

# The Future of Terrorism & The AQ Model of Political Violence

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## Part I: The Setup

How is Terrorism Today Different or Unique?

What are the trends affecting terrorism of the  
past 20-30 years?

What are we to expect for the next 20-30  
years?

## Seven Key Drivers of Global Change

1. Demographics
2. Natural resources & the environment
3. Science & technology
4. The global economy & globalization
5. National and international governance
6. Future conflict(s)
7. The role the United States & its influence

Source: Robert L. Hutchings, Chairman of the [US] National Intelligence Council in introduction to National Intelligence Council. *Mapping the Global Future: Report of the National Intelligence Council's 2020 Project*. Washington, D.C., NIC, 2005, p 2

## Key Drivers of 'Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World'

- **Globalization**
- **Demography**
- **Rise of New Powers**
- **Decay of International Institutions**
- **Climate Change**
- **Geopolitics of Energy**

Source: [US] National Intelligence Council. *Global Trends 2025. A Transformed World* Washington, D.C., GPO, November 2008 (NIC 2008-003).

## Key Drivers of Radicalization, according to “Global Futures Forum”

- Mass communication and propaganda
- Western responses to radicalisation
- Governance in target countries
- Western dominance (both real and perceived)
- State-to-state tensions
- Religion (and its relationship to politics)
- Government responsiveness (civil society)
- Immigration and demographics
- “Us- vs. -Them” identity politics
- New ideologies
- Resources (scarcities, conflicts over ~)
- Violence (associated with extremism)

“Global Futures Forum. Radical Worlds of 2020. Imagining the Futures of Radicalisation.” The Hague, 12-14 December 2007, pp. 54.

## Factors Facilitating Future Terrorism, according to Brynjar Lia (2005)

- Resilience and longevity of the international jihadist networks
- Unipolar exclusionist and interventionist world order
- Weak transitional states
- Non-state actors in global politics
- Globalization of organized crime
- Middle East oil dependence
- Migration and ethnic heterogenisation of Western societies
- Growing information interconnectedness
- Proliferation of deadly technologies
- Out-of-area spillovers from ongoing armed conflicts

Source: Brynjar Lia. *Globalisation and the Future of Terrorism: Patterns and Predictions*. London, Routledge, 2005, pp. 187-188.

Terrorist Incidents Worldwide, 1998 - 2007

<b>Year</b>	<b>Incidents</b>	<b>Fatalities</b>	<b>Injured</b>
1998	1286	2172	8202
1999	1172	847	2534
2000	1151	783	2570
2001	1732	4571	6403
2002	2648	2763	7349
2003	1899	2346	6200
2004	2647	5066	10860
2005	4976	8192	15269
2006	6660	12071	20991
2007	3479	8763	18694
<i>Total</i>	<i>27669</i>	<i>47596</i>	<i>99072</i>

Death in Context: Current Armed Conflicts

<b>Democratic Republic of the Congo, since 1990</b>	<b>4,000,000+</b>
<b>Sudan since 1983</b>	<b>2,000,000+</b>
<b>Afghanistan since 1978</b>	<b>1,500,000+</b>
<b>Uganda since 1987</b>	<b>500,000</b>
<b>Somalia since 1988</b>	<b>400,000</b>
<b>Sudan/Darfur since 2003</b>	<b>400,000</b>
<b>Burundi since 1993</b>	<b>300,000</b>
<b>Algeria since 1992</b>	<b>200,000</b>
<b>Colombia since 1964</b>	<b>200,000</b>
<b>Philippines since 1971</b>	<b>150,000</b>
<b>Israel/Palestine since 1948</b>	<b>120,000</b>
<b>Sri Lanka since 1948</b>	<b>100,000</b>

Source: Mitchell Beazley. *Where We Are Now*. London, Octopus Publ. Group, 2008, p.103.

## Non-State Terrorism Since 1970: Types of Incidents

- Attack on Olympic games 1972
- Embassy party taken hostage in Lima
- Bombs on trains and subways in Paris, Moscow, Madrid, Manila, London
- Nerve gas attack in Tokyo's subways
- Truck bomb explosions in centre of London and Oklahoma
- Suicide bombers walking into restaurants, shopping malls, buses, hotel lobbies
- Trucks full of explosives driven into embassies, synagogues and mosques
- Jumbo jets blown from the sky; surface-to-air missiles fired at civilian airliners
- Hijacked planes flown into skyscrapers.

Source: Brian Michael Jenkins. *Unconquerable Nation. Knowing Our Enemy, Strengthening Ourselves*. St. Monica, RAND, 2006, p. 6. 10

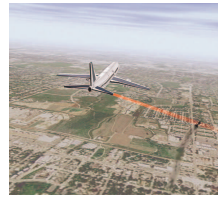
## Non-State Terrorism in 1970: Types of Incidents

- **Palestinian extremists sabotage and hijack airliners**
- **Urban guerrillas in Latin America regularly kidnap foreign diplomats, demanding the release of their imprisoned comrades, first in Latin America, then in Europe and the Middle East;**
- **First terrorist groups appeared in Europe and Japan**
- **Terrorist bombings became increasingly common**

Source: Brian Michael Jenkins. *Unconquerable Nation. Knowing Our Enemy, Strengthening Ourselves*. St. Monica, RAND, 2006, p. 6. 10

## Elements of the “New Terrorism”

1. Attempts to acquire Weapons of Mass Destruction
2. Religious Fanaticism
3. Catastrophic Terrorism
4. Border Porosity
5. Global Communication
6. Diaspora Bridgeheads (Portable conflicts)
7. Kamikaze-like Suicide Terrorism
8. Expansion of Range of Targets (Tourists, ICRC, UN)
9. Links with Organized Crime
10. New Sources of Financing
11. Failed and weak states as de facto safe havens
12. New types of weapons (e.g. MANPADs)



## Review, Elements of the “New Terrorism”

Brig. Gen'l Howard's model - “8 Ways Terrorism Has Changed”

1. America is now at risk
2. Terrorists are more violent – *different political aims*
3. Terrorists have global reach and are transnational non-state actors – *implications for “homeland security”*
4. Terrorists are better financed – *zakat, charity orgs., wealthy donors*
5. Terrorists are better trained *in tradecraft, AW, IW*
6. Terrorist cells are more difficult to penetrate (*esp. AQ*)
7. Terrorists have access to more lethal weapons (*Soviets, bio/nukes*)
8. Success and/or failure are difficult to measure – *no clear outcome*

## Elements of the New Terrorism

- Global in scope and strategic objectives
- Generational in scope; epic struggle, David vs. Goliath  
– *Bin Laden as Robin Hood*
- “The number of the brothers is large . . . I do not know everyone who is with us in this base or this organization.”  
– *Bin Laden as Pied Piper., with a constant call to jihad as the duty of every good Muslim*
- Educated members as martyrs in AQ; longer planning cycles (9/11 hijackers arriving in U.S. as early as 1994)
- Evolution into a political social movement, a global insurgency against Western-oriented globalization
- Afghanistan and Iraq offering new locations for Jihad, indoctrination, tactical training, network formation

## Elements of the New Terrorism

- Increasing number and lethality of attacks
- Attacks are carried out not by AQ or some other centralized group, but by affiliates and wanna-bes
- Use of children and female suicide bombers by terrorist organizations
- Info Ops – role of technology
  - From DVDs and web videos to Al Jazeera
  - Availability of info on government security, CT efforts
- EW & cyber-terror – another role of technology
- Taking instruments from our daily life—the backpack, the car, the shoe, the cell phone—and turning them into weapons. Goal – damage the trust necessary for a successful open society
- Shifting from small groups to motivated and resourceful individuals (Madrid, London)

## What's the Future Threat of Terrorism? US DHS Security Planning Scenarios 2004

1. Nuclear Detonation	Can vary widely
2. Biological Attack	13,000 fatalities & injuries
3. Biological Disease Outbreak (Pandemic Flu)	87,000 fatalities, 300,000 hospitalized
4. Biological Attack – Plague	2,500 fatalities; 7,000 injuries
5. Chemical Attack – Blister Agent hospitalized	150 fatalities; 70,000 hospitalized
6. Chemical Attack – Toxic Indust. Chemicals	350 fatalities; 1,000 hospitalizations
7. Chemical Attack – Nerve Agent	6,000 fatalities; 350 injuries
8. Chem. Attack – Chlorine Tank Explosion	17,500 fatalities; 10,000 injuries
9. Radiological Attach – RDD	180 fatalities; 20,000 contaminations
10. Explosive Attack IED Bombing hospitalizations	100 fatalities; 450 hospitalizations
11. Biological attack – Food Contamination hospitalizations	300 fatalities; 400 hospitalizations

## Part II

### What of AQ & The Success of Terror Groups in Operations & Planning?

*“You have trivialized our movement by your mundane analysis. May God have mercy on you.”*

-Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri



## Al-Qaeda Terror Attacks, Ops



## Adaptation by AQ of Terror Technique

- Diffuse organization of radical “Islamic” terrorists
  - 1980s - ‘Afghan Arabs’ v. Soviet force
  - 1990-1 – Gulf War; Saudi decision to allow US troops
  - 1991-6 – Sudan & Al-Qaeda; Some Yemeni presence
  - 1996-2002 – Afghanistan
  - 2002-present – Worldwide (Pakistan/Iraq/Indonesia)
- Focus on the USA & “Islamic” governments closely allied with the US (Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan)

## Al-Qaeda Attacks

- February 26, 1993 - bombing of the WTC
- October 3, 1993 - killing of US soldiers in Somalia
- June 25, 1996 - truck bomb at Khobar Towers barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia
- August 8, 1998 - bombing of US Embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
- October 12, 2000 - bombing of the USS Cole in the Yemeni port of Aden
- September 11, 2001 - the WTC, and the Pentagon
- April 11, 2002 - truck bomb near an ancient Jewish shrine Djerba, Tunisia

## Al-Qaeda Attacks (cont'd)

- May 8, 2002 - suicide bombing outside Sheraton Hotel in Karachi, Pakistan
- October 12, 2002 - nightclub bombings in Bali, Indonesia
- November 28, 2002 - suicide bomb at the Paradise Hotel in Mombasa, Kenya
- May 12, 2003 - suicide bombing in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia
- May 16, 2003 - explosions in Casablanca, Morocco
- November 15, 2003 - car bombs at the HSBC HQ in Istanbul, Turkey
- March 11, 2004 - ten bombs explode at a train station in Madrid, Spain

## Al-Qaeda & Threat to International Society

### How does AQ threaten international norms & the 'club of states'?

#### (1) Monopoly of force

- Challenges notion of sovereign state being sole legitimate user of force
- 'less responsible' and 'unaccountable'

#### (2) Religious caliphate v. sovereign states

- Both territorial & source of legitimacy (divine v. secular)
- State system seen as 'immoral' by bin-Laden (separates Muslims)

## Threat to International Society (cont'd)

#### (3) Ignore / Subverts International Orgs & International Law

- Al Qaeda rejects UN as founded upon 'Western Norms'
- Int Law is man-made law; illegitimate source compared to God's law

#### (4) Undermining public's trust in state

- We no longer 'feel secure' in our nation-states

#### (5) Killing Civilians (bin Laden's Feb. 1998 "Fatwah")

*'The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies--civilians and military--is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it'*

## Threat to International Society (cont'd)

(5) cont'd

### Two Justifications for Fatwah against civilians

- American electorate democratically supports government policies
- Tit-for-Tat: US military makes no distinction itself

(6) Provokes most powerful member of International Society to overreact and undermine rules

- Get hegemon to conduct un-civilized policies  
i.e.: Detentions; torture; invading another sovereign state.

## Why Are These Important?

- Challenges notion of sovereign state being the sole legitimate user of force
- International Law is man-made law; illegitimate source compared to God's law
- Undermine public's trust in state: We no longer 'feel secure' in our nation-states
- Get hegemon/most powerful members of Intnat'l Soc to conduct un-society like policies, to overreact and undermine rule

## AQ Targets of Planned, Foiled & Failed Terrorist Attacks outside Europe, 1993-2006

Symbolic targets: Biblical sites; the Pope; White House; Statue of Liberty; Commerce Icons.  
Major events: Soccer championships, Apartment buildings.  
Common people: American school; soccer stadia; tourist places; "Westerners".  
Government: United Nations; FBI & CIA headquarters; Capitol.  
Transport: New York Subway; airports; US navy ship.  
Business: Major corporate & investing bank institutions.  
Infrastructure: NY tunnels ;UK Tower bridge; pipelines; oil refinery; nuclear power plant.

## European Targets of 44 Planned, Failed, & Foiled Jihadist Terrorist Attacks, 1994-2006

Symbolic targets: Eiffel Tower; church; synagogue.  
Major events: G-7 meeting; world soccer cup final.  
Common people: Christmas market, shopping centre; nightclub; the funeral of a Pope.  
Government: Embassies, Ministry of Defense; the Pentagon; House of Parliament, US Supreme Court.  
Transport: Airport; aircraft; trains; passenger ships; subway.  
Business: Trade centers; export hubs; intermodal transport centers.  
Infrastructure: Nuclear power plant; air force base; computer backup server centre.

## Casualty Rates of Major Al Qaeda Related & Inspired Terrorist Attacks

	<i>Killed</i>	<i>Wounded</i>
<b>8/7 1998: Attacks on US embassies in Nairobi; Dar Es Salam</b>	<b>224</b>	<b>4,000</b>
<b>9/11 2001: Attacks on US targets, incl. WTC, with four airplanes</b>	<b>2,998</b>	<b>6,291</b>
<b>10/12: Bomb attacks in Bali on Western Tourists</b>	<b>202</b>	<b>209</b>
<b>11/15 2004 Two attacks in Istanbul on Jewish synagogues</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>300+</b>
<b>11/20 2004: Attack on British consulate in Istanbul</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>450</b>
<b>3/11 2004: Ten bombs explode in four trains in Madrid</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>1,800</b>
<b>7/7/2005: Attack on London underground and bus</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>700</b>
<b>11/09 2005: Amman bombing</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>96</b>

Source: Spiegel Jahrbuch 2003. Hamburg & Muenchen, Der Spiegel Verlag/ Deutscher TaschenbuchVerlag, 2003, pp. 538-543 ; Spiegel Spezial. Terror: der Krieg des 21. Jahrhunderts. Hamburg, Der Spiegel, 2/2004, pp. 55; Der Fischer Weltalmanach 2005. Frankfurt a. M., Fischer Verlag, 2004, p.434.

## Number of Incidents & Casualties of Major Al Qaeda Central Attacks

Year	Incidents	Killed	Wounded	Total Casualties
1995:	1	7	60	67
1996:	0	0	0	0
1997:	1	68	24	92
1998:	2	224	4077+	4301+
1999:	1	1	0	1
2000:	1	17	39	56
2001:	1	2998	6291	9289
2002:	6	31	112	143
2003:	4	97	429+	526+
2004:	5	62	206	268
2005:	5	46	89	135
2006:	7	6	37	43
2007:	1	24	50+	74+
2008:	0	0	0	0
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>3581</b>	<b>11414+</b>	<b>14995+</b>

Source: Data calculated by B. McAllister, CSTPV, University of St. Andrews

## Al Qaeda's Strategic Goals as of mid-2005, updated Fall 2008 (Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri)

**Stage 1: Expel the Americans from Iraq**

**Stage 2: Establish an Islamic authority or emirate,  
then**

**develop it and support it until  
it achieves the level of caliphate**

**Stage 3: Extend the jihad wave to secular  
countries bordering Iraq**

**Stage 4: Extend jihad to Israel & its interests**

## The AQ Twenty Years' "Grand Plan"

**Phase 1: (2001-2003): "The Awakening":** awake the Islamic nation from its state of hibernation by causing United States to "act chaotically".

**Phase 2: (2003-2006): "Eye-Opening":** turn Iraq into a recruiting ground for young men eager to attack America; conduct "electronic jihad"

**Phase 3 (2007-2010): "Arising and Standing Up"** Al Qaeda focus of struggle on Syria and Turkey, also begin of confrontation with Israel

**Phase 4 (2011-2013):** Al Qaeda to bring about demise of Arab governments, continued attacks on oil industry, electronic attacks to undermine U.S. economy, bringing about the collapse of the dollar by promoting gold as exchange medium

**Phase 5 (2014-2016): "declaration of Islamic caliphate"** leading to change of int. balance of power by seeking new economic allies such as China

**Phase 6 (2017-2020): "total confrontation":** the now established caliphate's Islamic Army will achieve "definitive victory".

Source: Lawrence Wright. "The Master Plan. For the new theorists of jihad, Al Qaeda is just the beginning." *The New Yorker*, September 11, 2006, pp.7-8; at: [http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2007/09/11/060911fa\\_fact3?cur...](http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2007/09/11/060911fa_fact3?cur...), as of 08/10/2008.

## Progress of AQ on the Path to a Caliphate

- **Stay alive and active and show that jihad against Crusaders and Zionists is a feasible strategy;**
- **Transform Al Qaeda from a militant group into a political movement;**
- **Portray the GWOT as a war on Islam;**
- **Trap the United States in “bleeding wars;”**
- **Overthrow the government of Pakistan;**
- **Crusaders and Zionist armies to leave Muslim lands defeated after the collapse of their economies;**
- **Attack with weapon of mass destruction to make USA isolationist;**
- **Provoke war between USA and Iran and Israel and Saudi Arabia;**
- **Overthrow of all apostate rulers in Muslim countries;**
- **Recover “every stolen Islamic land from Palestine to al-Andalus and other Islamic lands that were lost;”**
- **Reunite the Ummah and establishment of a Caliphate;**
- **Introduction of Salafism & Sharia law everywhere.**

Source: Various, incl. Bruce Reidel. *The Search for Al Qaeda. Its Leadership, Ideology, and Future*. Washington, D.C. Brookings Institution Press, 2008, pp.34, 53, 113, 121, 124.

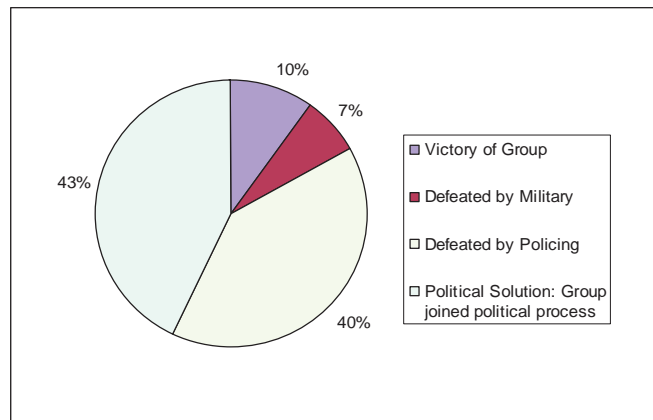
## Thus, The Key Drivers in Armed Conflict & Terrorism Today

- **Increasing Importance of Information**
- **The Evolution of Irregular Warfare Capabilities**
- **The Prominence of the Non-military Aspects of Warfare**
- **The Expansion & Escalation of Conflict Beyond the Traditional Battlefield**
- **Battle of Ideas Blurred With Loss of Endgame – No Clear Ending to Conflicts**

[US] National Intelligence Council. *Global Trends 2025. A World Transformed*. Washington, D.C. , GPO, November 2008 (NIC 2008-003), p. 71.



## RAND: How Terrorist Campaigns Came to an End (N = 268)



Source: Seth Jones. *How Terrorist Groups End: Lessons for Countering Al Qaeda*. ST Monica, RAND, 2008, p.19

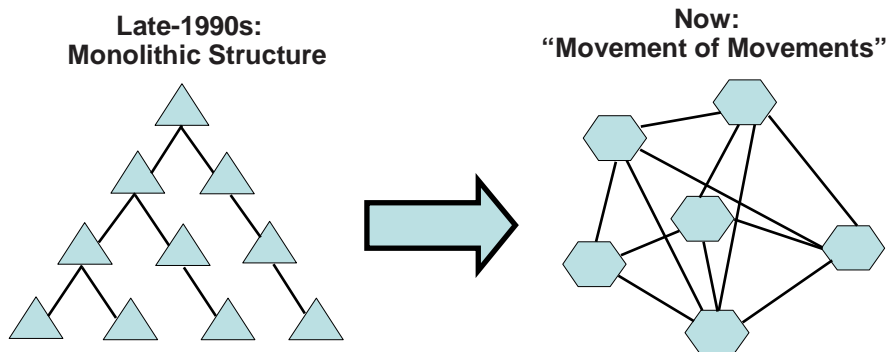
## Part III

The AQ Evolution Since 9/11:  
Adaptation, Learning, & Goals  
How AQ Developed Its Organization

## GWOT Has Decisively Limited Environmental & Strategic Context Where al-Qaeda Operates

- Al-Qaeda remains principal focus of concern about imported terrorist threats to the United States
- Attacks on Taliban in Afghanistan have led to loss of al-Qaeda safe haven
  - Scattering core of leadership to locales in Middle East and throughout Central, South, Southeast Asia
- Unremitting campaign has led to capture/elimination of many al-Qaeda's critical field commanders and functionaries
- Focus on staunching international flow of money has denuded group's ability to plan and execute large-scale, complex attacks

## GWOT / 'Long War' Successes Have Led al-Qaeda to Reconfigure Itself

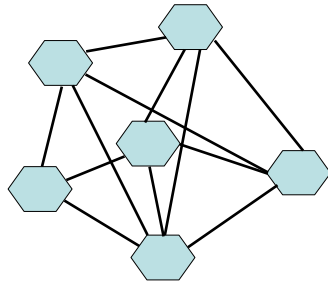


- Centrally controlled organization
- Strategic assaults executed by inner core of jihadist activists

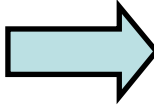
- Nebulous, segmented, and polycentric organization
- Tactically oriented strikes done by affiliated cells (individuals) and when opportunity arises

## From These Changes, We Can Predict Four al-Qaeda Trends for the Future

### Now: "Movement of Movements"



- Nebulous, segmented, and polycentric organization
- Tactically oriented strikes done by affiliated cells (individuals) and when opportunity arises



### Future Trends

1. Continuing interest in hard targets but increased focus on soft, civilian-centric venues (& European);
2. Ongoing emphasis on economic attacks;
3. Continued reliance on suicide strikes;
4. Desire to use CBRN weapons but little ability to execute large-scale conventional attacks.

## Al-Qaeda vs. U.S.

- 1996: Osama bin Laden issues declaration of war: "Declaration of War Against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places"
- 1998: Osama bin Laden issues another Fatwa—duty to kill Americans anytime, anywhere
- 1998: Coordinated bombings of U.S. Embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar el Salaam, Tanzania
- 2000: USS Cole attacked by suicide bombers while refueling in Yemen
- 2001: World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks
- 2002: Diplomat Laurence Foley murdered in Jordan
- 2005: Bombings at 3 American owned hotels in Amman, Jordan

## **Al-Qaeda (AQ): The Organization & the Movement**

### **Explanations For the Rise of Terrorism in the Name of Islam**

- Religious Explanations

Islam itself

Reactions to the West

Contention that foreign and economic policies of Western countries—especially the West—have harmed Islam

Group Reactions

Terrorists are like youthful gang members operating in an Islamic context.

Root Causes of Terrorism

Poverty and ignorance—coupled with globalization

## Al-Qa'idah in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)

- On January 20, 2009 a message was posted on a jihadist forum, *Islamic Al-Fallujah*, announcing the formation of “a new coalition” under a “new emir in Yemen, Abu-Basir al-Wahishi
- The “Abu-Abdullah Usama Bin Ladin Brigade” is seen as the sole ‘umbrella network operation’ & Al-Qa’ida representative in the Arabian Peninsula.
- It is to be based in the Yemeni highlands—geographical conditions which are conducive to successful recruitment and training of jihadists.
- AQAP influences, through geographic locale, several areas & nations.

## AQAP

- The Al-Qa'idah in the Arabian Peninsula issued a video showing the unity between the two merged coalition members - from Yemen & Saudi Arabia.
- The video was the first appearance of the Yemeni leader of the group, Nasir al-Wuhayshi, with his Saudi deputy, Abu-Sufyan al-Azadi al-Shihri (aka Abu-Sayyaf al-Shiri).
- Al-Shihri had been a former Guantanamo Bay inmate as was another Saudi member of the leadership.

## Al-Qa'ida in Yemen

- On January 24, 2009, Abu Osama, a member of the military council of al-Qaeda and the commander of the Yemen Brigades claimed that “over 300 young Yemeni men affiliated with al-Qaeda traveled to Iraq, Afghanistan and Somalia for Jihad in 2008.”

## Al-Qaeda “The Base”

- Al-Qaeda was formed in 1988 in western Pakistan
- Among its founders were:
  - Osama bin Ladin
  - Abdullah Yusuf Azzam

## Abdullah Yusuf Azzam Spiritual Mentor of Bin Laden

- Born in the province of Jenin in the West Bank in 1941
- Graduated from Khadorri College, an agricultural School, and later enrolled in Sharia College at Damascus University where he obtained a B.A. in Islamic Law in 1966.
- In 1967 he immigrated to Jordan where he fought against Israel

## Abdullah Yusuf Azzam

- In 1971 Azzam entered Al-Azhar University in Cairo where he received his Ph.D. in Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence in 1973.
- Accepted a university position in Saudi Arabia.

## Abdullah Yusuf Azzam

- Leaves Saudi Arabia for Islamabad, Pakistan where he is appointed a lecturer at the International Islamic University.
- Resigns to devote himself to jihad and moves to Peshawar where he founds the *Bait-ul-Ansar* (Mujahideen Services Bureau)

## Azzam's Theoretical Legacy

- “Only by means of organized military force would the *Ummah* (Islamic Nation) emerge victorious.”
- “Jihad and the rifle alone: no negotiations, no conferences and no dialogues.”
- Creation of a kind of Islamic “internationale” through the recruitment of volunteers throughout the Muslim world to export the Islamic revolution to the world at large.



## Intellectual Fathers of al-Qaeda Sayyid Qutb

- Sayyid Qutb born in Mush, Egypt in 1906
- Hanged on August 29, 1966
- Major Works: *Fi Zalal al-Koran* (In the Shadow of the Koran); Milestones.



## Philosophic Roots of Al Qaeda Sayyid Qutb

- Early Christianity imported from Greek philosophy the belief in a spiritual existence completely separate from physical life, a zone of pure spirit.
- Christianity lost touch with the physical world—its division of the world into Caesars and God's put the physical world in one corner and the spiritual world in another.
- Through revelation, the Prophet Muhammad established the correct, nondistorted relation to human nature.
- He dictated a new strict legal code which put religion at ease with the physical world.

## Sayyid Qutb

- The Koran instructed man to take charge of the physical world.
- Through science Islam seized the leadership of mankind.
- The Muslims, however, came under attack from Crusaders, Mongols, and other enemies. And because the Muslims proved unfaithful to Muhammad's revelations, they could not fend off these attacks.
- The Muslim discoveries of science were imported to Europe where modern science emerged in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century and Europe dominated the world.

## Sayyid Qutb

- The European way of life brought a sense of drift, purposelessness, and a craving for false pleasures.
- Treacherous Muslims inflicted Christianity's "schizophrenia" on the world of Islam.
- The recognition of more than one authority—God's in the spiritual realm and man's in the physical realm was a step back into paganism.
- European imperialism was a continuation of the Medieval Crusades against Islam.
- The conflict between the Western liberal countries and the world of Islam "remains in essence of the ideology—religion was the issue.

## Sayyid Qutb

- The first step is to open people's eyes—Muslims had to recognize the nature of the danger.
- ISLAM HAD COME UNDER ASSAULT FROM OUTSIDE THE MUSLIM WORLD AND ALSO FROM INSIDE THE MUSLIM WORLD.
  - THE ASSAULT FROM THE OUTSIDE WAS LED BY CRUSADERS AND WORLD ZIONISM.
  - THE ASSAULT FROM THE INSIDE WAS FROM MUSLIMS WHO POLLUTED THE MUSLIM WORLD WITH INCOMPATIBLE IDEAS DERIVED FROM ELSEWHERE.

## Sayyid Qutb

- THE VANGUARD OF TRUE MUSLIMS WAS GOING TO UNDERTAKE THE RENNOVATION OF ISLAM AND OF CIVILIZATION ALL OVER THE WORLD.
- *SHARIAH* WOULD BE REINSTATED AS THE LEGAL CODE FOR ALL OF SOCIETY.
- IT IS THE ABOLITION OF MAN MADE LAWS.
- Paul Berman, "The Philosopher of Islamic Terror," *The New York Times Magazine* ( March 23, 2003 )

Bin Laden's May 1998 *Fatwa*  
(Published in *Al-Quds al-'Arabi*)

February 23, 1998

- The primary reason for the declaration of Jihad (declared in his 1996 *fatwa*) against Americans is that "for over seven years the United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorizing its neighbors, and turning its bases in the Peninsula into a spearhead through which to fight the neighboring Muslim peoples."
- "The devastation inflicted on the Iraqi people."
- "The American role in serving the 'Jews' petty state and its occupation of Jeruslaem."

Bin Laden's May 1998 *Fatwa*  
(Cont'd)

- "All of these crimes and sins committed by the Americans are a clear declaration of war on God, his messenger, and Muslims. And ulema have throughout Islamic history unanimously agreed that the jihad is an individual duty if the enemy destroys the Muslim countries."

## Issue of the 1998 *Fatwa* to all Muslims

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

## Al-Qaeda's Intentions

- Who are the audiences that al-Qaeda attempts to influence through speech and deed?
- What are the messages that al-Qaeda expects these audiences to receive?
- What does al-Qaeda expect their responses to be?

## The Audiences

- The Islamic World
  - Muslims, Islamists, Salafists, Jihadists
- The Near Enemy
  - Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the Gulf States, Turkey, India, Pakistan
- The Far Enemy
  - Israel
  - The United States
  - Europe and the West