



The 'Jihadosphere' Versus the Anglosphere

Convergence and Clashes of Intellect and Brutality

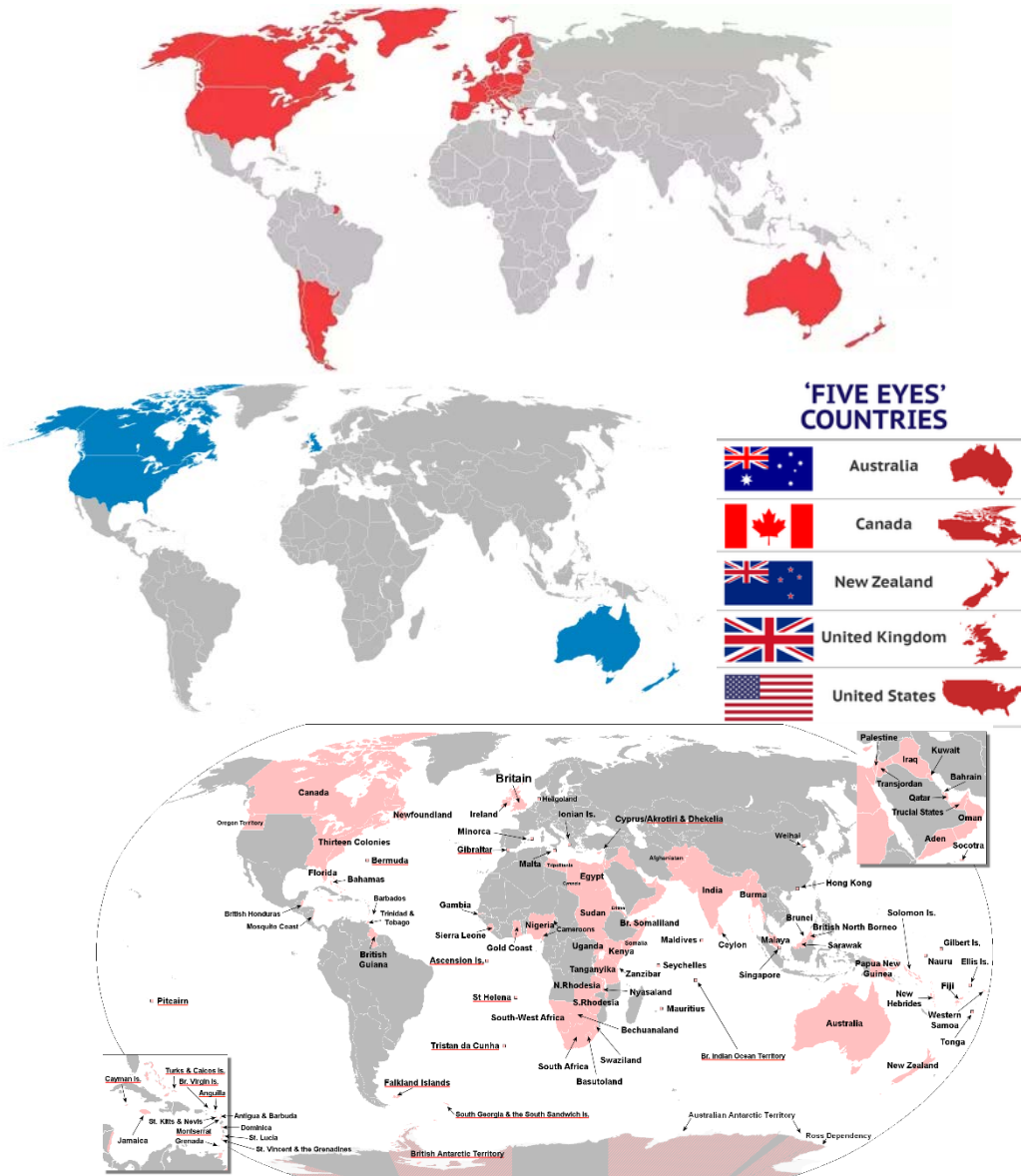
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Structure of Presentation

- / Definitions: Anglosphere and ‘Jihadosphere’
- / Discussion question(s) and why they are important
- / Brief history of Jihadism
- / Pan-Islamism and Islamism – legacies that will not disappear!

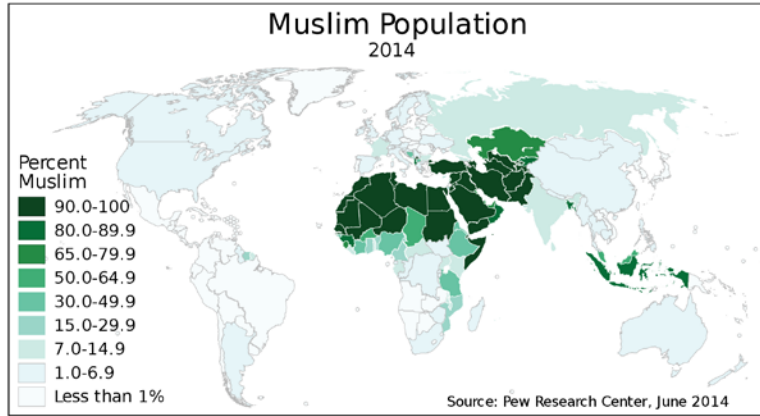
Defining 'Anglosphere'



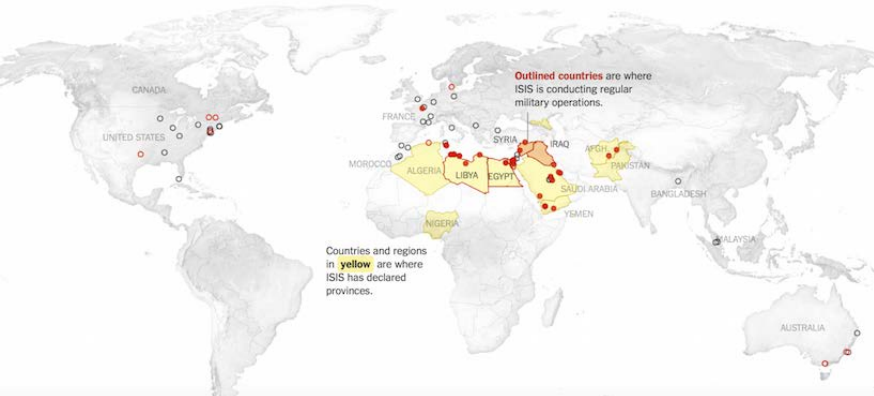
- ▮ The 'West': Industrialized, with overwhelmingly Judeo-Christian-European heritage.
- ▮ A-sphere: Politico-strategic component of 'West' which is associated with unipolarity and 1990s 'New World Order'.
- ▮ Seen negatively by most strategists of Russosphere, Sinosphere, MENASA 35. Legacy of 19th century.

Positive	Negative
Secularism	Racism
Democracy	Imperialism
Technology	Capitalism

'Jihadosphere'



Major events: ● Attacks directed by/linked to ISIS ○ Attacks inspired by ISIS ○ Arrests of suspected ISIS militants or supporters



- █ De-territorialized community of militants fighting for both, local terrain dominance and global ideological (re)assertion.
- █ Worldview obtained from historical interpretations of external conspiracy and internal strife, with shifting emphasis ('Shias created by Jews as 5th column').
- █ 'Near/Far Enemy' dichotomy prompted by 1979 Iranian revolution + GIA focus on France in 1990s (outside A-sphere)

Discussion Question(s)

Gregory Carleton



RUSSIA
THE STORY OF WAR

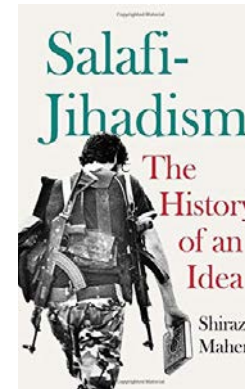
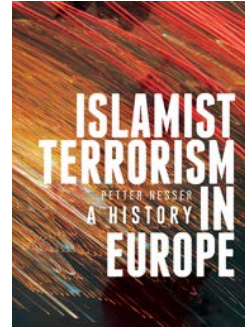
! Oliver Roy – *‘It’s the Islamification of radicalism that we need to investigate, not the radicalization of Islam.’*

! Are terror attacks acts of criminality or of war?

- ! Is multiculturalism doomed to fail in a post-imperial age? Or are all cultures basically ‘nice’?
- ! Where do the bloodied chapters of shared history fit into narratives of ‘niceness’?
- ! The 2nd generation immigrant – a unique problem?

Why are these questions important?

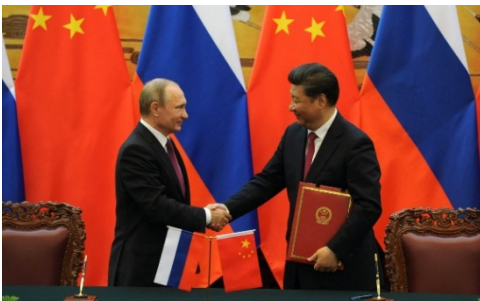
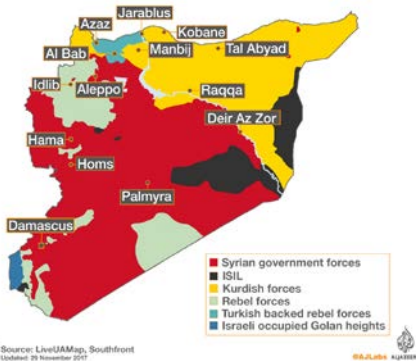
- ! Policy recognition that terrorism has outlasted OBL and AQ, and grown more virulent: become a more intense criminal problem, or a very long-term war.
- ! No solution yet in sight – is there even one, or should each state find its own at any cost?



Current Situation

- IS/Daesh defeats cleared way for Al Qaeda in Syria (Hayat Tahrir al Sham in Idlib). IS going 'dark' to instigate attacks on West. Gains in AfPak from Pakistani Taliban defections.
- Attack in Sinai indicates conflict environments will continue to fuel jihadism even if governments are serious about CT (1700 attacks in 4 years, 800-IS claimed). Destination for FFs.
- US worried by growing Sino-Russian partnership against unipolarity. Europe left to deal with own immigrant/radicalism problems. MidEast slow-burning priority (energy less vital).
- Focus on homeland security aims to avoid COIN campaign. Needle in haystack: 1 out of 300,00 Muslims in US had terrorist intentions (2001-2017). Radical ideas not criminalized, working assumption by LEAs of recruitment. Lower overall rates of radicalism than Europe.

Syria: Who controls what?



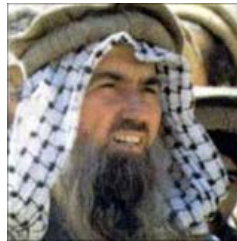
Jihadism

- Jihad is different from 'jihadism' – mostly about territorial defence against aggressor, not aggression. Soviet-Afghan War was prime stereotype.
- 'Jihadism' is fusion of political Islam ('Islamism') with terrorism – aims to conquer and control, not just liberate the oppressed (regardless of start).

- Main ideologues of modern jihad:

AQ: Pretence of moderation

ISIS: Total commitment to violence



- Ibn Tamiyyah:** Mardin fatwa - abodes of Islam and War, **Abdullah Azzam:** jihad as a pillar of faith, **Sayyid Imam al-Sharif:** violence against apostate rulers is justified, **Abu Musab al-Suri:** Lone wolf terrorism, special operations in enemy rear areas.
- Al Qaeda chief Ayman Al Zawahiri – *Imam Ahmad said: 'We heard from Harun bin Ma'ruf, citing Abu Wahab, who quoted Amru bin al-Harith citing Abu Ali Tamamah bin Shafi that he heard Uqbah bin Amir saying, "I heard the Prophet say from the pulpit: 'Against them make ready your strength.'"*

Why attacks in the West?

- Retaliation for Anglosphere's invasion of Iraq, drone strikes, security cooperation with hostile states (continental Europe), imposition of 'secular' values on immigrants.



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- Two levels of logic: operational and political. Operational logic was to out-do rivals in terrorism community who also wanted to strike US homeland.
- Jeopardize harmonious co-existence and force a 'purification' of the faith. Only 'true' believers living in the West will overcome the 3 barriers to jihad: attachment to comfort and routine, attachment to family, attachment to life (GIA: small is better).
- 9/11 mastermind had studied in small-town US, experienced post-1979 Islamophobia. Praise for America among friends/family at home angered him.

United in resentment over Western superiority

- I** Operational planners disagree on nuances with jihadist ideologues, but need intellectual cover nonetheless. Shared anger towards the West keeps them united, main differences are over target selection of ‘near enemies’.
- I** Omar Bakri Mohammed (Syria-born jihadist recruiter in London) conducted dialogue-based subversion of university graduates: *‘If there [were] no discrimination or racism, I think it would be very difficult for us....People are looking for an Islamic identity. You find someone called Muhammed, who grew up in Western society, he concedes a lot so people accept him. He changes his name to Mike, he has a girlfriend, he dances, he has sex, raves, rock and roll, then they say, ‘you are a Paki.’ After everything he gave up to be accepted, they tell him he is a bloody Arab or a Paki.’* (eg. Kh. Kelkal)
- I** Intellectuals and immigrants are alienated early, since they have first contact with Western culture at sub-state/non-diplomatic level (Pushkin, Dostoyevsky). Language fluency creates barriers as much as it bridges them – people learn what others think.
- I** Need to distinguish radical Islamists/jihadists from typical believers (acceptability of statehood varies widely – see Maher versus Aydin)

Pan-Islamism

- ! Pan-Islamists initially opposed racism, not imperialism. Wanted Ottoman empire to receive same privilege of sovereignty as European empires (treatment of minorities).
- ! India's Muslims formed core of Pan-Islamism, since they were subjugated, but had a previously grand imperial tradition and could look to Ottomans for spiritual salvation.
- ! Anglo-French-Russian alliance against Germany made more than half the world's Muslims enemies of Ottomans, who were resentful of 1882 British encroachment.
- ! 1914 Ottoman fatwa aimed to provoke rebellion
- ! Countered by British support of Wahhabism
- ! Khilafat movement strengthened Turkey's position
- ! Abolishment of Caliphate was pragmatic betrayal
- ! With emergence of Arab-ruled states, nationalism was perceived as opposed to Pan-Islamism and as a Western trick to divide the Ummah (discredited after 1967).

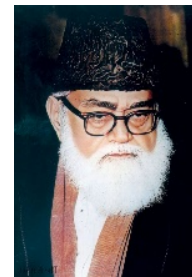


- By early 20th century, orientalism prompted a reciprocal 'othering' by anti-colonial intellectuals. The 'West' was portrayed as materially rich but morally degenerate.
- 'Declinists' like Arnold Toynbee provided arguments (widely translated) for Islamists to argue that modernity was destroying Western morality, and to promote religiosity.
- Rise of Japan seen as a sign that modernity could be achieved without loss of 'self'. Question was: how to seize power and impose a new (hybrid) social structure?



Cataclysm of 1917

'Comrades Lenin and Stalin know best'
Industrial Development: 30/150



- Bernard Lewis: Islam(ism) and communism both '*profess a totalitarian doctrine, with complete and final answers to all questions on heaven and earth*', and both demonstrate the '*aggressive fanaticism of the believer*'.
- Maududi admired Bolshevik/Nazi conspiratorial tactics and totalitarianism. Advocated disciplined elitist party structure, rejected Western education as 'suicidal' (S. Qutb).

Consolidation of Anger



- ▮ *Hakimiyyah* (God's rule): South Asia's contribution to Salafi-jihadist thought. Provided ideological fuel for non-violent extremism in Europe (among misfits/drifters), intensified cultural biases.
- ▮ Saudi King Faisal prompted Pan-Islamism and received enthusiastic support from Arab/Pakistani Islamists eager to have a new 'model society'. Oil wealth from 1970s suggested that socio-economic prosperity and religion could be reconciled.
- ▮ Anger over Camp David (1978) led to view that no superpower (US, USSR, China) was a friend of Palestinians, so they would have to develop their own 'internationalism' (1979 was year of triple shock).



Jihadism: A Multi-generational, cross-regional phenomenon

- Minority fringe of Islamists believe Western societies should be governed by Islam (majority only want political and cultural separation from A-sphere).
- Cold War ended with defeat of USSR, not victory of the West. 2008-10 crises and military failure in Iraq (like Soviets in Afghanistan) established limits of democracy.
- Defeat of Islamism in Algeria prompted turn to violence in 1990s (Jihad becomes Jihadism?) Fear that Islamism could be tempted to compromise with non-believers, like Judaism or Christianity (similar fear held by Orthodox Russian nationalists).
- Bolshevik model of seizing power amidst violence-induced state failure adopted by Taliban and ISIS (helped by Pakistan and/or Gulf states, just like WW1 Germany).



- Like Russia-Ukraine, avoidance of historical introspection leaves wounds unopened but also untreated. Anglosphere lacks a counter-narrative - should it even look for one? Are Cold War strategies relevant?

Thank you for your attention!
