

DHP P244: MODERN TERRORISM & COUNTERTERRORISM

DR. JAMES JF FOREST

Lesson 5: Al Qaida and Affiliated Movement

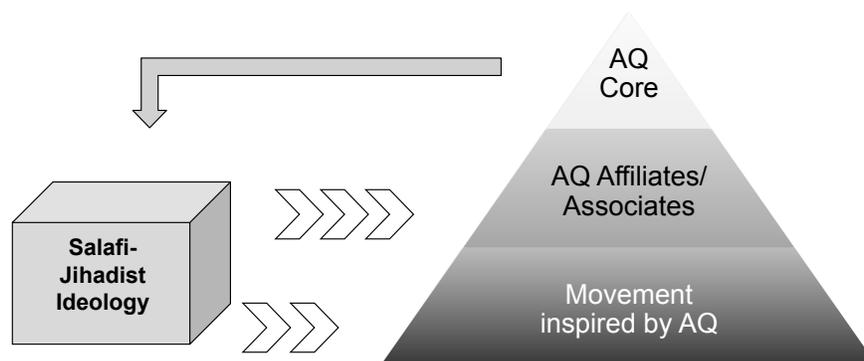
ADMIN NOTES

- Feb 26: Prof. Mia Bloom, Suicide Bombers
- Friday, Feb 28: Make-up class, 1-3pm
– Location: TBD
- March 5: “Do it Yourself” Terrorism
- March 12: WMD lesson (and *Paper Due*)

INTRO QUESTIONS

- What is “al-Qaida” today?
- Where is “al-Qaida” today?
- Is “al-Qaida” an existential threat?
- Is “al-Qaida” growing stronger or weaker?
 - Is this even the right question to ask?
- What do we mean “multi-faceted jihadi militant landscape”?

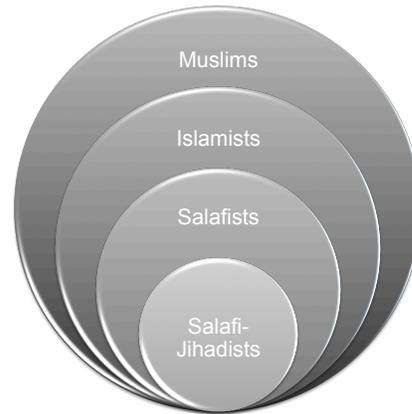
AQAM: A GLOBAL MOVEMENT



SALAFI-JIHADIST IDEOLOGY

- What is it, where did it come from, what are the main elements?
- What is Al Qaida's message, and why does it resonate among some (a very small minority) in the Muslim world?

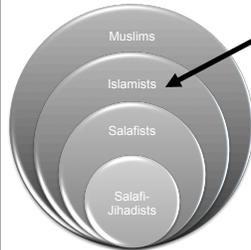
Note: Al Qaida's message is not the only flavor of Salafi-Jihadist ideology; others are regionally or locally focused, have no anti-US dimension or agenda, or differ in other ways



BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE ON ISLAM

- **Islam** (submission to the will of God)
 - Muhammad, Mecca, Medina, 5 pillars, ummah, sharia, Quran
 - Sunni-Shia division
 - 1.6 billion worldwide; Indonesia, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Egypt, Nigeria, Iran, Turkey
 - Terms like infidel, apostate, salaf, takfir, kafir, jihad
- **History** (al Qaida, Afghanistan)
 - Azzam, Bin Laden, al-Zawahiri, al-Suri, al-Zarqawi
- **Other forms of religiously-oriented political violence**
 - Absolutist, superior “revealed truth”, transnational
 - Long-term view of history, “cosmic war”, eternal salvation

TAQI AL-DIN IBN TAYMIYYA (1263-1328)



Leader who doesn't enforce *shari'a* completely, or wage active *jihad* against infidels **is apostate** and unfit to rule

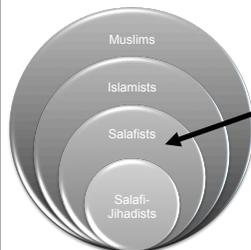
- Muslim who doesn't live by requirements of the faith is an unbeliever
- World is a perpetual battlefield between faith and unbelief

Jihad described as fighting in the path of God as described in Qur'an, hadith: defense of the *ummah*, then spread of the faith

Note: different from *Sufis* concept of "greater jihad" as internal struggle that is necessary for spiritual insight

Islam is viewed as a revolutionary "liberation" movement, required to alter the unjust political, economic and social status quo

MUHAMMAD IBN 'ABD AL-WAHHAB (1703-92)

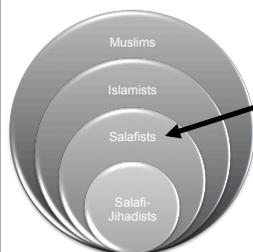


- Inspired by the ideas of Ibn Taymiyya

- Advocated strict return to fundamentals of the faith; a Puritan form of Islam
- Rejection of cultural variations
- *Tawhid* - transcendent unity of God; no compromise possible; global community of the faithful—the *ummah*

For many years, the Saudi government has been sponsoring the spread of Wahhabism to other countries worldwide, by funding mosques, imams and distribution of books

SALAFI, SALAFIST



Emulation of Prophet Muhammad and his companions (including clothes, hair)

- Includes Saudi Wahhabists who call for strict adherence to sharia law, reject any behavior not conducted or supported by the original founders of Islam
- All interpret the Qur'an literally, but most disagree with radicals on the permissibility of armed *jihād* as a religious duty, and with specific tactics in warfare such as terrorism and suicide attacks
- At the most extreme, Salafis reject nation states and all manmade laws; many Sunni radical groups and members are products of the Salafi interpretation of Islam

20TH CENTURY CONTEXT

- Encroachment of the West via capital, financial systems, European immigrants; Western colonial control; economic dependence
- Government efforts to adapt Western ideas, structures, and technology; Rulers reformed laws, education, economies but continue to struggle for stability and legitimacy; Failure, corruption of Islamic regimes
- Inability to restore early purity of Islamic faith and practice, regain lost glory and prestige
- Post-World War II independence accelerates modernization drive, intensifies **identity crisis**; Social changes traumatized populace
- Disillusionment peaks in 1970s: rejection of Western civilization as a model to emulate
- Rise of radical groups in several Muslim countries

20TH CENTURY ISLAMISTS



Sayyid Abu'l A'la Mawdudi: Muslim journalist in colonial India (later Pakistan); Prolific writer on issues of religious faith; Describes *jihād* as war of resistance, liberation, anti-colonialism; Writings became available in Arabic in 1950s

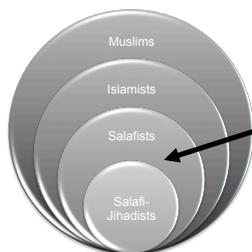


Hasan al-Banna: Egyptian teacher; founded Muslim Brotherhood 1928; Influenced radicals by redefining *jihād*: God-ordained defensive requirement for all Muslims, as long as unbelievers rule any Islamic lands; greater *jihād* is armed physical struggle against injustice and unbelief, not the internal spiritual struggle



Sayyid Qutb: Egyptian professor at al-Azhar University; Muslim Brotherhood member; promoted Islamist revolt with *taliya* (vanguard), *takfir* (identifying unbelievers), *hijrah* (withdraw if necessary, create activist movement), overthrow apostate regimes and restore true Islam

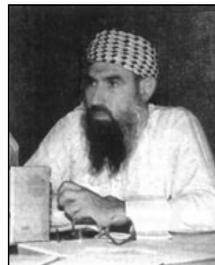
SALAFI ISLAMIST IDEOLOGICAL TENETS



- Muslims have an obligation to establish a more just society, and may **use force** if necessary (*Ibn Taymiyya, Mawdudi, Qutb*)
- Pluralism, the idea that no one has a monopoly on truth, is a falsehood, and liberal democracy (rule by man's laws) is against God's will (*al-Banna, Qutb*)
- Muslims must resist the influences of Western institutions and traditions that have poisoned mankind (*Qutb*)

ABDULLAH AZZAM

Palestinian cleric; Established recruitment, fundraising and inspiration network (later partnering with Osama bin Laden) during and after the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan throughout 1980s



"...Every Muslim on earth should unsheath his sword and fight to liberate Palestine. The Jihad is not limited to Afghanistan...There will be no solution to the Palestinian problem except through jihad..."

"... Jihad means fighting. You must fight in any place you can get. Whenever Jihad is mentioned in the Holy Book, it means the obligation to fight. It does not mean to fight with the pen or to write books or articles in the press or to fight by holding lectures... Jihad and the rifle alone: no negotiations, no conferences, no dialogues."

*We must mobilize the entire Muslim community to **join our jihad***

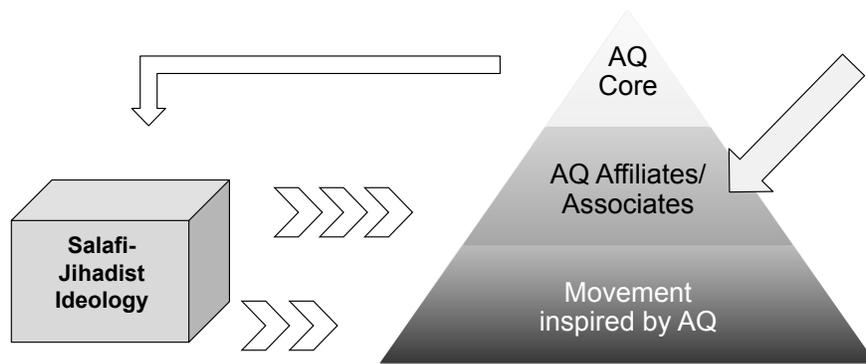
AL QAIDA'S SALAFI-JIHAD IDEOLOGY



- We have a global conflict between Islam and the West. Islam is under siege and only we (the Jihadis, the "pure" defenders of Islam) can lift it (*al-Banna, Qutb, Azzam*)
- "We must do all that is necessary to tear down the existing order and re-establish the Islamic caliphate to rule over the entire Muslim world
- We must use force to overthrow corrupt, incompetent "apostate" regimes in the Middle East and replace them with governments that rule by Sharia law
 - *Requires defeating their Western patrons (Zawahiri)*
- The violence we inflict upon our own people, governments, and resources is 1) necessary, 2) religiously sanctioned, and 3) really the fault of the West, Israel, and apostate regimes.

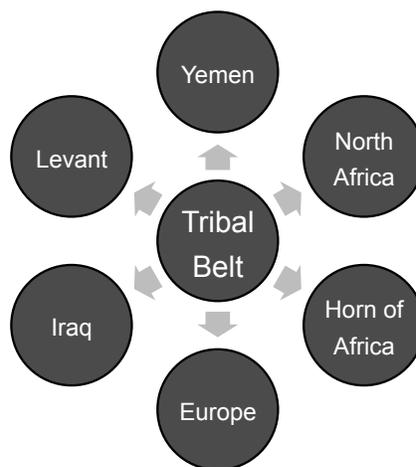
BREAK

2. AFFILIATES



AFFILIATE EVOLUTION

- Affiliates or franchises?
- *Local and Regional Alliances*
 - Placing local grievances in global framework
 - Both parties benefit but also run risks
 - Examples: AQIM, AQAP, AQI, Al-Shabaab
 - Towards multi-polarity



What does a group gain by affiliating with al-Qaida?

Example: Al-Qa`ida in Iraq

Why did Zarqawi swear allegiance to bin Laden?

- a. To gain legitimacy within the global Jihadi movement
- b. To get logistical support
- c. To increase the size and influence of his network
- d. To raise his stature by becoming a lieutenant of Bin Laden and Zawahiri
- e. To get volunteers from Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Syria, Algeria, Egypt and Europe
- f. To gain the trust of the Iraqi Sunni Islamists

Why did Bin Laden accept Zarqawi as a Lieutenant?

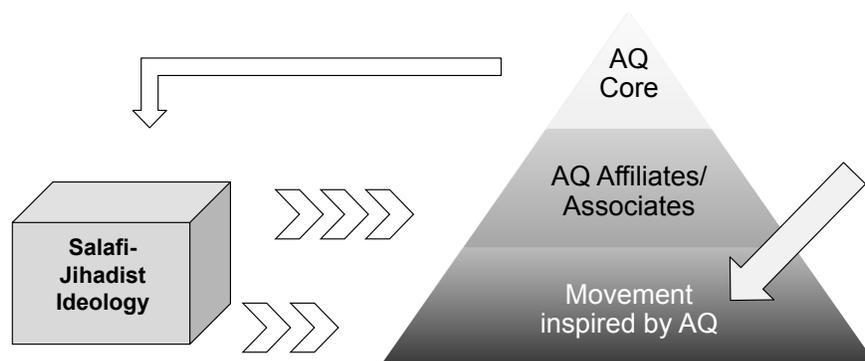
- a. To increase the influence and size of al-Qa`ida
- b. To gain a new branch in Iraq, an unexplored territory
- c. To take credit for Zarqawi's operations in Iraq
- d. To confront U.S. forces in Iraq
- e. To gain a new arena for Jihad, and validate AQ's ideology
- f. To bleed the U.S. militarily and economically

Affiliation as strategic decision to enhance power, influence

AFFILIATE RELATIONSHIPS

- Usually based on personal relationships, often connected by the assistance and training they received at AQ training camps in Afghanistan or Pakistan
- Central connection is shared belief in the Salafi-Jihadist ideology
- AQ leaders hope these geographically scattered, disparate movements will one day coalesce into a single, unstoppable force
- Emerging or potential affiliates?
 - West Africa, North Africa, Syria (al-Zawahiri disavows ISIS, Feb 2014)
- Where would AQ core most like to have an affiliate?

3. INSPIRED, NOT AFFILIATED



AQ-INSPIRED, BUT NOT “AFFILIATED”

- No direct connection with al Qa`ida (or any other identifiable terrorist group)
- Relationship with al Qa`ida is **more inspirational than actual**, abetted by profound rage over the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq and the oppression of Muslims in Palestine, Kashmir, Chechnya, and elsewhere.
- Neither directly members of a known, organized terrorist group nor necessarily even a very cohesive entity unto themselves.
- Limited common profiles (mostly young, male; some converts to Islam, others born and raised; some children of immigrant parents, others indigenous)

RECENT EXAMPLES

- Madrid – 191 killed on commuter trains; self-starter cell
- London – 53 killed on underground trains and on bus
- Toronto – plot to attack Parliament, CBC
- Newburgh - plot to attack NYC synagogues and Stewart Air Base
- Springfield, IL – plot to bomb a federal courthouse
- Dallas – attempted bombing by a Jordanian national
- Ft. Hood, TX - 13 people killed by an Army psychiatrist
- NYC – attempted car bombing at Times Square
- Washington, DC – attempted suicide bombing on Capitol Hill
- NYC – attempted suicide bombing of subway stations
- Boston – bombing of Marathon
- Most had limited skills or experience with weapons, criminal activity, violence, etc.; most had no direct connections with AQ core or affiliates; **Ideological commitment** was primary driver

LEADERLESS JIHAD

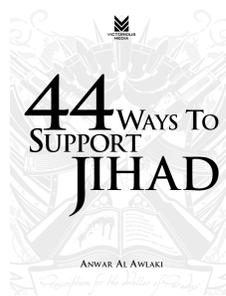
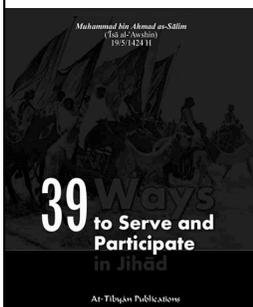
- Abu Musab al-Suri (Mustafa Setmariam Nasar)
 - Syrian by birth, Spanish passport by marriage; lived in London, Afghanistan
 - Very prolific ideological thinker; author of 1,600 history of jihad
 - A favorite author of al-Zawahiri, al-Awlaki, Samir Khan, and others
 - Architect of “think global, act local” argument for al Qaida’s long-term objectives
 - Authored “A Call to Jihad in Syria”



“ . . . The next stage of jihad will be characterized by terrorism created by individuals or small autonomous groups which will wear down the enemy . . . ”

- Captured in Pakistan October 2005
- Released by Syria January 2012

ANWAR AL-AWLAKI



- <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-11697625>
- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BQ71qjnGMYs>
- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oUXS3UJJ8k>

INSPIRE MAGAZINES

- Making the ideology more accessible to the masses
- Tips on how to use encrypted communications
- How to get to a training camp, what to expect, what not to bring with you
- The importance of the buddy system
- "How to build a bomb in your mother's kitchen"

DISCUSSION FORUMS

ردود	مشاركات	أخر مشاركة	المنتدى
125,911	23,807	11/01/2014	المنتدى الإسلامي في السعودية العام 2014
37,590	2,238	11/01/2014	المنتدى الإسلامي في مصر العام 2014
842	187	11/01/2014	المنتدى الإسلامي في ليبيا العام 2014
4,993	1,010	11/01/2014	المنتدى الإسلامي في تونس العام 2014
12,527	3,114	11/01/2014	المنتدى الإسلامي في الجزائر العام 2014
4,644	845	11/01/2014	المنتدى الإسلامي في المغرب العام 2014
1,838	410	11/01/2014	المنتدى الإسلامي في العراق العام 2014
134	64	11/01/2014	المنتدى الإسلامي في سوريا العام 2014
471	100	11/01/2014	المنتدى الإسلامي في اليمن العام 2014
145	18	11/01/2014	المنتدى الإسلامي في الصومال العام 2014
995	658	11/01/2014	المنتدى الإسلامي في أفغانستان العام 2014
***	**	11/01/2014	المنتدى الإسلامي في باكستان العام 2014

شبكة مجاهدين الاسلامية

ردود	مشاركات	أخر مشاركة	المنتدى
115	211	09-17-2005	المنتدى الإسلامي في مصر العام 2005
199	293	09-24-2005	المنتدى الإسلامي في ليبيا العام 2005
2732	9572	09-27-2005	المنتدى الإسلامي في الجزائر العام 2005
2490	11252	09-26-2005	المنتدى الإسلامي في المغرب العام 2005
1278	3864	09-27-2005	المنتدى الإسلامي في العراق العام 2005

Database of Terrorist-related Websites

facebook Keep me logged in

Sign Up **Islamic Media Network Urdu is on Facebook**
Sign up for Facebook to connect with Islamic Media Network Urdu.

ISLAMIC MEDIA NETWORK URDU Like

Wall Info Photos Discussions

Detailed Info

Personal Information: **Global Islamic Media Network Dept**

Urdu
<http://124.217.252.55/~shahamat/urdu>

English
<http://www.ansar1.info/>

English
<http://www.kavkazcenter.com/engl/>

English
<http://124.217.252.55/~shahamat/english/>

English
<http://thejustmedia.com/>

Personal Interests:
عصر حاضر کی سب سے بڑی، صلیب جنگ جاری ہو رہی ہے۔ اس میں ابلاغ کی تمام
سہولیات اور ایسے ہتھیاروں تک پہنچانے کے تمام ذرائع، نظام گھر
اور اس کے بیرون کے زیر تسلط ہیں۔ ان کے تجزیوں اور پتھروں
سے اکثر اوقات محض مسلمانوں میں مایوسی اور اہمیت ہٹانے کا
سوچا جا رہا ہے۔ اس کے ایک گوشے

Global Islamic Media Network
Dept

Urdu
<http://124.217.252.55/~shahamat/urdu>

SUMMARY

Al-Qa`ida is a decentralized entity, not an organized force; It is made up of numerous affiliated groups, local independent cells, and motivated and resourceful individuals

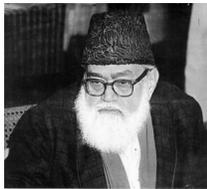
The U.S. and other countries are threatened by a global ideologically-fueled movement which can lead to attacks from foreigners or from citizens or residents inspired by the ideology

Contemporary jihadist scholars agree that ideological indoctrination and spiritual preparation takes precedence over physical and military training

Al-Qa`ida is only one of many different forms of Sunni militancy around the world (e.g., ISIS in Syria)

QUESTIONS

SAYYID ABU'L A'LA MAWDUDI



Prolific writer on issues of religious faith, and the proper relationship between Islam and the political structure, law, and practices of the state

Writings became available in Arabic in 1950s

Islam wants to employ all forces and means that can be employed for bringing about a universal all-embracing revolution. This far-reaching struggle that continuously exhausts all forces and this employment of all possible means is called jihad.
Jihad In Islam, 1939

First Islamist writer to approach *jihad* systematically:

- Warfare not just for political control, but to establish just rule
- Jihad becomes war of liberation: links concept to anti-colonialism, "national liberation movements," and Arab resistance to Israel

HASAN AL-BANNA



- Formed Muslim Brotherhood in 1928
 - Educational, devotional, service
 - Rival to Wafd political party, threat to government (King Farouk). Upheaval in 1948, suppressed
 - “Free Officers” led by Gamel Abdel Nasser took control of Egypt in 1952. MB crushed

Primary means to restore Islamic character to society is vigorous preaching and teaching (*da'wa*) campaign; *direct political action not appropriate or effective*

Gradualist approach to build a strong Muslim state governed by *shari'a*: re-Islamization through four stages starting with individuals, then families, then communities, which will band together to form a true Islamic state

Influenced radicals by redefining *jihad*: God-ordained defensive requirement for all Muslims, as long as unbelievers rule any Islamic lands; greater jihad is armed physical struggle against injustice and unbelief, not the internal spiritual struggle

SAYYID QUTB



- Professor at Al-Azhar University
 - *Jahiliyya* (unbelievers)
 - *Takfir* (identifying unbelievers)
 - *Hijrah*—devout must withdraw if necessary, create activist movement. Rationale for revolution.

Qutb's "Manhaj": 4-Phased Process

1. Vanguard (*taliya*) of the movement (*jama'a*) is formed
2. Vanguard sounds the call (*da'wah*) to society to turn back to God, but is persecuted for its faith, oppressed by the system
3. Movement undergoes *hijra*: conscious separation (spiritual and/or physical detachment) from the *jahili* system, and the group purifies itself, unifies and grows in strength
4. Victory and consolidation of power: movement conducts a *jihad by force* to overthrow the apostate government, and restores the community to just rule and the practice of true Islam (through institution solely of the *shari'a*); God himself grants the victory and is once again sovereign