staff was the same as that of Al-Mauqif magazine. Kakr admitted that staff was not professionally trained in journalism, but working was for its development.

Printing and Distribution:

Kaker said 5,000 copies of it were published in the Hezb 1,000 copies were distributed Peshawar and some hundred in Pakistani cities. Others went to Arab States, Press along Al-Maúqif, but in lesser with the numbers.

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MANBAI AL-JIHAD (Source of Al-Jihad)

Political Monthly Magazine Owned by Commander Haqqani.

Only a few issues of this magazine appeared. Its Chief Editor was commander Jalal Al Din Haqqani, the General Commander of Paktia Province, who belonged to the Hizb-e-Islami (Khalsi Group).

In the first issue Haqqani wrote: "With the help of Allah, the Almighty, we are starting our first step on the way to this magazine (source of Al Jihad, which is the voice of sciences and scholars and the voice of Jihad and the Mujahideen in Afghanistan." Then he discussed the role of scholars in the Afghan Jihad. In the first issue it was mentioned that the magazine was issued by the college of "Source of Science" in Miran Shah, backed by Haqqani, himself.

Haqqani issued in the first issue a statement to the Muslim nations about the conspiracies against the

Mujahideen, and he requested their support at that critical juncture. There was also an investigative report about the College of Miran Shah with photos. In addition, the will of Dr. Azzam was published, besides political and Military news, and other articles. The second and third issue were published. It concentrated the Mujahideen's capturing of the Torgar mountain, together strategic position for its nearness to Khost city. These full scale articles were written by Mostafa Hamid, the ex Correspondent of Ittihad daily newspaper, based in Abu Dhabi.

The first two issues wee printed from Lahore. There were many printing mistakes in it. The magazine had 46 pages.

Its policy was to articulate the views of Cd. Haqqani. They printed a few thousand copies and sent them to the Arab States, particularly the UAE. Haqqani was arrived to an Arab women. There was also internal distribution for Afghans and Arabs in Peshawar. Its paper was good and tinted. It was financed by the Haqqani group and Arab donors, particularly from the UAE.



AL INKAZ (The Salvation)

Backed by the Afghan National Salvation Fronted by Sibhaullah Mujaddi

This magazine was the first of its kind published by the Afghan National Liberetion front led by Prof. Mujadidi. Its first issue appeared the Mujahidden government led by Mujadidi. In the past, there was a magazine in Pushto and Dari by the name of "Payam Orwatual Wosqa", backed by the same party. It concentrated on ideology and cultural. It sometimes published articles in Arabic, for instance, in the first issue of the third year, in Ramazan and Zei Al Qidah 1409 after Hijrat, the magazine published an article about the principle of Hadith sciences.

The Chief Editor spoke Arabic fluently, as he had graduated in law from an Iraqi University in 1977. Later he worked as a Qazi or Judge in Afghanistan.

Contents:

The Chief Editor said "We concentrate on the spreading the aims of our party, like the independence of

Afghanistan, and non-intervention in our affairs, in addition to establishment of an Islamic government according to the Abu Hanifa School of thought. And there is no difference between this aim and the objective of our government, particularly, the Chief of the party is the president."

The editorial of the first issue mentioned the aim of magazine: "To try to introduce the Jihad in Afghanistan to our Arab brothers; and clarify to them the nature of the Afghan society, culturally and historically. We are facing financial and technical problems, but we depend on Allah the Almighty, in publishing it."

The first issue contained the news of the formation of an Islamic government led by Mujadidi, himself. An interview with the President quoted from the press a brief history of Mujadidi. Letters from Muslim personalities congratulated Mujadidi as President, like a letter from King Fahd of Saudi Arabia. The history of Afghanistan, and Afghanistan in Arab and Pakistani press, were also included in the issue.

After this issue, the bimonthly magazine ceased publication for one year. The Chief Editor all tribute this to the merging of all cultural committees belonging to the parities in the Ministry of Information. "But after we saw that no party was abiding by this decision, we resumed our publication, and the editorial of the second issue mentioned this."

The next issue appeared in May and June 1990. It contained: a speech of the President on the Afghan Day (Nauroze), and a brief Afghan history, news of the military situation, other speeches of Mujadidi, an article by Ahmad Al Sarhandi from India, Afghanistan in Pakistani press and humanitarian efforts of the U.N. in Afghanistan. The

Cadre:

The magazine depended on Afghans, only, particularly on the Chief Editor who is a writer and translator Most of it is from other sources Muzaffar Al Din said: "We are looking for people who can work with us. We are even ready to pay them, but according to our policy."

Policy:

Muzaffar said: "Our policy is the policy of the party and the Mujahideen government."

Financial Matters:

The Chief Editor said: "The party is financing us, but we still face problems."

Printing and Distribution:

The magazine is typed and printed in Peshawar. 2,000 copies published and sent by mail to Arab countries, particularly Saudi Arabia. The representatives of the front distribute it freely. The Chief editor said the cost of printing of every issue was Rs.50,000/-

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SMALL MAGAZINES:

There were two other small magazines which appeared once each, only. But we could not get away copy of them. The first, "Alwatan Al Islami" (Islamic Homeland) was backed by the Ahmed Gilani group based in Peshawar. This came in the middle of 1986. It was handwritten; and it was too weak. It changed to another name "Afghanistan", and started publication in Islamabad.

The second magazine was "Alnasr" (the Victory). It was backed by the students of Abdullah Ibn Jubair Institute, led by the Khalis group and the Arabs financed it.

Its intention was to encourage the local students to learn Arabic.

Alnur-the Light:

A weekly newspaper backed by the Khzalis group, was published in a local language, which could sometimes include Khalis's editorial in Arabic.

At the end we may said that all these magazines and newspapers closed down as suddenly as they appeared. All of them were published from Peshawar. The leaders of Afghan parties employed such journals for including good will with the Arabs; besides raising donations for the Afghan Jihad.

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CONCLUSION:

This short study has tried to illustrate that it is the Spirit of Jihad which is, historically, responsible for Islam's continuous Self-Renewal and Revival, despite all the odds and challenges. And Jihad is not just limited to the battlefield. In fact, it is the life long living exemplary practice of Islam in peace.

There are two kinds of Jihad:

- i) 'Jihad-Ul Akbar' or the Greater Jihad—which is life-long, as stated above. And:
- ii) "Jihad-Ul Asghar' or the lesser Jihad—which is, according to Dr. Ikram Azam, strategic self defence for sovereign independence.

This short study is about Journalist Jihad of the Pen by the activist scholar, as epitomized in Prof. Azzam and his two young teen-aged sons. The Scholar's Jihad is in support of the foregoing two kinds of Jihad. The Afghan Arab Media at Jihad were supporting the Afghan Jihad in their own illustrious manner. Apparently there were many voices, each expressing itself in its own way, backed by its own sources: human and material. These many voices

reflected the all —too-natural pluralism of Islami Democracy for Consensus—the Consensus being the Afghan Jihad. It was a division of labour—the apparent voice of dissent converging on the issue of Jihad.

Such is the Spirit of Jihad that it rallies all Muslims—Arabs, Afghan, Pakistanis and all others, a like, to the sacred cause of Jihad.

What a pity that the Spirit of Jihad was compromised later in the civil war going on in Afghanistan after the Geneva Accord and the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan! The insane fratricide is the result of tribalism, egoism, and vested interest geopolitics and geoeconomics—local, regional and international.

It is for the Afghans to see through this divisive dilemma—rather game; and reunite in the Spirit of Jihad: Jihad-Ul-Asher, this time, to secure their collective future.

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