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Welcome from the Editors

Dear Reader,

The Editorial Team of *Perspectives on Terrorism* is pleased to present to the research community another issue of our free peer-reviewed online journal at www.terrorismanalysts.com.

We are committed to providing different perspectives on political terrorism and related phenomena since we do not believe that there is one truth only. Such absolutism is alien to social science while it is, unfortunately, still claimed by certain leaders of religions who, for reasons they know best, regard skepticism with suspicion. While in the West science, religion, church and state have gone separate ways for more than three hundred years, such a division has not yet taken place everywhere. Some political leaders in the West are reluctant to interfere in matters of religion, and this has given religious leaders - and others who claim that their sect or cult represent the only true faith - an unfair advantage which they exploit successfully. One result of this has been the push toward "political correctness" in matters where religion meets politics. The truth claims of religions and sects, and the reluctance of political leaders to challenge some of these, have produced results which are undermining efforts to counter terrorism more successfully. This is forcefully argued and meticulously documented in the first of four articles in this issue, the one written by Dr. Jeffrey Bale. It should best be read in conjunction with the last article on the Egyptian Islamic Group's strong criticism of Al-Qaeda's interpretation of Jihad in the religious tradition of Islam, written by Paul Kamolnick. All told, we offer the reader some 200 pages of 'perspectives' as well as resources. This issue has been prepared by the editor-in-chief in Europe while the last issue (PT VII, 6) this year will be prepared on the other side of the Atlantic by Professor James Forest, the co-editor of *Perspectives on Terrorism.*

Sincerely,

Prof. em. Alex P. Schmid

Editor-in-Chief

I. Articles

Denying the Link between Islamist Ideology and Jihadist Terrorism: "Political Correctness" and the Undermining of Counterterrorism

by Jeffrey M. Bale

"[I]f your enemy is a terrorist and he professes to be an Islamist, it may be wise to take him at his word." – Ralph Peters[1]

"Islamism is a reactionary ideology that kills equality, freedom and secularism wherever it is present….Its victory can only lead to a world of injustice and domination: men over women, fundamentalists over others….We refuse to renounce our critical spirit out of fear of being accused of 'Islamophobia', a wretched concept that confuses criticism of Islam as a religion [with the] stigmatisation of those who believe in it." - 'Together Facing the New Totalitarianism' Writers' Manifesto[2]

"Muslims need to become free of totalitarian Islam and the least the West can do in support is not concede an inch of its own hard-won freedom in quest of a false peace with Islamists." - Salim Mansur [3]

"The jihadists appear to be right: we [in the West] are weak, self-indulgent, unsinewed by political correctness, in thrall to sentimental and utopian notions, ripe for the plucking. Too many years of soft living and even softer thinking." - David Solway [4]

Abstract

Ever since the jihadist terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001, Western policy-makers, mainstream media organisations, and even academicians have been perversely reluctant to highlight the crucial role played by Islamist ideology in motivating jihadist terrorist attacks. Indeed, the more acts of jihadist terrorism that are perpetrated, acts in which the perpetrators clearly reveal their ideological motivations, the more insistently key Western elites refuse to acknowledge those motivations. This article discusses several of the reasons for this peculiar disjuncture, and focuses in particular on the persistent efforts to whitewash certain features of Islam, demonize its critics, and even engage in apologetics for Islamism at a time when the latter, in both its violent and non-violent forms, poses a significant threat to Western democracies. One especially worrisome source and dimension of this problem is the continuing reliance of Western governments on members of Islamist advocacy organizations for advice. In order to illustrate the degree to which "politically correct" impulses can have both damaging analytical and potentially lethal consequences, three cases of jihadist terrorism are discussed herein – the Boston Marathon bombings, the gruesome assault on a British soldier in Woolwich, and the mass shootings at Fort Hood.

Introduction

Ever since the jihadist terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001, Western policy-makers, mainstream media organs, and even academicians have been reluctant to highlight the key role played by Islamist ideology in motivating jihadist terrorist attacks. This is all the more peculiar given that, as is typical of ideological extremists, the perpetrators of these attacks themselves openly and indeed proudly emphasize the central role played by their religious beliefs, specifically their strict, puritanical interpretations of Islamic scriptures (i.e., the *Qur'an*) and their supposed emulation of the exemplary words and deeds of Islam's prophet Muhammad (as recorded in the six canonical *hadith* collections), in motivating their violent actions. One might imagine that the gap between the oft-professed motivations of the Islamist perpetrators and the assessment of their motivations by Western analysts would be closing with the passage of time, all the more so given that jihadists have since carried out thousands of acts of terrorism in various regions of the world. Yet in fact the exact opposite has occurred: the more acts of jihadist terrorism that are carried out, in which the perpetrators clearly reveal their ideological motivations, the more insistently key Western elites refuse to give credence to those motivations. It should be remembered, for example, that the official 9/11 *Report* prepared by the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States did not avoid referring to the sponsors' and perpetrators' religious motivations, and indeed often used accurate descriptive terms like "radical Islam," "Islamic fundamentalism," "jihadists," "Islamists," and "Islamism" (even if the section on the apparent involvement of certain Saudi officials in the plot was almost completely redacted and details about the egregious failures of certain government agencies were suppressed).[5] Since then, however, various Western government officials and media outlets have instead repeatedly sought to banish the use of terms like "jihadist" and "Islamic terrorism" from public discourse, thereby effectively acting to conceal the core ideological motivations of our Islamist adversaries in an era characterized by explicitly ideological contestation and ideologically-motivated asymmetric warfare.[6]

The 2013 Jihadist Terrorist Attacks in Boston and Woolwich as Examples

These ongoing problems were illustrated yet again in the wake of the 2013 jihadist terrorist attacks in Boston (15 April) and Woolwich (22 May). Beginning with Boston, the refusal of many commentators to acknowledge the role of Islamist ideology in motivating the bombings reached new heights. As usual, most expressed unwarranted perplexity about the motives of the perpetrators, even as evidence increasingly mounted that their mother Zubeidat, Tamerlan, and eventually Dzhokar Tsarnaev had all adopted radical interpretations of Islam – i.e., Islamism – which had inspired the two sons to carry out the attacks.[7] Yet reporters and government officials kept publicly wondering, wringing their hands, and agonizing about "how" and "why" the Tsarnaev brothers, who appeared to be "normal" kids, were not mired in poverty, had seemingly become Westernized and integrated into American society, and, in the

case of Dzhokar, had been an excellent student with many friends, could have been induced to carry out such a heinous act. The question itself reveals a shocking level of ignorance about the normal motives of insurgent terrorists, since it assumes that they must be either display clinical psychopathologies (i.e., be "crazy") or be poor, disadvantaged, and/or disenfranchised in order to perpetrate acts of terrorism, even though research has shown for more than a decade that most members of terrorist groups are no more prone to having such psychopathologies than non-terrorists and that there is no direct correlation, much less any primary causal link, between poverty and immiseration and a propensity for terrorism.[8] On the contrary, most insurgent terrorists (especially, but not exclusively, those in key leadership, ideological, and operational positions), like extremists in general and other self-styled revolutionaries, tend to be from relatively privileged strata of their own societies, tend to have above average intelligence, and tend to have benefitted from higher levels of education than most of their countrymen.

Even after it emerged that Tamerlan had become increasingly religious (along with his mother), had forced his converted American wife to wear a headscarf, had posted jihadist materials online, had argued with less radical (but by no means moderate) *imam*s at a local mosque, and may have interacted with North Caucasus *mujahidin* during a recent visit to Dagestan, pundits and officials continued to profess ignorance about the bombers' motives. Note, for example, the comments of Secretary of State John Kerry: "I think the world has had enough of people *who have no belief system*…but who just want to kill people because they don't like what they see."[9] Since when, one might ask, is Islamism not a belief system? And even after the wounded and captured Dzhokar admitted to interrogators that the bombers had been motivated by their religious worldviews, three apparently uncomprehending journalists nonetheless wrote the following lines: "Based on preliminary written interviews with Dzhokar in his hospital bed, U.S. officials believe the brothers were motivated by their religious views. *It has not been clear, however, what those views were.*"[10] Perhaps the authors of this article suspected that the attacks had been inspired by Mormonism or Buddhism rather than by radical interpretations of Islam. Even President Barack Obama initially characterized the bombings, bizarrely, as a "tragedy," as if they had been the result of some sort of natural disaster rather being the product of human ideological fanaticism.[11]

The legions of academic "Islam apologists" and "Islamist apologists" also immediately weighed in after the Boston bombings, as usual in a desperate effort to absolve Islam in general or Islamism in particular from bearing any moral, intellectual, or political responsibility for motivating the attacks.[12] Apart from their standard claims that Islam does not sanction and is therefore incompatible with terrorism, claims that are frankly absurd given that so many Islamists (and other Muslims) regularly cite well-known Qur'anic passages[13], Muhammad's own reported actions, and the military conquests of the "rightly-guided" Caliphs and their successors to justify ongoing acts of aggression, violence, and terrorism against "infidels," these self-styled experts also insisted that the Tsarnaevs were not really

devout Muslims motivated by their interpretations of the Islamic religion. According to University of Michigan professor Juan Cole, for example, the Tsarnaevs were "secular ex-Soviets" rather than "observant Muslims," and were simply "on an adolescent homocidal (sic) power trip, dressed up like al-Qaeda, the way the Aurora [Colorado] shooter was wearing an arsenal and dressed up like Batman."[14] Actual evidence for this bizarre claim was, as one might expect, never forthcoming.

Likewise, for University of North Carolina professor Omid Safi, the "few pieces [of information] we have do not exactly add up to a life of pious observance of Islam. Their high school friends talk about the two brothers getting together, drinking, and smoking pot….We have seen this before, in the case of the 9/11 hijackers who visited strip clubs and got loaded up on alcohol before committing their atrocities – again, not the action of Muslim role models."[15] These types of arguments are not only misleading but factually incorrect, in the same way as claiming that a neo-Nazi could not be "real" Nazi extremist if he turned out to be a homosexual, given that homosexuality is officially viewed as "degenerate" in Nazi ideology – is it really necessary to refer here, say, to gay SA leader Ernst Röhm or gay German neo-Nazi Michael Kühnen? – or that a devout Christian pastor could not really be a fanatical "true believer" if he was at some point discovered hiring prostitutes or snorting cocaine, since these are considered "sins" by both Catholics and Protestants. The reality is that ideological extremists, being characteristically flawed human beings, can rarely live up to the ostensibly "higher" moral standards that they try to impose on everyone else, that new "born again" converts to religions have often lived hedonistic or even criminal lifestyles before their conversions, that even the most devout jihadists operating in the West are often explicitly instructed by their trainers to behave just like "decadent" Westerners so as not to draw undue attention to themselves (as, e.g., is the case for members of al-Takfir wa al-Hijra [Excommunication and Migration] and Qa'idat al-Jihad [The Base, or Foundation, of the Jihad]), and that most Muslims believe that the worldly sins of believers who die as "martyrs" fighting on behalf of Islam will be instantly forgiven by Allah, who will then automatically grant them entry to the highest level (*firdaws*) of Paradise (*janna*). Hence the periodically "un-Islamic" moral behavior displayed by would-be or actual jihadist terrorists hardly signifies that they are not motivated to carry out their violent actions as a result of embracing extremist interpretations of Islam.[16]

Yet another example of the ongoing attempts by various left-of-center commentators to minimize, obscure, or deny the Islamist ideological motivations of the Tsarnaevs was the BBC's *Panorama* investigative report entitled "The Brothers Who Bombed Boston," wherein it was suggested that Tamerlan was merely a "Muslim of convenience" and instead emphasized that he had likewise possessed some American "right-wing extremist literature", specifically publications espousing white supremacy (one of which argued that "Hitler had a point"), anti-government conspiracy theories concerning the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing and the 9/11

attacks, and warnings about the "rape of our gun rights"; also found were materials about U.S. drones killing civilians, the alleged plight of Muslims imprisoned in Guantanamo Bay, and literature about what motivated mass killers and "how the perpetrators murdered and maimed calmly."[17] Alas, this information has already been exploited by certain political websites so as to imply that Tamerlan might not have really been an Islamist radical after all.[18]

However, there is no reason to suppose that these new discoveries have any bearing on the nature of Tamerlan's ideological beliefs. First of all, Islamists are themselves right-wing religious extremists, so it is hardly surprising that they would embrace certain ideas and tropes peddled by other types of anti-Western, anti-"New World Order," anti-democratic, and anti-Semitic extremists, including "infidel" right-wingers from the West. After all, ideological cross-fertilization between different extremist milieus is quite common, especially in the context of conspiratorial beliefs.[19] Second, Islamists have long avidly absorbed and disseminated Nazi and pro-Nazi anti-Semitic literature, which is in fact openly sold in Islamist bookstores and book stalls throughout the Muslim world (including those in certain mosques and Muslim enclaves in the West), which – together with the extensive and well-documented historical pattern of collaboration between influential Islamists and the Nazi regime – explains why they are so often enamored with Hitler and his anti-Jewish (and anti-gay) exterminatory policies.[20] Third, many Muslims are prone to embrace conspiracy theories of various types, in particular those that attribute sinister secret machinations to Jews, the U.S. government, various European powers, Russia, and India. Therefore, it is understandable why so many uncritically accept nonsensical 9/11, London, Madrid, Bali, and Mumbai conspiratorial scenarios regarding attacks that were actually perpetrated by jihadists, as well as no less bogus claims that other high profile acts of terrorism (such as the one carried out by Timothy McVeigh) were likewise "false flag" operations covertly conducted by the U.S. government or the Israeli secret services.[21] This is another of the many psychological defense mechanisms that all too many Muslims conveniently adopt in order to absolve themselves and/or Islam from shouldering any moral responsibility for jihadist terrorist crimes and atrocities, and that Islamists systematically promote in efforts to further demonize their principal "infidel" enemies. That is precisely why both Western right-wing extremists (e.g., Michael Collins Piper, Lyndon LaRouche, David Duke, Bradley R. Smith, and Gerald Fredrick Töben) and left-wing Western conspiracy theorists (e.g., Thierry Meyssan of the Réseau Voltaire [Voltaire Network] and former professor and Muslim convert Kevin Barrett) are typically welcomed with open arms at "Holocaust denial" or "9/11 Truth" fora organized by Islamists, whether private associations (e.g., the now defunct Arab League "think tank" formerly based in Abu Dhabi, the Zayid Center for Coordination and Follow-Up) or governments (such as that of Iran).[22] Finally, it is no mystery why Islamists like Tamerlan should possess partisan materials

denouncing drone attacks and conditions at Gitmo, or literature on mass murders in cases where they are motivated to commit such acts themselves. Thus the exploitation of these "revelations" by the BBC and others only serves to illustrate the moral bankruptcy and distorted political priorities of many self-styled "progressives," whose primary concern is never about the actual victims of acts of terrorism, protecting national security, or the ongoing threat posed by jihadist terrorists, but is rather to shift the blame away from the actual Islamist perpetrators of violence and/or their professed ideological motives and onto preferred villains like the domestic far right, "imperialist" Western governments, Israel, or "white males."[23]

Turning now to the sadistic murder of an unarmed, off-duty British soldier named Lee Rigby by two jihadists in Woolwich, British Prime Minister David Cameron was quick to insist, without providing any actual evidence for these claims, that it constituted a "betrayal of Islam and of the Muslim communities who give so much to this country," and that "[t]here is nothing in Islam that justifies this truly dreadful act."[24] Similarly, fellow Conservative Boris Johnson, the Mayor of London, hastened to state that "it is completely wrong to blame this killing on the religion of Islam…,"[25] although, like the PM, he studiously ignored the obvious fact that particular interpretations of Islam clearly inspired the attack. Similarly, British comedian Russell Brand opined that the killer was "a nut who happens to be Muslim"; hence "[b]laming Muslims for this is like blaming Hitler's moustache for the Holocaust."[26] Brand did not, however, explain why blaming Islamist ideology for inspiring the Woolwich attack would be any less accurate than blaming Nazi ideology for inspiring the Holocaust. Predictably, the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB), an umbrella group reportedly dominated by pro-Mawdudist Islamists, also immediately claimed that this was "a barbaric attack that had *nothing to do with Islam*",[27] and as per usual the MCB and several other UK Islamist organizations – like their American counterparts – immediately began focusing their energies, not on challenging or criticizing radical interpretations of Islam (which they themselves espouse in one form or another), but rather on sounding the alarm about a possible "wave" of "Islamophobic" retaliatory violence, as they invariably do in the wake of jihadist terrorist attacks.[28] Yet oddly enough, like tens of thousands of other Islamists throughout the world, the Woolwich perpetrators apparently never realized that waging "individual *jihad* terrorism" (to use the phrase coined anew by Syrian jihadist strategic thinker Abu Mus'ab al-Suri) was actually "un-Islamic," since one of those two Nigerian Islamists yelled "Allahu akbar," paraphrased a passage in the *Qur'an*, and declared that "[w]e swear by the almighty Allah we will never stop fighting you until you leave us alone."[29]

Indeed, one very inconvenient fact that Muslim and Western "Islam apologists" and "Islamist apologists" are never able to explain satisfactorily – if Islam really is the inherently tolerant, "progressive," and peaceful religion that they insistently claim it is (which the historical record generally belies) – how and why all of the Islamists, as well as millions of other Muslims, invariably "mis"-interpret their core religious doctrines and scriptures in a

similarly intolerant, bellicose, regressive, and imperialistic fashion. And why, for that matter, do so few ostensibly "moderate" Muslims openly, persistently, and genuinely denounce the Islamist interpretation of Islam, even in Western countries, where they have the freedom to do so?

Possible Reasons for Denying the Key Role of Islamist Ideology in Acts of Jihadist Terrorism

There are three possible explanations for the failure of so much of the Western intelligentsia to acknowledge the Islamist motivations of the perpetrators of acts of jihadist terrorism like those in Boston and Woolwich. The first is the belief that political ideologies and religious doctrines *do not* influence the behavior of terrorists at all, which would mean that other factors – psychological, narrowly political, economic, etc. – must invariably be responsible for that behavior. Such a view, which some "social scientists" actually seem to accept, is not only preposterous on its face but is completely contradicted by the historical record. The second is the supposition that political ideologies and religious doctrines *sometimes* influence the behavior of insurgent terrorists, but that unlike in other contexts this is *not* true in cases of Islamist terrorism. Those who assert that particular interpretations of Islam do not actually serve to motivate jihadist terrorists, in spite of the fact that the latter invariably proclaim that they are acting *fi sabil Allah* or "in the cause of Allah" (as, for example, Moroccan Islamist Muhammad Buyari repeatedly did after he brutally murdered Dutch film director Theo van Gogh on 2 November 2004), have yet to provide any credible evidence to the contrary. The third is the conviction that, even though it is obvious that Islamist ideology *does* influence the behaviour of jihadist terrorists, it is simply better *not* to admit this publicly. Naturally, those who hold the latter view should be forced to explain how this ongoing denial of reality could possibly be helpful in terms of responding to the terrorist threat from this quarter.

Whatever the explanation in specific instances, the fact is that if either of the two aforementioned acts of jihadist terrorism had been high-profile attacks carried out by, say, domestic right-wing extremists, Western media and law enforcement officials would have not only immediately recognized, but also displayed no reluctance whatsoever to identify, the key motivational role played by the noxious ideological beliefs of the perpetrators.[30] Indeed, for months or even years afterwards they would be insistently hyping the real or imagined dangers posed by the homegrown radical right, as the examples of Timothy McVeigh, David Copeland, and Anders Behring Breivik all serve to illustrate.[31] In marked contrast, those same media and officials usually downplay or even conceal the much greater subversive and security threats presented by the Islamic radical right (i.e., Islamists), whether its cadres are operating at home or overseas. The very same pattern is unfortunately displayed by a myriad of private "watchdog" organizations whose stated purpose is to monitor the activities of the radical right, which typically exaggerate the threat posed by the domestic far right whilst systematically ignoring the more serious threat posed by Islamist networks, including terrorist

cells, that are active in their own and other Western nations.[32] Thus, it is mainly in cases where radical interpretations of Islam are undeniably the inspiration for brutal acts of terrorism that Western media, academic, advocacy, and key policy-making elites continue to display a stubborn and perverse reluctance to acknowledge this publicly. Such a blatant display of hypocritical double standards is surely not coincidental.

This phenomenon of willfully ignoring or dismissing the importance of the ideologies motivating our primary enemies is arguably unprecedented in modern history. Apart from assorted naïve or dissimulating intellectual apologists for left-wing and right-wing totalitarianism, Western democratic elites did not hesitate to highlight the central role played by Marxist-Leninist, Fascist, and Nazi ideologies in motivating the systematic acts of state repression, persecution, and violence carried out by the Soviet Union, Fascist Italy, or Nazi Germany, nor in fueling the brutality and violence carried out by those same extremist ideological movements before they had managed to seize state power. Indeed, recognizing, understanding, and countering the doctrinal tenets and appeal of those ideologies was a key factor that enabled the West to defend itself effectively and ultimately prevail in its struggles against these three would-be totalitarian movements and regimes. As Sun Tzu and innumerable other strategic thinkers throughout the centuries have rightly emphasized, it is virtually impossible to counter and defeat an adversary if one does not understand his underlying beliefs and motives, however bizarre or delusional those beliefs and motives may in fact be, since they greatly affect his strategic and even operational decisions. Why, then, do Western policy-makers and opinion-shapers still stubbornly persist in denying reality with respect to the baleful role played by Islamist ideology in influencing the observable behavior of Islamist organizations, including the jihadist groups and networks that constitute an ongoing terrorist threat?

There are several apparent reasons for this continued Western unwillingness to face reality. First, Westerners grow up and live in, and thus are unavoidably socialized within, relatively materialistic human societies, in multiple senses of that term. Therefore, they are naturally prone to ascribe similarly materialistic motivations to all of their adversaries from other cultures, including political or religious extremists from the Muslim world, instead of taking their ideological and religious beliefs seriously.[33] That is why Western analysts so often wrongly assume that ideological extremists are really motivated by narrowly material interests or a naked thirst for power rather than by their stated beliefs, which some falsely claim are nothing more than convenient rationalisations. It is also why they continue to argue, despite all of the evidence to the contrary, that really-existing problems like poverty or the lack of democracy are the actual underlying causes of Muslim radicalisation and violence. On the basis of this egregiously myopic and wrong-headed perspective, for which there is virtually no evidentiary support and a great deal of evidentiary disconfirmation (especially in the wake of the so-called "Arab Spring," which has thus far mainly degenerated into an "Islamist Winter," just as more knowledgeable people had predicted from the outset),[34] it follows that the

provision of more foreign aid and the introduction of democratic procedures like elections is the solution to that radicalisation and violence. Here, as in so many other cases, one can observe the phenomenon of "mirror imaging," in which the analysts in question simply project their own characteristic motivations and modes of thinking uncritically and therefore naïvely onto others instead of carefully examining and trying to empathize – albeit not sympathize – with the actual beliefs, cultural values, and motivations of their adversaries.

Second, more than a decade after 9/11, there still remain shocking levels of ignorance in the West about the nature of Islam as a religion, about the basic outlines of Islamic history, about tribal social structures in the Muslim world, and about the doctrinal characteristics of Islamism, an extreme right-wing, intrinsically anti-democratic, and indeed totalitarian 20th-century political ideology deriving from an exceptionally strict and puritanical interpretation of core Islamic religious and legal doctrines.[35] Islamism is only one of many possible interpretations of such doctrines, of course, but it is by far the most intolerant, aggressive, belligerent, and imperialistic of all of those interpretations. Moreover, at the present time it appears to be growing exponentially in popularity at the expense of more moderate interpretations of Islam (as the electoral successes of Islamist parties in the Palestinian territories, Iraq, Turkey, Tunisia, Egypt, and regions of Pakistan have repeatedly demonstrated). Hence most Westerners, including influential policy-makers, journalists, and academicians, simply do not possess the requisite levels of expertise to comprehend the extremist ideological beliefs and thoroughly regressive cultural values of our Islamist adversaries, much less to distinguish between genuinely moderate Muslims and extremists employing deception and disinformation.

Worse still, following the reprehensible example set by various activist academicians (above all Palestinian literary critic Edward Said), a majority of the Western professoriate in the field of modern Middle East Studies – in contradistinction to the far more serious scholars of medieval Islam – appear to have avidly embraced overtly biased, hopelessly one-sided, and blatantly ideological (if not propagandistic) interpretations of Islam and Islamism, interpretations which have resulted not only in blaming the "imperialist" West for most if not all of the Muslim world's problems and in the systematic whitewashing of Islam itself (for example, as a "religion of peace" or at least a religion that is no more prone to intolerance or violence than any other religion), but also in the patently absurd characterization of Islamist movements that have eschewed violence for purely tactical reasons as "moderate" and "democratic."[36] These same *engagés* experts have also repeatedly argued that a tiny, fringe minority of violent jihadists has "perverted" or "hijacked" Islam in pursuit of agendas that are supposedly "un-Islamic," when in fact the jihadists are Islamists whose interpretations of Islam are far more often orthodox than "heretical" in relation to the "classical" medieval Islamic jurisprudential tradition, above all in regard to conceptions of international relations between Muslims and "infidels."[37] Last but not least, many of these academicians have systematically sought, together with dissimulating Islamist activists and clueless or dishonest members of self-styled anti-fascist groups, to demonize all those who have adopted a more critical

perspective about Islam or Islamism as bigoted, hate-filled "Islamophobes," no matter how justifiable and well-documented their criticisms of Islam and Islamism may be.[38] From this blinkered perspective, everyone who has concerns about various undeniably regressive aspects of Islam and/or is sounding the alarm about the threat posed by Islamism, no matter how legitimately, must ipso facto be afflicted with some sort of clinical psychopathology, i.e., an irrational "phobia" about Islam.[39] Alas, it is precisely these "Islam apologists" and "Islamist apologists" in academia who have been providing classroom instruction to future journalists and government officials in recent decades. It is therefore hardly surprising that the latter would so often internalize and then subsequently regurgitate the exact same misinterpretations.

Political Correctness

However, the main reason for the West's ongoing unwillingness to identify Islamist ideology as the primary source of the jihadist terrorist danger, other security threats, and a plethora of growing socio-cultural problems involving Muslims, has to do with the present era's ever-more pervasive climate of myopic, self-destructive "political correctness." This is a well-known term that has come to refer not only to the uncritical if not slavish following of political "party lines," but also to insistent displays of rigid moral self-righteousness and puritanism, humorlessness, and intolerance (if not outright hatred) directed against, as well as an undemocratic impulse to demonize and suppress, the opinions of anyone who does not share one's own biases and agendas. Such blatantly illiberal behavior is typically justified – as intolerance, fanaticism, and repressive attitudes and behavior almost invariably are – as being in the interests of the "greater good." Many different forms of "political correctness" exist, including those associated with ideologues on the political and religious right. But herein we are concerned with the now hegemonic self-styled "progressive" forms operating within academia, the media, and government, which emanate primarily from morally puritanical "liberals" (which once was a contradiction in terms), sectarian leftists, radical "feminists" (of the deluded sort who argue that the wearing of a *niqab* or a *burqa* by Muslim women should be viewed as a sign of "freedom of choice" rather than recognized as either an indication of coercive male Muslim misogyny or a sartorial expression of regressive Islamist beliefs), multiculturalist ideologues, and assorted anti-Western or anti-white minority group activists (including Islamists).

These self-appointed "guardians of public morality" have organised a multitude of advocacy groups which, much like the official and unofficial medieval "witch hunters" who systematically but falsely accused individuals of being "heretics" and "witches" in order to justify persecuting them, constantly smear all those who disagree with their social and political views, often equally falsely, as "sexists," "racists," "homophobes," "xenophobes," "bigots," "haters," and "Islamophobes." The goal of the former is to demonize the latter, delegitimise their opinions, and even provide a legal basis for prosecuting them under bogus

"hate speech" or libel laws, thereby effectively endeavoring to criminalise dissenting opinions that they regard as beyond the pale. If these all too common impulses to generate "moral panics" and legal persecution were not bad enough, insofar as they represent a clear and present danger to freedom of speech and expression in Western democracies, "political correctness" is also typically characterized by blatant hypocrisy and double standards in that it systematically apologises for, or even seeks to justify, the very same or even worse behaviour, whenever it is manifested by supposed "victims," that it excoriates when it is manifested by alleged "oppressors."[40]

In the context of Islam, Islamism, and jihadist terrorism, "politically correct" circles in academia, the media, and government have been insistently peddling the unsupportable view that neither Islam in general nor any conceivably "legitimate" interpretation of Islam can be blamed for acts of terrorism committed by Muslims, even though the perpetrators themselves haughtily declare otherwise.[41] However, not everyone who is taking this position is doing so for the same reasons. On the contrary, the motives of the various "Islam apologists" and "Islamist apologists" are often fundamentally incompatible. Here are some illustrative examples:

- well-meaning but naïve political or religious liberals are doing so in the name of promoting greater tolerance and preventing discrimination against innocent Muslims (which are, in principle, worthy goals);

- multiculturalists are doing so in the name of promoting ethno-cultural "diversity" and justifying continuing high levels of Third World immigration or asylum;[42]

- sectarian leftists, minority activists, and some radical neo-fascists in Europe are doing so in order to shift the blame from the actual terrorist perpetrators and onto Western "imperialism" or "Zionism" for supposedly "provoking" Muslim violence;

- self-styled "anti-fascist" groups are doing so in order to more easily justify denouncing their designated enemies from the supposedly "Islamophobic" domestic right;

- Islamists are doing so in order to mislead gullible "infidels" about their ongoing pursuit of anti-democratic, anti-Western, and Islamic supremacist agendas;

- other Muslims are doing so in order to shield certain features of Islam from any criticism or blame, no matter how well-deserved; and

- Western governments are doing so in an ultimately futile effort to win Muslim "hearts and minds," both at home (in large part for domestic electoral purposes) and abroad, by convincing conspiracy mongering Muslims that they are not waging a "war against Islam."

Meanwhile, conspiracy theorists from most of these milieus – and many others as well – are busily insisting that Islamists, despite overwhelming evidence of their responsibility, are not even the real sponsors or perpetrators of acts of jihadist terrorism.[43] As a result, all of these milieus are increasingly prone, for their own respective and sometimes disingenuous reasons, to try and "protect" Islam and Muslims from criticism by abusively labeling all critics of Islam and Islamism as "Islamophobes."[44] In practice, then, these diverse circles of Western "Islam apologists" and "Islamist apologists" are unwittingly functioning as "useful idiots" – or, as per the reformulation of Richard Landes, as no less idiotic "useful infidels"[45] – for radical right, totalitarian Islamists, who are mercilessly exploiting their abysmal ignorance, misplaced good will, or political myopia for their own sordid and sinister purposes.

The Impact of "Political Correctness" on Western Counterterrorism Policies and Actions

Alas, the concrete effects of all of this naïveté, self-delusion, and outright dissimulation are very dangerous indeed, especially in the context of counterterrorism. The West has now reached the point where the very elites entrusted with defending it are increasingly unwilling even to acknowledge the nature of the threat posed by Islamism, despite the fact that Islamists all over the world are openly and indeed continually denouncing the West as a mortal enemy that must be defeated, subjugated, and ultimately converted to their strict, puritanical version of Islam. The only debate among the Islamists is how this commonly shared objective can best be achieved, i.e., whether by means of armed *jihad*, the approach favored by terrorist groups such as al-Qaʿida), or by means of gradual processes of infiltration, implantation, and subversion in which the Islamists establish ideological hegemony over Muslim migrant communities, are appointed as representatives of those communities (usually with the unwitting aid of Western governments), and carve out *shariʿa*-compliant areas within the bosom of Western societies. The latter approach (which is already well underway, especially in certain areas of Europe[46]) has been favored by the Jamʿiyyat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin (Society of Muslim Brothers, better known as the Muslim Brotherhood), Saudi Wahhabis, and South Asian Mawdudists.[47] Indeed, instead of publicly identifying the Islamists as the implacable enemies of the democratic, pluralistic West, as in fact they are, key Western elites have increasingly adopted an "Islamist apologist" stance, deluded themselves that the "non-violent" Islamists can be our "allies" against terrorism, and therefore unwisely endeavoured to collaborate or "partner" with them in Egypt and elsewhere.[48] (This policy is every bit as foolish and counterproductive as if we had opted to "partner" with the Nazis during the Weimar Republic or with Japanese ultranationalists in the 1930s rather than at least tacitly supporting their opponents, be they authoritarian, democratic, or quasi-democratic.) Indeed, such ill-conceived notions now constitute the basis of many U.S. and E.U. policies towards the Muslim world, especially in the wake of the "Arab Spring."

The grim reality is that Western collaboration with Islamists is nothing new, given that the U.S., Britain, and several other Western or democratic countries (including Israel) covertly supported Islamist groups like the Muslim Brotherhood against rival Arab nationalists and leftists throughout the Cold War era. The reason is that these religious reactionaries were simplistically and short-sightedly perceived through only one prism: as a useful bulwark against communism and Soviet influence within the Muslim world.[49] Even worse, some Western regimes periodically supported armed jihadist groups, as the U.S. did with the Afghan *mujahidin*, the British reportedly did with jihadist terrorist groups opposed to Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, and the Israelis initially did with the Harakat al-Muqawwama al-Islamiyya (HAMAS: Islamic Resistance Movement), actions that in every case led to serious "blowback" that grievously harmed the West and its allies and mainly benefited the Islamists. [50] Yet unlike the Islamists, who have continued to cleverly exploit "infidel" gullibility so as to obtain various types of tangible aid, the West has seemingly not learned any lessons at all from its repeated foreign policy failures vis-à-vis the Muslim world.

However, "political correctness" has now apparently replaced *Realpolitik* as the driver of Western pro-Islamist domestic and foreign policies. In past decades, it was often geopolitical hardliners within the intelligence community who had advocated supporting the Islamists against secular anti-colonialist movements. Those hardliners naïvely believed that they could easily manipulate the Islamists into functioning as their de facto agents against common Cold War enemies, after which they could abandon or dispose of them as they wished. In reality, they themselves were often conned and played for fools by the Islamists. But unlike today's delusional policy-makers, these hubristic Cold War *Realpolitiker* rarely mistook the Islamists for genuine "moderates" or closet "democrats." Hence the post-Cold War adoption of inaccurate and egregiously sanitised "politically correct" attitudes about Islam and Islamism, which has all too often reflected a misguided bipartisan consensus in the United States, has resulted in even greater Western foreign policy blunders and has now reached the point where it is arguably undermining, if not compromising or sabotaging, the future security of the West. [51] Both neo-conservatives and liberal internationalists have fundamentally misconstrued the nature of Islam and Islamism, with the result that both have uncritically promoted simple procedural "democratisation," if necessary by force, as the solution to the multifaceted problems in the Muslim world, many of which are in fact mainly the product of the continuing debilitating influence of regressive social, cultural, and religious values.

Moreover, both the Bush and Obama administrations, and those of both Labour and the Conservatives in Britain, have foolishly allowed Islamist operatives and front groups, often portraying themselves – like the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) – as Muslim "civil liberties" organizations, to exert a baleful influence on the development of Western security and military policies.[52] Illustrative contemporary examples in the U.S. include Islamists like Rashad Hussain (Obama's Special Envoy to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation [OIC] and a Deputy Associate White House Counsel working on "Muslim

outreach" and national security), Dalia Mogahed [correct transliteration: Mujahid] (Obama's Muslim Affairs Advisor to the Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships and a member of the Department of Homeland Security's Countering Violent Extremism Working Group), and numerous other activists who are reportedly associated with Muslim Brotherhood front groups.[53] Islamist influence has especially manifested itself in three interrelated spheres, where it has predictably created both conceptual and policy problems.

The first problem, and by far the most serious manifestation of Islamist influence, is that Islamist activists have increasingly been allowed to vet the instructional materials related to Islam and Islamism that are being used to train Western intelligence and military personnel. This has progressed to the point where they have actually succeeded in having certain contract instructors fired who they claimed, at times falsely, were "anti-Islamic."[54] In reality, any criticisms at all of Islam or Islamism immediately make someone, in the eyes of such activists, "Islamophobic" or "anti-Islamic," even if those criticisms are partially, largely, or entirely warranted. Be that as it may, it is surely an unprecedented situation that our declared Islamist enemies, despite usually operating under the cover of barely-disguised front groups, are nowadays being allowed – with the witless and pernicious help of the "useful infidels" who uncritically accept their disingenuous talking points – to decide what official training materials can and cannot be used to describe and analyze fellow Islamists. Imagine, if you will, that the U.S. government had allowed members of the German-American Bund, a Nazi front organization, to vet its training materials related to Nazism or Nazi Germany prior to World War II, or if it had allowed members of Soviet-backed front organizations to vet its training materials related to communism or the Soviet Union during the Cold War. That is essentially what is occurring at the present time with respect to non-state Islamism and jihadist terrorism, as certain documents released by the FBI in response to a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request filed by Judicial Watch clearly indicate.[55] Why would any responsible government allow its own enemies to exert any influence whatsoever over the selection of its training materials for security personnel, as the Islamists have been trying to do with considerable success ever since 9/11?[56] All the more so since the Islamists and the "Islamist apologists" they have hoodwinked are explicitly endeavouring to delegitimize any analytical approach or statement that raises Western awareness of what the former are up to by labeling them, a priori, as "conspiracy theories."[57] Only a government that is hopelessly blinkered by "political correctness" would adopt such a self-destructive and potentially suicidal course of action.

Indeed, the other two problems to be highlighted are in large part the predictable result of actively soliciting advice from Islamist activists about how to frame security issues involving Muslims. The second is the adoption and continued employment of euphemistic, misleading terminology to describe jihadist terrorism. As is well-known, after 9/11 the Bush administration adopted the pithy phrase "war against terrorism" to describe America's conflict

with jihadist terrorists. Yet the "war against terrorism" formulation was problematic inasmuch as one cannot wage a war against an operational technique, just as one cannot wage a war (other than metaphorically) against an inanimate object like "drugs" or a social phenomenon like "poverty." As some have sardonically pointed out, the "war against terrorism" phrase would be equivalent to characterizing the war against Nazi Germany as a "war against *blitzkrieg* [operational techniques]," which would obviously have been risible. Nor is the post-9/11 conflict one between Western democracies and all of the world's terrorists, i.e., non-state groups and states that frequently resort to the use of terrorist techniques. On the contrary, the conflict that has been going on since 9/11, and that in fact predated those attacks by more than two decades, is between "infidel" governments (including supposedly "apostate" Muslim governments) and Islamists, first and foremost those who rely primarily on armed *jihad* to achieve their goals. Yet Bush and his advisors, in an attempt to convince Muslims that they were not waging a war against Islam, generally promoted the notion that Islam itself was a "religion of peace" and, as a consequence, also refused to identify Islamism as the enemy in their public statements, in the way that U.S. presidents and officials had previously identified Communism and Fascism as the primary enemies of democracy.[58]

Under Obama the terminology for the Islamist enemy has again been changed, this time to "violent extremism," which is certainly preferable to the ill-defined "terrorism." Yet once again, the U.S. is not currently fighting against all forms of violent extremism in the world, but primarily against a certain type of violent Muslim radicalism (i.e., jihadism). Officials in the Obama administration have repeatedly acknowledged that al-Qaʻida and its affiliates are their enemy, thereby stating the obvious, but they have also increasingly endeavoured to eliminate references to "radical Islam" or "Islamism" in official national security and strategic documents and, as will become clearer below, have stubbornly refused to publicly label their enemies as "Islamists," "jihadists," or "Islamic terrorists." This was ostensibly done to facilitate "outreach" to Muslim communities and to avoid giving "offense" to Muslims in general. However, there is no good reason to believe that non-Islamist and anti-Islamist Muslims would find such accurate descriptive terminology "offensive" in any way (since they themselves often use it), any more than non-Nazi and anti-Nazi Germans would have been "offended" by the Allies identifying National Socialists as their enemies. Nor is there any reason to suppose that criticising Islamists would in any way inhibit "outreach" efforts to genuinely moderate, pro-democratic Muslims who are themselves opposed to Islamism – on the contrary, it would likely embolden such Muslims to speak out publicly and contribute to the forging of a common ideological, social, and political bulwark against mutual enemies. In any case, referring to Islamists and jihadists euphemistically and misleadingly, and not acknowledging the motivational centrality of their interpretations of Islam, does not change their nature or behaviour one iota.

The third problem, which is directly linked to and indeed reinforced by the two aforementioned problems, is the persistent and otherwise inexplicable refusal of key Western

officials to link terrorism carried out by religiously-inspired Muslims in any way to Islam, or even to Islamism, both in their public statements and in their intelligence assessments. John Brennan, then Senior Advisor for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism, attempted to explain and justify this approach in a 6 August 2009 speech at the DC-based Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). On that occasion, he exclaimed that President Obama did not consider this struggle to be a "fight against jihadists" because "[d]escribing terrorists in this way, using the legitimate term 'jihad,' *which means to purify oneself or to wage a holy struggle for a moral goal*, risks giving these murderers the religious legitimacy they desperately seek but in no way deserve" as well as "reinforcing the idea that the United States is somehow at war with Islam itself."[59]

Built into those remarks of Brennan, who currently serves as Director of the CIA, are two unwarranted assumptions. The first is that Muslims will be looking to "infidels" to determine what the term *jihad* signifies and whether al-Qaʻida and other Islamist terrorist organizations can be justly characterized as jihadists, which is an absurd proposition given that no terminology adopted by U.S. officials, negative or positive, is going to significantly affect Muslim perceptions of al-Qaʻida and other Islamist organizations. After all, even Muslims who are opposed to al-Qaʻida's totalitarian goals and/or its brutal methods have not generally claimed that the group's fighters are not really *mujahidin*, even if they view them as being misguided or dangerous. Furthermore, even the anti-Islamist and anti-jihadist themes and rhetoric disseminated by more or less autocratic Muslim governments (e.g., denigrating jihadists as *khawarij* or Kharijites, in reference to members of a puritanical Muslim sect who broke away from and later assassinated ʻAli ibn Abi Talib, the fourth "rightly-guided" Caliph), which were often formulated by regime-friendly Muslim clerics and therefore tended to be more relevant and have more resonance than anything Westerners might devise, have not appreciably affected general Muslim attitudes toward Islamism. (On the contrary, only the systematic targeting of innocent Muslim civilians – but not, alas, their no less innocent non-Muslim counterparts – and the rigid imposition of brutal *hudud* punishments has served to discredit the jihadists in the eyes of many Muslims.) The second assumption is that it is what U.S. officials say in public fora, rather than what tangible policies the U.S. actually ends up adopting, that will somehow matter most to Muslims, which is no less illogical. Indeed, given that the U.S. has never been waging a "war against Islam," either prior to or in the wake of 9/11, any Muslims who believe that it has, as the Islamists clearly do, are in effect living in a conspiratorial fantasy world that has no correspondence with reality. Hence proclaiming this self-evident fact publicly is not likely to alter their distorted perceptions.

Nevertheless, Brennan's speech set the tone for innumerable other pronouncements made thereafter by Obama administration officials. Indeed, even under oath, in the course of being subjected to direct questioning before congressional committees, several such officials have stubbornly continued to deny that which is patently obvious to everyone who has not willfully

placed their heads in their sand. Rather than citing selected quotes from the transcripts, it is much more revealing to provide the URLs to their testimony so that readers can directly observe the extent to which these government officials have sought to evade the questions or engaged in bizarre verbal contortions in order to avoid acknowledging the obvious: that radical interpretations of Islam have motivated, and are continuing to motivate, acts of jihadist terrorism. Here, for example, is Attorney General Eric Holder, who, among other absurdities, claimed that Yemeni-American *imam* and al-Qaʿida operative Anwar al-Awlaqi espoused a doctrine that was "not consistent with the teachings of Islam":

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HOQt_mP6Pgg

And here is Paul Stockton, Assistant Defense Secretary for Homeland Security, refusing to admit, and in fact stubbornly denying, that the U.S. is at war with "violent Islamist extremism" (not to mention insisting that he is not being "politically correct"):

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WU6n1mrpAGY

One might therefore assume that it would be impossible even to satirize such behaviour, but somehow the notoriously biased Fox News channel managed to do so here:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BpM8qk3t52A

Sadly, this particular satirical skit is right on target.

The deleterious practical effects of willfully failing to recognise, or obstinately refusing to correctly identify, the Islamist motives of the jihadist perpetrators on the West's counterterrorist efforts can easily be documented. For one thing, the motives of past plotters and perpetrators of jihadist terrorism, including "martyrdom operations," have all too often been systematically mischaracterized.[60] In contrast to all other types of violent ideological extremists, when it comes to the acts of violence planned or carried out by Islamists, especially but not exclusively "lone wolf" actions, the tendency of journalists, academicians, and law enforcement spokesmen has almost invariably been to minimize or deny the crucially important and often publicly articulated religio-ideological motivations of the perpetrators and instead to claim, falsely, that the individuals in question were motivated solely by various idiosyncratic personal grievances deriving from their psychological alienation, social isolation, socio-political disgruntlement, and/or mental illness.

Perhaps the most egregious and illustrative example of this peculiar tendency can be observed in the official response in relation to the case of Major Nidal Malik Hasan, the Muslim U.S. Army major who on 5 November 2009 carried out a jihadist terrorist attack against fellow soldiers at Fort Hood in Texas, killing 13 and wounding 32. It soon became evident that Hasan had embraced al-Qaʿida's "jihadist Salafist" ideology, had periodically espoused its tenets in both classroom oral presentations and private conversations with other

soldiers, had established email contact in order to solicit advice from Anwar al-Awlaqi, had prepared a card identifying himself as a "Soldier of Islam," had given away his possessions and engaged in Muslim purification rituals on the eve of the attack, and had shouted "Allahu akbar" while firing his weapon at nearby soldiers.[61] One might therefore assume that every honest and informed observer would conclude that his attack had been ideologically motivated, and indeed that it was clearly an act of "individual *jihad* terrorism" of the sort advocated by Abu Mus'ab al-Suri and al-Qa'ida's *Inspire* English-language magazine, which al-Awlaqi had played a very important role in creating and editing prior to his death in a 30 September 2011 drone strike.

However, high-ranking political and military officials at once hastened to present a radically different interpretation which essentially attributed Hasan's murders to psychological problems and personal grievances, an absurdly distorted conclusion that was later slavishly echoed in the Department of Defense's "after action" report on the Fort Hood shootings. The main purpose of this distortion, as usual, was to minimise the crucial motivational role played by Hasan's Islamist interpretations of Islam. So it was that the President himself and other government spokespeople immediately endeavored to absolve Islam of any responsibility for the attacks. For example, in his eulogy for the shooting victims, Obama opined that although it "may be hard to understand the twisted logic that led to this tragedy….we do know [that] no faith justifies these murderous and craven acts…"[62] The President thereby conveniently ignored the many Medinan-era Qur'anic passages, the ones that are widely viewed as having "abrogated" the more tolerant Meccan-period *sura*s, that urge Muslims to fight, slay, and subjugate "infidels." One might at least suspect that a reluctance to face facts would be much less likely to afflict the U.S. military than other components of the American government, but unfortunately "political correctness" has also increasingly been embraced by the Joint Chiefs of Staff since the 1990s. Indeed, in his own remarks, Army Chief of Staff General George W. Casey, Jr. sounded more like a multiculturalist ideologue or a "diversity" bureaucrat than a commander worried primarily about protecting his troops from future jihadist attacks by radicalised Muslim soldiers: "I'm concerned that this increased speculation [about Hasan's Islamist motivations] could cause a backlash against some of our Muslim soldiers….As great a tragedy as this was, it would be a shame *if our diversity became a casualty as well.*"[63] Other military officers and "expert" witnesses in court also expressed doubts that Hasan was an extremist who had carried out a terrorist attack, albeit without presenting any reliable supporting evidence or enumerating any credible reasons.

Because of this systematic unwillingness to confront unpleasant but thoroughly documented realities, it should come as no surprise that the only oblique reference to Islam or Islamic extremism in the official Department of Defense report on the Fort Hood attack occurred within an extraordinarily narrow context: "Finding 2.7: DoD policy regarding religious accommodation lacks the clarity necessary to help commanders distinguish

appropriate religious practices from those that might indicate a potential for violence or self-radicalization."[64] This seemingly willful blindness will likely continue to make the U.S. military ill-prepared to cope with, or respond effectively to, future jihadist terrorist threats emanating from within its own ranks or the ranks of its ostensible Muslim "allies" in Afghanistan. Muslim-American soldiers have already planned or carried out several attacks on their fellow soldiers, and there have also been increasing numbers of attacks by members of the Western-trained Afghan security forces on coalition troops in Afghanistan (so-called "green on blue" attacks). Unless Western governments are willing to publicly identify and confront the underlying motivations behind these attacks, there are bound to be more successful attacks of this nature in the future.[65]

Indeed, a seemingly growing inability or unwillingness even to recognise the ideological motivations of the perpetrators makes it all the more difficult for Western security services to interdict future jihadist attacks of any sort. Evidence of this ongoing problem of blindness to the dangers of radical Islamic beliefs can easily be deduced from the case of the Tamerlan Tsarnaev. Even before March 2011, when the Russian Federal'naya Sluzhba Bezopasnosti (FSB: Federal Security Service) had alerted its American counterparts about the possibility that Tamerlan had adopted radical interpretations of Islam, he had already come to the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). In congressional testimony in June 2013, FBI Director Robert S. Mueller III revealed that Tamerlan's "name had come up in two other cases" whose nature he did not explain, but acknowledged that those two cases, which were apparently not related to terrorism, had then been closed until the Russian warning "refocused" the Bureau's attention on him.[66] Yet he nevertheless insisted that the FBI agent(s) who conducted the subsequent investigation of Tamerlan had been thorough, and that there was nothing else that could have been done legally, which is doubtful given that Mueller also admitted before Congress that prior to the bombings the Bureau had visited Tamerlan's mosque, the Islamic Society of Boston (ISB), not in the context of investigating Tamerlan, but only in order to conduct "outreach" to Muslims.[67] And here is how the FBI officially characterized its investigation after receiving the information that Tamerlan "was a follower of radical Islam and a strong believer….[who] had changed drastically since 2010 as he prepared to leave the United States…to join unspecified underground groups" in the Caucasus[68]:

> *"In response to this 2011 request, the FBI checked U.S. government databases and other information to look for such things as derogatory telephone communications, possible use of online sites associated with the promotion of radical [Islamist] activity, associations with other persons of interest, travel history and plans, and education history. The FBI also interviewed Tamerlan Tsarnaev and family members. The FBI did not find any terrorism activity, domestic or foreign, and those results were provided to the foreign government in*

> *the summer of 2011. The FBI requested but did not receive more specific or additional information from the foreign government."*

Even if one assumes that the FBI agent(s) in question followed these procedures diligently, which is entirely possible, it is nonetheless easy to postulate that anyone familiar with the nature of Islamism, the central role it plays in motivating acts of jihadist terrorism, and the various indicators of Islamist ideological radicalisation could have found ample evidence of such radicalisation in the case of Tamerlan Tsarnaev. Was it not already clear, as later became obvious, that his mother had also become radicalised, that he was espousing Islamist doctrinal tenets to certain family members, friends, and at the mosque, that he was no longer drinking and smoking for religious reasons, and that he had compelled his wife to wear a headscarf? Or did all of those telltale activities begin only after the FBI questioned and investigated him?

The answer to the latter question is unequivocally "no." According to many diverse but convergent indications, it is now abundantly clear that Tamerlan had become increasingly radicalised from 2008 on, i.e., three years *before* the 2011 FBI investigation.[69] Indeed, growing forensic evidence suggests that Tamerlan may have been involved (along with Dzhokar and Ibragim Todashev, another Chechen who was later shot and killed while being questioned by FBI agents) in the brutal knife murders and near beheadings of three men (at least two of whom were Jewish) in Waltham, Massachusetts, on 11 September 2011, exactly ten years to the day after the 9/11 attacks.[70] Given that one of the murdered men had been a close acquaintance of Tamerlan, that there was no evidence of forced entry, and that marijuana and money were strewn all over the bodies, the police concluded that the victims had known their killers and that robbery was not the motive for the slaughter. Hence it increasingly looks as though this triple murder of hated "infidels" might have been carried out by the future Boston bombers in order to memorialize the 9/11 attacks, and that it might also have served as a kind of practice run to test the courage and religious faith of the perpetrators. Later, in early 2012, Tamerlan spent six months in Dagestan, where he definitely met twice with members of one radical Salafist group (the Soyuz Spravedlivykh [Union of the Just], with which his third cousin Magomed Kartashov was associated).[71] Moreover, given that he began posting many comments supportive of and videos produced by the Imarat Kavkaz (IK: Caucasus Emirate) on his You Tube and Facebook pages as soon as he returned to the U.S., he may likewise have made contact or interacted with IK-linked jihadist organizations during his visit to the Caucasus.[72] Such contacts may have further induced him, whether indirectly or directly, to carry out the 15 April 2013 bombing attacks with his younger brother.[73] Not only had the earlier FBI investigation missed all of these rather obvious indications of growing Islamist radicalisation, the Bureau inexplicably failed to keep track of the subjects of that investigation even after one of them became increasingly linked to known jihadists and had traveled overseas to a terrorist hot zone.[74] One can therefore conclude that the failure to give proper weight to and/or recognise the bombers' Islamist ideological motivations, both before and

after the bombings, contributed mightily to the failure of the American security services to prevent this particular attack, as well as to learn any valuable lessons from it that might help them interdict future jihadist acts of terrorism. If so, there is no doubt that "political correctness" in the counterterrorism sphere has deadly consequences. And, sadly, that the delusions it encourages will likely "kill" again.

Conclusion

This brings us to the real nub of the problem: the longer that key Western elites persist in mistakenly denying the central role played by Islamist interpretations of Islam in motivating jihadist terrorist attacks, the less likely they will be able to prevent future attacks from this quarter. Until Western intelligence, military, and law enforcement personnel are provided with accurate information about the history and core religious doctrines of Islam and the intrinsically extremist nature of Islamism, and until they are taught how to distinguish between Muslim moderates and Islamist extremists (including those who are posing as moderates) and learn how to recognise the many telltale signs of Islamist ideological radicalisation, they will generally be unable to identify prospective jihadist terrorists in advance.[75] Nor will they be able to respond effectively to the stealthy "civilization jihad" being waged by certain Islamist organizations that have abandoned violence for tactical reasons, albeit only to pursue their intrinsically anti-democratic agendas via seemingly legal means. It should also go without saying that relying on Islamist activists for "advice" about how to deal with the threat posed by Islamism is not only preposterous but utterly self-defeating.

Among the justifications for promoting these "politically correct" inanities about Islam and Islamism is a professed desire to "reach out" to rather than antagonise the Muslim world, as well as to avoid inadvertently encouraging Westerners to adopt a hostile, discriminatory, or persecutory attitude toward Muslims. While the latter goal of discouraging retaliation against innocent Muslims, especially in the wake of successful mass casualty terrorist attacks like 9/11, is perfectly justifiable, the fundamental question is whether ignoring or downplaying the role of Islamist ideology in motivating jihadist terrorists, or avoiding any and all legitimate criticism of Islam itself, will end up having these salutary effects. Quite possibly, they will have the exact opposite effects, since they are so at variance with observable realities. And even if they did have those desired effects, could this one social benefit possibly compensate for the innumerable other intellectual, political, social, cultural, and security problems that have already materialised, and that will no doubt become even more acute, as a consequence of systematically concealing troubling facts about Islam, certain Muslim communities in the West, and Islamism?

Perhaps the best short definition of reality is "that which exists irrespective of what one believes." Hence persisting in promoting or even foolishly believing in falsehoods about Islam

and Islamism cannot possibly be the solution to any real world problems, above all the threat of jihadist terrorism. On the contrary, it is only by honestly confronting the most regressive and otherwise problematic aspects of Islamic religious teachings and the destructive patterns of tribal solidarity (ʿasabiyya) that exist throughout the Muslim world, as well as by highlighting the insidious anti-modernist and anti-democratic agenda of Islamism, that the West can morally encourage and empower secularists, liberal Muslim reformers, and other anti-Islamist Muslims who are resisting the most puritanical, intolerant, bellicose, and reactionary elements in their own societies. Surely this should be the primary goal of Western democracies in the current ideological and political struggle, just as in the past it had generally induced them to support, with successful outcomes, a vast and diverse array of anti-fascist and anti-communist forces during the other great ideological conflicts that characterized the 20th century. After all, it is a matter of vital importance, both for the non-Muslim world and for the Muslim world itself, that anti-Islamist forces ultimately triumph over the Islamists in their intellectual and moral struggle for the "soul" of Islam.[76] Hence the West should not be adopting policies of any kind, either domestic or foreign, that have the effect of tangibly aiding or morally legitimising the Islamists. Sadly, almost every policy option that the U.S. has embarked upon since 9/11, whether it be the misguided confrontational policies of the neo-conservatives during the Bush administration or the overly conciliatory but no less delusional policies of the Obama administration, has thus far only served to empower the West's Islamist enemies at the expense of its friends in the Muslim world.[77]

Indeed, in the twelve years since the "global war on terrorism" was officially declared, the West seems to have learned no fundamental lessons about the essential nature and oft-professed aims of our Islamist enemies, jihadist or otherwise. There is absolutely no excuse for this ongoing, persistent, and seemingly willful blindness, given that certain analysts and officials have been sounding the alarm for many years. For example, on 1 December 2005 U.S. Marine Corps General Peter Pace, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, gave a speech at the National Defense University in which he commented on the Bush administration's recently-released *National Strategy for Victory in Iraq* report.[78] In his remarks, Pace correctly emphasized the "need to understand the nature of the jihadist enemy."[79] And despite the naïve and overly optimistic tone of the report itself, Pace made the following perfectly accurate comments:

> "I say you need to get out and read what our [jihadist] enemies have said. Remember Hitler. Remember he wrote Mein Kampf. He said in writing exactly what his plan was, and we collectively ignored that to our great detriment. Now, our enemies have said publicly on film, on the Internet, [that] their goal is to destroy our way of life. No equivocation on their part. They're not saying if you stay home, we will not come after you. They are saying their goal is to rid the Middle East of all foreigners. Then, overthrow all governments that are not friendly to them, which means every single one of those governments. Then, to use

> *that base as a way to spread their terrorism and their oppression across the globe to include a map that shows 100 years from now that the entire globe will be under their domination.*"[80]

These statements, which can easily be documented on the basis of Islamist – not just jihadist – primary sources[81], should have been taken fully to heart by the American military and policy-making establishments, as well as by the Western political "commentariat." Unfortunately, Pace's admonitions were largely ignored rather than followed, with the result that the West's understanding of the enemy's motives and goals in 2013 seems actually to have deteriorated further, having become corrupted by even more Orwellian rhetoric and "magical thinking" thanks to the pernicious ongoing efforts of Islamist activists and their academic "apologists" to sanitise or conceal basic historical, political, and doctrinal facts about Islam and Islamism. Unless that situation changes dramatically, which means that a multitude of blatantly false but *au courant* "politically correct" notions will have to be jettisoned, the United States and its democratic allies will never be able to develop effective policies or strategies to cope with their extremist Muslim enemies, whether they are armed jihadists or subversive "stealth" Islamists who have concluded that resorting to violence is not the best way, at least at the moment, to pursue their Islamic supremacist objectives.

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Notes

[1] Ralph Peters, "Wishful Thinking and Indecisive Wars," *Journal of International Security Affairs* 16 (Spring 2009), at http://www.securityaffairs.org/issues/2009/16/peters.php .

[2] "Together Facing the New Totalitarianism," reprinted in full as "Writers Statement on Cartoons," *BBC News*, 1 March 2006, at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4764730.stm . This manifesto was originally published in the satirical left-wing French magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in response to the hysterical "Muhammad cartoon" controversy in Denmark (and beyond), which had been provoked, exploited, and exacerbated by Islamist fanatics so as to curtail, by means of intimidation and violence, freedom of speech in the West. All of the signatories of this manifesto were left-leaning intellectuals. This and other evidence of left-wing opposition to Islamism should cause sober observers to question both the fraudulent accusations of "Islamophobia" so often proffered by Islamists and self-styled "anti-fascists" and the histrionic claims of certain right-wing "Islam bashers" and "left bashers" regarding the existence of an ostensibly monolithic "green-red" alliance. The issue of "Islamophobia" will be dealt with at more length below. For examples of simplistic polemics about "green-red" alliances, see David Horowitz, *Unholy Alliance: Radical Islam and the American Left* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2004); and Jamie Glazov, *United in Hate: The Left's Romance with Tyranny and Terror* (Los Angeles: WND Books, 2009), even though both highlight some real-world past and present examples of collaboration between the international left and radical Muslims, including Islamists. See further notes 43 and 32.

[3] Salim Mansur, "How the West Was Duped," *Toronto Sun*, 14 February 2009, at http://www.torontosun.com/comment/columnists/salim_mansur/2009/02/14/8389986-sun.html .

[4] "David Solway Interview," *Arts & Opinion* 9:3 (2010), at http://www.artsandopinion.com/2010_v9_n3/solway-20.htm .

[5] See United States Government, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, *Final Report* (Washington, DC: GPO, [22 July] 2004), p. 363, at http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report.pdf : "Our enemy is twofold: al Qaeda, a stateless network of terrorists that struck us on 9/11; and a radical ideological movement in the Islamic world [i.e., Islamism], inspired in part by al Qaeda, which has spawned terrorist groups and violence across the globe. The first enemy is weakened, but continues to pose a grave threat. The second enemy is gathering, and will menace Americans and American interests long after Osama bin Laden and his cohorts are killed or captured. Thus our strategy must match our means to two ends: dismantling the al Qaeda network and prevailing in the longer term over the ideology that gives rise to Islamist terrorism." However, a few lines further on (ibid), this perfectly accurate conclusion was in part compromised by the claims that "Islam does not teach terror[ism]" and that Islamism is a "perversion of Islam, not the great faith itself", problematic public relations themes that have since been widely emphasized and promoted instead of the sober assessment in the earlier passage.

[6] See, e.g., [U.S.] Society of Professional Journalists, "Guidelines for Countering Racial, Ethnic and Religious Profiling," *Society of Professional Journalists* website, 6 October 2001, at http://www.spj.org/divguidelines.asp . Along with many other "politically correct" recommendations (e.g., "[s]eek out people from a variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds when photographing Americans mourning those lost in New York, Washington, and Pennsylvania"), the Society urged its members to "[a]void using combinations such as 'Islamic terrorist' and 'Muslim extremist' that are misleading because they link whole religions to criminal activity" [a claim that is baseless provided that one actually distinguishes "Islamic terrorists" and "Muslim extremists" from the vast majority of other Muslims]; "when writing about terrorism, [to] remember to include white supremacist, radical anti-abortionists and other groups with a history of such activity" [why should this be necessary if such facts are irrelevant to the context of a story concerning jihadist terrorists?]; to "[a]void using terms such as 'jihad' unless you are certain of their precise meaning….The basic meaning of 'jihad' is to exert oneself for the good of Islam and to better oneself" [a definition that, while not technically false, is very misleading – see note 59 below]; and to "[a]sk men and women within targeted communities to review your coverage and make suggestions" [perhaps OK in theory, but in practice a suggestion that will result in journalists consulting self-styled Muslim "spokesmen," who often turn out to be dissimulating Islamists]. The BBC has promoted similar recommendations, and even goes so far as to suggest that reporters avoid using the term "terrorism." See BBC, "Language When Reporting Terrorism: Guidance," October 2010, at http://www.bbc.co.uk/guidelines/editorialguidelines/page/guidance-reporting-terrorism-summary . Perhaps the most egregious example of the use of Orwellian language in connection with jihadist terrorism was the attempt by former British Home Secretary Jacqui Smith to re-designate "Islamic terrorism" as "anti-Islamic activity". See James Slack, "Government Renames Islamic Terrorism as 'Anti-Islamic Activity' to Woo Muslims," *Daily Mail*, 17 January 2008, at http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-508901/Government-renames-Islamic-terrorism-anti-Islamic-activity-woo-Muslims.html . This initiative stemmed from the naïve view, based primarily on wishful thinking (as well as misguided concerns about alienating "mainstream Muslim opinion"), that violent Islamists, i.e., jihadists, "were behaving contrary to their faith, rather than acting in the name of Islam." Yet as Canadian conservative Mark Steyn wryly observed in a *New York Sun* column on 28 January 2008, calling jihadist terrorism "anti-Islamic" could only make sense "in the same way that the Luftwaffe raining down death and destruction on Londoners during the Blitz was an 'anti-German activity.'" This column was later reprinted in his book, *Lights Out: Islam, Free Speech and the Twilight of the West* (Woodsville, NH: Stockade Books, 2009), p. 147. Nevertheless, a similar assertion was reportedly made by former U.S. commander General Stanley A. McChrystal in his 30 August 2009 Initial Assessment of the war in Afghanistan, wherein he advocated that in the "more forceful" strategy now to be employed by the International Security Assistance Force, Afghanistan (ISAF), the Afghan insurgents should be "exposed continually for their cultural and religious violations, *anti-Islamic* and indiscriminate use of violence and terror[ism]….*and flagrant contravention of the principles of the Koran*." See Andrew G. Bostom, "McChrystal, Tocqueville, and the Koran: The Postmodern 'COINage' of a Failed Policy," *PJ Media* website, 29 June 2010, at http://pjmedia.com/blog/mcchrystal-tocqueville-and-the-koran-the-postmodern-coinage-of-a-failed-policy/ [emphasis added, JMB]. However, I was unable to find those particular quotes in the declassified version found at http://media.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/documents/Assessment_Redacted_092109.pdf . While one can surely make a case that various types of excesses and atrocities commonly associated with today's jihadist terrorism violate classical Islamic "just war" conceptions – in theory, if not always in terms of actual historical practice – it is nonetheless utterly Orwellian to characterize jihadists as "anti-Islamic." Whether such a rhetorical approach could be useful, even within the limited context of information warfare, remains doubtful given that "infidels" lack the credibility and authority, in Muslim eyes, to decide what is "Islamically correct." On Islamic "just war" doctrines in relation to contemporary Islamism and jihadism, see John Kelsay, "Islamist Movements and Shari'a Reasoning," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions,* Vol. 10, No. 2 (June 2009), pp. 121-34. Cf. idem, *Arguing the Just War in Islam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2007), for a broader treatment.

[7] By *Islamism*, I am referring specifically to the radical right pole of the "political Islam" spectrum, which is only one of many possible interpretations of core Islamic doctrines. The term "political Islam" is not synonymous with "Islamism" per se, as many assume, but instead covers all of the Islamic ideologies and movements that explicitly aim either to politicize Islam or to Islamize politics. It therefore encompasses, from left to right, "Islamic socialism" (which should not be confused with Western-style socialism), "Islamic liberalism" (which should not be confused with Western-style liberalism), "conservative Islamic reformism," and "Islamism" (the Islamic extreme right). Islamism can best be defined as a totalitarian anti-secular and anti-"infidel" Islamic political ideology with both revolutionary and revivalist features. More specifically, the principal ideological characteristics of Islamism – in all of its diverse and often sectarian Sunni and Shi'i forms – are an outright rejection of Western secular values, an intransigent resistance to "infidel" political, economic, social, and cultural influence on the Muslim world, a pronounced hostility towards less committed and militant Muslims (who are often denounced as "apostates" or even "unbelievers" [in a process known as *takfir*]), and an insistent demand for the establishment of an Islamic state governed by a rigid, puritanical application of the *shari'a*. Since these particular ideas are inherently radical, one cannot legitimately draw a meaningful distinction between "moderate" and "radical" Islamists, at least not with respect to their ultimate, Islamic supremacist *objectives*, even though they do disagree amongst themselves, often vehemently, about the *means* that should be employed to achieve those objectives (e.g., about whether or not to rely primarily on violence). See further Jeffrey M. Bale, "Islamism and Totalitarianism," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (June 2009), esp. pp. 79-81 and 92, note 32. Cf. also Emmanuel Sivan, *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1990); Abderrahim Lamchichi, *L'islamisme politique* (Paris: Harmattan, 2001); Johannes J. G. Jansen, *The Dual Nature of Islamic Fundamentalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1997); Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi', *Intellectual Origins of Islamic*

Resurgence in the Islamic World (Albany: SUNY, 1996); Martin Kramer, (Ed.), *The Islamism Debate* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University/Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 1997); and the Hudson Institute publication series, *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*.

[8] See, e.g., Paul K. Davis and Kim Cragin, (Eds.), *Social Science for Counterterrorism: Putting the Pieces Together* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND National Defense Research Institute, 2009), p. xxiv: "Terrorists are *not* particularly impoverished, uneducated, or afflicted by mental disease. Demographically, their most important characteristic is normalcy (within their environment). Terrorist leaders actually tend to come from relatively privileged backgrounds." Cf. also Claude Berrebi, "The Economics of Terrorism and Counterterrorism: What Matters and Is Rational-Choice Theory Helpful?," in ibid, pp. 152-69. Nevertheless, all too often, many analysts, officials, and advocacy groups are still prone to insist, for varying reasons, that the actions of violent, ideologically-motivated extremists are really attributable either to poverty or to mental illnesses of some type rather than to their stated beliefs and motives. For a bald-faced assertion that poverty is "directly connected to the proliferation of…terrorism and insurgency", see Jake Harriman, "Linking Extreme Poverty and Global Terrorism," *New York Times*, 13 March 2012, at http://kristof.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/03/13/linking-extreme-poverty-and-global-terrorism/?_r=0 . For several examples of decisions by American courts to portray ideologically motivated jihadists, especially "lone wolf" jihadists, as "insane" or "mentally incompetent" rather than as the religious extremists that they usually are, see Teri Blumenfeld, "Are Jihadists Crazy?," *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (Spring 2012), pp. 3-13, at http://www.meforum.org/meq/pdfs/3190.pdf . Unfortunately, such errors or legal stratagems, even when contemptuously repudiated by the defendants themselves, have repeatedly led to the acquittal of the perpetrators on the most serious charges.

No less inaccurately, many right-wing "Islam bashers" were quick to deny that Norwegian terrorist Anders Behring Breivik had been in any way influenced or inspired by their own hostile attitudes towards Islam and left-wing elites, even though Breivik explicitly and sometimes repeatedly cited them in his 1518-page "manifesto," *2083: A European Declaration of Independence*. Instead, they too have resorted, in order to protect and defend themselves, to the convenient but misleading argument that his actions were more or less the product of "insanity" or "psychopathology," thereby downplaying the undeniable ideological motivations behind those actions. Cf., e.g., Robert Spencer of Jihad Watch's interview comments on a *BBC* Newshour broadcast, 27 July 2011,at http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00hz34g , where he characterized Breivik as a "nutcase" and a "psychopath"; "Statement of Geert Wilders concerning the Massacre in Norway," *Jihad Watch* website, 26 July 2011, at http://www.jihadwatch.org/2011/07/statement-of-geert-wilders-concerning-the-massacre-in-norway.html , who likewise labeled the killer as a "madman" and a "psychopath;" and "Baron Bodissey" (pseudonym for Edward S. "Ned" May), "Not a Madman, But a Psychopath," *Gates of Vienna* website, 27 July 2011, at http://gatesofvienna.net/2011/07/not-a-madman-but-a-psychopath/ , where it was also argued that Breivik was a "psychopath," and that the "psychopath's world contains nothing but himself…" Although it can scarcely be doubted that the writings of certain of the most histrionic Islam opponents had affected Breivik's attitudes, there is one crucial difference that must nonetheless be emphasized here: *none* of the critics of Islam or Islamism cited by Breivik has ever advocated carrying out acts of violence against Muslims – to my knowledge, the most provocative statements that they have made are to warn of a possible future civil war between native Europeans and violent, unassimilated, West-hating Muslims, and to accuse multiculturalist European elites of effectively engaging in treasonous behavior for placing the interests of immigrants and asylum seekers (especially Muslims) above those of their own citizens. In contrast, the Islamist ideologues who inspire jihadist terrorists regularly urge Muslims to wage armed *jihad* against, conquer, subjugate, enslave, and/or exterminate the "infidel" enemies of Islam. In any case, resorting to simplistic and often spurious "psychological" explanations to explain the violent actions of ideological extremists has the unfortunate effect of diverting attention away from the core worldviews that inspire their actions - worldviews which desperately need to be understood if one wants to develop effective counterterrorism – and, obviously, effective counter-extremism – measures and strategies.

[9] Italics added. Tracey Jan, "Suspect Returned from Russia 'with a willingness to kill people,' Kerry says," *Boston Globe*, 24 April 2013, at http://www.bostonglobe.com/news/politics/2013/04/24/secretary-state-john-kerry-says-tamerlan-tsarnaev-returned-from-russia-with-willingness-kill-people/59mtQpCSKTKk38udnyybSI/story.html .

[10] Italics added. Adam Goldman, Eric Tucker, and Matt Apuzzo, "Dead Boston Subject Influenced by Mysterious Radical," *Fort Wayne News-Sentinel*, 23 April 2013, at http://www.news-sentinel.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20130423/NEWS/130429851/1006 .

[11] However, President Obama soon acknowledged that they were in fact acts of terrorism, and at the memorial service for the MIT police officer slain by the bombers, Vice President Joseph Biden ascribed the murders to "two twisted, perverted, cowardly, knockoff jihadis." Whether or not those various adjectives are applicable, he at least was honest enough to label them "jihadis."

[12] For more on the notions, and the characteristic manifestations, of "Islam apologism" and "Islamist apologism," see Bale, "Islamism and Totalitarianism," esp. pp. 74-9. Concerning the former, cf. Jean-Pierre Péroncel-Hugoz, *The Raft of Mohammed: Social and Human Consequences of the Return of Traditional Religion in the Arab World* (New York: Paragon House, 1988), pp. 5, 2: "We have a whole host of [Western] voices whose single concern, when Islam is in question, is to prettify, to transform, to ameliorate, to exculpate, all at the expense of accuracy….Most of them…have felt obliged, in writing or speaking about Islam, the Muslim world, or the Arabs, to adopt an attitude in which an excess of reverence, deliberate omissions, or worse, distortion or servility, have damaged truth, scholarship, and most seriously mutual understanding between Muslims and non-Muslims."; and Marxist French Islam scholar Maxime Rodinson, "The Western Image and Western Studies of Islam," in *The Legacy of Islam*, edited by Joseph Schacht with C. E. Bosworth (Oxford: Oxford University, 1974), p. 59: "The anti-colonial left, whether Christian or not, often goes so far as to sanctify Islam and the contemporary ideologies of the Muslim world….Understanding has given way to apologetics pure and simple." Unfortunately, these harmful and dangerous apologetic trends have become even more pronounced in recent decades, especially since the 9/11 attacks, an event that should have had the effect of curbing them.

[13] For verses of the *Qu'ran* that explicitly refer to armed fighting, see Nationaal Coordinator Terrorismebestrijding, *Ideologie en strategie van het jihadisme* (The Hague: National Coordinator for Counterterrorism, [December] 2009), pp. 78-83.

[14] Juan Cole, "Pot and Partying: Top Ten Signs the Tsarnaev Brothers Weren't Pious Muslims," *Informed Comment* website, 27 April 2013, at http://www.juancole.com/2013/04/partying-tsarnaev-brothers.html . Perhaps the only recent claim about Islamists that is more wildly inaccurate than this one – excepting the notion peddled by some academicians that Sunni and Shi'i Islamism constitute new forms of "liberation theology" – was that of Director of National Intelligence (DNI) James Clapper, who in 10 February 2011 testimony before Congress characterized the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood as a "very heterogeneous group, *largely secular*, which has eschewed violence and

has decried al-Qaeda as a perversion of Islam. They have pursued social ends, [the] *betterment of the political order in Egypt*, etc." [Italics added, JMB]. See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=POwd44zH9GA . The erroneous nature of this characterization was so obvious that the following day Jamie Smith, director of public affairs for the Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI), attempted to spin Clapper's remarks by saying that what he actually meant was that the Brotherhood "makes efforts to work through a political system that has been, under Mubarak's rule, largely secular in its orientation – he is well aware that the Muslim Brotherhood is not a secular organization." See "Office of the Director of National Intelligence 'Clarifies' Remarks on the Muslim Brotherhood," *ABC News*, 10 February 2011, at http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2011/02/office-of-the-director-of-national-intelligence-clarifies-remarks-on-muslim-brotherhood/ . That is clearly not what Clapper's remarks implied, however, since they had the effect of whitewashing the nature of the organization.

[15] Omid Safi, "10 Essential Points about the Boston Marathon Bombers," in his "What Would Muhammad Do" blog, *Religion News Service* website, 20 April 2013, at http://omidsafi.religionnews.com/2013/04/20/10-essential-points/ . For misleading claims concerning the Boston attacks, however, perhaps nothing can top the "analysis" of the Director of the Islamophobia Research and Documentation Project at the University of California at Berkeley. See Hatem Bazian, "Boston Bombing, Islamophobia and Sudden Ignorance Syndrome," *Islamic Human Rights Commission* website, 19 May 2013, at http://www.ihrc.org.uk/news/comment/10523-boston-bombing-islamophobia-and-sudden-ignorance-syndrome , who personally slanders several Islam and Islamism critics – and by extension virtually everyone else who expresses concerns about Islamism and jihadist terrorism – as a "racist," a "McCarthyism like" witch hunter, a Muslim "hater," a "bigot," an "Islamophobe," and a committer of collective "crimes" against Muslims. In short, the Tsarnaevs' crimes in Boston , "horrific" as they were, pale into insignificance in comparison to the alleged (thought) crimes committed by those who correctly highlighted the brothers' Islamist ideological motivations. Indeed, Bazian is prone to apply the term "Islamophobia" to virtually everyone who is opposed to the Islamist agenda, including other Muslims, as he does in his article "Egypt, the 'War on Terrorism' and Islamophobia," *al-Jazira* website, 20 August 2013, at http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/08/201381916528829808.html , wherein he accuses the Egyptian military of "seeking legitimacy through Islamophobia" for having ousted the "democratically elected" Brotherhood from power.

[16] According to recently published U.S. government documents, e.g., between 5 November 2001 and 4 February 2002, while he was *imam* of the now notorious Dar al-Hijra mosque in Falls Church, Virginia, Islamist extremist and al-Qa'ida operative Anwar al-Awlaqi paid over $2,000 to hire prostitutes in the Washington, DC, area. One of those liaisons occurred the night before he gave a presentation at the Pentagon in connection with a Department of Defense "outreach" effort to supposedly "moderate" Muslims. Al-Awlaqi had also reportedly hired "escorts" when he lived in San Diego in the 1990s, as well as during visits to Florida. See "Terror Leader Awlaki Paid Thousands for Prostitutes in DC Area, Documents Show," *Fox News*, 2 July 2013, at http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2013/07/02/terror-leader-awlaki-paid-thousands-for-prostitutes-in-dc-area-documents-show/ . Note also that pornography is often found on the computers of Islamists and jihadists, including Usama b. Ladin himself. See, e.g., Scott Shane, "Pornography is Found in Bin Laden Compound Files," *New York Times*, 13 May 2011, at http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/14/world/asia/14binladen.html?_r=0 . Using Safi's logic, this would mean that neither the actions of al-Awlaqi or Bin Ladin could have been motivated by their extremist interpretations of Islam because they were not proper "Muslim role models."

[17] Hilary Andersson, "Tamerlan Tsarnaev had Right-Wing Extremist Literature," *BBC*, 5 August 2013, at http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-23541341 . It is now known that Tamerlan obtained these materials from an embittered 67-year old disabled man, Donald Larking, who was a client of Tamerlan's mother Zubeidat, who was then making a living in the U.S. working as a home health aide for the elderly. See Alan Cullison, "Boston Bombing Subject was Steeped in Conspiracies," *Wall Street Journal*, 6 August 2013, at http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424127887323420604578649830782219440.html ; and Connor Simpson, "Meet the Man who Supplied Tamerlan Tsarnaev with Right-Wing Literature," *The Atlantic Wire,* 6 August 2013, at http://www.theatlanticwire.com/national/2013/08/meet-man-who-gave-tamerlan-tsarnaev-his-right-wing-literature/68020/ . Under Larking's influence, Tamerlan reportedly began reading copies of the weekly *American Free Press* – the successor of the defunct newspaper *The Spotlight*, formerly published by Willis Carto's right-wing populist, anti-Semitic (and bankrupted) Liberty Lobby organization – and the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, the notorious Tsarist forgery that has long been very popular with Islamists and other types of anti-Semitic extremists. Tamerlan was also a fan of conspiracy websites like *InfoWars* and, of course, jihadist websites. Parenthetically, it should be noted that certain conspiratorial writers for the *American Free Press*, such as Mark Dankof and Mark Glenn, are also contributors to Iran's English-language Press TV channel. For the Liberty Lobby and Carto, see Frank P. Mintz, *The Liberty Lobby and the American Right: Race, Conspiracy, and Culture* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985); and George Michael, *Willis Carto and the American Far Right* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2008). For more on the background and history of the Protocols, see Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981); Pierre-André Taguieff, *Les Protocoles des sages de Sion: Faux et usages d'un faux* (Paris: Fayard, 2004); Eva Horn and Michael Hagemeister (Eds.), *Die Fiktion von der jüdischen Weltverschwörung: Zu Text und Kontext der "Protokolle der Weisen von Zion"* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2012); and Richard Landes and Steven Katz, (Eds.), *The Paranoid Apocalypse: A Hundred-Year Retrospective on The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (New York and London: NYU, 2012).

[18] "Tamerlan Tsarnaev, White Supremacist? Boston Bombing Suspect had 'Extreme Right-Wing Material,'" *Huffington Post* UK website, 5 August 2013, at http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2013/08/05/tamerlan-tsarnaev-white-supremacist_n_3706693.html . The falsity of this suggestion is revealed in a more recent article, wherein Larking, the provider of the domestic right-wing materials to Tamerlan, emphasized that the latter "was very, very religious. He believed that the Koran was the one true word and he loved it." Indeed, Tamerlan even persuaded Larking, a lifelong Catholic, to convert to Islam, after which the elderly American began attending the Islamic Society of Boston mosque and grew a beard (which the Chechen, who had started referring to Larking, fondly, as "Dawud," thence helped him trim). See Sally Jacobs, "Tsarnaev Friend Tells of Beliefs in Conspiracies," *Boston Globe*, 8 August 2013, at http://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/2013/08/07/unlikely-friendship/xQao9NHjkUvtvhTcK1uwCL/story.html .

[19] Michael Barkun, *A Culture of Conspiracy: Apocalyptic Visions in Contemporary America* (Berkeley: University of California, 2003), esp. chapters 2 and 11. In this particular case, Larking indicated that Tamerlan believed, like so many other Islamists and extremists with a conspiratorial worldview, that the 9/11 attacks were an "inside job and that the [U.S.] government had pulled it off." And according to his landlady, Joanna Herlihy, Tamerlan had given her a copy of the *Protocols*, saying that it was a "good book." See Jacobs, "Tsarnaev Friend Tells of Beliefs in Conspiracies." None of this should be surprising, since both extremists themselves and scholars have long recognized that

extremists from diverse ideological milieus tend to have much more in common with each other, in terms of their psychological make-up and fanatical attitudinal mindset, than they do with moderates who are much nearer to their own political sphere.

[20] See, e.g., Jeffrey Herf, *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 2011); Roger Faligot and Rémi Kauffer, *Le croissant et la croix gammée: Les secrets de l'alliance entre l'Islam et le nazisme, d'Hitler à nos jours* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1990); David Patterson, *A Genealogy of Evil: Anti-Semitism from Nazism to Islamic Jihad* (New York: Cambridge University, 2010); Matthias Küntzel, *Jihad and Jew-Hatred: Islamism, Nazism and the Roots of 9/11* (New York: Telos, 2009); Emmanuel Sivan, *Islamic Fundamentalism and Antisemitism* (Jerusalem: Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, Hebrew University, 1985); Wolfgang Benz and Juliane Wetzel, (Eds.), *Antisemitismus und radikaler Islamismus* (Essen: Klartext, 2007); Hans-Peter Raddatz, *Allah und die Juden: Die islamische Renaissance des Antisemitismus* (Berlin: WJS, 2007); and Clemens Heni, *Antisemitism, a Specific Phenomenon: Holocaust Trivialization, Islamism, Post-Colonial and Cosmopolitan Anti-Zionism* (Berlin: Critic, 2013), chapters 3 and 9. But cf. also Michael Berenbaum, (Ed.), *Not Your Father's Antisemitism: Hatred of the Jews in the Twenty-First Century* (St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 2008). However, the widespread acceptance of European, including Nazi, anti-Semitic notions in the Muslim world was greatly facilitated by the indigenous Islamic tradition of anti-Semitism, which dates back to the era of Muhammad's earliest conflicts with Jewish tribes in Medina. Cf. N[orman] A. Stillman, "Yahūd," in *Encyclopedia of Islam: New Edition*, ed. by P. J. Bearman et al (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002), volume 11, pp. 239-42; Neil J. Kressel, *"The Sons of Pigs and Apes": Muslim Antisemitism and the Conspiracy of Silence* (Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 2012); Philippe Simonnot, *Enquête sur l'antisémitisme musulman: De ses origines à nos jours* (Paris: Michalon, 2010); Carlo Panella, *Il "complotto ebraico": L'antisemitismo islamico da Maometto a Bin Laden* (Turin: Lindau, 2005); and the collection of texts in Andrew G. Bostom, (Ed.), *The Legacy of Islamic Antisemitism: From Sacred Texts to Solemn History* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2008). For a detailed account of Muhammad's activities in Medina, see W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1956). For a genuinely liberal Muslim's analysis of Islamic anti-Semitism, see Tarek Fatah, *The Jew is Not My Enemy: Unveiling the Myths that Fuel Muslim Anti-Semitism* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2010). For an interesting but controversial revisionist interpretation, see Ahmad Barakat, *Muhammad and the Jews: A Re-examination* (Delhi: Vikas, 1982), which subjects the standard account in Ibn Ishaq's biography (*sira*) of Muhammad to critical scrutiny.

[21] Daniel Pipes, *The Hidden Hand: Middle East Fears of Conspiracy* (New York: St. Martin's, 1998). Cf. also Matthew Gray, *Conspiracy Theories in the Arab World: Sources and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2010), who adopts a different explanatory framework.

[22] See, e.g., Nazila Fathi, "Holocaust Deniers and Skeptics Gather in Iran," *New York Times*, 11 December 2011, at http://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/11/world/middleeast/11cnd-iran.html?hp&ex=1165899600&en=89a54e1e0974643d&ei=5094&partner=homepage&_r=0 ; [Meir Amit] Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, Center for Special Studies, "Holocaust Denial as a Tool of Iranian Policy. The Holocaust Denial Conference in Tehran: Overview," undated, at http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/data/pdf/PDF_06_360_2.pdf , which contains an appendix listing the participants at the 2006 conference on pp. 16-20; Stephen E. Atkins, *Holocaust Denial as an International Movement* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2009), chapter 11; Anti-Defamation League (ADL), "Backgrounder: The Zayed Center," *ADL* website, 15 September 2003, at http://archive.adl.org/anti_semitism/zayed_center.asp ; idem, "Iran 'Hollywoodism' Conference Partners with U.S. and International Anti-Semites, Conspiracy Theorists," *ADL* Official Blogs website, 5 February 2013, at http://blog.adl.org/international/iran-hollywoodism-conference-partners-with-u-s-international-anti-semites-conspiracy-theorists . Note also the sparsely attended 11 September 2013 "Million American March Against Fear" (originally designated the "Million Muslim March") rally in Washington, DC, which was organized by the American Muslim Political Action Committee (AMPAC), a group formed by Islamist extremists and "9/11 Truth" conspiracy theorists who have links both to HAMAS and to left-wing, pro-Islamist demagogue George Galloway, an MP for the disreputable Respect Party in Britain (which was created primarily by Islamists and Trotskyist activists from the sectarian Socialist Workers Party). The ideas animating the rally were that Muslims are being unfairly scapegoated, targeted, and persecuted by the U.S. government, which itself was behind the 9/11 and other alleged "jihadist" terrorist attacks. See Ryan Mauro, "Million Muslim March on 9/11 Linked to Islamist Radicals," *Clarion Project* website, 22 August 2013, at http://www.clarionproject.org/analysis/million-muslim-march-911-linked-islamist-radicals .

[23] See, e.g., David Sirota, "Let's Hope the Boston Marathon Bomber is a White American," *Salon.com* website, 16 April 2013, at http://www.salon.com/2013/04/16/lets_hope_the_boston_marathon_bomber_is_a_white_american/ , whose claims about double standards concerning the reportage of acts of terrorism are not only manifestly false, but amount to a complete inversion of reality.

[24] "Woolwich Attack: David Cameron's Full Statement," *The Guardian*, 23 May 2013, at http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2013/may/23/woolwich-attack-david-cameron-statement .

[25] Cited in Sam Jones, Ben Quinn, and Conal Urquhart, "Woolwich Attack Prompts Fears of Backlash against British Muslims," *The Guardian*, 23 May 2013, at http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2013/may/23/woolwich-attack-backlash-british-muslims .

[26] Russell Brand, "Blame This on Madness…not Muslims," *The Sun*, 26 May 2013, at http://www.thesun.co.uk/sol/homepage/features/4942468/Blame-this-on-madnessnot-on-Muslims.html#ixzz2UTukG2DV . For a broader and humorous critique of such "Islam apologist" or "Islamophilic" intellectual foolishness, see Douglas Murray, *Islamophilia: A Very Metropolitan Malady* (New York: em Books, 2013), Kindle edition.

[27] Italics added. Cited in Cassandra Vinograd and Paisley Dodds, "Brutal Attack in London Blamed on Radical Islam," *Associated Press*, 22 May 2013, at http://news.yahoo.com/brutal-attack-london-blamed-radical-islam-003607343.html . For Mawdudist domination of the MCB, see Anthony McRoy, *From Rushdie to 7/7: The Radicalisation of Islam in Britain* (London: Social Affairs Unit, 2006), pp. 171-3.

[28] "Muslim Groups Fear 'Wave of Attacks' in Wake of Woolwich Murder," *Huffington Post* UK website, 6 June 2013, at http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2013/06/06/woolwich-attack-muslim-groups-fear-wave-of-attacks_n_3394287.html?utm_hp_ref=uk . Such attacks in fact rarely materialize, except for some reprehensible but relatively minor incidents of opportunistic thuggery and destructive vandalism. See, e.g., "Muslim Group Monitoring 'Hate Crimes' Loses Funding for Lying," *Clarion Project* website, 13 June 2013, at http://www.clarionproject.org/news/muslim-group-monitoring-hate-crimes-loses-funding-lying . Despite the exaggerated claims of both Islamist and self-styled "anti-hate" organizations like Faith Matters, which tend to uncritically accept the claims of real or imagined Muslim victims and which clearly have a vested political interest in exaggerating the number and seriousness of such acts, thus far there have been only a handful of truly dangerous post-Woolwich retaliatory incidents, e.g., one involving an arson attack on the Grimsby Islamic Cultural Centre

while worshippers were inside. It goes without saying that even one serious attack of this type is one too many and that the perpetrators of documented acts of anti-Muslim violence should be severely punished whenever they are identified, just as the Muslim perpetrators of anti-Semitic or other types of "anti-infidel" violence should be. But there seems to be much greater governmental, media, and academic concern in Britain, inexplicably, about a few dozen right-wing "yobs" in the English Defence League (EDL) than there is about jihadists. As Douglas Murray rightly asks, "Islamophobia is a Government Priority. What about Islamism?," *The Spectator*, 25 April 2013, at http://blogs.spectator.co.uk/douglas-murray/2013/04/islamophobia-is-a-government-priority-what-about-islamism/ . See, e.g., Jon Garland and James Treadwell, "'No Surrender to the Taliban': Football Hooliganism, Islamophobia and the Rise of the English Defence League," paper prepared for the 2010 British Society of Criminology conference, pp. 19-35, wherein it is argued (in the Abstract, p. 19) that the EDL "poses the most serious threat to public order and community cohesion since the heyday of the [fascist] National Front in the 1970s." From this blinkered perspective, one apparently need not worry at all about jihadist terrorism or Islamist provocateurs from pro-jihadist groups like Shariah4UK, Islam4UK, or Muslims Against Crusades (MAC) posing any threats of this type, even though it was in fact a hostile, insulting March 2009 public demonstration in Luton organized by yet another al-Muhajirun (The Émigrés) successor organization, Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jama'a (People of the Sunna and the [True Muslim] Community), against British troops who had returned from Iraq that actually precipitated the creation of the EDL (ibid, pp. 20-22). Indeed, in that same paper, phrases like "radical Islam," "extremist Islam," and "Islamic extremism" are at times placed in quotes, as if they were purely imaginary constructs generated by "Islamophobic" hooligans and fascists. For more on al-Muhajirun and its offshoots, see Catherine Zeta Raymond, *Al Muhajiroun and Islam4UK: The Group Behind the Ban* (London: International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence, [May] 2010), at http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/1276697989CatherineZaraRaymondICSRPaper.pdf . Shariah4UK now also has branches in other European countries. See, e.g., Emerson Vermaat, "Shariah4Belgium and Shariah4UK: Small but Dangerous Islamist Fringe Groups," *Pipeline News* website, 12 June 2012, at http://www.pipebombnews.com/2012/jun/14/Shariah4Belgium-Shariah4UK-Small-But-Dangerous-Islamist.html .

[29] Moreover, it later emerged that the murderous fanatic who made these statements, Michael Adebolajo, had been a member of the banned pro-*jihad* Islamist group, al-Muhajirun – which thereafter simply kept renaming itself to circumvent periodic bans – whose leaders, 'Umar Bakri Muhammad and Anjem Choudary were both quick to praise his atrocious act. See Dominic Evans, "Exiled Cleric who Taught UK Knifeman praises 'Courage,'" *Reuters*, 24 May 2013, at http://news.yahoo.com/exiled-cleric-taught-uk-knifeman-praises-courage-112658347.html . Indeed, according to Kenyan anti-terrorist police unit head Boniface Mwaniki, in 2010 Adebolajo (then using the name Michael Olemindis Ndemolajo) was personally preparing to train and fight with, and had also sought to recruit other young Kenyans for, the al-Qa'ida-linked Somali jihadist group, the Harakat al-Shabab al-Mujhahidin (Mujahidin Youth Movement). The Kenyan authorities then arrested and deported him to Britain, where he changed his name to Adebolajo. See Tom Odula and Sylvia Hui, "Suspect in Savage Slaying of U.K. Soldier was Previously Arrested in Kenya in Terror Probe," *National Post* [Canada], 25 May 2013, at http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/05/26/suspect-in-savage-slaying-of-u-k-soldier-was-previously-arrested-in-kenya-in-terror-probe/ .

[30] Unfortunately, this too may now be changing, and also for the worse. In recent years, elements of the domestic American far right - militia groups, right-wing talk radio conspiracy theorists like Alex Jones and Glenn Beck, fringe Tea Party activists, and hard right Republicans in the House of Representatives – have all been engaged in strenuous efforts to delegitimize the government's threat assessments of the domestic radical right and, even more dangerously, to impede U.S. law enforcement and intelligence agencies from monitoring paramilitary militia groups and anti-abortion extremists. Here the emblematic example is the case of a Department of Homeland Security intelligence analysis produced by Daryl Johnson, wherein he warned that the economic downturn, the election of Obama, concerns about gun control, and changing demographics in the U.S. were leading to a dangerous resurgence of the radical right, including the meteoric growth of militia groups which could pose a real terrorist threat. See Department of Homeland Security, Office of Intelligence and Analysis, *Rightwing Extremism: Recent Economic and Political Climate Fueling Resurgence in Radicalization and Recruitment* (Washington, DC: GPO, [7 April] 2009), at http://www.fas.org/irp/eprint/rightwing.pdf . In short, he was simply stating that which is patently obvious and easily documentable. But in response, a hysterical campaign was launched by the aforementioned groups to demonize Johnson, a straight-laced and very conservative Mormon, as someone trying to push a "left-wing" agenda against supposedly "patriotic" Americans, and to put congressional pressure on DHS to repudiate the report and stop identifying the radical right as a potential security threat. Sadly, DHS rapidly caved in to this malicious campaign, and refused to defend Johnson and support his analysis. This incident has apparently made U.S. law enforcement and intelligence agencies more reluctant to sound the alarm about or aggressively investigate the domestic radical right (in part out of fear that House committees will cut their funding). This troubling story has been recounted in detail by Daryl Johnson in his book, *Right-Wing Resurgence: How a Domestic Terrorist Threat is Being Ignored* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012).

American right-wingers were also in an uproar about another document, the Department of Homeland Security's "Reference Aid: Domestic Extremism Lexicon" (Washington, DC: GPO, [26 March] 2009), at http://www.fas.org/irp/eprint/lexicon.pdf , even though the definitions contained therein – apart from the emotion-laden, propagandistic term "hate group" (one that has long been promoted and often applied indiscriminately by anti-fascist "watchdog" organizations), which should be discarded once and for all and replaced with more precise designations – are generally accurate, cover diverse types of extremists, and should therefore be unobjectionable to any reasonable person. So it is that dangerous militia groups are now also successfully playing the "victim" card, just as the Islamists have long been doing, by accusing people who are justifiably concerned about their activities of launching "witch hunts" and "persecutions" against them. The obvious question is why U.S. security agencies, working under the direction of a moderately liberal administration, are cravenly capitulating to this sort of illegitimate pressure from both types of extreme right milieus, given that such a response only serves to inhibit their counterterrorist efforts.

[31] Note, e.g., the attempts by Social Democratic elites and "anti-fascists" to exploit the terrorist acts of Breivik so as to exaggerate the security threat posed by the domestic radical right, as well as to demonize all critics of Islam and Islamism, for which see Bruce Bawer, *The New Quislings: How the International Left Used the Oslo Massacre to Silence Debate About Islam* (New York: Broadside, 2012), Kindle edition. As Bawer justly summarizes the situation (ibid, at 27% and 35%), "all too many members of the Norwegian cultural elite made use of this atrocity as an opportunity to launch personal attacks against their longtime ideological adversaries – whom they unhesitatingly linked to the perpetrator of these unspeakable crimes….Of course, it is a common practice on the far left, not only in Norway but elsewhere, to use guilt by association to smear one's opponents and delegitimize their views, even as one hypocritically refuses to 'jump to conclusions' in obvious cases of Muslim fanaticism….[so] they lost no time in turning Breivik's actions to their advantage, brazenly maintaining that because he had

opposed multiculturalism and the Islamization of Europe, everyone else who held such views also bore a share of the responsibility for his monstrous actions….”

Emblematic of this dishonest approach was the op-ed by two Norwegian *bien pensant* icons, Jostein Gaarder and Thomas Hylland Eriksen, “A Blogosphere of Bigots,” *New York Times*, 28 July 2011, at http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/29/opinion/Gaarder-Eriksen.html?_r=0 , which accused various people who claim to defend “enlightened values,” including openly gay moderate liberals like Bawer, of being members of the “new right.” As if individuals like Bawer – such as indefatigable defender of Muslim women and Islam critic Hege Storhaug of the Human Rights Service in Norway, who has been similarly vilified by other Norwegian leftists and multiculturalists – were comparable to right-wing rabble-rousers like Pamela Geller, a histrionic American blogger, activist, and Islam critic. Moreover, social anthropology professor Th. H. Eriksen is the quintessential multiculturalist, postmodern “West-hating Westerner,” as many of his comments in various fora reveal. A key figure in a multiculturalist research group at the University of Oslo and a local candidate in 2011 for the Oslo Miljøpartiet de Grønne (Green Environmental Party), he openly stated that the “most important white spot [i.e., research task] is to deconstruct the [white European] majority and to do it so thoroughly that it can never be called the majority any longer.…Something like that could contribute both to understanding and liberation.” See Lorenz Khazaleh, “Håper på fem nye Culcom-år,” on the website of the aforementioned research group, 18 June 2008, available at https://www.uio.no/forskning/tverrfak/culcom/nyheter/2008/hylland-eriksen.html . Elsewhere on that same website, in a description of one of its major projects, it is stated that the group does not share the “normative agenda” of government and commercial interests to “integrate” immigrants, but rather will investigate the “volatile and contested concept of Norwegianness and [the] ways in which notions of Norwegianness is [sic] used discursively to exclude or include ambiguous persons (i.e., minority members resident in the country).” Eriksen and his colleagues believe, then, that existing ideas about Norwegian identity are intrinsically problematic, if not racist, and that efforts to encourage immigrants to adopt “locally hegemonic (‘Norwegian’) values” violates those immigrants’ so-called “cultural rights.” See “Programbeskrivelse,” available at https://www.uio.no/forskning/tverrfak/culcom/forskning/programbeskrivelse/ . It follows that Eriksen thinks that indigenous Norwegians – and, by extension, Europeans in general – do not have any “cultural rights” that are worth preserving and defending, in contrast to those of non-European immigrants.

Hence Eriksen perfectly illustrates Mark Steyn’s argument that “[n]on-judgmental multiculturalism is an obvious fraud” that was “conceived by the Western elites not to celebrate all cultures but to deny their own; it is, thus, the real [cultural] suicide bomb.” See Mark Steyn, *America Alone: The End of the World as We Know It* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2006), p. 194. Cf. Paul Edward Gottfried, *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Guilt: Towards a Secular Theocracy* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri, 2002), p. 14: “In the new multicultural as opposed to conventional multiethnic situation, the state [along with multiculturalist ideologues such as Eriksen] glorifies differences from the way of life associated with the once majority population. It hands out rewards to those who personify the desired differences, while taking away cultural recognition and even political rights from those who do not.”

[32] Worse still, most “anti-fascist” organizations have thus far tended to uncritically accept and disseminate the propaganda about “Islamophobia” being peddled by Islamist front groups, with whose cadres they often collaborate in smearing even serious critics of Islam and Islamism. (Although it is definitely not true, as some Islam critics have claimed, that Islamists invented the term “Islamophobia” [which was actually first coined in the early 20th century, if not before], the International Institute for Islamic Thought [IIIT], an Islamist think tank created by Muslim Brotherhood activists, reportedly adopted and enthusiastically promoted its usage in order to demonize and delegitimize critics of Islam and Islamism. See the congressional testimony of black American Muslim ‘Abdur-Rahman Muhammad, a former member of the IIIT, cited in “Moderate Muslims Speak Out on Capitol Hill,” *Investigative Project on Terrorism* website, 1 October 2010, at http://www.investigativeproject.org/2217/moderate-muslim-speak-out-on-capitol-hill , who stated that IIIT officials had “decided to emulate the homosexual activists who used the term ‘homophobia’ to silence critics…” and viewed the term “Islamophobia” as a useful way to “beat up their critics.” Cf. Claire Berlinski, “Moderate Muslim Watch: How the Term ‘Islamophobia’ Got Shoved Down Your Throat,” *Ricochet* website, 24 November 2012, at http://ricochet.com/main-feed/Moderate-Muslim-Watch-How-the-Term-Islamophobia-Got-Shoved-Down-Your-Throat , who rightly argues that the “association of anti-Islamism – the noblest [contemporary] form of liberal anti-totalitarianism – with gay-bashing rednecks in the grip of a psychosexual panic was not just one of those linguistic accidents of history, in other words” [even though she falsely claims therein that the IIIT “invented” the term].) So it is that the declared enemies of fascism have foolishly – or, at times, cynically and disingenuously – given aid and comfort to their “anti-infidel” Islamist enemies, the most dangerous and deadly of contemporary right-wing extremists. For different manifestations of collaboration between elements of Western radical left or right milieus and Islamists, cf. Alexandre del Valle, *Verdi, rossi, neri. La convergenza degli estremisti antioccidentali: Islamismo, comunismo, neonazismo* (Turin: Lindau, 2009); George Michael, *The Enemy of My Enemy: The Alarming Convergence of Militant Islam and the Extreme Right* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2006); Gary Ackerman and Jeffrey M. Bale, “The Potential for Collaboration between Islamists and Western Left-Wing Extremists: A Preliminary Theoretical and Empirical Overview,” in *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict,* Vol. 5, No. 3 (2012), pp. 151-71; and Jeffrey M. Bale, *Where the Extremes Touch: Patterns of Collaboration between Islamist Networks and Western Left- and Right-Wing Extremists* (forthcoming book to be published by Routledge). Furthermore, there are also geopolitical alliances between “revolutionary” states whose leaders embrace different extremist ideologies, such as Shi‘i Islamist Iran and quasi-fascist “Bolivarian” Venezuela. See Sean Goforth, *Axis of Unity: Venezuela, Iran, and the Threat to America* (Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 2011); and Gustavo de Arístegui, *Contra Occidente: La emergente alianza antisistema* (Madrid: Esfera de los Libros, 2008).

[33] Cf. Ralph Peters, “Wishful Thinking and Indecisive Wars”: “The willful ignorance within the American intelligentsia and in Washington, D.C [as well as, it must be added, in Ottawa and most European capitals]…extends to a denial of the essential qualities of our determined enemies.…The problem is religion. Our Islamist enemies are inspired by it, while we are terrified even to talk about it. We are in the unique position of denying that our enemies know what they themselves are up to. They insist, publicly, that their goal is our destruction (or, in their mildest moods, our conversion) in their god’s name. We contort ourselves to insist that their religious rhetoric is all a sham, that they are merely cynics exploiting the superstitions of the masses. Setting aside the point that a devout believer can behave cynically in his mundane actions, our phony, one-dimensional analysis of al-Qaeda and its ilk has precious little to do with the nature of our enemies – which we are desperate to deny – and everything to do with us.…Thus we insist, for our own comfort, that our enemies do not really mean what they profess, that they are as devoid of a transcendental sense of the universe as we are.” See also Bruce Thornton, *Decline and Fall: Europe’s Slow Motion Suicide* (New York: Encounter Books, 2007), p. 110: “These clearly expressed religious motives [of jihadist terrorists], however, consistent with centuries of Islamic theology, jurisprudence, and practice, nonetheless were never accepted at face value. Instead, they were

reduced to expressions of some psychological trauma connected to inequitable social and economic conditions." For a good introduction to what our jihadist enemies actually believe, see Mary R. Habeck, *Knowing the Enemy: Jihadist Ideology and the War on Terror* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 2007). Cf. Jeffrey M. Bale, "Jihadist Ideology and Strategy and the Possible Employment of 'Weapons of Mass Destruction,'" in *Jihadists and Weapons of Mass Destruction*, edited by Gary Ackerman and Jeremy Tamsett (New York: CRC/Taylor & Francis, 2009), esp. pp. 6-26; and Jeffry R. Halverson, H. L. Goodall, Jr., and Steven R. Corman, *Master Narratives of Islamist Extremism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), for the recurring themes emphasized in Islamist ideological statements, treatises, and websites.

[34] See, e.g., Bassam Tibi, *The Sharia State: Arab Spring and Democratization* (New York: Routledge, 2013). Time will no doubt tell, but the July 2013 ouster of the Muslim Brotherhood from power in Egypt may only have temporarily delayed, rather than reversed, the onset of a possible Islamist "dark age" in the region.

[35] Cf. Michael Whine, "Islamism and Totalitarianism: Similarities and Differences," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* Vol. 2, No. 2 (Autumn 2001), pp. 54-72; Bale, "Islamism and Totalitarianism," op. cit. pp. 73-96; Bassam Tibi, "The Totalitarianism of Jihadist Islamism and Its Challenge to Europe and to Islam," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions,* Vol. 8, No. 1, (2007), pp. 35-54; idem, *Der neue Totalitarismus: "Heiliger Krieg" und westliche Sicherheit* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche, 2004); idem, *Islamism and Islam* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 2012), chapter 8; Alexandre del Valle, *Le totalitarisme islamiste à l'assaut des démocraties* (Paris: Syrtes, 2002); and the "Together Facing the New Totalitarianism" manifesto (see note 2 above).

[36] Cf., e.g., Martin Kramer, *Ivory Towers on Sand: The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America* (Washington, DC: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2001); Ibn Warraq (pseudonym for a secularist and former Muslim "apostate"), *Defending the West: A Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2007); and Robert Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and Its Discontents* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook, 2008). If anything, these academic biases and delusions have become even more pronounced in the wake of 9/11. See Clemens Heni, *Schadenfreude: Islamforschung und Antisemitismus in Deutschland nach 9/11* (Berlin: Critic, 2011). Note also the recent comments by Thomas Hegghammer, a leading expert on jihadist terrorism: "There are virtually no [academic] jobs for terrorism researchers. And *if you look at Middle East studies, you will not find a single person on the faculties in the Middle East studies departments that work on terrorism.* Some of them dabble in it, but nobody specializes in it."[Italics added, JMB]. See Beth McMurtrie, "Terrorism Experts Sought by Public but not by Academe," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 24 June 2013, at http://chronicle.com/article/Terrorism-Experts-Sought-by/139957/?key=QD8lJldmPSxFbS4yMD4SZG5VP3xsYRp3ZnJHY3t1bl9UFQ . The comments made in the same article by Nader Hashimi, Director of Middle East Studies at the University of Denver, are sadly illustrative of the biases within the Middle East field: "If you were to focus exclusively on [terrorism], you'd be reinforcing the stereotype that there's something intrinsic to the region that produces violence, that it has to do with culture or Islam or Near Eastern civilization." The implications of this revealing statement are that neither interpretations of Islam nor the mores of various tribal cultures in Muslim countries have any relationship whatsoever to jihadist terrorism, which is every bit as absurd as claiming, as the "Islam bashers" all too often do, that the Islamic religion and Middle Eastern cultures are uniquely conducive to generating terrorism. Unfortunately, the misleading characterisation of non-violent Islamists as "moderate" or "democratic" has almost become the norm in academic and policy-making circles, even though it erroneously confuses or conflates means with ends.

[37] For those rather Manichean, belligerent conceptions, see Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1955), esp. chapters 3, 5, 6, and 8. Cf. these more or less canonical medieval notions with the very similar ideas espoused in the text written by Usama b. Ladin (or, at least, prepared under his direction), "Moderate Islam is a Prostration to the West," in *The Al Qaeda Reader*, edited and translated by Raymond Ibrahim (New York: Broadway Books, 2007), pp. 17-62. On the other hand, Ayman al-Zawahiri's argument justifying "martyrdom operations" (suicide attacks) published in the same volume, "*Jihad*, Martyrdom, and the Killing of Innocents," pp. 137-71, departs significantly from "classical" Islamic "just war" doctrines and relies primarily on "weak" (*da'if*) *hadith*s or problematic analogies.

[38] Here again one can see the usual bizarre "politically correct" double standards at work. If Christian or Jewish conservatives, reactionaries, and right-wing extremists were promoting political, social, and cultural initiatives designed to facilitate the furtherance of fundamentalist, theocratic agendas and thereby transform secular Western societies, none of these "Islam apologists" of the ostensibly "progressive" sort would be adopting such a charitable attitude towards them, much less docilely submitting to or actively assisting them. On the contrary, they would be sounding the alarm and vigorously opposing every single initiative promoted by the Christian and Jewish religious right – and justifiably so. It is only in the case of Islam that such "progressives" suddenly jettison their secularism and become embarrassingly solicitous and supportive of undeniably regressive religio-cultural values, to the point where they devote almost all of their time and energy to denouncing critics of Islam and Islamism rather than anti-Western, anti-secular Muslim conservatives, traditionalists, or Islamists.

[39] At this point more needs to be said about the propagandistic term "Islamophobia," which – together with similarly problematic neologisms like "homophobia" and "Judeophobia" – has a built-in conceptual bias insofar as it suggests that critics of Islam and Islamism who are branded thusly must necessarily have an irrational "phobia," i.e., an "extreme fear of or aversion to" Islam, one that is both allegedly groundless and effectively pathological. To what extent is this pejorative term really applicable? First, being concerned about and critical of a totalitarian right-wing ideology like Islamism no more signifies that one is "Islamophobic" than being concerned about Nazism makes one a "Germanophobe." Second, apart from certain circles of Christian and Jewish extremists who consider Islam per se to be a "satanic" or "heretical" religion – usually the very same fanatics who also demonize "secular humanism" using similar terms – few if any in the West have a "phobia" about Islam *as a religion*, i.e., are irrationally fearful of Islam for narrowly theological reasons. Third, certain regressive and intolerant aspects of Islam itself, *not* just Islamism, present real and ongoing problems for the West, and are therefore both matters of legitimate concern and deserving of criticism.

Hence although it is true that many Westerners have developed negative attitudes towards Islam, especially since the onset of jihadist terrorism symbolized most dramatically by 9/11, the question is whether those negative attitudes are warranted, i.e., whether they are not only understandable but justifiable responses to real problems and actual threats posed by elements within the Muslim community, or whether they are instead based on irrational prejudices against Muslims and are therefore unwarranted. Certain people may well fall into the latter "Islam-hating" or "Muslim-hating" category, such as *Qur'an*-burning Florida pastor Terry Jones, American right-wing radio talk show hosts Glenn Beck (also a convert to Mormonism), Michael Savage (né Michael Weiner), and Bryan Fischer, Nakoula Basseley Nakoula (the

Coptic maker of a crude anti-Muhammad film), assorted extremist Tea Party activists and "know nothing" populists in the U.S., and various fringe European fascist groups (although other fascists are actually pro-Islam or even pro-Islamist), but most Westerners who have concerns about Islam clearly fall into the former category.

Is it "Islamophobic," for example, to associate Muslims with terrorism and other security threats during an era when jihadist groups are carrying out vastly disproportionate amounts of terrorism in various regions throughout the world? Is it "Islamophobic" to be concerned when Islamist activists demand the introduction of *shari'a*-based laws that are directly contrary to Western laws and Western secular Enlightenment values? Is it "Islamophobic" to be concerned about high immigrant and Muslim crime (as well as welfare dependency and birth-) rates when it is a statistical fact that both immigrants from the Third World, including Muslim countries, and Muslims born in Europe are responsible for committing very disproportionate amounts of crime, especially violent crime? Is it "Islamophobic" for Westerners to want to preserve and defend their own cultural mores and civilizational values in the face of certain Muslim religio-cultural practices that are antithetical to those mores and values, e.g., polygamy, blatant male domination of women, forcible female genital mutilation, "honor killings," arranged marriages with pre-pubescent girls, etc.? (Why, after all, is it OK for non-Westerners to want to preserve their cultures, but not OK for Westerners to want to preserve theirs?) Is it "Islamophobic" to be concerned about the ongoing efforts of Islamists to criminalize all criticism and satirical treatments of Islam, i.e., to restrict freedom of expression in Western societies, not only by labeling such criticisms as "Islamophobic" but by engaging in outright intimidation and acts of violence? Is every Westerner who expresses such legitimate concerns in fact a "nativist," "racist," "xenophobe," "right-winger," or "Islamophobe"? The answer to these questions is clearly "no." Indeed, as Walter Laqueur has wryly observed, if Eskimos began committing disproportionate amounts of terrorism, there would be an understandable increase in the amount of suspicion and hostility directed at Eskimos, which would then inevitably lead to bogus accusations of "Eskimophobia." See Laqueur's review of Michael Gove's *Celsius 7/7* book in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 11 August 2006. Nevertheless, according to the ever-growing and increasingly histrionic "anti-Islamophobia" network, anyone who has such justifiable and indeed commonsensical concerns is a priori nothing more than a bigoted Islam-hater or a racist. Needless to say, the application of the term "racism" is particularly ridiculous in this context, since Muslims are members of a multi-ethnic community of religious believers (the *umma*) – one that includes many whites – rather than a specific racial group.

Finally, perhaps those morally sensitive souls who profess to be so concerned with stigmatising and discriminatory "phobias" should really be paying far more attention to the irrational Muslim hatred of "infidels" (or "infidelphobia," though I personally reject the use of the term "phobia" in these contexts) – not to mention the brutal, systematic official and unofficial persecution of religious minorities in so many contemporary Muslim countries – which is a built-in characteristic of Islamism and is also vastly more widespread and problematic than so-called "Islamophobia" is ever likely to become. Here is a suggestion for those who know nothing whatsoever about Islam: start with the "loyalty [towards Muslims] and enmity [towards 'infidels']" (*al-wala' wa al-bara'*) doctrine, deriving from Qur'anic passages (e.g., 3:28, 4:89, 5:51), that is so vociferously espoused by Wahhabis and other Islamists (e.g., Shaykh Muhammad Sa'id al-Qahtani, *Al-Wala' wa'l-Bara' According to the Aqeedah of the Salaf, Part 1* [Mecca: Kashf al-Shubuhat Publications, 1993], at http://www.kalamullah.com/Books/alWalaawalBaraa1.pdf , which was originally an M.A. thesis written under the direction of Muhammad Qutub, Sayyid Qutub's brother, and other professors at 'Umm al-Qura University in Mecca, Saudi Arabia) and embraced in part by all too many Muslims. Cf. the enthusiastic support within al-Qa'ida for this same intolerant, "infidel" hating *al-wala' wa al-bara'* notion, as reflected in "Al-Qaeda Releases 'Standards of Friendship and Enmity in Islam'…," *MEMRI* website, 26 September 2013, at http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/7428.htm .

Of course, as two Canadian critics of the term "Islamophobia" have rightly pointed out, "one doubts that a formulation like 'infidelphobia' will gain traction anytime soon." See Jackson Doughart and Faisal Saeed al-Mutar, "Opinion: Stop Calling Criticism of Islam 'Islamophobia,'" *National Post*, 26 September 2012, at http://life.nationalpost.com/2012/09/26/opinion-stop-calling-criticism-of-islam-islamophobia/ . Ironically, the only real "phobia" on display in this context is the phobia about "Islamophobia" itself, for which British journalist Andrew Anthony has coined the term "Islamophobiaphobia." See his book *The Fallout: How a Guilty Liberal Lost His Innocence* (London: Vintage, 2008), chapter 10. Others have introduced the term "Islamofauxbia" into the lexicon.

[40] Since the proponents of "politically correct" viewpoints are, much like religious fanatics, "true believers" who are impervious to contrary evidence or logical counterarguments, Lucien Samir Oulahbib has justly characterized "political correctness" as a "crypto-religion." See his *Le politiquement correct français: Épistémologie d'une crypto-religion* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012).

[41] This is why it has become practically unavoidable for serious researchers – myself included – to consult, in addition to a wide variety of primary sources that become available (e.g., Islamist publications and trial materials), the websites of assorted conservative and right-wing "watchdog" groups whose self-appointed mission is to monitor the activities of Islamist networks operating in the West, just as those who study the Western radical right find it necessary to consult the websites of left-leaning anti-fascist "watchdog" groups. In both cases, it is the factual information presented on those websites, not their agenda-driven interpretations of that information, which generally proves to be most useful for research purposes. (I should also hasten to add that, apart from their concerns about problematic aspects of Islam, their opposition to radical Islam, and their alarm about ongoing Islamist subversion of Western law enforcement and counterterrorism efforts, I rarely share the views promoted on those conservative or rightist websites about other social and political matters [e.g., their knee-jerk hostility towards President Obama or their unwavering support for Israel no matter what the context or circumstances].) Sadly, one reason why it has become increasingly necessary to make use of right-leaning sources about Islamism is that so many liberals and leftists have completely abdicated their own politico-moral responsibility to monitor the Islamic radical right, either due to egregious ignorance about the nature of Islamism or because of their narrow pursuit of partisan ideological agendas. As atheist Sam Harris has put it, less charitably, "the political correctness of the Left has made it taboo to even notice the menace of political Islam [i.e., Islamism], leaving only right-wing fanatics to do the job." See his "Response to Controversy, Version 2.3," *Sam Harris* website, 7 April 2013, at http://www.samharris.org/site/full_text/response-to-controversy2/ . If one changed his word "only" to "mainly," that statement would be all too accurate. In a sane world, one would expect Western liberal and left-wing "watchdogs" of the domestic and international radical right to be paying much closer attention to Islamist and jihadist activities, which are intrinsically antithetical to their own professed "humanitarian" and cosmopolitan values, than would many elements of the Western right, which ironically share certain ultra-conservative social and cultural values with the Islamists (such as opposition to abortion, homosexuality, evolution, women's rights, sexual liberation, drug use, secularism, coddling criminals, etc.). (Note, e.g.,

conservative commentator Dinesh D'Souza, who argues that Muslims are justifiably opposed to and disgusted by a West, supposedly dominated by liberal elites, that is promoting irreligiosity, sexual licentiousness, and "anti-family" values, and that this understandably provoked jihadist terrorists to carry out the 9/11 attacks. See his *The Enemy at Home: The Cultural Left and Its Responsibility for 9/11* [New York: Broadway Books, 2008].) Instead, these "politically correct" self-styled "progressives," like the Islamists themselves, are all too quick to denounce conservative anti-Islamist "watchdog" organizations, often tendentiously, as "Islamophobic."

[42] Here it is important to distinguish between multiculturalism as a social and demographic phenomenon, i.e., the intermingling of people from different ethno-cultural backgrounds, and multiculturalism as a partisan political ideology. For critiques of the latter, see Richard Bernstein, *Dictatorship of Virtue: How the Battle over Multiculturalism is Reshaping our Schools, our Countries, and our Lives* (New York: Vintage, 1995), for the U.S.; Salim Mansur, *Delectable Lie: A Liberal Repudiation of Multiculturalism* (Brantford, Ontario: Mantua, 2011), for Canada; Patrick West, *The Poverty of Multiculturalism* (London: Civitas/Institute for the Study of Civil Society, 2005), for Britain; Fabien Ollier, *L'idéologie multiculturaliste en France: Entre fascisme et libéralisme* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004), for France; Alex P. Schmid (Ed.), *De multiculturele samenleving: Smeltkroes of kruitvat?* (Driebergen: Synthesis, 1996), for the Netherlands; and Jens-Martin Eriksen and Frederik Stjernfelt, *Les pièges de la culture: Les contradictions démocratiques du multiculturalisme* (Geneva: Mētis, 2012), for Europe. The ideology of multiculturalism not only constitutes a threat to individual freedom, but also to universalist ideas, for which see Caroline Fourest, *La dernière utopie: Menaces sur l'universalisme* (Paris: Grasset & Fasquelle, 2009).

It is noteworthy that although proponents of multiculturalist dogmas invariably view themselves as "progressive," the ideology they espouse is arguably a right-wing ideology inasmuch as it views individuals not as actual living, breathing people who should be judged on their own merits and can freely choose to adapt, reject, or transcend elements of their own ethno-cultural heritage, but rather solely as imagined "representatives" of their own ethno-cultural groups, to which are ascribed certain intrinsic characteristics. Cf. Alain Finkielkraut, *The Defeat of the Mind* (New York: Columbia University, 1995), parts 1-3 (although I do not support his own condescending display of cultural conservatism and elitism in part 4). In the case of non-Western groups, the characteristics of the supposedly innocent and victimized "Other" are paternalistically romanticized and glorified by multiculturalists, whereas Westerners are instead demonized as inherently guilty "oppressors" who are forever obliged to apologize for and take steps to "right" the collective "wrongs" they have allegedly perpetrated. (This latter "guilt-by-association" calumny would be justly recognized and denounced as unfair or even "racist" if it were applied to any human group other than white Westerners.) So it is that multiculturalists display the most blatant double standards by insisting that all non-Western cultures must be "respected" or "celebrated" and never criticized, no matter how objectively regressive, intolerant, and barbarous they may be, whilst continually denigrating their own culture and encouraging others to blame the West for all of their own problems. In short, they adopt a flaccid, nauseatingly sappy moral relativism vis-à-vis supposedly "oppressed" members of non-Western communities, who are always portrayed as "innocent victims," but a rigid, denunciatory moral absolutism vis-à-vis ostensibly "privileged" Westerners. As several critics of multiculturalism have rightly noted, this amounts to a kind of paternalistic de facto racism insofar as it treats non-Westerners like virtual children without moral agency, who cannot therefore be expected to adhere to the same impossibly high moral and behavioral standards that are insistently demanded of Westerners. Such a reprehensible double standard directly conflicts with the authentically liberal view that every individual and human group should be judged according to the same standards of morality and legality with respect to their behaviour. In any case, for some examples of how multiculturalist dogmas are sabotaging Western resistance to Islamists, see Bruce Bawer, *Surrender: Appeasing Islam, Sacrificing Freedom* (New York: Anchor, 2010), for the West in general; Melanie Philips, *Londonistan* (New York and London: Encounter, 2006), esp. pp. 57-76, for the UK; and Abigail R. Esman, *Radical State: How Jihad is Winning Over Democracy in the West* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010), for the Netherlands.

For critiques of post-1960's "Third Worldism," which essentially involves the excessive romanticisation of Franz Fanon's "wretched of the earth," see Pascal Bruckner, *The Tears of the White Man: Compassion as Contempt* (New York: Free Press, 1986); idem, *The Tyranny of Guilt: An Essay on Western Masochism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 2010); Caroline Fourest (a self-described supporter of the "anti-totalitarian left" who is opposed to the "Third Worldist left"), *La tentation obscurantiste* (Paris: Grasset, 2005), pp. 33-51; and Pierre-André Taguieff, *Prêcheurs de haine: Traversée de la judéophobie planétaire* (Paris: Fayard, 2004), who provides numerous examples of the harmful political and moral consequences of uncritically glorifying and supporting all anti-Western movements in the Third World, no matter how reactionary they may be (as the Islamists clearly are). Taguieff has also produced a brilliant diagnosis of the hypocritical pretentions of today's imagined "anti-reactionaries" among the Western intelligentsia, who are nowadays so prone to label those who disagree with their own views as "new reactionaries," in *Les contre-réactionnaires: Le progressisme entre illusion et imposture* (Paris: Denoël, 2007).

[43] Here I am referring to the vast, tendentious, often delusional, and sometimes purely mercenary or dishonest literature claiming that undeniable acts of jihadist terrorism, such as the 9/11 attacks, the 2002 Bali bombings, the 2004 Madrid bombings, the 2005 London bombings, the 2008 Mumbai attacks, etc., were actually covert "false flag" operations carried out by whomever the particular conspiracy theorists – usually Western leftists, Western right-wingers, anti-Semites, anti-Western "Third Worldists," "Islam apologists," "Islamist apologists," or Islamists – consider to be key actors within the villainous cabal that is supposedly manipulating or controlling world events from behind the scenes. Among those that have been singled out in these cases are the Bush administration and/or the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Israeli MOSSAD and its alleged neoconservative "agents," Indonesian military intelligence, the Spanish intelligence services, the British security service (MI5), and Hindutva extremists. For illustrative examples, see David Ray Griffin, *The New Pearl Harbor Revisited: 9/11, the Cover-Up, and the Exposé* (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch, 2008) and Webster Tarpley, *9/11 Synthetic Terror: Made in USA* (Joshua Tree, CA: Progressive Press, 2006), for 9/11; segments of Glen Clancy's "Fool Me Twice" video "documentary" for the 2002 Bali bombings, at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n4jCabkjukE ; Bruno Cardeñosa, *11-M: Claves de una conspiración* (Madrid: Espejo de Tinta, 2004), for 3/11; Nick Kollerstrom, *Terror on the Tube: Behind the Veil of 7/7. An Investigation* (Joshua Tree, CA: Progressive Press, 2012), for 7/7; and Jonathan Azaziah, "26/11: Mossad Terrorizes Mumbai," *Mask of Zion* website, 4 January 2011, at http://www.maskofzion.com/2011/01/2611-terrorizes-mumbai.html , for 11/26. According to this ever-growing flood of conspiratorial literature, the alleged sponsors or perpetrators of these mass casualty terrorist attacks were not the Islamist jihadists who were "officially" blamed (and who proudly took credit for several of them, including 9/11), but rather the various sinister aforementioned behind-the-scenes forces. And if any jihadists happened to be involved, they were simply dupes or double agents working for the "real" conspirators. Certain more serious journalistic investigations have unearthed some valuable new information and/or revealed some problematic lacunae in the "official" accounts of these

incidents, but they have neither undermined the overwhelming evidence substantiating the general thrust of those accounts nor made a convincing case for their preferred alternative explanations. See, e.g., Daniel Hopsicker, *Welcome to Terrorland: Mohamed Atta and the 9-11 Cover-Up in Florida* (Venice, FL: MadCow Press, 2004); and José María de Pablo, *La cuarta trama: Verdades y mentiras en el caso del 11-M* (Madrid: Ciudadela, 2009).

[44] Note, however, that this transnational "anti-Islamophobia industry," which has been busily churning out masses of both naïve misinformation and malicious disinformation about critics of Islam and Islamism, typically fails to make clear distinctions between a) bigoted "Islam-hating" ignoramuses, b) severe critics of Islam in general, for more or less legitimate reasons, and c) astute, knowledgeable people whose primary goal is to defend Enlightenment values, individual freedom, and democratic pluralism from the threat of Islamist totalitarianism. Moreover, Islamist activists themselves often play the most prominent, albeit frequently behind-the-scenes, role in enunciating this industry's characteristic themes and talking points. For representative examples of this sort of tendentious "liberal," Islamist, or "anti-fascist" literature, which tend to ignore both the aforementioned distinctions and the very real threats posed by Islamism, see Nathan Lean, *The Islamophobia Industry: How the Right Manufactures Fear of Muslims* (London: Pluto Press, 2012); Wajahat Ali et al, *Fear, Inc: The Islamophobia Network in America* (Washington, DC: Center for American Progress, [August] 2011), at http://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2011/08/pdf/islamophobia.pdf ; Thomas Cincotta, *Manufacturing the Muslim Menace: Private Firms, Public Services, and the Threat to Rights and Security* (Somerville, MA: Political Research Associates, 2011), at http://www.publiceye.org/liberty/training/Muslim_Menace_Complete.pdf ; Muslim Public Affairs Council, *Not Qualified: Exposing the Deception Behind America's Top 25 Pseudo-Experts on Islam* (Los Angeles, CA: MPAC, undated [2013]), at http://www.mpac.org/assets/docs/publications/MPAC-25-Pseudo-Experts-On-Islam.pdf ; David Williams and Nick Lowles, *The 'Counter-Jihad' Movement: The Global Trend Feeding Anti-Muslim Hatred* (London: Hope Not Hate, 2012); Øyvind Strømmen, *Det mørke nettet: Om høyreekstremisme, kontrajihadisme og terror i Europa* (Oslo: Cappelen, 2011); and the *Loonwatch* website (which is arguably the most dishonest and malicious of them all).

However, the supposed "Islamophobia network" that these groups virulently denounce and demonize is no more monolithic, and no less diverse, than its "anti-Islamophobia" counterpart. Indeed, the organizations and individuals critical of or opposed to Islam and/or Islamism, far from being composed exclusively of right-wing extremists, as the "anti-Islamophobes" falsely claim, comprise a vast and diverse array of people on all sides of the political spectrum. First, there are the outright "Islam haters" and "Muslim haters," who truly deserve to be censured (albeit not censored), some of whom were identified above in note 39.

Second, there are the "Islam bashers" that make up the so-called "counter-jihad" movement, who generally (and foolishly) fail to distinguish between Islam and Islamism, and sometimes even argue, preposterously, that there is no such thing as Islamism. See, e.g., Robert Spencer, "Islam and Islamists," *Jihad Watch* website, 21 October 2011, at http://www.jihadwatch.org/2011/10/islam-and-islamists.html . That is the equivalent of arguing, equally absurdly, that there is no difference between Christianity in general and literalist, extremist, and theocratic interpretations of Christianity, e.g., Christian Reconstructionism. This "counter-jihad" movement admittedly includes several problematic far right organizations and even some extremists with a quasi-fascist orientation or background, such as elements of the Vlaams Belang (Flemish Interest) party in Belgium, the Bürgerbewegung pro Deutschland (BpD: Pro-Germany Citizens' Movement) in Germany, various European "ethno-pluralist" movements inspired by the intellectual *nouvelle droite* (e.g., the Bloc Identitaire [Identitarian Bloc] in France, and the Identitäre Bewegung [Identitarian Movement] in Germany), the EDL in Britain (and some of its foreign counterparts), and the Sverigedemokraterna (SD: Sweden Democrats) party in Sweden, as well as others with a radical right-wing religious agenda, including assorted Protestant fundamentalists (e.g., Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network, the Christian Action Network, Christian Concern in the UK, Lt. Gen. [Ret.] William "Jerry" Boykin, evangelical Christian ex-Muslims like Mark Gabriel, Sam Solomon, Imran Firasat, Reza Safa, and Nassim Ben Iman, including self-proclaimed ex-Muslim terrorists [Walid Shoebat, Zachariah Anani, Kamal Saleem]), ultranationalist Eastern Orthodox Christians (e.g., the Serbian author Srđa [Serge] Trifković, the Laíkos Orthódoxos Synagermós [LOS: People's Orthodox Rally] party in Greece, the now banned Otačastveni Pokret Srpski Obraz [OPSO: Serbian Honor Patriotic Movement] and Serbski Narodni Pokret1389 political party [1389 Serbian National Movement, a name commemorating the year when Serbian armies lost a heroic battle against the Ottoman Turks at Kosovo Polje]), Orthodox Jewish extremists affiliated with the *haredim* or "messianic Zionist" milieus (e.g., David Yerushalmi), and Catholic ultratraditionalist circles (e.g., Chrétienté-Solidarité in France, the La Yijad en Eurabia/La Sexta Redoma website in Spain). However, it also consists of less radical but nonetheless very conservative or rightist individuals (e.g., Geert Wilders, Mark Steyn, Elisabeth Sabaditsch-Wolff, Bat Ye'or [pseudonym for Gisèle Littman], Oskar Freysinger, Fjordman [pseudonym for Peder Jensen], Brigitte Gabriel, David Wood of Answering Muslims.com), and organizations or websites (e.g., *Jihad Watch*, *Gates of Vienna*, the *Brussels Journal*, the Center for Security Policy, the Clarion Project, *Document.no*, *Politically Incorrect* [Germany], *Front Page Magazine*, Vlad Tepes, *Creeping Sharia*, *Islam Versus Europe*), which often post interesting and important information despite their pronounced right-wing biases.

Third, there are assorted "centrists," including relatively moderate conservatives (e.g., John Rosenthal, David Solway [an ex-leftist Canadian poet and writer who is nowadays moving ever-further to the right], Daniel Johnson, Aldo-Michel Mungo of Les Résistants, Hallgrim Berg, Leslie S. Lebl), classical liberals (e.g., Bruce Bawer, Andrew Anthony, atheist Pat Condell), genuinely moderate Muslims, ex-Muslim secularists, or Arab Christians who are both painfully familiar with Islamism and sometimes highly critical of Islam itself (e.g., Ayaan Hirsi Ali, Mamoun Fandy, Tarek Fatah, Chahdortt Djavann, Ibn Warraq, Mohamed Sifaoui, Wafa Sultan, Salim Mansur, Chala Chafiq, 'Ali Sina, Naser Khader, Irfan al-Alawi, Zuhdi Jasser, Asra Nomani, Irshad Manji, several ex-Islamist Muslims from the Quilliam Foundation in the UK, Walid al-Kubaisi, Raymond Ibrahim, Magdi Cristiano Allam, Antoine Sfeir, Walid Phares, Kamal Nawash, members of the secularist Zentralrat der Ex-Muslime [Central Council of Ex-Muslims] in Germany and other European countries), and conservative anti-Islamist watchdog or reporting groups (e.g., the Investigative Project on Terrorism, the Middle East Forum's Islamist Watch, the Global Muslim Brotherhood website) that are roughly comparable in their focused approach (though not in their levels of dishonesty and maliciousness) to the aforementioned agenda-driven anti-fascist watchdog groups.

Fourth, there are left liberals and leftists opposed to "political correctness" and Islamist totalitarianism, such as the signers of the Euston Manifesto in the U.K., the "new atheists" (e.g., Sam Harris, the late Christopher Hitchens, Richard Dawkins, Bill Maher, Maryam Namazie, Taslima Nasrin), and a number of academicians, journalists, artists, and intellectuals (e.g., Bassam Tibi, Nick Cohen, Paul Berman, Kurt Westergaard [almost murdered, and the object of other murder plots, by jihadists], Caroline Fourest, Bernard Henri-Lévy, Kanan Makiya,

Pascal Bruckner, the late Theo van Gogh [murdered by a jihadist], Alain Finkielkraut, Lars Hedegaard [almost murdered by a jihadist], Salman Rushdie [under the perpetual threat of death from Islamists], Gregorius Nekschot [pseudonym for a Dutch cartoonist], Lars Vilks [almost murdered by jihadists], Helle Merete Brix, Oriana Fallaci [who admittedly crossed the line into "Islam bashing" or even "Muslim hating"], Robert Redeker, Daniel Krause, Farhad Khosrokhavar, Philippe Val, Afshin Ellian, the publishers of *Charlie Hebdo* [whose office has been attacked and firebombed by jihadists]). (I should also admit, for the record, that I myself – as a radical individualist, an unabashed secularist, a member of the anti-PC and anti-totalitarian left, and a countercultural rebel – straddle two of the above categories [the third and the fourth], and that I voted for Obama in both 2008 and 2012, which means that my criticisms of his policies with respect to Islamism herein are by no means motivated by partisan animus.)

Thus the fact that most "anti-Islamophobes" are so intent on portraying *everyone* who is highly critical of Islam, particular aspects of Islam, and/or Islamism, as a "fascist hate-monger" is therefore quite revealing, both about their intellectual dishonesty and about their underlying fanaticism. It is bad enough that conservatives of various types are being indiscriminately slandered as "fascists," but so-called "anti-fascism" has truly reached a point of total moral bankruptcy and indeed utter lunacy when both anti-Islamist Muslims and liberal or left-leaning critics of the totalitarian Islamic radical right are also regularly being falsely and maliciously smeared as "Islamophobes" "right-wing extremists," and "racists." For an example, see the reply by atheist Islam critic Sam Harris to such calumnies, "Response to Controversy, Version 2.3." Cf. Jeffrey Tayler, "Richard Dawkins is Not an Islamophobe," *Salon.com* website, 24 August 2013, at http://www.salon.com/2013/08/24/ richard_dawkins_is_not_an_islamophobe/ ; and Hartmut Krauss (Ed.), *Feindbild Islamkritik: Wenn die Grenzen zur Verzerrung und Diffamierung überschritten werden* (Osnabrück: Hintergrund, 2010), a collection of left-of-center authors who oppose both Islamic obscurantism and the hysterical demonization of critics of Islam.

[45]Richard Landes, "From Useful Idiot to Useful Infidel: Meditations on the Folly of 21st Century 'Intellectuals,'" *Augean Stables* website, 8 June 2010, at http://www.theaugeanstables.com/2010/06/08/from-useful-idiot-to-useful-infidel-meditations-on-the-folly-of-21st-century-%E2%80%9Cintellectuals%E2%80%9D/ . Cf. Karen Jespersen and Ralf Pittelkow, *Islamistes et naïvistes: Un acte d'accusation* (Paris: Panama, 2007); and Bawer, *New Quislings*, at 82%, who justly refers to such people as "tools of the Islamists." The only question is whether they are witting tools or unwitting tools.

[46] See, e.g., Lorenzo Vidino, *Hisba in Europe?: Assessing a Murky Phenomenon* (Brussels: European Foundation for Democracy, [June] 2013), at http://europeandemocracy.org/images/stories/Media/Hisba/Hisba_in_Europe.pdf , although the author intentionally errs on the side of caution in his conclusions. The term *hisba* ("verification") is short-hand for the Qur'anic injunctions (3:104, 3:110, 7:157, 9:71, etc.) urging Muslims to "command the good and forbid evil" (*al-amr bi al-ma'ruf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar*), which Salafists and Islamists generally interpret as giving them authorization to compel other Muslims (as well as subjugated "infidels") to behave in strictly *shari'a*-compliant, "Islamically correct" ways, if necessary by force. For a detailed analysis of this doctrine, which was generally interpreted historically to mean that the Muslim state had the primary responsibility for enforcing *hisba* within the *umma*, see Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University, 2000). However, modern Islamists have instead all too often taken it upon themselves, either as individuals or members of small groups, to prevent and/or punish what they regard, very expansively, as "un-Islamic" behaviour, including in Western countries. See, e.g., Roel Meijer, "Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong as a Principle of Social Action: The Case of the Egyptian al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya," in *Global Salafism: Islam's New Global Religion*, editem by R. Meijer (London: Hurst, 2009), pp. 189-220.

[47] For indications of the Muslim Brotherhood's long-term plans for waging a "Civilization-Jihadist Process" so as to "Islamize" the West, cf. the revealing documents discovered in the wake of raids on suspected Islamist terrorist funding entities in both Switzerland and the U.S. The first, which was discovered in the course of the November 2001 Swiss raids on the Bank Al-Taqwa (founded by Muslim Brotherhood activists) and its Ikhwani directors' homes, was entitled "Al-manhaj" ("The Project"), for which see Sylvain Besson, *Le conquête de l'occident: Le projet secret des islamistes* (Paris: Seuill, 2005), pp. 191-205 (in French translation). This 14-page document (dated 1 December 1982), which outlined a multifaceted 12-point strategy to "establish the reign of Allah on Earth," was subsequently summarized and republished in an English translation by Patrick Poole, "The Muslim Brotherhood 'Project,'" *Front Page Magazine*, 11 May 2006, at http:// archive.frontpagemag.com/readarticle.aspx?artid=4476 . The second was a 16-page strategy document discovered during raids conducted in connection with the case of the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, a HAMAS front based in the U.S., for which see Muhammad Akram, "Mudhakkara tafsiriyya al-hadaf al-istratijiyya al-'amm li al-jama'at fi amrika al-shamaliyya" ("An Explanatory Memorandum On the General Strategic Goal of the Group in North America"), 22 May 1991, at http://www.investigativeproject.org/ documents/misc/20.pdf (firstly in the original Arabic, and then in English translation). In addition to outlining what Akram viewed as the Brotherhood's agenda and methods for achieving its goals in the U.S., this document also conveniently listed various organizations that were controlled by or closely associated with the Ikhwan (ibid, p. 15), which revealingly included many of the most prominent and influential Muslim-American organizations. Thus the very first organization on that list is the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), for which see Steven Merley, "Extremism and the Islamic Society of North America" (no place: unpublished "confidential" report, [February] 2007), at http://www.globalmbwatch.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/20080127_extremism_and_isna.pdf . [A third document that is often cited in this context, which is referred to as the "Muslim Brotherhood Underground Movement Plan," does not in fact appear – on the basis of the incomplete 9-page English-language translation prepared in connection with the Holy Land Foundation trial – to be a Brotherhood document at all, but rather a Saudi intelligence memo concerning the Ikhwan's strategy in Saudi Arabia, including its involvement with the Islamist, anti-regime Sahwa (Awakening) movement. For this document, see Center for Security Policy, *Muslim Brotherhood Case Study: Documentation* (Washington, DC: CSP, undated), pp. 37-46, at http://suhailkhanexposed.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/ MB_Case_Study_Evidence.pdf .] Whether those first two documents simply reflected their well-connected authors' own proposed objectives or delineated a coherent overall strategy that was to be adopted by various organizations formed by Brotherhood activists remains unclear, although it would surely be a mistake to view these organizations as being centrally directed in some tight conspiratorial fashion.

Be that as it may, many of these Brotherhood-linked groups are still operating openly and largely unimpeded in America today. Similar networks of such organisations exist throughout Europe, where their apparent goals are likewise to undermine, destroy, and eventually supplant Western civilization. Cf., e.g., Johannes Grundmann, *Islamische Internationalisten: Strukturen und Aktivitäten der Muslimbruderschaft und der Islamischen Weltliga* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2005), pp. 15-74; Lorenzo Vidino, *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the*

West (New York: Columbia University, 2010); Barry Rubin, (Ed.), *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Organization and Policies of a Global Islamist Movement* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), chapters 7-11; Xavier Ternisien, *Les Frères musulmans* (Paris: Fayard, 2005), pp. 187-323; Nina Nowar, *Ramadans Erben: Die Islamische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland e.V.(IGD)* (Hamburg: Diplomica, 2012), esp. chapter 4; Udo Ulfkotte, *Heiliger Krieg in Europa: Wie die radikale Muslimbruderschaft unsere Gesellschaft bedroht* (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn, 2007); Fiammetta Venner, *OPA sur l'Islam de France: Les ambitions de l'UOIF* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 2005); and Lhaj Thami Breze, *Qu'est-ce que l'UOIF?* (Paris: L'Archipel, 2006). The best history of the Brotherhood remains that of Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (New York: Oxford University, 1993 [1969]). Cf. also the useful recent contribution of Jeffry R. Halverson, *Theology and Creed in Sunni Islam: The Muslim Brotherhood, Ash'arism, and Political Sunnism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), esp. chapters 3-4. Perhaps predictably, most newer academic works on the organization and its founder have tended to be overly apologetic. See, e.g., Raymond William Baker, *Islam Without Fear: Egypt and the New Islamists* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2006); and Gudrun Krämer, *Hasan al-Banna* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2009).

[48] For a recent illustrative and troubling example, note the 13 June 2013 meeting at the White House organized by representatives of the Obama administration, including Rashad Hussain (about whom see below, note 53), with Salafist Mauritanian shaykh 'Abdallah b. Bayyah, a professor of Islamic law at King 'Abd al-'Aziz University in Saudi Arabia and a close associate of Shaykh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, who is widely regarded as the most important ideological animator of the Muslim Brotherhood at the present time. See Steven Emerson and John Rossomando, "Exclusive: Banned Cleric's Outspoken Deputy Visits White House," *Investigative Project on Terrorism* website, 26 June 2013, at http://www.investigativeproject.org/4055/exclusive-banned-cleric-outspoken-deputy-visits . Cf. "Qaradawi Associate Meets at White House: Abdullah Bin Bayyah Close to Saudi with Ties to Al Qaeda and Hamas Support," *Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Watch* website, 26 June 2013, at http://www.globalmbwatch.com/2013/06/26/qaradawi-associate-meets-white-house-abdallah-bin-bayyah-close-saudi-figure-ties-al-qaeda-hamas-support/ . For two other leading Brotherhood-associated activists with whom the Obama administration met in 2013 (in addition to Ibn Bayyah), in connection with the President's misguided policy of "fully engaging" with that organization – Salah Sultan and Safwat al-Hijazi – see the three-part series, "The White House's New Best Friends," published by the *Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Watch* website, 30 June-15 July 2013, beginning at http://www.globalmbwatch.com/2013/06/30/part-1-white-houses-friends-fantastical-antisemitic-world-abdallah-bin-bayyah-2/ . Al-Qaradawi himself has long been one of the most influential Sunni religious scholars, and he currently has the most popular talk show on the al-Jazira television network. Like all Islamists, al-Qaradawi is an extremist, an anti-Semite, and a promoter of armed *jihad* against non-*dhimmi* "infidels" within the *dar al-islam* (albeit not against Western countries, which he anticipates the future Muslim conquest of via gradual proselytization and infiltration; although he himself normally refers to the West using the traditional formulation *dar al-'ahd* [abode of the pact or covenant], he has effectively embraced, however conditionally, the Mawdudist Khurram Murad's conception of the West as the *dar al-da'wa* [abode of proselytization] so as to differentiate it from the *dar al-harb* [abode of war] that Muslims are mandated to wage war against). He also does not support the concept of Qur'anic "abrogation" (*naskh*), which is unusual for Islamists. Cf. "Sheik Yousuf al-Qaradhawi: Islam's 'Conquest of Rome' will Save Europe from Its Subjugation to Materialism and Promiscuity," *MEMRI* website, 28 July 2007, at http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/1592.htm ; Nina Wiedl, "Dawa and the Islamist Revival in the West," in: *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, edited by Hillel Fradkin et al (Washington, DC: Hudson Institute, 2009), volume 9, esp. pp. 128-33; and Lorenzo Vidino, "Aims and Methods of Europe's Muslim Brotherhood," *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, edited by Hillel Fradkin et al (Washington, DC: Hudson Institute, 2006), volume 4, pp. 22-44. The fact that other Islamists are even more extreme with respect to the *means* they advocate employing does not mean that al-Qaradawi's Islamic supremacist *goals* are "moderate," as some have argued. See, e.g., Bettina Gräf and Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen, (Eds.), *Global Muftī: The Phenomenon of Yūsuf al-Qaradāwī* (New York: Columbia University, 2009), wherein many of the contributors (including co-editor Gräf, following the example of her academic mentor, Gudrun Krämer) adopt such a misleading, overly apologetic perspective. Note further that, according to John L. Esposito and İbrahim Kalın, (Eds.), *The 500 Most Influential Muslims: 2009* (Amman, Jordan, and Washington, DC: Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Center/Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University, 2009) , pp. 19-20, al-Qaradawi is the world's ninth most influential Muslim, whereas Ibn Bayyah is the 30th most influential.

[49] See, e.g., Ian Johnson, *A Mosque in Munich: Nazis, the CIA, and the Rise of the Muslim Brotherhood in the West* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2010); Stefan Meining, *Eine Moschee in Deutschland: Nazis, Geheimdienste und der Aufstieg des politischen Islam im Westen* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2011); Robert Dreyfuss, *Devil's Game: How the United States Helped Unleash Fundamentalist Islam* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006); Mark Curtis, *Secret Affairs: Britain's Collusion with Radical Islam* (London: Serpent's Tail, 2010).

[50] For source citations, see Bale, "Islamism and Totalitarianism," pp. 89-90, note 21.

[51] Unfortunately, as Thor E. Ronay (president of the International Assessment and Strategy Center in Washington, DC) rightly notes, "[p]olitical correctness is [at this point] too broad and deep institutionally to be overridden. It arises from years of inculcation in the [government] agencies, and more generally in the culture that we all operate within." Cited in Paul Sperry, *Infiltration: How Muslim Spies and Subversives Have Penetrated Washington* (Nashville, TN: Nelson Current, 2005), p. 10.

[52] For the U.S., see, in general, Steven Emerson and the Investigative Project on Terrorism, *Jihad Incorporated: A Guide to Militant Islam in the US* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2006); idem, "Jihad in America: The Grand Deception" video documentary; Sperry, *Infiltration*; and "The Muslim Brotherhood in America," a 10-part video documentary produced by Frank Gaffney's neo-conservative Center for Security Policy, at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hhtG4k7sQbc . Although the two last-named sources have a rightist political agenda and a rather alarmist tone, and their analyses are at times overly simplistic or distorted and therefore cannot be accepted uncritically, the basic information provided in all four of these sources about Islamist organizations and individuals that have acted to undermine American counterterrorism policies is accurate and well-documented, both during the Bush and Obama administrations. For the activities of the HAMAS-linked organizations out of which CAIR emerged, in particular the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP), see the voluminous legal materials produced in connection with the Holy Land Foundation (HLF) case: United States District Court, Northern District of Texas, *United States of America vs. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, et al.*, 3:04-CR-0240-G, beginning with the 26 July 2004 Indictment, at http://www.tamilnet.com/img/publish/2007/10/Holyland_01.pdf . The exhibits from the HLF trials in Texas can be accessed at http://www.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/hlf2.html . Cf. Steven Merley, "Extremism and the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) (no place:

self-published "confidential" report, [January] 2007), at http://www.globalmbwatch.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/20080127_extremism_and_cair.pdf ; Daniel Pipes and Sharon Chadha, "CAIR: Islamists Fooling the Establishment," *Middle East Quarterly* Vol. 13, No. 2 (Spring 2006), pp. 3-20; P. David Gaubatz and Paul Sperry, *Muslim Mafia: Inside the Secret Underworld That's Conspiring to Islamize America* (Los Angeles, CA: WND Books, 2009), another right-wing, at times histrionic, and perhaps overly conspiratorial but nonetheless fact-filled investigative report based largely on confidential CAIR documents surreptitiously (and, according to a judge, "unlawfully") obtained by infiltrators within the organisation (above all Gaubatz's son Chris); and, for one of the co-founders of CAIR, Investigative Project on Terrorism, *Omar Ahmad and The Palestine Committee* (Washington, DC: IPT, undated [2008?]), at http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/635.pdf . Moreover, CAIR's underlying undemocratic agenda was illustrated, yet again, by the public statements of several of its officials, who enthusiastically supported Egyptian Brotherhood leader and President Muhammad Mursi and contemptuously dismissed his pro-democracy opponents – in the words of CAIR-Los Angeles' Executive Director Hussam Ayloush – as "Mubarak supporters, military rulers, anti-Islamists, confused leftists, anarchists, & some well-meaning activists [who were trying to] undo a democratic election." See John Rossomando, "American Islamists Rally behind MB Amid Egypt Protests," *Investigative Project on Terrorism* website, 2 July 2013, at http://www.investigativeproject.org/4068/american-islamists-rally-behind-mb-amid-egypt .

[53] For more information about such people and their activities, see "Muslim Brotherhood in America" video documentary, parts 8 and 9. Cf. also "Muslim Brotherhood at the U.S. Department of Homeland Security," *Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Report*, 23 May 2013, at http://www.globalmbwatch.com/2013/05/23/part-2-muslim-brotherhood-department-homeland-security/ ; Stephen Schwartz, "Obama's Islamic Envoy [Hussain]: Obama is America's 'Educator-in-Chief on Islam,'" *Weekly Standard*, 24 June 2010, at http://www.weeklystandard.com/blogs/obama-america-educator-chief-islam , where it is pointed out that Hussain is supportive of the OIC's efforts to institute de facto "blasphemy" laws, even in non-Muslim countries, that are designed to criminalize the ostensible "defamation" of religion (more recently, the wording has been subtly shifted from "defamation" to "incitement to discrimination and violence," based on the model of less blatantly unconstitutional "hate speech" laws); "Dalia Mogahed: A Muslim George Gallup or Islamist Ideologue?, *Investigative Project on Terrorism* website, 15 April 2010, at http://www.investigativeproject.org/1904/dalia-mogahed-a-muslim-george-gallup-or-islamist ; and "Obama Muslim Faith Advisor [Mogahed] Appears on U.K. Television with Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Global Muslim Brotherhood* website, 5 October 2009, at http://globalmbreport.org/?p=1644 . For the members of the DHS Working Group, which in 2010 contained both Islamist activists like Mogahed and "Islamist apologists" from academia or anti-fascist "watchdog" groups, see Department of Homeland Security, Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Working Group, Homeland Security Advisory Council, *Recommendations* (Washington, DC: GPO, [Spring] 2010), pp. 27-30, at http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/hsac_cve_working_group_recommendations.pdf . Other Brotherhood-linked Islamists with an entrée into U.S. government and counterterrorism circles include Shaykh Kifah Mustafa of the Chicago Imam Council, Muhammad Majid of the Islamic Center of Washington, and Muhammad Elibiary of the Freedom and Justice Foundation in Texas. Even before Obama's election, he selected Mazin Asbahi, another Islamist with ties to Brotherhood organizations, as his National Coordinator for Muslim American Affairs. See "Obama Top Muslim Advisor Part of Two More Organizations Linked to Muslim Brotherhood," *Global Muslim Brotherhood* website, 1 August 2008, at http://globalmbreport.com/?p=1017 (although Asbahi later resigned after evidence surfaced concerning his involvement in Islamist fundraising activities). Hence it is hardly surprising that Obama, apart from aggressively targeting al-Qa'ida and other jihadists, has failed to adopt an appropriately anti-Islamist foreign policy.

[54] Some of these ousted individuals were in fact "Islam bashers," even though Islamists should never be allowed to vet anyone in such a position. For an overview of this problem in the context of the Department of Defense, see David J. Rusin, "Problems in the U.S. Military: Denying Islam's Role in Terror," *Middle East Quarterly* Vol. 20, No. 2 (Spring 2013), pp. 19-26. See, as an illustrative example of Islamist pressure and interference, the letter from Farhana Khera, on behalf of various American Muslim, Arab, and South Asian Organizations, to John Brennan, 19 October 2011, at http://aai.3cdn.net/337acb641d29d2e40a_3nm6bx9ap.pdf , which complained about the government's use of allegedly "biased, false and highly offensive training materials about Muslims and Islam…" (p. 1). These groups then urged Brennan (p. 5) to "create an interagency task force, led by the White House," that would "[r]eview *all* trainers and training materials at government agencies….[p]urge *all* federal government training materials of biased materials….[i]mplement a mandatory re-training program for FBI agents, U.S. Army officers, and all federal, state, and local law enforcement who have been subjected to biased training….[e]nsure that…all trainers and other government employees who promoted biased trainers and training materials are effectively disciplined….[i]mplement quality control processes to ensure that bigoted trainers and biased materials are not developed or utilized in the future….[i]ssue guidance clearly stating that religious practice and political advocacy are protected activities under the First Amendment, not indicators of violence, and shall not be the basis for surveillance or investigation." [Italics not added, JMB]. They then insisted, not surprisingly, that these actions be carried out with "input from Muslim, Arab, and South Asian communities…" (i.e., themselves). Yet many of the letter's signatory organizations had previously been identified, on the basis of internal documents and/or thegovernment's own investigative materials, as Islamist front groups (pp. 6-7), including CAIR, the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), the Muslim American Society (MAS), and the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), to name only the most prominent. For more on MPAC, e.g., see Investigative Project on Terrorism, *Behind the Façade: The Muslim Public Affairs Council* (Washington, DC: IPT, undated), at http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/358.pdf . Moreover, only a few of the illustrative examples that were cited in the letter actually supported their histrionic claims of bias. Indeed, several of the individuals identified therein were falsely smeared as members of "hate groups" (p. 2), such as Robert Spencer (as per "anti-fascist" watchdog groups such as the Southern Poverty Law Center [SPLC], which have sadly adopted the radical Islamist right's talking points about "Islamophobia" in a wholly uncritical fashion) or were unfairly accused of being "authors who have publicly defiled and maligned Islam and Muslims" (p. 4), such as Daniel Pipes, who has in fact always argued, unlike the "Islam bashers," that "radical Islam is the problem, and moderate Islam is the solution."

One might therefore assume that the government would have been strongly resistant to such blatant attempts by Islamist advocacy groups with vested, if not subversive, interests to interfere with its counterterrorist training. On the contrary, Brennan responded with an early November letter on White House stationery, in which he expressed unqualified support for Khera's complaints, which he said were in line with the administration's own "countering violent extremism" (CVE) strategy, and thence promised to act upon them. See John Brennan letter to Farhana Khera, 3 November 2011, at http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/742.pdf . Apparently, it never occurred to Brennan that slavishly adopting the advice offered by hyper-sensitive Muslim advocacy organizations, including several that were dominated

or controlled by Islamist extremists, might not be the best way to "counter" Islamist extremism, violent or otherwise. Unfortunately, the United States (as well as Canada and various European countries) has now adopted the very same misguided approach within the Muslim world itself – partnering with supposedly moderate Islamists to help resist violent Islamists – by collaborating with the Islamist government in Turkey and the pro-Islamist regime in Qatar through the newly-established Global Fund for Community Engagement and Resilience. See Ryan Mauro, "U.S. Taxpayers to Pay for Spread of Turkish, Qatar[i] Islamism," *Clarion Project* website, 3 October 2013, at http://www.clarionproject.org/analysis/us-taxpayers-pay-spread-turkish-qatar-islamism . Cf. Patrick Goodenough, "Kerry: Potential Terror Recruits Need 'More Economic Opportunities,'" *CNSNews* website, 30 September 2013, at http://cnsnews.com/news/article/patrick-goodenough/kerry-potential-terror-recruits-need-more-economic-opportunities .

[55] See "Documents Responsive to Judicial Watch's FOIA Request Seeking Records of the FBI's Counterterrorism Training Material Review," *Judicial Watch* website, 20 May 2013, at http://www.judicialwatch.org/bulletins/documents-responsive-to-judicial-watchs-foia-request-seeking-records-of-the-fbis-counterterrorism-training-material-review/ . These documents, which were released in two batches, can be accessed in groupings by clicking on their URLs at the bottom of that page. See, e.g., the "Agenda" [pp. JW71-JW77] of an 8 February 2012 "Office of Public Affairs Community Engagement Meeting" between FBI officials and representatives of several Muslim, Arab, South Asian, and "interfaith dialogue" organizations, among whom were many Islamists and apologists for both Islam and Islamism, along with a brief summary of that "OPA Community Meeting" [pp. JW84-JW85]. This harmful Islamist input is being facilitated by the Obama administration's "community-based" approach to "countering violent extremism" (CVE), especially "local [Muslim] communities that may be targeted by violent extremists" like al-Qaʻida, which was outlined in a series of official documents, including White House, *Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States* (Washington, DC: GPO, [August] 2011), at http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/empowering_local_partners.pdf ; White House, *Strategic Implementation Plan for Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States* (Washington, DC: GPO, [December] 2011), esp. pp. 15-18 (section 2.3), which mandates "standardized training" of government personnel for "countering violent extremism" that is culturally sensitive and eliminates supposedly "offensive and inaccurate information…", at http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/sip-final.pdf ; and Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, Robert Wasserman, *Guidance for Building Communities of Trust* (Washington, DC: GPO, [July] 2010), at http://nsi.ncirc.gov/documents/e071021293_BuildingCommTrust_v2-August%2016.pdf . The basic premise of this strategy is that Muslim community organizations should not be viewed as a *source* of radicalization problems, but rather only as a *solution* to the problems of Islamist radicalisation. This ignores the documented reality that influential segments of the Muslim community – in particular Islamist front groups, mostly established by Muslim Brotherhood operatives and, in a number of cases, funded by Saudi Arabian or other Gulf State donors – *are* in fact a major source of the Muslim radicalisation problem. Moreover, since personnel from government agencies are rarely able to distinguish between genuinely moderate Muslims and Islamist extremists posing as moderates, this approach has enabled Islamist activists (and academic "Islamist apologists") to exert a growing influence on U.S. government efforts to deal with the threat of Islamism and jihadism.

[56] See, e.g., Department of Homeland Security, Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, "Terminology to Define the Terrorists: Recommendations from American Muslims," January 2008 memo, at http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/126.pdf . Unfortunately, it can be inferred that several of the "influential Muslim Americans" (p. 1) who were providing these problematic recommendations were likely members of Islamist front organizations linked to the Muslim Brotherhood. Among their suggestions was to avoid using terms like "jihadist," "Islamic terrorist," "Islamist," "holy warrior," and "Salafis" – the very terms, other than "terrorist," that are used as self-designators by our jihadist terrorist enemies – in order, ostensibly, to deny the terrorists the "legitimacy" they seek (p. 3); to use terms like "death cult," "sectarian cult," and "violent cultists" instead to characterise al-Qaʻida, which suggest that the latter embraces a "pseudo-religious ideology that is outside the [Islamic] mainstream" and is thus unlikely to cause offense to Muslims (p. 4) [even though this will surely cause offense to academic "cult apologists"]; to use the term "mainstream Muslims" rather than "moderate Muslims," again so as to avoid offending Muslims (pp. 4-5); and to emphasize the "positive," including the success of Muslim integration in America (pp. 7-8). The impact of their suggestions can be clearly seen in later government policy documents, e.g., Department of Homeland Security, Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, "Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Training: Guidance & Best Practices," October 2011, at http://training.fema.gov/EMIWeb/docs/shared/CVE%20Training%20Guidance.pdf ; Department of Homeland Security, Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, "Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Training: Do's and Don'ts (sic)," date illegible [2011], accessible at http://www.scribd.com/doc/141998997/DHS-CRCL-CVE-Training-Dos-and-Donts . One indication therein of Islamist influence, apart from the actual contents, is that both of these DHS documents recommend a report sponsored by the Islamist organization MPAC: Alejandro J. Beutel, *Building Bridges to Strengthen America: Forging an Effective Counterterrorism Enterprise between Muslim Americans and Law Enforcement* (Los Angeles: MPAC, undated [2010]). DHS also recommends a misleading academic report published by Duke University: David Schanzer, Charles Kurzman, and Ebrahim Moosa, *Anti-Terror Lessons of American Muslims* (Durham, NC: Duke University, [6 January] 2010), at http://fds.duke.edu/db/attachment/1255 , which greatly exaggerates the extent to which American Muslim organizations have actively opposed and unequivocally condemned Islamist terrorism.

[57] E.g., on p. 2 of DHS' "CVE Do's and Don't's" document, one of the items in the "Don't" column reads as follows: "[F]3. Don't use training that relies on fear or conspiracies to motivate law enforcement. Don't use training premised on theories with little or no evidence to support them." No one could object to these guidelines in principle, but the problem lies in the examples that are provided therein to illustrate such allegedly conspiratorial, unsubstantiated ideas: "Examples…of unsubstantiated theories include: a. Many mainstream Muslim organizations have terrorist ties [, and] b. Mainstream Muslim organizations are fronts for Islamic political organizations whose true desire is to establish Sharia law in America. Muslim Americans are using democratic processes, like litigation and free speech, to subvert democracy and install Sharia law." In reality, both "a" and "b" are perfectly accurate and easily documentable statements when it comes to certain ostensibly "mainstream" Muslim organizations, which are all too often Islamist front groups that in some cases have documented links to terrorism and in many more instances are simply exploiting democratic processes to further an intrinsically anti-democratic agenda. Yet this DHS brochure *pre-emptively* dismisses such notions as conspiracy theories, even in cases where they are verifiably applicable, in the context of the agency's vetting guidelines for counterterrorism training.

From where, one might ask, did DHS borrow this dangerously biased and wrong-headed approach? The answer is from a report prepared by an anti-fascist "watchdog" group, Cincotta's *Manufacturing the Muslim Menace*, in a section entitled "Islamophobic Frames for Law Enforcement and Homeland Security Professionals," esp. pp. 37-47. And who did Cincotta himself solicit advice from in writing his report

about "Islamophobia"? From Islamists like Alejandro Beutel of MPAC and from "Islam apologists" and/or "Islamist apologists" in academia, including Professor John Esposito from Georgetown University and Professor Ziad Munson of Lehigh University. Esposito is so notorious that he needs no introduction, but examples of Munson's no less misleading views are that the Brotherhood has "little or no organizational capacity" in the U.S., and that "building front organizations is not in the Muslim Brotherhood's repertoire." See ibid, p. 41. These claims are verifiably false. For reliable evidence to the contrary, see Steven Merley, *The Muslim Brotherhood in the United States* (Washington, DC: Hudson Institute, [April] 2009), passim, at http://www.currenttrends.org/docLib/20090411_Merley.USBROTHERHOOD.pdf . For more on Beutel's background and ideas, see "Alejandro Beutel," Investigative Project on Terrorism report, undated, at http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/misc/716.pdf .

[58] Actually, President Bush waffled on this issue. In a 20 September 2001 address to a joint session of Congress, Bush rightly insisted that the jihadists who sponsored and carried out the 9/11 attacks were "the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century," and that they were thus comparable to the fascists and other prior totalitarians who were destined to end up "in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies." Cited in White House, *National Strategy for Combating Terrorism* (Washington, DC: GPO, [February] 2003), p. 5, available at https://www.cia.gov/news-information/cia-the-war-on-terrorism/Counter_Terrorism_Strategy.pdf . Even so, according to [Islamist organization] MPAC's Executive Director Salam al-Marayati, "President Bush told us in a [26 September 2001?] meeting with him that he will make it a point to detach the Islamic label from the word terrorism….So you will never see President Bush saying 'Islamic terrorism.'" Transcript of a 9 September 2003 speech given by al-Marayati at the MPAC conference on U.S. counterterrorism policy in Washington, DC, cited in Sperry, *Infiltration*, p. 6. Indeed, in that same 2003 strategy document, there were only scattered, perfunctory references to ideology and the "war of ideas." Yet by September 2006, that initial failure to pay sufficient attention to ideological matters seemed to have been rectified, when the Bush administration published an updated version of its earlier strategic policy guidelines. In the very first sentence, it proclaimed that "America is at war with a transnational terrorist movement fueled by a radical ideology of hatred, oppression, and murder." See White House, *National Strategy for Combating Terrorism* (Washington, DC: GPO, [September] 2006), p. 1, available at http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nsct/2006/nsct2006.pdf . Therefore (ibid., p. 7), in "the long run, winning the War on Terror [sic] means winning the battle of ideas." Bush thus seems to have become increasingly aware of the ideological dimensions of the "war on terrorism" and belatedly recognized that something needed to be done to counteract Islamist ideology, even if the initiatives he ended up adopting to win this "war of ideas" proved to be completely ineffective. Unfortunately, it seems as though the Obama administration, in support of its laudable (in principle) but misdirected (in practice) efforts to reorient and improve U.S. relations with the Muslim world, has deliberately "unlearned" those valuable lessons.

[59] John Brennan, "A New Approach for Safeguarding Americans," p. 9, at http://csis.org/files/attachments/090806_brennan_transcript.pdf . [Italics added, JMB]. Such a sanitized definition of *jihad* , a noun deriving from the verb *jahada*, meaning "to struggle" or "to exert oneself," conveniently ignores the fact that *jihad bi al-sayf* ("jihad of the sword") has always been the most common meaning of the term, both historically and at the present time. See E[mile] Tyan, "Djihād," in Bernard Lewis et al, *Encyclopedia of Islam: New Edition* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983 [1965]), vol. 2, p. 538: "In law, according to general doctrine and in historical tradition, the *djihād* consists of military action with the object of the expansion of Islam and, if need be, of its defence…The notion stems from the fundamental principle of the universality of Islam: this religion, along with the temporal power which it implies, ought to embrace the whole universe, if necessary by force." Cf. further Michael Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History: Doctrines and Practice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 2006); David Cook, *Understanding Jihad* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 2005); Reuven Firestone, *Jihad: The Origin of Holy War in Islam* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University, 1999); Rudolph Peters, *Jihad in Classical and Modern Islam* (Princeton, NJ: Marcus Weiner, 1996); and Alfred Morabia, *Le Gihâd dans l'Islam médiéval* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1993).

[60] See, e.g., Robert A. Pape, Lindsey O'Rourke, and Jenna McDermit, "What Makes Chechen Women So Dangerous?," *New York Times*, 30 March 2010, at http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/31/opinion/31pape.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0 , wherein the authors argued – reiterating the severely problematic and oft-criticized interpretations of suicide terrorism proffered by Pape in book- length studies, *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 2005), and, subsequently, (with James K. Feldman) *Cutting the Fuse: The Explosion of Global Suicide Terrorism and How to Stop It* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2010) – that Chechen "black widows" were not really "Islamic extremists" motivated in large part by Islamist ideology. For Pape, then, Islamic religious conceptions of "martyrdom" play no role whatsoever in acts of jihadist suicide terrorism, which are instead said to be mainly a response to foreign occupation or a desire to get revenge. For a corrective to this historically uninformed (as well as methodologically problematic) interpretation, see David Cook and Olivia Allison, *Understanding and Addressing Suicide Attacks: The Faith and Politics of Martyrdom Operations* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2007); and Gordon M. Hahn, "What Makes Russia's Jihadists So Dangerous?," *Russia: Other Points of View* website, 28 April 2010, at http://www.russiaotherpointsofview.com/2010/04/what-makes-russias-jihadists-so-dangerous.html . Cf. also David Cook, *Martyrdom in Islam* (New York: Cambridge University, 2007).

[61] See, e.g., U.S. Senate, Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, Special Report by Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman, Chairman, and Sen. Susan M. Collins, *A Ticking Time Bomb: Counterterrorism Lessons from the U.S. Government's Failure to Prevent the Fort Hood Attack* (Washington, DC: GPO, [February] 2005), esp. chapters 2-4, at http://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/testimony/377.pdf . Despite all of these indicators of radicalisation, after a special investigation undertaken by the FBI to evaluate its own counterterrorism responses before and after the Fort Hood shootings, it was noted that the Bureau's "WFO" (Washington, DC Field Office) had concluded, after examining the 16 emails Hasan had sent to "radical Islamic cleric" al-Awlaqi and the latter's two email replies, as well as consulting FBI and DoD databases and Hasan's personnel records, that it could not conclude that Hasan was then involved in "terrorist activities." Although the San Diego Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF), which had first discovered Hasan's earliest emails to al-Awlaqi, argued that the WFO's assessment was "inadequate," neither entity took any further action. See William H. Webster Commission on the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Counterterrorism Intelligence, and the Events at Fort Hood, Texas, on November 5, 2009, *Final Report*, undated, p. 1 and, for further details, chapters 5-7, at http://www.fbi.gov/news/pressrel/press-releases/final-report-of-the-william-h.-webster-commission . Moreover, the report immediately took pains to emphasise (ibid, p. 6), in the very first chapter on "violent radicalization," that "[a]lthough highly publicized terrorist plots and acts – and the Fort Hood shootings – have referenced Islam, violent radicalization transcends any one religion – and indeed religion – and can find causes in political, social, environmental, and other contexts." This is an utterly banal observation that no informed person would disagree with. Indeed, it is hard to imagine that such a sappy and unnecessary disclaimer would

have been included in official U.S. reports dealing with any other type of "violent extremist" incident, i.e., those not involving a Muslim perpetrator. This report did, at least, acknowledge the obvious (ibid): that Hasan was a "religious person."

Note further that since his arrest, especially in various verbal and handwritten statements proffered on the eve of his trial (in which he opted to defend himself), Hasan has repeatedly highlighted his jihadist ideological worldview and motivations, and has explicitly explained and justified his attack on that very basis, thereby demonstrating the falsity of the ludicrous non-ideological interpretation of his actions being officially promoted by the U.S. government. Cf. "Nidal Hasan Admitted Jihadist Motive, Victims' Attorneys Say," *ABC News Radio*, 6 June 2013, at http://www.krna.com/common/more.php?m=58&ts=1370449411&article=40ABA5EBCE0611E286DEFEFDADE6840A&mode=2 ; "Fort Hood Shooting Suspect Maj. Nidal Hasan Renounces Citizenship," *Associated Press*, 2 August 2013, at http://abclocal.go.com/ktrk/story?section=news/state&id=9192877 ; and Catherine Herridge and Pamela Brown, "Hasan Sends Writings to Fox News Ahead of Fort Hood Shooting Trial," *Fox News*, 1 August 2013, at http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2013/08/01/hasan-sends-writings-ahead-fort-hood-shooting-trial/ , which contains links to Hasan's handwritten documents. For an excellent short analysis of the contents of those documents, see Timothy Furnish, "Major Nidal Malik Hasan's Post-Jihad Islamist Manifesto," *Mahdi Watch* website, 2 August 2013, at http://www.mahdiwatch.org/2013.08.01_arch.html#1375474673746 . Nevertheless, the judge assigned to the case, Colonel Tara Osborne, has refused to allow the prosecution to cite most of the evidence of Hasan's jihadist motivations for carrying out the attack (e.g., his classroom presentation on "martyrdom" attacks, his emails to and from al-Awlaqi, and his interest in the 2003 murder of fellow soldiers by U.S. Army Sergeant Hasan Karim Akbar) because "*motive is not an element of the crime.*" [Italics added, JMB]. See Chelsea J. Carter, "Nidal Hasan Challenges Witness Account of Fort Hood Shooting at Court Martial," *CNN*, 19 August 2013, at http://www.cnn.com/2013/08/19/justice/nidal-hasan-court-martial-monday/index.html?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+rss%2Fcnn_us+%28RSS%3A+U.S.%29 .

[62] As fully quoted in "Obama Fort Hood Speech: Video, Text of Memorial Remarks," *Huffington Post*, 10 November 2009, at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/11/10/obama-ft-hood-speech-full_n_352633.html . Needless to say, that "twisted logic" is not at all hard to understand if one has even a rudimentary familiarity with Islamist ideological precepts.

[63] "Casey: I'm 'Concerned' About Backlash against Muslim Soldiers," *CNN*, 8 November 2009, at http://politicalticker.blogs.cnn.com/2009/11/08/casey-im-concerned-about-possible-backlash-against-muslim-soldiers/ . What makes this professed "concern" even less justifiable is that Casey himself then stated that he did not believe that there was any evidence of discrimination against the 3,000 Muslims serving in the U.S. military and National Guard. Yet then Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano also hastened to tell reporters in Abu Dhabi that "we object to – and do not believe – that anti-Muslim sentiment should emanate from this [incident]" given that Hasan "was an individual who does not, obviously, represent the Muslim faith." See "Napolitano Warns against Anti-Muslim Backlash," *Fox News*, 8 November 2009, at http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2009/11/08/napolitano-warns-anti-muslim-backlash/ . On the basis of this "politically correct" presumption, it is apparently only angelic behavior that can nowadays be identified as truly "representative" of the Muslim faith. Yet perhaps the greatest irony here is that it was precisely Hasan's "keen interest in Islamic culture and faith" and supposedly "unique insights into the dimensions of Islam" – including its "belief, culture, and moral reasoning" – that had been highlighted by his superiors in Bethesda, Maryland on his 2007-2008 and 2008-2009 Officer Evaluation Reports, wherein it was also concluded that he had "unlimited potential". In the end, Hasan's violent actions did in fact serve to "illuminat[e] the role of culture and islamic (sic) faith within the Global War on Terrorism" – but certainly not in the beneficial way his superiors had naïvely anticipated. See Molly Hennessy-Fiske, "Ft. Hood Shooter Received Glowing Evaluations before Attack," *Los Angeles Times*, 24 August 2013, at http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-0825-nidal-hasan-20130825,0,2071659.story , from which one can access PDFs of the actual Army OERs.

[64] Department of Defense, *Protecting the Force: Lessons from Fort Hood. The Report of the DoD Independent Review*, January 2010, p. 16, at http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/dod-protectingtheforce-web_security_hr_13jan10.pdf . Instead, the professed concern of the DoD was focused on "policies and procedures at the DoD or Service level that address *workplace violence.…*" [Italics added, JMB]. Cf. also the forwarding memo and attached "Department of Defense Implementation of Recommendations from the Independent Review Related to Fort Hood" report, which makes no reference to Islam, including in the section devoted to recommendations concerning the identification of "behavioral indicators of violence," and also focuses on the dangers of "workplace violence." See, respectively, p. 1 of the report and p. 1 of the 18 August 2010 memo, at http://www.defense.gov/news/d20100820FortHoodFollowon.pdf . Apparently, then, Hasan's attack had nothing to do with his interpretation of Islam, but was simply another case of a disgruntled government employee "going postal."

[65] What makes all of this seem even more tragic was that at an annual U.S. Army counterterrorism conference held in Florida in February 2008, three speakers were said to have explicitly warned attendees (many of whom were responsible for military force protection) that a failure to understand jihadist doctrines was – in the words of one of those advisors, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Myers – "going to get soldiers killed in America, on our own bases." See Bill Geertz, "Army Warned about Jihadist Threat in '08," *Washington Times*, 9 February 2010, at http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2010/feb/9/army-warned-about-jihadist-threat-in-08/?page=all#pagebreak . Their sound advice was obviously ignored. Moreover, less than three years after Hasan's shooting spree, another Muslim-American soldier named Naser Jason Abdo who had gone AWOL (after child pornography was found on his computer) was arrested for plotting to carry out bombings and shootings at a restaurant frequented by U.S. soldiers near Fort Hood. This attack was only averted due to the alertness of a local gun shop owner. Yet even though Abdo had already applied for Conscientious Objector status because he did not want to be deployed in Afghanistan where he might have to fight other Muslims, had planned to use two IEDs placed inside pressure cookers of the type that had been described in al-Qaʻida's *Inspire* magazine (and were later used in Boston by the Tsarnaev brothers) in his attack, had vowed to continue "to answer the call of jihad" at his sentencing, and had shouted "Nidal Hasan – Ft. Hood 2009" when leaving the courtroom, U.S. Attorney Robert Pitman did not characterise this as another would-be incident of jihadist terrorism, but instead compared Abdo's actions to two 2012 spree killings, one carried out by a mentally deranged student in Aurora, Colorado (which was not ideologically motivated), the other carried out by a white supremacist skinhead against a Sikh temple in suburban Milwaukee (which was ideologically motivated). See Molly Hennessy-Fiske, "Jason Abdo, Former AWOL Soldier, Sentenced in Ft. Hood Bomb Plot," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 August 2012, at http://articles.latimes.com/2012/aug/10/nation/la-na-nn-ft-hood-bomb-20120810 .

[66] Josh Gerstein, "FBI Knew Earlier of Boston Bombing Suspect," *Politico* website, 15 June 2013, at http://www.politico.com/blogs/under-the-radar/2013/06/fbi-knew-earlier-of-boston-bombing-suspect-166313.html?hp=f2 .

[67] "FBI: No Investigation [of] Radicalism in Boston Bombers Mosque," *Clarion Project* website, 16 June 2013, at http://www.clarionproject.org/news/fb-no-investigation-radicalism-boston-bombers-mosque?utm_source=feedly . This is all the more extraordinary given that the two Islamic Society of Boston centers in Cambridge and Boston have documented links to Islamist extremists (including some of its founders, *imam*s, and presidents), and that certain worshippers there had previously been prosecuted for their involvement in terrorist plots. See "Mosque that Boston Suspects Attended has Radical Ties," *USA Today,* 25 April 2013, at http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2013/04/23/boston-mosque-radicals/2101411/ ; and Jeff Jacoby, "The Boston Mosque's Saudi Connection," *Boston Globe*, 10 January 2007, at http://www.boston.com/news/globe/editorial_opinion/oped/articles/2007/01/10/the_boston_mosques_saudi_connection/?page=full . Alas, this blindness is hardly a new problem at the FBI. As Sperry notes (*Infiltration*, p. xxii), numerous firebrand Islamist *imam*s and activists had been "preaching anti-American hate to the Muslim community for years, yet they never raised serious red flags at FBI headquarters." And given that after 9/11 FBI director Mueller had forced FBI agents to attend Enrichment Training Sessions, i.e., "sensitivity training" courses offered by personnel from Islamist organizations like CAIR, and that (according to many FBI insiders) he was always anxious to appease such organizations (ibid, chapter 1), it is hardly a surprise to learn that so many of the Bureau's agents are still not only bureaucratically "risk averse," but also utterly clueless about the nature of Islam and Islamism. Cf. Gaubatz and Sperry, *Muslim Mafia*, pp. 101-10. Note further the FBI's likely mischaracterisation of what appears to have been yet another act of "individual *jihad*" terrorism," in this case one committed with firearms on 12 February 2007 – years prior to Major Hasan's attack and the Boston Marathon bombings – in Trolley Square mall in Salt Lake City, Utah, by an 18-year old Bosnian Muslim immigrant named Sulejmen Talović. See further Paul Sperry, "Could the Kenya Attack Happen Here? It Did," *New York Post*, 12 October 2013, at http://nypost.com/2013/10/12/could-the-kenya-mall-attack-ever-happen-here-it-already-did/ .

[68] FBI National Press Office, "2011 Request for Information on Tamerlan Tsarnaev from Foreign Government," *Federal Bureau of Investigation* website, 19 April 2013, at http://www.fbi.gov/news/pressrel/press-releases/2011-request-for-information-on-tamerlan-tsarnaev-from-foreign-government .

[69] Many of those indications are conveniently enumerated, year by year, in the Wikipedia entry on "Dzhokar and Tamerlan Tsarnaev," which also lists the relevant media citations. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dzhokhar_and_Tamerlan_Tsarnaev . Moreover, in late 2011, a few months after the FBI concluded its investigation during the summer of that year without finding anything suspicious, the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) added Tamerlan (and his mother) to its huge Terrorist Identities Datamart Environment (TIDE) database. See Mark Hosenball, "Boston Bomb Suspect's Name was on Classified Government Watch Lists," *Reuters*, 24 April 2013, at http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/04/24/us-usa-explosions-boston-suspect-idUSBRE93N06720130424 . He was also placed on the Department of Homeland Security's unclassified Terrorist Screening Database.

[70] See, e.g., Michael Rezendes, "Police Probe Possible Link between Marathon Bomber and Unsolved Triple Homicide in Waltham," *Boston Globe*, 22 April 2013, at http://boston.com/metrodesk/2013/04/22/police-probe-possible-link-between-marathon-bomber-and-unsolved-triple-homicide-waltham/T6MgaX0lur7plZrGj0HsvO/story.html ; Peter Hermann, "Authorities Investigating Slain Boston Bombing Suspect in Three Earlier Killings," *Washington Post*, 22 April 2013, at http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/authorities-investigating-slain-boston-bombing-suspect-in-three-earlier-killings/2013/04/22/5a5c6874-ab91-11e2-a8b9-2a63d75b5459_story.html ; Michelle McPhee, "Boston Bomb Suspect Eyed in Connection to 2011 Triple Murder," *ABC News*, 22 April 2013, at http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/boston-bomb-suspect-eyed-connection-2011-triple-murder/story?id=19015628#.UXYXeVfhf5n ; idem, "'Mounting Evidence' Boston Bombers Involved in 2011 Triple Murder," *ABC News*, 10 May 2013, at http://abcnews.go.com/Blotter/mounting-evidence-boston-bombers-involved-2011-triple-murder/story?id=19151271 . There are conflicting reports about whether Brendan Mess, one of the three Waltham victims (the one who had been a very close acquaintance of Tamerlan), was in fact Jewish.

[71] Gordon M. Hahn, "The Caucasus Emirate Comes to America: The Boston Marathon Bombing," unpublished report, September 2013, pp. 4-6.

[72] Ibid, pp. 6-8. His brother Dzhokar also posted (ibid, pp. 8-9) many pro-jihadist sentiments and materials online, including those promoting the IK's *jihad*.

[73] For the possibility that Tamerlan was directly inspired or perhaps even assisted operationally by jihadists in the North Caucasus, see ibid, pp. 11-18. There is now evidence, according to the Russian and Dagestani security forces, of contacts between Tamerlan and three individuals involved in the North Caucasus *jihad*, an 18-year old, half-Kumyk, half-Palestinian IK recruiter named Mahmud Mansur Nidal, a Canadian-Russian convert to Islam named William Plotnikov, and Gajimurad ("Abu Dujana") Dolgatov, the *'amir* of the Rabbanikala (Kizlyurt) Sector of the Central Front of the IK's Dagestan-based network, the Dagestan Vilayet. All three of these individuals were subsequently killed, in separate engagements, by security forces.

[74] For another recent illustration of how "political correctness" is continuing to compromise the FBI's counterterrorism efforts, note that the Bureau cravenly removed its "Faces of Global Terrorism" advertisements depicting the 16 most wanted terrorists, which announced rewards for information leading to their capture, from buses in Seattle after the Islamist group CAIR, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and other "useful infidels" mounted a ridiculous campaign claiming that the ads were "Islamophobic." Why? Simply because all 16 of the FBI's most wanted terrorists were jihadists. A rational person might therefore conclude that radicalised Muslims were nowadays more prone to carry out anti-American acts of terrorism than members of other ethno-cultural groups, as indeed they are, but apparently such an obvious conclusion would itself be "Islamophobic.". See Ryan Mauro, "FBI's Most-Wanted Ads Blocked by Muslim Brotherhood Group," *Clarion Project* website, 27 June 2013, at http://www.clarionproject.org/analysis/%E2%80%8Bfbis-most-wanted-ads-blocked-muslim-brotherhood-group/#fm .

[75] When speaking about Muslim "moderates," one has to be clear about exactly what that term means. Many observers have naïvely assumed that all Muslims who are not directly participating in jihadist terrorism, either as perpetrators or as active facilitators, must ipso facto be moderate in terms of their core beliefs and ultimate goals. This is false. First, no Muslim who is also an Islamist, even if he or she eschews or abjures the use of violence and terrorism for essentially pragmatic or tactical reasons, is really a moderate given his or her Islamic supremacist aims. Second, neither other types of Islamic fundamentalists (e.g., of the "quietist" rather than the "activist" variety) nor hardline Islamic traditionalists can be justly characterized as moderate with respect to their doctrinal tenets. Third, even the very large number of

semi-observant or non-observant Muslims (i.e., those who do not strictly follow Muslim rituals or regularly attend mosques, or who engage periodically in certain religiously-proscribed activities like gambling and drinking) are not necessarily moderate with respect to their basic theological beliefs, their social and political attitudes towards "infidels," or their views about armed *jihad*. After all, conveniently ignoring Islamic injunctions is not the same thing as explicitly repudiating them. Therefore, these personal behavioral lapses do not necessarily signify that such Muslims do not basically agree with orthodox Muslim or even Islamist clerics who interpret Islam in very dogmatic, intolerant ways, or that they do not sympathise to some extent with the attacks launched by jihadists against non-Muslims. In this context, the results of several public opinion polls conducted in Muslim communities and countries, even those that appear to have been specifically designed to mislead gullible Westerners by exaggerating the degree of Muslim "moderation" (e.g., John L. Esposito and Dalia Mogahed, *Who Speaks for Islam? What a Billion Muslims Really Think* [New York: Gallup Press, 2007], a propagandistic book that was sent gratis to hundreds of academicians and journalists), are anything but reassuring when one carefully parses the responses (e.g., according to Esposito and Mogahed, 7% of Muslims worldwide – nearly 100 million believers – actually support attacks targeting civilians [even though this is not, in my opinion, an accurate definition of terrorism]). And even if these less observant Muslims – and the overwhelming majority of their co-religionists who are simply devoting their energies to raising families and making ends meet – really are more moderate with respect to their actual interpretations of the *Qur'an* and the *shari'a* (which is by no means certain), as Sam Harris rightly points out, religious moderation alone "offers no bulwark against religious extremism and religious violence." Why? Because "[m]oderates in every faith are obliged to loosely interpret (or simply ignore) much of their canons in the interests of living in the modern world….This is a problem for 'moderation' in religion: it has nothing underwriting it other than the unacknowledged neglect of the letter of the divine law." See Sam Harris, *The End of Faith: Religion, Terror, and the Future of Reason* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2004), pp. 20, 17, 18. Finally, even secularists in the Muslim world can be anti-Western ideological extremists rather than moderates, like the nationalist-socialist supporters of Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir and the Ba'thists, or communists from the Hizb-i Tudeh Iran (Party of the Masses of Iran).

Who, then, are the genuine Muslim moderates? – a minority of Muslim clerics who have embraced more open, flexible, and rationalist forms of "independent reasoning" (*ijtihad*) and circles of Westernised Muslim intellectuals, both of whom have been promoting more contextual, metaphorical, modernist, or secularist interpretations of Islamic scriptures and legal tenets. Unfortunately, even if there is in fact a "silent majority" of relatively moderate, apolitical, or unobservant Muslims, these real religious and intellectual moderates do not yet seem to be capable of mobilizing a large, broad-based social movement of supporters whose primary aim is to modernise the Muslim world and liberate it from a host of harmful and regressive religious, tribal, and cultural traditions, something roughly equivalent to the vital "reform(ation)" processes that Judaism and Christianity both underwent after centuries of internal disputation and conflict and/or external struggle.

At present, then, hundreds of millions of more or less observant Muslims apparently remain very conflicted about these issues, and are effectively "sitting on the fence." Hence they could end up going either way, depending upon who wins the battle for ideological influence and hegemony that is currently being waged within the *dar al-islam*. Sadly, the clerical conservatives and/or the Islamists now seem to be winning this ideological battle, especially in the Arab heartland and in many Muslim communities in the West, notwithstanding the sometimes large-scale popular anti-Islamist protests in Egypt (as well as in Iran and Turkey).

[76] The essence of this struggle has been well summarized by Salim Mansur: "The struggle within Islam in our time is between Muslims who embrace the values of the modern world in terms of freedom, individual rights, gender equality and democracy on the one side and Muslims who oppose these values and, hence, modernity on the basis of *Sharia*….This struggle, therefore, goes to the very heart of how Muslims understand Islam either as a faith-tradition, or as a total system of belief and practice that is antithetical to the norms of the modern world. In other words, for Muslims who embrace modernity, as I do, Islam is a matter of personal belief and not a political system; and Muslims opposed to modernity view Islam ideologically, hence *Islamism*, and accordingly they embrace the views of Maudoodi and Hasan al-Banna, Syed Qutb and Khomeini, about Islam as a totalitarian value-system." See Mansur's interview by Ryan Mauro, "Salim Mansur: Moderation is Anathema to Islamists," *Clarion Project* website, 27 February 2013, at http://www.clarionproject.org/analysis/salim-mansur-moderation-anathema-islamists . Similarly, Bassam Tibi promotes a "civil and liberal Islam with a secular perspective" as an alternative to Islamism. See Tibi, *Islamism and Islam*, p. viii (quote) and chapter 9. For one apparent example of a successful Muslim anti-Islamist campaign, see Syafii Maarif et al, *The Illusion of an Islamic State: How an Alliance of Moderates Launched a Successful Jihad against Radicalization and Terrorism in the World's Largest Muslim-Majority Country* (Jakarta: LibForAll Foundation, 2011), Kindle edition. Their targets were transnational Islamist movements, such as Wahhabism and the Muslim Brotherhood, as well as the local Indonesian supporters of such movements.

[77] For Arab critiques of the Obama administration's policies of "partnering" with the Islamists instead of Muslim democrats in the MENA region, which is in part arguably due to the influence exerted by American Islamist front organizations and other "Islamist apologists" on that administration, see Egyptian liberal Essam Abdallah, "Islamist Lobbies' Washington War on Arab and Muslim Liberals," *The Cutting Edge* website, 16 February 2012, at http://www.thecuttingedgenews.com/index.php?article=53331&pageid=44&pagename=Slices ; and "Ahead of June 30 Protests, Egyptian Opposition and Media Attack U.S. Ambassador to Egypt, Accusing Her of Taking Sides in Support of Muslim Brotherhood and President Mursi," *MEMRI* website, 27 June 2013, at http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/7258.htm . Yet despite this unflagging public U.S. government support for Mursi, popular anti-Islamist protests soon after prompted the Egyptian military to force the President to step down from power on 3 July 2013. And what was Obama's response to the ouster of Mursi? Rather than lauding the collapse of a reprehensible Egyptian Islamist government dominated by enemies of the West (one that was bent on imposing strict *shari'a*-compliant laws and destroying its domestic liberal enemies), which would have been the appropriate response, Obama instead said that his administration was "deeply concerned" about this action, called on the Egyptian military to "avoid any arbitrary arrests of President Morsy and his supporters", and "directed the relevant departments and agencies [of the U.S. government] to review the implications under U.S. law for our assistance to Government of Egypt." See Bill Chappell, "President Obama: U.S. 'Deeply Concerned' Over Morsi's Ouster," National Public Radio website, 3 July 2013, at http://www.npr.org/blogs/thetwo-way/2013/07/03/198490883/president-obama-u-s-deeply-concerned-over-morsis-ouster . (Needless to say, the best time to have cut off U.S. aid to Egypt would have been the moment that the Muslim Brotherhood and the Salafists "won" the elections in 2012.) Even though Obama also claimed in his remarks that the U.S. "does not support particular individuals or political parties" in Egypt, the thrust of his statement was perfectly clear: rather than tangibly and morally supporting the anti-Islamist opposition, which he should have been doing all along, he was instead lending his administration's de facto support to a powerful, repressive, and intrinsically anti-"infidel" Islamist organization. Indeed, Obama and other Western leaders, including German Chancellor Angela Merkel, have since unwisely pressured the Egyptian military to release Mursi and his cronies from custody, not to

"marginalize" the Brotherhood politically, and not to crack down on "peaceful" Ikhwan demonstrations (even though the latter have been anything but peaceful).

Not surprisingly, such counterproductive responses have been encouraged by Brotherhood activists in the West. For example, members of an American Brotherhood front organization (according to the internal Akram memorandum cited above) – the Muslim American Society (MAS) – created a new "pro-democracy" umbrella organization, Egyptian-Americans for Democracy and Human Rights (EADHR), to denounce the Egyptian military and demand the reinstatement of Mursi as Egyptian president. Cf. Abha Shankar, "Rally Organizers Deny Ties with Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood," *Investigative Project on Terrorism* website, 9 August 2013, at http://www.investigativeproject.org/4119/rally-organizers-deny-ties-with-the-egyptian ; and John Rossomando, "Pro-Morsi Demonstrations Make MB Ties Harder to Hide," *Investigative Project on Terrorism* website, 12 August 2013, at http://www.investigativeproject.org/4121/pro-morsi-demonstrations-make-mb-ties-harder-to . Needless to say, these Islamist self-professed "democrats" had displayed no concerns whatsoever about Mursi's attempts to subvert democracy and impose an Islamist agenda or about the Brotherhood's systematic violations of human rights both before and after its ouster.

In any case, one is forced to concur with Barry Rubin that the "Obama Doctrine" with respect to the Muslim world, like that of many European governments, effectively often amounts to supporting the West's Islamist enemies. As Rubin rightly points out, however, "[o]ver and over again history has shown that backing radicals merely gets you more powerful radicals." See Barry Rubin, "Obama Doctrine: Backing Middle East Radicals after 10 Previous Western Failures," *Rubin Report* website, 18 June 2013, at http://rubinreports.blogspot.com/2013/06/obama-doctrine-backing-middle-east.html . Note also the disastrous impact of U.S. and NATO military intervention in Libya against al-Qadhdhafi's regime, which likewise had the practical effect of empowering Libyan Islamists, in this case armed jihadist groups. See John Rosenthal, *The Jihadist Plot: The Untold Story of Al-Qaeda and the Libyan Rebellion* (New York: Encounter Books, 2013). Cf. Raymond Ibrahim, "Libyan Intelligence: Muslim Brotherhood, Morsi Involved in U.S. Consulate Attack," *Raymond Ibrahim* website, 26 June 2013, at http://www.raymondibrahim.com/from-the-arab-world/libyan-intelligence-muslim-brotherhood-morsi-involved-in-u-s-consulate-attack/ (even though the Libyans might well have had a vested interest in blaming "outside agitators" rather than Libyans for the resulting murders of Americans). Alas, the decision of the Obama administration to provide arms to the Syrian resistance, as per the advice of Islamists like Ibn Bayyah and many naïve Western humanitarians, could potentially lead to another political and human rights catastrophe: an armed Sunni Islamist or Syrian Muslim Brotherhood takeover of much, if not all, of Syria.

More broadly, see the wise words of Burak Bekdil, "'Ballotization' is not Democratization," *Hürriyet*, 5 July 2013, at http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/ballotization-is-not-democratization.aspx?PageID=238&NID=50041&NewsCatID=398 , who points out the obvious fallacies of promoting the introduction of democratic electoral procedures and processes ("ballotization") without first inculcating genuine democratic values, which in the MENA region has thus far resulted mainly in the election of anti-Western, anti-democratic Islamist candidates who interpret democracy as simple "majoritarianism." As Bekdil rightly notes, "[f]or Islamists [who are elected to office], [the] 'free will of nations' means a carte blanche given to an Islamist leader by an arithmetic majority to forcibly Islamize the entire society. The free will of nations simply means crude majoritarianism over pluralism. That's ballotization, not democratization…" This is an important lesson that the myopic Western proponents of "spreading democracy," whether they are liberal internationalists or neo-conservatives, and/or of "partnering" with supposedly "moderate" Islamists, should belatedly learn. Cf. also the remarks of David Solway in *The Big Lie: On Terror, Antisemitism, and Identity* (Toronto: Lester, Mason & Begg, 2007), p. 65: "A realistic view of history tells us that democracy comes at the end of a long social and political process when the ground has been adequately prepared; it is not a silver bullet. Introduced prematurely, it is the bullet that backfires, the disaster that follows from good intentions and bad judgment. The West seems to be confusing the ritual with the substance, as if the theatre of elections could bring about a democratic reality in regions where there is no freedom of speech, no free or responsible press, no stable civil society, no rule of law, and which are torn apart by rival militant groups and warring religious factions. As Amin Maalouf writes in his *In the Name of Identity*, 'what is sacred in a democracy is not mechanisms but values'; universal suffrage can result not in the establishment of a free society, but in the 'abolition of democracy,' in 'tyranny, slavery and discrimination' if the appropriate cultural framework and political value system are lacking."

[78] For that report, see National Security Council, *National Strategy for Victory in Iraq* (Washington, DC: GPO, [November] 2005), at http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/documents/Iraqnationalstrategy11-30-05.pdf .

[79] See Peter Pace, "Extemporaneous Remarks on Our National Strategy for Victory in Iraq," keynote speech delivered at the National Defense University, Washington, DC, 1 December 2005, at http://www.jcs.mil/chairman/speeches/051201remarks_NationalStrategyVictoryIraq.html .

[80] Ibid. Yet even Pace displayed far too much faith in the potential impact of the spread of democracy in Iraq and elsewhere in the Muslim world, which a proper understanding of the Islamist enemy would have undermined.

[81] In addition to the internal Brotherhood documents cited above in note 47, see also treatises written by the founders of ostensibly "non-violent" Islamist organizations, such as Hasan al-Banna and Abu al-A'la Mawdudi: Hasan al-Banna, "On Jihād," in *Five Tracts of Hasan Al-Bannā': A Selection from the Majmūʻat rasā'il al-Imām al-shahīd Hasan al-Bannā'*, translated from the Arabic and annotated by Charles Wendell (Berkeley: University of California, 1978), chapter 6; and Abu al-A'la Mawdudi, "Jihād in Islām," at http://www.muhammadanism.org/Terrorism/jihah_in_islam/jihad_in_islam.pdf . For those who are unable to consult primary sources in Arabic, Farsi, Turkish, Urdu, and other relevant languages, the *MEMRI* website (at http://www.memri.org/) conveniently provides translations of many speeches, sermons, statements, or writings produced by Islamist ideologues who openly promote the wholesale destruction of "infidel" regimes, followed by the armed subjugation or religious conversion of unbelievers and thus, in effect, advocate and anticipate the establishment of strict, puritanical, *shari'a*-compliant Islamist rule over the entire world. (Lest anyone assume that this represents a biased selection that is not representative of present-day Islamist thinking, or that it is unfairly designed to portray Muslims in general in a negative light, note that MEMRI also translates many statements made by liberal, moderate, and secularized Muslims.) For translations and analyses of important jihadist statements and documents, see specialist websites such as *Jihadica* (at http://www.jihadica.com/) and that of the U.S. Army's Combating Terrorism Center at West Point (at http://www.ctc.usma.edu/).

Clarifying Boko Haram's Transnational Intentions, Using Content Analysis of Public Statements in 2012

by Benjamin S. Eveslage

Abstract

To advance understanding of the dynamic global security threats emerging in West Africa, this article analyses the radical Islamic sect in Nigeria popularly called "Boko Haram".This was done by addressing the question: What is the likelihood that Boko Haram will transnationalize? Current literature is inconclusive. On the one hand, some discuss Boko Haram as part of an international network of terror groups, and therefore a transnational threat, while others describe the Boko Haram conflict within a domestic or regional context. This article offers, for the first time, a systematic content analysis of the group's public statements issued in 2012 to address this question. The analysis found Boko Haram to express itself in an intrinsically domestic orientation, and as such, transnationalization is unlikely. However, Boko Haram also exhibited a highly reactive modus operandi – highlighting concerns for increased transnationalization if international actors engage Boko Haram. In light of the analysis, policy recommendations are offered.

Providing a Context for Boko Haram

"You said I'm a global terrorist, then you are a terrorist in the next world,"[1] declared Abubakar Shekau to President Barack Obama in a YouTube video uploaded on August 4, 2012.

Abubakar Shekau is the leader of the radical Islamic terrorist organization based in Northeastern Nigeria popularly called "Boko Haram" which translates as "Western education is forbidden." Around 2001, the sect was founded by Mohammed Yusuf and turned violent in 2009, to which the Nigerian government responded by severely repressing the group, killing many members, including Yusuf. Although Nigerian authorities initially believed Shekau was among those killed in 2009, he had survived and resurrected the sect in 2010. Boko Haram under Shekau's leadership showcased a dramatic increase in violence and attracted heightened international concern. In August of 2011, Boko Haram orchestrated the bombing of the United Nations offices in Abuja and has continued to attack churches, government infrastructure, and other businesses and public targets. On July 21, 2012, the United States Department of State designated three of Boko Haram's main leaders as "specially designated global terrorists,"[2] which led to the response by Shekau, as stated above. Although the Nigerian government has claimed Shekau's death a number of times, he has continued to re-emerge refuting such claims in YouTube videos[3], and he still remains the known leader of the sect. A number of competing narratives on the Boko Haram sect complicate predictions

regarding the group's likelihood to transnationalize and posing a threat to international actors. Reviewing the influences, which have led to the sect's emergence and growth, provides a context for Boko Haram's current existence in Nigeria. With this lens, elaborated upon in the literature review, a content analysis of Boko Haram's public statements in 2012 enhances understandings of the group's ideology and likelihood to transnationalise. Both international and domestic policy recommendations are discussed.

Boko Haram as a Domestic Conflict Actor

An Identity-Based Conflict?

The narrative detailing Boko Haram's formation is intertwined with the region's transformations in political, economic, and social life, beginning before colonisation to the Nigerian state as it is today. From 1804, the Sokoto Caliphate governed a region encompassing much of Northern Nigeria, but also included parts of Niger and Northern Cameroon. The Sokoto Caliphate constituted the region's first unified Islamic rule, which lasted for nearly 100 years. In 1903, the British colonial administration overthrew the Caliphate and implemented *indirect* control over the North and *direct* control over the South, meaning that Northern traditional Islamic leaders remained in considerable political power. The British colonial administration in Nigeria exacerbated differences between the country's many ethnicities[4], which provided the foundation for ethno-centric political competition in the years after independence.[5] The experience of Islamic law governing Northern Nigeria during the Caliphate and continuing subserviently under colonisation impacted Nigeria in the years after the country's unification in 1914 and since independence in 1960. Previous research indicates the writings of Ibn Taymiyyah, a 14th century theologian who stressed the political authority of Islamic law, now underpins Boko Haram's ideology, among other Islamist movements in Nigeria.[6] This ideology, which Boko Haram subscribes to, has been used to criticise the validity of a secular state, non-Muslim state representation and corrupt Islamic leaders, favoring a return to Islamic authority in politics. In this context, a Sharia law-governed state has become an alternative to secular Nigeria, creating a basis for radical groups like Boko Haram to form and gather support, mainly from those who view the government as corrupt and ineffective.

In many ways the rise of Boko Haram, and its perpetuation, can be comprehended best by recognising the ethnic and religious conflicts in Nigeria and their interaction with national politics. In post-independence Northern Nigeria, a number of increasingly fundamentalist and extremist Islamic political movements swelled and waned.[7] These movements were also met by opposing Christian revivalist movements during the 1970s[8] that had an overall effect of politicising religious identities in Nigeria. One component of this politicisation process is explained through Nigeria's legal status of "settlers" and "indigenes," which often assumes

ethnic or religious identities. This legal construct pinned, and currently pins, Muslims and Christians against each others in conflicts over land [9] by creating special privileges for those in the "indigene" status. Within this context, emerging violent Islamist groups drew on public support by embedding themselves within Muslim communities that have been affected by such structural disadvantages or violence, and responding by carrying out violence against Christians as well.[10] Violent religious confrontations have become characteristic in parts of Northern Nigeria, and today these conflicts occur within and outside the context of Boko Haram. After decades of government neglect of the development needs in the North, and especially since 2010 when Goodluck Jonathan, a Southerner *and* Christian, became president of Nigeria, Boko Haram has directly fought against the federal government with a goal of removing the current system and establishing Sharia law over the whole country.

A Weak States Conflict?

Another source of discontent, which Boko Haram precipitated from, is the disparity between Nigeria's resource-rich environment and the disturbingly high poverty rates caused by corruption and poor management of the country's resources, termed the *relative deprivation theory*.[11] Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa with an estimated 160 million people; it boasts the sixth-largest known oil reserves; and is the third largest economy in Africa with annual economic growth rates ranging from 7 to 8% from 2009 to 2011.[12] Yet, this wealth has been has been experienced by very few. Throughout Nigeria's recent history, revenues from oil were only directed to the wealthiest, while the livelihoods of subsistence-based populations were undercut by the loss in value against luxury imports.[13] It was the Northern subsistence-based populations that were most severely harmed by this economic dislocation, a process also called the *Dutch disease*.[14] As a result of this economic impact over time, in 2011 72% of Northern Muslims lived on less than $1.25 per day, while only 27% Southern Christians lived beneath this income level.[15] In Northern Nigeria, this economic dislocation profoundly affected a once-respected class of Islamic followers called the *gardawa*, both in their economic and social status. The capitalisation of Nigeria's economy and resulting inflation rendered useless the minor economic contributions from the gardawa and the public began to view them as nuisances and potential thieves.[16] The marginalisation of the gardawa led some to seek radical solutions, which influenced the formation of extremist Islamist movements in Northern Nigeria. Members of a radical Islamic movement in Nigeria during the 1980s called the Maitatsine Uprising, and one member in particular, Mohammad Yusuf, who later went on to establish Boko Haram in 2001, were said to be of the gardawa.[17]

Compounding Nigeria's unequal growth and poor governance was corruption on an unprecedented scale. General Sani Abacha (Nigerian military ruler 1993-1998) "used to send trucks round to the central bank with orders that they be filled with bank notes."[18] Abacha reportedly looted more than a million U.S. dollars for every day of his 5-year tenure in office,

totaling to 3 billion U.S. dollars.[19] Abacha, though exceptional, was not out of the ordinary. Estimates hold that between 1960 and 1999, Nigerian leaders siphoned more than $440 billion out of the economy.[20] Although Nigeria has made efforts to curtail corruption under a civilian government since 1999, corruption remains a large problem in the public's perspective [21] and its lawmakers are some of the highest paid in the world.[22] Popular belief that Nigeria is corrupt makes the government an easy target for criticism, which Boko Haram leveraged to gain support from disadvantaged communities. Other more direct forms of coercion, though still in conjunction with anti-government rhetoric, were used for recruitment of vulnerable populations including adolescents and street children in urban areas of Northern Nigeria called *almajiri*. A spokesperson of The National Agency for the Prohibition for People Trafficking said, "These children are vulnerable to all sorts of social problems – abuse, violence. [They can] be cherry-picked for any vice that adults want to use them for."[23] The youth vulnerability is perpetuated in some cases by deceptive teachings of radical *mallams* (Islamic instructors), who have become the only source of education for many almajiri – an outcome of complex historical processes.[24]

Although Boko Haram originated as a fundamentalist movement, the group only started incorporating violence after confrontation with government security forces. In 2005, the Nigerian military arrested Boko Haram's founder Mohammed Yusuf among other followers. By 2007 a new president pardoned and released them[25], yet only until July 2009 when violence broke out between Boko Haram and government forces.[26] On July 21, 2009 security forces raided a Boko Haram facility after receiving notification the sect was manufacturing bombs. During the raid, a bomb exploded killing a number of Boko Haram members. Reprisal attacks from Boko Haram and government forces led to nearly 1,000 deaths. The violence dissipated only after the deaths of many Boko Haram members, the scattering of remaining members, and the public and extra-judicial killing of Yusuf by security services.[27] Sect operatives went underground with "a stark example of the 'unjust' secular state that they would rally behind – the brazen execution of their leader."[28] By 2010, Boko Haram reemerged with Shekau at the helm and the sect began introducing more sophisticated weapons and operations, including vehicle-borne improvised explosive devices (VBIEDs) and suicide bombings.[29]

In response to this increase in violence by Boko Haram, but also perpetuating it, was the crude crisis response by the state of Nigeria. In 2012 and continuing into 2013, reports from the media and international human rights organizations[30] documented that Nigeria's anti-terrorist campaigns were belligerently killing Boko Haram members *and* innocent civilians. The engagement of government forces in indiscriminate killings, arrests, and destruction of property have further alienated the government from the public, playing into the hands of Boko Haram. In this case, where both the government and Boko Haram conduct violence against civilians to incite fear, it is important to define terrorism broadly enough to encompass state-sponsored terrorism, which is met by the definition of terrorism used in this article.[31]

Boko Haram as an International Threat

A number of researchers, politicians, and reporters argue Boko Haram is capable of orchestrating basic transnational operations due to linkages with Al-Qaeda affiliated organisations.*[32]* Reports from the United States House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security*[33]* and RUSI*[34]* (a British defense and security think tank) suggested Boko Haram poses a growing threat to the United States and United Kingdom. These reports highlighted Boko Haram's violent resurgence and shift to more destructive weapons since 2009 to substantiate their warnings.

Historical and geographic factors also present transnational concerns. During the *scramble for Africa* in the nineteenth century, European powers drew the borders of many African states arbitrarily, which often divided ethnic groups – creating transnational ethnic linkages – or enclosed many different ethnic groups – fostering sub-national ethnic conflicts.[35] Boko Haram's birth in Maiduguri, a city located in the Northeastern corner of Nigeria, bordered by Chad, Niger and Cameroon, places itself within a predominantly Hausa-speaking population that has linguistic, cultural, and ethnic ties to its neighbors – increasing the risk of conflict spillover. Additionally, a small portion of Boko Haram's leadership is foreign born or has traveled outside Nigeria for extended periods of time, though a review of the other "foreign elements" within Boko Haram is worth elaborating upon.*[36]* Boko Haram is also embedded in what international security agencies term the "arc of instability,"*[37]* stretching across Saharan and Sahelian Africa from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. It is feared that this area of unsecured borders and general un-governability will become a breeding-ground for Sahel and Sahara-based salafi-jihadi groups. Due to the proximity of some extremist groups in this region and their similar ideology, it is feared that their collaboration would result in the ability to launch globally threatening terrorist attacks.[38] Adding to this "perfect storm" was the collapse of Gaddafi's Libya, unleashing a catalysing regional arms trade*[39]*, and the vacuum of governance in Northern Mali. This is not to mention the low level of economic development, higher incidence of famine, and desertification in many areas of Western Africa that may sway local populations to support radical groups who claim to support their interests.

The ideology guiding Boko Haram members may also highlight the group's intentions to attack internationally. The group's popular name "Boko Haram", which translates as "Western education is forbidden," immediately highlights the group's well-cited anti-Western ideology. However, "Boko Haram" is merely a popular name used by the media. Rather, the members of this sect call their organization, "Jama'atul Alhul Sunnah Lidda'wati wal Jihad," translated in English as, "People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad."[40] The word "jihad" in Boko Haram's official name is also related to "religious struggle" as referenced by another name by which the group has been known.[41] Still, the title "Boko Haram" holds significance because its spokespersons have criticized Western education,

democracy[42], and attacked a number of public and private schools in Nigeria.[43] In this way, Boko Haram incorporates anti-Western themes, at least in their domestic representations, into the group's core salafi-jihadi ideology. Also, effects from globalization and colonization, both significantly of Western origin, were described previously as influencers of the marginalisation of some populations in Northern Nigeria and thus motivating Boko Haram.

Reviewing Methodologies for Analyzing the Statements of Terrorists

While prior research can help identify the influential factors behind Boko Haram's rise and track the origins of its leadership, the group's operations and intentions remain elusive. Due to the killing of the group's original leadership in 2009, little has been discovered about its initial operations. Still very little information is known about the group due to its loose cell-like structure and high level of secrecy. In similar circumstances, where terrorist organisations have offered little information for researchers to understand their violent intentions, analyzing the sects' proclaimed ideology has provided answers. Drake (1998), who used terrorist group ideology to understand targeting, noted, "Terrorists are rarely mindless or indiscriminate in their attacks, although they may appear to be to observers who have not examined their ideological beliefs."[44] Drake's observation, highlighting the link between terrorist ideology and targeting, remains an applicable tool to understand the connection between Boko Haram's ideology and likelihood for transnationalisation. Given that most methods for learning about Boko Haram's ideology are not viable (i.e. interviews, phone calls, etc.), only a few sources containing this information remain, such as the sect's public statements.

Research has found that analyzing terrorist statements, including speeches and interviews, "holds great promise."[45] Content analyses of such statements have not only helped to clarify a group's ideology and potential targets as Drake (1998) detailed, but they can also show more complex relationships. Linguistic content analyses of material written by terrorists "have been used to uncover relationships between the nature of group rhetoric and the incidence of terrorist violence."[46] Other researchers have used content analysis to measure the threat-level of statements[47], to extract political and ideological meanings[48], to identify how groups change their language before an attack[49], and to identify psychological differences between violent and nonviolent extremist groups.[50] Since 2010, Boko Haram has operated as a very decentralised organisation[51], leaving very few sources to analyze the group, short of its public statements. A systematic content analysis [52] of these valuable statements is missing from the current literature, which may offer insight into the uncharted territory of Boko Haram.

Methodology

For this article, a content analysis was conducted on the public statements Boko Haram issued in 2012. Numbering 26 statements in total, three of these were later excluded for

various reasons*[53]*, leaving 23 statements for analysis. These statements were accessible online and had been disseminated to the public by various methods, including publication on YouTube, in newspapers, and on printed leaflets dropped in Northern Nigerian cities. These written and spoken statements were translated by both Nigerian and international news sources and terrorism analysts.*[54]* A number of the transcribed English translations of Boko Haram's statements are shown in Table 1 of the appendices, which includes the embedded coding and coding justifications. Some statements were found in their full-length original version, however a number of other statements were only represented in fragments of their original version. This was the case when news agencies only published portions of paraphrased or quoted content from the original statement delivered to them by Boko Haram. In these instances, multiple sources that published different fragments of the same Boko Haram statement were used to maximize the amount of text from the original statement. With the media's bias to publish controversial content, particularly any threats and criticisms included in Boko Haram's original statements, this research placed a high degree of certainty on receiving an accurate account of the threats that were issued in both full and partial-text statements.

Text rendered from the 23 statements was analyzed [55] for content that either met the definition of a criticism [56] or a threat [57] and was directed towards an international and/or domestic subject. The subjects of threats and criticisms in Boko Haram statements were grouped into 16 subject categories, 10 domestic (Nigerian) subjects and 6 international subjects. The categorisation of subjects is demonstrated in the hierarchical outline in Table 2. Per statement, every newly introduced subject receiving criticism was assigned a threat-level of one point. Threats were categorized as either a "vague threat" or "direct threat." If the threat were conditional, if the threatened subject was not physical*,* if the threat admittedly lacked conceivable execution, or if the threat was practically impossible to execute, the threat was categorized as a "vague threat." Per statement, every newly introduced subject with a "vague threat" was assigned a threat-level of two points. If the threat did not meet any of the four conditions of a "vague threat", it was categorized as a "direct threat." Per statement, every newly introduced subject receiving a "direct threat" was assigned a threat-level of three points.

Findings

In the statements analysed, 36 criticisms, 17 vague threats, and 17 direct threats were identified and coded. The vast majority of threats and criticisms were directed towards domestic subjects at 83%. Within domestic subjects, 47% of all threats and criticisms were directed towards governmental subjects (19% for security forces, 14% for government personnel, and 14% for "government generally"). A smaller portion of criticisms and threats were directed towards international subjects, at 17%. Within the threats and criticisms directed to international subjects, 4% were directed at the United States and 9% was directed

at international news media. Subject categories that received fewer threats and criticisms included Nigerian news media at 10%, Nigerian Christians at 7%, Nigerian civilians at 9%, educational facilities in Nigeria at 4%, and Muslims, Southerners, and businesses, each at 1% (see percentages in Figure 1).

Among the 36 criticisms coded, Boko Haram criticised domestic government subjects most frequently, at 52%, while international subjects received 23% (see bars in). One criticism that illustrated a domestic orientation stated, "Everyone knows that democracy and the constitution is paganism and everyone knows there are some things that God has forbidden in the Quran…even western education!"[58] Abubakar Shekau issued this statement on January 11, 2012 via YouTube upload. The subjects of "democracy" and "western education" in this statement were both criticized by Shekau and thus assigned a one-point threat-level each. Also, both of these were categorized as domestic criticisms, because Shekau made no referenced to an international subject, and furthermore, the criticism of democracy was referenced to the "constitution" – likely referring to the Nigerian constitution, which is domestic in nature.[59] Contextual references and knowledge of the conflict in Nigeria was used to support the categorisation of unclear criticisms and threats, as the earlier example demonstrated. For these circumstances, coding justifications were provided (some of which are shown in Table 1 of the appendix).
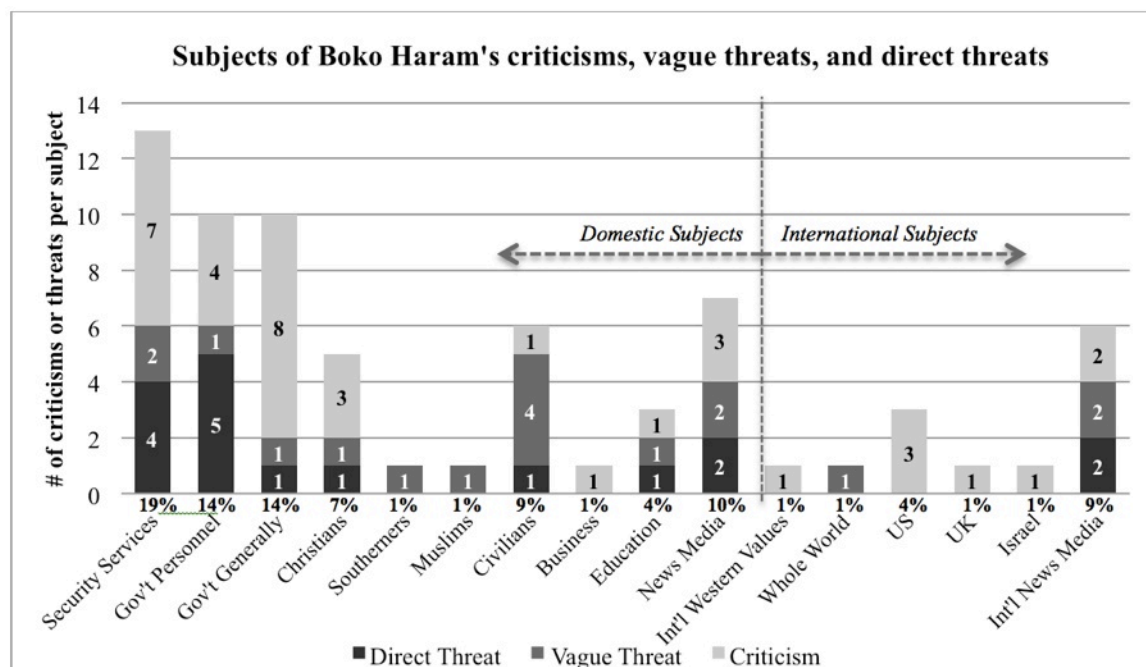

Figure 1: Numbers in bars indicate the number of direct threats (in black), vague threats (in medium gray), or criticisms (in light gray) issued in that subject category. Percentages at the base of each bar indicate the representation of the subject category within all threats and criticisms.

The types of subjects Boko Haram *vaguely* threatened in 2012 displayed similar patterns as the sect's criticisms, yet a number of differences emerged. First, international subjects decreased representation from criticisms with 24% to vague threats with 18%. Secondly, the largest share of vague threats was directed towards "civilians," representing 24% (from just 3% in criticisms). Threats to civilians, such as this, were usually worded as conditional warnings. An example of this was coded from a leaflet Boko Haram dropped in Kano, a Northern Nigerian city, which stated, "Anyone who is instrumental to the arrest of our members is assured that their own is coming."[60] Another condition for which a statement could be termed 'vague' was if the threat was practically impossible to achieve. An example of such a threat was when Boko Haram spokesperson Abu Qaqa said on January 27, 2012 that the sect was ready to take on the whole world and bring Sharia law.[61]

The representation of international subjects, vis-a-vis domestic subjects, continued to decrease when Boko Haram's threats became more direct. International subjects were mentioned in only 12% of direct threats (n=2). Conversely, the representation of domestic subjects increased in Boko Haram's direct threats, relative to vague threats. Nigerian government personnel had the highest share of direct threats for a single subject category, at 29%, followed by security services with 24%, while "government generally" held 6% (59% for all domestic governmental subjects, n=10). An example of a direct threat coded in the analysis stated, "By God's grace very soon top government officials will have no peace as we will intensify attacks on them wherever they are."[62] These direct threats were typically characterised by a clear identification of the subject(s) being threatened with claims to inflict harm upon those subjects in the future, but also preceded or followed by a criticism of that subject. Figure 1 graphically displays the number of criticisms, vague threats, and direct threats Boko Haram issued in 2012 corresponding to each of the 16 subject categories.

This research also sought to measure the trends in the international versus domestic focus of Boko Haram's criticisms and threats throughout 2012. To do this, the points assigned to criticisms and threats within each statement were aggregated into a domestic and international total, giving each statement a "domestic threat-level" and "international threat-level." The statements' international or domestic threat-level ranged from 0 if there were no discernible criticisms or threats, to as high as 15 if multiple threats and criticisms were mentioned. The threat levels for Boko Haram statements were arranged chronologically and linear trend lines were added to clarify the overall change in domestic threat level and international threat level. Over the course of 2012, the domestic threat-level of Boko Haram's statements remained considerably higher than the international threat-level, with only a marginal overall decrease (as seen in Figure 2). However, the overall international threat-level increased slightly in 2012, beginning in January at nearly zero and ending close to a threat-level of two. This was still two points below the domestic threat level at the end of the year.

As graphically displayed in Figure 4, Boko Haram's threats towards government subjects (shown in red, orange, and yellow) occurred at a frequent and consistent rate throughout 2012. However, other subjects fluctuated in their occurrence. The seven subject categories with the most variance in their representation among criticisms and threats within 2012 are represented with polynomial trend lines in Figure 3. Four of these subjects received relatively higher threat-levels in the middle part of the year, which included civilians, international news media, Christians, and (domestic) news media as represented by negative leading coefficients (ends down). Another three subjects received relatively higher threat-levels at the end and/or beginning of the 2012, which included Nigerian security services, "government generally," and the United States, as represented by positive leading coefficients (ends up).
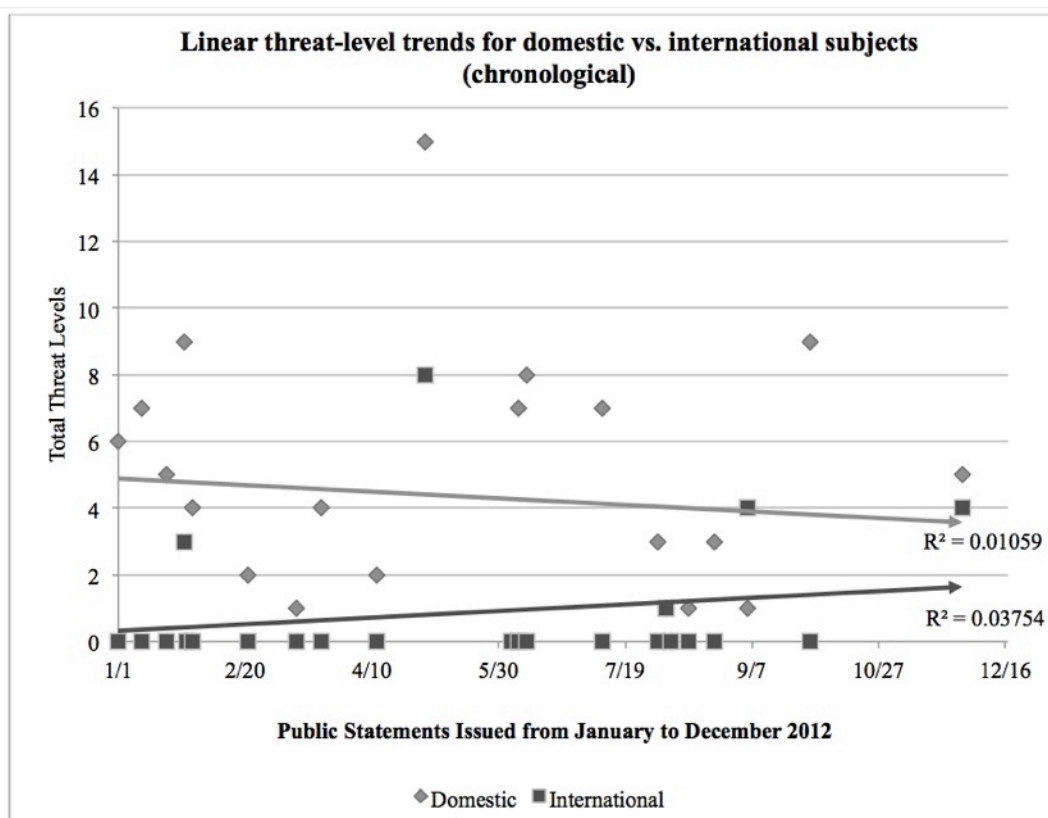

Figure 2: Data points represent the international and domestic threat-level for each statement, while linear trend lines represent the trend in domestic vs. international threat level over the course of 2012. R2 calculated in MS Excel.
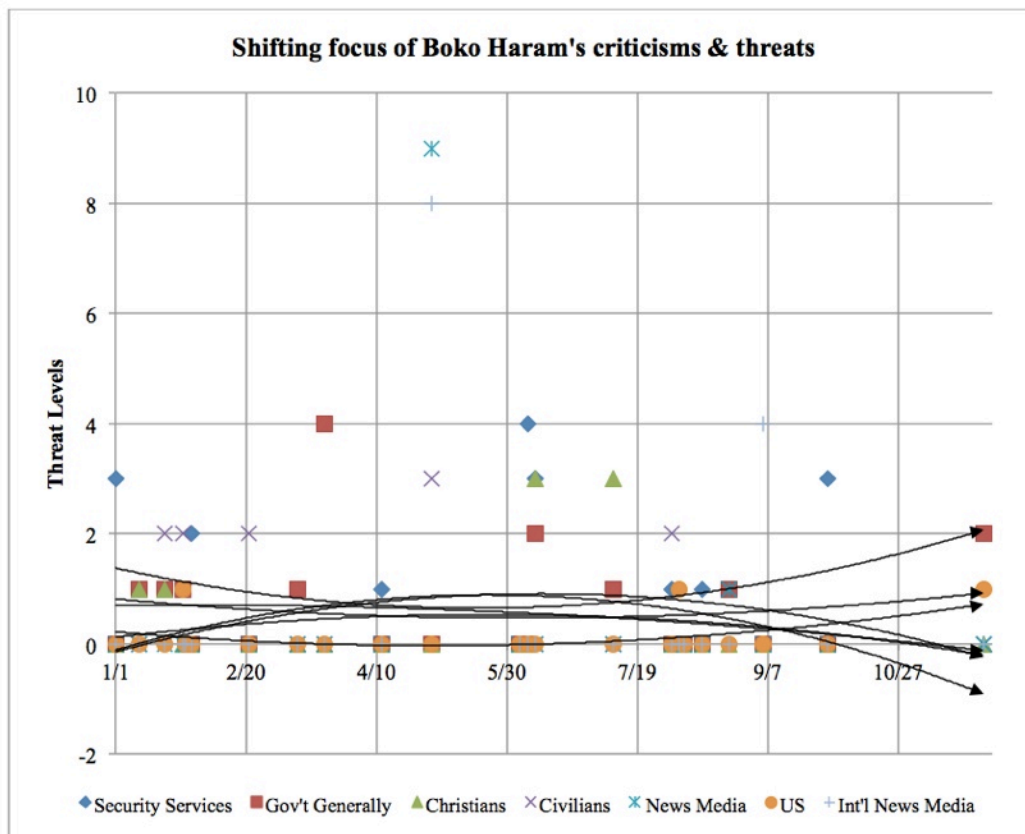
Figure 3: Chronology displays the threat levels of the seven most dynamic subjects and includes polynomial trend lines. Polynomial trend lines represent the following subjects beginning with the line ending highest on the graph: with Security Services, Government Generally, and US with ends up and Civilians, International News Media, Christians, and News Media with ends down.
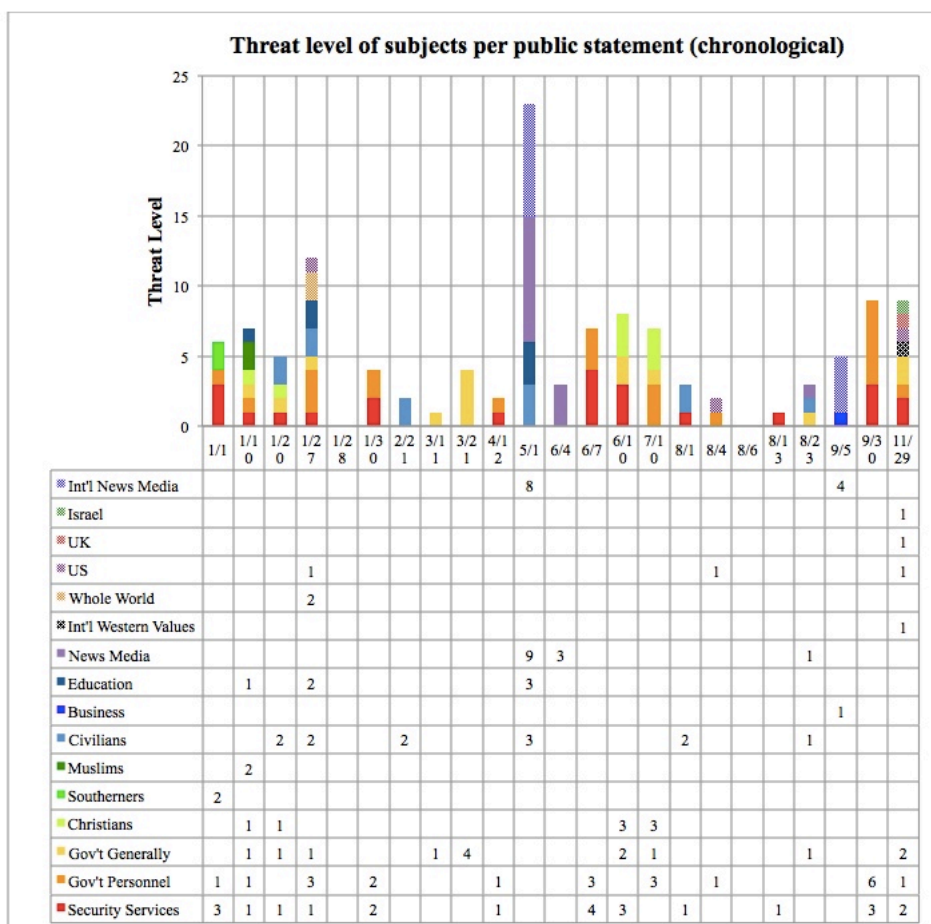
Figure 4: Domestic subjects are represented by solid colors while international subjects are represented by colors with 50% transparency pattern.

Discussion

Clarifying Boko Haram's Ideology

The content analysis represented Boko Haram's public statements in graphical and quantitative manners. However the sect has also plainly stated its intentions. In a statement issued on January 28, 2012, Boko Haram spokesperson Abu Qaqa stated, "We have on several occasions explained the categories of people we attack and they include: government officials, government security agents, Christians loyal to [Christian Association of Nigeria] and whoever collaborates in arresting or killing us even if he is a Muslim"[63]. This message was repeated in a number of the sect's statements (see statements issued on June 10 and August 1). In these cases, it may appear that Boko Haram intends to maintain a domestic focus for its operation. However, the analysis allowed for a wider array of possible targets by including international subjects Boko Haram threatened and criticized. Additionally, it cannot be forgotten that Boko Haram has attacked an international subject before, the United Nations

offices in Abuja in 2011. Yet for 2012, Boko Haram only directly threatened an international subject twice. Both of these times, threats were directed towards the VOA[64], which was categorized under "international news media" for the analysis. One of these threats issued on September 5, 2012 stated "[VOA] has undertaken the task of harming our religion. …[We] will not leave any correspondent or staff of VOA alone"[65]. Such direct threats are serious, especially given the correlation between subjects threatened and subjects attacked. However, logistical and pragmatic considerations have restricted Boko Haram from conducting attacks outside of Nigeria in the past and are likely to do the same in the future, provided these restrictions remain. Through the analysis, it was found that Boko Haram should be conceptualized as a domestic organisation due to the vast majority of criticisms and threats it directed towards domestic subjects and the sect's own clarification as being domestically-oriented. However, again, this should not blind researchers to analyzing the implications of Boko Haram's criticisms and threats to international subjects and its capabilities to attack them as demonstrated by the significance of the 2011 United Nations bombing.

Trends in Boko Haram's Statements and the Likelihood of Transnationalisation

Boko Haram justifies its violence as a means to improve and purify Nigerian society, but the group has also provided religious justifications. These religious justifications allow Boko Haram to see itself as an agent of religious and godly will – acting within the broader network of Islamic salafi-jihadi organisations operating globally. Thus, any actor working against Boko Haram – and by extension, other radical jihadist groups, or Islam in general – could possibly become a subject of criticism, threat, or violence by Boko Haram. In theory, this presents a very global ideology. However, in practice Boko Haram has operated similar to a domestic revolutionary group, focusing its violence on security forces with a main goal of overthrowing the establishment for a Sharia law-governed state. In this sense, Boko Haram's likelihood for transnationalisation can be largely understood by recognising its reactive nature. As described in the literature, Boko Haram is a product of many domestic and international factors, reacting to the environment of disparity by advocating against the government and eventually turning to violence as a result of confrontation with the government in 2009. For this reason, Boko Haram uses its fight against the government as a sufficient condition to implicate others as enemies of the group. This understanding indicates that potential international targets are not necessarily safe either if they are involved in the domestic conflict. Another consideration for analysis is that countries like the United Kingdom, being a colonial figure in Nigeria's past, and the United States, being a very powerful Western nation, have considerable impact on Nigeria. This means actions against Boko Haram from these countries may result in more dramatic responses from Boko Haram than what might be the result if other less-Western nations, such as Nigeria's neighboring states, became involved.

The heightened sensitivity to Western actors, specifically the United States, is illustrated by Boko Haram's pattern of reactivity identified partly by relating Boko Haram's threats and criticisms to international and domestic events occurring in 2012. Boko Haram issued criticisms and threats both in reaction to domestic or international events, but also in justification of its previous attacks. When Boko Haram conducted high-level attacks, such as the bombing of "This Day", a Nigerian media house, they followed up with criticisms and threats to This Day and other media houses in their public statements. In the aftermath of the 2011 Christmas Day bombings in Northern Nigeria, Boko Haram used increasingly anti-Christian rhetoric, specifically directing threats against Christians living in Northern Nigeria in the beginning part of 2012. Additionally, comparing Boko Haram's criticisms and threats with global events in 2012 indicated Boko Haram has been highly sensitive to the actions of outside actors. This is particularly true for powerful actors that embody what Boko Haram believe is evil (namely Western education and democracy). The increase in threats to and criticisms of subjects in the United States corresponded with a number of international events related to Boko Haram and Muslim communities in other places of the world. One example includes when Boko Haram's three main leaders were designated as terrorists by the United States Department of State, for which Boko Haram criticised President Obama. The 2012 Israel-Gaza conflict also correlated with the mention of Israel in the criticism issued on November 29, 2012. Additionally, the media-buzz surrounding the anti-Islamic documentary called "The Innocence of Muslims", which was said to have sparked conflict in Libya and protests across the Middle East, also occurred within the period of heightened threats against the United States. These are not merely anecdotal connections. On many counts, Boko Haram's spokespersons specifically stated these international events in reference to their criticisms and threats. A full statistical analysis investigating the connection between world events and Boko Haram's threats and criticisms, and the justifications to support such threats, would further benefit our understanding of Boko Haram.

International and Domestic Policy Recommendations

Foreign actors have involved themselves in the conflict between Boko Haram and the Nigerian government relatively quietly and minimally since 2011. However, the United States in particular has increased its military attention on Boko Haram and the African continent more generally. Former Commander of the U.S. African Command, General Carter Ham, spoke at the National Defense College (Abuja) on December 11, 2012. He indicated American interest to assist the Nigerian government, saying "the US was ready to cooperate with Nigeria in areas such as maritime security, communications, [and] development of civil-military capabilities."[66] Additionally, near the end of 2012, Nigerian President Jonathan pushed for additional support from the United States to resolve the country's security issues, mentioning Boko Haram.[67] These indications of American military interest in Nigeria became more

solidified as reports found that the United States would send military teams to 35 African states as "part of an intensifying Pentagon effort to train countries to battle extremists and give the United States a ready and trained force to dispatch to Africa if crises requiring the US military emerge"[68]. However, by mid-2013 the U.S. Africa Command began exhibiting a different approach, at least in rhetoric. General Ham's successor to the post of U.S. Africa Command, General David Rodriguez, has appeared to change the military strategy for the region by shifting towards capacity-building initiatives for African nations. On June 13, 2013, General Rodriguez said, "[The] things that are destabilising to a country [are] what we really want to watch carefully, because those are the things that we have to help build – the African capacity – because that's the best way for them to handle the challenges: in an African way, with African forces." [69] He suggested the Boko Haram conflict necessitated "a coordinated effort by [Nigeria, Niger, and Chad] as well as some good decisions … [from] the Nigerian government." [70] Furthermore, General Rodriguez pointed to the "history of African states" and colonialism as reasons not to involve American troops in the continent, but he did indicate that "creative solutions" could have high-payoff. The research presented herein supports this change in rhetoric from General Ham to General Rodriguez. If foreign nations utilize diplomatic rhetoric that places the responsibility for insecurity in Northern Nigeria on Nigerian actors, the likely result would be to reduce concerns of foreign military intervention, and would act as a positive first step to reduce the risk of Boko Haram threatening or coordinating attacks against foreign interests. However, irrespective of changes in rhetoric, it is unlikely that the geopolitical, military, and economic importance of Nigeria to foreign nations, namely for the United States, will reduce in the near future. As such, military-related assistance to Nigeria from the United States or other foreign nations is discouraged. Involving foreign military actors in the region would not only ideologically drive Boko Haram to justify targeting such international subjects, but such actions would also make it much easier to attack international subjects if foreign military forces are deployed to the region.

Ideally, assistance from the United States, among other countries, should be reduced in terms of military capacities and instead be dedicated to programs that bolster the Nigerian government to tackle corruption, widespread crime, and the delivery of essential services to the public. These efforts would in-turn erode the basis behind Boko Haram's fight against the government. This could be done in ways that incentivise tax-collection for the purpose of state-led development and curtailing corruption. Yet, supporting the Nigerian government in these capacities also entails notable complications. The state remains inundated with corruption, and as such, the country's mismanagement should be taken into account if direct or even indirect support is offered. Viable methods for the international community to assist the Nigerian people and the government, even if well-intentioned, will have to recognise these weaknesses and also the ways in which their support can make them vulnerable or even culpable to blame.

The policy-relevant consequence of Boko Haram's domestic conceptualisation is that the conflict's solutions should also be domestically conceptualised. Although foreign nations can certainly have an impact, actors within the domestic arena are best positioned to influence positive outcomes in Northern Nigeria. Focus should be on domestically derived and operationalised solutions. A review of the literature can intuitively provide basic criteria for such a domestic solution, including: reducing government corruption, providing education and other socio-economic opportunities for youth in Northern Nigeria, and developing the broader economic relevance of Northern Nigeria by incorporating the local workforce. Additionally, the literature also identifies a need to foster cross-religious, ethnic, and cultural alliances within Nigerian civil society, ideally supported by the various populations they represent, and also together supporting the Nigerian government. Yet, these criteria are extremely difficult to achieve for any young state, as indicated by Nigeria's struggle to develop and consolidate a democracy since independence in 1960.

Furthermore, by adopting this approach there is a risk for policymakers to assume Nigeria should simply enact policies or programs that reverse the conflict's underlining causes. This approach is not wrong, and in fact such an approach will be necessary for long-term stability in Northern Nigeria. However, it would be poorly suited to offer an effective response to Boko Haram in its current manifestation. For instance, the literature significantly underscores poverty as a major cause of the conflict. This is very true, but focusing upon this factor alone would obscure from sight the prerequisites for effective poverty reduction interventions to take place. To clarify, programs aimed at improving governance and tackling corruption are expected to have positive outcomes in the interim. For such efforts, foreign nations could be useful partners. However, on-the-ground development efforts in Northern Nigeria would be much less effective in the context of an ongoing conflict and would be unlikely to persuade the existing Boko Haram members to lower their weapons.

Consequently, a preliminary goal for Nigeria should be to secure a ceasefire with Boko Haram, and later respond in secure environments to address the conflict's underlying causes. Without providing an exhaustive account of the intricacies involved in how terrorism ends, some promising options should involve capturing Abubakar Shekau, paralyzing the sect's operations, and leveraging the weakened position of Boko Haram to offer amnesty to low-ranking members or even offering an amnesty plan outright. If amnesty plans are to be considered, they should include a set of "carrots" or moderate concessions that address some of the sect's (and larger population's) issues with the government. Successful ceasefire negotiations would provide a more secure foundation on which reconstruction and development efforts could proceed. The value of centering efforts on negotiation is demonstrated by the review of Boko Haram's public statements, which clearly focused on government inadequacy and injustice, and not on other development concerns. In fact, throughout 2012 Boko Haram spokespersons almost never indicated poverty, and certainly

never mentioned the lack of education in Northern Nigeria as influencing their fight against the government – despite the fact that these reasons could have influenced many of their members to join the sect in the first place. Therefore, for Nigeria to comprehensively address Boko Haram, procuring a ceasefire agreement should be of primary importance – making it possible for development to prevent reincarnations of Boko Haram from emerging in the future.

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Notes

[1] Abubakar, A. (2012, August 4). Nigeria sect leader slams Obama over 'terrorist' label. *Agence France Presse.* Retrieved from http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5iQxDnREhiyVxek5wDnTSRvyduRJA?docId=CNG.1679719e9fc61e5e01920fbf55d25a45.561

[2] US Department of State, Office of the Spokesperson. (2012). Terrorist designations of Boko Haram commander Abubakar Shekau, Khalid al-Barnawi and Abubakar Adam Kambar. [Press release]. Retrieved from http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2012/06/193574.htm

[3] On August 27, 2013, Abubakar Shekau, leader of Boko Haram, was reported to have possibly died as a result of being mortally wounded in a shoot-out with Nigerian security services in Northeastern Nigeria. Source: *BBC.* (2013, August 19). Abubakar Shekau of Nigeria's Boko Haram 'may be dead.' *BBC.* Retrieved from http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-23761048. Supposedly, after Shekau was wounded he was taken to Cameroon for treatment and may have died there. On August 13, 2013, a video of Shekau was released by Boko Haram, but Nigerian authorities said the video "was dramatized by an impostor to hoodwink the sect members to continue their terrorism." Source: *Iroegbu.* (2013, August 24). The controversy, politics of Shekau's death. *ThisDay.* Retrieved from http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/the-controversy-politics-of-shekau-s-death/157110/ . On September 25, 2013 Agence France Presse secured another video from sources in Nigeria purportedly showing Abubakar Shekau alive and refuting government reports that he had died. Source: *VOA News.* (2013, September 26). Allegedly dead Nigerian militant appears in video. *Voice of America.* Retrieved from http://www.voanews.com/content/nigerian-militant-leader-allegedly-killed-appears-in-video/1757510.html

[4] For a description of the colonial effects on ethnic separatism in Nigeria, see page 3 of: Sodipo, M. O. (2013). Mitigating radicalism in Northern Nigeria. *Africa Center for Strategic Studies.* Retrieved from http://africacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/ASB-26-Aug-2013.pdf. Also page 3 of: Fearon, J. D. & Laitin, D. D. (2006) Nigeria. *A random narrative.* Retrieved from the "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War"; research project on the Stanford University website http://www.stanford.edu/group/ethnic/Random%20Narratives/NigeriaRN1.2.pdf

[5] Mamdani, A. (1996). *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p 26.

[6] Barkindo, A. (2013). "Join the caravan:" The ideology of political authority in Islam from Ibn Taymiyya to Boko Haram in North-Eastern Nigeria. *Perspectives on Terrorism,* Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 30-43. Retrieved from http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/266

[7] For an analysis tracing Northern Nigeria's Islamist movements from 1960 to 2009, *see* Adesoji, A. O. (2011). Between Maitatsine and Boko Haram: Islamic fundamentalism and the response of the Nigerian State. *Africa Today.* Vol. 57, No.4, pp.100-119. Retrieved from: http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/africa_today/v057/57.4.adesoji.html

[8] Sodipo (2013, p. 3) discusses the ethnic and religious competition that was built up in Nigeria since colonization.

[9] Lewis, P. M. (2011). *Nigeria: Assessing risks to stability* (ISBN 978-0-89206-640-7). Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies. (p. 10). Retrieved from http://csis.org/files/publication/110623_Lewis_Nigeria_Web.pdf

[10] For Boko Haram's claim of avenging the deaths of Muslims (mainly by Christians) see: Human Rights Watch. (2012, October). Spiraling violence: Boko Haram attacks and security force abuses in Nigeria. (p. 28). Retrieved from http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/nigeria1012webwcover.pdf

[11] Relative deprivation essentially means the feeling of being deprived of something one feels entitled to, which is related to the emergence of extremist sects in Northern Nigeria who claim to fight for these entitlements, described in: Agbiboa, D. E. (2013). Why Boko Haram exists:

The relative deprivation perspective. *African Conflict & Peacebuilding Review, 3*(1). Retrieved from http://muse.jhu.edu.huaryu.kl.oakland.edu/journals/african_conflict_and_peacebuilding_review/v003/3.1.agbiboa.html#back

[12] For real GDP growth figures of Nigeria 2004-2012 with projections see table A4 in: International Monetary Fund. Research Dept. (n.d.). World Economic Outlook, April 2013: Hopes, Realities, Risks. In IMF e-Library, USA. Retrieved 16 Aug. 2013 from: http://www.elibrary.imf.org/view/IMF081/20182-9781616355555/20182-9781616355555/20182-9781616355555.xml

[13] *See* Thompson, V. (2012). Boko Haram and Islamic fundamentalism in Nigeria. *Global Security Studies, 3*(3), 46-60. (p. 49). Retrieved from http://globalsecuritystudies.com/Thomson%20Boko%20Haram.pdf

[14] For a description of the *Dutch disease* as it occurred in Nigeria, *see* Lewis, P. M. (2011). Nigeria votes: More openness, more conflict. *Journal of Democracy, 22*(4): p. 97. Retrieved from http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/article/nigeria-votes-more-openness-more-conflict

[15] Thompson (2012), p. 49.

[16] Adesoji (2011), p. 102.

[17] Ibid. (2011), pp. 101-102.

[18] *See* Guest, R. (2004). *The shackled continent: Africa's past, present and future*. Oxford: Pan books. (p. 121).

[19] *See* Agbiboa, D. E. (2012). Between corruption and development: The political economy of state robbery in Nigeria. *Journal of Business Ethics, 108*(3), p. 331. Retrieved from http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs10551-011-1093-5

[20] *See* Agbiboa, D. E. (2011). Leaders or leeches? Corruption and the cycle of dysfunction in Nigeria. *Loyola Journal of Social Sciences, 25*(1), p. 83. Retrieved from http://connection.ebscohost.com/c/articles/77414522/leaders-leeches-corruption-cycle-dysfunction-nigeria

[21] In 2012, Transparency International ranked Nigeria at 139 of 176 countries in its Corruption Perception Index. Source: Transparency International. (2012, December 5). *Corruption Perceptions Index 2012.* Retrieved from http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/pub/corruption_perceptions_index_2012

[22] Oby Ezekwesili, a former minister of Education in Nigeria and past vice-president of the World Bank (Africa) found that Nigeria has spent over one trillion Naira (Nigerian currency) on the National Assembly members since 2005, which is equivalent to 616 billion USD (August 2013). Ezekwesili said, "Research conducted in the United Kingdom identified Nigerian legislators as being the highest paid in the world." See: Olokor, F., Ameh, J., & Josiah, O. (2013, August 20). N1tn spent on N'Assembly members in eight years – Ezekwesili. *Punch*. Retrieved from http://www.punchng.com/news/n1tn-spent-on-nassembly-members-in-eight-years-ezekwesili/. See report from The Economist indicating Nigeria's high pay for law makers as compared to other countries: J. S., I. B., & L. P. (2013, July 15). Rewarding work. *Graphic detail. The Economist.* Retrieved from http://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2013/07/daily-chart-12.

[23] *See* Parker, G. (2012, February 18). Nigeria's abandoned youth: Are they potential recruits for militants? *Time.* Retrieved from http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2107102,00.html

[24] The establishment of educational systems through colonisation and related missionary work made progress in Southern Nigeria, whereas missionaries were limited from going to the North in order to maintain Muslim dominance through emirates (the agents of British indirect colonial administration in Northern Nigeria). As such, the limited efforts in the educational system in Northern Nigeria were "harmonised with Islamic institutions" (Metz, 1991, p. 34). Consequently this held back the development of educational and health services in the North, and this continued due to the view from emirates that "any activity in the north that might include participation by the federal government was regarded as a challenge to the primacy of [their rule]" (Metz, 1991, p. 45). *See pages 33 & 45 in* Metz, Helen Chapin (1991) Nigeria: a country study (Washington D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress), on web at: http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/ngtoc.html#ng0000

[25] See Danjibo (2009), p. 15.

[26] Some suggest Boko Haram instigated violence against government forces by manufacturing bombs, causing the government to attempt their arrest in a raid on July 21, 2009. Others suggest the government instigated the conflict by opening fire upon Boko Haram members in a funeral procession "over mourners refusal to wear motorcycle helmets, injuring 17" (*See* Human Rights Watch, 2012, p. 33), which occurred previous to the raid.

[27] Although the Nigerian police claimed Yusuf was killed in a shoot-out, a leaked YouTube video showed a calm Yusuf in police custody (wearing hand cuffs) answering to interrogators (SaharaTV, 2009). Another *Al Jazeera* video documents Nigerian police extra-judicially killing suspected Boko Haram members in the streets and even Yusuf's body was shown mutilated and bullet-ridden in the street outside a police station. See: *SaharaTV*. 3 August 2009. "Boko Haram" leader Mohammed Yusuf interrogation before his execution by Nigerian security agents. Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2wfvQbu8M6Y

[28] See Human Rights Watch. (2012, p. 36).

[29] Royal United Services Institute for Defense and Security Studies (RUSI). (2012). *Global jihad sustained through Africa*. Soria, V.: London, UK. (Table 1, pp. 22-23) Retrieved from: http://www.rusi.org/downloads/assets/UKTA2.pdf

[30] *AlJazeera English.* (2013, May 31). Civilians among dead in Nigeria offensive. Retrieved from http://youtu.be/oRlY0PXfd30 ; Nossiter, A. (2013, June 5). In Nigeria, 'Killing people without asking who they are.' *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/06/world/africa/nigerian-refugees-accuse-army-of-excess-force.html?ref=adamnossiter&_r=1& ; Human Rights Watch (2012, October).

[31] Supported definition of terrorism: "the calculated use of violence for political ends against civilian society to induce widespread and intense fear." *See* Falk, R. A. (2002). A dual reality: Terrorism against the state and terrorism by the state. In Kegley, C. W. (Eds.) The New Global Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes, Controls. (p. 52). Pearson Higher Ed. USA. The purpose of the supported definition of terrorism is

to maintain a complete perspective on the cyclical problem of violence in Nigeria, including Boko Haram's violence but also violence from Nigerian security forces that meet the conditions of the definition. This sort of definition is similarly used and supported by Bagaji, et al. (2012) in an article on Boko Haram. It is understood that the Nigerian government's repressive counter-terrorism measures have also fostered reactionary violence. This cyclical struggle in Nigeria has made defining terrorism difficult, and if the definition only describes half of the problem then only part of the solution can be seen. Many scholars agree that violent repression of terrorism can become fuel to the flames of terrorism, especially religious terror (*See* Falk, 2002 ; Jordan, J. (2009). When heads roll: Assessing the effectiveness of leadership decapitation. *Security Studies,18*, pp. 719-755. DOI: 10.1080/09636410903369068; O'Brien, C. C. (1986, June). Thinking about terrorism. *The Atlantic Monthly.* Retrieved from http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1986/06/thinking-about-terrorism/5045/). The differentiation between domestic and transnational/international terrorism is offered by Sandler and Elder (1999) who wrote, "when a terrorist incident in one country involves victims, targets, institutions, governments, or citizens of another country, terrorism assumes a transnational character."- Sandler, T. & Elder, W. (1999). An economic perspective on transnational terrorism. *The Economic Consequences of Terror, 20*(2), 301-316. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2003.12.007

[32] Pham, J. P. (2012). Boko Haram's evolving threat. *Africa Center for Strategic Studies, 20*. Retrieved from http://africacenter.org/2012/04/boko-harams-evolving-threat/ ; Boko Haram moves closer to AQIM. (2012). *Jane's Islamic Affairs Analyst, 12*(4).

[33] See: Meehan, P. & Speier, J. (2011). Boko Haram. Emerging Threat to the US Homeland. US House of Representative Committee on Homeland Security Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence. Retrieved from: http://homeland.house.gov/sites/homeland.house.gov/files/Boko%20Haram-%20Emerging%20Threat%20to%20the%20US%20Homeland.pdf

[34] *See* Royal United Services Institute for Defense and Security Studies (2012).

[35] For research describing the effects of colonisation and arbitrarily drawing borders of Africa states, *see* Englebert, P. (2000). Pre-colonial institutions, post-colonial states, and economic development in tropical Africa. *Political Research Quarterly, 53*(7), 7-36. Retrieved from http://www.politics.pomona.edu/penglebert/prq%20as%20published.pdf

[36] Previous research has documented that there has been a preponderance of "foreign elements" within Boko Haram, notably due to previous migrations from neighboring Niger and Chad in the 1990s. *See* Adesoji, A. O. (2011). Between Maitatsine and Boko Haram: Islamic fundamentalism and the response of the Nigerian State. *Africa Today. 57*(4), p. 109. Retrieved from: http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/africa_today/v057/57.4.adesoji.html*)*. In the 1990s, Al-Qaeda's bin Laden sent a Yemeni aide to Nigeria. He was "impressed by the growing radicalisation and militancy of the Muslim communities of northern Nigeria," and he suggested support from "the supreme global leadership of jihad," *see* Bodansky, Y. (2010, August) Nigeria's Boko Haram links with al Qaida. *Defense & Foreign Affairs' Strategic Policy*, p. 2. Boko Haram's founder Mohammad Yusuf studied the Qur'an in Niger and Chad where sentiments are said to be more anti-western than in Nigeria, *see* Musa, A. O. (2012) Socio-economic incentives, new media and the Boko Haram campaign of violence in Northern Nigeria. *Journal of African Media Studies, 4*(1) pp. 111-124. In 2009, when the Nigerian government arrested and killed many Boko Haram members, one insurgent admitted that he and another insurgent went to Afghanistan to receive training in bomb making (Danjibo 2009), although this could not be verified. After Boko Harm went underground and its founder Yusuf was killed in 2009, its other top leaders escaped to Niger and Chad where they linked up with other jihadists from AQIM. Abubakar Shekau, who later became Boko Haram's second leader, made deals with AQIM to trade funds and training for his support and technical assistance in Nigeria and other Gulf of Guinea states (Ibid. p. 4). A Chadian-born (formerly) third-in rank leader named Mamman Nur was reported to have escaped to Somalia during the government crackdown in 2009. It has been speculated that he trained in al Shabaab camps and returned to Nigeria as the mastermind of the August 2011 UN bombing in Abuja (Pham 2012).

[37] U.N. Security Council. United Nations Press Release. 'Arc of instability' across Africa, if left unchecked, could turn continent into launch pad for larger-scale terrorist attacks, Security Council told. 6965th Meeting. PM Summary. 13 May 2013. (Press Release SC/11004). Internet. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2013/sc11004.doc.htm

[38] At the "Atlantic Dialogues" conference in Rabat, Morocco hosted by the German Marshall Fund, concerns were raised regarding the growth of radical Islamic terrorist groups operating throughout Northern Africa. At the conference, General Carter Ham of the US African Command listed major threats in the continent including al Shabaab in Somalia, AQIM in Libya and Mali, and ending on Boko Haram in Nigeria. He continued, "While each individual [threat] is concerning, it is to me the connected nature of all those different entities and activities that pose the greatest concern for us as we look to the future," *see* German Marshall Fund. (2012, September 29). Anxieties without borders: The new Atlantic security environment [Video file]. Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G4SSb3-dfCY.

[39] U.N. Security Council. United Nations Press Release. *Spiking arms proliferation, organized crime, terrorism part of fallout from Libyan crisis afflicting Sahel, Security Council told.* 6709th Meeting. PM Summary. 26 January 2012. (Press Release SC/10533). Internet. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2012/sc10533.doc.htm

[40] Boko Haram's name was discussed and translated by Agbiboa (2013), p. 145.

[41] For a description of the names Boko Haram has used and their translations, *see* Anyadike, N. O. (2013). Boko Haram and national security challenges in Nigeria; Causes and solutions. *Journal of Economic and Sustainable Development, 4* (5), p. 17. Retrieved from http://www.iiste.org/Journals/index.php/JEDS/article/view/4849

[42] *See* Adesoji (2011), p. 106, for a discussion of Boko Haram's rejection of Western education, culture and modern science. For a reference to Boko Haram's rejection of democracy, *see* Joint Special Operations University (2012). Confronting the terrorism of Boko Haram in Nigeria. MacDill Air Force Base, Florida: Forest, J. (p. 110). Retrieved from: https://jsou.socom.mil/Documents/12-5_Forest_053112_FINAL.pdf

[43] Nossiter, A. (2012, Mar 25). Wielding fire, Islamists target Nigeria schools. *New York Times.* Retrieved from: http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/26/world/africa/in-nigeria-boko-haram-targets-schools.html?_r=1.

[44] *See* Drake, C. J. M. (1998). The role of ideology in terrorists' target selection. *Terrorism and Political Violence.* Vol. 10, No.2, p.74.

[45] *See* Altier, M. B., Horgan, J., & Thoroughgood, C. (2012). In their own words? Methodological considerations in the analysis of terrorist autobiographies. *Journal of Strategic Security, 5*(4), p. 87. Retrieved from http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/jss/vol5/iss4/11/

[46] Ibid.

[47] Peterson, R. W. & Chrisman, W. G. (1977). *International Terrorism Threat Analysis.* (Masters thesis). Retrieved from Calhoun (ADA039928). Found online at http://hdl.handle.net/10945/18157

[48] Congressional Research Service. (2007). Al Qaeda: Statements and Evolving Ideology. (CRS, Library of Congress, Order Code RL32759). Retrieved from http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RL32759.pdf ; Minaret of Freedom Institute. (2011). Examining Bin Ladin's statements: A quantitative content analysis from 1996 to 2011. Cethesda, MD: Beutel, A. J. & Ahmad, I. Retrieved from http://www.minaret.org/UBL.pdf

[49] Pennebaker, J. W. (2011). Using computer analysis to identify language style and aggressive intent: The secret life of function words. *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict, 4,* 126-134. ; Hermann, M. G. & Sakiev, A. (2011). Leadership, terrorism, and the use of violence. *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict, 4*: pp. 126-134.

[50] Smith, A. G. (2008). The implicit motives of terrorist groups: how the needs for affiliation and power translate into death and destruction." *Political Psychology, 29*: 55-75. ; Smith, A. G., Suedfeld, P., Conway, L. G., & Winter, D. (2008). The language of violence: Distinguishing terrorist from non-terrorist thematic content analysis. *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict 1*: 142-163.

[51] Beginning in 2012, some researchers began de-emphasizing Boko Haram as a cohesive terrorist organization. Rather, some suggested that Boko Haram operated as a banner under which many violent perpetrators, even those unaffiliated with Boko Haram, were categorized. John Campbell, fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and former US ambassador to Nigeria, is a researcher who described Boko Haram as "Islamist insurgencies lumped under the moniker of 'Boko Haram,'" *see* Campbell, J. (2013, June 10). Media reports on security service violence in Northern Nigeria. *Council on Foreign Relations.* Retrieved from http://blogs.cfr.org/campbell/2013/06/10/media-reports-on-security-service-violence-in-northern-nigeria/. The more de-centralized and un-coordinated Boko Haram operating in 2012 and 2013 has frustrated the Nigerian government's attempts to rein-in the group, but these characteristics have also panned-out negatively for Boko Haram itself. Throughout this period, Boko Haram experienced division, resulting in an offshoot group called *Ansaru* (which is more international in its ideology). Due to these recent developments, researchers have debated whether analysis of "Boko Haram" could even reliably account for the diversity of violence in Northern Nigeria that is attributed to the group.

[52] Agbedo (2013) offers a 'sociolinguistic profiling" of militancy and terrorism in Nigeria by sampling some statements from Boko Haram and Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger-Delta (MEND), however does not engage in a content analysis by either its "conceptual analysis" method or "relational analysis" method as described by Colorado State University's guide for content analysis, which was used as a basis to guide the design of the content analysis in this research. Sources: Agbedo, C. U. (2012). Linguistic determinants of militancy and terrorism in Nigeria: The case of M.E.N.D. and Boko Haram. *Developing Country Studies, 2*(11) 159-169. Retrieved from http://www.iiste.org/Journals/index.php/DCS/article/view/3571/3620; Busch, C., De Maret, P. S., Flynn, T., Kellum, R., Le, S., Meyers, B., Saunders, M., White, R., & Palmquist, M. (1994 - 2012). Content Analysis. *Writing@CSU.* Colorado State University. Available at http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/guide.cfm?guideid=61

[53] The statement issued on February 13, 2012 was excluded because it was purportedly given by a Boko Haram spokesperson during an an interrogation with the Nigerian security services and likely was done in duress and may not reliably reflect the ideas of Boko Haram. The statement issued on September 16, 2012 was excluded because it was issued by a faction or affiliate organization of Boko Haram, which may not credible represent Boko Haram. The statement issued on September 19, 2012 was excluded from the analysis because the original source that published the statement is no longer available and no other credible sources remain.

[54] Translation services used include Jihadology, a "clearinghouse for jihadi primary source material, original analysis, and translation service," *see* Zelin, A. Y. (n.d.). *Jihadology.* Retrieved from http://jihadology.net/about/about-me/

[55] A content analysis guide for "Conceptual Analysis" provided by Colorado State University was utilized in the design of this study's content analysis, see: Busch, C. et al. (1994-2004).

[56] Criticisms were defined by Merriam-Webster's second definition of "criticize" which states: to "find fault with : point out the faults of."

[57] Threats were defined with Merriam Webster's first definition: "an expression of intention to inflict evil, injury, or damage." The concepts of "violence" and "destruction of property" are considered within the scope of: "to inflict evil injury, or damage."

[58] NaijaNeduTV. (2012, January 11). Boko Haram Leader "Imam Abubakar Shekau" message to President Jonathan 1. Retrieved from http://youtu.be/umkj50SUzck

[59] In the absence of an international or domestic reference or context for the threats or criticisms in Boko Haram's public statements, this research assumed the subjects of such threats or criticisms were directed towards domestic targets (inside Nigeria) given the highly domestic orientation of Boko Haram and domestic audience of their public statements.

[60] (2012, January 21). English translation of statement released by Boko Haram via leaflets dispersed across Kano city. *Nigerians Saving Nigerians.* Retrieved from http://nigerianssavingnigerians.org/2012/01/21/english-translation-of-statement-released-by-boko-haram-via-leaflets-dispersed-across-kano-city/

[61] Mark, M. (2012, January 27). Boko Haram vows to fight until Nigeria establishes Sharia law. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from http://gu.com/p/354ax

[62] Punch. (2012, June 7). Boko Haram claims murder of ex-DIG Ningi. *Punch.* Retrieved from http://www.punchng.com/news/boko-haram-claims-murder-of-ex-dig-ningi/

[63] Agence France Presse – English. (2012, January 29). Nigerian Islamists urge 'perseverance' in flashpoint city. [Press release] Retrieved from www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic

[64] VOA (also known as Voice of America) is "a multimedia broadcaster funded by the US government". However for the purpose of the analysis it was categorized under "international news media." (Source: Voice of America. (n.d.). *About VOA Overview.* Retrieved from http://www.insidevoa.com/info/about_us/1673.html)

[65] VOA News. (2012, September 6). Boko Haram threatens VOA reporters. *Voice of America.* Retrieved from: http://www.voanews.com/content/boko-haram-voa-threat/1503326.html

[66] Bello, M. & Iroegbu (2012, December 12). Jonathan seeks US assistance to combat Boko Haram, other crimes. *This Day.* Retrieved from http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/jonathan-seeks-us-assistance-to-combat-boko-haram-other-crimes/133313/

[67] Agba, G. (2012, December 11). Nigeria: Boko Haram – Jonathan asks U.S. to help Nigeria. *Leadership Newspaper.* Retrieved from http://allafrica.com/stories/201212120661.html

[68] Baldor, L. C. (25 December 2012). Army teams to train Africans as terror threat grows. *Associated Press.* Retrieved from http://www.bostonglobe.com/news/world/2012/12/25/army-teams-going-africa-terror-threat-grows/7PfJq7yv

[69] Ramirez, L. (2013, June 13). US military pays close attention to Boko Haram militants. *Voice of America.* Retrieved from http://www.voanews.com/content/us-military-pays-close-attention-to-boko-haram-militants/1681488.html

[70] Ibid.

Appendices

Table 1: This table compiles a list of Boko Haram statements issued in 2012. Statements are arranged by date (chronological order) with a description containing the name of the spokesperson and how the statement was issued (given available information), followed by citation(s), then a full or partial transcriptions of the statement with coding of criticisms and threats embedded (shown by underlined criticisms/threats and point assignment by numbers and subject categories in parentheses), and ending with coding justifications for select statements. An asterisk (*) shown after the date of a public statement means that statement was not used in the analysis, for reasons indicated.

1/11

Statement given by Abubakar Shekau via video, published in full on YouTube and translated into English on Sahara Reporters:

Source of Video: NaijaNeduTV. (2012, January 11). Boko Haram Leader "Imam Abubakar Shekau" message to President Jonathan 1. Retrieved from http://youtu.be/umkj50SUzck

Source of Translation: Sahara Reporters (2012, January 12). Video: Boko Haram leader "Imam Abubakar Shekau" message to President Jonathan. Retrieved from http://saharareporters.com/video/video-boko-haram-leader-imam-abubakar-shekau-message-president-jonathan

> Greetings to you and greetings to fellow Muslims and thanks be to God. This is a message to Goodluck and to the CAN president. Alhamdullahi, we are known as Jamatu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-jihad which some people derogatory term as Boko Haram. We have said all that needs to be said and everyone has seen what the security personnel have done to us. Everyone has seen why we are fighting with them. <u>We hardly touch anybody except security personnel and Christians and those who have betrayed us. (1: security personnel and 1: Christians)</u> Everyone knows what Christians did to Muslims, not once or twice. Why I've come out to explain myself is because of the explanation Jonathan and the CAN president gave on us, including the various versions people give about us that we are like cancer (a terrible ailment) in this country called Nigeria. No, we're not cancer, neither are we evil. If people don't know us, God knows everyone. Everyone knows what happened to our leader. Everyone knows what wickedness was meted out to our members and fellow Muslims in Nigeria from time to time in Zango kataf, Tafawa Balewa, Kaduna, villages, Langtang, Yelwa shendam. Different things were meted out to Muslims in this country. <u>Everyone knows that democracy and the constitution is paganism and everyone knows there are some things that God has forbidden in the Quran that cannot be counted even western education! (1: democracy and 1: Western education [in Nigeria])</u> We have stopped everything apart from saying we should stay on the path of truth and peace and live right in the sight of God. There, we will have peace and that is what we have been preaching and because of that they said we should be killed and our mosques destroyed. We decided to defend ourselves and God has said if u follow him, he will give you strength! That is why Jonathan, u should know that this is beyond your power. It is not our doing but that of God. It is beyond you. Wallahi, what you are saying is like you have not started saying anything! Before God created the earth, he knew what was going to happen and he has promised in the holy book that he will help his religion. It is beyond your power. What you see has been happening, God allowed it because you have refused to follow him and you have betrayed his religion. That is why Jonathan, this is beyond your power-yes!! If a few in your government say nice things about us, it is not surprising-it has happened many times -our hands are open! Anybody that says he will not follow God, even if he loves us, God has not said we should love such a person. God has said we should show such person the right path and embrace such person! You

Christians should know that Jesus is a servant and prophet of God. He is not the son of God. This religion of Christianity you are practicing is not a religion of God-it is paganism. God frowns at it. What you are practicing is not religion. Aside that, you Christians cheated and killed us to the extent of eating our flesh like cannibals! You did all you wanted to us. We are trying to coerce you to embrace Islam, because that is what God instructed us to do. Even at that, without provocation, you slaughtered us and took our wives and humiliated us! Now you CAN president, you come out to say your people should come out and do whatever they want to do! Any right thinking person knows what you mean, any right thinking person knows what you're saying. This is why as leader of this sect I tell you to repent and to you Christians, repent! This path we're taking is God's path. Fellow Muslims, understand us! Our objective is not to kill or humiliate or steal. This explanation has become necessary, even if I don't explain, I can decide to keep mute because the person I love to know me like this is God. I have no objective than to help the religion of God, that is all I can explain. But if u want further explanation, we have tapes you can listen to and know our objectives. This is also my message to the <u>President of Nigeria, Jonathan, who has come out to say negative things about us and also a lot of harm to us - God has given us victory and we have done what we want to do. This is almost 11 years our members are being killed! (1: President of Nigeria)</u> Anything people want to say or do, we say enough is enough! We serve God and we do not harm anybody, but anybody that looks for our trouble, we will face such person or persons! We follow the tenets of the Quran and anybody that thinks he can fight God shouldn't think his prayer or praying in the mosque can save him! <u>Any Muslim that cheats and hides under the cloak of religion, if we know such person, we won't hesitate to eliminate him. (2: Muslims)</u> Yes, I am saying so because it doesn't take 5 minutes to kill just as we're being killed. We follow the teachings of the Quran. This is what God has told me to explain. Allhamdulillah!

Domestic Threats: 1 (Security Personnel) + 1 (Christians) + 1 (Democracy) + 1 (Western Education [in Nigeria]) + 1 (President of Nigeria) + 2 (Muslims) = 9

International Threats: 0

Coding justifications: Nigerian Christians were criticized multiple times in this statement and the religion of Christianity as an extension of Christians in Nigeria, thus these were not coded as separate criticisms. The mention of Western Education was not referenced to an international subject, thus was categorized as domestic. Democracy was mentioned in reference to the "constitution" (the constitution of Nigeria), thus it was categorized as domestic. The mention of Muslims hiding "under the cloak of religion" is likely a reference to Nigerian Muslims that side with the government, which is a common theme in Boko Haram statements.

1/27

Statement given by Abubakar Shekau via video (40:48), published in full on YouTube and translated into English and published in parts on The Guardian and Reuters.

Source of Video: NaijaNeduTV. (2012, January 27). New Video|Boko Haram leader "Imam Abubakar Shekau" message to President Jonathan 2. Retrieved from http://youtu.be/lUd0Vcs8Tm4

Source of Translation: Mark, M. (2012, January 27). Boko Haram vows to fight until Nigeria establishes Sharia law. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from http://gu.com/p/354ax

> <u>In an audio message posted on YouTube on Friday, the group's current leader, Abubakar Shekau, threatened to bomb schools and kidnap family members of government officials. (2: schools and 3: family members of government officials)</u>

"If [security forces] are going to places of worship and destroying them, like mosques and Quranic schools, you have primary schools as well, you have secondary schools and universities, and we will start bombing them."

Oboh, M. (2012, January 27). Boko Haram leader tape threatens Nigeria forces. Reuters. Retrieved from http://reut.rs/xlqWdD

In an audio tape posted on the Internet, the purported leader of the violent Nigerian Islamist sect Boko Haram threatened to kill more security personnel and kidnap their families, and accused US President Barack Obama of waging war on Islam.

In the 45-minute tape released on Thursday, a man's voice in the main northern Hausa language claimed to be Abubakar Shekau. He said President Goodluck Jonathan would fail to stop their insurgency.

"We were responsible for the attack in Kano, I gave the order and I will do it again and again. Allah gives us victory," the voice said…

"We attacked the securities base because they were arresting our members and torturing our wives and children. (1: securities base) They should know they have families too, we can abduct them. We have what it takes to do anything we want," the voice on the tape said.

But he denied responsibility for the civilian casualties, which police said made up 150 of the deaths.

"We never kill ordinary people, rather we protect them. It is the army that rushed to the press to say we are the ones killing civilians. We are not fighting civilians. We only kill soldiers, police and other security agencies," he said…

The tape hinted that Boko Haram was part of a global jihad against Western interests.

"In America, from former President George Bush to Obama, the Americans have always been fighting and destroying Islam," he said. "They have tagged us terrorists and they are paying for it. (1: Americans) It is the same in Nigeria, and we will resist."

Domestic Threats: 2 (schools) + 3 (family members of government officials) + 1 (securities base) = 6

International Threats: 1 (Americans) = 1

Coding justifications: The threat against schools and universities was coded with two points because later in the source it was shown that the actual statement from Boko Haram used a conditional statement. The criticism of "securities base" was reiterated later in the statement as "soldiers, police and other securities agencies" but no additional points were assigned because it would be duplication.

5/1

Statement given by Abubakar Shekau via video (17:54), published in full on YouTube and translated into English and published in full on Premium Times.

Source of Video: Alhji Mani. (2012, May 1). Sako game de hari kan jaridar Thisday.flv. Retrieved from http://youtu.be/xDqv6srmoI4

Source of Translation: Premium Times. (2012, May 1). Breaking News: Boko Haram threatens to attack VOA, Guardian, Daily Trust others. *Premium Times*. Retrieved from http://premiumtimesng.com/news/4895-boko_haram_releases_video_on_thisday_bombing.html

This is a message from the public awareness department of the Jamatu Ahlis sunnah lil daawati wal jihad, a group engaged in jihad in Nigeria.

We wish to explain about the attack we carried out on Thisday Newspapers. Some of the reasons why we decided to attack some Media Houses, especially Thisday, is because the paper was used in dishonouring our prophet, Mohammad (SAW) during a beauty pageant in Kaduna in November 2002. (1: Thisday).

At that time, some people who called themselves leaders of Muslims came out to say they have forgiven those who committed the offence.

But based on our knowledge, we know that no one has the power to forgive anyone for an offence that God himself has given judgment, especially on an offence that has to do with dishonouring Prophet Muhammad (SAW).

No one has the power to forgive this type of offence, and the judgment is for such persons to be killed.

This lady that committed this crime, the judgment on her is to be killed at any opportunity; (3: this lady) and the media house is also supposed to be driven out of existence whenever there is a chance to do so.

We are just getting the opportunity to attack the media house, and we are hoping to continue these attacks until we drive them out of existence. (3: media house [Thisday])

It is our hope that Allah (SWT) will help his religion.

We know that any genuine Muslim must have been deeply touched by the Thisday incident.

Thisday newspaper is also leading in helping the government in fighting us, alongside other media houses that we will mention soon.

Some of the offences of Thisday and other media outlets include: firstly, during the botched attempt to rescue some kidnapped foreign nationals in Sokoto; these media houses asked us if we have anything to do with the kidnap and we said we have nothing to do with it, yet these media houses reported that we were responsible for the incident, that was a lie against us.

Secondly, when we sent a video of our leader, Abubakar Shekau, the media houses reported things that our leader did not say, such as that in response to the president's threat to finish us in three months, we have also threatened to finish the government in three months. But the truth is, nowhere in the video did our leader said what they attributed to him.

Thirdly, on the purported arrest of Abu Qaqa by the SSS, we have come out to tell them that the person arrested was not Abu Qaqa, yet the media continue to portray us as liars, and even said that our leader had ordered for Abu Qaqa II to be executed, and we are now searching for Abu Qaqa III.

Recently too, they came out with another lie that one Mohammed Awwal Kontagora was the Abu Qaqa II that was executed, and that even his parents confirmed it, that was just a big lie to convince the world.

The media also said that we have killed the father of Abu Darda, so as to pass a message to him, because he had leaked our secrets after his arrest by security agencies, and they wanted him to know that he is one of our targets.

These are all lies, and they are many.

These media houses have committed a lot of offenses that is detrimental to Islam, and we don't have the power to forgive them. We will take revenge on them by God's grace, some of these media houses have been categorized into three groups.

The first group is the likes of Thisday whose offenses are big.

The second group we will also attack soon are Punch, Daily Sun, Vanguard, Guardian, Nation, Tribune, and National Accord, which are all newspaper houses. (3: newspaper houses [domestic])

There is also VOA Hausa radio. All these media houses we will attack them including their staff and offices, by God's grace. (3: VOA Hausa)

VOA Hausa for instance have recently started campaigning for people to support the government against us by exposing us. (1: VOA Hausa Radio)

The next group that are on the verge of joining this list who if they are not careful we will attack very soon include, Leadership, Daily Trust, Peoples Daily and RFI (Radio France international). (2: [domestic news media] and 2: RFI)

There is an online medium known as Saharareporters who have their office in New York, and who have made their site as a platform for attack against Islam. So we are warning them to stop making their site an avenue for attacking Islam, otherwise we will find a way of attacking them too. (2: Saharareporters)

We resorted to using this medium to send our message instead of the normal tele-conference because of the fear by journalists; which made them refuse to conduct the conference.

We are grateful to God for the success recorded on the attack on Thisday, and we hope to continue such attacks.

Finally, the government has now resorted to arresting our wives and children and also demolishing our houses, like they did in Biu recently, that is why we have also resolved to start attacking government schools, especially, tertiary ones.

We promise to demolish 500 buildings for any one of our houses that the government destroys.

We have already started with Gombe and Kano. (3: schools)

Domestic Threats: 1 (Thisday) + 3 (this lady) + 3 (media house [Thisday]) + 3 (newspaper houses [domestic]) + 2 ([domestic news media]) + 3 (schools) = 15

International Threats: 3 (VOA Hausa) + 1 (VOA Hausa) + 2 (RFI) + 2 (Saharareporters) = 8

Coding justifications: When Boko Haram threatened a group of actors it was considered one threat, and was only coded with multiple threats per group if sub groups of domestic and international actors comprised that group. In this statement, Boko Haram justifies a previous attack on the ThisDay headquarters by criticizing the media house. In the criticism of Thisday, Boko Haram also implicates a "lady" (seemingly from the "beauty pageant") who was involved in the supposed wrongdoing of ThisDay and Boko Haram says that "the judgment on her is to be killed at any opportunity," which was translated as a direct threat. Boko Haram later issues a direct threat to Thisday and continued to criticize the ThisDay. Later, a threat is directed to a "group" of domestic newspaper houses. This was followed by a similar direct threat to VOA Hausa and a criticism of VOA. Boko Haram then distinguishes another "group" including domestic news media and RFI (an international news media company) and conditionally threatens this group, which was categorized as a vague threat both in international and domestic sub groups Another threat was issued to Saharareporters, which is referred to as an "online medium" and was coded as a vague threat because it admitted to lack a conceivable method of implementation. The threat

to schools was assigned 3 points because the statement was a conditional threat whose condition had been met, thus being a direct threat.

8/4

Statement given by Abubakar Shekau via video (38+ minutes), published in full on YouTube (later removed for hate speech) and translated into English and published in full on Premium Times.

Abubakar, A. (2012, August 4). Nigeria sect leader slams Obama over 'terrorist' label. Agence France Presse. Retrieved from: http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5iQxDnREhiyVxek5wDnTSRvyduRJA?docId=CNG.1679719e9fc61e5e01920fbf55d25a45.561

> …The clip, more than 38 minutes long, could not be independently verified as authentic, but it was similar to previous videos of Shekau.
>
> "You said I'm a global terrorist, then you are a terrorist in the next world," Shekau said in the Hausa language in the video posted on YouTube while speaking of Obama. (1: Obama)
>
> Earlier in the video, Shekau says, "I call on you (Nigerian President Goodluck) Jonathan, you should abandon this ungodly power, you should repent and forsake Christianity, including Obama, who said I have business interests in the United States." (1: Jonathan)
>
> Speaking in a sarcastic tone, an AK-47 leaning against the wall next to him, he also says, "I know the United States exists, but I don't know which part of the world it is located in, whether in the west or the north, the south or the east.
>
> "I don't know where it is, not to talk of freezing my assets there."
>
> His comments were a reference to the terrorist designation given to him and two other Nigerians which allows US authorities to seize their assets in the United States…

Domestic Threats: 1 (Jonathan) = 1

International Threats: 1 (Obama) = 1

9/30

Statement given by Abubakar Shekau via video, published in full on YouTube and translated into English and published in parts by Agence France Presse and Voice of America.

Abba Ibrahim. (2012, September 30). Sako Zuwa Ga Duniya (A Message to the World)! Translated by Jihadology. Retrieved from http://youtu.be/txUJCOKTIuk

> "This short message is to traditional rulers who have been conspiring against us, that they have no hidden places for conspiring against our commitment and worship to Allah. They have entered our way and have no hidden places any more, this they should know. (3: traditional rulers).
>
> "The message is for three purposes, all plans against Prophet Mohammed and Muslims will not succeed and just wait and see what we will do. The second is, they were arresting and molesting our members who are just serving Allah. We did not even talk and now they have continued capturing our women, this week about seven women were captured and we don't even know where they are, but they are being held by infidel enemies of Allah. In fact, they are even having sex with one of them. Allah, Allah, see us and what we are going through. It is in one place that they are holding seven women, in other places they are more

than that. Only Allah knows the actual number of our women being held, women who are married in accordance with Islamic law.

"In another way they are spreading that we are dialoguing with them, it is a blatant lie. There is nobody that we are dialoguing with. It is a lie and mischief that they are talking with Boko Haram using fake names, and they are boasting that they have found solution It is a lie, you have not found the solution. Rubbish and useless liars, there is no single person that you have sat with.

"You are killing our people and at the same time, they are saying they are dialoguing with us. Lies, they are only killing us, they are only killing us. See their lies, they went to the world that they are dialoguing with us, later on they come up and say they have killed and captured our leaders.

"Since you are now holding our women, (laugh) just wait and see what will happen to your own women. Just wait and see what will happen to your own wives according to Shariah law, (laugh) just wait and see if it is sweet and convenient for you. (3: wives of government officials)

"SSS rubbish, Shekau on your neck, SSS you will see it, you are fighting Shekau in their thinking but Allah is by the side watching, and I am alive, healthy and no one had killed me. (3: SSS) Allah is with us. We are working for Allah, and not attacking Muslims but infidels, we are not against Ummah but those against work of Allah."

Parts of the above statement were published in: Abubakar, A. (2012, October 1). Boko Haram chief issues video threat over anti-Islam film. Agence France Presse. Retrieved from: http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jVn1g7HL6acDyoubE7vcGhWJMAuA?docId=CNG.36246fde9530caaeaa21ef0c451062c6.651; VOA News. (2012, October 1). Islamic sect says no peace talks with Nigerian government. Voice of America. Retrieved from: http://www.voanews.com/content/islamic-sect-says-no-peace-talks-with-nigerian-government/1518503.html

Domestic Threats: 3 (traditional rulers) + 3 (SSS) + 3 (wives of government officials) = 9

International Threats: 0

Coding justifications: The threat to traditional rulers was coded as a direct threat and categorized under "government personnel" because traditional rulers in Nigeria have a designated role on the governance structure of the Nigerian state. The threat directed at wives of government officials was not in reference to traditional rulers and was coded as a separate direct threat.

Table 2: Hierarchy of subjects (of criticisms and threats in Boko Harm public statements in 2012) categorized into 17 bolded subject categories as used in the analysis

1. Domestic
   a. Government
      i. **Nigerian Security Services** (Security personnel, securities base, security agencies, security apparatuses)
         1. Police (Security police, Nigerian secret police officers, Nigerian police)
         2. Army (Soldiers)
         3. Joint Task Force (JFT)
      ii. **Government Personnel**
         1. President Goodluck Jonathan (Jonathan, President of Nigeria, President Jonathan)
         2. Judicial Branch of Government (Judges, Judiciary)
         3. Government Officials (Top government officials, family members of government officials, wives of government officials, traditional rulers)
      iii. **Government Generally** (Democracy, constitution, secular state, Nigerian government, Nigerian state)
   b. **Christians** (Christian Association of Nigeria, CAN, Christianity, Churches)
   c. **Southerners** (Southerners in Northern Nigeria)
   d. **Muslims**
   e. **Civilians** (Anyone, Anybody, Everyone)
      i. Civilians working with government against Boko Haram (Public conspiring with security agents, people collaborating with security agents, anyone plotting [to harm Islam])
      ii. Individuals (Dr. Ibrahim Datti, this lady)
   f. **Private Business**
      i. Telecommunication Industry (Wireless phone companies)
   g. **Education** (Schools, universities, Western Education [in Nigeria])
   h. **News Media** (Media)
      i. Media houses (This Day, Punch, Daily Sun, Vanguard, Guardian, Nation, Tribune, National Accord, Leadership, Daily Trust)
      ii. Journalists (reporters)
2. International
   a. **Western Values**
      i. Western Education
      ii. Democracy
   b. **Whole World**
   c. Countries
      i. **US** (United States, America)

      1. President Barak Obama (Obama)

      2. American Civilians (Americans)

   ii. **UK** (Britain)

   iii. **Israel** (Jews of Israel)

d. Int'l News Media

   i. Media house (Radio France International, VOA Hausa radio, VOA)

   ii. Online medium (Sahara Reporters)

Unpacking Terrorism, Revolution and Insurgency in Yemen: Real and Imagined Threats to Regional Security

by Alexandra Lewis

Abstract

Recent months have seen a seeming escalation in the international threat posed by Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), a terrorist network that has taken Yemen as its regional base of operations. In light of recent attacks, and resulting embassy closures, Yemen is a rising priority in the Western-led War on Terror. However, this has resulted in a side-lining of other security threats in Yemen, which may cause serious challenges to the authority of the Yemeni Government. In reality, the role of AQAP has been heavily manipulated throughout Yemen's contemporary history: this was most evident during the 2011 Arab Spring, when both sides in the conflict claimed that Al Qaeda operatives were working with members of the other. Two years later, the true nature of the AQAP threat in Yemen is rarely questioned by external observers, yet remains largely shrouded in mystery. There is a need for more critical approaches to the AQAP challenges, which take the broader context of Yemeni security into account.

Key Words: *Yemen, Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, Terrorism, Insurgency, Arab Spring*

Introduction

The terrorist threat in Yemen draws significant media attention. Attacks have resulted in repeated calls for foreign intervention as the death toll rises - with a recent Al-Qaeda assault in September resulting in the deaths of at least 38 Yemeni soldiers.[1] However, few outside Yemen assess the nature of such security threats critically; terrorist actions often elicit knee-jerk reactions that include mass international staff evacuations and drone strikes. The purpose of this paper is to explore the nature of the terrorist threat in Yemen in some detail, based on the country's broader security context, so as to question common approaches to this challenge.

In August 2013, Britain, Germany and France closed their Embassies in Yemen, following a similar move by the American government, which temporarily shut 22 embassies and consulates across the Middle East and North Africa in order to protect staff and citizens from a potential Al-Qaeda attack.[2] "In response to this latest threat, the United States had unleashed a barrage of drone strikes in Yemen. Yet but it is unclear to what extent it has reduced the persistent threat from an increasingly decentralised Al-Qaeda organization."[3] As the operational base of Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), Yemen has been singled out as a country of high-level risk for Western and international actors – with embassies in Yemen remaining closed significantly longer than others across the region.[4]

The fragile state witnessed similar embassy closures and drone strikes in 2011, which contributed to a wide-scale exodus of international staff during the Arab Spring.

News reports on AQAP movements in Yemen from 2011 onwards have painted a picture of a state on the verge of collapse, partly overrun by terrorists and Islamic radicals,[5] and it cannot be doubted that the threats to foreign nationals in Yemen are real and immediate. Foreigners increasingly seem to be targeted in planned, opportunistic and spontaneous acts of violence,[6] while incidents of kidnapping are also on the rise.[7] However, many of these and other security threats can be linked to tribal power politics or to on-going local insurgencies that have little to no connection to terrorist movements. This distinction is important because the former category of risk (tribalism and insurgency) is associated in the short-term with local and national security, while the latter risk (terrorism) poses an immediate threat also to regional and international security. Both types of risk affect different parties in different ways and require tailor-made approaches.

The AQAP phenomenon has been highly sensationalised in the press. It has been in the interest of various actors, including that of Yemen's former President, Ali Abdullah Saleh, to overplay the AQAP threat [8] and to link traditional combatant and criminal groups to terrorist organisations. This has meant that the true extent of the AQAP threat in Yemen has been difficult to determine, particularly in the context of increased violence and social chaos in the aftermath of the Arab Spring, As the International Crisis Group observed: "The group is shrouded in mystery, and questions abound about the scope of its influence and relations with other Yemeni parties, giving rise to an array of conspiracy theories on all sides."[9]

Yemen was one of the least talked-about participants in the Arab Spring. Interventions that were launched or considered in Libya and Syria in 2011 were never really considered in Yemen, regardless of its high rate of violence against civilian protesters. The conflict in Yemen remained poorly understood by the general public and the international community. What media reports did emerge from Yemen in 2011 prioritised the role of AQAP. On the outskirts of the media spotlight, Yemen emerged as a "front-line state" in the War on Terror for the United States[10], whose armed forces launched a series of covert shelling operations in southern Yemen before, during, and after the Arab Spring. Yemen is of key strategic concern for Saudi Arabia, the United Kingdom, and other regional and international donors, to whom President Saleh proved an important ally.

The role of AQAP was heavily manipulated during the Yemeni revolution, when both pro-Saleh and pro-change activists claimed that Al Qaeda operatives were working with the other side. Distinguishing fact from fiction, myth from reality, has been virtually impossible for outsiders not directly involved in Yemeni politics. Part of the challenge is definitional, because there are by now hundreds of contemporary definitions of terrorism and this severely clouds and complicates the issue [11]: in the absence of clear terminological constraints, it is easy for

opportunistic stakeholders to play politics with terrorism and delegitimise their enemies by referring to them as terrorist agents. Another part of the challenge is the dramatic politicisation of the term "terrorism" since the infamous Al Qaeda attack on the United States on September 11th, 2001, and the growth of funding and military support offered by the international community to conflict-affected states willing to cooperate in the War on Terror. However, the main difficulty in Yemen is the severe lack of information available on the scope and impact of the terrorist threat, where conceptions of AQAP have become incorrectly and confusingly tangled with existing insurgencies.

Tamar Meisel writes that there are two types of definitions applied to terrorism: defensive definitions and critical ones. Meisel writes that defensive definitions see terrorism as "violence intended to intimidate": they "obliterate the distinction between terrorism and other violent acts, with the clear implication that terrorism is, in and of itself, no worse than many other practiced forms of violence that are internationally sanctioned."[12] This paper relies instead on critical definitions that posit terrorism as "a subset of politically motivated violence which falls short of conventional war" in that it is "internationally illegal and (to say the least) morally questionable", often targeting civilian populations internationally "with the intent of spreading fear" "as a strategy designed to advance a political end."[13]

In its prioritisation of international-level political changes, terrorism is distinct from insurgency, which often prioritises national change or the protection of land and territory. James D. Kiras writes that: "The crucial difference is the scope and scale of the violence. Terrorism rarely results in political change on its own while insurgency attempts to bring about change through force of arms."[14] He continues to argue that "In an insurgency, the adversaries are asymmetric and the weaker, and almost always a sub-state group attempts to bring about political change by administering and fighting more effectively than its state-based foe through the use of guerrilla tactics."[15] Such strategies are not generally prevalent among terrorist organisations. In this article, in the context of Yemen, insurgent groups are seen as being distinctive from terrorist groups through their status as entirely home-based and home-grown groups, aiming to bring about national change in order to benefit the situation of marginalised political groups: they are seen as movements that have the capacity to gain international recognition.

Moving forward from these theoretical positions, this article aims to disentangle the terrorist threat in Yemen from the one of other violent political actors, in order to help to shed some light on the true nature of the AQAP presence in the country. It will do so by drawing attention to the manipulation of the AQAP theme by various stakeholders (with the Arab Spring emerging as a key example of this) in order to unpack the real and imagined risks posed to the greater Middle East and North Africa region by Yemeni terrorism.

AQAP and the Yemeni Context

Due to its geographic location and development status, Yemen is directly affected by the political and economic fluctuations of both the Middle East and the Horn of Africa. As a result of its location, and because of its comparative stability and weak border management capacities, Yemen has attracted numerous refugees and labour migrants from the North-East of Africa through shipping and sailing lanes, the majority of which arrive from Somalia [16] and Ethiopia.[17] At the same time, unemployed Yemenis look to their wealthier Middle Eastern neighbours for economic opportunities, travelling to Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, Oman and elsewhere. Yemen's porous borders and poor-but-prevalent state capacity[18] have contributed to its selection by AQAP and Ansar al Sharia as a hub for regional operations. Both of these organisations' operations are facilitated by the easy availability of weapons and ammunitions in the country.[19]

Yemen's migratory connections to Somalia and shared waters in the Gulf of Aden have led to fears that AQAP might use Yemen to connect to other radical organisations, including Al Shabaab, so as to destabilise the entire region.[20] Despite ideological similarities with AQAP, however, evidence suggests that Al Shabaab is divided on the issue of continuing links to Al-Qaeda. As one observer put it: "The connection between al Shabaab and Al-Qaeda is growing stronger but has not yet reached the level of operational control by Al-Qaeda. Al Shabaab's draconian tactics, which are imported from outside and are anathema to most Somalis, and its foreign component may be its undoing.[21] For this reason, Al Shabaab must necessarily be extremely careful about maintaining stronger ties to external terrorist networks. Meanwhile, Greater Somalia itself, as a failed state, provides a low priority target for AQAP. One factor for this is that the costs of operating in war-affected Somali areas have proven unsustainably high for Al-Qaeda in the past, due to the likelihood of attack on its bases and convoys by Somali bandits and clans, and also due to the high costs associated with corruption and travel to the Somali war zones.[22] Another factor is the relatively low presence of international staff and Western targets in Somali territories, particularly in the South Central Zone. In light of these restrictions, it seems more likely that AQAP will look to form more beneficial alliances elsewhere: Syria will probably prove to be a more interesting target for them in this sense, due to the rise of Jabhat al Nusrah (the Victory Front), and the influx of foreign fighters into the country. Syria already has a long history of acting as a "significant transit hub" for Al-Qaeda operatives, and is further strategically important to their cause, because it shares land borders with Jordan and Israel – two of Al-Qaeda's principal enemies.[23]
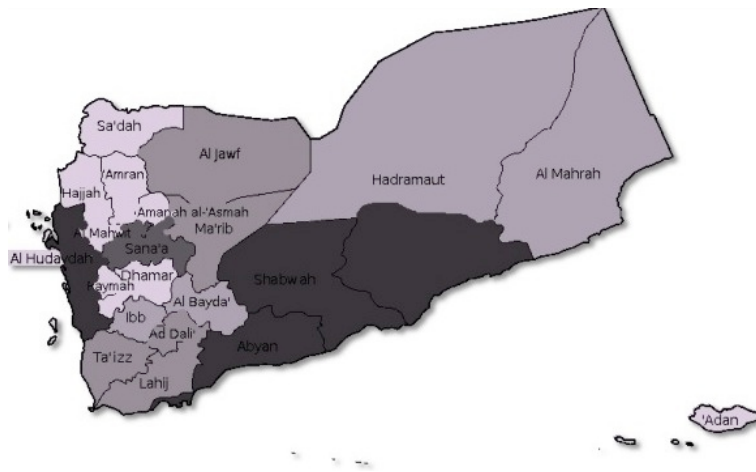
Figure 1: Areas Suspected to Contain AQAP and Ansar al Sharia Fighters in 2012

In Yemen itself, meanwhile, AQAP operatives tend largely to be clustered in southern and coastal areas, though estimates of their numbers vary. The AQAP cause has found support in impoverished areas of the former People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in the South, which used to be its own state. However, AQAP groups are also associated with Houthi rebel movements in the North. These connections are linked to on-going conflicts and insurgencies.

Conflict and Security up until 2011

The far-Northern Houthi insurgency and the Southern secessionist movement are the two main unresolved political conflict issues in Yemen. Both conflicts encapsulate significant challenges for security and legitimacy within the state - challenges which are aggravated by regional political and criminal threats, including those of a terrorist nature. These are also linked to severe poverty and underdevelopment.

Figure 2: The Sa'adah Wars, 2005-2013

Economic competition between North and South Yemen before and after unification – culminating in a 1994 civil war for partition and followed immediately by a need to consolidate a new government leadership – meant that for a prolonged period in Yemen's recent history, the Northern peripheries of the country were marginalised by state development programmes in favour of building a strong capital city with a solid administrative base. The resulting situation of chronic underdevelopment that emerged in the North contributed to overall increases in levels of hostility among local communities towards the Yemeni Government under President Saleh.[24] When combined with historic grievances, the formation of new identities and increased social mobility, all of which came to the fore in the late 1990s and early 2000s, such hostility eventually sparked a wave of public demonstrations and then open conflict when the Government intervened to arrest protest organisers.[25] Since then, seven consecutive wars have enveloped Sa'ada and its surrounding governorates, Hajja, Amran and Al Jawf.

Due to the identity of Houthi insurgents as members of the under-represented Zaydi Shia faith, the conflict has at times taken on religious undercurrents.[26] This has made it easier for the conflict to become associated with Islamic radicalisation: in recent years, the Sa'adah wars have begun to move away from their roots in underdevelopment to become more ideological in nature. This process has unfolded mainly as the conflict has spilled over Saudi Arabian borders, becoming embroiled in an alleged regional cold war between a predominantly Sunni Saudi Arabia and a Shia Iran and, moreover, gaining an international dimension through the involvement of the United States of America.[27] American involvement has helped to strengthen anti-Western rhetoric in the Houthi movement. These associations have enabled the Houthi's critics and enemies to paint them as members of a terrorist organisation, though their actions have prioritised the targeting of military and state personnel that they see as invading their territory.

Christopher Bouceck wrote that: "The Yemeni government has sought to link the rebellion to the larger 'war on terrorism' and garner international support by claiming the Houthis' supporters include secular Libya [pre-2011], radical Sunni extremist al-Qaeda, Lebanese Hizbollah, and Shi'i Iran. The state has not yet produced evidence that the Houthi rebels are receiving outside military assistance, or proven its recent assertions that Iran is meddling in the conflict."[28] However, government has nevertheless found many willing ears for its narrative in recent years. Though inaccurate, associations of Houthis with AQAP have been used by Saleh's regime to garner military aid from international and regional donors. There, however, is a genuine threat that increased insecurity caused by Houthi activities in the far North could "permit the reinfiltration" of AQAP "into Saudi territory, from which it had been mostly eradicated in 2003–2006."[29] Donors therefore continued to support military action against the Houthis up until 2011. The culmination of this was a direct military involvement in Yemen by Saudi troops in 2009.

Even more commonly associated with AQAP is Al-Hirak Al-Janubi, the Southern secessionist movement. On the other side of the country, the origins of the Southern secessionist movement can be linked to the first three years of Yemeni union after 1990, a union which did not bring many material benefits to the former People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. In the aftermath of the "democratisation", Southern communist government structures were slowly dismantled. This included privatising services and bringing an end to a heavily subsidised healthcare system and public education in that half of the country. These and other funding cuts reinforced rumours spreading among the local population that Southern resources, and particularly Southern oil and gas, were being siphoned by the capital, Sana'a, to promote Northern interests.
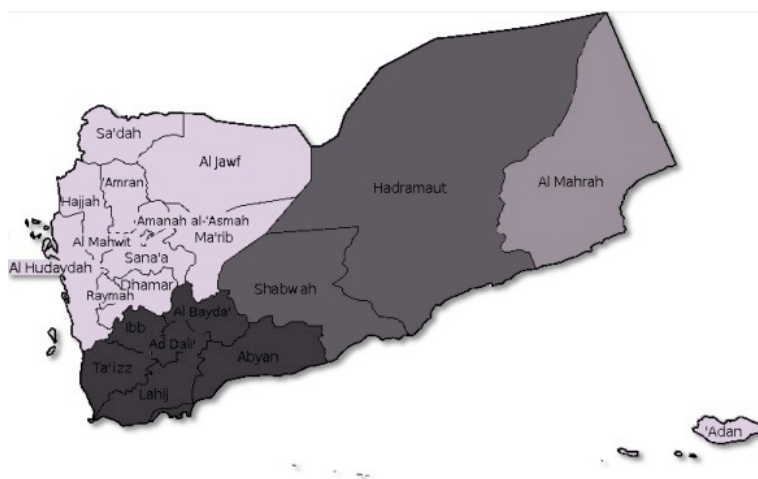

Figure 3: Al-Hirak al-Janubi Activity, 2007 - 2013

Together with the gradual reduction of the Yemeni Socialist Party's (YSP) authority and influence across the country, growing Southern dissatisfaction with the new status quo eventually led to the 1994 separatist war, in which Southern forces were, however, quickly overwhelmed by those from the North. Following the unquestionable victory of the North of Yemen over the South, President Saleh's regime set about a process of purging YSP leaders from key positions in the South. He replaced them with Northern officials in order to ensure that a second war would never occur. It has been argued that the North deliberately decimated the South and then delayed reparations as a constant reminder about the cost of further disobedience. [30]

Continuing Southern grievances have led to prolonged hostility towards the Sana'a Government and reoccurring protests. Saleh's regime responded to these protests with brutal reprisals up until 2011. After his departure, the position of ruling President Abd Rabbuh Mansur Hadi towards the South has remained unclear.[31] The resultant Al Hiraak Al Janubi is most commonly connected to groups of disaffected military personnel, known as the Society of Retired Military Officers, who put together a large public demonstration campaign

in 2007, decrying their unfair dismissal and poor pension arrangements. This protest movement is in no way associated with AQAP. However, AQAP members have found sanctuary in dissatisfied Southern communities. The scope of this challenge is difficult to assess, though it can easily be argued that it has largely been mishandled by the Yemeni state and some of its allies, particularly by the United States.

Christina Hellmich has pointed out that the presence of AQAP fighters in the South can be directly attributed to Northern policies. She writes that: "During the early 1990s, the Yemeni government, unlike other Arab regimes at the time, welcomed fighters returning from Afghanistan (also known as the 'first generation' of Al Qaeda in Yemen), who integrated into all levels of society and would turn out to be useful allies to counter the influence of 'unbelieving' communists in the South and an 'unbelieving' Shi'a population in the North."[32] Joint American-Yemeni bombing campaigns and drone strikes in the South designed to weed out this threat from 2001 onwards have helped to radicalise local communities who did not previously share AQAP's extremist ideology: "Farea Al-Muslimi, a Yemeni activist and writer, testified to the US Senate in April that the increase in the number of strikes and casualties is turning public opinion against the US."[33] Sustained and continuing attacks in August 2013 have had a severe impact on the safety and well-being of Southern communities.[34]

AQAP's ability to provide members of local communities with 'employment' opportunities is also very appealing in South Yemen, where unemployment is at an all-time high. However, due to fundamental ideological disagreements between AQAP and Al Hiraak, as well as the Yemeni Government's strong interest in undermining the legitimacy of Al Hiraak's cause, there is a need to remain critical of alleged associations between the two. It is worth remembering, as Christina Hellmich notes, that: "The secessionist movement in southern Yemen is first and foremost a confrontation with the government, which has previously used the jihadis to keep the 'socialist unbelievers in check."[35]

Recently, Southern Separatists walked out of national reconciliation talks in Yemen, "demanding a Sanaa apology for past wars and that talks between Sanaa and Southerners be held abroad"[36], indicating a dramatic deterioration of relations between the South and the post-Saleh Government. President Hadi has tempted them back to the negotiating table by reinstating hundreds of officers who had been made redundant after the 1994 War.[37]

The Politics of AQAP in Yemen

AQAP's role in Yemen has evolved alongside themes of Southern Secessionism and Houthi insurgency.
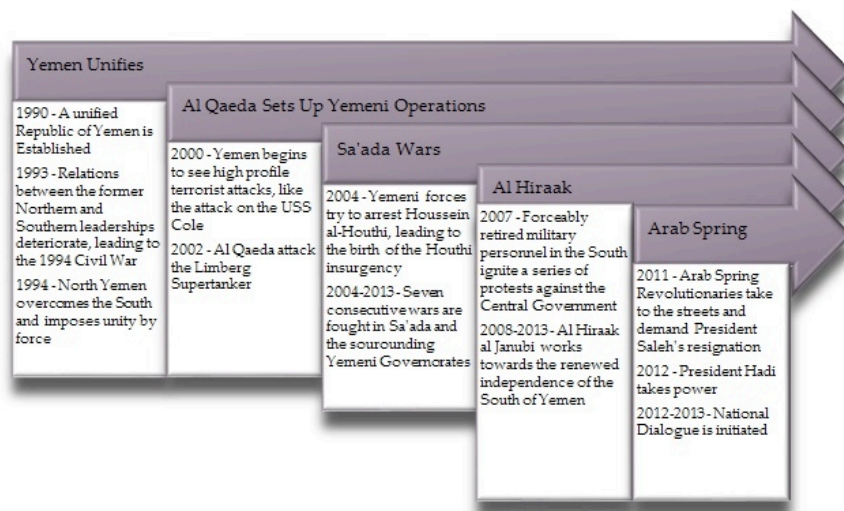
Figure 4: *Timeline of Security Threats in Yemen*

The Yemeni Government's responses to Southern protests and the Houthi insurgency have been immediate and violent, with both movements being perceived as substantial threats to the integrity and continued legitimacy of the state. Casualties from both struggles are yet to be fully and systematically counted, but are likely to range, combined, in the thousands. The diversion of military and security resources to these areas has also allowed for other opportunist groups to establish a base of operations in the country, including terrorist, extremist and criminal organisations.

Yemen is the original home of the family of the late Osama bin Laden, founder of Al-Qaeda, and the new operational centre of AQAP. The Al Qaeda movement in Yemen has been linked to two major maritime attacks – the one on the *USS Cole* in 2000 [38] and the one on the French oil tanker *Limburg* in 2002. These attacks were some of the most significant early indicators of the groups' potential impact on international strategic interests in the region. They led to the withdrawal of shippers from Yemeni ports which was a significant blow to the country's economy. Earlier, in 1992, Al-Qaeda had already hit a hotel in Aden that had formerly been used by American marines. Although this is considered Al-Qaeda first formal terrorist attack,[39] it received little media attention at the time and was widely ignored. In the year 2000, the United States responded to a suicide attack on the *USS Cole* with a large scale investigation and missile strikes. These resulted in the death of Al-Qaeda's leader in Yemen, Abu Ali al Harithi, in November 2002, crippling the organisation for a number of years.[40] The Yemeni branch of Al-Qaeda did not recover from this onslaught until after 2006, when a large-scale prison break freed Nasser Al-Wuhayshi (currently number two in the hierarchy of Al-Qaeda) and Qasim al Raymi, who set about reconstituting the movement. In 2007 and 2008, Al-Qaeda began targeting Western tourists in Maarib and Hadramawt, as well as the American embassy in Sana'a, using car bombs and other means of attack.[41]

AQAP was formed by Nasser Al-Wuhayshi, Sa'id Al-Shihiri and Mohammad Al-Awfi[42] in 2009, when the Yemeni and Saudi Arabian branches of Al-Qaeda united in the pursuit of shared political goals that included the overthrow of key regionally located governments, including that of Saudi Arabia.[43] Soon thereafter, an AQAP suicide bomber almost succeeded in an attempt to take the life of Saudi Deputy Interior Minister – Prince Mohammed bin Nayef.[44] By 2010, AQAP had entered full military confrontations with the Yemeni Government in Lawdar, Zinjibar and Huta, three territories where the group had established a presence and was trying to bring under its full control. Meanwhile, Al Qaeda-linked parcel bombs posted in Yemen were detected in cargo planes on their way to North America.[45]

Lars Berger et al write that: "The strength and roots of AQAP nowadays are deeply intertwined with Yemeni history.[46] In recent years, AQAP has probably proved to be the most important regional wakeup call for development policies in Yemen that are meant to stabilise the country.[47] In 2009, the United States earmarked $150 million for a stabilisation strategy.[48]

In practice, the threat of AQAP has acted as one of the main determining factors for continuing American and Saudi Arabian support for the Yemeni government, which has proved crucial for former-President Saleh's regime up until 2011 in determining domestic military policy, particularly in relation to the war against the Houthis. Military aid is proving equally important for his successor, President Hadi,[49] both in the far North and in the South. Since Hadi took power, Agence France-Press noted that "US drone strikes in Yemen nearly tripled in 2012 compared to 2011, from 18 to 53" – "The latest one came on August 1 [2013], as Yemeni President [Hadi] prepared to hold talks in Washington with US counterpart Barack Obama, killing four Al-Qaeda suspects. It was the third such strike in five days."[50] In the aftermath of the embassy closures in the summer of 2013, joint military actions have also expanded the scope of people to be targeted by US drones.[51] As of August 13, 2013, American President Barack Obama's administration had "launched an estimated 79 drone strikes in addition to 10 air or cruise missile strikes in Yemen." Compared to just one drone strike launched under the leadership of President George W. Bush Jr., this indicates a dramatic increase.[52] Recently, President Hadi has requested that the United States supply the Yemeni government with its own drones directly, to help combat the AQAP threat.[53]

In reality, the Houthis and AQAP in particular have little mutual ground in common. The Houthi focus on the local and frictions recently "led AQAP to initiate attacks against the Shia Zaydi Houthi population."[54] Some observers have even argued that: "Sanaa has often supported and armed Islamist groups to balance against other factions, including the Huthis and the Southern opposition."[55] Others have found that former-President Saleh's support of Al- Qaeda more specifically dates back to the years before Yemen's unification, when the

terrorist group's goal was simply to help overthrow socialist regimes like the one of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, 1967-1990.[56]

Rumours of Al-Qaeda's operations in Yemen are often greatly exaggerated by the state as well as others who have traditionally relied upon predominantly American security concerns to rally financial and military support to the government, especially in times of heightened local conflict and political unrest. Thus, during the Arab Spring of 2011, both President Saleh's regime and the opposing Joint Meetings Party played upon the theme of a resurgent AQAP to enlist foreign support for their causes: President Saleh claiming that his departure would see Yemen overrun by terrorists, and Abdel Rahman Ba Fadel of the opposing Islah party, claimed that Saleh was secretly supporting AQAP in order to increase their profile and justify his policies in the eyes of the international press.[57]

Due to the large-scale manipulation of security issues by multiple actors in Yemen, it is often difficult to assess their impact on the country and what it means for regional security. Leading experts on the situation, including Sarah Phillips, cast doubt on assertions of actors like Ba Fadel who said that AQAP's mission in Yemen has always been "to destroy the existing political system and establish its own."[58] The International Crisis Group concluded: "For lack of evidence, it is impossible to verify these competing and often inflammatory allegations."[59] However, there can be little doubt that Al-Qaeda poses a significant threat. In February 2012, AQAP claimed responsibility for an attack on the Presidential Palace that left 26 Republican Guards dead on the day that President Hadi was sworn in as Saleh's replacement.[60] A further 96 Yemeni soldiers were killed by AQAP in May 2012.[61]

The Arab Spring and the Reconfiguration of Security Narratives in Yemen

The Arab Spring reconfigured narratives of security in Yemen by bringing the AQAP threat to the fore and by affording Al Qaeda's operatives the opportunity to escalate their activities within the context of increased insecurity. The Arab Spring arrived in Yemen on January 27, 2011, when thousands of demonstrators took to the streets, demanding a change of leadership. The removal of President Saleh (who had been in power since 1978) was a central and non-negotiable demand for the large majority of demonstrators. Such removal, pro-change protesters insisted, needed to be immediate, without allowing for "a phased transition that would defer [the President's] departure until the end of an interim period in which constitutional changes would be agreed."[62]

As a non-negotiable issue, however, the theme of President Saleh's immediate departure proved extremely contentious, with the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), and Qatar especially, striving from the outset to broker a deal for a phased transfer of power. Though an agreement was signed, with Saleh officially handing over leadership of the country to President Hadi in February of 2012, power transfer negotiations in 2011 and 2012 were left

lacking considerably in legitimacy and have remained largely contested throughout the country in the aftermath of the Arab Spring.

At a local level, there is also considerable suspicion about the international community's future role in the country, with America having proven to be an important ally of President Saleh's regime in the struggle against AQAP, and the United Nations Security Council having taken almost an entire year to issue a formal statement decrying violence against protesters in Yemen, while actively protecting protesters in Libya.

The Arab Spring represented the opportunity for various actors who had been in conflict with the government for the past decade to advance their own individual agendas. In the far North of Yemen, insecurity generated by protests across the country offered a chance for the Houthi insurgency movement to reorganise and secure an operational stronghold, establishing a virtually self-contained and separate governance system in the Sa'ada area that may have now begun to spread its influence into neighbouring governorates.[63]

Likewise, the Arab Spring and its explicit call for a change of leadership, and therefore a change in the structures of government, also reinvigorated the Southern Separatist Movement. It used protests to vocalise grievances (although secessionism itself remained a fairly concealed element of their political narrative in 2011).

At the same time, the diversion of security forces towards containing public demonstrations led to the escalation of Al-Qaeda's activities in the country, with AQAP joining forces with Ansar al Sharia and seizing control of important cities and strongholds in the South, including Zinjibar in May 2011.[64]

A matter of concern for the international community in 2011 and 2012 was that AQAP would use its growing influence to establish caliphates in Yemen.[65] However, evidence indicates that AQAP's capacity to hold territory in Yemen was severely undermined by its lack of legitimacy on the ground. Confrontations between AQAP and the secular Southern Secessionist Movement restrict AQAP's influence, though some observers have claimed that the two have occasionally built temporary alliances in their fight against the central government.[66] Though AQAP poses a real threat in Yemen, especially in the aftermath of the Arab Spring, anecdotal evidence linking it to insurgent groups remains suspect, indicating that the risk of terrorist contagion is possibly less severe than it is often assumed. Nonetheless, the security and political challenges posed are significant, with the AQAP abduction of an Iranian diplomat, Nour-Ahmad Nikbakhat, in July, 2013, offering only the latest challenge to the authority of the Yemeni state, both on a national and on an international level.[67]

Conclusion

The presence of local anti-regime groups and transnational jihadist actors affecting Yemen constitute both independent and interconnected security threats. AQAP forms part of this broader context, rather than dominating the broader context. The Yemeni Government, rather than addressing domestic security challenges and associated conflict drivers, has leveraged international, and primarily American, interests to focus on AQAP, while delegitimising other groups of combatants by labelling them also terrorist actors. The AQAP threat in Yemen is very real, but the issue itself has been caught up by sensationalist media coverage of the country, which prioritises "sexier" stories about terrorism over insurgency. It has also been marred in political power struggles and manipulated by the Yemeni state, among others. These two issues are historically interlinked: former-President Saleh in particular had a long history of restricting the access of foreign press office in Yemen, routinely expelling journalists who did not stick to the party line. The need for foreign powers to have an ally in the Yemeni state through which to launch counter-terrorism operations has diminished the incentive for external actors to look into other violent conflicts. The over-reliance on the state as a source of operational information on terrorist groups has skewed perceptions of the actual risk. The dangers associated with misinformation are likely to have increased in the short term under President Hadi's leadership because many previous local intelligence contacts have been lost. [68]

This has aggravated the risks posed by AQAP, which is seen not only as a national threat – but also, crucially, as a regional and international one, with important security implications for the security of the Middle East and North Africa. Yemen is now – quite reasonably – on high alert, after more threats of suicide attacks in September, 2013.[69] Berger et al argue that: "Continuing instability in Yemen allows AQAP to regroup and pose a direct threat to the security of Saudi Arabia and other countries on the Arab peninsula. It also puts AQAP into a position to intensify its support for the 'home-grown' attempted terrorist attacks the United States has witnessed over the last couple of years."[70] Ill-considered US military operations tend to enhance AQAP's recruitment base – not to reduce it.

The current threat posed by Al-Qaeda is limited: estimates suggest that there are only between 300 and 1,000 AQAP fighters in Yemen,[71] and that AQAP's core membership includes only between 100 and 400 fighters,[72] far fewer than the United States US $100 million counter-terrorism strategy in Yemen appears to warrant. Meanwhile, American "drone and air strikes had killed an estimated 630 to 876 people in Yemen" by early August, 2013, with a civilian casualty rate of between 2.4 and 7.4 per cent.[73] There is, as Thomas Juneau correctly noted. "For the foreseeable future… no risk that AQAP could take over Yemen." In this regard Saudi and United States concerns appear exaggerated.[74] This author's own field research with key DFID and British Government personnel suggests that for every one AQAP recruit who is a "true believer" in the Al Qaeda cause, five have joined the organisation to

secure an income for themselves and their families. Contrary to the way in which the AQAP threat is conceptualised, therefore, this seems to imply that the main cause of terrorism in Yemen is not radicalisation: its unemployment. This might indicate that, rather than counter-terrorism, what the country really needs to restore security is livelihoods-generation programming.

The available evidence points in the direction that drone strikes and military interventions have not reduced the threat of terrorist activity in Yemen. It is time for a new strategy. Yemeni journalist Farea al-Muslimi has argued before the US Senate in April, 2013, that: "The US thinks it understands Yemen but the drones have been one of the most effective tools for AQAP to succeed in Yemen. A big part of al-Qaeda power at the moment is convincing Yemenis that they are in a war with America."[75]

If there is a need to treat the AQAP threat differently in light of these concerns, however, there is also a parallel need to distinguish between terrorist and non-terrorist threats in Yemen. AQAP does pose a risk to public safety, not just in Yemen but internationally. But the Houthi and Southern Separatists Movements are likely to pose a significantly more important challenge to the long-term survival of the ruling regime than Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula.

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Notes

[1] CBS News. (2013, September 20). *Yemen military says al Qaeda attack on troops has left at least 38 dead.*

[2] Al Jazeera. (2013b, August 3). *US issues global alert over 'al-Qaeda threat'.*

[3] Schmitt, E. (2013, August 11). *Embassies Open, but Yemen Stays on Terror Watch.*

[4] Ibid.

[5] Roggio, B. (2012b, May 7). *AQAP overruns Yemeni Army bases, kills 32 soldiers.*

[6]] Lewis, A. (2013). 'Violence in Yemen: Thinking About Violence in Fragile States Beyond the Confines of Conflict and Terrorism', p. 11.

[7] Al Jazeera. (2013a, August 3). *Foreigners targeted in Yemen kidnappings.*

[8]] Harris, A. (2011). 'The Uncertainties of Change', p. 76.

[9] International Crisis Group. (2011). *Breaking Point? Yemen's Southern Question*, p. 27.

[10] Hill, G. (2010). *Yemen: Fear of Failure*, p.4.

[11] Alex P. Schmid (Ed.). The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research. London & New York, 2011, pp. 99-157 lists no fewer than 260 in its appendix to chapter 2..

[12] Meisels, T. (2009). 'Defining Terrorism – A Typology', p. 335.

[13] Ibid, p. 342.

[14] Kiras, J. D. (2007). 'Irregular Warfare: Terrorism and Insurgency', p. 188.

15] Ibid.

[16] Gundel, J. (2003). 'The Migration-Development Nexus: Somali Case Study'.

[17] International Organisation for Migration. (2013, July 9). *Vulnerable Ethiopian migrants return home from Yemen.*

[18] Yemen's state capacity is sufficiently weak so as to be severely limited in its ability to combat terrorist groups, while also being dominant enough to allow for the support of terrorist activities through corruption and other important dynamics.

[19] Miller, D. B. (2003). *Demand, Stockpiles and Social Controls: Small Arms in Yemen.*

[20] Celso, A. (2012). 'Al Qaeda Affiliates Operating in Failed States: The Next Front in the War on Terror', p. 264.

[21] Shinn, D. (2011). 'Al Shabaab's Foreign Threat to Somalia', p. 203.

[22] Ibid, p. 205.

[23] Jones, S. G. (2013). *The Terrorist Threat from Syria*, pp. 2-3.

[24] Boucek, C. (2010). *War in Sa'ada: From Local Insurrection to National Challenge*, p. 2.

[25] Loidolt, B., Salmoni, B. A., & Wells, M. (2010). *Regime and Periphery in Northern Yemen: The Houthi Phenomenon*, p. 6.

[26] International Crisis Group. (2009). *Yemen: Diffusing the Sa'ada Time Bomb*, p. 5.

[27] Boucek, C. (2010). *War in Sa'ada: From Local Insurrection to National Challenge*, p. 6.

[28] Ibid, p. 2.

[29] Loidolt, B., Salmoni, B. A., & Wells, M. (2010). *Regime and Periphery in Northern Yemen: The Houthi Phenomenon*, p. 266.

[30] Johnsen, G. D. (2013). *The Last Refuge: Yemen, Al-Qaeda, and the Battle for Arabia*, pp. 46-47.

[31] Abd Rabbuh Mansur Hadi was appointed to the Presidency in 2012. A Southerner himself, it is hoped that he may be more sympathetic to the Southern cause. However, he also played an instrumental role in fighting the South during the 1994 Civil War. Yet recent diplomatic events in Yemen offer cause for hope. In August, 2013, the transitional Yemeni Government even issued a formal apology to separatists for the 1994 War in an effort to bring them back to national reconciliation talks (El-Haj, A. (2013, August 21). *Yemen apologizes to separatists over '94 civil war*).

[32] Hellmich, C. (2012). 'Fighting Al Qaeda in Yemen? Rethinking the Nature of the Islamist Threat and the Effectiveness of U.S. Counterterrorism Strategy', p. 625.

[33] Carrion, D. (2013, August 15). *Yemen Under Threat.*

[34] Ditz, J. (2013, August 8). *US Drones Pound Yemen: 34 Killed in 10 Days as Govt Declares Plot 'Foiled'.*

[35] Hellmich, C. (2012). 'Fighting Al Qaeda in Yemen? Rethinking the Nature of the Islamist Threat and the Effectiveness of U.S. Counterterrorism Strategy', p. 627.

[36] Agence France-Presse. (2013, September 8). Yemen south separatists to return to national dialogue.

[37] Ghobari, M. (2013, September 12). Yemeni president reinstates hundreds of war sacked officers.

[38] Gartner, S. S. (2004). Making the International Local: The Terrorist Attack on the USS Cole, Local Casualties, and Media Coverage, p. 145.

[39] Yemen Post. (2011, August 28). *Al-Qaeda Timeline in Modern Yemen History.*

[40] Phillips, S. (2010). *What Comes Next in Yemen? Al Qaeda, the Tribes, and State Building.*

[41] Yemen Post. (2011, August 28). *Al-Qaeda Timeline in Modern Yemen History.*

[42] International Crisis Group. (2011). *Breaking Point? Yemen's Southern Question*, p. 27.

[43] Juneau, T. (2010). 'Yemen: Prospects for State Failure - Implications and Remedies', p. 140.

[44] Yemen Post. (2011, August 28). *Al-Qaeda Timeline in Modern Yemen History.*

[45] BBC. (2012, November 28). *Yemen Profile: A Chronology of Key Events.*

[46] Berger, L., Doring, M., Fickenscher, S.-E., Saif, A., & Al-Wahishi, A. (2012, May). 'Yemen and the Middle East Conference: The Challenge of Failing States and Transnational Terrorism', p. 4.

[47] Barkat, S., Connolly, D., Deely, S., & Lewis, A. (2011, June). 'Reassessing State Fragility and Policy Responses in Yemen'.

[48] Ibid.

[49] In 2011, President Hadi gave his "unequivocal support for Washington's controversial drone strikes" (Ghobari, M. (2013, August 22). *Yemen asks U.S. for drones to fight al Qaeda*).

[50] Agence France-Presse. (2013, August 5). *Yemen's AQAP, Al-Qaeda's Most Active Arm.*

[51] Schmitt, E. (2013, August 11). *Embassies Open, but Yemen Stays on Terror Watch.*

[52] New American Foundation. (2013, August 13). *About this Project.*

[53] Ghobari, M. (2013, August 22). *Yemen asks U.S. for drones to fight al Qaeda.*

[54] Harris, A. (2011). 'The Uncertainties of Change', p. 75.

[55] Juneau, T. (2010). 'Yemen: Prospects for State Failure - Implications and Remedies', p. 140.

[56] Johnsen, G. D. (2013). *The Last Refuge: Yemen, Al-Qaeda, and the Battle for Arabia*.

[57] Al Jazeera. (2011, May 29). *Yemen opposition "willing to tackle al-Qaeda"*.

[58] Phillips, S. (2010). *What Comes Next in Yemen? Al Qaeda, the Tribes, and State Building*, p. 3.

[59] International Crisis Group. (2011). *Breaking Point? Yemen's Southern Question*, p. 29.

[60] BBC. (2012, November 28). *Yemen Profile: A Chronology of Key Events*.[

[61] Ibid.

[62] Hill, G., & Nonneman, G. (2011). *Yemen, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States: Elite Politics, Street Protests and Regional Diplomacy*, p. 3.

[63] Horton, M. (2011). 'Political Unrest in Yemen', [ADD DETAILS].

[64]] Berger, L., Doring, M., Fickenscher, S.-E., Saif, A., & Al-Wahishi, A. (2012, May). 'Yemen and the Middle East Conference: The Challenge of Failing States and Transnational Terrorism', p. 2. The claim about chemical and biological weapons has to be taken with a large grain of salt.

[65] Roggio, B. (2012a, January 20). *AQAP Commander Says 'the Islamic Caliphate is Coming'*.

[66] International Crisis Group. (2011). *Breaking Point? Yemen's Southern Question*, p. 28.

[67] Al Jazeera. (2013, July 21). Iran embassy employee abducted in Yemen.

[68] Schmitt, E. (2013, August 11). *Embassies Open, but Yemen Stays on Terror Watch*.

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[70] Berger, L., Doring, M., Fickenscher, S.-E., Saif, A., & Al-Wahishi, A. (2012, May). 'Yemen and the Middle East Conference: The Challenge of Failing States and Transnational Terrorism', p. 2.

[71] Based on the author's research with key personnel from the Department for International Development (DFID).

[72] International Crisis Group. (2011). *Breaking Point? Yemen's Southern Question*, p. 27.

[73] New American Foundation. (2013, August 13). *About this Project*.

[74] Juneau, T. (2010). 'Yemen: Prospects for State Failure - Implications and Remedies', p. 141.

[75] Wolverton, J. (2013, August 9). *U.S. Drones Kill More Than 30 in Yemen; School Targeted in One Attack*.

The Egyptian Islamic Group's Critique of Al-Qaeda's Interpretation of Jihad

by Paul Kamolnick

> [T]here is a difference in views between two visions of jihad. The vision of the Islamic Group and the vision of Al-Qa'ida. . . [They] . . . called for a jihad that puts the logic of challenge above the principle of calculations, the preservation of interests, the availability of capabilities, and the perception of the goals. --Isam Dirbalah [1]

> Their[Al-Qa'ida's] aim is jihad, and our aim is Islam – Najih Ibrahim [2]

Abstract

A specific branch of Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh al-jihad) regulates the waging of the jihad of the sword (jihad bis saif). In this article, a detailed exposition is presented of the Egyptian Islamic Group's (IG; Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiyya) use of fiqh al jihad against Al-Qaeda. The present author's 'jihad-realist' approach is first briefly described; the IG's critique of AQ systematically outlined; and in conclusion, implications are derived for counter-radicalisation strategies.

Introduction

Intra-Islamist legal critiques of Al-Qaeda (AQ) should be carefully scrutinized for their potential value in countering radicalization and recruitment to AQ's global terrorism. The present article extends the author's previous research in two directions. [3] First, rather than providing detailed shari'a proofs its primary focus is crafting a more generalized, strategically useful conceptual framework contrasting legitimate and illegitimate jihad. Second, it reintroduces and illustrates the potential strategic potential of the generally neglected research on shari'a produced by the Egyptian Islamic Group (IG; *Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya*) which delegitimises unlawful jihad. The article is organized as follows. The present author's 'jihad-realist' approach is first described. The IG's 'Corrective Concepts Series' (*Silsilat Tahih al-Mafahim*) is then analyzed with specific attention to its carefully rendered contrast between two visions of jihad, one rooted in mainstream Sunni jurisprudence and the other one alleging a deviation from such. In a final section, conclusions are presented and brief implications deduced for a counterterrorist messaging strategy.

A Jihad-Realist Approach

The IG's critique of AQ's alleged violations of the lawful jihad presumes that 'jihad of the sword' (*jihad bis saif*), conceived defensively *and* offensively, is an essential and enduring religious prescription binding on all observant and eligible Muslims. [4] The acceptance of this

jihad imperative therefore places the IG in the camp of those Islamists whose ultimate goal -a state ruled by shari'a, and societal norms steeped in Islamicity - is derived from the same Islamist textual universe as that of AQ. This presumptive religious prescription is key, ironically, to the IG's critique of AQ's mass casualty terrorist modus operandi. Why so? As an internal Islamist critique - one that relies on the same salafist understandings of the sources of law and justifications for the militant expansion of the faith - should the IG prove that AQ is guilty of violating the jurisprudence regulating the jihad (*fiqh al-jihad*), or causing great misfortune to the Islamic Call and broader umma (Islamic faith community), AQ's status as 'salafi-jihadi' vanguard is delegitimized. Let us now examine systematically, the IG's case.

Correcting the Errors of Jihad: The Shari'a of Lawful Military Jihad (Fiqh al-Jihad)

The Corrective Concepts Series (Silsilat Tashih al-Mafahim)

The Corrective Concepts Series comprises approximately twenty independent publications [5] produced by the IG's 'historic leaders'[6]: the five original members Abd al-Rahman, Shaykh Salah Hashim, Karam Zuhdi, Usamah Hafiz, and Muhammad Shawqi al-Islambuli; it also includes three others who joined early-on, Najih Ibrahim (generally regarded as the group's senior religious scholar and the one who contributed most to the Corrections), Asim Abd-al-Majid, and Isam Dirbalah. Each historic leader was either a senior author, co-author, or consultative reviewer, for these publications. At the time of their writing, all were serving extended prison sentences and were leading members of the IG's 15-member *Majlis Al-Shura* (Consultative Council, the leading organ of the IG).

The first four publications provide a comprehensive, systematic refutation of the IG's own earlier misguided jihadism. Published in 2002, these volumes deal, respectively, with: an introduction, overview, and explanation of the rationale for their declaration (in 1997) of a unilateral, unconditional cessation of violence; [7] the shari'a of lawful military jihad;[8] the shari'a governing takfir; [9] and, the shari'a regulating the practice of commanding right and forbidding wrong (*al-amr bi'l-ma'ruf wa'l-nahy 'an al-munkar*).[10] The next year (2003) witnessed the publication of three additional volumes, one illuminating the IG's recollection of its odyssey as an Islamist organization committed to the promotion of Allah's Word and Shari'a [11]; two others, of considerable interest to the argument of the present article, offer specific - and in this writer's view, devastating - shari'a-based criticisms of AQ.[12] Other key volumes examine from a shari'a and realistic point of view, the concept of Allah's absolute sovereignty (*Al-Hakimiyya*)[13]; offer a refutation of the inevitability of a 'clash of civilizations' between Islamism and the West[14]; and also supplies another shari'a-based critique of AQ. [15]

Corrections, Not Revisions: a Return to the Mainstream Sunnite Orthodox Shari'a of the Lawful Military Jihad.

Though sometimes referred to as 'revisionism' or 'revisions,' this writer holds that the translation of the Arabic term as Corrections (*Tas 'heeh*) is more to the point since the latter connotes a return to Sunni orthodoxy with regard to the legally sanctioned waging of the jihad, and *not* as the former implies, a decisive reinterpretation of the chief objectives and modalities of lawful conduct of jihad according to Islamic sources for making the Word of Allah supreme.[16] It is noteworthy, however, that a revised interpretation of objective contextual factors *has* led to a dramatic shift in the IG's strategic assessments.[17]

The considered judgment of scholars like Peters (2005) and Salem (2002) is shared by the writer of this article. Peters has declared that "[t]he new positions [c. 2002-] on the jihad duty of the Jama'a Islamiyya are not novel. They agree with the doctrine of jihad as expounded in the classical books on Islamic law. However, interest lies in their self-criticism and their polemical nature, since they refute [their] previous militant positions and legal interpretations calling for the indiscriminate use of violence." [18] Salem similarly states that the IG's works rectify "a radical reinterpretation of a key Islamic concept [i.e. the application to current Islamic governments of Sayyid Qutb's (1906-1966) deviant interpretation of the concept 'jahiliyya'], and also a radical divergence from classical Sunni political thought" and that the "Gama'ah's re-examination of its ideology and modus-operandi signals a triumph of non-confrontational, non-revolutionary trends in classical Sunni political thought" .[19]

Jihad-Realism as Premise

The IG unequivocally states, in several passages, its commitment to the military jihad as a binding religious imperative. Ali al-Sharif states (2007), for example, that "[j]ihad is a religious duty, . . . ordained to crush sedition and shirk [polytheism] from the face of the earth."[20] Dr. Najih Ibrahim similarly states: "The initiative [to permanently and unconditionally cease violence] did not invalidate jihad. The initiative states that jihad is a religious duty that will last until Judgment Day. However, there are several controls and conditions for that duty. How can it be said after that that it invalidates jihad," he concludes, "merely because it decided that the conditions for jihad were absent in Egypt?" [21] In their chief work on the rules regulating the jihad [22], authors Hamdi Abd-al-Rahman 'Abd al-Azim, Najih Ibrahim, and Ali Mohammad al-Sharif, declared in 2002:

> *Jihad in the cause of God [jihad fi sabil Allah] is the noblest and greatest of endeavors. Since jihad requires the expenditure of wealth, the desertion of wives and offspring, the abandonment of domicile and homeland, and since it requires the killing of people and the shedding of blood, it is only right that shari'ah should surround it with the greatest controls and the most binding rules to prevent the*

> *shedding of blood in every place and for every reason, and also to prevent*
> *disorderly conflict where the killer knows not why he is killing and the killed*
> *knows not for what he is being killed!!*

Peters, in his careful analysis of the IG's Corrections reaches an identical conclusion to the one of the IG. Considering the question whether the rejection of violence involves a rejection of the jihad of the sword (*jihad bis saif*), he states that this "does not mean that the duty of jihad has come to an end or lost its force, because, if the circumstances change, the jihad becomes obligatory again. . . .The new positions on the jihad duty of the Egyptian Jama'a Islamiyya are not novel. They agree with the doctrine of jihad as expounded in the classical books of Islamic law."

It is therefore not a question whether jihad is a binding religious prescription: it unquestionably is. It is a question of *whether* and *how* one is to conduct it by lawful and prudent means. And it is precisely this question that profoundly and irremediably divides the IG's Corrections from the path followed by AQ. In the following section, this contrast is systematically explored - first at the level of general vision, and then in relation to very specific and binding provisions of the sharia of lawful military jihad.

The Ultimate Goal of Islam

Despite its ennobled provenance, the ultimate goal of Islam is, according to the IG, not jihad, but Islam. Islam's universal mission is to create a world in which the Word of Allah, Lord of the Worlds, is proclaimed and the message of the Oneness of Allah and His righteous path is universally and faithfully spread. It is also a world that has practically implemented fundamental Islamic precepts and shari'a-based prescriptions and proscriptions as the basis of all human social relationships. In this respect, Islam maintains with other universal faiths - Christianity, for example - a universalist mission to spread the Truth of Salvation, to bring persons to that Truth, and to transform individuals at the level of their internal psychological being, interpersonal relations, social responsibilities and obligations.

This is evident when in IG writings it is stated that the Corrections demand a "return to their original mission as preachers of God's word who help guide His creatures to His straight path" and that "[o]ur noble goal is what [God's] messengers had told their peoples. Our goal is to make people pray to their God, that is, guide His creatures. We must be courageous enough to embark on any decision that we believe achieves this goal. We must also be courageous enough to refrain from any decision that we believe puts a distance between this goal and us. We must also have greater and greater courage to desist from any decision or step that some of us actually takes if it becomes clear that it will not help us reach this goal." [23] "The end in this case," the historic leaders declare, "is to guide people and call them to embrace Allah's religion. As for jihad, it is only a means to an end. . . [T]he ultimate goal is to guide people to

the path of God. Therefore we emphasize that reality in Egypt has proved that guiding people to the path of God must be the first and last objective." [24]

Jihad Not an End, but One Duty and One Means

Al Qaeda, in stark contrast, has, according to the IG, transformed jihad into a fetish and in that process subverted its instrumental nature and relation to other Islamic duties. Jihad, as IG historic leaders declare, is only *one* of several religious duties in Islam, is a *means* rather than an end, and is *only one means* by which "to raise the banner of Islam".[25] Najih Ibrahim forcefully contrasts the difference between the IG and AQ by claiming that "he [Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri] can see only one way forward, which is jihad, and he considers that anyone who adopts any other option is a traitor." [26] Ibrahim asserts against AQ when explaining the IG's refusal to join its violent terroristic campaign that it is "because their goal is jihad, whereas our goal is Islam. . . . " and that "Al-Zawahiri is committed to the theory that fighting is an aim. . ." [27] Abd-al-Gahni, finally, states that " . . . jihad is just a means to an end. The end in this case it to guide people and call them to embrace Allah's religion. . . [G]uiding people to the path of God must be the first and last objective." [28]

The Three Essential Conditions for Legitimate Military Jihad: Legality, Probability, and Sincerity

According to the IG then, the ultimate goal for AQ is not Islam but Jihad for Jihad's sake. In its vision, all available means for promoting Allah's Word have been reduced to one only—the military jihad. This conception may be accurately characterized as "Jihadism" or perhaps jihad-fetishism. But Jihadism is also, and especially for the IG, an unlawful and murderous deviation; for it is not merely a doctrine that is at stake, but that AQ is guilty of conducting forbidden and gravely sinful acts in the name of Islam, *and* that AQ has caused great harm to the Islamic Call. Table 1(see below) provides a brief synopsis of these violations and can be consulted to facilitate greater comprehension of the discussion to follow.

As can be seen in the left hand column of Table 1, the IG's alleged case against AQ rests on the three essential bases within orthodox Sunnite jurisprudence—legality, probability, and sincerity—for the waging of the military jihad.[29] Let us consider each in turn.[30]

Legality

According to the IG, the military jihad must be waged lawfully. Lawfulness comprises two distinct dimensions: unconditional, categorical prescriptions or proscriptions, independent of consequences, vis-à-vis the taking of life (killing) of specific classes of person; and second, judging the legality of jihad principally in terms of its consequences (beneficial, or harmful) for the Islamic cause.[31]

AQ's Violation of the Lives and Property of Persons Protected by Law.

According to the IG, AQ has expanded its targeting to include categories of person that on mainstream Sunnite legal grounds it is forbidden (*haram*) to target, including non-combatants ('civilians') who are not at war with Muslims nor infringing the da'wa call to Islam, but also various categories of person--not part of an organized military, male fighting force--involved in generalized civilian pursuits who have not taken up arms. Specifically, it is forbidden to kill: women, children, and the elderly; persons who are blind; a member of a protected non-Muslim group [dhimmi] who is not actively combating Muslims; religious monks; various categories of non-combatants who labour, such as a slave, peasants, or craftsmen who are neither combatants nor resisting the Muslims; infidel merchants conducting business on the basis of fair exchange and in peaceful commerce with Muslims; non-Muslim travelers, traders, or tourists because they are dutifully owed a right to safety and personal security in their lives, property, and honor (*aman*); persons on the basis of mere nationality or citizenship (e.g. "Americans," "British"); the numerous violations directly caused by the 9/11 hijacking of a civilian aircraft; [32] every and any Muslim in general; and, Muslims deemed 'human shields,' except under the most extraordinary, exacting, and catastrophic of circumstances.[33]

Two Visions / Comparison	JIHAD-REALISM	
	IG's Legitimate Military Jihad	AQ's Illegitimate Jihadism
ULTIMATE GOAL	Islam	Jihad as End in Itself
MILITARY JIHAD	One Means	The End/or, Exclusive Means
LEGALITY	*Legal Status of Persons and Property?* --Lawful protections extended --Lawful airline travel --Lawful protection of Muslims --Lawful authority of government --Lawful protection of security (aman) --Lawful distinctions within nationality *Absence of Harmful Consequences?* --Harms do not outweigh benefits	*Legal Status of Persons and Property?* --Unlawful killing of protected --Unlawful airline hijacking -Unlawful killing of Muslim hum. shield --Unlawful takfir of regime --Unlawful violation of security (aman) --Unlawful targeting of all nationality *Absence of Harmful Consequences?* --Harms vastly outweigh benefits
PROBABILITY	**Realism?** --Realistic possibility/probability based on realistic assessment of capabilities, conditions, and opportunities for military jihad **Primacy of Interests?** --Benefits definitely outweigh harms	**Realism?** --Unrealistic possibility/probability based on unrealistic assessment capabilities, conditions, and opportunities for military jihad **Primacy of Interests?** --Harms greatly outweigh benefits
SINCERITY	**Lifting the Word of Allah?** --motivation exclusively for struggle in the path of Allah (*jihad fi sabil Allah*) regardless of personal or organizational notoriety or aggrandizement	**Lifting the Word of Allah?** --mixed motives including revenge, personal and organizational notoriety, and aggrandizement

Table 1: The IG's Three Essential Conditions for Legitimate Jihad

The Probability of Harmful Effects/Negative Consequences

According to the IG, a second condition for the lawfulness of jihad is that of a strong likelihood that the military jihad will not lead to harmful effects or negative consequences for the Umma. The IG asserts the need "'to make benefits paramount in any action that the Muslim or a Muslim group does" and that if a course of action involves potential harm "[r]epelling harm has priority over obtaining benefits".[34] The prioritizing of interests is vital to the IG Corrections and suffuses their broader return to orthodoxy with a realistic cast that

obviously privileges rationalistically based actions over irrational, ill-considered plans and their likely harmful results. The IG states:

> [A]ny action should be dictated by the religious benefit, either when it is first initiated or when it veers from the right course and has to be corrected. In other words, any persons deciding to do something should put benefit above harm. If he sees before he embarks on it or after he starts it that the harm is paramount and there is no benefit at all, then he should desist immediately. There is no doubt that this long experience has proved that this spilled blood and these grinding battles have not brought any worthwhile benefit but resulted in too much harm. . . The spilled blood and the slain people are from one religion and there are in addition the feuds and hatreds that have filled souls. . . Someone might say: What about the injustice and persecution from which we are suffering? We say: Patience. We believe that the reward for patience here is better and weightier in the scales. All the efforts must rally to stop these futile actions that only bring destruction to a people from the same religion.[35]

It is not only unlawfulness but imprudence and a brazen, reckless disregard for interests that the 9/11 attacks were conducted, according to IG. A "well known principle for all those involved in Islam" is that the interests of the group outweigh those of an individual, and those of the group, the state. By violating this principle in order to pursue a personal vendetta against the US, [36] Al-Qa'ida in "the 11 September incident . . . . caused the . . . newborn State of Afghanistan to perish," Najih Ibrahim concludes, "and the al-Qa'ida organization [also] perished itself."[37]

In sum, if the military jihad leads to greater harms, e.g. catalyzing widespread opposition to Islam, increasing enmity against Muslims and, undermining the safety and security of the Muslim Umma, or further empowering its enemies, then, on consequentialist grounds (i.e. "the jurisprudence of results") military jihad is prohibited. If the objective of jihad is to leave the Umma in a better position after the jihad than before, then only those actions that contribute to power, sovereignty, security, honour, safety, and expansion are permissible.

Unlawful Killing Based on Alleged Apostasy (Takfir) of the Ruler or Regime

The IG's extensive internal self-criticism led to a rejection of virtually all violence directed at actually existing governments, whether autocratic and corrupt or not, in Muslim majority societies. First, the costs to the Muslim community of violent rebellion almost always outweigh the benefits. This is also well-attested in general Sunnite prohibitions against sedition and violent rebellion.

Second, actual *takfir* involves not merely dereliction, corruption, laxity, sinfulness, or an inability or unwillingness to enforce the sharia, but an actual betrayal and treasonous willingness to permit or invite the enemies of Islam to defeat the Islamic state. Third, the tasks and unique responsibilities of those charged with statecraft often demand an engagement with the world as it is, and the necessity of preserving and furthering one's interests in a world very much not of one's choosing. It is therefore inadvisable to demand that purified religious functionaries govern the state, and it is also necessary to understand the demands and responsibilities of rulership. Fourth, youthful radicalism and impatience must be supplanted by a long view and the embrace of a long-term evolutionary strategy, building from the bottom-up, to win the society for Islam through da'wa, education, and reform.

Fifth, the IG criticize their previous use of the concept '*kufr al-nizam*' (unbelief of the regime), since the concept 'regime' is a depersonalized abstraction, despite the reality that it involves millions of persons involved in millions of tasks and thousands of institutions, processes, products, and personnel required to conduct the state's business. To say that a building, or institution, or machine, or component of 'the regime' is apostate removes the primacy of the individual person whose faith is being judged. Finally, and perhaps most important, the IG subjects Sayyid Qutb's rendering of the concept of Allah's Absolute Sovereignty (*al-Hakimiyya*) to withering criticism, and insist that God's absolute sovereignty creates the framework within which humankind, as Allah's Vice-regents on earth, can and should exercise legitimate authority and promote the best interests of the Umma.[38]

For the post-Corrections IG, *takfir* is *the* deviation at the core of extremist intolerance, mindless violence, and hair-splitting internecine warfare among Muslims whose principal occupation becomes judging the 'Muslimness' of others and heresy hunting, rather than raising the Word of Allah. Najih Ibrahim's recent article in relation to the rise of 'takfiri groups' in the Sinai launching violent attacks on the Egyptian army provides a vivid description of, and warning against, this ultra-fanaticism. [39] One can easily imagine Ibrahim's all-too-personal reaction to those memories of his very own earlier dark descent into takfirism when he declares: "We must fully realize that allowing takfir ideologies to spread in society will inevitably lead to blood spilling. Mistaken concepts generate wrongdoing. Those who imagine that there can be mistaken concepts without subsequent wrongdoing are deluding themselves. Wake up . . . Egypt!" [40]

Probability as a Function of Strategic Realism, Capabilities, Conditions, Consequences

The decision whether to wage *jihad bis saif*, the IG asserts, must also be based on a hard-headed strategic realism that factors into account one's capabilities relative to actual and potential adversaries; objective and subjective conditions (i.e. socio-cultural and socio-political contexts, environmental variables of all sorts, necessary prerequisites for successful

armed actions) required for the success of one's own as well as enemy forces; and a realistic assessment of the likelihood that the benefits to the Islamic Call of embarking on a policy of armed military clashes outweigh its costs.

Strategic Realism

To be lawful, according to the IG, the jihad of the sword must be based on an objective assessment of genuine historical, social, political, cultural, and economic realities. Especially important is an objective assessment of one's adversary's motives, strengths, and capacities, relative to one's own. AQ's reckless disregard for historical facts prevented AQ from conceiving the U.S. as a self-interested actor whose interests were *not* necessarily unremittingly hostile to those of the Islamic movements or Islam. "[A]ny observer of US strategy will find that the prime mover of this strategy is US interests rather than the religious factor," al-Minawi states in paraphrasing the IG's position and further he notes that this "explains many major events in which the United States appeared to be supportive of some Islamic issues, such as support for the Afghan jihad in 1979 against the Soviet presence." As to post 9/11 US policies, he continues, "the authors [i.e. IG co-authors] conclude that Al-Qa'ida's strategy was one of the most important factors that hastened the formulation of this US strategy that is negative toward the Muslim world." Instead than focusing on a pragmatic, realist interest-based engagement with the United States which could, he states "have realized the interests of Afghanistan" on the grounds of the US's broader "strategy toward Central Asia," it would be "Al-Qa'ida's strategy [which] . . . hastened the formulation of that negative US strategy . . . that led to the downfall of the Taliban Islamic State." [41]

Moreover, strategic realism demands an objective acknowledgment of one's own causal role in history. In absolute contrast to AQ's "Crusader-Zionist" conspiracy theory, or other wildly rampant conspiracy theories produced to explain or excuse present-Muslim weaknesses, the post-Corrections IG instead forcefully and self-consciously assumes ownership for its own actions—including extremely destructive actions—and on that basis produced the Corrective concepts required to re-launch their Islamist presence.[42] "[C]ontrary to the well-known conspiracy theory," Najih Ibrahim states, "[w]e . . . consolidated the great Qur'an principle, which loosely translated reads that the plight of a person was of his own doing" and though he admits it is true that various enemies conspire against each other, it is also the case that

> *conspiring does not represent the only will that makes the world go round, turns the course of events, and interprets everything that happens in history. The conspiracy theory truly means taking leave of one's will so that only the will of the CIA and the Mossad prevail. Then we blame our mistakes and apathy on the United States, the Israeli conspiracy, and other states, as if we had no role in everything that happened in this world.[43]*

Having established the necessity of rejecting conspiracism and accepting historical agency, it is requisite then that one carefully assess the strategic environment, i.e. the sum total of forces and factors that one must attempt to take into account before conceiving, planning, and executing any type of militant action. The IG counsels, for example, the necessity that "a young man should try to read his reality locally, regionally, and internationally so that his acts and behavior do not weaken his country and help its enemies defeat it." [44]

Strategic realism also influences the manner in which one understands the process of issuing legal opinions. A properly formulated legal opinion (*fatwa*) demands that one is capable of correctly and carefully relating the worlds of legal judgment *and* empirical fact. As Najih Ibrahim states, the "Shari'ah cannot be separated from reality. You must read both reality and the relevant text before applying the right verses to the appropriate reality. Mistakes stem from the fact that the right text is sometimes applied on irrelevant reality." [45] Far from being divorced from reality, "[i]t is an obvious mistake to take positions, pass judgment, and issue fatwas . . . without looking at the reality, understanding its facts, and considering them one of the principal reasons for these fatwas. Any judgment or fatwa," they continue, "should be based on two fundamental maxims: The reality and its facts and the religious evidence that is in the Koran, the Sunna, or any of the recognized sources of jurisprudence." [46]

This intrinsic relation between fatwa and reality also led to fundamental rethinking by the IG about the nature of contemporary socio-political authority, governance, and the criteria that may be used to evaluate the Islamic nature of modern Muslim-majority nation-states. It is no longer possible, nor legally permissible, to apply classic fatawa produced under dramatically dissimilar circumstances—for example, Ibn Taymiyya's 14th century fatawa produced after the fall of Baghdad and the rise of Mongol rule over Muslim subjects— to contemporary Egyptian society. The IG's careful revisiting and rereading of those classic texts led them to reverse their earlier judgment that the contemporary Egyptian state *was* analogous to the medieval Mongol Tatar state. Finally, the IG determined that notions of Allah's Absolute sovereignty can and must also be made compatible with the rise of modern sociopolitical orders such that humans are viewed as participating in a God-based, but human-administered and executed, governing relationship.[47]

Capabilities and Conditions

The assessment of the probable success of a lawful military jihad requires that one objectively assess one's relative capabilities, conditions, and opportunities in relation to one's potential and actual allies and adversaries. The IG accuses AQ of neglecting this essential condition since "Al-Qa'ida . . . called for a jihad that puts the logic of challenge above the principle of calculations, the preservation of interests, the availability of capabilities, and the perception of the goals." [48]

Moreover, the IG accuses AQ of wildly inflating their chances of victory and irrationally expanding the scope of enemies they would simultaneously challenge. "Usama Bin Ladin was aiming for what is called an impossible objective," Najih Ibrahim states," since he sought to "expel Russia from Chechnya, India from Kashmir, and to attack Algeria, Tunisia, France, and Libya, as well as evict America from the Gulf. All this is impossible," he concludes, "even if Bin Ladin possessed a superpower. Never in his life did the Prophet fight on two fronts or go to war against two enemies at the same time." [49] Summarizing the IG's position al-Minawi relates that "the leaders of Al Qa'ida entangled the Muslim nation in a conflict that was beyond its power to wage, a conflict that it did not want." [50]

Consequences

Finally, just as in the earlier discussion of legality, the probable consequences resulting from launching a military jihad must be objectively assessed. Again, a hard-headed strategically realist assessment should have led AQ to drastically revise its strategy of mass-casualty terrorist attacks directed at multiple regimes throughout the Muslim and Western world. Good strategy requires that one consider various dimensions of validity (e.g. suitability of methods, sustainability of means, acceptability and legitimacy of ends, methods and means), and also various factors associated with different courses of action, and what strategic effects are likely to result from deliberate courses of action that will lead to transforming a given equilibrium among conflict actors. [51] If judged by its strategic effects, AQ's strategy must be judged a strategic catastrophe for the Muslim umma. Consider then the net result of AQ's strategic legacy recalling that the singular objective of the Islamist movement is to attain world dominance, and to expand the sphere within which the Call and da'wa is enabled. Al-Minawi succinctly summarizes these effects: "1. It led to the collapse of the young Muslim state in Afghanistan 2. Al-Qa'ida and the Islamic movements were hunted down as part of security globalization 3. Al Qa'ida's strategy hurt the interests and issues of the Muslim minorities [in non-Muslim majority states] by deliberately confusing between terrorism and resistance movements against occupation,. 4. It paved the way for the realization of Israel's objectives and designs." [52]

Najih Ibrahim also links AQ's failure to objectively assess capabilities and conditions to disastrous strategic effects when he states that "Bin Ladin believes in the principle of Jihad for the sake of Jihad. Attaining the results is not important" and that "[w]hat matters for him is that the Jihad embers should be fanned. This is wrong," he continues, since " Jihad was ordained to bolster religion, not to spill blood . . . Bin Ladin fought the whole world. This is why it is natural that he is defeated . . . and he cannot blame God but should blame himself."[53]

Sincerity of Intentions

Sincerity is a final necessary condition for the lawful waging of the military jihad. Though exceptions exist, for the most part the IG's critique of AQ assumes the sincerity of its motives; beyond what it deems AQ's violations of the jurisprudence regulating the jihad (*fiqh al- jihad*) then, the IG's primary focus is pointing at AQ's catastrophic practical and strategic failures (prudence, interests). This is likely a pragmatic move since the IG seeks to persuade potential or actual AQ followers and impugning motives is generally a losing strategy; however, there is a genuine sense that Bin Laden's ignorance and misguidedness rather than insincerity is the greater culprit. [54]

The only *legitimate* motive for a Muslim to wage the military jihad is that it be pursued to raise the Word of Allah and that the struggle be carried out exclusively in loyalty to that objective: i.e. jihad in the path of Allah (*jihad fi sabil Allah*). Even if one has these sincere intentions, however, the lawful military jihad must also factor in the possibility of harmful effects and if these effects outweigh likely benefits, sincerity of motive *must* defer to a strategic calculus of likely effects.[55]

Conclusion

It is the present writer's view that the jurisprudence regulating the jihad (*fiqh al-jihad*) is at present under-exploited as a potential means for delegitimising AQ's justification for the use of terrorism. A detailed exposition of the IG's shari'a-based case as presented in its 'Corrective Concepts Series' (*Silsilat Tahih al-Mafahi*) leads to the following conclusions. Though the IG and AQ regard jihad as an enduring, binding religious prescription, according to the IG, AQ illegitimately isolates jihad as an end rather than a means, and the singular method of Islamic faith and action when means are being considered. Second, according to the IG, AQ flagrantly violates at least two of three essential requirements for the waging of the military jihad: legality, probability, and to a lesser extent, sincerity. Al-Qaeda violates, they assert, prohibitions against harming persons in their lives, honour, and property; and the moral obligation to privilege vital interests and carefully calculate the probable consequences for Islam and the Islamic Call likely to result from AQs terrorist actions.

Third, AQ's strategic irrationality rests on many fabricated premises: a distorted account of US interests vis-à-vis the Muslim world thereby underestimating potential bases of strategic advance for the umma; the propagation of conspiracy theories instead of AQ's admission that it has voluntarily chosen a disastrous, counterproductive course; misapplications of medieval jurisprudential fatawa to contemporary sociopolitical contexts; AQ's failure to recognize the living relationship in the present international context between sacred sources, judicial opinions, and empirical realities. Al-Qaeda's strategic irrationalism explains also its failure to factor in the capabilities and conditions required for successful military jihad, and again, the

probable strategic effects likely to result from its strategic choices. Finally, AQ's violation of the sincerity criterion while less suspect, surfaced on those occasions when Usama bin Ladin's vengeance against the US obviously motivated his actions. More generally, however, sincere intentions are no substitute for hard-headed genuine strategic planning and deemed an insufficient criterion for engaging in a legitimate and jurisprudentially sanctioned jihad. It is in concrete results and consequences (or the lack thereof) for Islam and not ulterior motives, that AQ's strategic effects on the Islamic Call and Word of Allah must be calculated.

A Policy Recommendation

It is advisable that scholars and government analysts sufficiently trained in Islamic jurisprudence systematically examine the orthodox sunnite *fiqh al-jihad* and its potential for delegitimising Al-Qaeda's anti-Western mass casualty terrorism. Should knowledgeable experts conclude that such leverage exists, one could derive from this Islamist variant of the *legal* instrument highly suggestive themes for strategic communication offensives by US allies and partners in the Arab and Muslim world. Finally, leveraging the shari'a of lawful military jihad can and should facilitate a more effective, precisely targeted means for reaching those persons whose attachment to Islamic legality is a *sin qua non* for their own personal genuine quest to raise the Word of Allah supreme throughout the earth. That this may also partially facilitate the disruption, dismantlement, and eventual defeat of AQ is, in the end, a benefit for all parties - Muslim and non-Muslim alike. Both stand to gain by ridding the world of al-Qai'da.

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Notes

[1] Isam Dirbalah, member of the Islamic Group's Shura Council, in Abd al-Latif al-Manawi, "Egyptian Islamic Group Leaders React to Abu-Hamzah Al-Masri's Criticism," July 4, 2003; available in www.opensource.gov ; accessed 5 February 2013.

[2] Najih Ibrahim, Ali al-Sharif, and Hamdi Abd-al-Rahman, *Casting a Light on the Errors Made in Jihad*, in Muhammad Salah, "Egypt's Islamic Group Spells Out 'Controls' and 'Rules' Governing Jihad," 3 February 2002; available in www.opensource.gov; accessed 8 January 2013. Unless otherwise noted, an 8 January 2013 access date should be assumed throughout for all www.opensource.gov documents.

[3] Author Anonymous; 2012, 2013.

[4] See, e.g. Author Anonymous 2012, pp. vii-viii, 5-6; also, 2013, pp. xx). For select academic accounts of this binding religious prescription, see for example: E. Tyan, ""Djihad," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Edition, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1965; David Cook, *Understanding Jihad*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005; W. Gardner, "Jihad," *The Moslem World*, volume 2, 1912, pp. 347-357; Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955, Book II, The Law of War: The Jihad, pp. 51-137; Rudolph Peters, ed., *Jihad: In Classical and Modern Islam: A Reader*, 2nd edition, Princeton, NJ: Marcus Wiener, 2005; Michael Bonner, *Jihad in Islamic History: Doctrines and Practice*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006.

[5]Omar Ashour (*The Deradicalization of Jihadists: transforming Islamist movements*, New York, Routledge, 2009, p. 103) refers to "around 25 volumes to dismantle their previous position and legitimize their new stance on an Islamic basis" referencing here (2007, p. 613) which itself seems confusing since the 2007 work states that four books were published in 2002 later followed by "16 others" (adding up to 20, not 25).

[6]According to Ashour ("Lions Tamed? An Inquiry into the Causes of the De-Radicalization of Armed Islamist Movements: The Case of the Egyptian Islamic Group," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 61, No. 4, Autumn 2007, p. 596, n.1), the term 'historical leaders' was "coined by the Egyptian media and it refers to the IG leadership of the 1970s. Almost all of these leaders were sentenced in the so-called al-Jihad Trials of 1981 following the assassination of President Anwar Sadat"; they "represent the majority in the Shura Council of the IG."

[7] Usamah Ibrahim Hafiz and Asim Abd al-Magid Mohammed, *The Initiative to Cease Violence: A Realistic Vision and a View Based on the Shari'a* (Mibadarat waf al-'unf: ru'ya wagi'iyya-wa-nazra shar'iyya), Cairo: Maktabat al-Turath al-Islami, 2002.

[8] Hamdi Abd-al-Rahman 'Abd al-Azim, Najih Ibrahim, and Ali Mohammad al-Sharif, *Shedding Light on the Errors That Were Committed During the Waging of Jihad*, (Taslit al-adwa 'alama waga' fi' al-jihad min akhta'), Cairo,:Maktaba al-Turath al-Islami, 2002.

[9]Najih Ibrahim and Ali Al-Sharif, *The Ban on Extremism in Religion and on the Excommunication of Muslims* (Hurmat al-ghuluww fi al-din wa-takfir al-Muslimin), Cairo: Maktaba al-Turath al-Islami, 2002.

[10]Ali Al-Sharif and Usama Ibrahim Hafiz, *Counsel and Clarification Regarding the Rectification of the Concepts Used by Those Who Assume Responsibility for the Religion and Morals of Society* (Al-nash wa-l-tabyin fi tashih mafahim al-muhtasibin), Cairo: Maktabat al-Turath al-Islami, 2002.

[11]Karam Muhammad Zuhdi, Ali Muhammad Ali al-Sharif et al. *The River of Memories* (Nahr al-dhikrayat: al-muraja'at al-fiqhiyya li-l-Jama'at al-Islamiyya), Cairo: Maktabat al-Turath al-Islami, 2003.

[12]Isam al-Din Dirbalah, *The al-Qa'ida Organization's Strategy and Bombings: Mistakes and Rulings* (Istratijiyat wa Tafjirat al-Qa'ida: al-Akhta wa al-Akhtar), Cairo: Maktabat al-Turath al-Islami, 2003; Karam Muhammad Zuhdi, Ali Muhammad Ali al-Sharif et al., *The Riyadh Bombings: Rulings and Consequences* (Tafjirat al-Riad: al-Akham wa-l-athar), Cairo: Maktabat al-Turath al-Islam, 2003.

[13]Najih Ibrahim, *Authority: Shari'a View and Realistic Vision* (Al-Hakimah: Nzrah Shar'iyah wa Ru'yah Wagi'iyah), multiple parts serialized in *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, 2005, beginning 27 July 2005.

[14]Najih Ibrahim et al., *Guidance of People Between Means and Ends* (Hidayyat al-Khala'iq bayna al-Ghayat wa al-Wasa'il), Cairo: al-Abikan, 2005; See also, Ashour 2007, op. cit.,p. 613.

[15]Isam al-Din Dirbalah, *Islam and the Laws of War* (Al-Islam wa-tahdhib al-hurub), serialized in *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, 2006, 27 August through 4 September, 2006.

[16]See Anonymous Author (2013, p. 5) for a similar argument applied to the corrective writings of former Islamic Jihad emir and Al-Qaeda shari'a guide, Dr. Sayyid Imam Bin-Abd-al-Aziz Al-Sharif (aka: Dr. Fadl).

[17] See, for example: Najih Ibrahim quoted in "Egyptian Experts Discuss 'Jurisprudential Revisions' in Al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah," 23 November 2012; Dr. Najih Ibrahim, "Revisions from the Islamic Group Down to Al-Jihad Organization," cited in "Egypt: Statement by Leading Islamic Group Figure Says No-Violence Initiative Strong, 2 July 2007; Usamah Ibrahim Hafiz and Ali Mohammed Al-Sharif, *The Initiative to Stop Violence: a realistic vision and a view based on the shari'a* (Mubadarat waqf al-unf: ru'ya waqi'iyya-wa-nzra shar'iyya; Cairo: Maktabat al-Turath al-Islami, 2002, in Ahmad Musa, "Egypt: Islamic Group Leaders Confirm 'No Violence Initiative," 9 February 2002.

[18] *Jihad in Classical and Modern Islam*, Marcus Weiner/Princeton University Press, 2005, p. 183.

[19] Nasser Salem, " 'Global' Muslim Website Report Examines Egyptian Group's Renunciation of Violence," Markham *Muslimedia WWW-Text* in English, 30 November 2002, www.opensource.gov.

[20]"Revisions from the Islamic Group Down to Al-Jihad Organization," cited in "Egypt: Statement by Leading Islamic Group Figure Says No-Violence Initiative Strong, 2 July 2007.

[21]*Shedding Light on the Errors That Were Committed During the Waging of Jihad*, (Taslit al-adwa 'alama waga' fi' al-jihad min akhta'), Cairo, Maktaba al-Turath al-Islami, 2002.

[22]See also reference to "the noble objective for which jihad was made a duty by shari'ah, namely, to establish religion and raise the banner of the Oneness of God. Fighting is a duty whose purpose is to prevent sedition and repulse idolatry." In, Najih Ibrahim, Ali al-Sharif, and Hamdi Abd-al-Rahman, *Casting a Light on the Errors Made in Jihad,*in Muhammad Salah, "Egypt's Islamic Group Spells Out 'Controls' and 'Rules' Governing Jihad," 3 February 2002; Referencing here the classic Quranic surah 8:39.

[23]Usamah Ibrahim Hafiz and Asim Abd al-Magid Mohammed, *The Initiative to Cease Violence: A Realistic Vision and a View Based on the Shari'a* (Mibadarat waf al-'unf: ru'ya wagi'iyya-wa-nazra shar'iyya), Cairo: Maktabat al-Turath al-Islami, 2002—in Muhammad Salah, "Egypt: IG Outlines Reasons for Peace Initiative, Islamic Movements' Future," *Al-Hayah in Arabic*, 2 February 2002, p. 5, in www.opensource.gov.

[24]Egyptian Islamic Group Shura Council member Safwat Abd-al-Ghani, in [Chief editor], Makrum Muhammad Ahmad, "Egypt: Interview with Islamic Group Leaders on Recent Revision of Their Ideology," 21 June 2002.

See also: "Those who wanted to brand the Islamic Group as exclusively jihad oriented have failed to understand the message of Islam, which gives prominence to fidelity and to spreading the Word of Allah. The groups's message covers all religious duties" (Usamah Ibrahim Hafiz and Assem Abd-al-Majid Mohammed, *The Initiative to Cease Violence: A Realistic Vision and a View Based on the Shari'a* (Mibadarat waf al-'unf: ru'ya wagi'iyya-wa-nazra shar'iyya), Cairo: Maktabat al-Turath al-Islami, 2002, in Ahmad Musa, "Egypt: Islamic Group Leaders Confirm 'No Violence Initiative," in *Al-Ahram in Arabic*, 9 February 2002, in www.opensource.gov).

[25]Quoted in Abd-al-Latif al-Minawi, "Part 1 of Book Review of *The Strategy and Bombings of Al-Qa'ida* (2003): Egyptian Islamist Leaders Fault Al-Qaida's Strategy," 11 January 2004.

[26] Najih Ibrahim, quoted in Abduh Zaynah, "Egypt: Islamic Group Theoretician on Political Future, Disputes with Al-Qa'ida," in *Al Sharq al-Awsat (Internet Version-WWW)* in Arabic, 13 August 2006, in www.opensource.gov.

[27]Translated from *Arabic Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* (London), quoted in MEMRI, Special Dispatch No. 1301, September 27, 2006, available at www.memri.org/report/en/print1887.htm,; accessed 16 January 2013.

[28] Quoted in Makrum Muhammad Ahmad, , "Egypt: Interview with Islamic Group Leaders on Recent Revision of Their Ideology," 21 June 2002.

[29]Peters (2005, pp. 180-183) lists these three criteria as essential to the classical jihad doctrine, and provides an excellent, if brief, general overview of the general legal correctives proposed by the IG. The discussion that follows provides greater specificity and highlights the IG's and AQ's radically diverging positions.

[30]The following sources were consulted for the section to follow: Book 1 excerpts--Usamah Ibrahim Hafiz and Asim Abd al-Magid Mohammed, *The Initiative to Cease Violence: A Realistic Vision and a View Based on the Shari'a* (Mibadarat waf al-'unf: ru'ya wagi'iyya-wa-nazra shar'iyya), Cairo: Maktabat al-Turath al-Islami, 2002—in Muhammad Salah, "Report Views Attempt to Rebuild Egypt's Jihad Group, IG's Change of Ideas," *Al-Wasat*, 11-17 February 2002, pp. 22-23 in Arabic, 11 February 2002, in www.opensource.gov. Book 1 excerpts--Usamah Ibrahim Hafiz and Asim Abd al-Magid Mohammed, *The Initiative to Cease Violence: A Realistic Vision and a View Based on the Shari'a* (Mibadarat waf al-'unf: ru'ya wagi'iyya-wa-nazra shar'iyya), Cairo: Maktabat al-Turath al-Islami, 2002—in Muhammad Salah, "Egypt: IG Outlines Reasons for Peace Initiative, Islamic Movements' Future," *Al-Hayah in Arabic*, 2 February 2002, p. 5, in www.opensource.gov. Book 1 excerpts----Usamah Ibrahim Hafiz and Asim Abd al-Magid Mohammed, *The Initiative to Cease Violence: A Realistic Vision and a View Based on the Shari'a* (Mibadarat waf al-'unf: ru'ya wagi'iyya-wa-nazra shar'iyya), Cairo: Maktabat al-Turath al-Islami, 2002, in Ahmad Musa, "Egypt: Islamic Group Leaders Confirm 'No Violence Initiative,'" in *Al-Ahram* in Arabic, 9 February 2002, in www.opensource.gov. Book 2 excerpts--Hamdi 'abd al-Rahman 'Abd al-Azim, *Shedding Light on the Errors That Were Committed During the Waging of Jihad*, (Taslit al-adwa 'alama waga' fi' al-jihad min akhta'), Cairo, Maktaba al-Turath al-Islami, 2002, in Muhammad Salah, "Egypt's Islamic Group Spells Out 'Controls' and 'Rules' Governing Jihad," in *Al-Hayah (Internet Version-WWW)* in Arabic, 3 February 2002, p. 6, in www.opensource.gov. Publication of part 1 of AQ's 2003 book, *The Strategy and Bombings of Al-Qai'ida: Errors and Perils* (Abd-al-Latif al-Minawi, "Part 1 of Book Review: Egyptian Islamist Leaders Fault Al-Qaida's Strategy," in *Al-Sharq al-Awsat* in Arabic, 11 January 2004, in www.opensource.gov.); several installments of 8th book, Najih Ibrahim, *Authority: Shari'a View and Realistic Vision* (Al-Hakimah: Nzrah Shar'iyah wa Ru'yah Wagi'iyah), serialized in *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, 2005: 1st installment: "Egyptian Islamic Group Defends Muslim Governments Against Infidel Charges," *Al-Sharq al-Awsat* in Arabic, 27 July 2005, in www.opensource.gov. 2nd installment: 28 July 2005, "Egyptian Islamic Group Book Al-Hakimiyah: Judging Rulers to Be Infidels (Part 2)," in www.opensource.gov. 5th installment: 31 July 2005, "Serialization of Latest Book by Egyptian Islamic Movement—Part 5," in www.opensource.gov; accessed 8 January 2013; MEMRI extensive excerpts from translating from Arabic 2006 book, *Islam and the Laws of War* (Al-Islam wa-tahdhib al-hurub) appearing in *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* authored by Issam Al-Din Dirbalah, deals with themes of fatwas permitting killing of civilians, takfir, suicide bombings, and categorical rejection of West and its Muslim allies; *MEMRI, Special Dispatch* No. 1301, "Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiya vs. Al-Qaeda," 27 September 2006. excerpts from interviews and 2003 book by Isam al-Din Dirbalah, *The al-Qa'ida Organization's Strategy and Bombings: Mistakes and Rulings* (Istratijiyat wa Tafjirat at-Qa'ida: al-Akhta wa al-Akhtar).Y. Carmon, Y. Felder, and D. Lav, "The Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiyya Cessation of Violence: An Ideological Reversa," 22 December 2006; interviews with the historic leadership: Interview with Hamdi Abd al-Rahman. Abduh Zinah, "Egypt: Islamic Group Leader on His Background, Group's 'Revisions,' Other Issues," *Al-Sharq al-Awsat*, 24 March 2002. Makram Muhammad, "Egypt: Interview With Islamic Group Leaders on Recent Revision of Their Ideology," *Al-Musawwar* in Arabic 21 June 2002. Makram Muhamad Ahmad, "Correction: Islamic Group Leaders Tour Prisons with Non-Violence Message, Wholesale Release—adding editorial notation," in Arabic in *al-Musawwaar*, 28 June 2002, pp. 4-20, in www.opensource.gov. Q & A, between Muhammad Salah and imprisoned Najih Ibrahim; questions sent with a relative who visited him during the weekly visit, and answers sent back: Muhammad Salah, "Egypt's IG Ideologue Says al-Qa'ida's Operations Bring Ruin, Weaken Muslims," *Al-Hayah*, 28 May 2003, p.6, in www.opensource.gov. Statement issued by historic leaders criticizing Abu-Hamza Al-Masri a copy of which was published by the following press: Abd-al-Latif al-Manawi, "Egyptian Islamic Group Leaders React to Abu-Hamza Al-Masri's Criticism," *Al-Sharq al-Awsat* in Arabic, 4 July 2003, p. 7, in www.opensource.gov. Report of an interview conducted with Najih Ibrahim in relation to then-recent Riyadh bombings 8 November 2003 that killed several Muslims in the Saudi capital, *FBIS Report* in Arabic, 22 November 2003, in www.opensource.gov. Interview with Najih Ibrahim contrasting Islamic Group with AQ: Abduh Zaynah, "Egypt: Islamic Group Theoretician on Political Future, Disputes with al-Qa'ida," *Al-Sharq al-Awsat* in Arabic, 13 August 2006. 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Interview with Najih Ibrahim: Ni'mat Majdi, "Egyptian Islamic Group Member Regrets Al-Sadat Assassination, Criticizes Mubarak," in *Al-Ra'y Online* in Arabic, 25 October 2011; Suhayb Sharayir of Dubai *Al-Arabiyah Television*, " Egyptian Experts Discuss 'Jurisprudential Revisions' in Al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyah," 23 November 2012, in www.opensource.gov.; Najih Ibrahim, Untitled, in *Al-Misri Al-Yawm*, "Egypt: Statement by Leading Islamic Group Figure Says No-Violence Initiative Strong," 02 July 2007; Najih Ibrahim, "Egypt: Former Islamic Group Leader Condemns Attack on Army Unit in Sinai," in *Al-Misri al-Yawm* in Arabic, 9 August 2012, p. 12, in www.opensource.gov.

[31] Following Western ethical theory, the first is in essence a sacralized *deontological* (duty-based) ethics rooted in the dignity of the human individual and also the essentially chivalrous roots of classical codes of military ethics that grant immunity to non-combatants; the second, a *consequentialist* ground based on the principle of maximizing social utility.

[32] Several distinct shari'a violations were committed through AQ's intentional use of civil aviation to conduct the 9/11 attack. See, *Islam and the Laws of War* [*Al-Islam wa-tahdhib al-hurub*]), in MEMRI #1301, " Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiyya vs. Al-Qaeda," 27 September 2006, p.3.

[33] The IG's account of the contrast between the IG and AQ *vis-a-vis* the permissibility of targeting Muslims who are deemed 'shields' and being used by the enemy to gain military advantage is evidenced in a "Summary" posted by the IG of a nine-day long web-based dialogue/discussion between the IG's Shaykh Usamah Ibrahim Hafiz and AQ's Walid Abd-al-Hamid al-Sharqawi al-Midhar al-Idrisi al-Alawi, who was assisted by Shaykh Ahmad Abd-al-Salam. (See, Jihadist Websites, "Discussion with Al-Qa'ida, Islamic Group Representatives Concludes, No Consensus,"29 August 2006, in www.opensource.gov.)

[34] Muhammad Salah, "Egypt: IG Outlines Reasons for Peace Initiative, Islamic Movements' Future," in *Al-Hayah* in Arabic , 2 February 2002, p. 5.

[35] Ibid. See also: Peters, *Jihad in Classical and Modern Islam*, p. 181; Muhammad Salah, "Report Views Attempt to Rebuild Egypt's Jihad Group, IG's Change of Ideas," *Al-Wasat* in Arabic, 11 February 2002, in www.opensource.gov. Muhammad Salah, "Egypt's Islamic Group Spells Out 'Controls' and 'Rules' Governing Jihad," in *Al-Hayah* (*Intenet Version-WWW*) in Arabic, 3 February 2002. Dr. Najih Ibrahim lists this as the very first principle of the Corrections when he states in his 2007 conference paper honouring the 10th anniversary of the 5 July 1997 unilateral, unconditional ceasefire: "First, we directed attention [in the Corrections] to the importance of looking into the interests, corruption, and what is known as the jurisprudence of results so that the youth do not become involved in a violent clash that would hurt it gravely as well as its religion and nation. Also, a young man should try to read his reality locally, regionally, and internationally so that his acts and behavior do not weaken his country and help its enemies to defeat it." In, *Al-Misri Al-Yawm* in Arabic, "Egypt: Statement by Leading Islamic Group Figure Says No-Violence Initiative Strong," 2 July 2007.

[36] The IG's allegation that Bin Laden's motivation was primarily one of personal vengeance is captured in the following exchange. Karam Zuhdi, after clarifying that Rifa'i Taha left the IG one week before the 1998 East African embassy bombings, states: "One week after his withdrawal, the two American embassies in Nairobi and Dar al-Salaam were bombed as if this was a trap for all groups to share the blame for the blows that Usama Bin Ladin wants to deal to the Americans." Chief editor Makram Muhammad then asks, "Do you see any good in what Usama bin Ladin has done?," to which Zuhdi replies, "I say there is a difference between emotions and Islamic and logical calculations." - See: Makram Muhammad, "Egypt: Interview With Islamic Group Leaders on Recent Revision of Their Ideology." *Al-Musawwar* in Arabic 21 June 2002.

[37]Cited in, Makram Muhamad Ahmad "Correction: Islamic Group Leaders Tour Prisons with Non-Violence Message, Wholesale Release— adding editorial notation," in Arabic in *al-Musawwaar*, 28 June 2002.

[38] For the Corrected conception and practice regarding takfir and also kufr al-nizam (unbelief of the regime), see summary in Peters, *Jihad in Classical and Modern Islam*, p. 181. Al-Sayyid's brief outline (Mustapha Kamel Al-Sayyid, "The Other Face of the Islamist Movement," p. 17) for summary of the IG's 2002 *Ban on Narrow Positions on Religion and on the Excommunication of Muslims* (*Hormat ab Gholw fi al-Din wa Takfir al-Muslimin*); and also, Y. Carmon, Y. Felder, and D. Lav, "The Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiyya Cessation of Violence: An Ideological Reversal," 22 December 2006, p. 10. The concept al-Hakimiyya and its importance in both initiating and then ceasing violent rebellion is extensively discussed in actual IG texts, interviews, and conference paper: Najih Ibrahim, *Authority: Shari'a View and Realistic Vision* (*Al-Hakimah: Nzrah Shar'iyah wa Ru'yah Wagi'iyah*), serialized in *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat*, and partially available in English translation via opensource.gov for 27 July 2005, 28 July 2005, 31 July 2005, 16 August 2005; see also excerpt in MEMRI, #1301, "Al-Gama'a Al-Islamiyya vs. Al-Qaeda," 27 September 2006, p. 3.

[39]Najih Ibrahim, "Egypt: Former Islamic Group Leader Condemns Attack on Army Unit in Sinai," *Al-Misri al-Yawm* in Arabic, 9 August 2012.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Source: Abd-al-Latif al-Minawi, "Part 1 of Book Review: Egyptian Islamist Leaders Fault Al-Qa'ida's Strategy," in *Al-Sharq al-Awsat (Internet Version-WWW)* in Arabic 11 January 2004.

[42] Najih Ibrahim, title not given, in *Al-Misri Al-Yawm*, "Egypt: Statement by Leading Islamic Group Figure Says No-Violence Initiative Strong," 2 July 2007.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Later in same interview Zuhdi similarly refers to the dangers if one is to "apply certain texts to the wrong reality." See, Makrum Muhammad Ahmad, "Egypt: Interview with Islamic Group Leaders on Recent Revision of Their Ideology," 21 June 2002.

[46] Usamah Ibrahim Hafiz and Asim Abd al-Magid Mohammed, *The Initiative to Cease Violence: A Realistic Vision and a View Based on the Shari'a* (Mibadarat waf al-'unf: ru'ya wagi'iyya-wa-nazra shar'iyya), Cairo: Maktabat al-Turath al-Islami, 2002; in Muhammad Salah, "Egypt: IG Outlines Reasons for Peace Initiative, Islamic Movements' Future," *Al-Hayah in Arabic*,2 February 2002, p. 5. Usamah Ibrahim Hafiz and Asim Abd al-Magid Mohammed, *The Initiative to Cease Violence: A Realistic Vision and a View Based on the Shari'a* (Mibadarat waf al-'unf: ru'ya wagi'iyya-wa-nazra shar'iyya), Cairo: Maktabat al-Turath al-Islami, 2002, in Ahmad Musa, "Egypt: Islamic Group Leaders Confirm 'No Violence Initiative,'" in *Al-Ahram* in Arabic, 9 February 2002. See also: "The difference between Al-Qa'ida's vision and that of the Al-Jamah Al-Islamiyah surfaces on several levels: the level of understanding the provisions of the Shari'ah and their application to reality; the level of understanding reality and its challenges; and the level of arranging the priorities." (In, Abd-al-Latif al-Minawi, "Part 1 of Book Review: Egyptian Islamist Leaders Fault Al-Qa'ida's Strategy," in *Al-Sharq al-Awsat (Internet Version-WWW)* in Arabic 11 January 2004).

[47] Najih Ibrahim states in relation to these fatwa: "[W]e re-read some fatwas that were wrongly implanted in the past which led to great evils, such as the fatwa concerning the Tatars. We came up with a very important conclusion, notably that the contemporary armies of Islamic states are drastically different from the Tatar armies. Consequently, the comparison is flawed." Najih Ibrahim "Egypt: Statement by Leading

Islamic Group Figure Says No-Violence Initiative Strong," 2 July 2007. Regarding the principle of Allah's Absolute Sovereignty, Ibrahim states further in the same conference paper, "[W]e presented a view [on al-Hakimiyya] which was the product of much thought that we gave over the issue of governance over the past years and the presumed relationship between rulers and ruled in light of the teachings and principles of Islam. We said that one could not call a person a kafir because he did not rule by God's principles. However, a person becomes kafir if he adds ingratitude to negligence, or preferred the rule of men to that of God. We also mentioned the importance of what could be called the trial of men, and proved that the rule of men did not have to clash with that of God the Almighty if it were in the right context defined for it by Islam. Both rules complemented each other. . .." (p. 5).

[48] Abd-al-Latif al-Manawi, "Egyptian Islamic Group Leaders React to Abu-Hamza Al-Masri's Criticism," in *Al-Sharq al-Awsat* in Arabic; 4 July 2003.

[49] Makram Muhamad Ahmad (Editor in Chief), "Correction: Islamic Group Leaders Tour Prisons with Non-Violence Message, Wholesale Release—adding editorial notation," in Arabic in: *al-Musawwaar*, 28 June 2002.

[50] In, Abd-al-Latif al-Minawi, "Part 1 of Book Review: Egyptian Islamist Leaders Fault Al-Qa'ida's Strategy," in *Al-Sharq al-Awsat (Internet Version-WWW)*; in Arabic 11 January 2004.

[51] See, e.g. Harry R. Yarger, *Strategic Theory for the 21st Century: The Little Book on Big Strategy*, Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, February 2006, esp. pp. 70-71.

[52] See, Abd-al-Latif al-Minawi, "Part 1 of Book Review: Egyptian Islamist Leaders Fault Al-Qa'ida's Strategy," in *Al-Sharq al-Awsat (Internet Version-WWW)* in Arabic 11 January 2004.

[53] See, Makram Muhamad Ahmad (Editor-in-Chief), "Correction: Islamic Group Leaders Tour Prisons with Non-Violence Message, Wholesale Release—adding editorial notation," in Arabic; in: *al-Musawwaar*, 28 June 2002. Najih Ibrahim, in another interview would also summarize these consequences: "The [AQ] operations have achieved only ruin, destruction, and occupation for Islam and Muslims. They have weakened the Islamic countries politically and economically. Afghanistan is just one of the negative repercussions of the 11 September attacks. For example, the [2003] bombings in Riyadh caused more damage to Saudi Arabia and Muslim countries in various fields than they did to the United States and the West" (See, Muhammad Salah, "Egypt's IG Ideologue Says al-Qa'ida's Operations Bring Ruin, Weaken Muslims," in *Al-Hayah* in Arabic 28 May 2003, in www.opensource.gov.

[54] See, Muhammad Nasr Karum, "Egyptian Islamists on Impact of Bin Ladin's Killing," in *Al-Quds al-Arabi Online* in Arabic 4 May 2011 (orig. Arabic title englished: "Najih Ibrahim: Al-Qa'ida Will Not Be Able to Avenge Bin Laden Because of its Feebleness and Because its Leaders are in Hiding."), in www.opensource.gov.

[55] See, R. Peters, *Jihad in Classical and Modern Islam*, pp. 182-183.

II. Research Notes

Hamas in Dire Straits

by Ely Karmon

Abstract

This Research Note analyses Hamas's standing after it deserted the "Axis of Resistance" and Damascus, positioning itself in the Sunni coalition against the Assad regime in Syria. The unfulfilled promises of the short Muslim Brotherhood reign in Egypt and the enmity of the new military regime in Cairo have seriously hurt Hamas's political, economic and military interests in the Gaza Strip and isolated it regionally. Hamas leaders lately began negotiations to mend fences with Iran, its former sponsor and its Lebanese ally, Hezbollah. The situation endangers Hamas's internal cohesion, can push it to a violent outburst against Israel or in support of the embattled Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. However, it also possibly offers a window of opportunity to exploit its weakness, Egypt's good will and Tehran's present restraint in order to advance the laborious Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations.

Background

In mid-July 2013, it was reported that a high-level Hamas delegation headed by Musa Abu-Marzuq, Deputy Chairman of the Hamas Political Bureau, met with a high-level Iranian delegation and Hezbollah officials in Beirut. The meeting's goal was to mend fences between the three parties since Hamas abandoned the "axis of resistance" and positioned itself in the Sunni coalition against the Assad regime in Syria. *Asharq al-Awsat* quoted Hamas official, Ahmed Yusuf, as saying that Tehran still viewed Hamas as a "strategic partner" and that he anticipated ties with Iran would be restored soon.[1]

In a 2008 monograph I defined the Iran-Syria-Hezbollah-Hamas "axis of resistance" a "coalition against nature."[2] It was strange that the Palestinian Hamas, a branch of the Egyptian Sunni Muslim Brotherhood (MB), decided to ally with Iran's Shia theocratic regime, the radical Shia Hezbollah, and Syria's Ba'athist secular regime, which killed some 20.000 Syrian MB members in 1982.

Hamas joined the Iran-Syria-Hezbollah alliance quite late, in 1992, when Israeli PM Itzhak Rabin expelled 415 of its leaders and terrorists to South Lebanon after a series of attacks in Israel. The direct contacts between Hamas, Iranian and Hezbollah leadership led to a strategic coalition which involved political and financial support and terrorist and military training.

The 1993 Oslo accords between Israel and the PLO presented the leadership of Hamas with its most difficult strategic challenge: the choice between faithfulness to ideology, and the need

to take pragmatic measures aimed at preventing loss of its hold on Palestinian society. The dilemma was further aggravated by the establishment of the autonomous Palestinian Authority (PA), dominated by the rival secular Fatah movement. Hamas's response to the Oslo process has been to attempt the establishment of a broad rejectionist front together with other Palestinian groups and the intensification of terrorist acts or - in Hamas terminology - jihad against Israel. The coalition with Iran and Hezbollah allowed Hamas to sabotage the nascent peace process through a campaign of suicide bombings, beginning just months after the signing of the Oslo agreements.

The close relations between Hamas and Iran and Hezbollah backfired. At one point during the peak of the Second Intifada, Hamas was even accused of being a Shia movement. The Gaza Salafist group Jaysh Al-Umma condemned Hamas for accepting support from "the Persians, who are Shia."[3] The "axis of resistance", or "the axis of destabilization," as I called it, survived until the beginning of the uprising in Syria. By December 2011, with the civil war in Syria expanding, Hamas had to balance the movement's interests, its ideological identity and worsening external pressures. Hamas's leadership and military operatives left Damascus and relocated to the Gaza Strip, Egypt, Qatar and Sudan.

Great Expectations from the Events in Egypt

The fall of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's regime in February 2011 presented Hamas with the opportunity to return to the natural embrace of the Muslim Brotherhood, the nascent power in post-revolutionary Egypt. Hamas used its relationship with the Brotherhood to successfully challenge both the Fatah-controlled Palestinian Authority and Israel. At the same time it found a place in the new Sunni coalition of Qatar, Turkey and Saudi Arabia against the Assad regime and its Iranian benefactor.

The estrangement from Iran and Syria came with a price. Military aid from Iran, which for years had funneled heavy weapons through Sudan and Sinai, came to a full halt. Ghazi Hamad, the Hamas deputy foreign minister, stated in late May 2013 that relations with Iran were "bad" and that, "for supporting the Syrian revolution, [Hamas] lost very much" in the field of military cooperation.[4]

Some relief on the economic front came from Qatar. During the Emir of Qatar, Hamad bin Thani's visit to Gaza in October 2012, Hamas Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh proclaimed that "the political and economic blockade on the Gaza Strip has ended," after the emir decided to increase its funding of various projects in the Gaza Strip from $245 million to $400m.[5]

Politically, it seemed that the Egyptian MB regime strongly supported Hamas and its stance in the conflict. Although President Mohamed Morsi did not end the peace accords with Israel, he refused to deal directly with Israelis and left the task to the military and intelligence

authorities. Addressing the United Nations General Assembly on September 27, 2012, Morsi did not mention Israel by name once.

Khairat al-Shater, the MB's financier and one of its top leaders made significant financial donations to the Gaza government. Hamas was allowed to open offices in Cairo and several of its leaders established residency in Cairo.

During the IDF Operation "Pillar of Defense" in Gaza in November 2012, Morsi sent Prime Minister Hesham Kandil to publically embrace Hamas officials. "The cause of Palestinians is the cause of all Arabs and Muslims", Kandil stated during the visit. "Palestinians are heroes."[6] President Morsi helped broker the cease-fire ending Operation Pillar of Defense, which seemed to leave Hamas with greater access to the outside world and allowed Hamas leader Khaled Mashaal to declare victory over Israel at a press conference in Cairo. "Everyone knew that the previous regime was biased and supporting Israel," asserted Muslim Brotherhood party spokesman Murad Ali. "The new regime … is standing beside the Palestinians."[7]

It was a pleasant surprise for Hamas when the Muslim Brotherhood's Supreme Guide, Sheikh Mohammed Badie, called for "Jihad to liberate Jerusalem from the Israeli occupation" during his weekly address to members of the movement. With this call the Supreme Guide "designs the Egyptian policy for the next period and resets the compass so that it points in the direction of the real enemy of the nation and the religion," thus the evaluation of Abdel Bari Atwan, Editor in Chief of the London *Alquds Alarabi,* and staunch supporter of Hamas.[8]

The Muslim Brothers Don't Deliver the Goods

Relations between Hamas and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood began to turn for the worse in March 2012, when Hamas PM Ismail Haniyeh put the blame for the power crisis in Gaza on Egypt, which is in control of the flow of fuel into the Strip. "Is it reasonable that Gaza remains without electricity a year after the revolution in Egypt?" asked Haniyeh, accusing Cairo of trying to force Gazans to accept the energy supplies via Israel.[9]

Paradoxically, the November 2012 confrontation between Israel and Hamas during the Operation Pillar of Defense had its roots in Egypt.After sixteen Egyptian soldiers were killed in Sinai by jihadist militants crossing from Gaza on August 5, 2012, Egypt closed down much of the tunnels described as "an artery of [economic] life for the Gaza Strip" on which much of Hamas's political capital depends. "Without a normal trade route, Gaza will never accept the closure of the tunnels," warned Yusuf Rizqah, an adviser to PM Ismail Haniyeh.[10] By the end of September 2012 there were large protests in Gaza in response to the rising prices of construction materials and fuel, directed at Egypt just as much as at Israel.

At the same time Gaza-based salafi-jihadi groups increasingly challenged Hamas's authority. They stepped up their attacks against Israel during the last two weeks of October by firing rockets against the civilian population and by staging increasingly bold ground operations against the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). Hamas's double-game - attempting to satisfy its Egyptian patrons by rhetorically cracking down on Gaza's salafi-jihadis, but at the same time permitting them to attack Israel - backfired.

Apart from symbolic support, Morsi was careful not to provide Hamas with any material aid or to threaten Israel with active Egyptian involvement in the conflict. President Morsi, working in cooperation with the United States, brokered the ceasefire that prevented an Israeli ground invasion.[11]

Hamas against Syria and Hezbollah

The Iranian leadership and media expressed their irritation and worry over Hamas's abandonment of the "axis of resistance." Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei publicly warned Hamas to purge from the movement all those willing to compromise on the issue of resistance, hinting at the head of Hamas political bureau Khaled Mashaal's rapprochement with Fatah. Khamenei warned that those Hamas leaders who would emulate Arafat, who had abandoned the path of resistance, might also share Arafat's fate.[12]

The Syrian government and Hezbollah claimed that Hamas had trained Syrian rebels in the manufacture and use of homemade rockets and even in battlefield skills learned from Hezbollah fighters. Some Hezbollah supporters complained of Hamas's provocative declarations, such as in June 2013 when Musa Abu-Marzuq, Deputy Chairman of the Hamas Political Bureau, called on Hezbollah to direct its firepower at Israel and demanded it withdraw from Syria.[13] As a consequence, it was reported that Hezbollah had ordered Hamas's representative in Beirut, Ali Baraka, to leave the country. Baraka denied the report and claimed that there was no change in the relationship between the two organizations.

According to Israeli analyst Ehud Yaari, Hamas commanders in charge of military cooperation between the two organizations were ordered to leave Beirut and weapons supplies, training, and all intelligence exchanges were suspended. Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah rejected all Hamas requests to meet with him.[14] Ahmad Youssef, former Foreign Ministry undersecretary in the Gaza government, reacted to these decisions by stressing that Hamas still needs Iran and Hezbollah. "However, the movement's position is that this behaviour had damaged the relations which we wanted to be close and strong with the party," he stated.[15]

Internal Divisions inside Hamas

The split from the "axis of resistance" did not occur without internal opposition inside the Hamas leadership. According to a report in *al-Quds al-Arabi* senior members of the Hamas military wing wrote to Khaled Mashaal that "Palestine will be liberated with arms and not with money," and called for a rehabilitation of ties with Hezbollah and Iran, criticizing Hamas's ties to Qatar and its $400-million gift to Gaza.[16] The "Change and Reform" bloc in Gaza led by Ismail Haniyeh and Mahmoud Zahar challenged the February 2012 reconciliation agreement reached in Qatar by Mashaal and PA President Mahmoud Abbas.

Haniyeh went on a tour in February 2012 of both the Gulf states and Iran, in spite of the dispute over Hamas's opposition to the Assad regime. In his speech in Tehran, Haniyeh proclaimed that Hamas "will never recognize Israel…. The fight will continue for the liberation of the entire land of Palestine and Jerusalem and the return of all Palestinian refugees."[17]

In June 2013 the Hamas Palestinian Security Forces in Gaza prevented Mahmoud Zahar from traveling to Lebanon to congratulate Iran's new president-elect Hasan Rouhani.[18] Al-Zahar has always called for maintaining relations with Iran, even if at a minimal level. According to Palestinian sources, Hamas did not accept the invitation by the General Union of Muslim Scholars to attend an international conference in mid-June 2013 in Cairo. The conference was organized to support the Syrian revolution and Hamas declined to attend because it wanted to mend its relationship with Iran.[19]

Although Hamas leaders understood the importance of the ceasefire brokered by Egypt's president that prevented an Israeli ground invasion during Operation Pillar of Defense, Haniyeh and Mashaal praised Iran's role in helping to provide weapons, which permitted their "victory" over Israel while at the same time sending veiled threats to Cairo that they will need to rearm in order to challenge Israel.

Musa Abu-Marzuq stated that the organization would continue to seek weapons even as an Israeli delegation arrived in Cairo to begin talks over the second stage of the cease-fire agreement. He also said Hamas would not rule out renewed rocket attacks if Israel decided to attack Iran.[20] Iran's then President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad called Haniyeh to congratulate him on the "resistance's victory following the Israeli aggression" and asked him to send his condolences to the families of those killed during Operation Pillar of Defense. Haniyeh thanked him and told him that the "victory" belongs to Muslims worldwide.[21]

After the August 2013 car bomb attacks on the southern Shia suburbs of Beirut, media reports claimed that Hezbollah accused members of Hamas of involvement, including in the rocket attacks that targeted the Dahya several months ago. Notwithstanding these serious accusations, a source close to Hezbollah confirmed that communication between Hezbollah

and Hamas continues to be "good," despite the persistence "of some disagreements on certain political issues, particularly the Syrian crisis."[22]

The Impact of the Military Takeover in Egypt

During President Morsi's regime, the Egyptian army began to take action against Hamas in the wake of the August 2012 killing of sixteen Egyptian soldiers by jihadist militants from Gaza. Hamas was increasingly perceived by the military and intelligence establishment as an ally of the jihadist groups in Sinai and partly responsible for the instability in the Peninsula Sinai. The Sinai has recently seen a major intrusion by salafist and jihadist elements, many of them Egyptians escaped from prison after the fall of the Mubarak regime.

The events in Egypt after the June 30, 2013 popular demonstrations against the Muslim Brotherhood government, which led to the military take-over on July 3, left Hamas "in a state of shock," as one journalist put it.[23] The campaign against Hamas by the new military-backed government, the state media and much of the public opinion, intensified parallel with the growing violence provoked by the Muslim Brotherhood demonstrations across Egypt.

By mid-July 2013, prosecutors began questioning Egypt's ousted president Mohammed Morsi and dozens of members of the MB over their escape from Wadi Natrun prison during the 2011 uprising. A court claimed that the Hamas rulers of Gaza and Lebanon's Hezbollah had aided in the prisoners' escape.[24]

Egyptian state television accused Hamas of training "several people to undertake car-bombing operations and trained various others to make explosives. The military wing of the Hamas movement provided various Salafi jihadists and also other religious currents with 400 landmines. The security apparatus documented this and they will be arrested." The largest Egyptian state newspaper, al-Ahram, cited high-ranking security sources as saying Hamas was also involved in the failed assassination attempt against the interior minister on September 5, 2013. Gaza preachers, in fiery sermons, have accused Egypt's army chief General Abdel Fattah al-Sisi of waging war on Islam. At Gaza street rallies, Hamas fighters have flashed a four-finger salute - a show of support for Morsi, reported the paper.[25]

Over the past three months the Egyptian army has destroyed most of the smuggling tunnels underneath the border area between the Gaza Strip and Egypt's Sinai. The destruction of the tunnels caused both direct and indirect losses to Hamas.

Ala al-Rafati, the Hamas-appointed minister of the economy, said up to 90 percent of the tunnels had been destroyed and those still open were not operating at full capacity. He put the losses to the Gaza economy since June at $460 million. The closure of the tunnels has caused prices to spike and production to drop at factories dependent on raw materials from Egypt. Neither Saudi Arabia nor Qatar provides Hamas with cash assistance, although private donors

in the Gulf are still helping. Much of the financial aid came from Iran in suitcases via the tunnels. That lifeline has been now obstructed.[26]

Practically, the Egyptian army has set up a buffer zone between its territory and the Gaza Strip by clearing buildings deemed a security threat at a distance of up to one km from the border. A senior Egyptian security official has threatened that if the security situation in the northern Sinai continues to deteriorate, the Egyptian army has planned air attacks in Gaza on specific targets of hostile extremist groups. According to Egyptian assessments some of the attacks in northern Sinai, especially in El Arish and Rafah, were carried out by armed Palestinians based in Gaza.[27]

The military, economic and media pressure by Egypt has also impacted Hamas's political standing in Gaza. In August 2013 a new organization, the Tamarod ("Rebel") Movement in Gaza, inspired by the success of the popular Egyptian Tamarod Movement (which led the popular protests against Mohammed Morsi in the run up to his removal by the military) began preparations for mass demonstrations against Hamas on November 11, 2013, the date of Yasser Arafat's death. Four youth Tamarod members issued a video statement urging Gazans to take to the streets "bare-chested" without carrying weapons.[28] In a September video, the Tamarod movement published its first public announcement by the movement spokesman, Eyad Abu Ruk. The movement stressed that it was an independent body with no political affiliation, and it vowed to topple Hamas rule in the Gaza Strip.[29] In the last two months, Hamas security agencies arrested dozens of Fatah activists and journalists and charged them with belonging to the "Tamarod". Most of the arrested denied any affiliation with the movement.[30]

Hamas authorities have felt the need to close foreign bureaus of two independent news outlets, Ma'an News and Al Arabiya, for alleged bias against Hamas.[31]

Emboldened by the crisis between Egypt and Hamas, and support from the Egyptian authorities and in view of Hamas's internal troubles, PA President Mahmoud Abbas has called for elections in the West Bank and Gaza. The PA ambassador in Cairo, Barakat Al-Farra, claimed that the Rafah crossing will be kept closed until the "legitimate" Palestinian Authority is back in control in Gaza and Mahmoud Abbas's guard can be posted on the border. "Hamas is requested to reconsider its account with Egypt and the will of the people after the movement has lost its Syrian ally," added Al-Farra.[32] According to Palestinian political analyst Atef Abu Seif, both parties are "caught in Egypt's predicament": Hamas awaits the return of the Muslim Brotherhood to power, while the Palestinian Authority leader believes that the victory of the Egyptian army will bring him political gains and put an end to Hamas rule.[33]

Regional Isolation

Pushed in a corner by an angry Egyptian military and public opinion and a watchful Israel, Hamas is in a position of regional isolation. The prominent Palestinian historian Yezid Sayigh has emphasized that "Egypt's Morsi never lived up to Hamas's hopes for breaking the siege of Gaza," which is now even tighter since his ouster, and the break with Syria is "proving more costly since the damage to Hamas's financial and military ties with Iran is no longer balanced by gains in access and material support from Arab countries."[34]

Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates are supporting the Egyptian military campaign against the Muslim Brotherhood and are clearly not inclined to help its Palestinian branch in Gaza.

Jordan. In 2012, with the rise of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and a desire to appease the Jordanian MB protests demanding governmental reform, relations between Jordan and Hamas improved and Khaled Mashaal was permitted to visit Amman to speak with the King. However, in September 2013 King Abdullah denied Hamas's request to re-open its offices in Amman. [35]

Qatar. Qatar played host to Hamas both after its expulsion from Jordan in 1999, before the movement moved its headquarters to Damascus, and after the outbreak of the Syrian revolution. Qatar financially supported Hamas with donations, grants and field projects (not cash) to compensate for the cessation of Iranian support. Qatar was considered Hamas's "godmother" in regional and international forums, but as host to the most important U.S. military bases in the region, Qatar could not support Hamas's needs for "military resistance."[36]

In June 24, 2013, Emir Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani of Qatar abdicated his post to his son Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani. The new ruler, who seems more likely to emphasize domestic issues, will probably be more careful in formulating Qatar's regional policies, especially after the PM and FM Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim, responsible for Qatar's aggressive foreign policy, lost his positions in the first cabinet reshuffle.[37] "Qatar is likely to move more slowly on regional issues, and less likely to grab headlines by making bold moves," evaluates Shadi Hamid, director of research for the Brookings Doha Center.[38]

In August 2013, 24 U.S. House lawmakers petitioned the Qatari ambassador to explain his government's "expanding diplomatic and economic ties" with Hamas. "In the interest of maintaining strong U.S.-Qatari relations," they urged Qatar "to promptly address these serious allegations" and warned the new Emir "to take this letter very seriously," as continuing to support Hamas "could quickly sour the general goodwill that exists in Congress towards the bilateral relationship."[39] These changes probably engendered the reports that Hamas's relations with Qatar have been brought to a low level. Khaled Mashaal has complained of a

"siege" around him in Doha preventing him from talking freely to the press.[40] Izzat Al-Reshq, a member of Hamas's politburo, denied these reports and claimed that "Qatar provides Hamas with all facilities it asks for." Some sources speculated that Mashaal planned leaving the city in favor of Khartoum, Beirut or Tehran. Some claim that the Hamas search for new host countries is based on its desire to remain geographically close to the Palestinian territories. [41]

According to an unidentified Hamas official, the organization's resumption of relations with Iran will not be conditioned upon the group's leadership leaving Qatar. Iran has not demanded this, but on the other hand, Hamas does not enjoy a "surplus" of political capital "that affords it the luxury of absolute certainty, so it must keep its options open regarding bases for its leadership."[42]

Turkey. Turkey remains Hamas's staunchest supporter. Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has always been an enthusiastic proponent of the Palestinian Islamist organisation, advocating for an end to the naval blockade on the Gaza Strip. Unfortunately for PM Erdoğan, the new Egyptian rulers have banned his long-planned visit to Gaza. Moreover, the military coup in Egypt is seen in Ankara as a direct threat to the Justice and Development Party's and Erdoğan's rule, as an example which could be imitated by the Turkish military.

Khaled Mashaal and PM Erdoğan met in Ankara on October 8, 2013 at a time when rumors suggested that Mashaal was searching for another base for Hamas leadership. The meeting lasted for three hours, was closed to the press and no statement was made afterward. [43] Mashaal and Erdoğan were expected to discuss the current situation in Gaza, the Syrian conflict and the issue of national reconciliation between Hamas and Fatah. Mashaal said the issue of Palestinian reconciliation was discussed but not in detail because "circumstances were not ripe" for reconciliation efforts.[44] It is considered unrealistic that Turkey can achieve what Egypt (during the Morsi era) and Qatar have thus far failed to do.

Quo Vadis Hamas?

Hamas's strategy currently depends on the shifting political developments in Egypt, on the one hand, and Iran, on the other hand.

Egypt and the Palestinian Authority

If the military regime in Egypt, supported by a large portion of the Egyptian people, succeeds in crushing the Muslim Brotherhood and minimizing its influence in the domestic arena, then Egypt will likely ramp up pressure on Hamas in order to deter it from providing material or military support to the MB and jihadists in the Sinai.

If the Egyptian MB will decide to increase the level of violence against the regime or a split will occur in the ranks of the MB and major radical terrorist factions will emerge, as happened in the 1970s and 1980s, Hamas could be tempted to provide assistance in challenging the military, despite all the risks this involves for the security and economic situation in the Gaza Strip.

Hamas is challenged also in the Palestinian arena by the strengthening of Mahmoud Abbas' standing and the possible advance in the PA's peace negotiations with Israel. This could lead it to sabotage the peace process by major terrorist attacks, either in the West Bank or Israel itself, a quite difficult venture as long as there is good security cooperation between the PA and Israel; or by a campaign of missile and rocket fire from the Gaza strip. One advantage of such a scenario could be to induce the Egyptian people to press the regime to support Hamas in case of a major Israeli retaliation.

Speaking on October 9 in Ankara on the issue of Jerusalem, Khaled Mashaal called for an "urgent national meeting" with the Palestinian Authority and Fatah to agree on a unified Palestinian strategy to confront Israeli "schemes" of Judaisation in Jerusalem and the supposed demolition of the al-Aqsa Mosque. He said that building an Arab, Islamic and Palestinian military capability is the only way to restore Jerusalem and the holy sites, and the first step in this unified strategy should be an all-out popular uprising that would daily drain Israel.[45]

Hamas keeps open the option of renewed fighting against Israel also by strengthening its alliance with the Gaza Salafist groups. However, following the ouster of President Morsi, Hamas continued its crackdown against Salafist groups in Gaza, pledging to eradicate them from the Strip "by the roots." Nevertheless, according to leading Palestinian Salafist Jihadist figure, Abu Abdullah Al-Maqdisi, contacts between Hamas and the Gaza's Salafist-Jihadist front over the past months, mediated by clerics from Kuwait and the well-known Egyptian MB religious leader Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, led to an agreement following years of bloody confrontations.[46]

The 8-point proposed agreement, to be announced soon, reportedly grants the Salafists "freedom to operate in politics, the military, religious advocacy, and civil and social organizations" and stipulates the formation of a joint committee to deal with any disputes between the two groups. In return for this, the Salafist factions "will commit to the ceasefire and other decisions made by the ruling Hamas movement." A Gaza source confirmed that the arrest and harassment of Salafists have ceased recently and that many Salafist detainees have been released by Hamas.[47]

The Iranian Option

Ali Baraka, Hamas representative in Lebanon, has recently summarized in a frank and comprehensive interview the organization's strategy concerning relations with its former allies:[48]

- Hamas considers Syria, which has always supported the Palestinian people and Palestinian resistance, a source of its power. Hamas had no disagreements with the Syrian regime on the key issues, particularly the problems of Palestinian resistance, but disagreed about the use of force to solve the Syrian crisis. It tried to stay neutral and left Syria almost 11 months after the crisis started, when it was asked to take sides in the conflict.

- Hamas is not fighting in Syria and does not have any of its military units present there. The Syrian Air Force conducts raids on camps like al-Husseini, Siniya, Homs, al-Nayrab and Hindarat which house many Palestinian refugees, many of whom support Hamas and other Palestinian organisations.[49]

- Relations with Hezbollah were never severed and there are constant contacts. The Hamas office is located in Hezbollah's stronghold in Beirut. There is coordination of "activities in terms of ongoing confrontation with the Zionist enemy."

- The fact that Hamas and Iran differ in opinions about how best to achieve a peaceful settlement in Syria does not mean they differ on everything else. Hamas shares the same position with Iran on a number of important issues, both standing "against Israel and Zionist actions in the Middle East." The relations and consultations with Iran were maintained throughout the entire Syrian crisis "in pursuit of the peaceful political settlement that [they] unfortunately failed to achieve." This does not mean that the two sides differ on other issues.

- Hamas hopes that the Syrian crisis will come to an end and allow the restoration of "the Axis of Resistance" which "was seriously damaged by the Arab Spring."

It was reported that Mashaal plans to travel to Iran in October of 2013 and meet with Iranian government officials for talks.[50] According to Adnan Abu Amer, dean of the Faculty of Arts at the Gaza Al Ummah University Open Education, "Tehran may try to exploit the Muslim Brotherhood's decline in Egypt to convince Hamas that it would be better off with a strong relationship with Iran, given the prevailing geopolitical situation." He assumes that the coup in Egypt has convinced both sides they have no choice but "to overcome past mistakes and resume their relationship."[51]

A more dramatic and dangerous outcome of the new strategic setting could be a coalition between Iran, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas, in which the Gaza organisation would be the "military" spearhead to support a destabilization effort of the new Egyptian regime by the Brotherhood. Historic and more recent examples show this scenario is viable.

The Brotherhood was initially enthusiastic about the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran, a model of a popular Islamic movement that toppled a pro-Western secular regime and founded an Islamic state enjoying popular political legitimacy. Brotherhood activists were in close contact with exiled Iranian colleagues who were active in the overthrow of the Shah's regime. However, by mid 1980s, the Brotherhood relations with Iran soured significantly as the Khomeinist revolution was increasingly perceived as Persian nationalist, distinctly Shiite, and allied with the Syrian regime, responsible for the massacre of 20,000 MB members. [52]

The strategic circumstances of the years before the Arab uprisings: the pressure of the Mubarak regime against the Brotherhood in Egypt since its success in the 2005 elections, the rise of Hamas rule in Gaza since 2006, the Second Lebanon War provoked by Hezbollah, and the Israeli operation *Cast Lead* in Gaza, have marked a new *rapprochement* between the two main Islamist streams in the region.[53]

During Hezbollah-Israel confrontation in 2006, Muslim Brotherhood groups in Jordan, Palestine and Egypt supported Hezbollah for strategic and ideological reasons in its struggle against Israel. The leader of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, Mohamed Mahdi Akef, severely criticized religious figures who label Shias as *takfiris* (i.e. extremists who believe they are the only true Muslims) and asked Shia and Sunni Muslims to join hands to prevent sectarian strife in Iraq.[54] The International Union for Muslim Scholars (IUMS) reached an agreement with Iranian officials "on a number of constructive steps to extinguish the fire of sedition between Sunnis and Shiites", especially in war-torn Iraq.[55]

According to Ahmed Yousef, Foreign Ministry director-general in Gaza's Hamas government, the historically lukewarm relations between Iran and the Muslim Brotherhood have improved in recent years because Iran and the Muslim Brotherhood both oppose the U.S. military presence in the Middle East, and have similar positions on the Palestinian issue and Muslim causes elsewhere. His 2010 booklet titled "The Muslim Brotherhood and the Islamic Revolution in Iran" represents, according to Ehud Yaari, "the most important attempt to connect the growing cooperation between Hamas and its Iranian mentors to religious affinities, rather than political expediency." The Muslim Brotherhood and its Palestinian branch Hamas are natural partners of Iran, sharing common values and "a joint vision of the revival of the caliphate," despite the historic Sunni-Shia divides.[56]

In August 2012, Egyptian President Morsi visited Iran to attend the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit, an unprecedented event in the recent history of these two enemy countries. During his 7 February 2013 visit to Cairo to attend the Organization of Islamic

Cooperation (OIC) Summit, the first visit by an Iranian President to Egypt in 33 years, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad had called on Egypt to form a strategic alliance with Iran. He expressed optimism about the visit and relations with Egypt by saying: "The political geography of the region will undergo a major change if Egypt and Iran take a common stance on the Palestinian cause". The rapprochement between Iran and Egypt has, however, been obstructed by their differences over the Syrian crisis. Former Egyptian President Mohammed Morsi had called on Assad to resign while saying that Iran was not the enemy of Egypt and that it should be consulted on the fate of Syria.[57]

Since the demise of the Muslim Brotherhood government, the military regime is allied with and supported by Saudi Arabia and the UAE, that is, Iran's (and MB's) enemies - another good reason for cooperation between the two. However, since the changes provoked by the election of Hassan Rouhani as President of Iran and his campaign of détente with the West, it can be assumed that Tehran will be much more cautious in its regional policies, at least as long as it assesses that there are good chances to achieve an agreement according to its interests and parameters.

Relating specifically to these Iranian constraints, Bassem Naim, a Hamas leader in Gaza, evaluated that Hamas would not be greatly affected by any changes that might occur because it never relied on Iran as a sole source of support. "Reconciliation between the two sides might lead to a decline in Iranian support for Palestinian resistance movements in the region. But there won't be any radical changes to the political stances vis-à-vis the Palestinian cause," said Naim. He pointed out that Iran still needed the Palestinian factions "as regional proxies in the region, and that continued relations fell within the scope of purely Iranian interests, not just Palestinian ones." Mukhaimar Abu Saada, a university professor in Gaza and political commentator, did not rule out such changes taking place, but placed these in the mid- to long term, if relations between the United States and Iran continued to develop.[58]

Renewed Hope for Israeli-Palestinian Peace Talks

This author has considered that the Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations have few chances to succeed, if at all, as long as the Palestinian Authority is not ruling in Gaza and Hamas has the capability to sabotage the implementation of any reached agreement which does not involve the Gaza Strip. There is now a window of opportunity to exploit Hamas's weakness, Egypt's good will and Tehran's restraint in order to advance the peace negotiations.

The main strategy should be to aid the PA in imposing its authority on the Gaza Strip, dividing the Hamas movement by giving incentives to the most pragmatic Hamas leaders, and by promising the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza better economic and territorial conditions on the short-term and a clear acceptable compromise on the long term.

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III. Book Reviews

"Counterterrorism Bookshelf": Literature on Intelligence and Terrorism

Books & Monographs on Intelligence Agencies, the Intelligence Process and Intelligence Analytic Methods that Contribute to Improving Terrorism and Counterterrorism Analysis

Reviewed by Joshua Sinai

Effective governmental counterterrorism aims to preemptively detect, disrupt, and dismantle terrorist cells (including lone wolves) before they act, as well as rolling up their terrorist support infrastructures, such as financial, logistical, bomb-making, propaganda, radicalisation, and recruitment networks. With terrorist groups and their supporters also active on the Internet, effective counterterrorism also has to monitor, detect, disrupt, and dismantle their operations in the additional battleground of cyberspace. To implement such preemptive capabilities, counterterrorism analysts must quickly ascertain the reliability, implications and details of intelligence reporting on terrorist threats, synthesize them into actionable reports at the strategic, operational and tactical levels and then disseminate such threat-related information to their relevant counterpart partners, as needed for tactical execution, whether in law enforcement, the military, or even the private sector. Finally, these terrorist threat analytic products must be disseminated to senior policy makers in their governments in a timely and ongoing basis to provide them with continuous situational awareness to manage the overall counterterrorism campaigns, including providing them with metrics to measures the effectiveness of these campaigns.

To attain such analytical capability, the intelligence community – supported by the academic community – has developed a spectrum of analytic methodologies and software programs to provide counterterrorism analysts and practitioners with the tools to extract pertinent intelligence information from a variety of sources, diagnose, evaluate and measure the magnitude of terrorist threats facing a targeted country at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels, including the possibility of denial/deception practices by the terrorist adversary, analyse, map and model the nature of terrorist networks and infrastructures, including forecasting future warfare trends, and prepare finished reports, of varying lengths, that are disseminated to their appropriate end-users.

This review column focuses on a selective listing of books and monographs that examine how intelligence agencies operate, the intelligence process, and intelligence-based analytic methodologies and software programs that contribute to improving terrorism and counterterrorism analysis and execution.

Please note that some of the books listed under "Intelligence Agencies and the Intelligence Process" also include analyses of intelligence methods. With a few exceptions where one author is listed in companion publications, the books are listed in alphabetical order, according to the lead author's last name.

Intelligence Agencies and the Intelligence Process

Vian Bakir. *Torture, Intelligence and Sousveillance in the War on Terror: Agenda-Building Struggles.* **Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013.** 328 pages, US$119.95. ISBN: 978-1-4094-2255-6.

A critical examination of the roles of torture, intelligence and sousveillance (surveillance via cameras or electronic listening devices at the "human level") by the counterterrorism programs of the British and American governments in order to gain the upper hand against their terrorist adversaries. The author argues that the rise of this "torture-intelligence nexus" has led to abuses by both governments, and he recommends a series of measures to restrain them through the exposure of such activities by NGOs and the media of communications.

Henry A. Crumpton. *The Art of Intelligence: Lessons From a Life in the CIA's Clandestine Service.* **[Reprint Edition] New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2013.** 352 pages, US$18.76. [Hardcover], US$12.19 [Paperback] ISBN-13: 978-0143123378.

The author is a former veteran of the CIA's Clandestine Service, who played a leading role in the U.S. counterterrorism campaign against al Qaida in Afghanistan in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks. Of particular interest is his discussion of the components of effective counterterrorism at the tactical to strategic levels, which he believes are based on the intelligence imperative of understanding and charting the human terrain in an unconventional war. Also crucial is the value of intelligence, integrating multiple government entities in the campaign, understanding one's local partners and working closely with them, applying technology (such as unmanned aerial vehicles which the author was instrumental in introducing into U.S. counterterrorism) that is driven by specific needs, developing flat and networked counterterrorism organisations, quickness and precision in force projection, and sound leadership.

Philip H.J. Davies and Kristian C. Gustafson (Eds.). *Intelligence Elsewhere: Spies and Espionage Outside the Anglosphere.* **Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2013.** 320 pages, US$23.82. [Paperback] ISBN-13: 978-1589019560.

The contributors to this important edited volume focus on the "intelligence culture" of national intelligence agencies "outside the Anglosphere" in countries such as China, India, Russia, Arab and Islamic countries (such as Pakistan, Iran, and Indonesia), Japan, Ghana, Argentina, Sweden, and Finland. The country chapters discuss their intelligence culture, current intelligence practice, and whether they have engaged in security sector reform. What

is especially interesting about these country studies is the insight they offer on the contrasts and similarities of these intelligence agencies with those of the U.S. and NATO countries.

Robert Dover and Michael S. Goodman (Eds.). *Learning From the Secret Past: Cases in British Intelligence History.* **Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2011.** 336 pages, US$26.96. [Paperback] ISBN-13: 978-1589017702.

The contributors to this highly interesting and important edited volume present ten cases that detail successes and failures from post-World War II British intelligence history, such as the Malayan Emergency, the Cuban Missile Crisis, Northern Ireland, and the lead up to the Iraq War. Each case (accompanied by historical documents from that era) is intended to reveal lessons that might apply to current intelligence challenges, particular in democratic countries. The cases discuss the structuring of the intelligence communities at the time, how intelligence was employed, for instance, in counterinsurgency or uncovering WMD proliferation, the intelligence gains of interrogations (including any ethical dilemmas that might have been involved in such practices), the value of human intelligence, and the potential for the politicization of intelligence in those cases where it played a factor.

Roger Z. George and James B. Bruce (Eds.). *Analyzing Intelligence: Origins, Obstacles, and Innovations.* [**2nd Edition**] **Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2008.** 352 pages, US$27.84. [Paperback] ISBN-13: 978-1589012011.

The contributors to this important edited volume assess the state of intelligence analysis since 9/11, which ushered in an era of new analytical challenges. The volume is divided into six sections: the analytical tradition (the evolution of intelligence analysis, is intelligence analysis a discipline), the policy-analyst relationship (serving the national policymakers, intelligence analysis and "politicization"), enduring challenges (the art of strategy and intelligence, analytical imperatives in foreign denial and deception, and military intelligence analysis), diagnosis and prescription (making analysis more reliable, the analyst-collector relationship), leading analytic change (managing analysis in the information age), and new frontiers of analysis (computer-aided analysis of competing hypotheses, predictive warning methods, and homeland security intelligence). The concluding chapter proposes innovative ideas for improved analytical methods, including new forms of analytic collaboration and training a new profession of intelligence analysis. A revised and updated edition is scheduled to be published in March 2014.

Roger Z. George and Harvey Rishikof (Eds.). *The National Security Enterprise: Navigating the Labyrinth.* **Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2011.** 384 pages, US$29.66. [Paperback] ISBN-13: 978-1589016989.

In this important edited volume, the contributors examine the organisational culture of the U.S. government agencies involved in national security issues, the interagency process that

enables them to work together, Congressional and Judicial checks and balances on executive power, and the influence in national security of private sector organisations, such as lobbyists, public policy think tanks, and the media. Specific agencies covered include the National Security Council, the Departments of Defense and State, the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Department of Homeland Security, and the Office of Management and Budget. Among the editors' conclusions is that the national security enterprise needs to adjust and evolve to address the dissolution of the previous "clear line between domestic and foreign security threats…in regard to counterterrorism, as well as other transnational issues like climate, immigration, and health." (p. 332)

Dwight Hamilton. *Inside Canadian Intelligence: Exposing the New Realities of Espionage and International Terrorism*. Toronto, Canada: Dundurn, 2011. 2nd ed., 288 pages, US$26.99. [Paperback] ISBN-13: 978-1554888917.

An account by former Canadian intelligence officers and journalists of the national security threats facing Canada and the government's organizations involved in responding to these threats, especially in the areas requiring intelligence and counterterrorism measures. The book's appendices include important documents, such as proceedings of the special Senate committee on anti-terrorism, the security of information act, and a section of the Canadian Criminal Code (Terrorism).

Carl J. Jensen, III, David H. McElreath, and Melissa Graves. *Introduction to Intelligence Studies*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2012. 374 pages, US$79.95. [Hardcover] ISBN: 9781466500037.

This authoritative textbook provides a comprehensive overview of the U.S. intelligence community, its history, evolution and latest developments (for instance, the role of the intelligence component in the Department of Homeland Security and the office of the Director of National Intelligence) and how the various intelligence agencies operate. Also covered are the components of intelligence, such as collection, analytic methods, the intelligence cycle, counterintelligence, and covert operations. The components of military intelligence, as well as criminal intelligence and crime analysis are also covered. The final chapters discuss the nature of national security threats that are addressed by the intelligence community, as well as future challenges, including forecasting future threats.

Mark M. Lowenthal. *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy*. CQ Press/ 2011. 5th ed., 386 pages, US$45.19. [Paperback] ISBN-13: 978-1608716753.

This textbook discusses how the intelligence community's history, structure, procedures, and functions affect policy decisions. Attesting to the book's popularity and longevity, this 5th edition highlights new challenges affecting policy-making in the intelligence community, such

as changes in the management of U.S. intelligence through the creation of the Director of National Intelligence, new developments in collection and analysis, particularly with the increase in the number of weak and failed states, and the challenges of maintaining secrecy in the age of Wikileaks. The book also includes expanded coverage of foreign intelligence services. The author is a former high-level official in the U.S. intelligence community.

Ronald A Marks. S*pying in America in the Post 9/11 World: Domestic Threat and the Need for Change.* Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger/ABC-Clio, LLC, 2010. 153 pages, US$34.95. [Hardcover] ISBN-13: 978-0313391415.

A valuable examination of how the threat of post-9/11 terrorism is managed by domestic intelligence in the United States, while attempting to balance civil liberties and effectiveness in intelligence collection. Of particular interest is the author's discussion of the complexities of determining the types of information that need to be collected against the relevant targets, which are elaborated upon in the sections on the intelligence cycle, and the components of risk management, which begin with an awareness of a country's critical infrastructure and key resources (CIKR), formulating a threat assessment, a risk assessment, and then generating a risk management equation, which the author defines as "Given what we wish to protect, what we know about our enemies' capabilities and desires, and what we think is more likely to happen against that we are protecting, what should we spend on manpower, machinery, and money to protect our designated CIKR?" (p. 32).

David Omand. *Securing the State*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2010. 288 pages, US$23.10 [Hardcover], US$16.72 [Paperback]. ISBN-13: 978-0199327164.

While much of this excellent book focuses on the relationship between balancing justice and civil liberty and the need to fortify a democratic state's security (for which the author establishes a set of principles and approaches for upgrading intelligence in counterterrorism while respecting the requirements of basic civil liberties), of particular interest is his discussion of the components of effective intelligence analysis. In terms of warning intelligence, the author distinguishes between *strategic* surprise, in which an "intelligence community is unable to give any warning at all of trouble brewing, and a *tactical* surprise if despite such warning the time, place or nature of the attack still comes as a surprise" (p. 214). This has special applicability to terrorism, which the author explains "implies surprise," as "the weaker side engages in an asymmetric conflict in the hope of being able to choose the time, place, method and target of attack so that the security forces will always be caught unawares" (p. 220). The author, a retired senior level intelligence and security official in the British government, is a visiting professor in the War Studies Department of King's College London.

Paul R. Pillar. *Intelligence and U.S. Foreign Policy: Iraq, 9/11, and Misguided Reform.* **New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2011**. 432 pages, US$28.80 [Hardcover], US$20.77 [Paperback] ISBN-13: 978-0231157926.

An examination of the effectiveness of the various reforms that have been instituted in the U.S. intelligence community since 9/11 and their impact on intelligence gathering operations and the execution of the nation's foreign policy. The events of 9/11 and the 2003 invasion of Iraq are utilized as case studies to assess the author's assumptions. The author is a former high level official in the CIA, including its Counterterrorist Center and National Intelligence Council.

Hank Prunckun. *Counterintelligence Theory and Practice.* **Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2012**. 216 pages, US$78.97 [Hardcover] US$39.95 [Paperback]. ISBN-13: 978-1442219335.

A discussion of the components required for effective counterintelligence operations. Chapters cover topics such as the fundamentals of counterintelligence, defensive counterintelligence planning (including physical, personal, information, and communications security), the tenets of offensive counterintelligence (including detection, deception, and neutralisation), and the ethics of counterintelligence. The appendices include counterintelligence reference materials such as a sample personal history statement, a summary of audio surveillance products, and a specimen chain-of-custody record. The author, a former counterintelligence officer, is a prominent academic specialist on counterintelligence.

Gudrun Persson. Fusion Centres – *Lessons Learned: A Study of Coordination Functions for Intelligence and Security Services.* **Stockholm, Sweden: Center for Asymmetric Threat Studies (CATS)/National Defence College, 2013**. 40 pages, [No price], [Paperback]. ISBN: 978-91-86137-17-5. The monograph is located at: https://www.fhs.se/Documents/ Externwebben/forskning/centrumbildningar/CATS/publikationer/Fusion%20Centres%20- %20Lessons%20Learned%20(english).pdf .

With the boundaries between external and internal threats becoming increasingly blurred, this monograph examines how fusion centers play important roles in providing integrated responses by various government intelligence and security agencies at national and local levels to different types of threats, ranging from natural disasters to terrorism. With the monograph's first part discussing general lessons learned and best practices in fusion centers' effectiveness in addressing new types of threats, the second part presents overviews of fusion centers in Denmark, France, Germany, United Kingdom, The Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States.

Julian Richards. *The Art and Science of Intelligence Analysis.* **New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010**. 232 pages, US$110.00 [Paperback], ISBN-13: 978-0199578450.

An assessment of the intelligence tradecraft's ability to absorb massive amounts of data and information to support efficient intelligence analysis, particularly in countering terrorism. Issues affecting cognitive processes in analysis and interpretation of data are examined, such as memory, hindsight, perception, bias, hypothesising and evaluating data, especially within the context of the intelligence organisational machinery and environment. Also discussed are the external pressures and influences on intelligence analysis, such as politics, ethics and civil liberties, cultural factors, and the changing nature of security threats and their impact on the intelligence process. Case studies and scenario-based exercises on tactical, strategic and operational areas of intelligence analysis are used to illustrate the author's thesis. The author concludes with recommendations for improving analytical judgments and the intelligence process. The author, a former intelligence official in the UK government, is Deputy Director of the Centre for Security and Intelligence Studies at the University of Buckingham.

Jennifer E. Sims and Burton Gerber (Eds.). *Vaults, Mirrors & Masks: Rediscovering U.S. Counterintelligence.* **Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2009**. 320 pages, US $28.45. [Paperback] ISBN-13: 978-1589012677.

The contributors to this important edited volume examine counterintelligence (and counterespionage) as a tradecraft, similar to "positive intelligence," that aims to gain intelligence advantage over one's adversary by exploiting, disrupting, denying, or manipulating its intelligence activities. Also discussed are economic and industrial espionage, counterintelligence and law enforcement, and the relationship between counterintelligence, counterterrorism, and civil liberties, particularly over the possible establishment of a domestic intelligence agency in the United States.

Gregory F. Treverton. *Intelligence for an Age of Terror.* **New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009**. 320 pages, US$35.60 [Hardcover], US$17.81 [Paperback]. ISBN-13: 978-0521518451.

An examination of the transformation of the targets of intelligence analysis from focusing primarily on state adversaries to concern about non-state actors, such as terrorist organizations, as well.

Intelligence Analytic Methods

Wilhelm Agrell. *Essence of Assessment: Methods and Problems of Intelligence Analysis.* **Stockholm, Sweden: Center for Asymmetric Threat Studies (CATS)/National Defence College, 2012.** 207 pages, US$8.00 + postage [Paperback]. ISBN: 978-91-86137-12-0.

A comprehensive and authoritative discussion of "the opportunities and problems" of intelligence analytic methods, such as attempting to reduce uncertainty about the unknown, the intelligence cycle (requirements, collection, processing (or analysis), and dissemination)

and its limitations, the components of short- and long-term analysis involving strategic intelligence, current intelligence, warning intelligence, and special investigations, employing pattern analysis by seeing links and aggregates, identifying an adversary's disguises and deceptions, employing intelligence assessment as a hypothesis, the importance of understanding one's adversary in order to avoid "mirror imaging," conducting post-mortems of intelligence analysis, and the relationship between signals, noise, and the intelligence analysis's dilemma of proof. These analytical methodologies are accompanied by real world examples of intelligence agencies' successes and failures. The author is a noted Swedish academic in intelligence analysis.

Babak Akhgar and Simeon Yates, editors. *Intelligence Management: Knowledge Driven Frameworks for Combating Terrorism and Organized Crime.* **New York, NY: Springer, 2011.** 234 pages, US$99.00 [Hardcover]. ISBN-13: 978-1447121398.

This is an excellent scientific account of how the rapid development in computing power and the ability to mine and visualize complex data sets provide their intelligence agency end users, whether in law enforcement, weapons of mass destruction counter-proliferation, or counterterrorism, with actionable situational awareness about their specific targets of investigation. Also discussed are topics that apply to counterterrorism such as strategic intelligence management for combating crime and terrorism, cybercrime profiling and trend analysis, and the relationship between technology, society and law enforcement agencies.

John Buckley. *Managing Intelligence: A Guide for Law Enforcement Professionals.* **Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2013.** 503 pages, US$63.56 [Paperback]. ISBN-13: 978-1466586420.

Written by a veteran practitioner in intelligence and law enforcement in Britain, this authoritative and well-written handbook presents an overview of how intelligence is managed in law enforcement; the importance and relevance of various types of intelligence (ranging from law enforcement to military); the role of operational intelligence; the psychology of conducting intelligence analysis (such as cognitive and hindsight biases); the nature of the intelligence cycle, including setting operational and tactical priorities; formulating collection requirements from covert and open sources; the nature of intelligence analysis, including limitations and misconceptions in such analysis, the benefits of data visualization, conducting gap analysis, profiling targets, conducting social network, spatial, and financial analyses, and other types of threat analyses; and the way ahead in terms of standardizing and coordinating intelligence in fusion centers and other future challenges. Of particular interest to the counterterrorism community are the sections on terrorism, law enforcement and intelligence, in which the author writes that "Gathering intelligence on terrorism is similar to gathering intelligence on any other group," except with "notable differences" such as the fact that the "psyche of a terrorist" differs from that of a criminal, that "Intelligence with regard to

terrorism is more likely to be fragmentary and sparse," (pages 44-45) as well as "relatively short on specifics but full of generalities." (page 449)

Robert M. Clark. *Intelligence Analysis: A Target-Centric Approach.* **[4th Edition] Washington, DC: CQ Press/SAGE, 2012.** 403 pages, US$58.18 [Paperback]. ISBN-13: 978-1452206127 0.

This textbook comprehensively and authoritatively examines the components involved in effective methods of developing and managing intelligence analysis through what the author terms "a collaborative, target-centric approach" that meets the needs of the end-user. The book's chapters cover topics such as understanding the intelligence process and the intelligence cycle; the nature of the intelligence "target" (especially as a complex system or network); defining the intelligence problem (for example, as a "strategies-to-task" process); conducting counterintelligence analysis; creating intelligence conceptual models, such as pattern and relationship models, profiling, and geospatial, human terrain, and space-time combination models; the sources of intelligence information; collection strategies, including evaluating and collating such data; identifying adversary denial, deception, and signaling; conducting predictive analysis; the nature of the intelligence customer (e.g., policy-makers, legislatures, other implementing agencies); presenting analysis results to managers and other end-users; and managing analysis and analysts. The conceptual frameworks are illustrated by numerous real world examples, making this an excellent textbook resource for university students and intelligence practitioners.

Robert M. Clark. *Intelligence Collection.* **Los Angeles, CA: CQ Press, SAGE, 2013.** 544 pages, US$70.20 [Paperback]. ISBN: 978-1-4522-7185-9.

This textbook provides a comprehensive and authoritative coverage of the components involved in the collection, processing, and exploitation by intelligence analysts of what the author terms "literal and non-literal information." Literal collection involves open source intelligence (OSINT), human intelligence (HUMINT), communications intelligence (COMINT), and cyber collection. Nonliteral collection, on the other hand, involves collection sensors and platforms; optical, radiometric and spectral imaging; radar, including synthetic aperture radar; passive radio frequency; acoustic and seismic sensing; materials intelligence, biological, medical, and biometric intelligence; and material acquisition and exploitation. The concluding chapter discusses the components involved in managing intelligence collection at the front end, the back end, across boundaries, as well as managing the end-user customer's expectations. Also discussed are how to bring new collection capabilities online and evaluating collection. Each type of collection material is illustrated with images and graphics.

Ben Connable. *Embracing the Fog of War: Assessment and Metrics in Counterinsurgency.* **Santa Monica, CA: RAND National Defense Research Institute, 2012.** 340 pages, US$36.50 [Paperback]. ISBN-13: 978-0833058157.

This highly innovative volume provides a scientifically rigorous methodology to assess effectiveness in counterinsurgency campaigns. Of particular interest is the discussion of the effects-based approach to assessment which takes into account measures and indicators, how they are selected and how their thresholds are determined, weighting the overall assessment, and producing "color-coded" reports. Also of interest is the chapter on choosing core metrics and determining their respective values, including formulating input and output measures of effectiveness and linking them to an overall campaign doctrine. The conceptual framework is applied to two primary case studies (Vietnam, ca.1967-1973, and Afghanistan, as of late 2010). The concluding chapters assess the factors involved in the failure of some centralized assessments in counterinsurgency, offer recommendations and options for improved effectiveness assessments, and alternatives to centralized campaign assessments.

Paul K. Davis, Eric V. Larson, Zachary Haldeman, Mustafa Oguz, and Yashodhara Rana. *Understanding and Influencing Public Support for Insurgency and Terrorism.* **Santa Monica, CA: RAND National Defense Research Institute, 2012.** 270 pages, US$36.00 [Paperback]. ISBN: 978-0-0833058690.

As an application of social science methodologies to analyse terrorism and counterterrorism, this innovative volume employs social movement theory to analyse public support for insurgency and terrorism in the cases of Al-Qaeda's transnational jihadist movement, the Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in Turkey, and the Maoist insurgency in Nepal. A model of "persuasive communications" by terrorist and insurgent groups is presented to link the study's research to issues of strategy and policy.

Paul K. Davis and Angela O'Mahone., A *Computational Model of Public Support for Insurgency and Terrorism: A Prototype for More-General Social Science Modeling.* **Technical Report. Santa Monica, CA: RAND National Defense Research Institute, 2013.** 110 pages, US $29.95 [Paperback]. ISBN: 978-0833079190.

In an example of how computational social science can contribute to counterterrorism analysis, this monograph presents "a prototype uncertainty-sensitive computational model" to describe public support for adversary terrorism and insurgency. As described by the authors, the model assigns mathematical meaning to a factor tree's factors and sub-factors, identifies a suitable "building block" that combines algorithms, and takes into account the uncertainty in their values and the relationships among them. The authors then discuss how the model can be implemented in a visual-programming environment, show how it can be used for exploratory analysis under uncertainty.

Paul K. Davis, Walter L. Perry, Ryan Andrew Brown, Douglas Yeung, Parisa Roshan, and Phoenix Voorhies. *Using Behavioral Indicators to Help Detect Potential Violent Acts.* **Santa**

Monica, CA: RAND National Defense Research Institute, 2013. 300 pages, US$32.95 [Paperback] ISBN: 9780833080929.

An examination of how social science-based observable individual-level behavioral indicators can be utilized at checkpoints or other screening areas to preemptively detect and possibly thwart potential violent attacks by hostile individuals or groups, whether as suicide bombers or handlers of improvised explosive devices (IEDs). These risky behavioral indicators are drawn from technologies and methods that exploit data on communication patterns, "pattern-of-life" data (such as online activities), and data relating to an individual's body movement and physiological state. Because some of these behavioral indicators are highly controversial, for instance, due to privacy and civil-liberties concerns, the study discusses ways to resolve them while still mitigating the threats they are intended to counter.

Thomas Fingar. *Reducing Uncertainty: Intelligence Analysis and National Security.* **Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011**. 192 pages, US$54.00 [Hardcover], US$15.96 [Paperback]. ISBN-13: 978-0804775946.

An important examination of how the challenge of "uncertainty" in intelligence analysis can be reduced, for instance, by devoting more attention by analysts to "opportunities" than merely to perceived "threats," which the author argues will increase the likelihood of more positive outcomes in predictive analysis. Also discussed is the role and importance of National Intelligence Estimates (NIEs) in representing authoritative judgments of the Intelligence Community, which are illustrated by several cases, including some that proved to be problematic, such as the cases of the Iraq WMD and Iran nuclear NIEs. The author had served as the CIA's first deputy director of national intelligence for analysis and as chairman of the National Intelligence Council, and is currently a Distinguished Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University.

Baruch Fischhoff and Cherie Chauvin (Eds.). *National Research Council of the National Academies. Intelligence Analysis: Behavioral and Social Scientific Foundations,* **Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2011**. 350 pages, US$70.00 [Paperback]. ISBN: 978-0-309-17698-9.

An assessment by leading academic social scientists of the utility of analytic methods and sophisticated technologies in supporting intelligence analysis. The chapters cover topics such as the contributions of operations research, game theory, signal detection, and qualitative analysis in intelligence analysis; the requirements for improving analysts' capabilities, and changes and reforms to improve the functioning of intelligence organizations and their workforces.

National Research Council of the National Academies. *Intelligence Analysis for Tomorrow: Advances from the Behavioral and Social Sciences.* **Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, 2011.** 116 pages, US$30.25 [Paperback]. ISBN-13: 978-0309163422.

As a companion to *Intelligence Analysis: Behavioral and Social Scientific Foundations*, this volume provides a series of recommendations for applying methodologies and tools from the behavioral and social sciences to the Intelligence Community's analytic workforce. These include how to characterize and evaluate analytic assumptions, methods, technologies, and management practices.

Richards J. Heuer Jr., and Randolph H. Person. *Structured Analytic Techniques for Intelligence Analysis.* **Washington, DC: CQ Press/SAGE, 2011.** 343 pages, US$62.70 [Spiral Bound]. ISBN-13: 978-1608710188.

This important and authoritative manual/textbook covers what is termed as "structured analytic techniques" in intelligence analysis. The introductory chapter discusses the value of team analysis in an intelligence agency, the analyst's task, and a history of the application of structured analytic techniques in the intelligence community, where these techniques are especially useful in a field where analysts typically deal with incomplete, ambiguous and sometimes deceptive information. This is followed by a chapter on building a taxonomy of analytic methods, which are divided into four categories: expert judgment, structured analysis, quantitative methods using expert-generated data, and quantitative methods using empirical data. Successive chapters discuss the criteria and guidance for selecting 50 structured analytic techniques, which are divided into eight categories: decomposition and visualization (such as chronologies and timelines matrices, network analysis, mind/concept/process maps, and Gantt charts); idea generation (such as structured and virtual brainstorming, quadrant crunching), scenarios and indicators (such as alternative futures analysis and multiple scenario generation); hypothesis generation and testing (such as simple or multiple hypotheses, analysis of competing hypotheses, argument mapping, and deception detection); cause and effect (such as red hat analysis, forecasting model, and prediction markets); challenge analysis (such as pre-mortem analysis, red team analysis, and Delphi method); conflict management (such as adversarial collaboration and structured debate); and decision support (such as complexity manager and decision matrix). Each structured technique is accompanied by a step-by-step overview that can either be self-taught or taught by a professional trainer. The authors are former high-ranking CIA officers who had developed some of the analytic methodologies discussed in the volume.

Sarah Miller Beebe and Randolph H. Pherson. *Cases in Intelligence Analysis: Structured Analytic Techniques in Action.* **Los Angeles, CA: CQ Press/SAGE, 2012.** 241 pages, US$50.00 [Paperback]. ISBN-13: 978-1608716814.

This handbook/textbook provides a set of twelve cases on significant events in foreign intelligence, counterintelligence, terrorism, homeland security, law enforcement, and decision-making support that are designed to provide analysts an opportunity to apply structured analytic techniques to tackle such real-world problems. Each case provides a narrative and a set of questions that attempt to challenge a student to think critically in applying the appropriate structured analytic technique to better understand the case at hand. Photos, maps, figures, tables, boxes, and technique templates support the volume's analysis and instruction. A matrix of the 12 cases and the 23 techniques used throughout the handbook provides an "all-in-one" view of the volume's contents. The authors are former CIA analysts who are experienced trainers in structured analytic methods.

Katherine Hibbs Pherson and Randolph H. Pherson. *Critical Thinking for Strategic Intelligence.* Los Angeles, CA: CQ Press/SAGE, 2013. 329 pages, US$37.00 [Paperback]. ISBN-13: 978-1452226675.

In this teaching book, the authors provide a guide to critical thinking in strategic intelligence analysis. Generating an analytic product involves four stages: getting started, locating the needed information, developing an argument, and conveying the message effectively. A set of case studies, focusing on a wide range of topics covering political, economic, military, cyber, and health-related issues, is provided to reinforce understanding of the book's key points. At the end of each chapter, a set of questions is provided for use by instructors and students to test the absorption of key teaching points. The back cover includes a highly useful foldout graphic, "The Analyst's Roadmap," that captures the key tasks and points made in the book. The authors (husband and wife) are former high-ranking CIA officers with extensive experience in analytic methodology development and training.

Walter L. Perry, Claude Berrebi, Ryan Andrew Brown, John S. Hollywood, Amber Jaycocks, Parisa Roshan, Thomas Sullivan, and Lisa Miyashiro. P*redicting Suicide Attacks: Integrating Spatial, Temporal, and Social Features of Terrorist Attack Targets*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2013. 112 pages, US$21.95 [Paperback]. ISBN: 978-0-833078001.

In an application of computational social science to counterterrorism, the volume's authors present a methodology that seeks to predict the determinants and locations of suicide attacks by an adversary terrorist group, including its likely targeting. Using Israel as the case study, the study team focused on spatial attributes, in which they created a risk index that later incorporated socio-cultural, political, economic, and demographic factors into the model's data base in order to refine its predictive capability. A quantitative and qualitative analysis was then conducted to determine why certain areas were at greater risk for suicide attacks than others. The authors conclude that the methods used to assess target preferences by suicide attackers in Israel can be transferred to the United States or other countries.

Nate Silver. *The Signal and the Noise: Why So Many Predictions Fail – But Some Don't.* **New York, NY: The Penguin Press, 2012.** 544 pages, US$27.95 [Hardcover]. ISBN-13: 978-1-594204111.

The author, whose former blog, "FiveThirtyEight.com" for *The New York Times*, was widely followed for its statistics-based political predictions, followed it up with this best-seller, which examines the world of prediction, particularly how to distinguish a true signal from a universe of noisy data. In the author's judgment, most predictions fail because they are not based on an understanding of probability and uncertainty. To attain higher accuracy in forecasting it is necessary, according to the author, to develop a superior command of probability, which then enables one to better distinguish signals from noise. Chapter 13, "What You Don't Know Can Hurt You," provides an excellent discussion of the application of forecasting to the probability of the frequency terrorist attacks, ranging from low- to high-impact, including this observation about how to increase effectiveness in terrorism forecasting: "the Bayesian approach toward thinking about probability is more compatible with decision making under high-uncertainty. It encourages us to hold a large number of hypotheses in our head at once, to think about them probabilistically, and to update them frequently when we come across new information that might be more or less consistent with them." (p. 444).

V.S. Subrahmanian, Aaron Mannes, Amy Silva, Jana Shakarian, and John P. Dickerson. *Computational Analysis of Terrorist Groups: Lashkar-e-Taiba.* New York, NY: Springer, 2013. 315 pages, US$109.00 [Hardcover]. ISBN: 978-1461447689.

A highly innovative application of advanced mathematics and computational analysis techniques, including methods for "big data" analysis, to quantify the environment in which the Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) operates, with its terrorist operations over a 20-year period represented in a relational database table. This table is then explored by employing sophisticated data mining algorithms in order to gain detailed, mathematical, computational and statistical insights into the LeT and its operations. The book begins with a history of LeT, its activities in Pakistan, Kashmir, and India, and then applies its methodology to analyse its targeting patterns, for instance, against civilians, tourist and transportation sites, security forces, and other types of attacks. The concluding chapters apply computational analysis techniques to examine various policy options to counter LeT's terrorist activities. The book's appendices provide additional information about the data methodology employed in the analysis, including its "policy computation engine."

Gregory F. Treverton (Ed.). *Comparing Early Warning Across Domains.* **Stockholm: Center for Asymmetric Threat Studies (CATS)/ National Defence College, September 2011.** 35 pages, [No Price], [Paperback]. ISBN: 978-91-86137-08-3. The monograph is located at: https://www.fhs.se/Documents/Externwebben/forskning/centrumbildningar/CATS/ publikationer/Comparing%20Early%20Warning%20Across%20Domains.pdf .

This working paper reports on a workshop that was held in Stockholm, Sweden, that brought together a range of Swedish and international experts on early warning in intelligence. The components of effective early warning analysis, according to the experts, include formulating the main argument (including alternative explanations), assembling the most important evidence, and generating critical assumptions (including those that may be uncertain, outdated, or invalid). Also of interest is the discussion of national perspectives on early warning in the cases of Sweden, Great Britain, Switzerland, and the United States. The next section examines the challenges of formulating early warning for terrorism, anticipating radicalisation into violent extremism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, anticipating cyber attacks, and forecasting financial breakdowns. The concluding section provides a discussion of lessons learned in homeland security.

About the Reviewer: **Dr. Joshua Sinai** *is the Book Reviews Editor of* '*Perspectives on Terrorism*'.

Robert Dover, Michael S. Goodman and Claudia Hillebrand (Eds.). *Routledge Companion to Intelligence Studies.* **Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2014**

363 pages. US$125.00. [Hardcover] ISBN: 978-0-415-50752-3.

Reviewed by Kenneth A. Duncan

According to Sherman Kent, the term "intelligence" can be applied to three distinct phenomena: the information obtained through clandestine means, which is relevant to formulating and implementing a government's national security policy; the activities required to gather and interpret this information; and the organisations responsible for its collection, analysis, and dissemination as well as for implementing covert actions. Add the requirement for effective oversight of its activities and you have a tall order for any companion to intelligence studies to cover. Routledge's volume is divided into five parts which: 1) explain the evolution of intelligence studies; 2) present discussions of abstract approaches to intelligence; 3) outline historical approaches to intelligence; 4) describe systems of intelligence; and 5) provide an overview of contemporary challenges.

In its first section, Loch Johnson's 'Introduction,' provides a most useful overview of the history and development of intelligence studies albeit from an academic perspective. He identifies both the strengths and weaknesses of intelligence's effect on policymaking as well as its distortion by policymakers.

The second section's chapters on 'The Cycle of Intelligence' and 'Strategists and Intelligence' provide a useful understanding of this most complex field and highlight its limitations, as when R. Gerald Hughes cites Paul Pillar's observation that for policymakers intelligence is irrelevant (p. 53). Other contributions of note are Michael Warner's 'The State of Play' and Jennifer Sims' 'The Theory and Philosophy of Intelligence.' Since covert action is considered an important element of intelligence, it is a great pity that Sims' view that it should be understood not as intelligence but as secret policy is confined to a footnote (p. 49-n.5) and that she was not able to expand on this thought-provoking view in her article.

The third section, 'Historical Approaches to Intelligence,' gives largely historical descriptions of the various forms of intelligence collection. What is missing from most, apart from Len Scott's 'Human Intelligence,' is a discussion of their underlying issues. For example, Stevyn Gibson's 'Open Source Intelligence' rightly points out that "the availability of more information in the public sphere may confer a quantitative rise, but does not infer any similar qualitative improvement' (p. 129), but his discussion omits the troubling corollary question of what Osint (Open Source Intelligence) should be in its finished form. In other words, should it be disseminated as a single source of information, as NSA does with its Sigint (Signals Intelligence) reporting, or should Osint analysts also draw on all-source intelligence in order to assess open source accuracy?

I found the fourth section, 'Systems of Intelligence,' both the strongest in terms of overall quality and in usefulness. Michael Goodman's 'The United Kingdom' was outstanding for its discussion of the UK's collegial system as it related to intelligence issues such as Iraq WMD. (p. 142). My only quibble was that Reginald Brope's discussion of Russian intelligence organisations omitted military intelligence, the GRU. The countries selected offered a comprehensive survey of the world's great intelligence organizations, although an article on one of the Middle East's services, besides the Israeli example, would have made it even better.

The section on 'Contemporary Challenges' presented discussions of many of the most pressing issues facing 21st century intelligence organizations. However, no work is perfect and I found several of the articles ('Energy and Food Security' in particular) were not essentially about intelligence at all. Of more concern were issues not covered by this section, although to be fair some were referenced in other parts of the volume. The first of these was the absence of any reference to, let alone discussion of, interagency centers at CIA as attempts by the US intelligence community to create single points of reference and to enhance interagency cooperation in those issues which involve multiple agencies from intelligence, law enforcement, and the military, namely terrorism, narcotic trafficking and international organized crime, and weapons of mass destruction. Similarly absent was a discussion of interagency centers in many countries, most notably the US and UK, for dissemination of intelligence to law enforcement and local authorities or of international interagency centers, such as Atlantic Base, for enhancing international cooperation. A second area of omission was the growing competition between covert action, international law enforcement, and military special forces in areas such as assassination, control of drone assets, and covert renditions. Lastly was the omission of the controversy over use of intelligence by policymakers, particularly with regard to Iraq's possible WMD capability, as a source of support for their decisions rather than an aid in reaching those decisions in the first place.

In a topic as large, complex, and controversial as intelligence it is inevitable that there will be some lacunae, but in spite of this I believe the editors and authors of this companion should be congratulated on a work that will be of immense value to anyone seeking a broad understanding of intelligence today. It deserves to be on shelves of every academic library.

About the reviewer: **Kenneth A. Duncan** *is a former Chairman of the Director of Central Intelligence's Interagency Committee on Terrorism.*

Matthew Levitt, *Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon's Party of God*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2013.

ISBN: 978-1-62616-013-2. 426 pp. Hardcover, US$32.95.

Reviewed by Joshua Sinai

With its enormously unpopular involvement on the side of President Bashar al-Assad in the Syrian civil war against the regime's primarily Sunni opposition, the Shi'ite-based Lebanese Hezbollah (some times also transliterated as Hizballah) now finds itself facing the most severe existential crisis since its creation in the early 1980s. Matthew Levitt's "Hezbollah: The Global Footprint of Lebanon's Party of God" is a meticulously detailed, comprehensive, and authoritative examination of Hezbollah's origins as an Iranian proxy in Lebanon, its forays into terrorism targeting Western and Israeli interests in Lebanon and abroad (where it also runs extensive criminal and illicit military materiel importing enterprises), and the consolidation of its power among Lebanon's Shi'ite population and the country's political system – all of which are now being threatened by its internally and externally controversial involvement in Syria's civil war.

Mr. Levitt is a former deputy assistant secretary for intelligence and analysis at the U.S. Department of the Treasury who currently serves as a senior fellow and director of a program on counterterrorism at The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. To research his book, he accumulated a vast collection of Hezbollah-related newspaper accounts and primary source documents, such as indictments and transcripts of the trials of its members around the world for their illicit activities, which provides the book with in-depth details about how Hezbollah's far-flung terrorist and criminal networks operate.

Hezbollah ("Party of God" in Arabic) has multiple identities, Mr. Levitt writes. It is a social and religious movement representing the country's Shi'ite community (estimated at around 27-30 percent of the total population) and one of the dominant political parties in Lebanon, having won 12 seats in the 128-seat parliament. It is also Lebanon's largest and most powerful para-military force, which was created by Iranian Revolutionary Guards in the early 1980s to serve as its Lebanese Shi'ite proxy, and has since carried out numerous terrorist attacks on behalf of its Iranian patron, which has provided it with hundreds of millions of dollars in funding over the years. Hezbollah is also a proxy of the Syrian regime, and allegedly carried out an assassination in February 2005 on its behalf, killing Rafik Hariri, Lebanon's Sunni Prime Minister, who had vigorously opposed the Syrian government for its involvement in Lebanon.

What is so significant about Hezbollah's current predicament, which Mr. Levitt discusses towards the end of the book, is that over the years the party has branded itself as the primary Islamic resistance to Israeli "aggression" in Lebanon – although with Israeli forces withdrawing

from south Lebanon in 2000, Hezbollah has been left, according to Mr. Levitt, with demanding that Israel withdraw from the relatively inconsequential Shebaa Farms, which constitute a tiny uninhabited territory along the common border claimed by Lebanon but occupied by Israel (and which, in any case, is also claimed by Syria).

Although Mr. Levitt's manuscript was completed prior to the recently intensified conflagration between Hezbollah's forces against the Sunni rebels in Syria, which has turned Lebanon's Sunni community against the Shi'ite party (including a series of bombings by Sunni militants against Hezbollah-controlled neighborhoods in Beirut), now the party has lost its brand as the spearhead of Islamic resistance against Israel, with Hezbollah forced (in the most awkward way) to rationalize its new mission of fighting fellow Muslims on behalf of an unpopular Syrian tyrant. Even more consequential for Hezbollah, the families of its soldiers fighting in Syria are likely furious at the party for sacrificing their sons to die unnecessarily in battles against fellow Muslims.

Much of Mr. Levitt's book focuses on Hezbollah's international activities. These consist of criminal and logistical support networks that raise funds for the organization in geographically disparate regions such as the United States (including cigarette smuggling and money laundering enterprises), South America's Tri-Border, Venezuela and Mexico (narcotics trafficking), and Africa (diamond smuggling), with Hezbollah's operatives exploiting Lebanon's diaspora Shi'ite communities in those countries as their safe haven. There are also numerous accounts of the activities of its military procurement agents in the U.S. and Canada – many of whom have been arrested and convicted for such crimes. Mr. Levitt's accounts of these wide-ranging illicit enterprises are riveting.

Hezbollah's most notorious terrorist operation was the October 1983 suicide truck bombing of the U.S. Marine Barracks in Beirut, in which 241 American Servicemen were killed. This was followed by numerous other large-scale terrorist attacks, such as the bombings of Jewish and Israeli targets in Argentina in 1992 and 1994, and its role in the June 1996 bombing by Saudi Hezbollah (its Saudi Arabian counterpart) of the Khobar Towers housing complex in Dhahran, in which 19 U.S. Servicemen were killed, with several hundred others wounded. These terrorist operations are detailed extensively in the book, with new information revealed about the Khobar Towers plot.

Not all of Hezbollah's terrorist operations have succeeded. Mr. Levitt discusses numerous plots against Israeli and Jewish targets in far-away regions such as Azerbaijan, Turkey and Thailand that were thwarted, due either to successful preventative measures or incompetence by the plotters. Such plots have been on the increase in recent years, especially in retaliation for Israel's alleged assassination in February 2008 of Imad Mughniyeh, Hezbollah's long-time terrorist mastermind, with the most recent attack taking place on July 18, 2012 at Sarafovo

Airport in Burgas, Bulgaria, when a bomb allegedly placed by a Hezbollah operative killed several Israeli tourists (while injuring others) who were boarding their resort-bound buses.

Especially intriguing is Mr. Levitt's account of Hezbollah's efforts to recruit Israeli Arabs to spy on its behalf against potential Israeli targets, with some of these individuals recruited during their stays in European countries.

The chapter on Hezbollah's involvement in Iraq provides extensive details about its cooperation with Iranian security forces in training Shi'ite militias in the country, but it lacks any discussion of its response to al Qaida's Iraqi affiliate's escalating attacks against the country's Shi'ite majority, thereby creating a void in Mr. Levitt's coverage of this subject.

Mr. Levitt concludes that "it is high time the international community conducted a thorough and considered discussion of the full range of Hezbollah's 'resistance' activities, and what to do about them. With this book, I hope to kick-start that discussion." (p. 373). This book's meticulous documentation of Hezbollah's terrorist and criminal enterprises makes it required reading for all those concerned about understanding its true nature.

NB: This is a revised version of a review that appeared in 'The Washington Times'.

About the Reviewer: **Dr. Joshua Sinai** *is the Book Reviews Editor of 'Perspectives on Terrorism'.*

Alison G. Smith (Ed.), *The Relationship between Rhetoric and Terrorist Violence* London: Routledge, 2013.

128 pp. ISBN 978-0-415-82360-9. £ 85.- (hbk)

Reviewed by Mark Dechesne

The systematic analysis of the content of political texts holds considerable promise when it comes to predicting terrorist violence. That is the basic premise behind *The Relationship between Rhetoric and Terrorist Violence*, edited by Allison Smith, a social scientist at the Science and Technology Directorate of the US Department of Homeland Security. The volume is a compilation of the approaches by some of the leading experts in the area of Linguistic Content Analysis. In the volume, they discuss their strategies to analyse a single set of texts from two violent, and two radical but non-violent organisations, in order to identify potential predictors of violent action.

The idea for the volume arose from earlier research carried out by the editor. In her earlier work, Smith analyzed the political exclamations of 13 political organisations known to be violent, and compared these exclamations with those of matching radical but non-violent organisations. She coded the texts for in-group and out-group affiliation and power motive imagery, and found that these implicit motives differed between the violent and nonviolent political organisations.

In this volume, Smith has created a similar setup. Documents (such as speeches, interviews, and articles) from the violent Central o Core Al-Qaeda and Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) are compared with the non-violent Hizb ut-Tahrir and the Movement of Islamic Reform in Arabia. For this volume, however, a number of leading experts were invited to report on their attempts to scrutinize the documents. They were asked to focus on two issues: 1) The use of Linguistic Content Analysis (LCA) to identify violent as opposed to non-violent political participation; and 2) the use of LCA to predict terrorist activity. The experts provide an interesting overview of the diversity of available LCA techniques, ranging from theory based versus data driven, and automated versus human coding.

Despite this diversity, the basic principle of the LCA method is applied throughout the volume. The words and sentences of the political documents used are scanned and matched with indicator words that are derived from theory or prior empirical research. Jamie Pennebaker of the University of Texas, for example, reports on the match of the words in political documents with words derived from his earlier research on Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (which includes categories with associated occurrences or co-occurrences of words, e.g. the category "social-emotional style" is associated with the co-occurrence of personal pronouns and affective words). Sanfilippo, McFrath, and Whitney (Pacific Northwest National Laboratory) infuse automated Frame Analysis with theoretical insights from the

social scientific literature on violence (regarding e.g. moral disengagement) and scan the documents for indicators that are derived from this literature. Hart and Lind (University of Texas) apply DICTION, a program containing 'dictionaries' of semantically clustered words. Hermann and Sakiev of the Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs at Syracuse University use Profiler Plus software to match the documents with criteria for seven traits that are thought to characterize political leaders. Stephan Walker (Arizona State University) uses the same software to match the words in the political documents with dictionaries he specified as part of the Verbs in Context System. David Winter (University of Michigan) takes a less formal approach with human coders who rated the texts for consistencies with his taxonomy of human social motives of Achievement, Affiliation, and Power. Lucian Gideon Conway III and colleagues (University of Montana) also use human coders to scan the documents for differences in elaborative and integrative complexity across parties and across violent and non-violent episodes. Finally, Peter Suedfeld and Jelena Brcic (University of British Columbia) trained two scorers to judge the extent to which the political documents reflect human values, including e.g. Self-Direction, Universalism, Benevolence, Conformity, and Security.

The reports on findings are brief but contain a vast amount of insightful results. This is no surprise given the size of the dataset and the diversity of variables employed in their examination of the documents. Several researchers aptly note that by chance alone a substantial number of significant differences between violent and non-violent organisations are to be expected. But there are certainly more differences reported in the reports than mere chance would prescribe. Fortunately, a concluding chapter by Conway and Conway summarizes several findings that hold across the various chapters and are therefore particularly noteworthy for our understanding of the difference between violent and non-violent political rhetoric. Across authors and methods, terrorist rhetoric is found to be of lesser complexity, to come with greater emphasis on affiliation, to stress issues of control and power, while remarkably, violent and non-violent organisations do not differ in their hostility against their adversaries, only in the methods they use to target them. Of further interest, expressions of achievement and optimism were in some analyses associated with greater propensity towards violence while in others with lesser violence. Predicting a terrorist attack turns out to be more difficult than differentiating violent from non-violent political expression. Conway and Conway cautiously conclude from their meta-analysis that a general exaggeration of a terrorist organisation's typical style signals an impending attack. For example, if a violent political organisation already exhibited lesser complexity, this characteristic will become more salient just prior to an attack.

In conclusion, this is a highly valuable academic treatment that provides an overview of the high potential of Linguistic Content Analysis for predicting likely terrorist attacks. Given its high potential, it is perhaps unfortunate that the contributors only briefly describe their research methods, and above all, that there is little general consideration of the value and

limitations of LCA for terrorism analyses. Nonetheless, in an age where the potential of "Big Data" and associated algorithms are increasingly recognized for the predictive capability of a great variety of socially significant phenomena, readers will find this book a state-of-the-art overview of the methods and heuristics used to analyse large amounts of political data to identify potentially violent forms of political participation.

About the Reviewer: **Dr. Mark Dechesne** *is Senior Researcher at the Centre for Regional Knowledge Development at Leiden University's The Hague Campus. Prior to this appointment he was a researcher in the field of psychology with START at the University of Maryland.*

Raphael Lefevre, *Ashes of Hama: the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria*, London: Hurst, 2013. ISBN: 978-1-84904-285-7. Hardback £ 30.

Reviewed by Richard Phelps

Beyond the Assad regime's decimation of Muslim Brotherhood, which climaxed in Hama in February 1982, knowledge of the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria is generally superficial, even among Middle East specialists. Since then, in studies of Islamism, Syria has typically been overlooked. As observers now contemplate Syrian politics in a post-Assad era, a timely book explores the history and internal dynamics of the Brotherhood's branch in Syria. *Ashes of Hama* is a well-researched work that explores the evolution of the Syrian Brotherhood. It is required reading for those seeking to understand how the country's Islamist past is influencing current politics. The book's major accomplishment is its detailed portrayal of the tendencies, tensions and leading personalities within the movement.

Despite belonging to the global Islamist movement, the Syrian Brotherhood's origins are local and independent. The movement, writes Lefevre, a PhD candidate at Cambridge University, was formed in 1945 by the coalescence of reformist religious organisations that emerged under Ottoman and French mandate rule during the late 19th and early 20th century (p.82). Throughout its history, its priorities, agendas and concerns have been shaped by factors and considerations peculiar to Syria.

The author highlights how the Syrian Brotherhood has historically exhibited competing tendencies: at times peaceful and modernist; at other times reactionary, violent, and sectarian. Following Syria's independence in 1946, for example, the Brotherhood embraced parliamentary democracy and participated in elections until the advent of Baathist rule in the early 1960s. On the other hand, during the 1970s, pronouncements by Brotherhood's leaders adopted an increasingly sectarian tone against Syria's minority Alawite community, among whom political power was disproportionately concentrated. Lefevre skilfully shows how these varying tendencies partially reflected the alternating control of the group's Damascene, Aleppan, and Haman leaders: led by Said Hawwa, the Haman leaders' *"particular militancy would play a key role in the violent confrontation"* (p.82) with the regime in the late 1970s; whereas its Damascene leadership had been *"a key driving force behind the organization's acceptance of Syria's nascent parliamentary political system"* in the 1940s and 1950s (p.85).

The Muslim Brotherhood has often reacted *to* political tides in Syria as much as it has been a driver *of* them. In the *Zeitgeist* of Arab socialism during the 1950s, for example, its leaders embraced left wing rhetoric: it campaigned for elections under the "Islamic Socialist Front" platform and leaders spoke of *"the socialism of the fast during the month of Ramadan"* (p.33). Under the rule of the Baath party from 1963 onwards, however, government repression prompted it to adopt ever more radical positions. Its leaders' disastrous embrace of violence

against the regime between 1979 and 1982 came after more radical splinter groups such as the Fighting Vanguard led by Marwan Hadid had launched an armed struggle. Even today, after categorically rejecting the use of violence in 2001 under a "National Honour Charter" (p.174), the Brotherhood waited until March 2012 – a year after the uprising began – before it endorsed the Free Syrian Army's armed campaign against the Assad regime (p. 193).

Among many analysts, the events leading to the Assad regime's destruction of Hama in 1982 have assumed an almost folkloric quality. Here, the author provides a clear narrative of how events unfolded and pierces the cloud of mythology through his interviews with members of the Brotherhood and former regime security officials, as well as reviewing the memoirs of the participants. Moreover, the history of the Brotherhood in exile is little known, and the author provides an illuminating reconstruction of the trajectory it has taken during its three decades of obscurity. The Brotherhood also continued to exert influence in Syria. The author explains that the regime *"came to terms with the reality that, whatever the scale of repression, it would never be possible to stifle completely the increasing desire of conservative sections of Syrian society"* (p.154). Therefore it increasingly sought to undermine the Brotherhood through divide-and-rule tactics and exploit more extreme Islamists as a tool of foreign policy.

The Muslim Brotherhood is by no means the only Islamist player in the Syrian political landscape. Not only does the author illustrate how the movement fits into the wider spectrum, but he penetrates the group's own internal dynamics to depict a movement that is far from homogenous. The *"Brotherhood's role in the unfolding of the protests was actually marginal"* in 2011 (p.182), he notes. Despite this, the influence of Islamists in post-Assad politics is almost certain to increase, though their exact role remains a contested field. *"We are ready for the post-Assad era"* (p.194) he quotes one Syrian Brother announcing; and *Ashes of Hama* provides an informative and distilled background that will greatly assist readers' understanding of Syrian politics for years to come.

About the Reviewer: **Richard Phelps** *is an Adjunct Fellow of the Quilliam Foundation.*

Michael Struett, Jon D. Carlson, and Mark Nance (Eds.), *Maritime Piracy and the Construction of Global Governance.* **New York and London: Routledge 2013.**

226 pp.; ISBN:978-0-415-51829-1; £ 85.- (hc).

Reviewed by Peter Lehr

Piracy long seemed to be yesteryear's problem – so far removed from reality that it was confined, in the views of many, to novels such as Treasure Island or silver screen adventures like those of Captain Blood (Errol Flynn) or Captain Jack Sparrow (Johnny Depp). Ironically, the adventures of the latter filled cinemas while 'real-life' piracy returned with a vengeance in the shape of high-seas piracy emanating from the shores of civil war-blighted Somalia. The activities of Somali pirate action groups that reached their zenith during 2009/2010, followed by those of pirates in the Gulf of Guinea should, however, not mislead us to think that piracy is a short-term, regional problem that can be fixed by ad-hoc naval patrols hurriedly organised to combat them, to then being equally hurriedly disbanded. Rather, what is needed is an improved system of maritime governance covering our oceans, or at least our most important sea lines of communication (SLOCs), based on an improved understanding of the concept of 'piracy.'

Improving our understanding of both 'governance' and 'piracy' is exactly what this excellent edited volume does, on the basis of a constructivist approach – quite appropriate in the context of the seemingly ever-changing discourses on piracy, with positions ranging from denouncing them as *hostes humani generis* (enemies of all mankind) to those glorifying modern-day Somali pirates as 'Robin Hoods at Sea.' The first part of this volume addresses these somewhat distorted discourses, with a focus on the legal construction of piracy in international law by different sets of actors, such as states, the maritime transport sector, and various international bodies. Harry Gould's insightful chapter titled "Cicero's Ghost: Rethinking the Social Construction of Piracy", kicks off by demonstrating that the notion that pirates have always been framed as enemies of all mankind is actually based on a misreading of Roman sources – the idea of pirates being "enemies of all mankind" appears to be a social construction of more modern origin. Eric A. Heinze's chapter on the 'Global War on Piracy' then examines the legal principles pertaining to piracy in the classic law of nations, in the modern international law (excellent sections deal with the Harvard Draft Convention on Piracy and the UNCLOS regime) and in more recent UN Security Council resolutions on Somali piracy. The red thread of this highly interesting chapter is the question whether the suppression of piracy should be framed as 'law enforcement' or as 'war.' Heinze concludes that neither should pirates be considered combatants under international law, nor would it be in the states' interest to respond to pirates in a way that would grant them rights under the laws of war. However, as some readers might recall, international law may not necessarily be the biggest legal problem we have to face: actually, only few Somali pirates captured by various

naval forces were prosecuted: most were simply disarmed and sent back to their coast. Yvonne M. Dutton's chapter on 'Maritime Piracy and the Impunity Gap' sheds some light on the background of this practice - also known as 'catch and release' - pointing out that for a variety of reasons, domestic laws facilitating the prosecution of pirates either are notably absent or not consistent with the international legal framework, hence creating an 'impunity gap' through which pirates can slip.

The second part of the volume focuses on the construction of piracy by institutions. In this regard, Christian Bueger and Jan Stockbruegger, point out that within a decade "piracy has been transformed from being perceived as a marginal economic problem into an international problem dealt with by many security actors". (p. 99). Their opening chapter 'Security Communities, Alliances, and Macrosecuritization' analyses international governance arrangements that have been developed so far through the lens of Buzan and Wæver's securitization approach. Mark T. Nance's and Michael Struett's following chapter on 'Conflicting Constructions' argues that inconsistences between various international regimes stand in the way of an effective suppression of piracy as well, in addition to the legal inconsistencies flagged by Dutton. In their view, an effective suppression of piracy depends on whether the current regimes "will find a common language that allows them to overlook boundaries in the name of a more effective cooperation on common problems" (p. 144). The final chapter of this part, Kevin McGahan's and Terence Lee's 'Frames, Humanitarianism, and Legitimacy', offers a critical in-depth look at the anti-piracy regime in the Gulf of Aden against the backdrop of current debates revolving around humanitarianism and humanitarian intervention. A third part consisting of two chapters concludes this impressive volume: first, Brent Steele takes a look at the limits of international society through the lens of the English School of International Relations theory, before Bruce Cronin brings all the strands together, to then broaden the lessons learned to other new challenges "the institutions and norms of the modern nation-state system" (p. 199) such as transnational arms and drugs dealers or Al-Qaeda. Indeed, "[states] need to construct new frames to meet new challenges" (ibid.).

All taken together, the authors keep their promise: on the basis of well-researched and accessible chapters that build on one another (not always the case in edited volumes), they improve our understanding of the construction of piracy and of governance, thus offering a major contribution to the debate. Hence, this is an excellent, outstanding publication of particular interest for scholars and graduate students – the more general readership might find it a bit daunting, though.

About the Reviewer: **Dr. Peter Lehr** *is Lecturer in Terrorism Studies at the Handa CSTPV, School of International Relations, University of St. Andrews. He is also a Visiting Lecturer at the University of Heidelberg's South Asia Institute. He is the editor of 'Violence at Sea: Piracy in the Age of Global Terrorism' (Routledge 2007/2011) and currently working on a book manuscript on*

piracy from ancient to modern times, to be published by Yale University Press in Winter 2013/14.
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IV. Resources

Literature on the Arab Spring

Compiled and selected by Judith Tinnes

Abstract

This bibliography contains journal articles, book chapters, books, edited volumes, theses, grey literature, bibliographies and other resources on the Arab Spring/Awakening/Uprisings. To keep up with the rapid changing political events, more recent publications have been prioritized during the selection process. The literature has been retrieved by manually browsing more than 200 core and periphery sources in the field of Terrorism Studies. Additionally, full-text and reference retrieval systems have been employed to expand the search.

NB: All websites were last visited on September 22, 2013. Literature on the Syrian conflict has been excluded; it will be covered in a future issue of *Perspectives on Terrorism. -* See also Note for the Reader at the end of this literature list).

Keywords: *bibliography, resources, literature, Arab Spring, Arab Awakening, Arab Uprisings*

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Literature on Diasporas and Terrorism

Selected and compiled by Eric Price

Monographs, Edited Volumes, Non-conventional Literature and Prime Articles published since 1999

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V. Op-Ed

After the Fall: The Muslim Brotherhood's Post Coup Strategy

by Philipp Holtmann

The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt struggles to find a strategy of survival. After the military coup in early July 2013, during which hundreds of its members and supporters were killed by the army, many observers of the post-coup situation assume that the MB as a whole will go underground. Yet, this is unlikely. Even if– as has happened in recent weeks–many Muslim Brothers (MB) are arrested, numerous activists are extrajudicially killed in jails, and the organization is earmarked to be dissolved and its unlicensed clerics forbidden to preach - it will not break its backbone.[1] The Brotherhood will manage to reorganize as a mosaique of social, political and religious networks. This is due to its strategic flexibility and its ability to appeal to the most diverse sectors of society through its combination of social, political and practical actions. The historic record shows how the MB survived earlier waves of repression and indicates that the latest wave of repression will not be its end.

The Egyptian MB's strategic reactions to repression depend on the extent of pressure being brought on the organisation and its members. Levels of repression have varied considerably over the last 65 years. At times, it took a relatively "mild" form of suveillance, combined with prohibitions and demonstrative incarcerations of key leaders, such as the arrest, between 2007 and 2011, of the MB's deputy guide Khayrat al-Shatir. Shatir's arrest was the regime's way of signalling that the MB had to slow down politically, since it had grown too strong in Egyptian party politics.

One of the strategic "behavioural patterns" of the MB is to face repression like a quiet, domesticated cat that sits idle, eats from its owner's hand, respects the house rules and is aware of the limits of its cage. Yet this "peaceful" behaviour can be deceptive. In Victor Hugo's words, "God created the cat, so that man might have the pleasure of caressing the tiger."

Let's look for a moment at both the most recent and the more distant history. How did the MB behave when it finally gained power after having been excluded from it for more than 80 years? Despite the long waiting period, which should have given it ample time to prepare for taking state power, the MB seemed incapable of ruling the country between 2012 and 2013. This was already illustrated by the changes of the movement's political strategy in the run up to the 2011 elections. Its political behavior at that time stood in stark contrast to the review of political strategies advised by the MB's "*Nahda*" (Renaissance) project, namely, to "begin with a small effort; [gradually] this effort and work will accumulate."[2] Instead of adhering to its traditional "participation, not domination" strategy in electoral politics since the early 1990s, the Brotherhood suddenly decided to, 'have the whole cake,' not sharing it with other parties. Thus, when the revolution started in the spring of 2011 and Mubarak had to leave office, the

Muslim Brothers suddenly saw a tiger in their mirror-picture (to stay with Victo Hugo's metaphor).[3] Their intoxication by the prospects of power was also clearly visible in the short-lived government under Muhammad Mursi. He wanted everything: to control the drafting of the new constitution while at the same time allowing the security apparatus to batter protesters. Moreover, Mursi decreed new laws that allowed for a person's detention for up to 30 days without judicial review. Last but not least he wanted to make his own rules, exempt from any legislative control or judicial oversight. In doing so, Mursi acted not too differently from Hosni Mubarak in the years before 2011. At the same time, one has to admit that it is difficult to govern a Muslim majority country in transition from a military dictatorship to - what many hoped it would be - a democracy. But one year of MB rule has made clear that Morsi had no idea oas to how to govern – he lost the support of millions of Egyptians who had in the elections of the post-revolutionary period preferred his persona and his party to secular parties or candidates close to the military apparatus. As a result of Mursi's blatant mismanagement, the military coup of this summer was initially welcomed by hundreds of thousands if not millions of Egyptians. Yet, while the MB are not very good at governing Egypt, they are experts at how to run an opposition.

Let us look back at their strategic responses to the relatively "mild" repression under former president Husni Mubarak since the mid-1980s. The MB relied on a three tiered strategic approach, first tried after dictator Mubarak's rise to power in 1981.[4] Following the assassination of Anwar al-Sadat, Mubarak and his military apparatus clamped down heavily on all Islamist organizations, not only the Jihadis. Over time and as the shock waves of 1981 ebbed away, the MB began to turn towards electoral politics. It was an active, integral and progressive approach that later would turn into a winning streak.[5] The second tier of the MB strategy under Mubarak was to take effective control of student and professional unions (*niqabat*), such as the lawyers' association in 1992 and the journalists' association in 2003. Already in the 1950s when its membership was larger than ever before or since, the bulk of Brotherhood-members came from the most modern and westernized segments of society. They were lawyers, bureaucrats, academics, engineers, students and doctors. This second tier of the MB strategy under Mubarak should not be lost sight of. We have to keep in mind that Islamism in Egypt should not be equated with backwardness. Relative deprivation models cannot explain the massive influence of Muslim Brothers among educated and modern Muslims! The third tier of its low profile strategy under Mubarak comprised the expansion of its network of social services which provided food for the poor, housing, jobs and also served as a recruitment tool for bringing new members into the Brotherhood. This services network goes back to the 1950s.[6] Burning this social capital now by igniting a civil war would be counter-productive for any rational survival strategy of the Muslim Brotherhood.

However, there is another side to the Brotherhood: like a wounded beast it could also tear the house that it built apart, no matter how high the casualties, and disregarding any

consequences. We should not forget that – to stay with Victor Hugo's metaphor - some of the movement's kittens have become stray cats in the past, i.e. extremist ideological groups broke away from the mother-faction and interpreted the "totalizing" MB core-concepts violently, including the justfication and perpetration of indiscriminate terrorism against civilians.

This "beast" is the accumulation of collective emotions of isolation and frustration paired with a totalitarian and Manichaean worldview. There were several major clamp-downs on the movement, namely in 1948, 1954, 1965, 1981.[7] The most notable was the one following its break with Col. Nasser, who had come to power in 1952. After some Muslim Brothers tried but failed to assassinate Nasser as he gave a speech in Alexandria in 1954, the movement was dissolved and many of its members were thrown into jail, where they were frequently tortured and some of them were even killed. This period of "concentration camps" (*mu'taqalat*) became the major narrative of victimization of the Brothers (the "bloody Monday and Tuesday" of early July 2013 will probably strengthen this narrative).[8] In the isolation of their prison cells, some of the incarcerated MBs started to reject political or non-violent strategies altogether. In the wake of their renewed suppression of 1965, the disastrous defeat of the Arabs in the 1967 war with Israel and the rise of political Islam as an ideological alternative to Pan-Arab socialism, militant splinter groups of the MB, such as *Jama'at Shabab Muhammad* (*Jama'at al-Faniya al-'Askariyya*), *al-Jama'a al-Muslima* (*Jama'at al-Takfir wa-l-Hijra*), *Tanzim al-Jihad*, *al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya* emerged, forming the new role models for other Arab Jihadi organizations.[9] More and more youngsters in the 1970s became receptive for embracing revolutionary Islamist models, such as the one formulated by the MB ideologue Sayyid Qutb. Qutb who was hanged by Nasser in 1965 (after he had refused to ask for pardon) can be seen as the ideological "Godfather of Jihadism." Yet, in the same period other figureheads of the movement, such as al-Hajj Abbas al-Sisi, attracted large crowds of followers with non-violent and more egalitarian Islamist ideas. We have to keep in mind that this happened in the second half of the 1970s, when the spread of Jihadi splinter-factions of the MB was at its peak. Thus, there have always been balancing trends within the Egyptian MB, especially in times of crisis. [10]

Roel Meijer claims that the movement never seems to have committed itself ultimately in one way or the other; its political terminology since its creation in 1928 has been characterised by ambiguity.[11] Can this maneuverability tell us more about the future strategic behaviour of the MB? In the history of the Muslim Brothers, concepts such as party politics (*hizbiyya*) and jihad have moved from the ideological center to the periphery and vice versa, and the interpretation of these concepts has drastically changed in periods of conflict and cooperation with the regimes of Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak. Already in the 1930s, MB founder Hassan al-Banna said that the movement was "a Salafi propaganda, a Sunni way, a Sufi reality, a political body, a sports group, a cultural association, an economic company, a social thought."[12] By conceptually framing the movement in such a vague way, al-Banna created platforms for the

MB to sail through almost any ideological and intellectual storm. The social network "Muslim Brotherhood" can turn its strategy 360 degrees around, turn its compass into any promising direction and appeal to any social or political strata should the need arise. Thus, it is not only likely, but a proven fact that the MB demonstrates an absolute flexibility with regard to its interpretation of its Islamist core concepts. The "state owned" clergy of al-Azhar, the official center for religious learning and since the Nasser period effectively controlled by the state, once had the very difficult task under the Sadat regime to re-interpret "true" jihad as *sulh* (peace agreement) in order to provide a theological justification for the 1979 peace agreement between Egypt and Israel. The Azhar clerics needed exactly six years for this (1973-1979).[13] The Brotherhood could have engaged in a similar maneuvre more recently, if the fallout with the generals had not occured. Theirs is a play between the "poetry of ideology" and the "prose of political reality"– and like in Hamas' case,[14] the latter is likely to take the upper hand with the Egyptian Muslim Brothers as well.

This adaptibility is part of the MB's larger strategy of civilizational jihad (*al-ʹamaliya al-jihadiyya al-hidariyya*), a soft power struggle through propaganda, information operations and the setting up of support networks in politics, business and society. For the Brothers, Islam is a totality (*shumuliya*), a complete system (*nizam kamil*) that encompasses all sectors of human life. In its service, MB cadres, branches and "families" (*ʹusar*) engage in financial, social, psychological and propagandist efforts in the 70 countries it has taken root. Opting for an armed resistance strategy in Egypt would only disturb this silent expansion process and put an uncomfortably bad label on the Brotherhood's mother organization.

While this looks devoid of ideals, in commercial marketing as well as in politics, actors not only have to address the desires and needs of different target groups, but reputation management is crucial too. The same goes for Islamist politics. It is of great concern for the wider, international branches of the MB that its foundational movement, the Egyptian MB, be not associated with the Al-Qaeda label, should some Brothers take up arms in Egypt. Therefore, the official Egyptian MB website posted in September 2013 a statement, calling for "non-violent resistance" to the military's ongoing brutal repression. The MB directive says: "Our old and new experiences confirm that non-violent resistance (*al-muqawama al-silmiyya*) is the most successful, quickest and less life-costly way to counter coups d'etat and tyranny."[15]

Against this background of former strategies against suppression and in the light of its most recent announcements, it is safe to assume that the main wing of the MB movement will try to adapt to the new circumstances, that is, appease the rulers in order to preserve at least some of its political capital. However, at the same time splinter groups are likely to engage the regime with bloody attacks. If the main wing of the movement, however, is pushed too much against the wall and if it is denied any space for maneuvre, such as being allowed to continue to play a role in the social and economic sectors, then it it is not unlikely that the Muslim Brotherhood

core may favour armed struggle. The danger of this possibility is illustrated by the turn of events in Syria and its spill-over effects. The Brotherhood might also split in an underground Egyptian MB and an outside leadership in exile as well as foreign branches. Major leaders, such as secretary-general Mahmud Hussein, deputy supreme-guides Guma'a Amin and Mahmud Ghozlan, have left the country and sound belligerent in their speeches held abroad. They call for the continuation of protests, while local leaders appear to be more pragmatic in their search for survival strategies.[16] The MB has traditionally been strong in mending broken leadership structures through its federated system of semi-autonomous branches, where leadership is decentralized and switches from branch to branch if a leading node is cut off. The modernized and more centralized MB over the last 30 years has given up many of these elements from its underground existence, but may re-activate the federated network-structure to sit out the present wave of repression. In deputy guide Khayrat al-Shatir's own words: "We are Groups, Families, Branches, Regions and officials: the form of this structure may change from one era to another!"[17]

If past is prologue, it is safe to assume that the Egyptian MB will continue to exist. If it cannot act as a centrally led movement or as a political party, then it will try to continue to exist in the form of an effective social network whose branches stretch from the local, communal, national levels all the way to regional and international levels. Ziad Munson claims in his impressive social movement analysis of the MB that the movement has prospered even during times of severe state repression, such as in the early Nasserist era in the 1950.[18] Even after the movement's dissolution and the mass arrests in 1954 by the Free Officers regime, it was able to secretely re-group within a few weeks and was in fact, still growing during that period, as released U.S. State Department documents of this time suggest.[19]

At the moment, there is a public nostalgia for the Nasser era in Egypt, which is also reflected on the level of foreign policy. Strategic relationships with the United States, France and Great Britain appear to be worsening. Especially the U.S. suffers from a loss of reputation even among old allies: in Israel Obama is considered by many a wimp and a coward for not intervening in Syria, which does him actually rather well in some Arab and European opinions.[20] But Egyptian military and secular leaders have also claimed that the U.S. is a supporter of the "source of terrorism," because of its links with the Mursi government.[21] There is talk in Egypt about intensified cooperation with Russia and China. Recent developments do not bode well for the future of democracy in Egypt.

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Notes

[1] Yasmine Saleh, „Egypt bans mosque preachers in crackdown on Islamists," *Reuters*, September 10, 2013, accessed October 15, 2013,

http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/09/10/us-egypt-protests-idUSBRE9890NF20130910.

[2] The project includes a comprehensive review of the Brotherhoods political strategies in the post-Mubarak era. It was planned and presented by deputy guide Khayrat al-Shatir. "Khairat al-Shater on "The Nahda Project" (Complete Translation),"April 10, 2012, Hudson Institute, Current Trends in Islamist Ideology, Volume 13, accessed October 18, 2013, http://www.currenttrends.org/research/detail/khairat-al-shater-on-the-nahda-project-complete-translation.

[3] Nathan J. Brown remarks that Muslim Brotherhood candidates entered all races for parliamentary seats in all provinces in the first free parliamentary elections in post-revolutionary Egypt. They did not concentrate on their strongholds, nor did they send a signal to other parties and blocs that they were interested in power-sharing. Nathan J. Brown, When Victory Becomes an Option: Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood Confronts Success Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment, 2012.

[4] Laurence Caromba and Hussein Solomon, "Understanding Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," *African Security Review*, 17:3 (2008), pp. 118-124.

[5] The entry into party politics began in 1984 under the third Supreme Guide Umar al-Tilimsani, who continued the non-violent reform trend of his predecessor Hassan al-Hudaybi. Although officially prohibitted, MBs were able to run for parliament in 1984 on the list of the Wafd Party in exchange for votes from MB supporters. In 1987 the MB created an "Islamic Alliance" with the Liberal Party and the Labour Party that won 17 percent of the National Vote in the parliamentary elections (65 seats). The Brothers became so powerful in the 2005 parliamentary elections, winning 88 seats as independents. The Brotherhood ran only 150 candidates, less than a third of the house's seats. The message to the regime was that the MB was not seeking a two-thirds majority necessary to implement constitutional changes. See Israel Elad Altman, Strategies of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement 1928-2007, *Research Monographs on the Muslim World Series* ,Paper No 2, January, 2009

Hudson Institute. Yet, Mubarak changed the constitution again, securing his position by separate elections for the presidency (Amendment of article 76 of the Egyptian constitution). In the same year, the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood signed from the exile the "Declaration of Damascus," stating that it would accept the nomination of the Christian Michel Kilo, if fair and free elections were to take place. See Raphael Lefevre, The Muslim Brotherhood Prepares for a Comeback in Syria, *The Carnegie Papers*, May 2013.

[6] This network has been so strong that it frequently replaced non-existing state services altogether. For example, the government had to continue financing these services for fear of collapse and widespread revolts after the Brotherhood's prohibition in 1954. After the earthquake in Cairo in 1992, the Brotherhood's relief operation was so effective that the inefficient government looked like a bystander. "Brotherhood members rapidly set up shelters and medical tents, provided food, clothing and blankets to residents of the city, and donated US$1 000 to every family whose home had been destroyed (Walsh 2003:34). The Egyptian government, concerned that the Brotherhood was attempting to compete with the infrastructure of the state, subsequently barred the Brotherhood from carrying out such humanitarian operations in future, which only served to damage the government's reputation and increase the popularity of the Brotherhood." Laurence Caromba and Hussein Solomon, "Understanding Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood," *African Security Review*, Vol.17, No. 3 (2008), p. 120.

[7] Already in the 1940s some MB members were trained in guerrilla warfare and assassination tactics in the secret paramilitary apparatus of the MB (al-Jihaz al-Sirri). But this „secret apparatus" was part of the larger organization, which was not the case with the armed splinter groups that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s.

[8] Ahmad Ra'if: *Safhat min tarikh al-Ikhwan: Al-Tarikh al-sirri li-l-mu'taqal.* Cairo: Al-Mukhtar al-Islami, n.d.

[9] Rifa'at al-Sa'id, *Al-Ta'asslum al-siyasi wa rawafiduhu.* Cairo: Kitab al-Ahali, 2002. Rifa'at al-Sa'id, *Al-Irhab:Islam am ta'asslum.* Cairo: Sina li-l-Nashr, 1995.

[10] Husam Tamam, *Tahawwalat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun: Tafakkuk al-Idiyulujiya wa nihayat al-tanzim (*Cairo: Maktabat Madbouly, 2006), 176-177. These peaceful trends have appeared frequently in Islamist circles, although, nowadays the focus is on civil war under the banner of jihad which seems to find resonance among distressed Muslims in the wider region, where daily terrorist attacks tear ever deeper holes into the fragile social structures of religious and ethnic communities in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and also, increasingly, in central and sub-Saharan Africa.

[11] Roel Meijer, The Muslim Brotherhood and the Political: An Exercise in Ambiguity. In: Roel Meijer and Edwin Bakker (Eds.), The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012, pp. 295-320.

[12] Ahmad Muhammad Shahuq, *Kaifa yufakkir al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun* .Khartoum: Dar al-Fikr, 1981, p.71.

[13] See Philipp Holtmann, The Transformation of the Jihad-Doctrine in Sadat's Egypt. Munich: Grin, 2009.

[14] See Shaul Mishal and Avraham Sela, Hamas, The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, and Coexistence New York: Columbia University Press, 2000, p.12.

[15] "*Silmiya, silmiya, silmiya…risala min al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin,*" accessed October 12, 2013, http://www.ikhwanonline.com/Article.aspx?ArtID=162319&SecID=211.

[16] Other leaders have been arrested in Egypt, such as the Supreme Guide Muhammad Badie, the first deputy guide Khayrat al-Shatir and the second Deputy Guide Rashad al-Bayoumi, as well as the high ranking MB member and chairman of the Freedom and Justice Party, Saad al-Katatni. Mahmud Izzat, formerly third Deputy, has been appointed new Supreme Guide in August 2013 and seems to be hiding in the Gaza Strip. Interpol answered affirmatively to a demand by the Egyptian prosecutor general to assist detaining Izzat for "inciting violence," if the opportunity presents itself; at the same time, the Egyptian army asked Israeli intelligence to help finding Izzat in Gaza.

[17] Khayrat al-Shatir, "*Mashru' al-nahda al-islami…Khayrat al-Shatir*," accessed October 18, 2013, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JnSshs2qzrM.

[18] Ziad Munson, Islamic Mobilization: Social Movement Theory and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. *Sociological Quarterly,* Vol. 42, No. 4 (2001), pp. 487 - 510.

[19]Ibid..

[20] Uri Avnery, „A Good War," September 14, 2013,

http://zope.gush-shalom.org/home/en/channels/avnery/1379072913.

[21] L. Lavni and M. Shamni, "In Egypt, Public Campaign Against Obama, U.S.; Calls For

Intensified Cooperation With Russia, China," *MEMRI Inquiry & Analysis Series,* Report No. 1016, September 13, 2013.

VI. News from TRI's Network of National PhD Thesis Writers

Spain

by Miguel Peco

Since our last update on the activities of TRI country networks of PhD theses writers, a new network has come into existence in Spain. Its coordinator is Miguel Peco who has already completed his own PhD dissertation in 2011. He sent us this report:

The TRI-Sp.Net project was launched in September 2013. It takes on the format of networking group that is broader than PhD thesis writers alone. The intent is to link up Spanish-speaking students, scholars, and professional CT and armed conflict specialists in a parent group, TRI-Sp.Net, at: http://www.linkedin.com/groups/TRISpNet-5142965/about. In addition, we also wish to enable interactions with other national TRI networks or unaffiliated individuals in the newly created subgroup TRI-Sp.Net/Outreach, at: http://www.linkedin.com/groups/TRISpNet-Outreach-5178487/about.

An initial list of TRI-Sp.Net members willing to share information about their theses is available below. For more information, please contact the coordinator, Dr. M. Peco, at coordinator@tri-sp.net.

Initial List of Spanish PhD Theses on Terrorism, Political Violence, Armed Conflict and Related Issues

Antonio Marín Ortega

Un análisis de operaciones de estabilización basado en el modelo de ecuaciones. estructurales (A Structural Equation Model Analysis of Stabilization Operations).

Lisbon: ISCT-IUL. [Expected] Date of completion: 2015.

Mario Toboso Buezo

El lobo solitario como elemento emergente y evolución táctica del terrorismo yihadista (Lone-Wolf Terrorists as Emergent Elements, and Tactical Evolution of Jihadist Terrorism).

Instituto Universitario General Gutiérrez Mellado (UNED), Madrid .[Expected] Date of completion: 2013.

Claudio Paya Santos

El analista de inteligencia y el proceso de toma de decisiones (The Role of the Intelligence Analyst in the Decision-Making Process).

Rome and Barcelona: Universidad Luiss Guido Carli (IT) and Universidad Internacional de Cataluña (SP). [Expected] Date of completion: June, 2014.

Miguel Peco Yeste

Análisis funcional de los movimientos radicales en el ejercicio de la violencia política (A Functional Analysis of Radical Movements Engaged in Political Violence). Madrid: Instituto Universitario General Gutiérrez Mellado (UNED). Date of completion: June, 2011.

VII. Notes from the Editor

About Perspectives on Terrorism

Perspectives on Terrorism (PT) is a joint publication of the Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI), headquartered in Vienna, Austria, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS), headquartered at the Lowell Campus of the University of Massachusetts, United States of America.

PT is published six times per year as a free peer-reviewed online journal available at www.terrorismanalysts.com. It seeks to provide a platform for established scholars as well as academics and professionals entering the interdisciplinary fields of Terrorism, Political Violence and Conflict Studies. The editors invite readers to:

- present their perspectives on the prevention of, and response to, terrorism and related forms of violent conflict;

- submit to the journal accounts of evidence-based, empirical scientific research and analyses;

- use the journal as a forum for debate and commentary on issues related to the above.

Perspectives on Terrorism has sometimes been characterised as 'nontraditional' in that it dispenses with some of the traditional rigidities associated with commercial print journals. Topical articles can be published at short notice and reach, through the Internet, a much larger audience than subscription-fee based paper journals. Our free on-line journal also offers contributors a higher degree of flexibility in terms of content, style and length of articles - but without compromising professional scholarly standards.

The journal's articles are peer-reviewed by members of the Editorial Board as well as outside experts. While aiming to be policy-relevant, PT does not support any partisan policies regarding (counter-) terrorism and conflict-waging. Impartiality, objectivity and accuracy are guiding principles that we require contributors to adhere to.

Editorial Team of Perspectives on Terrorism

Legal Note: *Perspectives on Terrorism* (PT) hosts articles that reflect a diversity of opinions. The views expressed therein, and the empirical evidence cited in their support, remain the sole responsibility of the contributing authors; they do not necessarily reflect positions and views of the journal's Editorial Team and Editorial Board or PT's parent organizations, the Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS).