Dr. Habeck noted that she would be providing an introduction to Global Jihadism, both its theory and its practice. She also noted that she would not actually be talking about Islam which was her original interest. Her focus had been on historic Islam and only after 9/11 did she become interested in 19th and 20th century thought and practice.

Basic concept for Jihadists: We must practice our religion in the public square, therefore we need a state
Problem: how to get a state, but there are many opinions
  • Can be any form from socialization to violence
  • Radical Jihadis say all methods other than violence are doomed to failure

The Global Jihadist group was originally very small – fraction of a fraction
  • Al Qaeda was an even smaller minority
  • Believed that they could not achieve their aims by working only at the local level
  • Instead must attack the world’s devil – the US
  • Only about 10% believed this way before 9/11 but percentage has been growing some

- **Islam**
  - Ancient religion of 1.5 billion people
  - Diversity of beliefs, practices, and politics
  - Modernists, traditionalists and orthodox (80-85%?)

- **Islamism (salafi Islam, fundamentalism) (15-20%)**
  - Islam must have political power and a state
  - Response to European colonialism
  - No unanimity about democracy

- **Jihadism (salafi jihadi) (<1%)**
  - Extremist version of Islamism
  - No gradual implementation or political process
  - Only violence can recreate an Islamic state called the “Caliphate”

- **Global jihadism**
  - al-Qa’ida and affiliated groups
  - The main enemy is the United States, not our local rulers
There are four concepts within Islam that the Global Jihadists have redefined for their own purposes (to be discussed below)

- They believe that they are the only true believers and the vanguard for Islam
- Forces hostile to Islam control the rest of the world
  - These forces want to destroy Islam
  - The entire foreign policy of the US is set up to do so
- True Muslims want to create a great Islamic state
  - The US and the rest of the world are not letting them build that state
- War is permitted for two reasons
  - To defend themselves
  - To do what is needed to create that state
  - Not just any war but an eternal war
    - 200 years in the current phase
    - Also will go on until Judgment Day
- All the world must be conquered for Islam
  - Not everyone will have to become Islamic
  - All will have to live under one law which is Islamic
  - So need a state to start to make this happen

**Redefined concept #1: Tawhid** which is central to the Islamic religion

- Basic concept: There is only one God and only one way to worship
  - If a person worships other gods, then God will judge that person after death
- Jihadi twist: worship includes obedience to all of God’s laws
  - If someone is not following God’s laws in his daily life, then he is not doing enough
  - If you make any other laws, then you are saying that God’s laws are not good enough
  - Manmade laws must be a subset of God’s laws
  - Democracy, therefore, is a form of religion
    - But only Islam is the true religion
    - Democracy is a foreign religion
    - By entering an election booth, you are going into a foreign house of worship
- Most Muslims don’t believe or even understand this twist
  - It takes years of indoctrination to reach this conclusion
  - Only about .04% of Muslims believe this about tawhid

**Redefined concept #2: Jihad** definitions developed over time

- Two ways of describing jihad in the Koran
  - Jihad is a struggle – Koran specifically did not use the word for war
    - Mostly a struggle to understand the Koran and control own desires
    - A struggle to follow Islamic guidelines
  - There is another rare alternative use of term jihad in the Koran
    - Used in parallel constructions so can tell it is different
    - This use involves more of an external struggle
- Why there are two ways to describe jihad
  - Mohamed began by preaching and trying to get people to understand his set of beliefs
  - Then he was persecuted and had to flee from Mecca
At that point he needed to defend himself even to the point of going on the offensive
That offensive would allow him to bring the right laws to others who might not understand them at first

- Concept of the lesser / greater jihads involves the definition about the struggle for the soul and struggle over own desires
  - Greater jihad is generally considered the internal struggle
  - Lesser usually involves the ability to defend one self against attack
  - Jihad today seems to be more about only the side involving defending oneself if an attack is perceived

- Global Jihadis’ twist on this says that this is the wrong interpretation
  - Internal struggle is important but not the more important
  - There is an individual duty for jihad and a collective duty for jihad
    - Do not use ideas of offensive and defensive
    - Individual duty involves prayer, fasting, alms-giving
      - All things only an individual could do for himself
      - An integral part of the religion
      - If you are not doing these things or trying to, then you are not being Muslim
  - Global Jihadis believe that this also includes the battle definition of jihad
    - Can be waged by word or deed or support
    - All involved get the same level of credit
    - So bin Laden gets the same credit sitting in his cave saying supportive things as do the suicide bombers
    - Under the concept of the collective duty, as long as someone is doing what needs to be done, that is enough
      - The rest of the community is excused from those duties
      - Some could be off studying the Koran, so would not need to be involved
      - May have only a few out attacking all of “our enemies”
        - Want to push out the unbelievers
      - Usually do not consider collective duty involving other Muslims
      - Usually discussed more in the context of defense against the outside world

**Redefined concept #3: Caliphate** or the great Islamic state
- Most Muslims have a broad idea that caliphate is an Islam-correct government
  - The important thing is that the laws are just and moral
  - Concept: “Unless the laws are just and moral, I do not consider the government Muslim.”
  - Shari’a law is considered the most *just* type of law
    - However, there are no specifics about what is included in *just*
- Even less specifics about what is involved in a caliphate
  - Most Muslims would agree that they would want to see a caliphate reinstated
  - There would be many different definitions about the government form
- Muslims in polling would generally agree “Yes, I want shari’a law,”
  - If you give them specifics, the choice is not so clear
  - “Do you want laws in which thieves have their hands cut off?” is less likely to get a positive response
“Do you want a leader who cannot be replaced?” also less likely to get a positive response
Makes any reports of polling in Islamic regions suspect if the questions do not include specifics

- A Caliphate would inevitably involve a piece of territory and laws based on shari’a
  - All of this would be considered too vague for an American
  - The state is all about the legal system
  - The state must make others live as I want them to including
    - Wear the right kind of beard and clothes
    - Pray the right way with hands in the right places, etc.
  - Laws need to be followed so that we can be sure we control that territory
  - The caliphate makes sure that people follow the laws but is only administering God’s laws, not making them

- The caliphate must also have struggles with the outside world
  - Concept goes back to the 9th century
  - Need institutions for discussion
  - Need a group to control the behavior of the people
  - Need an army

- A caliphate could come from many sources
  - Could be appointed by influential leaders
  - Could seize power
  - Only real requirement is that it must be generally acknowledged as a caliphate
  - Once the caliphate is established, then all other rivals must be killed as threats to the caliphate

- Bin Laden has been calling for a caliphate but there has been no real answering response
  - Has not really announced one yet
  - There is no real territory to control yet

**Redefined concept #4: Da ‘wa** a gentle call out of the darkness into the light

- As Mohamed did
- Sometimes considered missionary work or explaining the religion
- Jihadis meaning involves calling other “Muslims” out of their faulty understanding to the proper way of understanding Islam
  - Not focused on outsiders
- More a struggle for authenticity – not theoretical but a real war
- May involve politically creating a caliphate
- Jihadis use the concept against the US
  - Can’t get the job done by starting with the local apostates (current Mid East rulers)
  - Must go after the head of the snake – the US and other occupiers and exploiters of Islamic lands
- Goes back to 13th century thinking
  - Then they were taking on the Monguls
  - Now they want to defeat the US
- Basic idea is that once the great unbelievers and occupiers from the outside have been defeated, then all of the puppet governments within the region will fall
- Bin Laden failed to convince many people of this concept before 9/11
  - Everyone was more interested in their own countries’ problems
  - So had to do the 9/11 attacks to attract the attention of other Muslims
• Needed to behave like Mohamed
  ▪ Started off peacefully trying to change minds
  ▪ Then had to flee
  ▪ Then they could start their own small territory
  ▪ Then they could attack others who might be attacking them
• Bin Laden has been following this same path
  ▪ Forced to flee to an area where they were attacked from the outside

Jihadis in Practice

Three major founders for Global Jihadis
• **Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab** began much of jihadi thinking
  ▪ Had four major conclusions
    1. No one is following Islam correctly
    2. Only my group is doing it right
    3. Must use da ‘wa on those who are not correct
    4. If they do not follow me, I am allowed to attack them
  ▪ All of his thinking was about other Muslims
  ▪ Had a strong hold among the Saudis
    ▪ Started spreading concept about 1973
    ▪ Used oil money to support the cause
• **Hasan al-Banna** lived in Egypt during the time of British rule
  ▪ Had his own set of conclusions
    1. No one is following Islam correctly
    2. Only my group is doing it right
    3. Not really a Muslim problem, comes from the fact that being ruled by the British
      ▪ Must go back to the concept of da ‘wa centered on Muslims
      ▪ Established the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt
      ▪ Began to get organized to fight the British, but then the British left of their own accord
    4. Determined that the new leaders of Egypt were just puppets of the British and their allies so they must be thrown out
      ▪ Had 20 years of fighting (1940s – 1960s)
      ▪ Then decided to give up on violence and go back to the gentle way with da ‘wa
        ▪ A small group that advocates violence remains active
• **Sayyid Qutb** was an Egyptian sent off to the US to avoid dangers presented by the Muslim Brotherhood and other radicals of his time
  ▪ Became radicalized while at the University of Northern Colorado
  ▪ Believed that:
    ▪ Muslims were falling away from the true path
    ▪ Terrorist groups were good
    ▪ The true enemy was the US and democracy
    ▪ Democracy is a foreign religion being pushed on the Islamic world
  ▪ Wrote out his thoughts in 30 volumes
    ▪ Condensed in *Signposts on the Road, or Milestones*
- He was executed by the Egyptian government in 1966 – long before the US was so heavily involved in the Mid East
- Basic concepts: puppets of the Western powers must be killed and interests of the West must be attacked
  - First attacks were made against easy targets of the West – tourists
  - Had to give that up because it upset so many Muslims who were dependant on tourists for their incomes

Jihadis basic concept of threat
- The real threat is the US which forced the 1993 attack in New York
- Then bin Laden takes fight to the West and keeps attacking until the US finally notices on 9/11

Before 9/11 bin Laden had different justifications for the attacks
- The US will get hit and run and leave Islamic lands
  - All of the others in the region will join us
  - All the local leaders will fall
- None of these ideas succeeded
  - Needed new reasons after 9/11
  - Objectives are the same but the strategy was different
    - Depended more on the media
    - Also involved “Management of Savagery” in the form of hideous attacks
- New reasoning: Force the US into attacks in Islamic lands causing chaos
  - Then the Global Jihadis will take over the chaotic regions
  - Ideas on Islamic law will spread
    - Need the help of an army to do that
    - Need a state to provide base for an army
  - Would take over a state by providing stability in time of chaos
    - Then would take over the state government itself
    - Then would have a base to work from to spread the word

Conclusion: Two models for jihadism
- Zarqawi calls for a Global Islamic restoration
  - Attack the near enemy whoever they are
  - Create a caliphate where you are
  - Caliphate could be country, region, or even as small as a mosque
  - Movement gets its strength because many such events are happening all over the world
- In contrast bin Laden believes in first attacking the greater unbelief – the US
  - Attack Americans anywhere, any time
  - Set up a caliphate in a Mid East country
    - May have made some references to one in Iraq already