Towards a Curriculum

for the Teaching of Jihadist Ideology

Part III:

The World Through a Jihadi Lens

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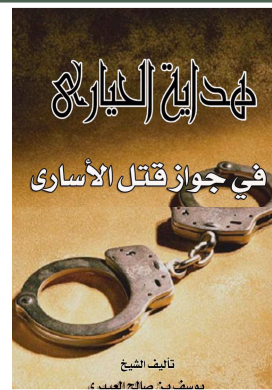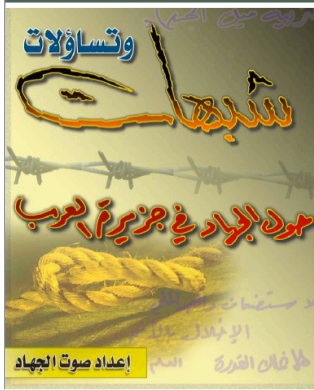# Towards a Curriculum

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The JAMESTOWN
FOUNDATION

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Origins

Launched in 1984 by its founder William Geimer, The Jamestown Foundation has emerged as one of the leading providers of research and analysis on conflict and instability in Eurasia. The Jamestown Foundation has rapidly grown to become one of the leading sources of information on Eurasia, developing a global network of analytical expertise from the Baltic to the Horn of Africa, from the Black Sea to Siberia, fom the Persian Gulf to the Pacific. This core of intellectual talent includes former high-ranking government officials and military officers, political scientists, journalists, research analysts, scholars and economists. Their insight contributes significantly to helping policymakers around the world understand the emerging trends and developments in many of the world's under-reported conflict zones in Eurasia and engage in addressing today's new and emerging global threats, including that from international terrorists.

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Chapter Four – *The Mujahid in the World*

We have seen how the jihadists' demand for reform towards a more authentic society of Muslims methodically and progressively expanded to embrace also the societies of infidels. Mawdudi understood the reform as a global mission, and al-Maqdisi argued that passive imitation of these societies and involvement with their systems negated a Muslim's Islam.

In which case, the behavior of Islamist extremists outside the Muslim world would appear to present a number of riddles and apparent contradictions. How does the radical square hostility, for instance, to the West and disgust with its culture and political systems, with a desire to continue living there, sometimes directly drawing support from it economically and in terms of the protection it affords to his person, irrespective of his religious affiliation? How does he maintain his position of enmity, as demanded by the doctrine of *al-walā' wal-barā'*?

To understand this it is useful to take a look at how they themselves assemble their constituent parts. To do this, we need to look at the fundamentals of their approach to reality, to knowledge, and to the march of time. Their approach yields some intriguing differences, particularly in the way information and experience is processed through a series of interpretative filters.

Salafism, as we have seen, is a very unusual reform movement, with some unusual psychological tensions. Its contemporary impetus has been powered by a core seam of anxiety in the face of a world of globalizing ideas over which they exercise no control. The chosen solution – to disengage and hermetically seal themselves off from the intellectual and cultural threats of the surrounding *jāhiliyya* – means that the thinker, the reformer, the cleric and the believer have to refer back constantly to a founding prototype for cultural and religious validation, and for reassurance that the ties remain intact.

Salafists do not take this prototype simply as a guiding inspirational ideal, but as a detailed template upon which to build intellectual ramparts against the rest of the world, whether infidel or 'nominally Muslim.' The life of the Prophet and the earliest Muslim community therefore constitutes a *universal paradigm* for interpreting world events and history. For if the true Believer is to seek validation from the ancient prototype in search of the common denominator, he is therefore to dispense with the false, subversive distinctions of modern and ancient, since this distinction implies, disastrously, the concept of development, and that therefore conditions which did not apply during the time of the Prophet and the Companions would be calling for solutions that made no reference to their behavior and responses.

This is a unique feature of the movement. Most Jews, Christians and Muslims may take an interest in the historical manifestation of their faiths, and understand doctrines and events in the context of their times, but they do not pass their understanding of contemporary events exclusively through the filter of antiquity or Holy Writ. Conversely, the assumption of cultural and religious siege adopted by the Jihadi-Salafists calls for a re-scripting of history as the unfolding of a single contest: the struggle of Good (true Islam) versus Evil (false Islam and Disbelief). For the dilemma for contemporary

Muslims, according to this interpretation, is that the course of this struggle has been muddled by their failure, from the earliest period, to understand the nature of the forces ranged against them – the perennial, eternal conspiracy of Satan in whatever form it manifests itself. Whether this conspiracy be conducted by the subversive activities of the pagan Arabs, Jews, Crusaders, Darwinists, atheists or secularists – these are all labels for one and the same enemy. The mission, the challenges and the tasks imposed upon Muslims have not changed. The educational task of the jihadists is therefore to awaken a new historical consciousness in the mind of the Muslim and reconfigure it towards this unalterable, trans-historical single narrative.[1]

History is now – the Jihadist Metanarrative

With the projection of its conditioning influence onto contemporary events, the Salafist prototype becomes more than just an interesting, intellectual oddity, it becomes the cement in the bulwark against doubt and provides what appears to be vindication of the jihadists' case. It does this because it purportedly provides what passes for evidence for the prototype and for its permanent validity. This bulwark is the Islamist metanarrative. A metanarrative is an interpretation, a discourse which contains all other discourses while itself being contained by none other.[2] It is hermetically sealed from the effects of events that contradict this discourse, or from elements that stand outside of its own foundations. As a self-contained entity it immunizes its user intellectually, and this immunization is key to understanding how the Islamist avoids the contradictions.

Under the Islamist employment of the metanarrative, the drive to authenticity, to a time of the perfect community of the Faithful, pre-supposes a view of the universe which does not see history as a sequence of events each with their own conditioning factors. Instead, historical events separated by centuries can be linked up and used to explain a preordained thesis: NATO and the Warsaw Pact become Byzantium and Persia battling themselves to exhaustion on the eve of the emergence of Islam, the machinery of modern warfare replicating the "terrible machines destroying each other, exactly in the manner the infidel kingdoms destroyed each other before the Islamic conquests."[3] The sub-text of this is very potent: history is about to repeat itself. Or rather, history is a permanent constant: the same formula applies down through the centuries and will give meaning for all subsequent world history, since it is essentially the same contest – The Primordial Struggle. Only the names and the terminology change. The past and the present are indissolubly merged, and this provides the correct basis on which to engage with current and future events. The jihadi strategist Abu Mus'ab al-Suri, in his *The Global Islamic Resistance Call,* typifies this identification of the struggle as one that is:

> … a course of conflict which has persisted right since the combat between the two sons of Adam, where the evil one Qābīl slew his righteous brother Hābīl, to the setting up of the new world order under the leadership of the United States.[4]

This seamless blending of history with theology accounts for the peppering of Jihadist discourse with some odd political terminology. It is a vocabulary that relies heavily on the religious filter:

Crusaders: Al-Qaeda and jihadist refer continually to the USA and Europe as 'Crusaders', which is now not a historically defined term, so much as a perennial archetype. The word 'Crusaders' has the advantage of couching those who oppose them in terms of an eternal struggle, and thus allows cultural or inter-faith dialogue to be dismissed as 'Crusade by other means.'

Rūm: The current wars with the West are the continuation of the archetype of the war on the *Rūm* ('Byzantines');

Tāghūt:	'The Tyrant.' Originally a pre-Islamic idol, the term denotes any object or individual that prevents mankind from doing good. In jihadist literature it is commonly used to denote heads of state of Muslim countries which are not governed by Sharī'a law. 'Tāghūt,' used as an adjective, is employed in the sense of 'profane, oppressive' (e.g. 'the Tāghūt courts.'). The *Tāghūt al-'Asr*, 'The Tyrant of the [present] Age' is the United States of America – in its role as a superpower opposing the program of the mujahideen to establish the Islamic Nation.
Jāhiliyya:	'Ignorance'. Originally denoting a historical stage of pre-Islamic ignorance of the True Faith, it is now used to denote a state, irrespective of history, and thus applicable to contemporary Muslims as well as the broader infidel.
Kuffār:	'Infidels'. The enemies of the jihadists are not differentiated along national or ethnic terms, but are defined simply by their perceived enmity to Islam as construed by the jihadists. The term not only applies to Christians, Jews and Hindus, but also to Muslim regimes collaborating with the international order.
Apostates:	'*Murtaddūn*'. Not simply in the sense of those that have repudiated the Islamic faith, but those who, while professing Islam, fail to match up to the jihadist conditions for qualifications as a Muslim. That is, those who have made their peace with an international order which is not based on the model of the Prophet's community and world view.
Polytheists:	'*Mushrikūn*'. Again, not simply to denote belief in several gods in the classic use of the term, but extended by the jihadis to denote those that fail to maintain the exclusive singularity (*tawhīd*) of God's authority.

And so on. Once again, these terms are not being used metaphorically or symbolically. Jihadi-Salafists are literalists to the core, and they mean exactly what they say. Who and what people and politics are today is therefore not the issue. What is important is how they believe people and politics are, as they see them through their own set of filters.

The Caliphate narrative

A pivotal focus of the metanarrative, of course, is the Caliphate. Jihadists of various stripes make much of the events of 1924 when Mustafa Kemal formally abolished the office, since it encapsulates very well the cause. The Islamist student of history is encouraged to reflect on the following:

- What is the reason for the political and economic failure of the Middle East? *It is the corruption of Muslim regimes*

- How were the Muslim regimes corrupted? *From western colonialism*

- How did western colonialism succeed? *From the failure of the Ottomans*

- Why did the Ottomans fail? *They were undermined by Christians and Jews*

- Why did these wish to undermine the Ottomans? <u>*Because the Crusades never ended.*</u>[5]

This is a core issue of the metanarrative, and it illustrates the intellectual processes at work. For the Jihadist reader of history the fall of the Ottoman Caliphate sets a convenient marker for the 'reintroduction,' in what appeared to be an indisputably formal political and legal sense, of the era of *jāhiliyya*. It provides a graphic demonstration of the reversal of the natural order, when Islam ceased to maintain a defining role over any part of the globe. The office of Caliphate is a title with a resonance that goes back to the earliest years of Islam, so the appeal to its restoration has all the

glamour of authenticity about it. Modern theories of the Islamic state and the contemporary emphasis that 'Islam is a faith and a state' came about as a result of its disintegration.

But these discussions demand a specific reading of history that isolates facts and events that do not accord with the metanarrative. Historians are divided on whether the Caliphate existed properly at all after 661, the year of the death of 'Alī, the last of the 'Rightly Guided'.[6] Nevertheless the Islamists take the maximalist view that the office extended from its foundation in 622 to 1924, in order to maintain the case for the *Umma*, governed by this one central authority who is held to be the legitimate successor to the Prophet. Its survival into the modern era, and its long agony during a period of European expansion also fits in well with the idea of an anti-Muslim conspiracy[7] – a Caliphate disintegrating from internal Islamic conditions and contradictions with power would not be on message. History seen through the filter of this prototype leaves little room for the operation of chance events. The message is simple: the present global order and the political spectrum of the Muslim world is an *aberration* caused by the perverse machinations of the enemies of Islam.

The Clash of Civilizations

Since Good is championed by the civilizing influence of Islam alone, the world is inexorably embroiled in a Clash of Civilizations, and as a corrective force to this aberration, the *mujāhidīn* are entitled to engage in a holy war without waiting for a mandate from the Muslim people or from the scholars of law.[8] In defence of this al-Maqdisi in his essay *The Caravan is Moving and the Dogs Are Barking* outlined his own interpretation of the theory:

> If they say that your [jihadi] activities have merely sown hatred between the West and the Muslims and caused the Clash of Civilizations … say to them that the conflict of cultures and the hatred has been burning since long before our attacks and in fact before Huntington and Fukuyama with their books on the Clash of Civilizations. This war has been going on ever since the existence of Faith and Disbelief. For God Almighty said: *They will not cease from fighting you till they have made you renegades from your religion, if they can*. [II, 217] For the Crusades and the Inquisition and the massacres of Muslims by Jews and Christians in all corners of the world are hidden only to those who turn a blind eye to them and bury their head in the sand.[9]

By adopting the primordial struggle filter, any Salafist believer is necessarily vulnerable to the Jihadist interpretation that the war is ongoing. In its primordial nature the mission entrusted to the line of Abrahamic prophets, to the Prophet Muhammad, and carried on by the caliph successors, is continuing, and God's imperative to raise the banner of Truth and overcome the enemy is as much in vigor today as it has always been. This hostility makes its appearance in so many forms of the *same* enemy. The shared belief that the entire world is united in a concerted effort to destroy Islam binds all globalist radical Muslims together. As evidence they adduce the roster of conflicts with non-Muslims[10]:

- The Soviet Union – the massacre of 20 million Muslims over a period of 50 years
- Palestine and Lebanon – the massacres by the Jews
- Bangladesh – the massacres by Hindus
- Pakistan - Hindu massacres (led by Jews) with the death of 10,000 Muslim scholars and 100,000 students, and the death of 250,000 Indian Muslims feeling to Pakistan
- Bosnia – the killing by post-war Communists of one million Muslims
- China –the killing of 360,000 Muslims in Kashgar in 1954
- Ethiopia – and the extermination campaigns of Haile Selassie and Mengistu
- The Philippines – Muslim ethnocides under Marcos (30,000 dead between 1972 and 1983)

- India and the "massacres by the cow-worshippers" of 15,000 Muslims in 1970 and 50,000 in 1987
- Thailand and the Pattani killings by Buddhists
- Kashmir - 44,000 Muslim victims and the destruction of 129,000 houses, mosques and schools
- Syria and the massacre of 40,000 Muslims in Hama by the Alawite regime in 1982
- Afghanistan and the deaths at the hands of the Russians
- Burma – the massacres and destruction resulting in half a million Muslim refugees
- Liberia in the late 1980s "when the pagans burned mosques and killed 2000 Muslims"
- Sri Lanka – hundreds of thousands killed by the Tamils
- Kurdistan – the continuing tragedy and the killings
- Iraq – the American slaughter of 100,000 troops retreating from Kuwait in the first Gulf War and the deaths of hundreds of thousands of children and the elderly caused by the embargo
- Bosnia and Herzegovina – the deaths of tens of thousands of Muslims, the ethnic cleansing and the extermination camps with refugees totaling one and a half million; the massacres of 20,000 at Srebrenica under the eyes of the UN forces
- Azerbaijan – the massacres by the Armenians
- Kossovo – deaths in their thousands and 700,000 refugees
- Chechnya – deaths in their thousands, mass destruction, rivers of blood and tortures
- Indonesia – the massacre of Muslims in their thousands by Christians in the Moluccas.

In this struggle the Crusader enemy – Christians, Jews, Syrian Alawites, Hindus, Buddhists, Communists, the Turkish secularist regime – is one and the same. Their interpretation of the history of the conflict is thus recast to a causation much further back than 9/11, or the 1998 bombings of the US embassies in East Africa, or the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center. The causation predates the 1981 assassination of President Sadat, the Iranian Revolution of 1979 or the foundation of the Jewish state in 1948. It goes back beyond the western colonial expansion, beyond Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. Instead, it is embedded in the nature of existence itself and the struggle between the forces of Good and Evil. By constructing a comprehensive revision of the sequence of world events, the jihadist therefore bypasses the prevailing diagnosis of crisis in the Islamic world as a legacy of western colonialism, and projects it onto something deeper and older, explained in terms of a perennial struggle against enemies. In sharp contrast to much that western commentary would have us believe, it is this Clash of Civilizations that is the root cause analysis *par excellence* of the Jihadis.

The deeper conspiracy

In common with all ideologies of a totalitarian nature, recourse to a primordial enemy helps define a community which itself lacks an organic definition. As Umberto Eco observed:

> To people who feel deprived of a clear social identity … the only ones who can provide an identity to the nation are its enemies. Thus at the root of the Ur-Fascist psychology there is the obsession with a plot … the followers must feel besieged. But the plot must also come from the inside.[11]

The mental environment of vulnerability and siege is particularly fertile ground for the conspiracy theory. But where the role of the insider conspirators for German Fascism was played by the Jews, the Jihadists already have Jews as one of their overt enemies. The role of the insider is therefore filled by another player, the Muslims themselves, who have unconsciously or consciously undermined the fortunes of Islam. The struggle has never been pitched merely against soldiers in uniform. For the more grievous assault on Islam is intellectual and conceptual. The entire course of Muslim history is a slow progression of decline through contamination, from internal Islamic heresy to alien Hellenistic rationalism, until finally the Islamic world's ability to define the military, economic, cultural and intellectual geography of the world slipped from its hands. The Muslims, jihadists argue, have been

misled by the superficial differences of the enemy, and the superficial differences in their tactics. For Muhammad Qutb (the brother of the more famous Sayyid Qutb), it is

> the diversion of Muslims from holding to their Islam which is the most dangerous thing the enemy has perpetrated. And they have succeeded in this. This is what we might call the 'intellectual onslaught' or the 'psychological attack' or what you will. This is what we are suffering from the most today, even if we are able – at least at some points – to resist the military, economic or political onslaught.[12]

Given the Salafists' conviction that they are living in a state of siege on all fronts, it follows in their mindset that the entire intellectual and educational system of the western states, and of the Muslim states that seek to imitate them, is malicious. The danger is succinctly phrased by 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Myatt[13] who denounces the error of viewing the world through the 'manufactured concepts, ideas, ideals and abstractions' of the West:

> These concepts, ideas and abstractions – all *-isms* and all *-ologies* – the kuffar and those imitating them project onto the world and people ... they have set these concepts, ideas, ideals and abstractions up as idols, as Tawagheet, which they adhere to, admire, respect, trust and often worship: which they use as their source of judgement and understanding.

This is held to constitute the profoundest Ignorance – a manifestation of *jāhiliyya* since it comes from

> the arrogant belief ... that we are free agents and can attain understanding (and thus "wisdom") by ourselves, using our ingenuity and the concepts, ideas, ideals and abstractions which we have manufactured or which we may manufacture in the future.[14]

The task is therefore to filter out these 'western' concepts from the mental universe of the Muslims. But there are enemies, who falsely call themselves Muslim, that are standing in the way of this new consciousness. These fifth column conspirators are bearers of ideas, all of which by implication constitute false, competing forms of religion. The roster of enemies must therefore expand. The *al-Neda* jihadi website provides us with the list and the commentary: [15]

The Threat to Islam from Muslims

"Sometimes a hundred times worse than the hatred of the enemies of the nation, the Jews and the Christians" emanating from the leaders of Islamic countries and the clerics who serve them.

The Secular Threat

"One of the greatest threats to the hegemony of Islam and the dominance of *Shari'a* [Islamic law] is the American secularism that will be imposed forcefully on the region… The Islamic world will change from dictatorship to democracy, which means subhuman degradation in all walks of life."

The Threat of Those Who Abandoned the Islamic Tradition

Since secularism will be rejected by a large section of Muslims, the Zionist-Crusader coalition is encouraging major spiritual groups such as the Sufis, "who are mostly infidels" and believe in monism, pantheism, and re-incarnation and observe "conscience, inspiration, and other endless falsehoods." Orders such as the Sufis "oppose *Jihad* and do not oppose the infidels."

The Threat of the Rational School

A "deadly seedling that maintains that Islam is not opposed to atheism, and that Islam must get close to the infidel and coexist with him." A school of thought, planted by British imperialism and "established by Muhammad 'Abdu and which maintains that logic takes precedence over [the] text [of the *Qur'ān*]." This school "may become the first stepping stone to secularizing the region, because it is a mixture of secularism and Islam."

The Shi'ite Threat

"The danger of the Shi'a to the region is no less than that posed by the Jews and the Christians. Throughout Islamic history, the Shi'a helped the Christians and the polytheists in their battles against Muslim countries. The seemingly anti-Jewish and anti-Christian Shi'a hatred is nothing but slogans used to export the Khomeini revolution"

It is interesting here to see how the concept of 'enemy' is defined. It is far wider than a geo-political struggle, and in fact the centre of gravity is clearly religious and cultural. The priority should be noted: fight the enemies of *Islam*, not the enemies of *Muslim nations*.

Filtering mechanisms

The values underpinning modernity, rationalism, universalism, rights prioritized to the individual over the community, are now so prevalent throughout the globe that any challenge mounted to these can appear surprising.

Jihadists in particular are conspicuous in their self-confident defiance of the universal application of these values, and more importantly, in their ability to interpret the actions of others by passing them through their own series of filters. Under these filters freedom becomes antinomian libertinism, secularism becomes an oppressive attack on Sharī'a, the struggle for religious freedom becomes the removal of obstacles preventing the global primacy of Islam, multiculturalism and tolerance a cynical attempt to *dilute* Islamic belief, interfaith dialogue a conspiratorial attempt to *contaminate* Islamic belief, and so on. In fact what is at stake is more than a sense of a 'different view' on things, and more a diametrically opposed position that turns virtues into vices. Under the jihadist scheme individuality is an *evil*, human rights are an *evil*, freedom of conscience is an *evil*, religious diversity, interfaith dialogue, and 'seeing the others' point of view' are all *evils* to be repudiated and combated. In short, western civilization and western culture is not a phenomenon that has developed separately or one that has its own historical starting points and traditions, but is a deliberate aberration from the natural, divinely sanctioned order – which is Islam. It is therefore specifically designed for the purpose of opposing this natural, Islamic order, and does not constitute a culture at all, so much as an *anti*-culture.

For every reason and motivation westerners may explain or identify themselves by, the *mujāhidīn* can put up an alternative interpretation, which to them carry considerably more weight since they craft these to answer to their conception of Islamic authenticity. Even a brief perusal of doctrinal literature gives an idea of how comprehensive these filters are. To give some examples:

Freedom, equality: An illegitimate freedom:

> "Not the equality, freedom, and justice as was revealed by the Prophet Muhammad [i.e. the Shari'a]. No ... the West's despicable notions, which we see today in America and Europe, and which have made the people like cattle."[16]

Western freedom amounts to little more than libertinism:

> "People are free to attack religion and religious beliefs and figures, people are free not to wear clothes and freedom to adopt sexually deviant practices."[17]

The equality is an equality only of *kufr*:

"to distance the Muslims from their Islamic values and to ensure that we leave Islam and turn towards their way of life as Allah clearly states in the Qur'an – *They wish that you disbelieve, as they have disbelieved, so that you all become equal (like one another)* [Qur'ān: IV, 89]."[18]

Liberation struggle: … from the slavery of man-made structures and authorities, so man may live in perfect slavery to God.

Self defence: ... against 'unbelief, oppression and injustice' (used as synonymous terms), that is, against oppression from the modern *jāhiliyya* and its resistance to the spread of Islam; against the oppression of Muslims in the West who find themselves unable to fully implement their religious laws (which are a fundamental part of the faith). Muslims immigrants in the west are oppressed if they must live by the same, secular laws as the native infidels.

Fighting to protect innocent: … Muslims. The innocent, by definition, cannot not include the *kuffār*.

Democracy: Not a political system for the regulation of power, but a direct negation of religious truth. The concept of legislation by the voice of the people constitutes a false, competing religion.[19] The rotation of power, elections, and the un-stratified rights of the citizen irrespective of religious denomination lack authenticity and should form no part of a Muslim's aspirations:

"Muslims should reject [democracy] entirely, for it is filthy; it is the rule of a tyrant, it is *Kufr* ['Disbelief'], with *Kufr* ideas, *Kufr* systems and *Kufr* laws, and has nothing to do with Islam."[20]

These and its ingredient features of nationalism, human rights, even free-market policies, are active instruments which infidels are deliberately employing to finish off Islam.[21]

Secularism: a) Obstructionism to the free application of Sharī'a law upon all religious denominations:

"Demanding that Muslims swear off sharia is a form of warfare against them."[22]

b) A form itself of polytheism – parallel to the pre-Islamic pagan tolerance of competing faiths and their refusal to apply their ritual behavior to their political behavior.

Freedom of religion: a) The freedom to practice the Faith unimpeded by other, false faiths standing in the way of the march of Truth.[23] Sayyid Qutb explains it thus:

"[Islam] has the right to move to destroy impediments, whether systems or circumstances, that rob the person of the freedom to choose [Islam] ... to liberate the individuals from false influences that corrupt the innate nature [of man] and prevent freedom of choice." [24]

Muslims do not enjoy freedom of religion in the West, because

> They allow a very restricted form of personal worship that does not truly accommodate for the comprehensiveness of Islamic practice ... The law of Allah is not recognized by this civil state and the Muslim is forced to accept rulings of courts of law that are contrary to the law of Allah. So, on the whole, the modern civil state of the West does not guarantee Islamic rights.[25]

a) Freedom to spread Islam in whatever way necessary – by *da'wā* if possible. But those who resist Islam are the ones that cause wars and are responsible for them. Islamic law ultimately requires the subjugation of non-Muslims, and "freedom of religion" for Muslims essentially means the freedom to make others unfree. Other religious denominations (not Hindus or Buddhists for whom no legal status exists) are to be reduced to *dhimmi* status, as a protected but politically immature minority.

Religious Tolerance: A conspiracy to subvert Islam from within by lowering the Muslims' guard:

> "...for the turmoil that will ensue to their faith and [the fact that they will] absorb the habits of the polytheists' and [develop] familiarity with them which will lead in time to [ties of] affection, which God forbids. And their children will grow up associating with their children and pick up their many corrupt and disgusting habits."[26]

An oversight due to western naivety:

> "Had the European states known that a time would come when true Islam would spread in their lands and threaten western thought and beliefs, the western authorities and campaigners for human rights and freedom of religion and thought would not have hesitated to chase out the Muslims from all corners of Europe in a single day, had they been able to."[27]

Interfaith dialogue: A conspiracy to undermine belief:

> "They call for 'co-existence' … for the 'coming together of faiths', for 'inter-faith dialogue.' Not in order that Truth should be distinguished from Evil and thereby followed … but for the co-existence of Truth *alongside* Evil within one garment, so that principles, concepts and values become mingled with each other … so that the conflict between Truth and Evil be removed, [a conflict] that is ancient, and dates from when God Almighty created Adam and Iblis, and which shall continue to the Day of Resurrection!"[28]

> "The effects of this sinful call is that it erases the differences between Islam and disbelief, between truth and falsehood, good and bad, and it breaks the wall of resentment between the Muslims and the unbelievers, so that there is no more loyalty and enmity, no more jihad and fighting to raise Allah's word on earth"[29]

Multiculturalism: A promotional gimmick:

"... to delude the masses … The reality is that the very concept of multiculturalism is unattainable and is one of the many fallacies of contemporary western society."[30]

A manifestation of western oppression:

"the tyranny of forcing the co-existence of Good (Islam) alongside Evil (Disbelief) in one and the same place."

Compromise: A western term foreign to Islamic culture:

"This term did not appear amongst the Muslims until the modern age. It is a foreign term whose source is the West … prominent in every aspect of legislation and behaviour of the followers of the Capitalist ideology … Some Muslims, instead of criticising this idea of compromise … have instead adopted it and claimed it as a part of Islam. They even say that Islam is established on it!"[31]

Islamophobia: The state of not being a Muslim; that is, since all mankind *a priori* is Muslim (there are no converts' to Islam, only 'reverts' to one's original, Muslim, state), the position of non-Muslims must naturally be one of enmity, anything else is subterfuge.

Racism: Laws, educational systems and economies whose features and behavior oppose the Islamists' view of how Muslims wish to live ('Muslims' here being considered to be a race).

The attempt to integrate Muslims into the 'national' identity:

[to promote our] "conforming to the dominant culture of society and accepting their way of life." [A war] to enforce their way of life upon the Muslims by making us adopt the beliefs and principles that are upheld in their society. These beliefs of democracy and secularism are what they hold onto dearly and what they force others to implement and live their lives according to.[32]

Peace: The *Pax Islamica*, which will mean the end of religious conflict since the jihad will finally be at an end. In the interim, peace is highly conditional upon the present interests of Muslims, and may be broken if war serves these interests better. Only when Muslim power is weak is 'temporary truce' (*hudna*) allowed. 'War' is actually only something that non-Muslims do, since subjugating the population and wiping out their corrupt, infidel culture is not seen by Muslims as 'waging war,' but as spreading peace. It is 'opening' countries to Truth, not subjugating them. The absence of Sharī'a means the absence of peace.

A number of interesting elements can be observed from the foregoing. The re-use of vocabulary to denote meanings at variance with the standard usage (which can confuse western commentators) – secularism as a form of polytheism, democracy as a form of religion – combined with the anti-intellectualism, anti-rationalism and anti-modernism that are required to make this type of *newspeak* possible, all point to what is the inevitable, characteristic expression of the mindset: totalitarianism.

The comprehensiveness of the filtering mechanisms should be enough to dispel one of the erroneous assumptions of western commentary - that the good example and *bona fides* demonstrated by westerners and their institutions will act to appease the Jihadists, educate them and induce them to take the broader view of things. This will not happen since, as we have seen, they have their own well-argued interpretation for the motivations behind western behavior. Add to this the conspicuous dismissal of reciprocity (not least for its constituting an infraction against the fundamental principle of *al-walā' wal-barā'*) and we are left with some stark conclusions: given the radically different intellectual starting point of jihadism we will not easily find neutral ground or meeting points based on some shared reasoning on which to base a dialog. Since the *mujāhidīn* maintain an alternative system of interpreting reality any attempts at a communication strategy will have to take into aaccount the thoroughness of the intellectual ramparts.

The Ideology of Isolation

The Salafist framework provides Jihadism with its justification for self-isolation. Inherent to Salafism, as we have seen, is an aggressive repudiation of non-Salafists that has at base a conviction that to oppose their claims to authenticity is to oppose the authority and value of the Text. This is because their self-image is founded upon their uniqueness of their adherence to Revelation, which makes them alone the 'Saved Sect.'

This exclusivism is not only a doctrinal matter, but impacts upon social and political behaviour. Salafist ideology places great store in fostering alienation as a form of virtue and one of the identifying labels the tendency gives to itself is *al-ghurabā'* – the 'Strangers' to the *jāhilī* society all about them.[33] One of the defining features of Salafist thought, as detailed earlier, is the role played by the candidate's *hijra*, the recognition of his state of alienation and his flight into isolation, as part of the self-purification process. The alienation is therefore not a passive process, and may equally be understood as a process of active 'deracination.' Given the deracination from former allegiances, it follows that a parallel new focus should form subsequent to the Salafist's own *hijra*. This focus is the new Madina, in the form of the new 'Muslim Nation' (*Umma*). The 'alienation' and 'deracination' form the founding constituents of this *umma's* patriotism, its 'national culture', if you will.

It functions on three levels: intellectual, social and cultural. On the intellectual level the most obvious feature is the pointed selectivity by Salafists of figures in whom they choose to vest authority, and the combativeness of their behaviour. The established consensus on authority, such as the scholars of Al-Azhar, or the national figures termed derisively by the Salafists as *'ulamā' al-sulta* ('regime scholars') is ignored. These figures are no longer considered to define and expound Islamic doctrine and indeed, conversely, have their own status as Muslims defined by how closely they match the Salafist scheme of belief.[34]

On the social level, the self-confidence that permits the repudiation of traditional authority fuels equally the Salafists' exclusivism. This manifests itself, in religious terms, as doctrinal exclusivism, hence their self-perception as the 'Saved Sect' or the 'Group Made Victorious [by God]', as those who alone have sourced the one religious truth and method as revealed by the Prophet Muhammad[35], precludes an interchange of ideas, sympathy or mutual respect for non-Salafist Muslims.[36] Doctrinally, Salafists distinguish themselves by the rigidity and imperviousness of their views and this rigidity promotes isolationism. Since their self-image is as a group that has emancipated itself from an Islam corrupted for 1400 years by un-Islamic accretions, the perception that the society about them is fatally tainted by an impure, anti-Islamic force of gravity, is endemic to Salafism. Cutting oneself off from, or at least strongly conditioning, ties of family or former friends in the surrounding world of

jāhiliyya is actively promoted, and a rigorous regime of personal piety enjoined to protect the candidate's 're-Islamisation.'

The ideology of expansion

The culture of isolationism, with its intensification of social and intellectual borders, is encapsulated in the doctrine mentioned earlier of *al-walā' wal-barā'* ('Loyalty and Renunciation'). This is a source of ideological strength against the threat of dilution, but it naturally carries with it the seeds of confrontation and conflict ('renunciation'). The implication of the doctrine is that all that is not fully Islamic is perforce *anti-Islamic*. This means that the host community is actually taking up a position of antagonism. The very concept of *al-walā' wal-barā'* derives from the understanding of Islam as a faith at war so this in itself would justify the extension of the renunciation to the adoption of a hostile counter-position. The problem for the Muslim radical is that it conflicts with other Islamic prescriptions on the obligation to honour the *'ahd,* the contract whereby the Muslim agrees to behave peacefully and observe the rules of the land to which he has travelled willingly (as opposed to being taken as prisoner). The solution of the jihadi-salafists is to turn the moral argument on its head by abdicating judgement on this basis to one founded upon textual authority:

> If you live under kafir rules and try to practice or teach your children or others the doctrine of *al-walā' wal-barā'* you will be prosecuted for committing "hate crimes". *Al-walā' wal-barā'* is what Islam is all about; no Imaan is complete without it. So if you go along with the Kafir and keep your mouth shut you will end up committing the crime of not hating for sake of Allah. Which crime is easier to handle, a crime against Kafir people or a crime against Allah? [37]

The Jihadist conception of Islam under siege develops seamlessly onto the validation of militancy as *self-defence*. Since the conspiracy of Satan is to maintain the primacy of *jāhiliyya*, it is incumbent upon the jihadi to continue Islam's mission to defeat this conspiracy by *expansion*, which as a distinguishing feature of the earliest Muslim community, needs no justification. Ultimately this expansion may be effected by open confrontation or by eroding the Satanic culture of the enemy. As true Salafists, Jihadists ideally seek the template from this prototype community, and conduct their forward march into the past to secure the battle lines of the future and the winning formula.

The Da'wā – Hijra – Umma Template Revisited

What characterizes the model? It is, once again, the Salafist paradigm of *da'wā* ('proselytism'), *hijra* ('emigration') and *umma* ('community', 'nation'). This sequence, modelled on the pattern of salvation is a constant point of reference and validation for Salafist literature, and serves time and again as an interpretative sub-text to their activism. The adjustment made by the jihadists to this paradigm is to define the third 'community' stage as the '*jihad*' stage, on the grounds that it was during this period that the early community developed their polity into one of expansion by the conducting of violent raids (*ghazawāt*). The Jihadist model is therefore *da'wā, hijra* and *jihād*.[38]

For a jihadist group like al-Qaeda, the template is applied, retrospectively, like this:

Da'wā stage   Bin Laden's group *calls* to a true Islamic course (the repudiation of the Soviet and the American *jāhiliyyas*)

Hijra stage   The group migrates – first to the Sudan and later to Taliban dominated Afghanistan. By migrating to Afghanistan, Arab radicals are now able to establish enclaves beyond the reach of both their own apostate governments and the Soviets.[39] During this period the

Muslim *muhājir* ('emigrant') trains himself physically and doctrinally for the next stage, which will be the culmination[40] of his faith.

Jihād stage   From these enclaves *ghazawāt* ('raids') are launched on the Soviets and the home regimes, resulting in the defeat of the superpower in Afghanistan and the stirring of jihadist rebellion in the Muslim world.

Similarly, in his work *"Knights Under the Banner of the Prophet"*, Ayman al-Zawahiri interprets his own *sīra* according to the pattern: the *call* for Sharī'a in Egypt, the *hijra* away from the *jāhili* apostate regime at Cairo to form vanguard groups and training bases, pending the exportation of *jihād* onto a global arena to strive for the establishment of the Islamic *umma.*

For the jihadi ideologue Abdallah Azzam operating in the campaign to oust the Soviets from Afghanistan, the migration of young Muslim volunteers was a vital component of the struggle. In his lectures to newly arrived volunteers, Azzam is at pains to underline the virtue and value of the act of *hijra*, irrespective of fortunes at the battlefront. It is the first, indispensible step to jihad, an integral part of an obligation that will last "until the Day of Judgement,"[41] for as long as there is need of fighting to defend Islam.

The duty of *hijra* can be from a non-Muslim society to a Muslim one, or, given the reality of contemporary Islam in the eyes of the radicals, from any nominally Muslim society to a true Muslim society – in Azzam's case these are the enclaves of jihadist Islam in the territories of Afghanistan or Pakistan.

The first, obligatory, *hijra* is from the Abode of *Kufr* to the Abode of Islam. It is incumbent upon all Muslims if they find themselves unable to establish their religious rites in the Abode of *Kufr*, or if the oppression of the *tawāghīt* becomes intense and they are unable to grow their beards or make *da'wā* to God, or struggle in His path, or maintain Islamic control over their families or children, or if life has become corrupt or society or society decrepit, or the face of the earth become rotten – *hijra* is your duty even if you are in Bayt al-Maqdis [Jerusalem].[42]

This stage of the enterprise is particularly ennobled, "since it is the epitome of sacrifice, a symbol of one's ransoming oneself"[43] and

a clear announcement of intent to follow the path to Almighty God, a general declaration and major proclamation that the mortal soul has begun to free itself from the world below.[44]

It therefore acts as a litmus test for the commitment of the true Muslim, that he has duly exchanged his ties of loyalty to his country and his kin for a higher bond. The *muhājir*, unlike his cowardly fellows, has responded to one of the five principal commands issued by the Prophet – to gather together, listen to the call, obey it, make the *hijra* and fight jihad in God's path. He has embarked on the road to paradise, and for this fact alone he will be richly rewarded.[45]

Jihadist thinkers can of course show considerable flexibility in applying the template. In a masterfully rendered projection back to Prophetic times of the circumstances of the contemporary jihad – the chaos and disarray of Afghanistan and Somalia – the strategist Abu Bakr Naji identified a 'stage of barbarism' which necessarily predates the successful establishment of the Umma:

One can consider the first phase of the Madinan era – before its consolidation and the establishment of a state to which *zakāh* (alms tax) and *jizya* (tribute tax) were rendered and neighbouring dependent provinces set up and agents and rulers appointed – as one where Madina was administered according to the 'Management of Barbarism' system.[46]

But whether they adhere rigidly to the model or not, is not the issue.[47] The point is that they conceive of their activity as forming part of a divinely ordained pattern. On this pattern jihadist ideologues interpret the Afghan victory as the Will of God vanquishing the will of men in the form of Infidel armies. The internalization of the victory like this has brought about a belief in the power of armed jihad, a belief that their efforts had divine sanction and that their future path will be guided by God to victory.

The pattern remains the ideal and conditions the vocabulary of their struggle. In fact the vocabulary of this *da'wā – hijra – jihād* model appears again and again in the discourse of the jihadis and can be spotted in their media statements replete with the arcane vocabulary of *ghazawāt, jāhiliyya, kuffār, mujāhidīn, ansār* ('allies'), *murtaddīn* ('apostates') or historically evocative names such as (the Battles of) *Badr* and *Uhud*, all reflecting the antique terminology hallowed by their association with the prototype.[48] The terms also populate the various denominations of the jihad movement – *al-Muhajiroun, Takfīr wa-Hijra[49], Ansar al-Islam* and many others. The name of the Algerian group – *al-Jamā'a al-Salafiyya lil-Da'wā wal-Jihād* ('the Salafist Group for Call and Combat') – pressed all the buttons for this legitimizing model.

The logic of self-defense through expansion

What is common to these schemes is the belief that there is a natural logic, divinely sanctioned, to the way the world and power operates: the closer one keeps to the winning formula of true Islam, the closer the victory will come. In all the classic treatises on Jihad there was always an internal logic of supremacy. According to the 14th century historian Ibn Khaldun,

> in the Muslim community, the holy war is a religious duty, because of the universalism of the [Muslim] mission and [the obligation to] convert everybody to Islam either by persuasion or by force... Islam is under obligation to gain power over other nations.[50]

But contemporary jihadists justify themselves by recourse to a somewhat deeper starting point making claims to universalism – that mankind is by nature Muslim, but has been perverted from this natural course, and had the truth masked from him. This accounts for how the logic of expansion is expressed often through the language of self-defense, the defense of humanity from the tyranny of Disbelief. This line was very eloquently enunciated by Abū al-A'lā Mawdūdī[51] who promoted the Prophetic prototype idea as a template for a revolutionary theory:[52]

> The purpose of jihad is to confront man's tyranny over man and make it possible, through liberation, for man to assume his proper role in creation.[53]

Sayyid Qutb, one of the principal sources for al-Qaeda's mindset, also used this line of reasoning, arguing as illustrated earlier that jihad does not compromise freedom of conscience since jihad is not in itself coercive in its goals, merely a means to remove barriers to freedom:

> For Islam is not the belief of a [single] group, nor the system of a state, but the way of life of God and a system for the world. Thus it has the right to move to destroy impediments, whether systems or circumstances, that rob the person of the freedom to choose.[54]

So the *mujāhidīn* are champions of religious freedom, the freedom of man to make the logical choice – once obstacles are forcibly removed – of reverting to his 'proper role in creation', his natural Muslim state. It is the perfect expression of the totalitarian vision: *only under Muslim rule* can humanity be truly free to choose between Islam and Disbelief. As implied in these comments, the application of the theocratic state, where Sharī'a law would prevail under an unadulterated Islam,

cannot be limited to specific countries such as those with a long Islamic cultural tradition — it has to be implemented universally. Mawdudi expressed this idea unequivocally:

> Islam wishes to destroy all States and Governments anywhere on the face of the earth which are opposed to the ideology and program of Islam regardless of the country or the Nation which rules it... Islam does not intend to confine its revolution to a single State or a few countries; the aim is to bring about a universal revolution.[55]

It is, perhaps, the most perfect expression there is in jihadism annulling the *cuius natio, eius religio* principle of the Westphalian system[56] and its specific guarantees for non-intervention in the freedom of religion. In fact the rejection of the sovereignty of non-Muslim countries is made explicit by the self-appointed spokesman for al-Qaeda Lewis 'Atiyyatullah who said in the aftermath of the 11 March 2004 Madrid attacks:

> the international system built-up by the West since the Treaty of Westphalia will collapse; and a new international system will rise under the leadership of a mighty Islamic state.

Sayyid Qutb also dispensed with the preoccupation of jihad as a purely defensive or a local affair, as a flawed concept that came from those "defeated by the attacks of the treacherous Orientalists." The key to this was the simple formula: the non-Muslim world is just one large *jāhili* society:

> A jāhili society is one that does not dedicate itself to submission to God alone, in its beliefs and ideas, in its observances of worship, and in its legal regulations. According to this definition, all the societies existing in the world today are jāhili.[57]

By using the template of the life of the Prophet, Islamists interpret such a state of *jāhiliyya* as a declaration of war against Islam. Defense of Islam, and attack, are now one and the same thing.[58]

Chapter Five – *The Mujahid in the West*

Behind Enemy Lines – the Expansion into the West

The intellectual flexibility required to build an Islamist metanarrative does not have much difficulty in extending the *da'wā - hijra - jihād* narrative onto what at first sight would appear highly foreign terrain, such as the environment of western, non-Muslim states. These states have already served the purpose of providing the Yathrib (Madīna) *hijra* role for conflicts in the Middle East, given the difficulties of sustaining a *hijra* stage at home.[1] A shift towards translating the scheme abroad coincided with the negative developments in Algeria and the bloody 1990s campaign in Egypt which diminished public support at home. Under these conditions Islamist groups found themselves forced to target Muslim communities in the West for support. It also takes no great leap of the imagination to transform the role of the *hijra* community into an outpost fighting against the infidel there. All the features of *jāhiliyya* are present, perhaps in even more stark contrast. If anything, it makes the generic antipathy of the diaspora Muslims there an issue of more urgency to the 'Saved Sect'.

But in western states the cultural conditions were conducive for enacting the *da'wā - hijra - jihād* pattern only up to a point. The *da'wā* and *hijra* stages might be enacted uncontroversially (western societies permit religious pluralism and guarantee under the law wide latitude in culturally specific behavior). However, the *jihād* element to establish the *umma* is clearly problematic, both practically and in terms of Islamic law, which has clear stipulations on the behavior of Muslims who find themselves outside the Islamic heartlands, and particularly so since they find themselves there of their own free will.

In fact there are two elements which make the whole arena of Muslim activism in the West troublesome for jihadi ideologues: 1) the cultural and intellectual dangers of the western environment; 2) the weak position under Sharī'a of a Muslim living there. From his vantage point calling for the *hijra* of Muslim youths from their homes, Azzam had much to say on the first of these dangers, for at the same time as promoting the Muslim's rejection of the religious status quo in the Muslim heartlands, he felt impelled to strenuously caution against taking the obligation to *hijra* in the wrong direction:

> You cannot live in any place where you cannot serve God … you must avoid living in the European and western states – the land of the polytheists – since you cannot serve God there and bring up your children in Islam.[2]

The true Muslim, he argues, should not contemplate the idea of studying in western lands, since he runs the risk of losing a major part of his faith, if not abandoning it altogether.[3] In fact the infidel authorities in Muslim lands who send their students abroad to Europe and America are doing so deliberately, knowing that the very contact with the infidel and their ways will destroy his Islam:

> "Before he departs they teach him to hold the fork in his left hand and his knife in his right hand ... so that he eats with his left hand and not his right, so that he must eat like the devils do, since Satan eats with his left hand and drinks with his right ... [To do otherwise] is a crime that can only be forgiven him once he has learnt to be a drunkard![4]

The Muslim youth, he feels, should shed his obsession with university degrees, given that what is at stake is his soul and the afterlife. After all, the Muslim will have to fraternize with the infidel for at least a year, in order to learn the English language. This means students taking lodgings with English families where there are unaccompanied women present, with whom he must share cooking facilities. It would be better for his soul to sell melons in the market than continue his studies, if that is what these will entail.[5] There are worse dangers still:

> Many of them return home with a female pig in tow, so that the whole society will become polluted [by her], his children and his family, a *kāfira* sow who will transfer [back to her home] secrets of the [Muslim] state and its soldiers.[6]

As for the well-settled Muslim in the United States, Britain or France, who would have much to lose in upping sticks in fulfillment of his duty to *hijra*, Azzam gives a blunt reply laced with scriptural warnings:

> *"Lo! My earth is spacious therefore serve me only."*[7] No one dies of hunger. He who nourishes the dogs will nourish you too. Therefore it is not permitted to live in western lands if you are able to live in any land in which there is Islam. *"I am discharged of my obligations towards the one who declares his Islam yet remains among the polytheists ... and dies among them."* For it is a highly degenerate society in which you cannot live within the faith of Almighty God. Let alone as a bachelor![8]

Muslims in the West – the need for new borders

The western arena for the contest for faith presents some fascinating new elements not encountered in the Muslim heartlands. Here, the radical Muslim is confronted immediately with two sets of borders – not only with the community of the *jāhiliyya* — the nominal Muslims who have been tainted by un-Islamic accretions to their practice of the faith – but with an unapologetically non-Muslim or even outright secular environment. Europe operates without the assumption of the moral superiority of Islam as a starting point, let alone the logic of reform as a process of religious invigoration. This may seem an obvious point to make, but the relative irrelevance of his all-embracing faith to the host community, comes as a shock nonetheless to the immigrant Muslim radical, as does the sense of Islam 'taking its place in the queue' of belief-systems.

Abu Mus'ab al-Suri's account of his travels in Europe are illustrative of this shock. Muslims, he feels, should be strongly discouraged from settling in Europe since his encounter with European Muslims has only justified his worst fears:

> Space does not allow me to describe what I saw of the Muslims' faith and habits there. … The vast majority of those calling themselves Muslims … do not practice the major part of the doctrines of Islam … Their women and daughters travel in mixed company, whether Muslim or infidel, they study in their schools and go to work among them … The high rate of marriage to infidel women (most of whom are atheists who … have no faith, like most western youth today, and declare it openly and with pride) has spawned offspring that do not know the language of their Arab or Muslim parents and who live like their mothers! ... Alas, for the minority that do keep to their faith in these diasporas, where most of the children, practically and realistically speaking, have apostatized! [9]

Salafism resorts to strenuous attempts to minimize contamination against this more abstract threat. A large doctrinal body of literature focuses on establishing new borders to establish the truth of enmity (where it may not immediately appear to exist) and re-establish the obligation to *hijra* to a Muslim land (to contradict the western Muslim's belief that he can lead a religiously acceptable life where he is). But as active discouragement of Muslim emigration to Western states fails, and in order to counter this danger, Salafism actively promotes deracination on a *cultural* level. For second or third generation immigrants to western states, reference back to the 'old country' is inevitably losing its force. The development of an unambiguous western Muslim identity, however, remains incomplete, and the appeal of a deeper rooted identity, one based exclusively on the pedigree of faith, is naturally very strong and constitutes Salafism's greatest opportunity. The challenge, however, is a considerable one. The environment is familiar, but progressive cultural deracination reduces the Muslim radical's inherited intellectual stock by which to define his 'otherness.' How, then, to give focus to this otherness? The campaign against *jāhiliyya* cannot so readily take physical, political form since there is no Islamic institutional starting point to restore to pristine purity. Radical Islam has therefore to fight its cause in an arena that is much more abstract.

Creating new borders

The solution is to set about drawing up the borders. However, since these borders are going to be all the more evidently notional, and embedded in territory culturally apathetic to the radicals, correspondingly more effort has to be put into drawing and maintaining them, and the wealth of radical literature produced for the purpose demonstrates this effort. I have dealt with this element in more detail elsewhere[10], but in broad terms the creation of new borders requires an enmity to be established, via a sense of siege and an institutionalisation of isolation.

At a basic level the sense of siege is already provided by the perception, held in common with the Islamists, that the West is degenerate. The basic reasoning is that the West's starting point – Man – perversely sets up a competition to God as the primary source of law and authority. This is tantamount to apotheosising Mankind and consequently constitutes a form of *shirk* ('polytheism'[11]). In this sense, the modern western environment, even in its tolerance of Muslims in their midst, is held to represent an extension of the pagan culture that confronted the early Muslim community. The Salafist thinker Abu Anas demonstrates how the society of Arabia observed religious tolerance between the differing beliefs prominent at the time (idol worshippers, Zoroastrians, Jews and Christians), but then ascribes this to a form of *secularism*, for it is an unsacralized environment where religious practice

> only regulated certain aspects of their life and hence various ills were committed outside of them. The Arab mushrikeen ['polytheists'] were secularists in that they would implement a few rituals as part of their belief but would not extend this to other aspects of life, namely their political system.[12]

If western societies promote tolerance and diversity, it is for the same reason – to recreate this ancient, anti-Islamic secularism. Thus, legislation for pluralism, far from protecting the Muslim, is effectively recast as an infringement of this new border. Similarly, it is important for the activist Salafist to establish that western cultural norms are not elaborated purely from internal historical, social and political experiences, but aggressively constructed. This is commonly supported by arguments highlighting the behavior of western states in their dealings with the Muslim heartlands – conceived of as a unity of a

'global Muslim *umma'* – and where the western behaviour is seen through a lens of a religious antagonism, and one that specifically targets *Islam*.

Secularism, democracy and religious pluralism are subsumed into a single language, conceptually easy for the Salafist to maintain, of a 'religious threat' and allows cultural or inter-faith dialogue to be dismissed as 'Crusade by other means.'[13] In this society to which he has freely migrated, he can rationalize his status as victim by identifying a figure for the rôle of *tāghūt*, that is, one who is blocking the natural progress of Truth, the divine dispensation of Islam and its institution of the natural just law. In practical terms this *tāghūt* can be any leader of a western state.[14]

Salafism's value in a western environment is as a rallying point for Muslim youth who feel limited by their ethnic origin status but who, in rejecting these origins, consequently suffer problems of identity. To these it offers an identity that is both locally practised and universally valid. Stripped of its obligations to ethnic and religious heritage, this identity is doctrinally leaner and easier to shape into a uniform 'transnational' culture. The rejection of cultural roots, however, is not total, and the result is far from unalloyed universalism. Salafism still maintains a geographical centre of gravity, a new 'old country' that is reassuringly non-western and where original starting points are shared in common. This centre is the Middle East, and the Salafist identity is heavily dominated by Arabic cultural norms that are seen as authenticating. The validation provided by this identity can be seen at its most overt in the domination of the movement by thinkers from the Arab Middle East and in the exaggerated deference to members and preachers of Arab origin who wield the Arabic language more or less as a mark of authority.[15]

An important element of maintaining the borderlines is the filtering out of 'western' concepts from the mental universe of the Muslims,[16] including the entire package of the western educational systems. Muslims are to be given to understand that the only purpose of these systems is to target Islam:

> Muslims are forced to abide by the national curriculum which has the effect of indoctrinating the new generation of Muslims with the western culture by teaching them ideas such as the theory of evolution, the big bang theory, interfaith, free mixing, liberalism, biased western history, citizenship etc. Even Islamic schools are obliged to adhere to the National Curriculum to ensure that even those who receive Islamic education are infected with the diseased culture of this society.[17]

The re-education process has to go in deep. A particular target are the 'westernised Muslims' who, Salafists feel, have uncritically taken on board the debate on 'moralising' and 'democratising' Islam in order to appear modern to their neighbours. Muslims are therefore enjoined to shun the whole practice of self-examination and speculation on the morality of Islam's religious and political practices since these are effectively western 'ruses' to undermine them:

> A wise Muslim should never be lured into such traps, because this would make the Muslim nation more likely to be lured into more moral challenges.[18]

But there are further implications to the promotion of cultural isolationism. While the reformist focus of Salafism is in personal piety, under the normative pattern of *da'wā - hijra – umma,* the energy of the ideology cannot be exclusively inwardly focused. The erected cultural, intellectual and educational borders, the sacralisation of knowledge and its validating slogan of *tawhīd*, and the promotion of parallel structures of learning, have of necessity an important corollary: a '*tawhīd* of application.' That is, a demand not only for exclusivity but for *supremacy*. The point was eloquently made by the Syrian intellectual and poet 'Alī Ahmad Sa'īd:

Proclaiming *tawhīd* by itself, or knowing its significance, acknowledging it, and calling others to convert to it, are not sufficient things, since they have to be in tandem with 'cursing what is worshipped beside God' in word and in deed, and to be innocent of it. This innocence is two-faced: the first is loving the 'unifiers' (*muwahhidīn*) and supporting them. The second is hating the polytheists (*mushrikīn*) and bearing animosity towards them. Thus is the identity between learning (*'ilm*) and belief, between word and deed."[19]

Living in a Kāfir State

"Do not be fooled by anyone who tells you that it is enough to harbour in your heart hate for the kafir. This will be permitted only if you cannot migrate ... to where you can practice uncompromised Islam"

Abu Haithem al-Hijazee

The position of the Mujāhid in infidel lands

Azzam's comments on Muslims contemplating the idea of studying in western lands are not simply a matter of cultural aversion, but reflect an established doctrinal position on Muslims resident in non-Muslim lands, which forms the second troublesome element for the radical Muslim's activism in the West. For all Salafi ideologues the threat of cultural contamination actually makes residence in infidel lands, or lands under infidel systems, problematic. The authentic Muslim, in their perception, should engage in *hijra* away from this environment, and failure to do this requires some solid grounds for justification.

As ever, Salafists and Jihadi-Salafists read and refer to conducive scholars irrespective of the age in which they are writing. A popular authority is the 19th century Yemeni scholar Abdallah al-Ahdal,[20] who identified a number of points that compromise the Muslim's status in his relations with the infidel under this environment. He based his argument on some core scriptural texts, such as:

O ye who believe! Choose not for guardians such of those who received the Scripture before you, and of the disbelievers, as make a jest and sport of your religion. (*Qur'ān,* V,57)

and warned Muslims not to voluntarily move to lands 'under enemy control' and thus contribute to their economies. By moving there, "he is a *fāsiq* ('wicked sinner') whose motivation is "nothing more than deviation and love of this worldly life ... and love for being near the enemies of Allāh instead of being near his allies."[21] Whoever trades with this state or invests in it "has contradicted the Sharī'a of Muhammad and thrown away the divine covenants."[22]

The legalistic mind does, however, acknowledge nuances. If the Muslim can practice his faith openly, al-Ahdal argues, he may stay, particularly if he can find a way of secluding himself, of openly and defiantly displaying the true faith, and of defending himself effectively. Indeed he ought to stay if, by emigrating, the chances of eventual domination by Islam would thereby become weakened. Failing these conditions, the Muslim must leave for a Muslim land, since it would be sinful for him to remain, no matter how sincere his belief.[23]

Al-Ahdal is essentially emphasizing that the Muslim should remain conscious that he operates in what amounts to a state of hostilities. The very least justification that al-Ahdal demands is that at no point should the Muslim agree to, or sympathise with, the systems of the infidel, irrespective of how well, or

justly, it functions. Given that justice is of Islam alone, to accept the justice of Christian rule would imply that Islam was self-contradictory in its overt repudiation of the Christians (for more on this issue see the analysis of his work '*The Slicing Sword*', in the forthcoming section on *Extraction*).

Al-Ahdal's position is actually milder than some contemporary Salafi thinkers, since he allows for the position of a Muslim who is obliged to co-operate with infidel systems "while his heart hates it". For other Jihadi-Salafists, there is no such indulgence. Abu Haithem al-Hijazee cautions Muslims

> not to be fooled by anyone who tells you that it is enough to harbor in your heart hate for the *kafir*. This will be permitted only if you cannot migrate from where you are to a place where you can practice uncompromised Islam… So how else (other than physical confrontation) will Muslims be able to learn, practice, and preach the true and only accepted form of Islam, let alone spreading it outside of their communities? [24]

As the analysis of materials in US mosques and school curricula carried out by Freedom House established,[25] this issue of the conditioned right to live in a non-Muslim country is shared by all Salafists:

> It is forbidden for a Muslim to become a citizen of a country [such as the United States] governed by infidels… there is consensus amongst the Muslims regarding this question which makes it obligatory for every Muslim who lives in the land of polytheism, to immigrate back to the land of Islam, if he can.[26]

An exception can be made for "those who are learned and knowledgeable in religion" who may "remain among the infidels to preach Islam to them and call them to it,"[27] otherwise, in the words of the leader of the Indonesian Jama'a Islamiyya Abu Bakr al-Ba'shir:

> We are duty-bound to establish an Islamic state, and the Muslims are duty-bound to live in an Islamic country. Muslims are forbidden to live in an infidel country. Sheik Fawzan Al-Fawzan issued a *fatwā* forbidding Muslims to live in the countries of the infidels. That is why we are committed to establishing an Islamic state.[28]

In this context the calls for Sharī'a exceptionalism are not merely a matter of religious pluralism or freedom to practice one's faith. It is actually a legal requirement under Islamic law, to permit them to remain as residents in an infidel country. This much is shared by all Salafists. The basis for the discussion centres on the Qur'ānic verse which warns:

> Was not the earth of Allah spacious enough for you to move yourselves away [from evil]? Such men will find their abode in Hell. [Qur'ān, IV, 97]

and the *Ahādīth*: "I am not responsible for any Muslim who stays among polytheists"[29] and "anyone who associates with a polytheist and lives with him is like him."[30]

The evil is defined as a position where the law in force is in opposition to Sharī'a, for instance where interest on loans exists, alcoholic beverages traded and so on. The duty of the Muslim is to make all efforts to have the Sharī'a respected, or failing that, leave to a land where Sharī'a is in force. All in all, a Muslim is forbidden to pledge allegiance to a non-Muslim government or identify with its culture. The consequence of this thinking is the idea that one cannot be a proper Muslim unless one lives among Muslims only.[31]

With such polarities as these, the Salafist in the West finds himself in an uneasy position. Must he risk the taint of collaboration with the *jāhiliyya* and of abdication of his religious responsibility to perform *hijra?*

How can he justify his position? The Jihadi-Salafists provide the solution: he must act as if he is in the *jihad* stage of the *da'wā - hijra - jihād* pattern, that is, as if he were *behind enemy lines*.

Since overt violence is problematic outside the conditions of a declared war, the Jihadi-Salafists can demonstrate that they are not compliantly resident in an infidel environment by redefining what constitutes 'hostilities' to the *jāhiliyya*. Here the duty of the Muslim is observed by his refusal to remain passive and his 'openly displaying his religion' among the disbelievers. But this display is much more than a matter of praying, fasting and reading the Qur'ān. According to Shaykh Abd al-Azīz al-Jarbū' this obligation, supported by scripture,[32] requires them:

> to openly display [hostility] in any way that would get the message across in the clearest and most well-understood manner … that our enmity is for them, and that if we were to gain the upper hand, we would not leave them on the face [of the Earth]. [33]

The message has to be explicitly expressed, whatever the potential consequences for community relations and social cohesion. As for the Muslims who seek to avoid the discourtesy of antagonism while living in a non-Muslim land:

> Let them all know that we are not going to apologize in order to be seen as "normal;" rather, we are obligated by this Noble Religion to show the truth even if it appears bitter... To all those non-Muslims that read this, we tell them – with no tone of apology – that under the Islāmic State, you will be humiliated for being a Kāfir unless you become Muslim.[34]

Thus the Jihadi-Salafist can claim that he is indeed under siege and not compliant to the infidel environment. In this sense the active promotion of xenophobia – that is, of *Islamophobia* – is a vital part of this program, since it helps to validate his residence status in the land of Disbelief. Only when the Muslim:

> clearly demonstrates this until the people of his land are aware of this from him, is emigration not an obligation upon him from whatever land he is in. [35]

In this way, living out the *hijra* stage itself becomes an act of aggression. The result of these approaches for the radical is intellectually satisfying, since it provides validation and justification for his reaction, and one that is construed as *self-defence*. It also provides a new self-image. If the radical Muslim could find validation for his position in the Muslim heartlands in his battle against *jāhiliyya*, in the *Dār al-Kufr* or 'Land of Disbelief' the émigré can achieve no less heroic status as a traveler in enemy territory.

The mujāhid and the Law

But if there is enmity, how does the Muslim square his *de facto* obedience to western, man-made law in the countries in which he is resident? Is that not an unacceptable compromise? According to the radicals the Muslim is doing no such thing. He is not obeying the law because of that law *per se*, but because of an independently agreed 'contract' he has made between himself as a Muslim and the nation state, which takes entirely different starting points from that of a citizen's equality under the law. The starting point is:

> … a two-way form of security; the security granted to the Muslim by the disbelievers whose country he is entering *and the security granted to those disbelievers by the Muslim who is entering that land.*[36]

The Muslims under this conception are able to square this since the starting point is not the human rights of the individual, but the *religious* rights of the individual:

> Although the characteristic of disbelief (Kufr) is what permits the blood and wealth of the disbelievers (author's note: and not their hostility towards the Muslims, as the apologists, defeatists and "moderates" claim!) there are categories of security (Amān), which can protect their blood and wealth, while this characteristic remains. [37]

For this line of thinking, such vehicles as an entry visa or documentation papers, serve as the appropriate mutual agreement, since:

> The understanding from both parties is that they are equally secure from him as well, even if this is not stated as a condition on the terms and conditions of the VISA itself.[38]

Discussions by radicals on the validity or not of observing infidel law often focus on the high profile cases of the 9/11 attacks on the United States and the 7/7 attacks on London. The question being asked in these cases is: if those *mujāhidīn* had entered the country having been granted a visa to do so, is this visa not an *'iqd amān* ('contract of security')? If so, how can they infringe the requirements of this contract without contravening Islamic law, which stipulates the observance of contracts with the infidel if openly entered into? The radicals put up two defences against this. The first is that the *mujāhidīn* of the 9/11 attacks cannot be bound by the Islamic conventions binding Muslim visitors to infidel lands, in that they deliberately acted to void such conventions by a) entering the country using a *kāfir* name, b) claiming that they were *kāfir* and c) not revealing their true status as Muslims. Under such conditions

> "It is allowed, but only on the condition that he is sent by the [Leader of the Faithful] to act as a Mujahid for the benefit of the Muslims, in this case there is no sanctity for the life or wealth of the kuffar at all. We should note that all of the magnificent 19 martyrs ... on 11 September entered America like this, they did not betray any covenant."[39]

The second justification is the type given by the jihadi Shaykh Nāsir bin Hamad al-Fahd. He takes up the challenge by boldly stating – yes, the visa is an *'iqd amān* and no, the 9/11 attack was not an infraction of Islamic law, for the *mujāhidīn* are dealing with a wholly new type of enemy:

> America is the head of *Kufr* in this contemporary age, killing entire Muslim populations ... besieging, beggaring and brainwashing them, plundering their wealth, occupying many of their lands, setting up tyrants over the people, perpetrating what no other enemy [of Islam] has done throughout history.[40]

With such an enemy the stipulations of Islamic law no longer apply, and the canons of international law are *a priori* invalid:

> … there is no covenant between us and them, for they [the Americans] are *harbīs* wherever they are and go, even if they tugged at the drapes over the Ka'ba; the covenant made by governments with those Crusaders is not legal, but based on the *tāghūtī* charters of the United Nations.[41]

Elsewhere al-Fahd refines his argumentation, justifying the use of the deception inherent in the betrayal of the *amān* by the perpetrators of the 9-11 attacks.[42] He bases this on the model of the Prophet ordering the killing of his enemy Ka'b ibn Ashraf through the ruse of providing him with false assurances of an *amān*. The justification put forward is that the Prophet overruled the stipulations of honouring the granting of *amān* due to the nature of Ka'b's offence: mockery of God and His Prophet. Based on this authoritative

precedent, al-Fahd argues, the *amān* given to one who is a *muhārib* against God and His Prophet, or who spreads corruption on the earth, or the fornicator, or the apostate, or he who abandons the pillars of Islam, is voided:

> The intention here is that there is a category of *muhāribīn* – after the fashion of Ka'b ibn Ashraf – who may be tricked notwithstanding the granting of *amān*, just as the Companions did to [Ka'b], and as the *mujāhidīn* did during the events of September [11th 2001]. [43]

Al-Fahd is careful to deny a blanket license to deceive infidels with an *amān*, but at the same time maintains that not all infidels are equal - certainly not the leaders of *kufr* or those who offend God and His Prophet.[44] As for the victims of the deception, who themselves are not 'leaders of *kufr'*:

> They are a single nation, since the President, the Pentagon and the army have no weight without the people, who would remove them if they opposed the will of the people... the state is the common property of each of them[45]

Given the conditions of what is no more than suspended warfare, stealing from the infidel is not theft, but the *taking of booty* — unless there is a specific covenant not to do so agreed by the Muslims with the infidel state. As expected, the flimsiness of any guarantees the Muslim is held to have made is illustrated by the ability of other militants to disagree. The al-Qaeda strategist Abu Mus'ab al-Suri can without difficulty use the language of the Sharī'a to declare:

> the lawfulness of appropriating the wealth of Disbelievers in lands making war on the Muslims … for the lack of contracts made between them and the legal Islamic entities and emirates that [alone] are in a position to oblige Muslim subjects to observe agreements made with those Disbelievers.[46]

This accounts for the apparent anomaly of Muslim radicals acting in a hostile manner to the host society, denigrating its culture and its behavior, while drawing social benefit payments from that same host society. Similarly the terrorist bombers resident in the United States or the United Kingdom also cannot be seen to have compromised themselves, because in the opinion of those Muslims something occurred which in their opinion nullified the contract of *Amān*. The nullification of the agreement is decided unilaterally by the Muslims – there is no *pacta sunt servanda* guarantee to require mutual cancellation – and the nullification can be brought about by such things as a period of imprisonment followed by release *without a specific renewal being made on the Muslim's Amān agreement.*[47] The Muslim therefore is to see himself in a position of peril (irrespective of a legal system that has declared him innocent), and

> "it is then for him to assassinate them and to take whatever he can from their property or to destroy it".[48]

Needless to say, any VISAs or documentation accorded by Middle East governments to disbelievers visiting them are not worth the paper they are printed on; the originators of these papers — non-Jihadist apostate governments — do not have the legitimacy to issue them, since

> … a covenant (*'ahd*) from a disbeliever to a disbeliever is not held upon a Muslim [to honour][49]

Under this scheme the protection which an infidel can expect for his safety against the depredations of the Muslim is not dependent upon his good will towards Muslims. The vulnerability of the infidel depends instead on whether he does or does not have *amān:*[50]

> … for his label is based on the absence of a covenant, which protects his blood and wealth, and is not conditional upon his hostility towards the Muslims.[51]

The implication, for the radicals, is that for those nations that have not been diligent enough to contract a treaty (*sulh*) or a truce (*hudna*) with the properly recognised authority of *Dār al-Islām*, its nationals are open to assassination and robbery at will:

> It is not a condition that a war is actually taking place … it is sufficient [simply] for there not to exist any *Sulh* … which means that it is allowed for the Muslims to fight the people of these states at whatever time they want.[52]

Feigning Kufr

However, the *mujāhid* is at war in circumstances that at present are unfavorable to him. They are unfavorable not only in the military sense, but also in the cultural and legal dimension, and the implications these hold for the authenticity of his Islam. There is only so much that a *mujāhid* can do to maintain what he feels is an untainted Islam in an environment in which

1. he has voluntarily elected to reside, somewhat controversially, even though it is an infidel state

2. he is constantly threatened by overtures of friendship and cooperation

3. the legal system is un-Islamic and therefore his acquiescence to it is suspect

4. opportunities for acts of hostility are limited and would impinge on his ability to continue as a warrior if he enacted them.

How does the radical resolve these dilemmas? There are two possibilities: the first, detailed earlier, is to actively promote *Islamophobia*, thus removing the dilemma of no.1 (by acting as a warrior behind enemy lines) and no.2 (by isolating himself to avoid infringement of the rules of *al-walā' wal-barā'* that stipulate antipathy to non-Muslims). The second is by feigning acquiescence to the infidel legal system, that is feigning *kufr*, and thus removing dilemmas 3 and 4.

The doctrine of *taqiyya* ('dissimulation') is understandably the more controversial, since it requires some strenuous justification to overturn what would appear to be a natural law. The basic starting points, however, are held to be given by the Texts, principally the Qur'ānic verse which stipulates dire consequences for

> Whoso disbelieveth in Allah after his [adoption of] belief – save him who is forced thereto and whose heart is still content with the Faith …
> Qur'ān, XVI,106

Similarly the Texts provide the expediency argumentation to contradict the fundamental, and equally textual, stipulations of *al-walā' wal-barā'* to avoid contact and social intercourse with non-Muslims. If this feigned friendship acts to the benefit of the Muslim or prevents him from being cast in an unfavorable light, it is permitted. The usual Qur'ānic verse adduced to both justify *al-walā' wal-barā'* and circumvent it is the following:

> Let not believers take disbelievers for their friends in preference to believers. Whoso doeth that hath no connection with Allah *unless [it be] that ye but guard yourselves against them, taking [as it were] security.*
> Qur'ān, III,28

Sunni Muslims generally dismiss discussion of *taqiyya* as a matter in which the Shi'a Muslims specialize. However, radical scholars such as Abu Baseer al-Tartousi have felt the need to clarify and justify the principle for the Sunni *mujāhidīn*,

so that the Muslim may recognize the cases where the feigning of *kufr* has been declared licit and the arena in which he may act if so constrained.[53]

It is, al-Tartousi asserts, a perilous undertaking, since "feigning *kufr* without legal justification is considered a greater form of *kufr* which expels its perpetrator from the community of Muslims."[54] He allows for the acquiescence to *kufr* under three conditions:

- *Compulsion* (*ikrāh*) such as giving verbal obedience to the *tāghūtī* system, while remaining disobedient. It must, however, be a real coercion and the feigning must be enough only to cover the immediate danger. The Muslim may adopt *taqiyya* provided that he has not been able to foresee his dilemma beforehand and that there is no other method of escaping this, and provided that his feigning tactics do not themselves involve greater damage to himself or others, or involve warfare against Muslims. Any intellectual acquiescence to the *kufr* system means immediate excommunication from the community of Muslims.

- *Dissimulation* (*taqiyya*) – may be employed in situations of un-coerced expressions of friendship which may last longer than actual threat of compulsion, and may not necessarily be immediately connected to physical threat. This is permitted for one who cannot display the Truth or flee to another place (*hijra*) as the radical scholars would prefer; the feigning must be enough only to cover the extent of the danger to his Muslim brethren; the adoption of the *taqiyya* tactic is not confined to circumstances of *dār al-kufr* or *dār al-harb*,[55] but on the other hand it should not be assumed that the context of residence in infidel lands automatically licenses *taqiyya*, given that some western states allow freedom of worship. Similarly, what is permitted on jihad is not permitted in other situations, and what is permitted to a *mujāhid* fighter is not permitted to one that holds back from fighting.

This, according to al-Tartousi, is the great difference between licit *taqiyya* as practiced by the Sunnis, and the "heretical *taqiyya* of the Shi'a in which they license lying against all and sundry, with or without the conditions of fear."[56]

- *The lesser evil.* That is, to avoid what would be a greater *kufr*.

This is the least well defined of the categories, and al-Tartousi is more comfortable in justifying feigning *kufr* here if the purpose is to infiltrate *tāghūtī* security forces for the purpose of removing the *kāfir* regime, if there is no other way to do this). There is no hypocrisy in any of these positions, according to al-Tartousi,

"since the hypocrite is one who conceals in his heart *kufr* and enmity to the people of faith, while making verbal show of faith and friendship to them … One cannot condemn as hypocrite or hurl the charge of hypocrisy to a believer who adopts *taqiyya* simply to set what he shows in opposition to what he conceals."[57]

What is interesting here is how easily the law of expediency operates. The *mujāhidīn* readily belittle the Islam of other Muslims if that Islam constitutes mere belief without action, and they go so far as to reject the concept that the Muslim is a Muslim for his beliefs alone (Murji'ism). Yet they have no problem adopting the view that Islamic belief is 'a matter for the heart' and does not require verbal declaration of the faith. For the *mujāhidīn*, therefore, Islam is belief and action but it is not belief, *declaration of belief*, and action.

The non-territorial Islamic state

The *taqiyya* principle elaborated like this should equip the *mujāhid* for his life and work in the infidel state.[58] But the pressures to assimilate to the host community, the logistics of working in an infidel state, are proving problematic even for this adaptive methodology. The realities of immigration, and the sheer numbers involved, are difficult to square with the requirements of this absolutist position. Is there a means whereby the life of the Muslim in the infidel West can be carried on even with a fair degree of integration being accepted? There is, provided that the radical Muslim revisits what 'residence' means and what it is that is being acquiesced to. Muslim jurists do not view the *Umma* and the West as equivalent or competing structures. They interpret the secular, liberal nature of Western states as mere social mechanisms, while the Muslim state is the true political and religious structure under which the Muslim is bound to live, from which he derives his identification and to which he is to pledge his loyalty. If the Muslim lives according to the conventions of the infidel state, the jurists argue, but places his religious identity above national and ethnic identities and promotes the interests of a global Muslim nation, he is fulfilling his duty to Islam without having to feign *kufr*.

The implications of this legal attitude crystallize in the concept of a 'non-territorial Islamic state.' Under this conception, Muslim communities in the West are to institute a kind of Islamic State without having recourse to militant jihad. That is all well and good, but what of the authentication principle? How does this fit in with the Prophetic model of *da'wā – hijra – jihād*? The answer is simple: while Muhammad established a nation with territorial dimensions, to belong to it, one only had to become Muslim in faith and practice, these were the defining identities. Such a position, a third category of state in addition to *Dār al-Islām* or *Dār al-Harb* was, after all, supported by no less a figure than Ibn Taymiyya, who wrote on just this issue with respect to the dilemma of Muslims in lands newly captured by the Byzantines.[59]

The origins of this doctrine were developed by Islamic scholars in the United Kingdom. British readers will inevitably be reminded of the work of Kalim Siddiqui[60], who used the term 'non-territorial Islamic state' to explain the background to the foundation in 1992 of what he termed the 'Muslim Parliament of Britain'. Siddiqui argued that there is already a precedent for the formation of a non-territorial Islamic state, and ths was the *sīra* or 'lifetime' of the Prophet which he held to be "the first complete, all-inclusive Islamic movement." There is therefore no need to wait for the formal reconstruction of a territorial Caliphate.[61] He also argued that the prophetic *sīra*, was the only area of Islamic tradition about which there was no disagreement. It therefore potentially had a unifying force. Not only that, but it had the potential to intellectually reorganize the mindset behind the building of a state, pending later implementation in a physical form.[62]

What is new here is that the *hijra* status of Muslims is no longer either an exile for dissidents to reorganize before returning to the Muslim heartlands, nor an outpost for waging war on the infidel. It can actually be the authentic Islamic state, the non-territorial one, purely by its own self-defined will. This is not an unacceptable innovation, Siddiqui is anxious to maintain, but rather an authentic Islamic concept. Indeed, Muslims' failure to understand its authenticity until now is itself an example of cultural defeat:

> To confine our understanding of political power to something that only a territorial State can possess may be one of the mistakes that modern Muslim political thought has made under the influence of the West.[63]

This type of Muslim state constitutes a new form of identity, and is a departure from the jihadist instinct towards conflict. Yet if the law of expediency were applied, its proponents argue, the Muslim will achieve

more by infiltration than what he could achieve by confrontation. It is, they argue, no more than what the western imperial powers were engaged in with their intellectual colonialism and cultural undermining that Muhammad Qutb so bitterly lamented. Moreover, its starting point is shared by a wider constituency than radicals and jihadists, and thus provides them with a stronger cover of religious authenticity and protection from attack under the multiculturalist umbrella of western states.

It requires the behavior and ethics of what is, quite simply, a parallel society.[64] By pursuing policies of cultural exceptionalism, as opposed to cultural or political confrontation, the one form of nationality and legality need not conflict with the other. More importantly, the progressive nature of the Sharī‘a expansion itself constitutes an expansion of Islam, thus removing the dilemma of the Muslim choosing to emigrate to, or remain, in *Dār al-Kufr*. In any case, according to its proponents, the Muslim is not challenged as to his faith, since he is resident in a society whose faith and morals are weakening, and is therefore unable to present him with a challenge. Muslim immigrants now constitute nothing less than a powerful weapon in the struggle for the primacy of Islam. Effectively the relationship of toleration has been reversed. It is not the western state that is tolerating the immigrant Muslim by offering him citizenship and equality under its laws, but the Muslim who is agreeing to reside in the disintegrating western state, tolerating it only because it is bound to dissolve and because its weaknesses may be of use to the Muslim cause.[65] His position there, as time will reveal, is no longer as a *muhājir*, but as a conqueror.

Notes

Chapter Four

[1] The identity of the clashes between religious dogmas and between political realities is a constant theme in works dealing with the clash of civilisations. Cf. the rubric 'Islam in Confrontation with the Crusado-Zionist Attack: on the Fabrications of the Jews concerning God, His Angels, His Books and His Messengers' in Section II of the work by Dr. Rabi' bin Muhammad bin 'Ali: الغارة على العالم الإسلامي وصدام الحضارات (*'The Attack on the Islamic World and the Clash of Civilisations'*).

[2] A set of explanatory principles which are foundational in the sense that they are self-evident and cannot, logically, rather than simply as a matter of inexplicable fact, be proven, supported or justified by reference to more important or foundational principles outside of Islam itself.

[3] Shaykh Qaradawi speaking in 2003.

[4] Abu Mus'ab al-Suri, لمسار الصراع منذ تقاتل ولدا آدم عليه السلام وقتل الشرير منهما (قابيل) أخاه الصالح (هابيل), وإلى قيام النظام العالمي الجديد بقيادة الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية, *The Global Islamic Resistance Call*, Section III, 'The Seeds of the International Order and the Course of the Conflict from Cain until George Bush,' p.196. Chapters Three and Four of the First Section of this work are given over entirely to the world order and the direction taken by the conflict from the beginning of recorded time to the modern era.

[5] According to Dr. Sami Alrabaa the teaching manual for Grade 8 in Saudi Arabia instructs educationalists to "Teach that the Crusades never ended, and identify the American Universities in Beirut and in Cairo, other Western and Christian social service providers, media outlets, centers for academic studies of Orientalism, and campaigns for women's rights as part of the modern phase of the Crusades."

[6] Throughout history theories on the nature of the Caliphate have tended to appear in a period of decline and based themselves on what are actually scarce descriptions or prescriptions of the office. Western Orientalists, relying primarily on the output of the scholastic tradition themselves provided a view favoring the normative Muslim reading, and Islamist thinkers today still productively utilize this work. See Hassan Mneimneh, *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology vol. 6*.

[7] Abu Mus'ab al-Suri elaborates at length on the causes of the decline (دعوة المقاومة الاسلامية العالمية, p.425-442), as does Abd al-Qadim Zallum (كيف هدمت الخلافة 'How the Caliphate Was Destroyed'), both of them prioritizing the agency of external powers over that of internal weaknesses.

[8] Al-Suri emphasizes the inevitability of the clash: على مبادئ (صراع الحضارات) وحتمية تصفية بعضها لبعض ('on the principles of the Clash of Civilizations and the inevitability of the one liquidating the other." Abu Mus'ab al-Suri, *The Global Islamic Resistance Call,* Section III.

[9] *Mu'askar al-Battar,* Issue 7, March 2004, pp.7-8:

وإن قالوا لكم : قد أشعلتم بعملياتكم نار الكراهية بين الغرب والمسلمين ودفعتم إلى صراع الحضارات ...وأما صراع الحضارات ونار الكراهية فهي مشتعلة قبل عملياتنا بل وقبل هتنغتون و فوكوياما وكتاباتهمـا حول صدام الحضارات فهي موجودة منذ أن وجد الكفر والإيمان، وقد قال الله تعالى عن الكفار: ولا يزالون يقاتلونكم حتى يردكم عن دينكم إن استطاعوا : وما الحروب الصليبية ومحاكم التفتيش ومذابح المسلمين على أيدي اليهود والنصارى في كل بقاع الأرض بخافية إلا على من تعامى عنها ودفن رأسه في الرمال.

[10] Such lists are commonplace. This particular one ("A message written in blood which we send to those who still hold back from Jihad") was taken from the Jihadi chat forum *al-Tajdid* in May 2006.

[11] *Fourteen Ways of Looking at a Blackshirt*, in New York Review of Books, 22 June 1995, pp.12-15).

[12] Muhammad Qutb: الصراع بين الفكر الغربي والفكر الاسلامي (*'The Struggle Between Western and Islamic Thought'*), Minbar al-Tawhīd wal-Jihad, n.d. 7.

[13] On this interesting figure, see commentary on *'The Ruling Regarding Killing One's Self to Protect Information'* in the section *Immunization* in Chapter 9.

[14] 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Myatt, *The Kaffir Myth of Ideology and Islamo-Fascism*. [http://aboutmyatt.wordpress.com/david-myatt-the-kaffir-myth-of-islamo-fascism/]

[15] Text taken from *MEMRI Special Report*: "Contemporary Islamist Ideology Authorizing Genocidal Murder", No. 25 January 27, 2004.

[16] Usama Bin Laden in R. Ibrahim, *The Al Qa'ida Reader,* New York: Broadway, 2007, p.26.

[17] Abu Osama, *The Plague of the West,* The Western Civilisation Laid Bare, 4 (www.islambase.tk). On this subject the author attempts latitude, but then restricts this latitude: "In essence all human beings are free to believe what they wish and have a fundamental right to speak out what they believe. In practical terms this has come to mean people are free to attack religion ... If one has been indoctrinated to believe that he or she can do or act as and how they wish, naturally they will want to practice such."

[18] Abu Anas, *Multi-Cultural Society or Racist Society,* 9 (www.islambase.tk).

[19] "Now, if these ministers deem by their majority opinion that alcohol should be permitted then this would be accepted as law. In addition if people deem that prostitution, gambling, paedophilia, killing Muslims (as in the wars on Afghanistan, Iraq and the ongoing war on Islam), homosexuality, permissibility of same-sex marriages etc. is beneficial for the people, then through the process of majority voting, these and other motions would be accepted and implemented as law, such that the people will live and judge by them." Abu Osama, *The Plague of the West,* 3.

[20] Abd al-Qadim Zallum: الديمقراطية نظام كفر يحرم أخذها أو تطبيقها أو الدعوة إليها (*'Democracy is a Kufr System, which it is Forbidden to Adopt, Apply or Promote'*), p.22, Hizb al-Tahrir Publications, May 1990.

[21] *Dangerous Concepts to Attack Islam and Consolidate the Western Culture* (anon.), Al-Khilafah Publications, 1997, p.7.

[22] Thus according to a statement by Danish Muslim politician Ben Haddou. See 'Muslim politicians in this country say Islamic sharia law is an inextricable part of their identity', *The Copenhagen Post Online,* November 25th 2004.

[23] This is the argumentation of Sayyid Qutb for the waging of jihad — to remove forcibly the alien secular 'man-made' systems in order to allow for the unimpeded application of Divine Law, following which the individual is free to refuse Islam and thereby remain under the Islamic *dhimma*.

[24] Sayyid Qutb, Ma'ālim, p. 80. See David Cook, *Understanding Jihad,* University of California Press, 2005, p105.

[25] Anwar al-Awlaki, *Inspire,* Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, Fall 2010, p.35.

[26] Al-Suri, *The Global Islamic Resistance Call,* Section (12) حكم السكن في ديار المشركين p.1160. التي معهم والإلفة , وتشرب عادات المشركين , من الفتنة في الدين
تؤدي مع الوقت للود الذي حرمه الله معهم , واختلاط الذرية الناشئة بينهم بأطفالهم وتعلم عوائدهم الخبيثة الفاسدة الكثيرة

[27] ولو أن الدول الأوربية علمت في وقت من الأوقات, أن الإسلام الحق سينتشر في بلدانهم, ويهدد العقائد الغربية والفكر الغربي, لما تردد أساطين الغرب ودعاة حقوق الإنسان وحرية Dr. Abdallah Qadiri al-Ahdal: الأديان وحرية الرأي, في طرد المسلمين في يوم واحد-إذا استطاعوا-من كل أنحاء أوروبا. (*'Muslims in Europe and Our Responsibility To Them'*), Section 17. Dr Al-Ahdal is head of the Law Department at Saudi Arabia's al-Madina University and is the author of الجهاد بالمال (*'Jihad through Financing'*).

[28] - أنهم دعاة إلى التعايش .. ليس التعايش في ظل حكم الحق ثم يكون بعد ذلك لا إكراه في الدين .. لا؛ إنما تعايش الحق مع الباطل وتحت حكمه وسياسته وسلطانه إلى أن يصعب التمييز بين الحق ورايته, وبين الباطل ورايته ..! ... ومن ذلك دعوتهم إلى تقارب الأديان .. وإلى تحاور الأديان .. لا لكي يظهر الحق من الباطل فيُتبع .. لا؛ وإنما ليتعايش الحق مع الباطل في ثوبٍ واحد, ولكي تختلط المبادئ والمفاهيم والقيم .. ومن دون أن يكون للحق تمايزه ووجوده المستقل .. ولتغييب الصراع - القديم منذ أن خلق الله تعالى آدم وإبليس والمستمر إلى يوم القيامة .. بين الحق والباطل ..! Shaykh Abu Baseer al-Tartousi, احْذَرْ ثَقَافَة المَهْزُومِين (*'Beware of the Culture of the Defeated)* November 2000.

[29] *Verdict Regarding Celebrating the Year 2000 and the Call for the Unity of Religions*, Permanent Committee for Scientific Research and the Issuing of Fatwas, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, pp.12,13. Collected by Freedom House from Masjid Abu Bakr, San Diego, CA, 12/10/03. (*Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,* Center for Religious Freedom Freedom House, Washington 2005, p.83).

[30] Abu Anas, *Multi-Cultural Society or Racist Society?* Islambase Publications, 6.

[31] Anon.: *Dangerous Concepts to Attack Islam and Consolidate the Western Culture,* Al-Khilafah Publications, 2001, p.28.

[32] Abu Anas, *Multi-Cultural Society or Racist Society,* 10 (www.islambase.tk).

[33] The term comes from the Prophet's *hadīth*: بدأ الدين غريبا وسيعود غريبا كما بدأ فطوبى للغرباء (*"Islam started as something strange and will return back as something strange, the way it began, so blessed are the strange ones"*) and is a favourite term used by the mujahideen. The name was used by a jihadi group allied to al-Qaeda's Mujahideen Shura Council in Iraq, and also for the title of a jihadi chat forum. There is also website with this name: www.goraba.com. Abu Mus'ab al-Suri closes his monumental work *The Global Islamic Resistance Call,* with the call to 'join the group of *ghurabā'* who hold onto their faith manifesting the truth unharmed by those who forsake them or oppose them.'

[34] The level of disdain for Islamist figures such as Shaykh Yusuf al-Qaradawi (cf. the works by Abu Baseer al-Tartousi: الموقف الشرعي من القرضاوي *'The Legal Position on al-Qaradawi'* and فتوى في تكفير القرضاوي *'Fatwā on Declaring al-Qaradawi an Infidel'*) indicates how far the repudiation of more traditional sources of authority extends.

[35] Salafists typically justify their position from various *ahādīth* that report, in various versions: ""And this Ummah will divide into seventy-three sects all of which except one will go to Hell and they (i.e. the Saved Sect) are those who are upon what I and My Companions are upon" (al-Tirmidhi).

[36] Cf. 'Abd al-Hakim Murad's comments featured earlier: "[Salafism] has no track record of dealing with other sorts of Islam or unbelievers with any kind of respect. If you are outside the small circle of the true believer you are going to hell and, therefore, you should be treated with contempt." *Dispatches - Undercover Mosque* broadcast on 15 January 2007, Channel 4 TV, United Kingdom.

[37] Abu Haithem Al-Hijazee, *Setting The Record Straight: Was Islam Really Spread By The Sword?,* January 2007 (the author argues that it was).

[38] A very interesting treatment of this *da'wā – hijra – jihād* model is given by Trevor Stanley, 'Al-Qaeda's Revolutionary Model, Iraq and the Madrid Bombings in Context,' *PWHCE,* April 2004.

[39] Azzam wrote in 1988: "It is about time to think about a state that would be a solid base for the distribution of the (Islamic) creed, and a fortress to host the preachers from the hell of the Jāhiliyya".

[40] Saheeh At-Tirmidhi on the authority of Muadh bin Jabal: *"The highest peak of it is Jihad,"* - quotation from Azzam, *Join the Caravan.*

[41] مقدمة في الهجرة والاعداد Abdallah Azzam, فالهجرة مستمرة ما دام هنالك جهاد, والجهاد لا ينقطع إلى يوم القيامة (*'Introduction on Hijra and Preparation'*), Minbar al-Tawhīd wal-Jihād, n.d., p.15.

[42] الهجرة الأولى الواجبة: وهي الهجرة من دار الكفر إلى دار الإسلام, فهذه واجبة على كل مسلم إذا لم يستطع إقامة الشعائر في دار الكفر, فإذا اشتد على الناس ظلم الطواغيت ولم يستطيعوا أن يطلقوا لحامم ولا أن يدعوا إلى الله, ولا أن يجاهدوا في سبيل الله, ولا أن يسيطروا بالإسلام على عائلاتهم, ولا على أولادهم, وفسدت الحياة وأسن المجتمع, وتعفن وجه الأرض في تلك المنطقة, يجب عليك الهجرة وإن كنت في بيت المقدس. Azzam, *Introduction,* 15.

[43] Azzam, والهجرة أولا ضرورة من ضرورات الجهاد والقتال لأنها عنوان التضحية, رمز الفداء والتضحية ... والهجرة هي الخطوة الأولى من خطوات الجهاد, ولا بد منها *Introduction*, pp.12,15.

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[44] Azzam, *Introduction*, p.15. والهجرة إعلان صريح عن التصميم على السير إلى الله عزوجل, وإشعار عام وآذان كبير على أن النفس البشرية بدأت تتحرر من الدنيا

[45] Azzam cites the Hadīth (Sahih al-Jāmi' al-Saghīr, 1624) إن الله أمر يحيى بن زكريا بخمس كلمات وأنا آمركم بخمس أمرني الله بهن: الجماعة والسمع والطاعة والهجرة والجهاد في سبيل الله , Azzam, *Introduction*., 12. Though loathed by Satan (*Introduction*, 12) the *muhājir's* reward is three abodes in Paradise (*Introduction*, p.13).

[46] Abu Bakr Naji: ادارة التوحش ('The Management of Barbarism' – the 'most dangerous period the Nation will pass through') Center for Islamic Studies and Research, 12. See Ulph, *New book lays out al-Qaeda's military strategy,* Terrorism Focus, II, 6, The Jamestown Foundation). The document has been translated; see W. McCants, *The Management of Savagery,* May 2006.

[47] In fact Abu Mus'ab al-Suri pointedly ignores the *hijra* phase of the paradigm, arguing instead that the operative stages are 'will, preparation, and launch'. In a world of closing opportunities for jihadi training, following the American removal of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and the international co-ordination to combat terrorism, the calling of the Islamic Nation to migrate to the camps was no longer a useful option. His answer was to do the opposite, to ''plant training camps in [all] parts of the Nation, in all her houses and districts." See al-Suri, *The Global Islamic Resistance Call,* p.1425.

[48] The jihadists' attention to the details of history almost suggests a propitious function for the names. Bin Laden's first camp in Afghanistan was named *Bayt al-Ansār* and the foundation of *al-Qā'ida al-Sulba* itself was a conscious imitation of the house of Arqam Bin Abi Arqam, said to be where the early Muslims, the *Sahāba,* received education and guidance from the Prophet on waging the struggle against the Arabian pagans.

[49] *Takfīr wa-Hijra*, under Shukri Mustafa actively put the model into practice by forming communities in caves away from the sinful *jāhili* cities of Egypt.

[50] Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406), jurist, renowned philosopher, historian, and sociologist, summarized these consensus opinions from five centuries of prior Muslim jurisprudence with regard to the uniquely Islamic institution of Jihad.

[51] Mawdudi (1903-1979) is considered to be one of the most systematic thinkers of revolutionary Islam and was an extremely important figure in the development of radical *Salafi* Islam in the 20th Century. He founded the *Jama'at-i-Islami* (Society of Islam) in 1941 as a vanguard group to progressively Islamize Pakistan, along lines similar to the Muslim Brotherhood.

[52] Under Mawdudi's scheme, the nascent Islamic *jama'at* (society, group) would begin with a period of weakness and gather strength before waging jihad. It would function as a vanguard, remaining outside the *jāhili* government until the *jāhili* society had been sufficiently Islamized.

[53] Cook, *Understanding Jihad*, 100.

[54] Cook, *ibid.*.

[55] Abul 'Ala Mawdudi, *Jihad in Islam* ('Jihad in God's Path') pp.6,22. Note also Sayyid Qutb: "It is the nature of Islam to dominate, not to be dominated, to impose its law on all nations, and to extend its power to the entire planet."

[56] The Peace of Westphalia refers to the pair of treaties (the Treaty of Münster and the Treaty of Osnabrück) signed in October and May 1648, which ended both the Thirty Years' War and the Eighty Years' War. The Peace marks the beginning of the modern political order upon which all international affairs are conducted between states, since it enshrines the principle of the sovereignty of states, the principle of legal equality between states and the principle of non-intervention of one state in the internal affairs of another. On religious belief the treaty held that each prince would have the right to determine the religion of his own state (the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*) and that believers living in states where their denomination was *not* the established church were guaranteed the right to practice their faith in public during allotted hours and in private at their will.

[57] Cook, *Understanding Jihad,* 104.

[58] Cook, *ibid*.

Chapter Five

[1] The failure of Shukri Mustafa's group al-Takfīr wal-Hijra was due to the difficulties of a practical hijra at home in Egypt. This inevitably focused minds on seeking a more conducive environment, but was initially the subject of controversy among Jihadist thinkers. Muhammad 'Abd al-Salām Farag of the Egyptian al-Gamā'a al-Islāmiyya opposed this idea of hijra abroad: "Some say that to establish the Muslim state one must practice hijra to some other country, construct the state there, and then return as conqueror; to economize on the efforts; let them begin by building the Islamic state in their own country, and then leave it as conquerors."

[2] لا يجوز العيش في مكان لا تستطيع أن تعبد الله فيه.. الحياة في الدول الأوربية والغربية ـبلاد مشركينـ يجب أن تهجرها لأنك لا تستطيع أن تعبد الله, ولا أن تربي أولادك على الإسلام Azzam, *Introduction*, p.17.

[3] Azzam, *Introduction*, 17. His animus is particularly direction at Soviet Russia at the time, and its open promotion of atheism.

[4] قبل أن يذهب يعلمونهـ كيف يمسك الشوكة بالشمال والسكين باليمين... يعلموه كيف يأكل بشماله ـولا يجب أن يأكل بيمينهـ لأنه يجب أن يأكل مثل الشياطين, لأن الشيطان يأكل بشماله ويشرب بشماله... هذه جريمة لا تغتفر حتى يتعلم السكر. Azzam, *Introduction*, p.17.

[5] Azzam, *Introduction*, p.18.

[6] وكثير منهم يرجع (والخنزيرة) تحت إبطه, حتى يفسد المجتمع كله, هو وأولاده وأسرته.. خنزيرة من الكافرات تنقل أسرار الدولة, وأسرار الجيش إلى دولتها Azzam, *Introduction*, p.17.

[7] [*Qur'ān,* XXIX,56].

[8] ولذلك: الدول الغربية لا يجوز العيش فيها, إذا استطعت أن تسكن في أي بلد فيها إسلام.. (أنا .... إن أرضي واسعة فإياي فاعبدون لا يموت أحد من الجوع. إن الذي يطعم الكلاب يطعمك
بريء ممن أسلم وبقي بين أظهر المشركين).. (أنا بريء ممن أقام بين المشركين ومات بينهم)(7) [رواه مسلم]. أحاديث صحيحة.. لأنه مجتمع فاسد جدا , لا تستطيع أن تعيش بدين الله
عزوجل فيه, كيف تستطيع أن تعيش فيه؟ فضلا عن أن تذهب أعزبا ! Azzam, *Introduction*, p.17.

[9] Al-Suri, *The Global Islamic Resistance Call,* p.1161.

[10] See S. Ulph, 'A Virtual Border Conflict,' a contributing chapter focusing on the intellectual frontier between the Jihad's 'virtual culture' and the western host communities in S.J. Hansen, A. Mesøy, T. Kardas (edd), *Borders of Islam, Exploring Samuel Huntingdon's Faultlines, From al-Andalus to the Virtual Umma,* Hurst & Co., London 2009, pp.289-307.

[11] More precisely – the 'association' of a partner to God.

[12] Abu Anas, *Multi-cultural Society or Racist Society?* Islambase Publications, n.d.

[13] The conception of interfaith dialogue as an extension of perennial enmity against Islam is the theme of an entire chapter in the Hizb al-Tahrir online publication *Dangerous Concepts to Attack Islam and Consolidate the Western Culture* (Al-Khilafah Publications, Anon. 1997 [http://www.hizb-ut-tahrir.org]. Al-Suri is also explicit on this point. In Chapter 4 of his work *Global Islamic Resistance Call*, al-Suri divides up the Crusades, not according to the traditional European historical tradition, but into three broader phases: the First Crusades (1090-1291); the Second Crusades (1798-1970) focusing on 'the ideological invasion with its consequences for the political domain;' and the Third Crusades (1990-) encapsulated in the 'new world order'. In this phase al-Suri highlights how America is "co-opting the professional Islamic sector in the 'Battle of Ideas' to distort the faith and snuff out resistance and the jihad. [America does this] by means of distorted collaborationist *fatwas* made under what is termed the fight against terrorism and extremism, and … under various guises such as 'justice', 'moderation' 'cooperation' and 'dialogue with the other'" (See دعوة المقاومة الاسلامية العالمية p.897).

[14] This explains the confusion suffered by the media on the use of the term 'tyrant' to refer to western leaders. The term originally denoted a pre-Islamic idol, and by extension any object or individual that prevents mankind from doing good. In jihadist literature it is commonly used to denote heads of state of Muslim countries which are not governed by Sharī'a law.

[15] The near-apotheosis of Arabic was noted by Mu'tazilite scholars in the Middle Ages, who deplored the inordinate domination of textualism in doctrinal thought. In the modern environment this tendency, at times, provides the Salafist speaker with the means to demonstrate *faux* learning, as quite pedestrian concepts in the discourse are liberally sprinkled with Arabic equivalents in order to achieve gravity. The power of the language extends beyond Salafist circles to the wider community: "Deference to Arab Muslims, in education (many from Saudi Arabia) and for language abilities (reciting Qur'an, khutba, nasiha, etc in Arabic) leaves a large percentage of American Muslims vulnerable to unknowingly accepting Salafi ideology," (C. Heffelfinger, *Muslims in America: Ideological and Political Trends,* Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) Report, 2006).

[16] The filtering is particularly thoroughgoing. The Islamist Sheikh Rashid Ghannouchi himself notes this tendency "It is very sad," he writes, "not to find even one reference in an Islamic book that comes from outside the writings of the Muslim Brotherhood. If a book is written by an MB writer, all of the references are from other MB writers and leaders. Among the long list of MB books, there is rarely a reference from a writer who is outside this party and its doctrine." Citation from Shaker al-Nabulsi: *Arab thinkers' fear of the West,* www.arablife.org, August 2007.

[17] *Multi-Cultural Society or Racist Society,* by 'Abu Anas' (edited by Islambase Publications), n.d. [http://www.hizb-ut-tahrir.org]

[18] Sheikh Taha Jabir al-Alwani, cited in Eric Brown, *After the Ramadan Affair: New Trends in Islamism in the West* in Current Trends in Islamist Ideology, II, p.26.

[19] Ali Ahmad Sa'id (nom de plume 'Adonis'): الثابت والمتحول، بحث في الاتباع والابداع عند العرب ('The Constant and the Changing, a Study in Conformism and Innovation Among the Arabs'), vol. III, discussing Abd al-Wahhab's doctrine of *tawhīd*, pp.78-79. For more on this dualism of love and hatred, see the text *Love and Hate for Allah's Sake*, by Muhammad ibn Sa'īd al-Qahtānī, p.**Error! Bookmark not defined.**). Adonis' work *The Constant and the Changing* analyzes in its three volumes the intellectual, political and cultural roots that are contributing to the stifling of Arab creativity. The author underlined how modernity's impulse for change was diagnosed as an enemy and was drawing forth a counter-dynamic, whereby the logic of reform is to reverse the equation, take Islam as the starting point and adjust modernity to its contours. Since any attempt at 'updating' attacks the *thawābit* (the 'Fixèd Points'), the only hope is for a fundamental paradigm shift of the intellect, reorienting the intellectual focus from one of deriving authentification from the past and legitimising the constant transformation of the present.

[20] 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Bārī al-Ahdal (ob. 1855), author of السيف البتار على من يوالي الكفار ('*The Slicing Sword against the one who Forms Allegiances with the Disbelievers*'), tr. At-Tibyān Publications, 2009. The author wrote during a time of occupation of Aden by the British.

[21] *The Slicing Sword,* 14.

[22] *Op cit,* 16.

[23] *Op cit,* 32.

[24] Abu Haithem Al-Hijazee, *Setting The Record Straight: Was Islam Really Spread By The Sword?* January 2007.

[25] *The General Presidency for Teaching Girls,* Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, collected by Freedom House from Masjid al-Farouq, Houston, 12/15/03. See, *Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,* Center for Religious Freedom Freedom House, Washington 2005, p.85.

[26] Shaykh Abd al-Aziz Ibn Baz, *Religious Edicts for the Immigrant Muslim*. Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Cultural Attaché in Washington, n.d. Collected from the Islamic Center of Washington DC in December 2003. [Document no. 44]. *Saudi Publications on Hate Ideology Invade American Mosques,* Center for Religious Freedom, Freedom House, Washington 2005, pp.39-40.

[27] *Ibid*.

[28] From an interview aired on Al-Arabiya TV on October 26, 2007. *MEMRI Special Dispatch Series* - No. 1761: ('I Support Bombings in America, But Not in the Muslim World'), November 8, 2007. The prohibition is widespread among the scholars. Cf. Abdallah bin Jibrin on Islam Q&A website (no.6247): وأما ، من اضطر إلى طلب جنسية دولة كافرة كمطارد من بلده ولم يجد مأوى فيجوز له ذلك بشرط أن يظهر دينه ويكون متمكنا من أداء الشعائر الدينية الحصول على الجنسية من أجل مصلحة دنيوية محضة فلا أرى جوازه . والله أعلم

[29] The context is the Prophet hearing of the deaths of Muslims resident among polytheists as a result of a raid: "Some people sought protection by having recourse to prostration, and were hastily killed. When the Prophet heard that, he ordered half the blood-wit to be paid for them, saying: I am not responsible for any Muslim who stays among polytheists." (Sunan Abu Da'ūd: Book 14, Ḥadīth 2639).

[30] مَنْ جَامَعَ الْمُشْرِكَ وَسَكَنَ مَعَهُ فَإِنَّهُ مِثْله (Sunan Abu Da'ūd: Book 14, Ḥadīth 2781).

[31] The counter-argument among scholars is that the Prophet allowed his uncle Abbas to remain in Mecca while it was still not under Muslim rule and that there were some that did not migrate immediately to Medina. They also argue that migration to a Muslim country in a classical sense is no longer relevant or practical as no particular country today can truly be classified as Dār al-Islām in the classical sense.

[32] The āyah commonly adduced is: *'Verily, we are free from you and whatever you worship besides Allāh, we have rejected you, and there has emerged between us and you, hostility and hatred for ever, until you believe in Allāh Alone.'* [Qur'ān, LX, 4].

[33] Shaykh Abdalazīz al-Jarbū': *When Does Hijrah Become Obligatory: The Reality of Displaying The Deen From the book The Announcement of the Obligation to Emigrate from the Land of Disbelief to the Land of Islām,* At-Tibyān Publications, n.d

[34] *Inciting religious hatred? This is our obligation!* Anon. Part 9 of a series on *al-walā' wal-barā'* posted on the website inshallahshaheed.wordpress.com, June 9 2007.

[35] Shaykh Hamad ibn 'Atīq, cited by Shaykh Abdalazīz al-Jarbū' (op.cit.): "And what is intended (by display of the religion) is the clear demonstration by continuous hostility and hatred towards the one who does not single out His Lord, so whoever fulfils this with knowledge and action, and clearly demonstrates this until the people of his land are aware of this from him, then emigration (Hijrah) is not an obligation upon him from whatever land he is in. وقال الشيخ حمد بن عتيق رحمه الله تعالى: (والمراد التصريح باستمرار العداوة والبغضاء لمن لم يوحد ربه، فمن حقق ذلك علماً وعملاً، وصرح به حتى يعلمه منه أهل بلده، لم تجب عليه الهجرة من أي بلد كان".

[36] Anon.: *Essay Regarding the Basic Rule of the Blood, Wealth and Honour of the Disbelievers,* At-Tibyan Productions, August 2004, p13.

[37] Anon.: *Essay*, p10.

[38] Anon.: *Essay,* p14. The issue is the subject of much soul-searching, with some writers counselling the avoidance of ambiguity by doing one of two things: a) "declare that you are at war with the *kuffar* before you commit any act of jihad on their land, or b) If you are too afraid to make it open... it would be better for you to make *hijra* [i.e. to migrate] to a land of jihad, where you can openly proclaim that you are at war."

[39] *Aqd al Amaan: the Covenant of Security,* published online by www.muhajiroun.com.

[40] See Nāsir al-Fahd, حكم مجاهدة الأمريكان خارج العراق ('*On Jihad against Americans outside Iraq*') http://tawhed.ws/r?i=828 .

[41] أما العهد، فلا والله، ليس بيننا وبينهم عهد، بل هم حربيون أينما حلوا وأقاموا ولو تعلقوا بأستار الكعبة، فليس العهد الذي قامت به الحكومات مع هؤلاء الصليبيين شرعياً، بل هو بناء على مواثيق الأمم المتحدة الطاغوتية . Nāsir al-Fahd, *Jihad against Americans outside Iraq,* 2.

[42] Al-Fahd is also the author of a paean of praise for the 9/11 operation entitled: آيات الرحمن في 'غزوة سبتمبر' Minbar al-Tawḥīd wal-Jihad, September 2002.

[43] Nasir al-Fahd: هل تعتبر تأشيرة "الفيزا" عقد أمان؟ ('*Is a Visa to be considered an 'iqd amān'*), Minbar al-Tawḥīd wal-Jihād, n.d. p.2.

[44] Nasir al-Fahd supports his assertion on the different categories of infidel with recourse to Ibn Taymiyya (*al-Sārim,* 503/2) who argues that no *amān* is to be considered inviolable in cases such as those denigrating the Faith, or committing fornication with Muslim women.

[45] فهم شعب كامل يكمل بعضه بعضا؛ لأنه لا وزن للرئيس ولا للبنتاجون ولا للجيش بدون الشعب، ولو خالفوا أهواء الشعب في سياستهم لأطاحوا بهم ... بل دولتهم كأنها مشاعة لكل واحد منهم Nasir al-Fahd: '*Is a Visa to be considered an 'iqd amān'*, p.1. In this respect al-Fahd differs from Abu Baseer al-Tartousi who insists that the *amān* given to tourists, merchants, workers and doctors should be observed, even if their country of origin is *muhārib*, and even if the issuer of an entry visa was an apostate Muslim government, on the grounds that these visitors have entered Muslim lands in the expectation of *amān*, an expectation supported by the layered entry requirements of papers signed, and the expression of pacific greetings from Muslims that these visitors would have encountered during their sojourn. See حُكْمُ استحلال أموال المشركين لمن دخل في أمانتهم وعهدهم من المسلمين, June 13 2004, pp.78-83.

[46] حل أموال الكفار في البلاد المحاربة للمسلمين لقيام حالة الحرب بيننا وبينهم . وعدم وجود معاهدات بينهم وبين كيانات وإمارات إسلامية شرعية تلزم رعاياها من المسلمين بعهود بينها وبين أولئك الكافرين . In the section: 'Wealth which the mujahideen may lawfully take as booty in God's path', in al-Suri, *The Global Islamic Resistance Call,* 1431. This is in contradiction to some scholars who deem that the status of the infidel as *harbī* does not override the conditionality provided by the VISA and entry documentation.

[47] Although in most legal traditions an equivalent condition to rebus sic stantibus ('so long as the conditions under which they were made remain the same') is appended to the directive, most contemporary theorists on international law maintain that a unilateral right of termination or alteration does not exist. Jihadists, of course, do not recognize the existence of international law and therefore do not consider themselves bound by this tradition.

[48] Al-Shāfi'ī, كتاب الام, IV, 353. Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, Beirut, 2nd edition, 1413 AH, quoted in Anon.: *Essay,* p15.

[49] Anon.: *Essay*, p.17.

[50] The terms are *mu'āhad* or *musta'man* for the holder of *amān*, or *harbī* or *muhārib* for one who lacks this *amān*.

[51] Anon.: *Essay,* p.17.

[52] Abd al-Qadir ibn Abd al-Aziz, الجامع في طلب العلم الشريف Vol II, p.645. Cited in Anon.: *Essay,* p.18.

[53] Abu Baseer al-Tartousi, حالات يجوز فيها هنا يتعين على المسلم أن يتعرف على الحالات التي أجاز فيها الشارع إظهار الكفر ليعلم المساحة التي يستطيع أن يتحرك فيها إن اضطر إظهار الكفر (*'Situations In Which One May Feign Kufr'*) http://www.altartosi.com/articles/Artcl012.html.

[54] Al-Tartousi, *Situations*. فإن إظهار الكفر من غير مبرر شرعي معتبر كفر أكبر مخرج لصاحبه من الملة

[55] Al-Tartousi adduces the example of the *taqiyya* of the scholars who feigned their acquiescence to the doctrine of the created Qur'ān during the period of the Abbasid caliphate.

[56] Al-Tartousi, *Situations*. التقية المبتدعة التي يقول بها الشيعة الروافض، والتي بها يستحلون الكذب على آحاد وعوام المسلمين، وبخوف وبلا خوف

[57] Al-Tartousi, *Situations*, footnote 4. فإنه يضمر الكفر والعداوة لأهل الإيمان في القلب، مع إظهار الإيمان والموالاة لهم باللسان .. وبالتالي لا يجوز حمل حكم ومصطلح النفاق أو المنافق على المؤمن الذي يأخذ بالتقية لمجرد مخالفة ظاهره لباطنه

[58] Patrick Sookhdeo gives some interesting examples of the usage of the *taqiyya* principle in contemporary commentary, as leading Muslim figures debate with the western media the issues of anti-Semitism, suicide bombings and the killing of innocents. See P. Sookhdeo, *Global Jihad, The Future in the Face of Militant Islam,* Isaac Publishing 2007, pp.201-209.

[59] Ibn Taymiyya was instrumental in describing this category, as "a combined category: the Muslim in it acts according to the level that he is able, and fights the outside on behalf of the Sharī'a of Islam according to what he is able." (هي قسم ثالث يعامل المسلم فيها بما يستحقه، ويقاتل الخارج عن شريعة) مجموعة الفتاوى (الاسلام بما يستحقه XXVIII.

[60] Dr. Kalim Siddiqui. Born in Pakistan, Siddiqui, settled in London, where for many years he directed an Islamic cultural center. He also established a Muslim Parliament as the minority political system for Muslims in Great Britain, which was intended to be the base for the "Non-territorial Islamic State." The key word for Siddiqui was power; the State was the instrument by which a community could exercise its collective power in action.

[61] "The time has come to define the Islamic State in terms of its origin in the *Seerah*. Once this has been done, *khilafah* and *vilayah* as sources of authority and leadership need to be restated in the context of the Islamic State rather than merely as a question of *bai'ah* on minimal conditions." Kalim Siddiqui, *Political Dimensions of the Seerah,* http://www.islamicthought.org/pp-ks-seerah.html.

[62] "It is almost certainly the case that divergences within Islam can only converge within the framework of the *Seerah*. The *Seerah* is a common ground for all Muslims; it is also the only ground on which all Muslims can stand. The conscious development of the *Seerah* as the foundation of the global Islamic movement will integrate the movement and clarify common goals across the *Ummah*. The *Seerah* as the foundation will also work to remove such tensions as are found today in parts of the Islamic movement over issues such as leadership, stages of growth, and the final goals."

[63] Kalim Siddiqui, *Political Dimensions of the Seerah.*

[64] Cf. The Muslim Parliament of Britain's *Muslim Manifesto* Point 5: "the option of "integration" and/or "assimilation" that is on offer as official policy in Britain must be firmly resisted and rejected" and the subsequent *Maxim*: "Muslims must develop their own identity and culture within Britain and as part of a global Muslim community, the *Ummah."*

[65] Uriya Shavit, 'Should Muslims Integrate into the West?' *Middle East Quarterly,* Fall 2007.