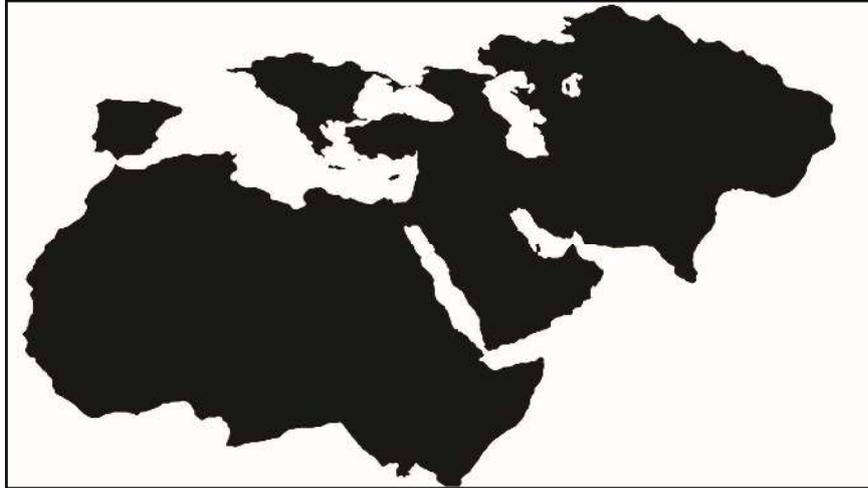


Map of the Caliphate as demanded by the Islamic 1947 State of Iraq and the Levant

This map only constitutes the borders stipulated by “Defensive Jihad,” which is the first step toward world domination. Once achieved, “Offensive Jihad” captures the remaining parts of the globe and imposes Sharia law on all humanity.



Credit: Modified from map by Débora Cabral, Wikimedia Commons

II

Arab Islamist Ideologues - Jihad Past & Present**Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, and Abdullah Azzam****By Yisrael Ne'eman****Overview**

This chapter analyzes the theories and Jihadi activities of the three foremost Islamist ideologues, leaders who use Islam as a political and military tool: the Egyptians Hasan al-Banna (1906-49) and Sayyid Qutb (1906-66), and the Palestinian Abdullah Azzam (1941-89). All are at the heart of the Arab Middle Eastern Islamist movement. This troika established the intellectual and theological basis for Jihadist activities, which are determined to crush Western civilization and destroy Jewish existence. While there are other Jihadists of influence, their role is less central to the discussion at hand when addressing the birth, continuity and empowerment of such a movement in the Arab Muslim world. The Indian Sayyid Abul A'la Maududi and the Iranian Ruhollah Khomeini are part of the overall development of this Jihadist, anti-secular, anti-Western and antisemitic movement, yet in this work these two non-Arab Muslims are only mentioned in a peripheral manner. Their influence is taken into consideration, but they serve as lesser role models for Arab Islamists and have less direct involvement in the development of Hamas, as opposed to the other three thinkers. This does not detract from their Jihadist or antisemitic ideological impact. Other Arab Islamists include today's leading Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood theologian, Yusuf al-Qaradawi, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem Haj Amin el-Husseini of yesteryear, and the modern Hamas leadership led by the late Ahmed Yasin alongside today's present political leader and often prime minister of Gaza, Ismail Haniyeh. These ideologues will be discussed elsewhere as their perspectives were either not foundational, or they were involved more in taking Jihadi action than in developing theological directives.

Part I

Hasan al-Banna

Founding the Muslim Brotherhood, Activating Jihad

Jihad and Arabization

Sheikh Hasan al-Banna (1906–1949) founded the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 1928, and today's loyalists still hold him in great reverence. He was initially revered more for his opposition to secularism and Western influence in the Muslim world than for his short-lived, anti-Israel diatribes. Viciously anti-Israel and antisemitic, he lived to see the establishment of the Jewish State much to his dismay. During WWII, he supported Hitler's Nazi Germany and Mussolini's fascist Italy, advocating a German victory over the British in Egypt. The Brotherhood translated Hitler's *Mein Kampf* into Arabic and spread its message along with the Czarist *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Apparently, the Egyptian regime of King Farouk murdered al-Banna in February 1949 after the Brotherhood assassinated numerous officials. Their victims included Interior Minister Amin Othman Pasha, Chief of Police Selim Zaki Pasha, Chief Justice Ahmed al-Khazindar, and two prime ministers, Ahmad Maher in 1945 and Mahmoud an-Nukrashi Pasha in December 1948 after the latter attempted to repress Brotherhood activities.¹

For al-Banna, Jihad was a religious command, even more than most sanctified obligations in Islam. Rabidly anti-Western and antisemitic, he urged believers to return to basic fundamentalist Islamic understandings. In his essay "On Jihad," he defined the sanctity of Holy War: "Jihad in its literal significance means to put forth one's maximal effort in word and deed; in the Sacred Law it is the slaying of the unbelievers, and related connotations such as beating them, plundering their wealth, destroying their shrines, and smashing their idols..." Responsibility lies with all believers: "It is initiated by us as a communal obligation, that is, it is obligatory on us to begin fighting with them after transmitting the invitation [to embrace Islam], even if they do not fight against us."²

Sheikh or Imam al-Banna quoted the above as an interpretation of Jihad with which he wholeheartedly agreed. Jihad, as he defined it for the Muslim Brotherhood, meant constant war, slaughter, abuse and plunder of the non-believers. Al-Banna influenced the Islamist theologian and intellectual Sayyid Qutb, who assumed leadership of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in the 1950s and sharpened its anti-Western and specifically antisemitic message.

¹ Taheri, Amir, *Holy Terror, The Inside Story of Islamic Terrorism*, Sphere Books Limited, 1989, London, (Second Printing), pp. 42-44.

² al-Banna, Hasan, *The Five Tracts of Hasan al-Banna*, translated by Wendell, Charles ed., University of California Press, Berkeley, 1978, Tract "On Jihad," pp 132-161.

Qutb, although not mentioned directly in *The Hamas Covenant*, profoundly influenced its antisemitic message and demands for Jewish elimination, as is shown below. Both men influenced Abdullah Azzam who had a direct impact in the formulation of *The Hamas Covenant*.

Evasion from active participation in Jihad constituted a major sin and guaranteed annihilation for those refusing to undertake the responsibility of a physical Holy War against one's enemies. Toward the end of "On Jihad," in a sub-heading entitled "Supplements to Jihad," he disabused everyone of the notion that Jihad can be less than the physical destruction of Islam's enemies. He mocked those who spoke of the "jihad of the heart," or the "jihad of the spirit," accusing them of cowardice. He described Jihad as a "struggle with the spirit so that it may be sincerely devoted to God in every one of its acts. So let it be known." For al-Banna, Jihad was the ultimate act, there could be no "supreme martyrdom and the reward of the strivers in jihad, unless he slays or is slain in the way of God." As if his words were insufficient, he concluded the Epilogue by declaring, "If you strive for an honorable death, you will win to perfect happiness. May God bestow upon us and upon you the honor of martyrdom in His way!"³ Today, al-Banna's perspectives are among the most important in the Arab/Muslim world. His spirit permeates the Muslim Brotherhood, Salafists, al-Qaeda and the Islamic State (ISIS/ISIL). His vision is integral to Hamas and its *Covenant*.

Fully aware of Islamic military history, he recounted the victorious march of the Jihad of yesteryear in his tract "Between Yesterday and Today." Believers invoking "Koranic principles" brought about the defeat of "superstitious idolatry in the Arabian Peninsula and Persia," and "warred against guileful Judaism," which was a first step in greatly limiting its influence. A more difficult challenge was the battle against Christianity, weakening it in Asia and Africa and later confining it to Europe. Islam swept across North Africa, captured Spain and reached as far as France and Italy. By the mid fifteenth century, Constantinople was overrun. With Christianity restricted to central Europe, "Islamic fleets plowed the deeps of the Mediterranean and Red Seas, and both became Islamic lakes." Not only was there Islamization of conquered people, but, "They Arabized them, or succeeded in doing so to a degree, and were able to sway them and convert them over to their language and religion because of their splendor, beauty and vitality."⁴

For al-Banna, adopting Islam was not sufficient; one must be Arabized to achieve fulfillment and perfection. Transferring authority to non-Arabs, such as Persians, Daylamites, Mamlukes, Turks or anyone else, could never be as

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid, Tract "Between Yesterday and Today," pp. 13-39.

pure and successful because “they had never absorbed genuine Islam,” and “had never been illuminated with the light of the Koran because of the difficulty they encountered in trying to grasp its concepts.” For true Jihad to succeed, the Arabs needed to initiate and bring victory through Holy War, otherwise its message would be lost. By definition inferior teachers are unable to incorporate the vanquished with the Divinely revealed faith. Al-Banna then quoted the Koranic verse 3:118 warning the Arabs not to confide in “those who are not of you.”⁵ This is discussed in the Introduction to *The Hamas Covenant*. (See Chapter VI “*The Hamas Covenant Analysis*”)

In the tract “Our Mission,” under the heading “The Characteristics of Arabdom,” al-Banna at first tried not to denigrate non-Arabs, but insisted Arab traits must be adopted “as a means of realizing the foremost task for which every people is responsible—the renaissance of humanity.” Only an Arab/Muslim world was capable of reaching perfection. However if Arab/Muslim superiority is an eternal fact, why was the Arab world in such an inferior position in the first part of the twentieth century? He explained that science, rationalism and the resulting secularism defeated the Church in Europe. Through this export of corruptive materialism and permissiveness, European chauvinism as seen in World War I put the Muslim world on the defensive. The West continued to be victorious because the Muslim world was ignorant of its own religion. Of necessity, the first step in assuring victory was the re-education of Islamic people.

Hence, al-Banna set out on his Islamic mission to address several “General Aims.” The “Islamic fatherland [must] be freed from all foreign domination” while “a free Islamic state” was to arise “acting according to the precepts of Islam” and “broadcasting its sage message to all mankind” in every region containing Muslims and Arabs. He called for the betterment and cleansing of society, especially in Egypt, where Europeans dominated and the people suffered from crime, hunger and disease while foreign companies monopolized the economy, most notably utilities. The solution lay in the expulsion of foreigners and the extension of Islamic law achieved through “Deep Faith,” “Precise Organization” and “Uninterrupted Work.” With great expectations of success, al-Banna proclaimed this battle against European influence to be “the loftiest of all missions,” an Islamic system that offered “the Sacred Law of the Koran.” The first step began with the internal revolt and cleansing within Islam. In the next stage, it was offered to other non-Islamic peoples in what was seen as the export of the revolution. Some could consider such moves against secularism in the Arab world today as a form of internal societal Jihad. The true universal Jihad then followed.⁶

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid, Tract “Our Mission,” pp. 40-68.

Al-Banna spread the mission of Islam not just for the sake of humanity, but as an obligation “propagating it among men with argument and proof. But if they should persist in rash acts, outrages and rebellion, then with the sword and the spear!” Essentially there were three choices: “Islam, tribute, or combat.” Adopting Islam made one a brother; tribute, or *jizya*, meant subjection to second-class *dhimmi* status, which Jews and Christians who would not convert willingly accepted. Combat referred to those who were neither Jews nor Christians and rejected Islam. Al-Banna bewailed the lack of the Jihadist credo in modern times, accusing his fellow Muslims of seeing Jihad as something from the past or making excuses concerning the ability of their societies to wage a Holy War. He accused others of giving lip service, but doing nothing. He called for an awakening of all Muslims to Jihad, whether implemented communally or individually.⁷

Jihad was a necessity and demanded implementation as a religious obligation; one who refused to follow Jihad committed a major sin of omission, carrying with it a guarantee of annihilation. Imposed warfare was unique to Islam. One battled for Allah in this world and thereby attained eternal life in the world after death.⁸ As proof, al-Banna quoted two Koranic verses, 3:169:170 and 4:74 respectively. “Do not reckon those who have been slain in God’s way as dead. Nay, rather they are alive with their Lord, granted sustenance, gladdened by the bounty God has given them, and rejoicing for those who have not yet joined them and remain behind, in that no fear shall be upon them, nor shall they grieve.” And, “So let those fight in the way of God who sell the life of this world for the next, and he who fights in God’s way and is slain or overcomes, We shall provide him with a mighty wage.”

Al-Banna condemned the “slackers, cowards, truants, and opportunists” and urged them to change their course of action. Allah “encourages the fearful to the utmost degree to plunge into the uproar of battle and to face death unflinchingly and bravely, showing them that death must overtake them in any event, and that if they die waging jihad, they will receive the most magnificent recompense for their lives.” The call to martyrdom in the name of Allah was clear. The martyr was assured a place in heaven with all its rewards, while anyone who did not participate in Jihad was flawed, a hypocrite, suffered the stigma of humiliation, and could only redeem himself by embracing this true religious understanding.⁹

In the final justification of his case, al-Banna reviewed the understanding of Jihad by legal specialists. The sanctified destructiveness of Jihad was so

⁷ Ibid, Tract “To What Do We Summon Mankind,” pp. 69-102.

⁸ Ibid, Tract “On Jihad,” pp. 133-161.

⁹ Ibid.

essential that he once again quoted the work of Hanafi jurisprudence mentioned above, “The Sacred Law it is the slaying of the unbelievers, and related connotations such as beating them, plundering their wealth, destroying their shrines, and smashing their idols.” More significantly, a committed Jihadist went to battle after offering an invitation to accept Islam, even if there was no hostility on the part of those who rejected Islam as their way of life. It was considered a declaration of war against the Muslim world should a person, a group or a nation refuse to embrace Islamic beliefs. Neutrality did not exist.¹⁰ This was and is the pinnacle of offensive Jihad.

For al-Banna, should Islamic lands, also called the *waqf*, ever fall under non-Muslim control, it became not only a communal obligation to declare Jihad, but an individual duty. The duty even applied to women, slaves, children and debtors, all of whom need not ask anyone’s permission for responding to the mission to expel non-Muslim conquerors. A text from the Shafi’ite School proclaimed Jihad as a communal obligation, even when non-believers remain in their own territory. As explained above, such action became a personal necessity for everyone should outsiders invade Islamic territory. Although he quoted different commentators, al-Banna found the common denominator for sending troops to Jihad at least once, and possibly twice a year. To quote al-Banna’s conclusion concerning defensive Jihad, he stated Muslims must:

. . . agree unanimously that jihad is a communal obligation imposed upon the Islamic *umma* in order to broadcast the summons [to embrace Islam], and that it is an individual obligation to repulse the attack of unbelievers upon it. Today, Muslims, as you know, are compelled to humble themselves before non-Muslims, and are ruled by unbelievers. . . . Hence it has become an individual obligation, which there is no evading, on every Muslim to prepare his equipment, to make up his mind to engage in jihad, and to get ready for it until the opportunity is ripe and God decrees a matter, which is sure to be accomplished.¹¹

The need for Jihad was explained in the sub-section “Why Do the Muslims Wage War?” It is “not as a tool of oppression,” but “as a defense for the mission [of spreading Islam], a guarantee of peace, and a means of implementing the Supreme Message.” When all live under Islam there will be peace since no reason will exist to wage a Holy War. The stipulations for declaring Jihad to regain *waqf* lands held by infidels brought in personal

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 150.

obligation and could be defined as a defensive Jihad; the capture of new lands is understood as offensive.¹² Al-Banna blended defensive and offensive Jihad and minimized the distinction between the two approaches.

In attempting to sound more humane, he approached certain moral issues of life and death in his limited sub-chapter entitled “Mercy in the Islamic Jihad.” Al-Banna demonstrated supposedly gracious behavior in Islam by declaring it forbidden to kill women, children, old men, the wounded, or to disturb monks, hermits or any peaceful individual. Almost written as a disclaimer to the brutality of Jihad, this short explanation stands in contradiction to what was written both before and afterward. All these non-Muslims were to be forced to convert to Islam or accept a subservient status as *dhimmi* subjects. Death awaited them should they refuse.¹³

Jihad Today – The Battle Against the West

Today’s Jihadists see their most strenuous battles to be against the West, meaning Jews and Christians, also called the “People of the Book.” Al-Banna continues to serve as the Jihadists’ inspiration. He used numerous quotes from the Koran and later Islamic sources all directed at the modern Muslim reader, yet one quote in particular continues to stand out. Al-Banna explained the “clear indication of the obligation to fight the People of the Book, and of the fact that God doubles the reward of those who fight them, jihad is not against polytheists alone, but against all who do not embrace Islam.”¹⁴ This subsection is titled “A Sampling of Prophetic Traditions on Jihad.” It ranges over eight pages and is replete with quotes from the Koran and other sources. It ends with a reminder of the identity of the true enemies Islam faces in modern times: “there are precious Traditions on this subject and the like, as well as on campaigning by sea and its manifold superiority over campaigning by land, and on campaigning against the People of the Book.”¹⁵ What we find was a return to the Islamic glory of the Middle Ages and early modern period described above with special emphasis on sea power. Islam defeated Christianity before and will again. Muslims would be rewarded twice over in a double martyrdom for their Jihad against the West, leading the believer to understand the necessity of initiating hostilities in the name of Allah and Islam.

Today’s Jihadists perceive a world divided in two, *Dar al-Islam* and *Dar al-Harb*, the abode of Islam and the abode of War. The only other legitimate

¹² Ibid, pp. 151-153.

¹³ Ibid, pp. 153-155.

¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 138-146.

¹⁵ Ibid.

mode of interaction is that of *hudna* or an Islamic cease-fire.¹⁶ Under *Dar al-Islam* all live in submission to devout Islamic regimes loyal to Allah, such as a reestablished Caliphate or a theocratic Islamic state. *Dar al-Harb* is the institutionalized conflict against infidels, polytheists and idolaters including atheists, on the one hand and against any People of the Book ruling *waqf* lands, meaning Jews and Christians (as discussed in Chapter I “Negative Image of the Jew”). Islam captured many lands over the centuries, which are no longer in the Muslim domain today but rather held by Jews, the example being the State of Israel, or Christians who rule the Iberian Peninsula and most of the Balkans for example. These circumstances form a compelling reason for an immediate Holy War. This is the “defensive Jihad,” as Abdullah Azzam explained. Once all infidels are defeated and *waqf* lands retrieved, the second stage of Jihad is implemented: the conquest of the remainder of the world, known as “offensive Jihad” as strongly advocated by Sayyid Qutb. In obedience to Divine dictate, Islam must spread, encompass all and dominate the world. Even those who declare themselves neutral are not immune if they fail to accept their place in the world of Islam, either as converts or in the *dhimmi* status. They too are the enemy. For the Muslim believer, Islam is the most perfect world order and must be spread by force if necessary, ensuring universal peace in the future and for all eternity.

The issue of *hudna* or an Islamic cease-fire is pivotal nowadays. Many consider it a cease-fire as in the Western understanding, which is an arranged truce to arrive at conflict resolution between two warring factions. Nothing can be further from Jihadist intentions. A *hudna* is arranged to gain breathing space for the Islamic side in order to recruit, retrain, reload, rearm and re-initiate hostilities at the time and place most fitting for a Jihadist victory. The *hudna* works almost exclusively to the advantage of the Jihadist side, since it is forbidden to accept a cessation of hostilities when they have the upper hand. Only if the Muslim side is weakened to the point of possible defeat may they accept a *hudna*. Islamists like al-Banna view Western Christian society as weak at its core, since secularism triumphed over the true belief in God. Islamists are convinced Westerners are not willing to fight and die for their beliefs, as Muslims are. They think Westerners do not believe in the Creator or the Almighty as the ultimate force of existence. To the Islamist, such a lack of commitment to Allah makes Westerners spiritually inferior and unable to persevere against Islam in the final conflict. Furthermore, even

¹⁶ Generally defined as an “Islamic cease-fire” of no fixed time or no longer than ten years. In Jihadi Islam a “hudna” is only tactical or temporary, can be broken when necessary to defeat the infidel enemy and is never meant to achieve mutual recognition as part of conflict resolution. Other interpretations by more liberal, moderate Muslim commentators define “hudna” as similar to the Western interpretations. This author finds little basis for the “liberal, moderate” interpretation while the study at hand deals with Jihadi Islamic perspectives.

should they be religious, Islam is the only complete truth Allah gave and victory is its Divine destiny. *Hudna* can only be a temporary status and there is no intermediate area between war and peace, only a lull in the ever-continuing Islamic Holy War.

In the predestined final accounting, all people will live under Islam—the perfect society in its legal, economic, judicial and political expressions. As envisioned by Hasan al-Banna, Allah the Eternal will rule as the omniscient power over all humankind through his emissaries the Muslim Brotherhood Jihadists.

Part II

Sayyid Qutb

Theological Father of *The Hamas Covenant*

Jahiliyyah and Jihad

Although not mentioned in *The Hamas Covenant* by name, the Egyptian-born Muslim Brotherhood leader and Islamist Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) heavily influenced the contents of the document, possibly more than any other thinker. After having studied in the US (1948-50), he became furiously anti-Western and returned to Egypt convinced of American decadence, in particular as related to sexuality. An ardent Islamist, he became the sworn enemy of the revolutionary secular Egyptian Arab nationalist regime of Gamal Abdul Nasser. He was eventually jailed and executed for his opposition. Hasan al-Banna and Abdullah Azzam made their contributions, but none left such a deep imprint on Jihadist commitment to complete Islamist worldwide victory as did Sayyid Qutb. No less significant is the simultaneous call to organize Muslims throughout the world for a universal war of destruction against the Jews. Such hatred, which fell somewhere between the persecutions of Czarist Russia and the full Nazi scheme for Jewish extermination, fueled the struggle against the Jews. Qutb was a prolific writer, particularly on internal Islamic issues. Here we will deal with his overall Islamist/Jihadi world-view and his two works most pertinent to *The Hamas Covenant: Milestones*, and his short yet incendiary antisemitic essay “Our Struggle With the Jews.”

In his famous work *Milestones*, Qutb laid out the contours of the global conflict between the world of Allah’s Islamic revelations as embodied in the Koran and the Divinely written Sharia law, which true Muslims follow. He contrasts the “true” Islamic world with other societies known as the “*jabili*,” or “*jabaliyyah*,” meaning “ignorant ones.” Qutb presented the cosmic battle of the diocentric God-driven world against all others. The Messenger, the Prophet Mohammed, revealed the religion of Islam. Mohammed recited the Koran to enlighten humankind and bring all people under Allah’s rule as

Islam defines it. The Koran represented heavenly purity as a complete way of life, demanded obedience and called for action in the name of Allah.¹⁷ The term *jahaliyyah* originally referred to the era before the advent of Islam in the early 600s CE. The dating of the Islamic calendar began with the *Hejira* or the first Muslims' emigration to Medina in 622 CE, forced to leave their hostile home-town of Mecca after the people there rejected Mohammed's message. The moment Mohammed spoke Allah's message, the world divided into two, which led to a universal clash between fundamentalist Islam, and the ignorant ones or *jahili*. The first thirteen years of the original Muslim community embodied Islamic purity and perfection¹⁸ as they fought to protect their life from the pollution by the *jahiliyyah*.¹⁹ This conflict continues to the present day.

Qutb's Islam was a religion of universal conquest including both people and land. One may either submit to Islam, or die at the hands of Muslims fighting a Holy War in the name of Allah's Divine will. According to Qutb, true Muslims were Allah's hand for implementing the Divine will. At the time of his writing in the 1950s, all nations and virtually the entire world were *jahili*, including those with a majority Muslim population. Qutb called for an Islamist war by the true believers and, despite the odds, he had no doubt they would emerge victorious. They were the God-fearing community demanding obedience to the invincible Allah who has all-encompassing power. Hence true believers must wage eternal Jihad until they reach final victory.

The Jahili in Other Cultures: East, West, Judaism and Christianity

Qutb saw all other cultures as inferior, beginning with the ancient worlds of Greece, Rome, India and China.²⁰ He believed no secular culture had the right to rule humankind, only Allah had that right. Man-made laws were completely powerless since they derived from a source other than Islamic beliefs,²¹ which were superior to "valueless" man-made theories. Secular or anthropocentric human-centered societies had no right to exist and must be forced into the diocentrism of Islam. Anything other than the true worship of Allah and obedience to His Sharia law was "*shirk*,"²² or the worship of others, to whom humans assigned godly attributes and perceived powers. Islamic loyalists were to be separate and dedicate themselves to Allah, never

¹⁷ Qutb, Sayyid, *Milestones*, pp. 11-12, internet version from *Studies in Islam and the Middle East: SIME Journal*, retrieved January 5, 2010, majalla.org/books/2005/qutb-nilestone.pdf.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 32.

¹⁹ Ibid, pp. 12-14.

²⁰ Ibid, pp. 10-11.

²¹ Ibid, p. 29.

²² Ibid, p. 39.

giving loyalty to any *jabili* system. Qutb believed the seventh century Christian Byzantine Empire was defeated because it was inferior to Islamic society. Muslims had warned the Zoroastrian Persians to convert; they refused and suffered destruction. The war was one of forced conversion and not intended for material well-being. As we know Iran, or Persia, is Muslim today. The superiority of Islam assures its final victory.²³ Worse yet were the idolaters in India, Japan, the Philippines and Africa who do not recognize Allah's existence at all.²⁴ Qutb inferred the command to conquer and educate these people in the ways of Islam.

Though the Crusaders of the Middle Ages suffered defeat, for Qutb the Crusading spirit remained in its continual efforts to influence today's Muslim world through Christian and most recently, Enlightenment values. In the modern era, the empires of Spain, Portugal, France and Britain all oppressed and exploited others through man-made laws, which allowed for inequality based on class and materialism.²⁵ The United States was the vilest of enemies, which Qutb first wrote in 1950 and intensified afterward, where *jabili* values such as materialism and elected officials dominated. In the US, religion was corrupt and Allah had no place. The Western Crusading spirit including Enlightenment values such as equality, still existed and invited defeat. Allah's victory would only actualize at some future date when all Muslims fought a Jihad under the victorious banner of Islam. Selfish animal instincts such as food, shelter and sex, drove the world of humans with no Divine authority to guide it into these base material and violent needs. Islam was the answer. Unbelievers who refused to accept the true revealed religion would go to Hell, drowning in filth, regardless of any good deeds done on earth.²⁶

In the first page of his "Introduction," Qutb lambasted democracy as a failure, citing the capitalist West's need to borrow from the communist East's value system, which excelled in opposing human nature. Communism and capitalism were equally condemnable rebellions against Allah because their roots were in science where human beings assembled their theories. Manmade understandings would always fail, because such men worshipped materialism and were *jabiliyyah*, a revolt of ignorance against Divine rule on earth.²⁷ Islam was the only answer. Although having material possessions was legitimate, materialism and communism in particular stood in opposition to the non-animalistic morality of Islamic family values. Material values were

²³ Ibid, pp. 45, 130-131.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 75.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 44.

²⁶ Ibid, pp. 45 and 132.

²⁷ Ibid, pp. 1-5.

jahili and backwards.²⁸ Atheist communism was among the most polluted of all systems; its belief in party principles resulted in the limiting of choice and human freedoms.²⁹ At times, East and West material systems might appear to have something in common with Islam, but commonalities were only coincidence and should not fool anyone. Islam demanded submission to the Creator and not the quenching of selfish desires. To quote Qutb, “The tree of Islam has been sown and nurtured by the wisdom of God, while the tree of *jahiliyyah* is the product of the soil of human desires.”³⁰

In Qutb’s world there was no such thing as “Islamic Democracy” or “Islamic Socialism.” Both West and East were contemptuous and to be rejected. Man needed to embrace “far reaching change—change from the ways of the created to the way of the Creator, from the systems of men to the system of the Lord of men, and from the commands of servants to the command of the Lord of servants.” There could be no compromise, reform or gradualism when confronting the worthless, corrupting *jahili* system. One would only deceive himself in doing so. There were too many Muslims with defeated mentalities taking a defensive approach in confronting the East and West. One did not need to seek “justification and apology” when “presenting Islam to people.” Islam was permanent and would prevail over all.³¹

Qutb acknowledged that Jews and Christians, as People of the Book, or *dhimmis*, had a better starting point than atheists or materialists. They began as believers in God, but quickly descended into the *jahiliyyah* as other cultures influenced them. *Dhimmis* were not trustworthy, and Allah gave the Koran to the first generation of Muslims.³² Qutb accused *dhimmis* of worshiping priests and rabbis, no longer being subservient to the Almighty, but rather to other men.³³ The Koran notes this in 9:31, “They worship their rabbis and their monks, and the Messiah the son of Mary, as gods besides Allah; though they were ordered to serve one God only. There is no god but Him. Exalted be He above those whom they deify beside Him!” As well, in Koran 9:34, which states, “believers, many are the rabbis and the monks who defraud men of their possessions and debar them from the path of Allah.” Koran 9:29 stipulated that *dhimmis* were allowed to survive, provided they paid the *jiḡya* or head tax.³⁴ “Fight against such of those to whom the Scriptures were given as [they] believe neither in Allah nor the Last Day, who do not forbid

²⁸ Ibid, pp. 92-95.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 75.

³⁰ Ibid, pp. 117-118.

³¹ Ibid, pp. 119-124.

³² Ibid, p. 11.

³³ Ibid, p. 54.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 57.

what Allah and His apostle have forbidden, and do not embrace the true faith, until they pay tribute [jizya tax] out of hand and are utterly subdued.”

True Muslims were ordered to battle against the People of the Book for the above reasons as quoted from the Koran. Furthermore, not only was it an affront to Allah that Christians worshipped Jesus as the Messiah, but Jews were accused of deifying Ezra the Scribe as the son of God in Koran 9:30. This ridiculous charge has absolutely no basis in Judaism. Qutb brought all of these thoughts together and came to a “logical” conclusion declaring all *dhimmis* must pay the *jizya* tax even if they did not live under an Islamic regime. Hence, “It may happen that the enemies of Islam may consider it expedient not to take any action against Islam, if Islam leaves them alone in their geographical boundaries to continue the lordship of some men over others and does not extend its message and its declaration of universal freedom within their domain. But Islam cannot agree to this unless they submit to its authority by paying Jizyah, which will be a guarantee that they have opened their doors for the preaching of Islam and will not put any obstacle in its way through the power of the state.”³⁵

Jews and Christians lived in *jahili* societies and must acquiesce to Islamic rule. Should they refuse, they were to be conquered, even if peaceful and not attacking Muslims or Islam. Muslims accused them of having other laws beside submission to the will of Allah. Both religions were accused of *shirk*, or “the association of other gods with God,” and of “unbelief,” in addition to allowing their clerics to rule them. Christians rebelled against the Oneness of Allah by believing in the Trinity while Jews revolted against Allah’s “prescribed way of life.”³⁶

Most fascinating was Qutb’s critique of American society in 1950. This quote, although extensive, is in full, as few can accurately paraphrase his anti-American revulsion as well as the original states it.

During my stay in the United States, there were some people of this kind who used to argue with us - with us few who were considered to be on the side of Islam. Some of them took the position of defense and justification. I, on the other hand, took the position of attacking the Western Jahiliyyah, its shaky religious beliefs, its social and economic modes, and its immoralities: “Look at these concepts of the Trinity, Original Sin, Sacrifice and Redemption, which are agreeable neither to reason nor to conscience. Look at this capitalism with its monopolies, its usury and whatever else is unjust in it; at this

³⁵ Ibid, p. 66.

³⁶ Ibid, pp. 76-78.

individual freedom, devoid of human sympathy and responsibility for relatives except under the force of law; at this materialistic attitude which deadens the spirit; at this behavior, like animals, which you call 'Free mixing' of the sexes; at this vulgarity which you call 'emancipation of women,' at these unfair and cumbersome laws of marriage and divorce, which are contrary to the demands of practical life; and at Islam, with its logic, beauty, humanity and happiness, which reaches the horizons to which man strives but does not reach. It is a practical way of life and its solutions are based on the foundation of the wholesome nature of man.³⁷

In summation these "were the realities of Western life," which made "the American people blush." American life was mired in "filth in which Jahiliyyah is steeped" as was "the evil and dirty materialism of the East."³⁸ Much of this was comparable to the *jahili* society at the dawn of Islam where war and oppression reigned. Complete moral degeneration, drinking, gambling and rampant fornication characterized these early Arabian societies most of all. Allah sent the morality and social justice of Islam to correct these wrongs.

Muslims were the guardians of Allah's eternal political authority on earth.³⁹

When speaking of other societies, America was the enemy, first and foremost. The US was an unrepentant empire like Greece, Rome and Persia of the ancient world, or Great Britain of modern times. Furthermore, it was Judeo-Christian in outlook, ruled by the People of the Book who knowingly rejected Allah's Islamic message because of their evil, lustful materialism. They sold out Allah for the corrupt rule of humankind, embracing the concept of equal rights, especially for women. They nullified any possibility of happiness through their denial of the need to submit to Allah and embrace Islam. America was *shirk* and *jahili*. No compromise could be made; the only solution was Islamic rule and the destruction of that present day, 1950s America.

The Jahili Infected Muslim World

According to Qutb, Muslim communities as Islamic entities were suspended once Allah's laws were no longer in effect, which meant that no true Islamic societies existed any more. Living with false laws and customs,

³⁷ Ibid, p. 126.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid, pp. 22-24.

the authentic Muslim communities vanished, leaving *jahili* Europe to lead the way.⁴⁰ The result was defeatist, defensive behavior in trying to explain away Jihad as a “temporary injunction related to transient conditions and that it is concerned only with the defense of the borders,” and not a planned offensive in the struggle for Allah’s eternal Lordship.⁴¹ Such an apologist approach emanated from the line of defense taken against the Orientalists, Westerners, Eastern Christians or even Westernized Muslims, examining Islamic history from a non-Muslim, secular and/or Western perspective. Qutb was furious at what he considered “compromised” Muslims for taking a defensive approach. Islam, Sharia law and Jihad represented Divine justice and were to be imposed on the entire human race. No apologies were tolerated. Supposedly Muslim societies were *jahili* because they had given authority to secular institutions and human-designed legislation, standing in contrast to the true Islamic community.⁴² Qutb aligned with those “who are standing firm on the issue that Islam is a universal declaration of freedom of man on earth from every authority except God’s authority, and that the religion ought to be purified for God; and they keep writing concerning, the Islamic Jihaad.”⁴³ There was no discretion, one must advocate for Jihad.

He accused defeatist scholars of using “religion” or “belief” to describe Islam, weakening commitment from the inside and being equally reprehensible.⁴⁴ Muslim secularism was another aberration, and was not based on submission to Allah. It was an un-Islamic, illegal society such as those of the polytheists, characteristic of *jahili* systems. All man-made theories and religions were outmoded and had nothing in common with Islam.⁴⁵ This included secular nationalism, or all other loyalties outside of the commitment to Allah. At the outset, family and tribal relationships had certain significance, but Qutb quickly pushed aside even these most intimate relationships when people rejected Allah. It was at the point of accepting or rejecting Islam at which the pride of lineage ended and true commitment began. In the Koran, the Prophet battled his relatives from Mecca when they refused to adhere to the word of Allah. By extension, a person’s nationality, race, and physically embodied homeland deserved no form of loyalty. The only true homeland was where faith ruled, this being “*Dar al-Islam*” or the abode of Islam. Absence of faith ruled in “*Dar al-Harb*,” or the domain of war. Everyone was freed from commitment to blood and earthly relationships. Loyalty to Allah defined the true Islamic society, not family,

⁴⁰ Ibid, pp. 3-4.

⁴¹ Ibid, pp. 57-58.

⁴² Ibid, pp. 74-77.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 62.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 69.

⁴⁵ Ibid, pp. 78-79.

nation or tribe.⁴⁶ Qutb explained, “The noble conception of homeland, of nationality, and of relationship should become imprinted on the hearts of those who invite others toward God. They should remove all influences of *jahiliyyah*, which make this concept impure and which may have the slightest element of hidden *shirk*, such as *shirk* in relation to homeland, or in relation to race or nation, or in relation to lineage or material interests. All these have been mentioned by God Most High in one verse, in which He has placed them in one side of the balance and the belief and its responsibilities in the other side, and invites people to choose.”⁴⁷

According to Qutb, Islam was a political and social force promulgating a “system of law” and “the constitution of law and injunctions, rules and regulations.” Through obedience to Sharia law with the unquestioning submission to and sovereignty of Allah over all Islamic communities is the only way absolute freedom was achieved. There could be no compromise in the form of separation between state and religion with loyalties to both,⁴⁸ nor could Allah’s reign be restricted to the heavens as in the Deistic approach to belief.⁴⁹ Allah and Islam were one, ruling heaven and earth; there were no competitors or compromises.

Islam in Contrast to Secular Arab Nationalism and the PLO/Fatah

Although *Milestones* was written in the 1950s prior to the establishment of Fatah and the PLO, Gamal Abdul Nasser, ruler of Qutb’s homeland Egypt, was the greatest advocate of secular Arab nationalism. Qutb spent over a decade in jail as a result of his tenacious intellectual opposition to Nasser’s secular Arab nationalism, which he condemned as *jahiliyyah*. Qutb believed neither Nasser, the Free Officers, nor the parliament had the right to rule, as ruling was Allah’s domain. Loyalties to nationalism and the homeland were *shirk*. Allah was the only true sovereign and guidance would only come through Sharia law. Extending these ideas to the Palestinian front, today’s Fatah, PLO or any other non-Islamist Arab political party would be *jahili*.

The entire universe belonged to Allah. The “homeland” was wherever faith ruled. The homeland was any domain where the Muslim community behaved according to the Creed of the first community, seventh century believers led by the Prophet Mohammed and the initial caliphs. Qutb was speaking of insular Islamist communities residing in Europe, North and South America, the Far East and of course the Middle East, anywhere on the

⁴⁶ Ibid, pp. 109-112.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 113.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 42.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 89.

globe. He expanded the meaning beyond the usually acceptable *Dar al-Islam*, the domain or abode of Islam, to any place where there was effective physical Islamic rule. His definition now included Sharia-obedient Muslim communities worldwide. These communities resided inside *jahiliyyah* societies.

A true Muslim knew there was no God beside Allah the One and Only, with Mohammed as His Messenger. The Muslim community was pure and submitted fully to the will of Allah, the omniscient authority administering Divine law. There was no room for one's own consideration or judgment known as "*ijtihad*," Allah revealed what was best through the Sharia. Allah created the physical attributes of humans to bring bodily harmony, granting Sharia law as part of the rules of the universe to bring harmony to man's relations with the cosmos and each other. Should there be no adherence to Sharia law, discord would reign. The rule of men or anthropocentrism would only lead to violence, conflict and destruction. Diocentric Sharia law brought peace of mind.⁵⁰

Human law for Qutb was *jahili* law. Anthropocentric legislation could only lead to conflict as opposed to the all-perfect Sharia, which embodied the ultimate truth. There can be no such thing as a "modern" Muslim society, as this too was *jahili*. The world was split into two: true Islamic civilized society governed by Sharia law embodying the one indivisible truth, versus backward *jahiliyyah* man-made corruption. The Sharia had its place on earth, ruling over men. There were types of *jahili* societies confining Allah's rule only to the heavens; this too was anti-Islamic and ignorant since the Almighty rules on earth through Sharia law. Koran 43:84 states, "It is He Who is Sovereign in the heavens and Sovereign in the earth."⁵¹

Qutb was not averse to material development; everything derived from a belief in God and as a result must be used to serve Allah's demands. Even if Muslim civilization was not dependent on material progress, poverty was punishment for those refusing to adopt Islam. The Islamic civilizing mission was not necessarily dependent on material progress, although that was not ruled out.⁵² Muslims needed to make no compromises with the *jahiliyyah*, no synthesis with socialism or democracy. Islam exuded truth, was a superior religion whose values and faith were above all and whose triumphant spirit would be victorious on every battlefield. With the perfect belief in one God, believers need not fear; their spiritual superiority would defeat ignorance as

⁵⁰ Ibid, pp. 80-87.

⁵¹ Ibid, pp. 89-90.

⁵² Ibid, pp. 96-97 and 101-102.

the forces of light always defeated those of darkness. The believer was eternally superior.⁵³

The believer was most superior in his understanding and concept of the nature of the world and for the belief in One God. These beliefs come to him from Islam, and were the most perfect form of understanding, the greatest truth. The picture of the world, which Islam presented, was far above the heap of all other concepts, beliefs and religions. No great philosopher, ancient or modern, nor idolaters or the followers of distorted scriptures, nor the base materialists, could ever come near to the perfect world of Islam.⁵⁴ The unbelievers may ridicule those of true faith, but through the tenacity of belief and subservience to Sharia law the true Muslim prevailed over false materialism and honor as embodied in the *jahili* world.⁵⁵

Projecting these principles into the late twentieth and early twenty-first century makes clear there can be no secular rule in any Muslim society. Khomeinist revolutionaries overthrew the Shah in Iran because he reigned illegally. Until the 2011 Islamic Awakening (“Arab Spring”) revolutions, all Arab regimes were *jahili* and demanded liquidation, including the present PLOed Palestinian Authority in the West Bank. The Hamas government in Gaza could be considered legitimate, since its law code is derived from Sharia law. As for the other Arab/Muslim regimes in transition, their legitimacy is yet to be tested. We can safely assume the short-lived hybrid Muslim Brotherhood regime that ruled Egypt in conjunction with the military from 2012-13 would be considered far too compromising and unacceptable for true Islam, although it was heading in the correct direction. Further Islamization was demanded to fulfill Qutb’s requirements for a Sharia dominated society.

Women

For Qutb, the status and behavior of women formed a major pillar ensuring the stability of Islamic society. There was a clear division of labor between husband and wife. She was responsible for child rearing and imparting the morals and values to the next generation, which was critical for success. The woman was not to work outside the home, “thus spending her ability for material productivity rather than in the training of human beings.” Women having a career was dishonorable, “backward” and “*jahili*.” In particular, Qutb condemned what he saw as a degenerate licentiousness. He wanted to ensure a world without sexual sin, lest “free sexual relationships

⁵³ Ibid, pp. 127-129.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 129.

⁵⁵ Ibid, pp. 130-133.

and illegitimate children become the basis of a society . . . [Preventing a world where] the relationship between man and woman is based on lust, passion and impulse and the divisions of work is not based on family responsibility and natural gifts.” When material well-being was more important than family values, the society was backward regardless of advances made in industry and science. Extra-marital sex and homosexuality were condemned. The family unit was of the utmost importance, demanding sexual loyalty to one’s husband even if a loving relationship was completely absent. Banishing animal desires, family peace and stability were paramount.⁵⁶ Qutb’s revulsion at the behavior of Western women was another result of his American visit. The Islamic role of women was the traditional one of raising and educating children while administering the household. All fundamentalist Islamic communities were subjected to offensive *jahili* societal norms, but the true “back-breaking pressure” was directed against the Muslim woman.⁵⁷ It was imperative for her steadfastness to prevail. “Thus, only Islamic values and morals, Islamic teachings and safeguards, are worthy of mankind, and from this unchanging and true measure of human progress, Islam is the real civilization and Islamic society is truly civilized.”⁵⁸

What Qutb omitted is no less important. For him the Koran was Divinely revealed writ, no compromises, mistakes or misinterpretations allowed. He knew the Koran intimately. The Koran made clear the inferiority of women; wife beating was permitted if she did not adhere to her husband’s wishes. The question was whether today’s Islamists continued to allow such actions toward women. The Taliban is known for their brutal treatment of women today as seen in parts of Pakistan and Afghanistan, while the Islamic State is infamous for its vicious sexual conduct toward the female population in Syria, Iraq and Libya where rape is rampant. For Hamas, the Koran is its constitution. Here is what the Koran says about women in 4:34, “Men have authority over women because Allah has made the one superior to the others, and because they spend their wealth to maintain them. Good women are obedient. They guard their unseen parts because Allah has guarded them. As for those from whom you fear disobedience, admonish them and send them to beds apart and beat them. Then if they obey you, take no further action against them. Allah is high, supreme.” And further in Koran 2:223 there is male sexual domination, “Women are your fields: go, then, into your fields as you please.”

Islamists and true fundamentalist Muslim believers cannot ignore these very clear Koranic stipulations. Islamic commentators determined male

⁵⁶ Ibid, pp. 94-95.

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 126.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 96.

superiority; wives must be obedient, serve men sexually and reproduce. Husbands are obligated to beat their wives if necessary. Qutb certainly had this in mind when condemning women's equality in Western societies.

Jihad in the Battle Against Jahiliyyah

Jihad in Sayyid Qutb's world-view was similar to that of Hasan al-Banna, both Muslim Brotherhood leaders and colleagues. The former clearly enunciated the reason for Jihad as, being "To establish God's authority in the earth; to arrange human affairs according to the true guidance provided by God; to abolish all the Satanic forces and Satanic systems of life; to end the lordship of one man over others since all men are creatures of God and no one has the authority to make them his servants or to make arbitrary laws for them."⁵⁹

The Islamic Jihad was and will be implemented to extend freedom to all, to liberate men from living under the rule of other men and to guarantee all will serve only Allah. Qutb called for Jihad to spread Islam and its universal freedoms, not for nationalism and economic expansion. Offensive Jihad was and will be declared not due to any threat by others to Muslims, or because of aggression against *waqf* Islamic lands. Jihad remained eternal until total victory—the offensive taken in order to return all authority on earth to Allah. The idea of Jihad usage only for defensive purposes was modern apologetic reasoning and completely opposed to true Islamic consciousness. The homeland was wherever Allah's authority was established and not necessarily a national geographic region. Obviously, Muslims were expected to defend the home community of believers serving as the Islamic headquarters; however, Islam was "to be carried throughout the earth to the whole of mankind, as the object of this religion is all humanity and its sphere of action is the whole earth."⁶⁰

Qutb's true Jihadist battled for Allah's values with no thought of personal gain, and brought universal freedom to all through these actions. There were no geographic limitations. The inevitable clash preceded against all *jahili* societies. This went so far as to include the People of the Book not yet living under the sovereignty of Allah's Islamic obedience. It was an Islamic obligation to annihilate all *jahili* systems and impose the Creator's will on everyone by violence if necessary, as all the world was His. "Islam is the way of life ordained by God for all mankind" and "Jihad in Islam is simply a name for striving to make this system of life dominant in the world."⁶¹ The

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 63.

⁶⁰ Ibid, pp. 55 and 63-65.

⁶¹ Ibid, pp. 66-69.

responsibility for Jihad never ended. None ceased in the battle against the surrounding *jabiliyyah* and the “Jihad continues until the Day of Resurrection.”⁶²

Non-Muslims only had themselves to blame according to Qutb. These infidels brought Jihad upon themselves by refusing to accept Islam. At the outset in the seventh century, Muslim adversaries were divided into three categories: those with whom they were at peace by treaty, those with whom there was a state of war, and the *dhimmis*, which in this case specifically meant the Jews. Shortly afterward, war was declared against all polytheists, including those with whom there were treaties. Upon expiration of those agreements or the *hudna* cease-fire, Muslims were to declare Jihad unless the polytheists accepted Islam. Two groups remained: those continuing the war and the People of the Book, who could decide to live in peace provided they paid the *jizya* tax and accept Islamic domination. Paying the *jizya* spared them Holy War. At the beginning of Islamic history, during the Meccan period, the Prophet Mohammed tried persuasion, but soon moved over to the Jihad offensive in the name of Allah. Islam was never meant to be on the defensive.⁶³

Every individual was called upon to “freely” accept Islam, but if he rejected the offer “it is the duty of Islam to fight him until either he is killed or until he declares his submission.” Muslims were now to liberate men from serving other men and impose the rule of God through Sharia law and abolish *jabili* societies. Both “preaching” and “movement” were melded to attain the Islamic objectives of obedience as demanded in the worship of Allah.⁶⁴ Persuasion through argument and coercion through force of arms led to political power. Without Allah’s rule on earth, there could only be a “superficial peace” where Muslims were said to be secure. True peace was religion “purified for God, that the obedience of all people be for God alone and that some people should not be Lords over others.”⁶⁵

There were three basic categories of enemies to be crushed, those who attacked you, non-believers and the People of the Book. First, if attacked a Muslim was to fight back like in any society, but this was only a defensive first step. More importantly Muslims, who were subservient to Allah, were to take an offensive step against polytheists and the People of the Book until all submitted to the rule of Islam. The former were forced to convert, while the later paid the *jizya* and accepted the superiority of an Islamic regime. Such action led to the universal subjugation of one’s will to Allah. Qutb’s thinking

⁶² Ibid, p. 99.

⁶³ Ibid, pp. 47-50.

⁶⁴ Ibid, pp 51-53.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 56.

was devoid of the “transient conditions” that were “concerned only with the defense of borders.” Modern political secular boundaries had nothing to do with the eternal theological imperatives demanded for engaging in Holy War to impose Allah’s universal lordship.⁶⁶ Qutb insisted that all people, including former non-believers, who engaged in Jihad were to be rewarded with eternal life, proof provided in Koran 3:74. “They ought to fight in the way of God who have sold the life of this world for the life of the Hereafter; and whoever fights in the way of God and is killed or becomes victorious, to him shall We give a great reward.”⁶⁷

In conclusion, the concept of a defensive war in fundamentalist Islam did not truly exist. Muslims must conquer the entire world for Allah. At first, Muslims accused the Orientalists of trying to define the early Medina period (622-624 CE) as defensive, but Qutb dismissed this idea as being done only for immediate tactical purposes. Such interpretations would only weaken the Jihadist resolve since the true reason for going to war was negated if a Muslim accepted the Orientalist defensive approach.⁶⁸ Temporary treaties or *budna* Islamic cease-fires were exclusively tactical. Agreeing to a *budna* allowed the Islamist side to rearm, retrain and reorganize in order to re-initiate hostilities and continue on the Jihadist march. Western cease-fires, representing anthropocentric values, were arranged to begin conflict resolution with mutual respect for the rights of all concerned. Upon the successful completion of negotiations, the parties would draw borders, give security guarantees, and establish diplomatic ties between the former warring parties. This mentality totally contradicted the final result expected from an Islamic cease-fire, or Allah’s *budna*.

Muslim believers were exhorted to make every effort to assure Allah’s reign on earth, including the ultimate sacrifice of giving one’s life for the cause. One became a martyr or “*shabeed*.” There was no greater honor for a committed Muslim living by the Koran. “The honor of martyrdom is achieved only when one is fighting in the cause of God, and if one is killed for any other purpose this honor will not be attained.”⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Ibid, pp. 57-58.

⁶⁷ Ibid, pp. 62-63.

⁶⁸ Ibid, pp. 58-62.

Orientalists are Western and in general non-Muslim scholars who are accused by religious Muslims and the Arab world of studying Islam as an “object” while using Western and often secular analytical tools to do so. Jihadists accuse them of influencing how Muslims view themselves and Islam as Divinely ordained doctrine. This is discussed below and more intensely in later chapters, especially as pertains to the Christian Arab intellectual, Edward Said and his criticisms of Western studies of Middle Eastern society.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 111.

And finally, in the past and continuing today, Qutb's world was broken down into two spheres and a tactical temporary third element: *Dar al-Islam*, the homeland where Islam rules, is anywhere in the world where there are true believers, not necessarily within the framework of an Islamic state entity. For instance, *Dar al-Islam* can be a community of believers in Egypt, Syria, Paris, London, Brussels, New York or Israel. From their home communities, they are to continue the Jihad and confront their enemies in *Dar al-Harb*, the realm of war. Jihad was waged against all polytheists for conversion, and against the People of the Book who refused submission and payment of the *jizya* head tax wherever they may be. Jihad was not contingent on sharing a common border with a *jabili* people; the war of destruction was brought to them until they submitted to Islam. Consider 9/11 the perfect example. When conditions require it, Islam may declare a *hudna* cease-fire. During a temporary tactical lull designed to rebuild the Islamist fighting force and obtain ultimate victory, adversaries facing the Jihadist are at times referred to as *Dar al-Hudna* as they hold territory.

Islam adheres to predetermination and believers are fully confident in the final victory over all *jabili* societies. Qutb concluded *Milestones* on an optimistic Islamist note by declaring solidarity under the banner of Islam propelled the defeat of the Crusades and Christendom of yesteryear.⁷⁰ With unity of purpose and steadfast belief, Muslims will gain dominance and crush the Crusading spirit of the modern Western world. He made clear Jihad was not a battle against "imperialism" but one to spread belief in all-powerful Allah and Islam.

Jihad is, "not a political or an economic or a racial struggle; had it been any of these, its settlement would have been easy, the solution of its difficulties would have been simple. But essentially it was a struggle between beliefs—either unbelief, or faith, either *jabilyyah* or Islam."⁷¹ The only answer is Holy War, until all believe or accept subjugation to Islam.

Qutb's Continuing Antisemitic Influence

"Our Struggle With the Jews" is a major source for twentieth century Islamic antisemitism. It combines elements of the infamous Czarist forgery *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, together with Hitler's "final solution," but falls short of a racial edict calling for the extermination of all Jews. Instead the condemnation is determined on theological lines and the inherent nature of Jews, which is akin to racism, but not exactly genetic race theory itself. Just to differentiate, Qutb made it clear that converts to Islam are equal

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 147.

⁷¹ Ibid. p. 146.

to Muslims, and will face judgment concerning their dedication to Allah and following His demands. For Qutb, an Arab Muslim was not superior to a non-Arab Muslim as advocated in *Milestones*. Still, Muslims could not trust Jews to embrace Islam, since a Jew's objective would be to become apostates and weaken Allah's final, perfectly revealed religion. The only reason Jews would adopt Islam would be to destroy it from within. Qutb drew on Koran 2:74-76 for evidence, using the following quote. "Do you really want them to believe you, when a group of them have already heard Allah's Word and falsified it knowingly, after having understood it? When they meet believers they say, 'we too believe'; but when they are alone with one another they say 'Do you tell them about what Allah has revealed to you, that they may argue with you about it before your Lord? Do you not understand?' Do they not know that Allah knows what they keep secret and what they proclaim?"⁷²

This Koranic quote has little to do with Islam, but refers to Israelites who contradicted God's revelations during the Sinai Exodus. Qutb took it out of context to justify his accusations against the Jews. He explained that the Jews knew Islam to be the true way of life, but they undermined Allah's commands because subversion was inherent in Jewish nature. No doubt *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* printed in Arabic in the 1930s-40s influenced Qutb. It likewise claimed that to absorb Jews into one's body politic or religion was to invite destruction from within. Nazism made the same accusation from a racial perspective. Nazi ideology emphasized the perfidy of the Jewish plot to genetically mix with the Aryan "super human race" to destroy the God given German physical and mental superiority ordained to rule the world.

Qutb's argument is simple. The Jews battled the Muslims and the Prophet Mohammed in Medina, Khaybar and throughout the Arabian Peninsula as recounted in the Koran and other Islamic religious texts, always rejecting Allah's message. The Koran accused the Jews of betraying their own Torah and killing the prophets Allah sent to them.⁷³ In the past, their Temple was destroyed twice and conquerors expelled them from the Promised Land. Now, explains Qutb, the Jews will be banished a third time for their continuing evils, this time when Islam destroys the State of Israel. These interpretations emanate from "The Night Journey" (Koran 17:2-8). The modern Jewish nation state and Zionism were one more Jewish ruse,

⁷² Qutb, Sayyid, "Our Struggle With the Jews," in Nettler, Ronald, *Past Trials and Present Tribulations: A Muslim Fundamentalist's View of the Jews*, Vidal Sasson International Study of Antisemitism, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel, 1987, p.72.

⁷³Ibid, p. 78.

conspiracy or form of weaponry to use against Muslims in the supposed eternal Jewish offensive against Islam.⁷⁴

Ronald Nettler describes Qutb as a fundamentalist theologian uninterested in historical developments. Qutb believed the acrimonious relationship which existed between Jews and Muslims at the time of Mohammed was, always has been, and will continue into the future until the End of Days. There can be no change in the relationship; the Jews will continue to act the way they do. It is as a behavioral “given,” with no possibility of reversal and thus the Jewish-Islamic conflict has no compromise solution. Islam is the only true religion (Koran 3:109). Islam eternally draws inspiration from its glorious past, in particular its defeat of Arabian Jews in the seventh century. Jews will forever be the enemy and will continually attempt to destroy Islam both spiritually and physically. The Jews began plotting against Mohammed and Islam in Medina after the *Hejira*; instead of joining Muslims in believing in the same God, they allied themselves with pagans. In Qutb’s world, there was virtually a genetic programming of Jewish evil to destroy Islam.⁷⁵ It was just a matter of time before Islam defeated the Jews. Those remaining would have no choice but to agree to live under Islamic dominance. All others must perish.

For Qutb, in order to be victorious the entire Muslim world must unite under the banner of Jihad and Islam as defined by the Creed of Mohammed’s first band of followers in the seventh century CE. Today’s offensive is no different than its Koranic precursor, where Islam crushes Jewish conspirators and their polytheist idol worshiping allies. Muslims force polytheists to convert or face death, while Jews, as People of the Book, are given the *dhimmi* status of a heavily taxed second-class existence, but are allowed to survive because they believe in Allah. Yet throughout the centuries, Muslims eternally accuse Jews of consistent plotting to draw Muslims away from the true faith. In particular there were Jews who converted to Islam only to become apostates and draw the weaker-minded believers away from Islam as recounted in Koran 3:69. As co-believers in Allah, Jews are expected to side with Muslims, yet they are so taken in by Satan, preferring to destroy those of the true faith and rally polytheists against Islam.⁷⁶ Jews began the deception and evil plotting, which Christians later picked up and by inference made them no better in the long run.

⁷⁴ Ibid, pp. 77, 83, 85 and 87.

⁷⁵ Nettler, Ronald, *Past Trials and Present Tribulations: A Muslim Fundamentalist View of the Jews*, Vidal Sasson International Study of Antisemitism, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel, 1987, Chapter 4 “The Jewish Goal of Islam’s Destruction,” pp. 32-39.

⁷⁶ Ibid, pp. 73-74, “Our Struggle With the Jews.”

The Jews faced punishment of isolation for being selfish, fanatical, hateful ingrates bent on fostering wars and destruction, while detesting the Messenger Mohammed for the good and truth he brought. Hence, despite their *dhimmi* status as People of the Book, such nefarious behavior earned the Jews their position in the Muslim world as the eternal unrepentant enemies of Islam, more so than polytheists. Secularization of Muslim societies throughout time was by definition the work of evil Jewish agents.⁷⁷ To quote, “Anyone who leads this Community [Muslims] away from its Religion and its Qur’an can only be a Jewish agent – whether he does this wittingly or unwittingly, willingly or unwillingly. The Jews will, then, be safe from this Community, so long as the Community is alienated from the one unique Truth from which it derives its existence, its power and its victory – the Truth of religious creed, the practice of belief and the Shari’ah... This is the Way and these are the landmarks.”⁷⁸

Due to Muslim mercies, the Jews survived despite breaking co-existence accords, such as the agreement at Medina. Qutb claimed that through plotting and scheming, a diabolical “Jewish genius” kept them alive over the centuries. The true Muslim community or Creed faithful of yesteryear defeated the Jews, but what happened since then and how the Jewish menace would be contained were outstanding questions. Believers must return to the Creed of the first Islamic community, and then Allah’s victory over the Jews would not be long in coming.

True to form, Qutb saw specific Muslim weakness as emanating from seventh century Arabia when the great hypocrite of “spiritual vacillation,” Abd Allah b. Ubayy, himself a Muslim, defended the Jews even after their betrayal of Mohammed after the Battle of the Ditch (or Trench). Ubayy was a Jewish agent from within. During the mid-twentieth century, Muslims betraying Islam were referred to as the “Brown British” as opposed to the true English, who are “White.” But their objectives were the same concerning the destruction of Islam. These Brown British traitors were the power elite responsible for the debacle of the 1948 War against Israel.⁷⁹ The Jews worked with the hypocrites to attain their victory. As Nettler explains, “The most prominent modern form of ancient Jewish deception was found in the new, modern classes of deceivers: intelligentsia, communications people, professors, writers, Orientalists, which is a catch-phrase referring to those whose Islam was influenced by Western conceptions of the religion,

⁷⁷ Ibid, pp. 77-78.

⁷⁸ Ibid, pp. 72-72.

⁷⁹ Ibid, pp. 45-46, “Jewish Goal.”

politicians, and even sometimes those who were recognized as Islamic religious authorities and functionaries.”⁸⁰

Qutb blamed the Jewish saboteurs for historic Muslim divisions and inadequacies. Past and present were blended together, yesterday’s hypocrites were today’s modernists and the Jews were the same evil conspirators as always. The Jews engineered the Medina betrayal, the lies spread about the Prophet Mohammed, the assassination of the third Caliph Uthman and the resulting sectarianism, the challenges to the authenticity of the Koran and Hadith, the removal of Sharia law under the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II in the early twentieth century and the eventual abolition of Sharia law with the rise of the secular Turkish nation state. The West and apostate Muslims saw Ataturk, the father of the modern secular Turkish nation state, as a “hero.”⁸¹ This trend continued through “hero worship” of secular leadership in the Arab world in the 1950s (Nasser) and can be projected into the contemporary period as symbolized by Mubarak of Egypt, Syria’s Assad regime, Jordan’s King Abdullah II, the Palestinian Authority’s Yasir Arafat of late, and so on. Islamists often accuse all of these leaders of being agents in the Jewish plot to collapse Islam from within. The Saudi editor who published “Our Struggle With the Jews” (1970) pointed out that such Jewish conniving was already believed through *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

Qutb claimed the modern worldwide Jewish conspiracy was contained in the work of three Jews. “Behind the doctrine of atheistic materialism was a Jew; behind the doctrine of animalistic sexuality was a Jew; and behind the destruction of the family and the shattering of sacred relationships in society . . . was a Jew.”⁸² The Saudi editor added the following footnote upon marking an asterisk at the end of the above quote. “These three are, in order: Marx, Freud and Durkheim. And additionally, behind the literature of decadence and ruin, was a Jew—Jean Paul Sartre!”⁸³ Comments by the Saudi editor became an integral part of the original work itself and through the influence of *The Hamas Covenant* reached a wide audience.

Qutb went on to claim, “The war which the Jews launched against Islam was longer, more extensive and of greater ferocity than the war which the polytheists and idol worshipers perpetrated – then and now.” As a modern example, the battle against India presented, “the intensity of the struggle between the Hindu idol worshipers and Islam is vividly apparent, but it does not equal the viciousness of world Zionism which considers Marxism as a

⁸⁰ Ibid, pp. 46-47.

⁸¹ Ibid, p. 83, “Our Struggle With the Jews.”

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid, footnote on page 83.

Sarte was not Jewish.

virtual branch of its (own activities).”⁸⁴ As was traditional among Islamists and their apologists, Zionism and Marxism were thrown together as two strategies in the same Jewish plot for world domination. Qutb lines himself up quite well with the Czarist antisemitic forgery *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*.

When writing in the mid-1950s, Qutb faced the uncomfortable existence of Labor Zionist rule in the State of Israel. The mass immigration of Diaspora Jews, or “in-gathering of Exile Jews,” in the 1950s was comprised mostly of Jews from Muslim and Arab countries. They were free, no longer subjected to persecution and discrimination as stipulated by the detested *dhimmi* status Divinely ordained by Islam. They would no longer suffer persecution at the hands of Muslims for any other non-theological reason. Furthermore, Israel exuded a Western-style socialist equality and secularism, and even communism when considering the kibbutz movement. These political ideals were deemed threatening to fundamentalist Islamic societal values. Israeli egalitarianism included women, who obtained equal rights at the outset of the Jewish national movement. Not only had the *dhimmi* Jews asserted him and herself and defeated the Arab armies, they also brought secular, polytheistic, or “pluralistic,” influences into the Middle East. The Labor Zionists were the adversaries on several fronts. Should the Arab Muslim world pick up on such equality oriented, secular “Jewish” traits, Islamists would face their greatest struggle yet, and it would be much worse than confronting the Israeli Army on the battlefield. Here, Qutb particularly took fright and made his most vehement, hysterical condemnations of the new Jewish offensive, this time in the guise of Israel. The existence of a Jewish State was an attack against Islam.

He explained it this way: “As for today, the struggle has indeed become more deeply entrenched, more intense and more explicit, ever since the Jews came from every place and announced that they were establishing the State of Israel.”⁸⁵ Having been expelled twice for doing evil, the Jews will be ousted from the Holy Land once again, this time by the forces of Islam. “The Muslims then expelled them from the whole of the Arabian Peninsula.” Over the centuries Jews continued doing evil and Allah sent others to punish them until “Allah brought Hitler to rule over them.” For Qutb, Hitler was the hand of Allah punishing the evil Jews. He continued, “The Jews have returned to evil-doing, in the form of ‘Israel’ which made the Arabs, the owners of the Land, taste of sorrows and woe. So let Allah bring down upon the Jews

⁸⁴ Ibid, pp. 83-84.

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 85.

people who will mete out to them the worst punishment, as a confirmation of His unequivocal promise in Koran 17:8: 'If you return, then we return.'"⁸⁶

He saw the Islamic world taking the place of Hitler as Allah's hand in punishing the Jews. The Muslims were not frightened and would undoubtedly defeat the Jews. In referring to Jewish cowardice in the battles of the 1948 War, Qutb paraphrased from Koran 59:14, "They fight united only (in the safety) of protected towns or from behind walls. Their courage is great, among themselves. You think they are united but their hearts are scattered." This is an obvious reference to the kibbutzim, which are collective farms and the ultimate Labor Zionist symbol, in the Negev, which defended the newborn state of Israel against the Egyptian armored thrust toward Tel Aviv. The Egyptian offensive included troops from the Muslim Brotherhood.

Qutb added his own observations, "the Jews would fight the Muslims only from (the security of) fortified settlements in the Land of Palestine... Thus when the Jews lost their cover for one instant they turned their tails and ran away like rats. It was almost as though this verse had been revealed about them at that moment."⁸⁷ Qutb railed against the double Jewish conspiracy of communism and Zionism, symbolized by the kibbutz movement and the newly formed Israeli army. He did not explicitly mention the fact that many of the army's best commanders came out of the Palmach fighting force, a good amount of whom were members of the kibbutz movement, but this connection between Zionism and socialism was clear to him.

The comparison to rats came from Nazi propaganda, Goebbels in particular. What Qutb did not mention was the attrition of the Egyptian Army and the Muslim Brotherhood in the face of the kibbutz defenses, thereby halting the advance on Tel Aviv. Half a year later, the Israeli counterattack broke the back of the Egyptian Army and only through British intervention was Egypt able to secure the Gaza Strip in January 1949. Qutb convinced his future Hamas warriors that the Jews were cowards and that victory on the battlefield and mass Jewish expulsion were just around the corner, ignoring the Egyptian and Muslim Brotherhood defeat.

⁸⁶ Ibid, pp. 86-87.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 87.

Part III
Abdullah Azzam
Jihadi Scholar and Warrior

Afghani Jihad and World Conquest

Born in the British administered Palestine Mandate, Abdullah Azzam (1941-1989) rose to be the most active Jihadi of his time, both in word and deed. Later, his protégé Osama bin Laden surpassed him. Ideologically, it was Azzam more than anyone else who influenced bin Laden to take the Jihadist route. Azzam left the Jordanian held West Bank after the Israeli victory in the 1967 War, refusing to live under Israeli occupation. Joining the Jihad in Jordan, he fought for Israel's destruction in cross border raids, but was disappointed at the lack of religiosity on the part of his fellow warriors. In the 1970s he received a doctorate in Islamic jurisprudence from Cairo's Al Azhar University. Shortly afterward, he joined the Jihad in Afghanistan battling against the Soviet invasion, which began at the very end of 1979. The war lasted almost a decade and concluded with an Islamic victory. For Azzam, Jihad was a way of life about which he wrote and fought for extensively. Two of his most important works concerning Afghanistan, Palestine and world Jihad are his *fatwa*, or Islamic judgment, *Defence of the Muslim Lands*, and his short but very influential booklet, *Join the Caravan* published December 9, 1988, which was coincidentally the year anniversary of the outbreak of the "First" Intifada. Azzam was assassinated in Pakistan in November 1989 while organizing a continuation of the universal Jihad. There are two theories as to who killed him. Some believe that Western intelligence sources such as Israel or the US were responsible. Others claim it may have been an internal Jihadi settling of accounts, possibly over strategy or the next tactical move.⁸⁸

Beginning in *Defence of the Muslim Lands*, Azzam explained that after "*iman*" or belief and faith, the most important obligation of any Muslim was to participate in Jihad. Holy War rests on two pillars, bravery and generosity. Their opposites were cowardice and miserliness, these being "the present condition of the Muslims, they have become as rubbish of the flood waters." The Jihad obligation is broken down into two distinct categories, offensive and defensive. Throughout the text Azzam quoted many Islamic scholars with whom he agreed. "*Fard kifaya*" was taking the offensive and a community obligation. The example he gave was in forcing payment of the *jizya* tax by the People of the Book. He then spoke of the community obligation to *fard kifaya*. Jihad could be deferred, but never abandoned. Most

⁸⁸ "Abdullah Azzam," Wikipedia, retrieved January 15, 2010, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdullah_Yusuf_Azzam.

pressing for Azzam was the unconditional individual commitment, “*fard ayn*,” demanded in the case of the defensive Jihad to repel the invader.⁸⁹

Four causes were given for the defensive Jihad: a “*kuffar*” or a non-Muslim infidel entered a Muslim land; a battle was enjoined; the imam called for a march into battle; or the *kuffar* captured Muslims. Due to the greater religious obligation to engage in such combat children did not need to ask approval from their parents to engage in Jihad. Neither did women need approval from their husbands, though they were forbidden to physically engage in battle nor did debtors need release from their creditors to join the Jihad. There was a personal Muslim commitment to Holy War beyond the immediate circle of those unable to repel the invader. Those physically closest were obligated to respond first, and the concentric circles expanded to the entire Islamic world if need be.⁹⁰ He reiterated this argument in *Join the Caravan*, in essence elevating personal involvement in Jihad to the level of an unbreakable dogma in the Islamic world. It was a communal sin of omission for everyone not participating in Jihad against non-Muslim infidels controlling *waqf* lands. The transgression was the same as if a person ate during the daytime Ramadan fast, or if a wealthy man refused to give charity. He quoted the scholar Qurtubi, “the Muslims are all a single hand against the enemy. This is the status of jihad until the inhabitants of the area have managed to repel the enemy that descended upon the land and occupied it, at which point the obligation is waived from the others.” There should likewise be a general draft concerning a perceived threat.⁹¹

All Muslim lands were considered as one integral unit in the words of the theologian Ibn Taymia, “If the enemy enters a Muslim land, there is no doubt that it is obligatory for the closest and then the next closest to repel him, because the Muslim lands are like one land. It is obligatory to march to the territory even without the permission of parents or creditor, and the narrations reported by Ahmad are clear on this.”⁹² All such battles were compared to the early Muslim Battle of the Trench (or Ditch) in defense of Medina when the Prophet Mohammed exempted no one. This was a General March where all believers must fight and defeat non-believers. Azzam quotes Koran 8:39, “And fight them until there is no more Fitnah (disbelief and polytheism: i.e. worshipping others besides Allah) and the religion (worship)

⁸⁹ Azzam, Abdullah, Defence of Muslim Lands, internet version found on Religiscope, Chapter 1, retrieved January 7, 2010, www.religioscope.com/info/doc/jihad/azzam_defence_3_chap1.htm.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Azzam, Abdullah, *Join the Caravan*, internet version found on Religiscope, Forward, retrieved January 10, 2010, www.religioscope.com/info/doc/jihad/azzam_caravan_1_foreword.htm.

⁹² Azzam, *Muslim Lands*, Chapter 1.

will all be for Allah alone (in the whole world)...”⁹³ The injunction for defensive Jihad was very strict, thereby allowing an attack against the enemy even should Muslim prisoners be killed in the process. The explanation given is “because the protection of the remaining Muslims from Fitnah (disbelief) and Shirk (polytheism), and the protection of the religion, ‘Ard (earth) and wealth are more of a priority than a small number of Muslim captives in the hands of the Kuffar.”⁹⁴

A believer existed for Jihad. “Jihad was a way of life for the Pious Predecessors, and the Prophet (may Allah bless him and grant him peace) was a master of the *Mujahideen* (freedom fighters) and a model for fortunate, inexperienced people.” The evidence is in the twenty-seven battles fought by the Prophet Mohammed. Jihad was purifying: “The virtuous Companions continued upon the path of the Noble Prophet (may Allah bless him and grant him peace) for the Glorious Qur’an had brought up this generation with an education of Jihad. They had been bathed in Jihad and cleansed of engrossment in worldly matters, just as a wound is bathed in water.”⁹⁵ Alternatively, one could decide on self-destruction as seen in Koran 2:195: “So, the destruction lay in remaining with one’s family and wealth and abandoning Jihad.”

In *Join the Caravan*, Azzam not only dealt with the legal issues involved with Jihad, but commented on the reality of the struggle and built the political theory for its universal implementation. He began with a condemnation of his fellow Muslims. “Anybody who looks into the state of the Muslims today will find that their greatest misfortune is their abandonment of Jihad (due to love of this world and abhorrence of death). Because of that, the tyrants have gained dominance over the Muslims in every aspect in every land. The reason for this is that the Disbelievers only stand in awe of fighting.”⁹⁶ Azzam listed sixteen reasons for Jihad against the tyrants among which were the fear of being damned to Hell, the need to establish “a solid foundation as a base for Islam,” protecting Islamic dignity, the hope for martyrdom, the “achievement of the highest peak of Islam” through Jihad, and finally “Jihad is the most excellent form of worship, and by means of it the Muslim can reach the highest of ranks.” A Muslim could never abandon Jihad, otherwise *fitnah* or disbelief would dominate. Despite this, it was a rarity for a Muslim to remain on the Jihadist path. A few Arab youth participated, but this was far from what was necessary in terms of men and money. The young Jihadists had motivation, but very little in the way of a Muslim education. Instead,

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Azzam, *Caravan*, Part 1.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

Azzam bewailed the influence of the Orientalists who poisoned the minds of so many in the present generation.⁹⁷

For Azzam, the essence of existence was Jihad. Jihad was compulsory; hence, those who refused to go but were fit to do so, deserved severe punishment. Even should a Muslim hesitate to engage in Jihad, Hell was his just reward. Many Muslims already lived Hell on earth through humiliation and persecution, much of it suffered at the hands of secular governments. To be successful, Jihad must be eternal and a way of life obeyed like a constitution. "Jihad and emigration to Jihad have a deep-rooted role which cannot be separated from the constitution of this religion. A religion, which does not have Jihad, cannot become established in any land, nor can it strengthen its frame. The steadfast Jihad, which is one of the innermost constituents of this religion and which has its weight in the scales of the Lord of the Worlds, is not a contingent phenomenon peculiar to the period in which the Qur'an was revealed; it is in fact a necessity accompanying the caravan which this religion guides."⁹⁸

Sayyid Qutb was quoted saying Jihad was not a "transitory phenomenon;" otherwise why would it be emphasized to an extreme in the Koran? It was hypocritical not to engage in Jihad, which could be done in numerous ways such as: commencing with ideas, confronting falsehoods and as an armed force against evil.⁹⁹ Azzam knew many were looking for an exemption from the duties of Jihad. He therefore referred to the Koran passage 9:41 concerning repentance: "Go forth, light and heavy, and strive with your wealth and selves in the Path of Allah; that is better for you, if only you knew." He quoted different Islamic scholars, in an effort to arrive at the true meaning of this specific exhortation. The "light" were those who would and could participate in battle and the "heavy" were those who could or would not. If one was invalid and could not do battle, he was expected to help in education, supplies or in the rear lines. Only those who were too sickly or impoverished were exempt from battle. Even women could help in "education, nursing, and assisting refugees," although they were not allowed on the battlefield itself. Muslim men who refused to fight were hypocritical cowards more concerned about their personal material well-being and fear of death. The wealthy must spend their savings on Jihad expeditions, even should this mean supporting poor families willing to send their men on Jihad. Parents must send their sons on Jihad showing thanks to Allah for having given them children and as a guarantee of reward in the World to Come.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

While living in other countries, Muslims should not refrain from Jihad due to fear of the police, intelligence agencies, or security services. “Jihad is a certainty and fear of interrogation by the Intelligence is a matter of doubt.” Nor should one show “fear of police authorities in the country whose passport he holds, even if he is sure that when he returns they will detain him and kill him or sever his limb, it is not an acceptable excuse before Allah because in this case he is obliged to forsake his country and live in the land of jihad.”¹⁰¹ He has only scorn and condemnation for those refusing Jihad, “The adulterers, homosexuals, those who abandon jihad, the innovators and the alcoholics, as well as those who associate with them are a source of harm to the religion of Islam. They will not cooperate in matters of righteousness and piety. So whoever does not shun their company is, in fact, abandoning what he has been commanded to do and is committing a despicable deed.”¹⁰² He then condemned those who defined Jihad as something other than the physical war. The saying, “We have returned from the lesser jihad (battle) to the greater jihad (jihad of the soul) which people quote on the basis that it is a *hadith*, is in fact a false, fabricated *hadith* which has no basis. It is only a saying of Ibrahim Ibn Abi ‘Abalah, one of the Successors, and it contradicts textual evidence and reality.”¹⁰³

In *Join the Caravan*, Azzam reemphasized the individual compulsory obligation of defensive Jihad to confront the invader without obtaining permission from anyone. A land based “people’s Jihad” was necessary, but must be free of secular influences. Otherwise such an effort resulted in failure, similar to that of Egypt’s Gamal Abdul Nasser whom he mocked. “Those who sit at the helm of leadership of people by the power of the first announcement of a military revolution accomplished behind the scenes in one of the offices of mediation can easily lose everything.” But for those Jihadists who fight for their land, it will be far from easy for them to relinquish it. The true “*Ummah*” or people will always support Jihad, in particular when it involves protecting “the weak and oppressed in the land” and even more so when defending the honor of Muslim women.¹⁰⁴

Azzam believed that one of the greatest motivational factors in Jihad was giving one’s life for the cause and dying a “*shabeed*” or martyr. The Jihadist

¹⁰¹ Ibid, Part 3.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid, Conclusion.

¹⁰⁴ Azzam constantly mocks the leadership of the secular Arab world. In particular, he saves his wrath for Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser who was considered one of the greatest heroes for Arab world liberation. In retrospect, Nasserism and the rise of the Baath particularly in Syria and Iraq could be considered the ideological leaders of the true “Arab Spring” of the 1950s and 1960s. For Azzam, Arab nationalism would certainly be deemed a failure.

was “Hoping for martyrdom and the High Station in Heaven.” He would receive his just reward in the form of dignity, forgiveness and seventy two “*bouris*,” maidens or virgins.¹⁰⁵ Those who did not engage in Jihad feared death and loss of possessions. On the other hand, the fighters knew they reached the highest peak of Islam through Jihad, a form of worship. Azzam concluded “Jihad is the most excellent form of worship, and by means of it the Muslim can reach the highest of ranks” while proceeding to praise those who engage in face-to-face combat, quoting such action as “the most excellent of deeds.”¹⁰⁶ Clearly there was a religious ecstasy by engaging in the righteous deeds of Jihad and slaughtering the enemy.

Afghanistan and Palestine

The Jihad in both Afghanistan and Palestine (battling the Jews in Israel) was considered defensive and demanded personal obligation. If those closest to the battle “fail to repel the *kuffar*” (infidel) then “Jihad spreads to those behind, and carries on spreading in this process, until the jihad is *Fard Ayn* (legal obligation) upon the whole earth from the East to the West.” Azzam once again emphasized that the child, the woman, the debtor needed no one’s permission to join the struggle.¹⁰⁷

Afghanistan and Palestine were part of a greater universal problem, one of sin. “The sin upon this present generation, for not advancing toward Afghanistan, Palestine, the Philippines, Kashmir, Lebanon, Chad, Eritria, etc, is greater than the sin inherited from the loss of the lands which have previously fallen into the possession of the Kuffar. We have to concentrate our efforts on Afghanistan and Palestine now, because they have become our foremost problems. Moreover, our occupying enemies are very deceptive and execute programs to extend their power in these regions. If we were to resolve this dilemma we would resolve a great deal of complications. Their protection is the protection for the whole area.”¹⁰⁸ In *Join the Caravan*, Bukhara, Bulgaria, Sudan, Somalia, Burma, Caucasia, Uganda, Zanzibar, Indonesia and Nigeria were next on the list for Jihadi conquest. These

¹⁰⁵ Qazi, Farhana, “72 Virgins in Heaven: Fact or Fiction?” February 19, 2015, farhanaqazi.com/72-virgins-in-heaven-fact-or-fiction.

“Authenticity of 72 Virgins, *WikiIslam*, retrieved August 6, 2015, net/wiki/Authenticity_of_72_Virgins_Hadith.

Qazi believes the promise of 72 virgins for martyrdom is a myth. The promise of virgins can be traced back to Koran 55:56-78 in Chapter or Sura, “The Merciful.” The virgins are described a “bashful,” “fair as corals and rubies,” and “dark-eyed.” The number 72 originates from the Hadith of Jami’ al-Tirmidhi who speaks of heavenly rewards. There are many Hadiths, interpretations and even a fatwa from 2005.

¹⁰⁶ Azzam, *Caravan*, Part 1.

¹⁰⁷ Azzam, *Muslim Lands*, Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

problems were faced before. Muslims confronted Constantinople (Rome's Byzantines) Persia, Spain, Britain, the supposedly American puppet Nasser of Egypt of recent years, and the Russians in Afghanistan. In the end all of these countries and their ways were and will be defeated.¹⁰⁹

Similar to al-Banna, Azzam ascribed greater responsibility and understanding to the Arabs as compared to other Muslims. For those who were able, the Arab Muslims were to begin their Jihad in Palestine - meaning all lands from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea including the entire State of Israel, the remaining Muslims taking up arms in Afghanistan. "Palestine is the foremost Islamic problem" being in "the heart of the Islamic world," yet Afghanistan was more pressing at that moment and needed immediate attention. In Afghanistan, the *mujabideen* forces were engaged in a Holy War to establish an Islamic state, while "in Palestine the (Arab) leadership has been appropriated by a variety of people, of them sincere Muslims, communists, nationalists and modernist Muslims. Together they have hoisted the banner of a secular state."¹¹⁰

Furthermore Azzam preferred the *mujabideen* freedom fighters battling on their own without the help of any *kuffar*, or infidel power, as opposed to the Palestinians who received aid from the Russians thereby aligning themselves with a big power player and inviting defeat. The military situation in Afghanistan was better, with open boundaries allowing Islamic forces freedom of movement. "The Palestinian borders are closed from all sides for anyone who attempts to infiltrate its borders to kill the Jews." He admitted the success of the Israeli army in its defensive abilities.¹¹¹ Overall, the Russians were much more of a threat in Afghanistan than the Jews were in Palestine. Efforts for victory in the former were the primary objective, defeating the Jews and completely clearing Palestine of their presence was next. The successful Jihad in Afghanistan led Azzam to believe that much could be learned from this singular experience. In the meantime the Palestinian situation was and continued to be simply too corrupt. The Arab world continually split itself between national entities, unwilling to come to each other's aid such as in Jordan and Syria.¹¹²

Worst of all was secularization, and in particular the Christianization of the struggle. "If only the Muslims had fought in Palestine, in spite of the corruption that was present in the early stages, and before the situation had become aggravated with the arrival of George Habash, Naif Hawatma, Father Capici (sic) [Capucci] and their likes, Palestine would not have been

¹⁰⁹ Azzam, *Caravan*, Part 1.

¹¹⁰ Azzam, *Muslim Lands*, Chapter 2.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid*, Chapter 4.

lost.”¹¹³ Habash led the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and Hawatma led the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP). Both were Marxist organizations affiliated with the PLO and Yasir Arafat. Israel caught Father Capucci gun running for the PLO and jailed him in the 1970s. Azzam blamed Christians and Muslim secularists for the Palestinian debacle.

These Palestinian failures had a major personal impact on Azzam. According to the “Translator’s Forward” in *Join the Caravan*, Azzam was unable to succeed in the Palestinian cause due to secularism and the lack of Jihadist commitment of its members. They played cards, listened to music and refused his overtures to teach them about Islam. When he asked what religion stood behind these *mujabideen*, they replied: “This revolution has no religion behind it.” He left the secular movement, immersed himself in Islamic studies and years later joined the Afghan Jihad, exhibiting his disgust with the Palestinian façade of Jihad. He constantly said his “ultimate goal” was Jihad until victory in Palestine.¹¹⁴

Overall, “It is obligatory to fight (together) with any Muslim people as long as they are Muslims. It does not matter how bad or corrupted they are as long as they are fighting the Kuffar (infidel), People of the Book or Atheists.” With the Palestinians the situation started becoming clear for Azzam and other Islamists in the late 1980s when Hamas began to challenge the PLO secularists.¹¹⁵ This brought about the question as to whether a believing Muslim could accept help from “*mushrikun*,” or disbelievers in the Oneness of Allah, polytheists, pagans, or idolaters, in fighting other *mushrikun*. Some Muslim scholars forbade accepting help outright, seeing it as corrupting the objectives of the Jihad. Others accepted such aid under very restrictive conditions. If Muslims were in great need, they could accept aid. Also, if the rule of Islam had the upper hand over any temporary *kuffar* ally, the non-believers needed a positive opinion of Islam and the Muslims had to feel safe concerning these non-believers. Even in all of this a Muslim was never to contradict Sharia law, even in war. The example he used was the directive expelling all Jews and Christians from the Arabian Peninsula.¹¹⁶

Azzam accused the Jews of the “blood libel”¹¹⁷ against Muslim and Christian children. Tirades against the West, and the Jews as usual, were

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Azzam, *Caravan*, Translator’s Forward.

¹¹⁵ Azzam, *Muslim Lands*, Chapter 4.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ The “blood libel” refers to the murderous false accusation that Jews kill Christians and in this case Muslim children as well, to use their blood to bake matza (unleavened bread) for the Passover festival.

common in the 1980s when Azzam declared: “Today, humanity is being ruled by Jews and Christians. The Americans, the British and others. And behind them, the fingers of world Jewry, with their wealth, their women and their media. The Israelis have produced a coin on which it is written ‘we shall never allow Islam to be established in the world.’”¹¹⁸

In the 1980s, Azzam learned a bitter lesson not only from the Russians, but also from the American *kuffars* as he recounted: “The Russians have taken five thousand two hundred Afghan Muslim children to rear them on the Communist ideology, and to sow heresy deep within them. The Americans have confirmed the opening of six hundred schools, and they are maintaining education and raising one hundred fifty thousand Afghan children inside and outside the country.”¹¹⁹ Azzam expanded the discussion to include making treaties with the *kuffar*. Although certain Islamic scholars rejected any treaty possibilities, one was forced to consider the stipulations of those who allowed such agreements. The Muslim side was forbidden to relinquish any land, hence this pre-condition necessitated a full unconditional Russian withdrawal from Afghanistan and the establishment of an Islamic state dictating the terms of a settlement to Moscow. This is exactly what he wanted to see happen with the Jews in Palestine; meaning the liquidation of the Jewish State was the only alternative acceptable to the Islamic warriors, in this case the Hamas Palestinian wing of the Muslim Brotherhood.¹²⁰

Azzam used the pact of Hudaibia as an example of Mohammed’s agreement to a ten year *hudna* with the Meccans. In cases where the Muslim side proved to be too weak to continue the battle, a temporary halt in hostilities was preferable. Upon regaining their strength, however, the Muslim forces should strike the enemy at will. Mecca was captured two years after the accord at Hudaibia. This was the paradigmatic *hudna* or the Islamic ceasefire designed to defeat the enemy, never seeking conflict resolution.¹²¹ Using the *hudna* correctly was a fundamental tool for assuring Islamic victories throughout history. Even such a temporary agreement had harsh stipulations. Muslims cannot be given to outside corruptive influences of the enemy *kuffar*, nor allow Muslim lands to be ruled by them in the meantime. One was forbidden to abandon the *fard ayn*, the compulsory personal Jihad

¹¹⁸ Emerson, Steve, “Abdullah Assam: The Man Before Osama bin Laden,” in *Osama bin Laden: The Past*, retrieved January 17, 2010, www.iacsp.com/itobli3.html.

¹¹⁹ Azzam, *Caravan*, Part 2.

¹²⁰ Azzam, *Muslim Lands*, in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 all discussions comparing the Jews of Palestine (Israel) with the Soviets in Afghanistan speaks of destruction of the first and expulsion of the second. One can say the Russians and Communists are seen as “an” enemy while the Jews are “the” enemy.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, Chapter 4.

and there could be no abrogation of Sharia law. Azzam insisted that *hudna* was only a delay, but with strict limitations, in order to protect Muslims from the influence of the non-believers.¹²²

The obligatory defensive Holy War was then to be re-engaged as emphasized before. All previously held Muslim lands would be re-conquered and Muslims would move over to the offensive Jihad directed by community obligation and engage in new conquests. Such was and will be the permanent order of the day as emphasized in both *Join the Caravan* and *Defence of the Muslim Lands*. Azzam's Afghan war was only the beginning. "The Jihad in Afghanistan will broaden until the entire world will be conquered because Allah has promised the victory to Islam."¹²³

But the ultimate obligation of Jihad was in the internal essence of the definition of Islam, and the Koran itself was likened to a "constitution," as noted above. To re-emphasize, Azzam rejected any thought of compromise when pursuing the permanent universal Jihad: "The steadfast Jihad, which is one of the innermost constituents of this religion and which has its weight in the scales of the Lord of the Worlds, is not a contingent phenomenon peculiar to the period in which the Qur'an was revealed; it is in fact a necessity accompanying the caravan which this religion guides."¹²⁴ Jihad is eternal until final global victory and is not limited to any specific period of time, whether it be the seventh century when Islam was revealed or any other historical era.

Part IV

Al-Banna, Qutb, and Azzam

Comparisons and Impact on Hamas

When studying the *The Hamas Covenant*, (see Chapter VI, "The Hamas Covenant Analysis") many mistakenly believe it to be a Palestinian national document more than anything else. Hamas leaders Khaled Mashal and Ismail Haniyeh would like non-Muslims to believe the *Covenant* is a national document in order to lull the international community into complacency. Palestinian nationalism is only a veneer for the *Covenant*. The scope of the document relates to the need for world Islamic conquest as evidenced by Article 7, "The Universality of the Islamic Resistance Movement," and Chapter Two, "Causes and Goals." Hamas is at war not just against Israel, but identifies the Jews as the enemy and champions a harsh antisemitic policy

¹²² Ibid, Chapter 1.

¹²³ Emerson, "Abdullah Assam."

¹²⁴ Azzam, *Caravan*, Part 1.

demanding death to the Jews, which was made clear in the Introduction - Preamble and Article 7. Many believe Hamas to be “only posturing,” as if a Jihadist movement would concede Allah’s objectives. The development of Jihadist theory begins with Hasan al-Banna, continues through Sayyid Qutb and culminates with Abdullah Azzam, who had a direct hand in influencing *The Hamas Covenant*. All three writers constructed the pillars of faith. The three are compared below, and the course of their Islamist ideals, in particular that of Jihad, are tracked over time.

On the level of personal action, Muslim Brotherhood founder al-Banna actively worked against the British and the pro-Western Egyptian regime during WWII and in its aftermath through propaganda and assassinations. Qutb was much more of an intellectual and a writer. At first, he supported the overthrow of King Faruk by the Free Officers and Gamal Abdul Nasser, but he was quickly disappointed with the development of the Egyptian secular state. Qutb was jailed for over a decade as a result of his leading role in the Brotherhood and his furious opposition to the regime. Azzam, although a Palestinian, was the only one to leave that arena for a battlefield Jihad against the Russians in Afghanistan in the 1980s. All were Arab Muslims and each met a violent death. Al-Banna and Azzam were assassinated, and Qutb was executed.

The three were in complete agreement that Muslims were obligated to Jihad and that any evasion of Jihad was sinful. None accepted the notion of a Jihad of the spirit or heart. They condemned such an interpretation as cowardice, sinful and a willful lack of action deserving Allah’s punishment. The most honorable death was in the name of Islam through Jihad. One became a martyr and Allah would justly reward him with the seventy-two heavenly virgins spoken of by Azzam. All agreed that Muslims must live under an Islamic regime governed by Sharia law.

Their greatest adversary was the People of the Book. All three writers emphasized battles against Christendom and the Crusaders of yesteryear. The modern struggle was against today’s Christianity, Western imperialism and values now tainted with communism, socialism, capitalism or any sort of pluralistic or polytheistic ideal. In particular, Qutb was repulsed by these *jabili* influences peddled by Jews and Christians. He held a special hatred for the Jews as the Satanic betrayers of Allah, and against the United States for spreading a vile *jabili* anti-morality destined to destroy Allah’s message of Islam. Azzam focused on the Russians in Afghanistan and then turned his attention to the next Jihad against the Jews in Palestine, without ever acknowledging the State of Israel. Al-Banna went so far as to quote a tradition promising a double martyrdom for Jihadists dying in the battle against the People of the Book. All three believed Jews and Christians were the greatest enemy. Nowadays, Qutb holds the most influence as an

ideologue, with Jihadi Islamists violently opposed to the existence of both the “little Satan,” Israel, and the “big Satan,” the United States.

For all three, world order was bipolar and broke down into *Dar al-Islam*, the abode of Islam for Muslim believers, and *Dar al-Harb*, the abode of war against non-believers and polytheists. The People of the Book constitute a third category. Despite their enmity, Muslims could tolerate peace with the People of the Book on the condition that they agreed to live as *dhimmis* under Islamic dominance, subject to the *jizya* tax and the discriminatory stipulations in the Charter of Omar. Many believe al-Banna was clear on this point; however, in reviewing the Preamble to *The Hamas Covenant* there is the quote attributed to al-Banna declaring that “Israel” will continue to exist until destroyed by Islam. Some interpret the quote very narrowly to mean the State of Israel; others construe it more broadly to mean the People of Israel, or Jews everywhere which appears to be a more accurate understanding. Writing in “Our Struggle with the Jews,” Qutb’s anger boiled over at any leniency toward the reprehensible Jews. Knowing Allah was omniscient and controlled the universe one can sense his intense pain when confronted with the thought of continued Jewish survival in the wake of all their supposed anti-Islamic conspiracies. Qutb lived the contradiction of a resurrected Jewish State in the heart of the Middle East in his lifetime. For him, vindication from Allah came with universal Jewish annihilation. This was the Jihadi mission. Hence the calls for Jewish destruction in *The Hamas Covenant* are very much the voice of Qutb.

“Orientalism” is the analysis of non-Western societies; in this case it refers to Western scholars’ analysis of the Muslim Middle East. Azzam and especially Qutb heavily attacked such analysis. They accused secular, defeatist Muslims of accepting the interpretations of such “scholars” to explain Islamic civilization and Jihad in historic anthropocentric terms. Qutb was furious at these Muslims for the excuses they made for Jihad, especially when they engaged in Western defensive apologetic terms such as “the right of self-defense.” Instead, he wanted to convince the *jabili* societies of the beauty of Islam and the obligations Muslims have in ensuring victory. Orientalist thinking was weakening Muslim resolve from the inside, was a plot by the People of the Book, and harbored dire consequences for Jihad.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ See Edward Said’s book *Orientalism* for a discussion in this light. Said was a Christian Arab who attacked Western scholars for focusing on Islam as the determining factor in understanding the Arab world. He believed such scholars misunderstood the Arab/Muslim world because of the narrowness of such a focus. Qutb’s approach completely contradicted Said, considering any investigation of the Arab/Muslim world where Islam does not stand at the center to be a betrayal of Islam and Allah’s message. For Qutb, Said would be an Orientalist of the worst type, a Christian *dhimmi* defending the Arab/Muslim world from the liberal secular

Qutb emphasized women's domestic educational role in raising their children as faithful Muslims and Jihadists devoid of outside influences. Although not actual battlefield warriors, they could aid in the physical defensive Jihad, giving support as Azzam explained. They fully agreed that where possible, all women were personally obligated to defensive Jihad, not requiring their husbands' permission to participate in the Holy War; however, they were not to serve on the battlefield.

Nationalism, be it Arab, Palestinian or any other type, was secular and therefore not Islamic. Although pro-Axis during WWII, al-Banna did not see secular totalitarian Italian fascism or German Nazism as relevant models because those societies were militaristic, worshipped their leaders and revered the secular state.¹²⁶ Jihad was for Allah and to bring an Islamic peace. Al-Banna, Qutb and Azzam all condemned the "Crusading West" led by the People of the Book and reviled the atheist communist-socialist East. Qutb was the most violent in expressing his visceral revulsion especially for the United States, a nation where religion and state were separated and belief hopelessly corrupted.

On the local front, another major challenge was the rise of secular Palestinian nationalism as represented by Fatah and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), both led by Yasir Arafat beginning in 1969. Al-Banna and Qutb objected to any sort of secular nationalism and were bitter enemies of the pro-British regime of King Faruk. Al-Banna battled both through assassinations resulting in his own death at the hands of Faruk's agents. In 1952, Nasser led the Free Officers in overthrowing the regime, a move initially supported by the Brotherhood. Not long afterward, Qutb and the Brotherhood found themselves jailed for their opposition to the secular "social" revolution of the Soviet Union and the East Bloc. Qutb was executed in 1966 for his anti-Nasserist efforts. Neither Jihadist could support a secular, non-Islamist Egyptian regime, both paid with their lives. Nor could either, had they lived, supported the PLO.

Likewise, Azzam reviled secular nationalism and ridiculed Nasser. He hated Palestinian Arab nationalism, but for political reasons he could not say so openly. Instead, Azzam's hand is obvious in compromises continually seen throughout *The Hamas Covenant*. As a Palestinian, he supported the PLO struggle against Israel, although he believed such efforts were doomed to failure due to their secular format. He believed secular nationalism led to a lack of commitment and more importantly caused the cessation of Jihad

standpoint while downplaying Islam in an effort to prove that Middle Eastern peoples have much in common with those in the West. Said advocated a "secular humanist" approach, certainly a perspective totally rejected by Islamists.

¹²⁶ al-Banna, Tract "Toward the Light," pp. 109 and 113.

through the “End of Conflict” agreement of a two-state solution and Israel’s continued survival. Secular leaders view conflict resolution as anthropocentric, between mortal humans, who make compromises and then live in peace. This humanistic ideal contradicts the word of Allah revealed through the Koran and Sharia law. The entire world must submit to Islam and diocentrism; no conflict resolution is permitted. Instead, Islam must dominate. *The Hamas Covenant* was written in 1988, but the theory has never changed and can be seen in Articles 2, 6, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 26 and 27. On one hand, the *Covenant* praises Palestinian secularists for their struggle in opposing the Zionists and Jews. On the other hand, the *Covenant* condemns Palestinians for secular nationalism, an ideal influenced by the East, West, Orientalists and Christians. All Palestinian issues must be solved within the Islamic vision, as just one more piece in the universal puzzle of Jihadi conquest. The PLO must adopt Islam as its way of life; if they do not they will forfeit Hamas support.

The Jihad in Palestine was considered “defensive” because the land is *waqf* land conquered by Muslim rulers in a previous era and transformed into Islamic lands for eternity. The demand for personal obligation in Jihad was extolled in this arena. Through Azzam’s influence, *The Hamas Covenant* emphasized defensive Jihad and alluded heavily to the offensive next step without carefully detailing the ultimate goal the way Qutb did in *Milestones*. The offensive Jihad is purposely obscured so any non-Muslim reading the *Covenant* will doubt the ultimate objective of Hamas, and may even consider them as breaking with one of the main pillars of the Muslim Brotherhood. It must be recalled that the Jihadists in Afghanistan agreed to cooperate with the *mushrikun* non-believers to defeat the Soviets, but only temporarily. The *Covenant* consistently frames Hamas’ objectives as part of the local Palestinian and Jewish/Israeli battle that hint at a conclusion with Israel’s destruction. Delving deeper, it is obvious the frame is completely false. Azzam saw the battle for an Islamic Palestine as only one step in the overall world Jihad. This message may be played down, but it permeates the *Covenant* and Hamas. One must be cognizant of the full spirit of Islamist conquest linking the defensive and offensive Jihad into one as Azzam clearly expressed in both *Defence of the Muslim Lands* and *Join the Caravan*.

This brings us to the offensive Jihad, advocated by all three ideologues. The Jihadist Azzam fought a defensive Jihad, but longed for the offensive. A careful reading of *The Hamas Covenant*, in particular Article 8 makes it clear that this battle is not limited to destroying Israel and the Jews. The elimination of the Jews is one single military objective among many. Articles 3, 4 and the first sentence of Article 15 are general calls for Jihad, while Article 7 begins with the Islamic universalism of Hamas ideals. Article 11 declares the commitment to recapture all *waqf* lands across the globe. Hamas

is an integral part of the Muslim Brotherhood demand for world conquest as a final goal. The following is the quoted slogan from Article 8:

Allah is its goal
 The Prophet its model to be followed
 The Koran is its constitution
 Jihad its way
 And death for the sake of Allah its loftiest desire

There is nothing above mentioned about Arabs, Palestinians, Israel, Jews, or any other national group. It is a universal Islamic call for Jihad, whether defensive or offensive. Azzam and Hamas could pretend to build a localized Jihad in the guise of Palestinian rights, but neither of them betrayed the overall principle of world Islamic domination. This ultimate objective is obfuscated under the facade of Palestinian Arab nationalism. Defensive Jihad flows into offensive Islam, which was crystal clear in the aftermath of 9/11 when the Hamas leadership and Palestinian supporters expressed euphoria over the attack. Qutb would have been proud; offensive Jihad won the day. Article 36 concludes *The Hamas Covenant*: "The Islamic Resistance Movement [Hamas] depends on Islam as a way of life, its faith, and religion and supports whoever adopts Islam as a way of life." For Hamas, world Jihad is intrinsic to the Islamic way of life, and is the next step after the destruction of Israel and the defeat of the Jews.

Finally, there is the issue of *hudna*, or Islamic cease-fire, agreed to while battling the *jabili* societies. The three thinkers agreed that *hudna* was only a temporary arrangement permissible when the Islamic side was in danger of losing. The *hudna* allowed for rearming, retraining and the military reorganization of the Jihadi forces. With the *hudna* Jihad began anew, according to the Muslim military timetable. We were familiar with the ten-year *hudna* agreed upon at Hudaibia between the Prophet Mohammed and the Meccans. Muslim forces broke the *hudna* two years later, which resulted in the conquest of Mecca. Because Jihadi forces were battling in the name of Allah, any agreement reached between humans was subservient to the need to spread the Divine religion of Islam. Agreements may be broken if it serves the interests of the Muslim side. Any *hudna* was only a postponement of the eternal battle for universal subjugation to Islam.

In conclusion, these three thinkers are a continuum whereby Azzam becomes the hand of direct imprint on *The Hamas Covenant*, but he is far from the only one. It is important to realize that Azzam may emphasize the need for defensive Jihad, but he is no less an advocate of offensive Jihad, nor is the Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas. The spirit of al-Banna and

Qutb hover over the *Covenant* as well. Today, Hamas operatives are fully aware that offensive Jihad is an extension and completion of the “defensive” Holy War. Finally, there is the never-ending question as to why the Arab/Islamic world finds itself in such an inferior position to the West, and even other less developed nations. In the spirit of the above-mentioned ideologues, and *The Hamas Covenant*, the answer becomes clear. Muslims betrayed Islam, Sharia law and Allah and to redeem themselves must return to the righteous path of devotion and a true Islamic society. A non-wavering commitment to a physically conquering Jihad will cleanse the globe and lead the Arab/Muslim world back to the glorious days of Mohammed and the first believers. Only then will Islam succeed in universal conquest and regain its former glory.

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