



Ayman Al-Zawahiri's Citations of the *Qur'an*: A Descriptive Study of Selected Works

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Introduction

Merriam-Webster¹ defines the term ideology, from the secondary perspective, as “a systematic body of concepts especially about human life or culture,” “a manner or the content of thinking characteristics of an individual, group, or culture” and “the integrated assertions, theories and aims that constitute a sociopolitical program.” All three definitions, delimiting the broad precept of the concept of ideology, are of relevance and import in the critical, analytical and objective study of globally oriented social, religious and political sub-national and clandestine movements that agitate for a reordering of the extant order through the use, on a mechanistic basis, of premeditated violence that targets both combatant and non-combatant actors². In this context, temporally delimited within the recent historical perspective, groups espousing an ideology predicated upon the global promulgation of a strict or fundamental interpretation of Sunni Islam are of particular interest. Stated in perhaps simpler parlance, “why do they fight” represents a general area of inquiry that underpins the subject study. Care, of course, must be made in order to avoid, during the course and scope of moving from the general to the specific, the equating of unrelated ideologies and movements. The crystallization of distinctive ideological platforms must be evaluated in their own specificity rather than via allusion to 20th Century Western ideologies such as fascism and communism³

In this regard, ideology (along with strategy and tactics) represents a portion of the confluence of broad categorical factors that must be understood with sufficient clarity for both short term counterterrorism (CT) and counterinsurgency (CI) goals and longer term mitigation goals. It is through the study of both the propounded ideology and the enactment of the same, oft-times in a manner showing substantive dissimilitude, that one may ascertain the rationale behind the existence of such organizations, the framework under which they operate and their short and long term goals and strategies. Brachman⁴, in defining the groups in question as global jihadists and their ideologies as global jihadism, introduced the latter from the perspective of a set of

¹ Online: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/IDEOLOGY>.

² The quadripartite terminology adopted herein follows from the definition of terrorism as adopted by Pillar. See: Pillar, P (2001) *Terrorism and US Foreign Policy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 12-18.

³ Chertoff, M (2008, Fall/Winter) The Ideology of Terrorism: Radicalism Revisited. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 15(1), 11-20.

⁴ Brachman, J (2009) *Global Jihadism. Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge, 10-11.

shared characteristics. This view was based upon the concept of underlying social, political and/or religious grievances giving rise to ideological movements that reduce such complex problems into a dualistic Manichaeian⁵ model. This in turn is followed by the presentation of a method or set of methods, alternative to those provided by societal norms, for addressing such grievances and finally by articulating a call to action. This framework is particularly useful and apt in evaluating the ideology of global jihadist movements such as *Qaida al Jihad*.

The particular grievances of *Qaida al Jihad* have been clearly explicated through the works of its ideologists, strategists and leaders. The works of Usama bin Laden⁶ express a theme in which grievances, couched in the language of being subject to oppression, repression and aggression, are attributed to a perception of conflict between Islam and non-Islam. This theme of conflict, mirroring the “clash of civilizations” narrative put forth by Samuel Huntington⁷, depicts non-Muslims in general and a conspiracy spearheaded by the “Christian Crusader” West and “Jewish Zionist” Israel⁸ as being the aggressor against both Muslims as physical actors and Islam as an ideological actor. This thematic ideological construct is pervasive to the point of paradigmatic as such relates to the written and spoken works of the ideologists of *Qaida al Jihad*. Within the framework discussed by Brachman, it is the perceived and actual grievances associated with the interaction between the regions and countries comprising the Muslim world and the modern Western world that *Qaida al Jihad* seeks to co-opt. This co-optation is mediated through a proposed set of solutions entrenched within an austere and rigid doctrinal espousal of Sunni Islam based upon the Islamic Middle Period⁹ and specific subsequent theological interpretations of the *Qur’an* and *Sunna*. Brachman¹⁰ identified five key doctrinal precepts that play definitive roles in global jihadist ideology. They are *aqidah* (Islamic creed), *tawhid* (Islamic monotheism), *takfir* (declaration of apostasy), *al wala wal bara* (love and hate for Allah’s sake) and *jihad* (struggle). While *jihad* has multiple crystallized forms, *jihad bis saif* (of the sword) plays a predominant role. A comprehensive listing of the scholars whose works are utilized by the currency of the global jihadist ideologists as well as the ideologists themselves is beyond the scope of the subject study but has already been presented elsewhere¹¹. In brief, however, parts of the doctrinal basis derives, in a manner correlated with the sociopolitical nature of the current global jihadist struggle, from certain aspects of the works of scholars of the Islamic Middle Period¹² that includes but is not limited to Taqi ad Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyyah. Beyond this

⁵The term “Manichaeian” is used in the current sense of the term rather than an explicit reference to the gnostic dualism of divinity preached by Mani (c. 216-276 CE). See: Berkey, J (2003). *The Formation of Islam. Religion and Society in the Near East, 600-1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 30-32.

⁶ bin Laden, U (1996, August 23) Declaration of War Against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places. Retrieved from: http://www.pbs.org/newshour/terrorism/international/fatwa_1996.html. See also: bin Laden, U (1998, February 23) The World Islamic Front’s Declaration to Wage Jihad Against the Jews and Crusaders (R Ibrahim, Trans.) In R Ibrahim (2007) *The Al Qaeda Reader*. New York: Broadway Books, 11-14.

⁷ Huntington, S (1993, Summer) The Clash of Civilizations? *Foreign Affairs*. See also: Huntington, S (1997) *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Touchstone, 207-238.

⁸ *Ibid* 4 at 11. See also: Gunaratna, R (2005) Al Qaeda’s Ideology. In H Fradkin, H Haqqani and E Brown (Eds.) *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology. Volume I*. Washington DC: Hudson Institute, 59-67.

⁹ *Ibid* 5 at 179.

¹⁰ *Ibid* 4 at 41-51.

¹¹ McCants, W (2006) *Militant Ideology Atlas. Research Compendium*. West Point, New York: Combating Terrorism Center.

¹² Cook, D (2005) *Understanding Jihad*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 49-72.

Middle Period scholarship, however, much of the extant doctrinal component of global jihadist ideology can be traced to 19th and 20th century scholars and intellectuals¹³. The doctrinal basis for the global jihadist ideology results in principal actors being drawn from three general classes. The duopoly of non-Islam and Islam, as perceived by the ideologists, represent two of these classes. The third class is that of self-identifying Muslims that have been excluded from Islam by the global jihadists. This class, made permissible for targeting, contains characteristics drawn from the duopoly. The adoption of non-Islamic practices and/or working with non-Islamic actors, in the view of the global jihadists, has resulted in a corruption of the *aqidah* of such Muslims. The actors that are found in this “excluded Islam” class are typically those that represent the governments of Muslim countries and those that explicitly support a more moderate interpretation of the doctrine. The Muslims of the “excluded Islam” class, either as physical actors or whose adoption of non-Islamic, and especially secular and Western norms and practices, are viewed, in a mirror of the Augustinian paradigm¹⁴, as being corollary actors that aid in the promulgation of the grievances arising from a loss of societal stature and power.

The solution offered by the global jihadist movement in general and *Qaida al Jihad* in particular is *jihad* in general and *jihad bis saif* in particular¹⁵. The exhortation to *jihad* also includes the corollary argument that those who are unable to engage in fighting directly are to provide support in other ways. It is within the definitional context of *jihad* that one finds significant intellectual effort being expended by the ideologies of the global jihadist persuasion. Despite the significant doctrinal and strategic differences that developed between Dr. Abdullah Azzam and Usama bin Laden, as well as the Egyptian cohort of which Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri was a member, co-optation of portions of the works of the former by the latter following the end of the Soviet-Afghan conflict are evident¹⁶. Specifically, Azzam’s view¹⁷, following from the perspective of Ibn Taymiyyah, of *jihad* being *fard ‘ayn* (individual obligation) rather than *fard kifaya* (collective obligation), has been co-opted. The targeting of the “far enemy” represents a globalization of what was previously, in the late 20th Century, a localized phenomenon. While strategies¹⁸ are subject to modification as theater and tactical conditions dictate¹⁹, the goal remains one of expulsion of non-Islamic actors and ideologies from Muslim lands, the restoration of the caliphate and the rule of Shari’a Law.

¹³ Henzel, C (2005, Spring) The Origin of Al Qaeda’s Ideology: Implications for US Strategy. *Parameters*, 35(1), 69-80.

¹⁴ Bendle, M (2006) Existential Terrorism: Civil Society and its Enemies. *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 52(1), 115-130.

¹⁵ al Zawahiri, A (2001) *Knights Under the Prophet’s Banner* (L Mansfield, Trans.) In L. Mansfield (2006) *His Own Words: A Translation of the Writings of Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri*. Old Tappan, New Jersey: TLG Publications, 19-225.

¹⁶ These differences included but were not limited to the permissibility of targeting governments of Muslims countries and the role that *al Qaeda* was to play following the Soviet withdrawal. See Gunaratna, R (2002) *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror*. New York: Columbia University Press, 21-24. See also: Sageman, M (2004) *Understanding Terror Networks*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 36-37.

¹⁷ Azzam, A (1987) Join the Caravan (Anonymous, Trans.) Retrieved from: http://www.religioscope.com/info/doc/jihad/azzam_caravan_1_forward.htm.

¹⁸ Schafer, D (2005, May 13) Unraveling Al Qaeda’s Strategy. Unpublished master’s thesis, Joint Forces Staff College, Norfolk, Virginia, Joint Advanced Warfighting School.

¹⁹ Blanchard, C (2005, June 20) Al Qaeda: Statements and Evolving Ideology. Congressional Research Service Report for Congress. Retrieved from: <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/RL32759.pdf>.

The study of the ideology of *Qaida al Jihad*, beyond the discussion above, is of import for two additional and very specific reasons. The first is that the co-optation of sociopolitical grievances of various parts of the Muslim world, couched in the doctrinal terminology of Islam, has resonance. From the practical perspective, outside of the issue of sympathy, the view of Fine²⁰ regarding the differences between secular and religious movements engaged in the use of terrorism as a method is supported by the detailed study of the leadership class of *Qaida al Jihad*²¹ and the foreign fighters in Iraq following Operation Iraqi Freedom²². The second is the exportation of *Qaida al Jihad* as an ideology rather than as a hierarchical and structured organization with central command and control. One of the outcomes of the continued actions of the United States (US) and its allies in targeting *Qaida al Jihad's* funding sources and infrastructure, particularly in Afghanistan, has been a decentralization of the organization into autonomous cells linked and inspired by ideology. This phenomenon has brought to fruition the stated goal of yet another critical ideologist, Abu Mus'ab al Suri. Lia²³ has detailed the works of al Suri, which include the view of *nizam la tanzim* (system, not organization). The promulgation of insurgency without a requirement for a definitive physical location is an achievement heretofore unachieved²⁴. While there exists a large constellation of ideologists whose works can and require study, the subject study focuses on a selection of works of Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri. The details of al Zawahiri's involvement in *Qaida al Jihad* and previously in the sphere of localized *jihadist* movements in Egypt have been detailed elsewhere²⁵. The output of books, audio speeches and video presentations by al Zawahiri has been prodigious and his role as a luminary in *Qaida al Jihad* remains patent. The arguments, views and positions taken by al Zawahiri are put forth in a mixture of sociopolitical commentary, citations to past and current religious scholars and ideologists and citations to both the *Qur'an* and *ahadith*. The role of citations to the *Qur'an* as having import within the ideological framework of the global jihadist movement has been discussed, generally, by Aaron²⁶. The subject study seeks to expand upon this work by focusing on the use of references to the *Qur'an* by al Zawahiri, within the context of the *Qaida al Jihad* ideological framework. The following specific research question is addressed: descriptively, what is the scope of citation of the *Qur'an* by Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri?

²⁰ Fine, J (2008, Winter) Contrasting Secular and Religious Terrorism. *Middle East Quarterly*, 15(1), 59-69.

²¹ *Ibid* 16, Sageman, at 74-77.

²² Felter, J and B Fishman (2008) The Demographics of Recruitment, Finance and Suicide. In B Fishman (Ed.) *Bombers, Bank Accounts and Bleedout: Al Qaeda's Road In and Out of Iraq*. West Point, New York: Countering Terrorism Center. Retrieved from: http://ctc.usma.edu/harmony/pdf/Sinjar_2_July_23.pdf.

²³ Lia, B (2008) *Architect of Global Jihad. The Life of Al-Qaeda Strategist Abu Mus'ab al-Suri*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1-9.

²⁴ Douglass, F (2007, June) Waging the Inchoate War: Defining, Fighting and Second-Guessing the 'Long War.' *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 30 (3), 391-420.

²⁵ Aboul-Enein, Y (n.d.) Ayman al-Zawahiri. A Mythic Figure or Fringe Leader within the Islamist Political Movement: Highlighting the 2006 Writings of Egyptian Journalist Gamal Abdal-Rahim. Retrieved from: <http://ctc.usma.edu/publications/ABOUL-ENEIN-ZAWAHIRI.pdf>. See also: Atwan, A (2008) *The Secret History of al Qaeda*. Berkley, California: University of California Press.

²⁶ Aaron, D (2008) *In Their Own Words. Voices of Jihad*. Santa Monica, California: RAND. Retrieved from: http://rand.org/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG602.pdf.

Methods

A review of compendium works, individual translations and audiovisual (AV) sources revealed a total of 60 speeches and communications, excluding book length documents, for consideration for the subject study. A first pass filtering, unfortunately, resulted in an exclusion from the subject study of those speeches and communications for which an English language translation, sub-title or transcript was not present.²⁷ Of the remaining 56 references, 47 (83.9%) contained explicit references to the *Qur'an*. For written sources, each citation, within its immediate context, was scanned into a spreadsheet program (Excel 2007; Microsoft Corporation; Redmond, Washington) using a text line scanner. Each English language AV source (two sources) and each English language subtitled AV source was transcribed by the lead author. Citations to the *Qur'an*, from these sources, were then entered into a spreadsheet, verbatim, within their immediate context. Cited references were cross-checked against an online source containing English language translations of the *Qur'an*²⁸. Certain citations to the *Qur'an* were only noted in general terms (e.g. *Qur'anic* verse). These chapters and verses were elucidated by noting similitude with their citations elsewhere in referenced sources or through the use of an online *Qur'anic* search engine²⁹ followed by cross-checking. All translations were assumed to be accurate. A cursory review of the dataset revealed that references to the *Qur'an* were either in the form of single verses or in the form of multiple sequential verses (e.g. 4:75 – 4:76) from the same chapter. In order to account for this finding, the study data was encoded both in the form of single *ayah* and in the form of singular and sequential block *ayat*. The research question at hand was addressed through the use of normative visualization methods and normative descriptive statistics. Statistical testing was conducted using either the Microsoft Excel add-in

²⁷ The following sources were not included: al Zawahiri, A (2004, March 18) An Advice Message to Muslims in Pakistan After the Unjust Military Operation Against the Tribal Region in Waziristan. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=3562. al Zawahiri, A (2007, November 3) And Fight the Polytheists All Together as They Fight You All Together. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=1222. al Zawahiri, A (2008, June 4) On the Anniversary of the Disaster – A Call to Help Our People in Gaza. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=1213. al Zawahiri, A (2008, August 22) Lamenting a Cluster of Heroes. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=1218. al Zawahiri, A (2008, September 19) Condolences to Our People in Dowqiyah. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=1219. al Zawahiri, A (2009, January 6) The Foundations of Reform. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=1212. al Zawahiri, A (2009, March 2) The Sacrifices of Gaza and Conspiracies. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=6384. al Zawahiri, A (2009, April 10) Eulogy for ibn Sheikh al Libi. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=6005. al Zawahiri, A (2009, August 3) As Sahab Sixth Video Interview with Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=4935. al Zawahiri, A (2009, September 27) Eulogy for Baitullah Mehsud. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=5904. al Zawahiri, A (n.d.) American Atrocities Toward Islam, Muslims and Quran in US Prisons. Retrieved from http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=4990. al Zawahiri, A (n.d.) Resistance. Retrieved from http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=4976. al Zawahiri, A (n.d.) A Message to the Ummah About the American 2004 Elections. Retrieved from http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=4975.

²⁸ The University of Southern California's Center for Muslim-Jewish Engagement contains English language translations by Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Marmaduke Pickthall and Muhammad Habib Shakir.

Online: <http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement>.

²⁹ Online: <http://www.islamicity.com/QuranSearch/>.

program Analyse-it (Analyse-it Software, Ltd.; v 2.2; Leeds, UK) or S-Plus (Insightful Corporation; v 6.0; Seattle, Washington).

Results

The 47 sources analyzed, spanning the years 2002-2009³⁰, revealed 282 singular and *en bloc* sequential references to the *Qur'an*. When the latter were expanded, the total number of references to singular verses increased to 428. The sources were heavily weighted over the years 2006-2008 (14, 12 and 9 respectively) with the years 2002-2005 and 2009 (1, 1, 4 and 6 respectively) providing fewer sources for consideration. Sixteen (34%) sources contained references to singular *ayah* rather than *en bloc* sequential citations. The studies considered, utilized and those with citation are shown in Tables 1 through 4.

Title	Reference	Utilized	Citations	Ayat	Singular
Interview with Ayman al Zawahiri	al Zawahiri (2002) ³¹	Yes	Yes	6	2
<i>Unknown Title</i>	al Zawahiri (2003) ³²	Yes	Yes	3	3
An Advice Message to Muslims in Pakistan After the Unjust Military Operation Against the Tribal Region in Waziristan	al Zawahiri (2004)	No			
The Defeat of America is a Matter of Time	al Zawahiri (2004) ³³	Yes	No		
Muslim Youth: Do Not Wait	al Zawahiri (2004) ³⁴	Yes	No		
Policies Must Change No Matter Who Wins	al Zawahiri (2004) ³⁵	Yes	No		
<i>Horreya</i>	al Zawahiri (2005) ³⁶	Yes	No		
<i>Unknown Title</i>	al Zawahiri (2005) ³⁷	Yes	No		
True Reform is Only Through <i>Jihad</i>	al Zawahiri (2005) ³⁸	Yes	Yes	4	2
Letter from al Zawahiri to al Zarqawi	al Zawahiri (2005) ³⁹	Yes	Yes	2	2
Message to the British	al Zawahiri (2005) ⁴⁰	Yes	No		

³⁰ No sources were present for 2004.

³¹ al Zawahiri, A (2002, September) Interview with Ayman al Zawahiri. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1*. Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 6-15.

³² al Zawahiri, A (2003, August 3) (*Unknown Title*) (IntelCenter, Trans.) In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1*. Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 16-17.

³³ al Zawahiri, A (2004, September 9) The Defeat of America is a Matter of Time (L Mansfield, Trans.) In L Mansfield (2006) *His Own Words. A Translation of the Writings of Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri*. Old Tappan, New Jersey: TLG Publications, 233.

³⁴ al Zawahiri, A (2004, October 1) Muslim Youth: Do Not Wait (L Mansfield, Trans.) In L Mansfield (2006) *His Own Words. A Translation of the Writings of Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri*. Old Tappan, New Jersey: TLG Publications, 234-235.

³⁵ al Zawahiri, A (2004, November 29) Policies Must Change No Matter Who Wins (L Mansfield, Trans.) In L Mansfield (2006) *His Own Words. A Translation of the Writings of Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri*. Old Tappan, New Jersey: TLG Publications, 236-238.

³⁶ al Zawahiri, A (2005, February 5) *Horreya* (L Mansfield, Trans.) In L Mansfield (2006) *His Own Words. A Translation of the Writings of Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri*. Old Tappan, New Jersey: TLG Publications, 239-244.

³⁷ al Zawahiri, A (2005, February 21) (*Unknown Title*) In L Mansfield (2006) *His Own Words. A Translation of the Writings of Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri*. Old Tappan, New Jersey: TLG Publications, 245-246.

³⁸ al Zawahiri, A (2005, June 17) True Reform is Only Through *Jihad* (IntelCenter, Trans.) In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1*. Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 18-23.

³⁹ al Zawahiri, A (2005, July 9) Letter from al Zawahiri to al Zarqawi (L Mansfield, Trans.) In L Mansfield (2006) *His Own Words. A Translation of the Writings of Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri*. Old Tappan, New Jersey: TLG Publications, 250-279.

⁴⁰ al Zawahiri, A (2005, August 4) Message to the British (L Mansfield, Trans.) In L Mansfield (2006) *His Own Words. A Translation of the Writings of Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri*. Old Tappan, New Jersey: TLG Publications, 280-282.

(Continued) Title	Reference	Utilized	Citations	Ayat	Singular
As Sahab First Video Interview with Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri	al Zawahiri (2005) ⁴¹	Yes	Yes	18	11
Unknown Title	al Zawahiri (2005) ⁴²	Yes	No		
Impediments to Jihad	al Zawahiri (2005) ⁴³	Yes	Yes	29	8
The Victory of Islam in Iraq	al Zawahiri (2006) ⁴⁴	Yes	Yes	3	3
Condolences to Pakistan on the Earthquake	al Zawahiri (2006) ⁴⁵	Yes	No		
The Letter to the Americans: Why do We Fight and Resist You?	al Zawahiri (2006) ⁴⁶	Yes	Yes	11	5
Bajawr Massacre and Lies of the Crusaders	al Zawahiri (2006) ⁴⁷	Yes	Yes	6	4
The Alternative is Da'wa and Jihad	al Zawahiri (2006) ⁴⁸	Yes	Yes	6	4
Four Years Since the Battle of Tora Bora. From Tora Bora to Iraq	al Zawahiri (2006) ⁴⁹	Yes	Yes	4	2
Letter to the People of Pakistan	al Zawahiri (2006) ⁵⁰	Yes	Yes	6	4
Support for the Palestinians	al Zawahiri (2006) ⁵¹	Yes	Yes	4	3
American Crimes in Kabul	al Zawahiri (2006) ⁵²	Yes	Yes	3	2
Elegizing the Ummah's Martyr and Emir of the Martyrs, Abu Musab al Zarqawi. May Allah have Mercy on Him	al Zawahiri (2006) ⁵³	Yes	Yes	3	1
The Zionist Crusader's Aggression on Gaza and Lebanon	al Zawahiri (2006) ⁵⁴	Yes	Yes	2	2
Hot Issues with Ayman Second Video Interview	al Zawahiri (2006) ⁵⁵	Yes	Yes	12	8

⁴¹ al Zawahiri, A (2005, September 19) As Sahab First Video Interview with Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 24-41.

⁴² al Zawahiri, A (2005, October 22) (Unknown Title) (L Mansfield, Trans.) In L Mansfield (2006) *His Own Words. A Translation of the Writings of Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri.* Old Tappan, New Jersey: TLG Publications, 283-284.

⁴³ al Zawahiri, A (2005, December 10) Impediments to Jihad. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 42-63.

⁴⁴ al Zawahiri, A (2006, January 6) The Victory of Islam in Iraq. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 64-69.

⁴⁵ al Zawahiri, A (2006, January 6) Condolences to Pakistan on the Earthquake (L Mansfield, Trans.) In L Mansfield (2006) *His Own Words. A Translation of the Writings of Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri.* Old Tappan, New Jersey: TLG Publications, 285-286.

⁴⁶ al Zawahiri, A (2006, January 7) The Letter to the Americans: Why do We Fight and Resist You? In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 70-79.

⁴⁷ al Zawahiri, A (2006, January 30) Bajawr Massacre and Lies of the Crusaders. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 80-85.

⁴⁸ al Zawahiri, A (2006, March 4) The Alternative is Da'wa and Jihad (IntelCenter, Trans.) In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 86-93.

⁴⁹ al Zawahiri, A (2006, April 12) Four Years Since the Battle of Tora Bora. From Tora Bora to Iraq (IntelCenter, Trans.) In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 94-105.

⁵⁰ al Zawahiri, A (2006, April 28) Letter to the People of Pakistan. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 106-112.

⁵¹ al Zawahiri, A (2006, June 9) Support for the Palestinians. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 113-119.

⁵² al Zawahiri, A (2006, June 21) American Crimes in Kabul (IntelCenter, Trans.) In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 120-121.

⁵³ al Zawahiri, A (2006, June 23) Elegizing the Ummah's Martyr and Emir of the Martyrs Abu Musab al Zarqawi. May Allah have Mercy on Him. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 122-127.

⁵⁴ al Zawahiri, A (2006, July 27) The Zionist Crusader's Aggression on Gaza and Lebanon (IntelCenter, Trans.) In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 128-130.

⁵⁵ al Zawahiri, A (2006, September 11) Hot Issues with Ayman al Zawahiri (As Sahab Second Video Interview with Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri). In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 131-164.

(Continued) Title	Reference	Utilized	Citations	Ayat	Singular
Bush, the Vatican's Pope, Darfur and the Crusades	al Zawahiri (2006) ⁵⁶	Yes	Yes	1	1
Realities of the Conflict between Islam and Unbelief	al Zawahiri (2006) ⁵⁷	Yes	Yes	19	9
Congratulations on the Eid of the Ummah of Tawhid	al Zawahiri (2006) ⁵⁸	Yes	Yes	9	6

Table 1 (Above). Speeches considered for use in the subject study from the years 2002-2006. Those speeches that were utilized are marked affirmatively in the “utilized” column. Those utilized that contained citations to the *Qur'an* are labeled affirmatively in the citations column.

Title	Reference	Utilized	Citations	Ayat	Singular
Rise and Support Your Brothers in Somalia	al Zawahiri (2007) ⁵⁹	Yes	Yes	4	2
The Correct Equation	al Zawahiri (2007) ⁶⁰	Yes	Yes	5	1
Lessons, Examples and Great Events in the Year 1427	al Zawahiri (2007) ⁶¹	Yes	Yes	22	10
Palestine is Our Concern and the Concern of Every Muslim	al Zawahiri (2007) ⁶²	Yes	Yes	4	4
As Sahab Third Video Interview with Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri	al Zawahiri (2007) ⁶³	Yes	Yes	12	8
Elegizing the Commander of the Martyrdom-Seekers Mullah Dadullah (May Allah Have Mercy on Him)	al Zawahiri (2007) ⁶⁴	Yes	Yes	1	1
Forty Years Since the Fall of Jerusalem	al Zawahiri (2007) ⁶⁵	Yes	Yes	10	4
The Advice of One Concerned	al Zawahiri (2007) ⁶⁶	Yes	Yes	10	6
Malicious Britain and its Indian Slaves	al Zawahiri (2007) ⁶⁷	Yes	Yes	10	6
The Aggression Against Lal Masjid	al Zawahiri (2007) ⁶⁸	Yes	Yes	4	0
And Fight the Polytheists All Together...	al Zawahiri (2007)	No			

⁵⁶ al Zawahiri, A (2006, September 29) Bush, the Vatican's Pope, Darfur and the Crusades. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 165-172.

⁵⁷ al Zawahiri, A (2006, December 22) Realities of the Conflict between Islam and Unbelief. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 173-194.

⁵⁸ al Zawahiri, A (2006, December 30) Congratulations on the Eid of the Ummah of Tawhid. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 195-201.

⁵⁹ al Zawahiri, A (2007, January 5) Rise and Support Your Brothers in Somalia. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 202-204.

⁶⁰ al Zawahiri, A (2007, January 24) The Correct Equation. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 205-210.

⁶¹ al Zawahiri, A (2007, February 13) Lessons, Examples and Great Events in the Year 1427 (IntelCenter, Trans.) In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 211-228.

⁶² al Zawahiri, A (2007, March 31) Palestine is Our Concern and the Concern of Every Muslim. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 229-238.

⁶³ al Zawahiri, A (2007, May 5) As Sahab Third Interview with Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 239-267.

⁶⁴ al Zawahiri, A (2007, May 23) Elegizing the Commander of the Martyrdom-Seekers Mullah Dadullah (May Allah Have Mercy on Him). In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 268-270.

⁶⁵ al Zawahiri, A (2007, June 5) Forty Years Since the Fall of Jerusalem (IntelCenter, Trans.) In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 271-280.

⁶⁶ al Zawahiri, A (2007, July 4) The Advice of One Concerned. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 281-322.

⁶⁷ al Zawahiri, A (2007, July 10) Malicious Britain and its Indian Slaves (IntelCenter, Trans.) In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 323-331.

⁶⁸ al Zawahiri, A (2007, July 11) The Aggression Against the Lal Masjid. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 332-333.

(Continued) Title	Reference	Utilized	Citations	Ayat	Singular
Annapolis – The Betrayal	al Zawahiri (2007) ⁶⁹	Yes	Yes	3	3
A Review of Events. As Sahab Fourth Interview with Sheikh Ayman al Zawahiri	al Zawahiri (2007) ⁷⁰	Yes	Yes	18	14
The Martyrdom of the Heroes and the Betrayal of the Rulers	al Zawahiri (2008) ⁷¹	Yes	Yes	1	1
Elegy to the Martyred Commander Abu Laith al Libi	al Zawahiri (2008) ⁷²	Yes	Yes	5	3
Rise to Support Our Kinfolk in Gaza	al Zawahiri (2008) ⁷³	Yes	Yes	3	3
Open Meeting with Sheikh Ayman al Zawahiri Part 1	al Zawahiri (2008) ⁷⁴	Yes	Yes	5	5
Five Years After the Invasion of Iraq and Decades of Injustice by the Tyrants	al Zawahiri (2008) ⁷⁵	Yes	Yes	1	1
Open Meeting with Sheikh Ayman al Zawahiri Part 2	al Zawahiri (2008) ⁷⁶	Yes	Yes	55	22
On the Anniversary of the Disaster – A Call to Help Our People in Gaza	al Zawahiri (2008) ⁷⁷	No			
Are the Mujahideen Enemies of al-Husayn?	al Zawahiri (2008) ⁷⁸	Yes	Yes	1	1
A Message from Shaykh Ayman al Zawahiri to Pakistan Army and the People of Pakistan	al Zawahiri (2008) ⁷⁹	Yes	Yes	14	8
Lamenting a Cluster of Heroes	al Zawahiri (2008) ⁸⁰	No			
Condolences to Our People in Dowqiyah	al Zawahiri (2008)	No			
Exit of Bush and Arrival of Obama	al Zawahiri (2008) ⁸¹	Yes	No		
As Sahab Fifth Interview with Dr. Ayman al	al Zawahiri (2008) ⁸²	Yes	Yes	6	2

⁶⁹ al Zawahiri, A (2007, December 14) Annapolis – The Betrayal. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 334-342.

⁷⁰ al Zawahiri, A (2007, December 16) A Review of Events. As Sahab Fourth Interview with Sheikh Ayman al Zawahiri. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 343-382.

⁷¹ al Zawahiri, A (2008, January 8) The Martyrdom of Heroes and the Betrayal of the Rulers. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=4494.

⁷² al Zawahiri, A (2008, February 28) Elegy to the Martyred Commander Abu Laith al Libi. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 383-387.

⁷³ al Zawahiri, A (2008, March 23) Rise to Support Our Kinfolk in Gaza (IntelCenter, Trans.) In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 388-389.

⁷⁴ al Zawahiri, A (2008, April 12) Open Meeting with Sheikh Ayman al Zawahiri. Part 1. In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 390-440.

⁷⁵ al Zawahiri, A (2008, April 17) Five Years After the Invasion of Iraq and Decades of Injustice by the Tyrants (IntelCenter, Trans.) In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 441-447.

⁷⁶ al Zawahiri, A (2008, April 21) Open Meeting with Sheikh Ayman al Zawahiri. Part 2 (IntelCenter, Trans.) In IntelCenter (2008) *Words of Ayman al-Zawahiri. Vol. 1.* Alexandria, Virginia: Tempest Publishing, LLC, 448-525.

⁷⁷ al Zawahiri, A (2008, June 4) On the Anniversary of the Disaster – A Call to Help Our People in Gaza. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=1213.

⁷⁸ al Zawahiri, A (2008, July 13) Are the Mujahideen Enemies of al Husayn? Retrieved from: <http://occident.blogspot.com/2008/07/al-zawahiri-addresses-iraqi-shia.html>. This appears to be a video clip from a longer speech.

⁷⁹ al Zawahiri, A (2008, August 16) A Message from Shaykh Ayman al Zawahiri to Pakistan Army and the People of Pakistan. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=1217.

⁸⁰ al Zawahiri, A (2008, August 22) Lamenting a Cluster of Heroes. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=1218.

⁸¹ al Zawahiri, A (2008, November 19) Exit of Bush and Arrival of Obama. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=1972.

⁸² al Zawahiri, A (2008, November 27) As Sahab Fifth Interview with Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri: Al Azhar is the Lion's Den. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=1561.

Zawahiri: Al Azhar is the Lion's Den					
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Table 2 (Above). Speeches considered for use in the subject study from the years 2007-2008. Those speeches that were utilized are marked affirmatively in the “utilized” column. Those utilized that contained citations to the *Qur’an* are labeled affirmatively in the citations column.

Title	Reference	Utilized	Citations	Ayat	Singular
The Foundations of Reform	al Zawahiri (2009)	No			
From Kabul to Mogadishu	al Zawahiri (2009) ⁸³	Yes	Yes	10	7
The Sacrifices of Gaza and Conspiracies	al Zawahiri (2009)	No			
The Crusade Sets its Eyes on Sudan	al Zawahiri (2009) ⁸⁴	Yes	Yes	22	5
Eulogy for Sheikh Ibn al Libi	al Zawahiri (2009)	No			
Six Years Since the Invasion of Iraq and Thirty Years Since the Signing of the Israel Peace Accords	al Zawahiri (2009) ⁸⁵	Yes	Yes	18	3
The Tyrants of Egypt and America's Agents Welcome Obama	al Zawahiri (2009) ⁸⁶	Yes	Yes	1	1
To My Brothers and Sisters in Pakistan	al Zawahiri (2009) ⁸⁷	Yes	Yes	2	0
As Sahab Sixth Video Interview with Dr. Ayman al Zawahiri	al Zawahiri (2009)	No			
The Path of Doom	al Zawahiri (2009) ⁸⁸	Yes	Yes	30	2
Eulogy for Baitullah Mehsud	al Zawahiri (2009)	No			

Table 3 (Above). Speeches considered for use in the subject study from the year 2009. Those speeches that were utilized are marked affirmatively in the “utilized” column. Those utilized that contained citations to the *Qur’an* are labeled affirmatively in the citations column.

Title	Reference	Utilized	Citations
American Atrocities Toward Islam, Muslims and Quran in US Prisons	al Zawahiri (n.d. a)	No	
Resistance	al Zawahiri (n.d. b)	No	
A Message to the Ummah About the American 2004 Elections	al Zawahiri (n.d. c)	No	

Table 4 (Above). Speeches for which a definitive date was not established.

For the whole cohort, the number of *en bloc* sequential citations was 2 ± 2 (mean \pm SD) with three sources representing outliers⁸⁹. The number of *en bloc* citations per speech was not

⁸³ al Zawahiri, A (2009, January 6) The Foundations of Reform. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=3306.

⁸⁴ al Zawahiri, A (2009, March 24) The Crusade Sets its Eyes on Sudan. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=2793.

⁸⁵ al Zawahiri, A (2009, April 19) Six Years Since the Invasion of Iraq and Thirty Years Since the Signing of the Israel Peace Accords. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=4460.

⁸⁶ al Zawahiri, A (2009, June 2) The Tyrants of Egypt and America's Agents Welcome Obama. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=4431.

⁸⁷ al Zawahiri, A (2009, July 14) To My Brothers and Sisters in Pakistan. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=4895.

⁸⁸ al Zawahiri, A (2009, September 8) The Path of Doom. Retrieved from: http://www.jarchive.info/english/details.php?item_id=5442.

⁸⁹ *Ibid* 43, 76 and 80. Outliers are defined, for the purposes of the subject study, as lying greater than 1.5 times the interquartile range from the mean.

normally distributed (Shapiro-Wilk W, $p < 0.0001$). The average number of individual verses per *en bloc* sequential citation, for the whole cohort, was 1.84 ± 1.50 (mean \pm SD). No outliers were found and the distribution was not normal (Shapiro-Wilk W, $p < 0.001$). Out of a total of 114 chapters of the *Qur'an*, 46 were cited at least once. The most cited chapters were *at Tawba* (Surah 9, 39 citations), *aal-e-Imran* (Surah 3, 32 citations), *an Nisa* (Surah 4, 31 citations), *al Maeda* (Surah 5, 26 citations), *al Anfal* (Surah 8, 23 citations), *al Baqara* (Surah 2, 16 citations), *al Ahzab* (Surah 33, 16) and *Muhammad* (Surah 47, 12 citations). Taken together, these eight chapters provided a substantial portion of all chapters cited (69.1%). The complete listing and frequency of *surahs* cited is shown in Table 5 below.

<i>Surah</i>	Number of Citations	Proportion of Total
2	16	0.057
3	32	0.113
4	31	0.110
5	26	0.092
6	5	0.018
8	23	0.082
9	39	0.138
10	3	0.011
12	3	0.011
14	1	0.004
17	2	0.007
18	1	0.004
19	2	0.007
20	4	0.014
21	1	0.004
22	6	0.021
25	1	0.004
26	2	0.007
28	2	0.007
29	1	0.004
30	1	0.004
31	2	0.007
33	16	0.057
34	2	0.007
37	1	0.004
39	6	0.021
40	1	0.004
42	1	0.004
47	12	0.043
48	2	0.007
49	4	0.014
54	1	0.004
55	2	0.007
58	6	0.021
59	2	0.007
60	2	0.007
61	7	0.025
62	2	0.007
63	3	0.011
64	1	0.004
65	1	0.004
83	1	0.004
85	1	0.004
87	1	0.004
88	2	0.007
112	1	0.004

Table 5 (Above). Distribution of *surahs* cited by Ayman al Zawahiri.

When the *surah* cited was treated as an integer random variable and the year of publication treated as a factor variable, no statistical significance was found when the former was linearly

regressed on the latter (overall F-statistics = 0.9482 on 1 and 280 degrees of freedom; $p = 0.331$; $R^2 = 0.003375$). Treating *en bloc* citations as a factor variable and linearly regressing *surah* citation against this variable also did not reveal any statistically significant result (overall F-statistic = 0.3001 on 1 and 280 degrees of freedom, $p = 0.5843$; $R^2 = 0.001071$). Noldeke's chronological ordering of the *surahs*, in regards to revelation in Mecca or Medina⁹⁰ was then utilized to evaluate the cited references. The preponderance of the *surahs* cited (282) came from the Medinan period of revelation (236, 83.7%). Linear regression of the *surah* cited against the period of revelation provided a statistically significant result (overall F-Statistic = 20.54 on 1 and 280 degrees of freedom, $p = 8.467 \cdot 10^{-6}$; $R^2 = 0.06835$). Linear regression modeling using all three predictive variables ($p = 1.301 \cdot 10^{-4}$; $R^2 = 0.07116$) and using year of publication and period of revelation ($p = 3.389 \cdot 10^{-5}$; $R^2 = 0.07112$) were also statistically significant.

The distribution of *ayat* cited within each *surah* was then considered (using all 428 *ayat*). The most cited *surahs* were all Medinan era with *al Baqara* (*Surah 2*, 18 citations), *Aal-E-Imran* (*Surah 3*, 58 citations), *an Nisa* (*Surah 4*, 42 citations), *al Maeda* (*Surah 5*, 43 citations), *al Anfal* (*Surah 8*, 31 citations), *at Tawba* (*Surah 9*, 58 citations), *al Ahzab* (*Surah 33*, 35 citations) and *Muhammad* (*Surah 47*, 21 citations). Together, these citations represented 71.5% (306 of 428) of all citations noted. The distribution of *ayat* cited in each of these *surahs* is shown in Figures 1 – 4.

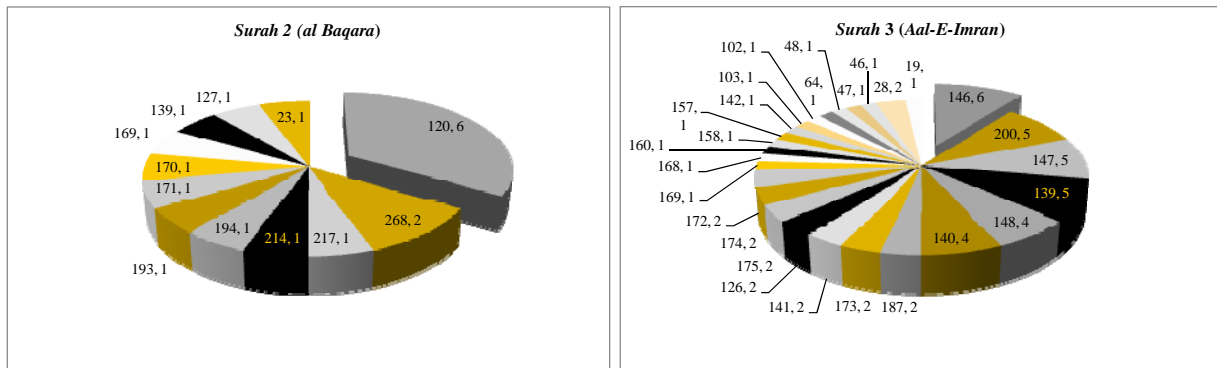


Figure 1. Distribution of *ayat* cited (*ayah*, number) for *Surahs 2 (al Baqara)* and *3 (Aal-E-Imran)*.

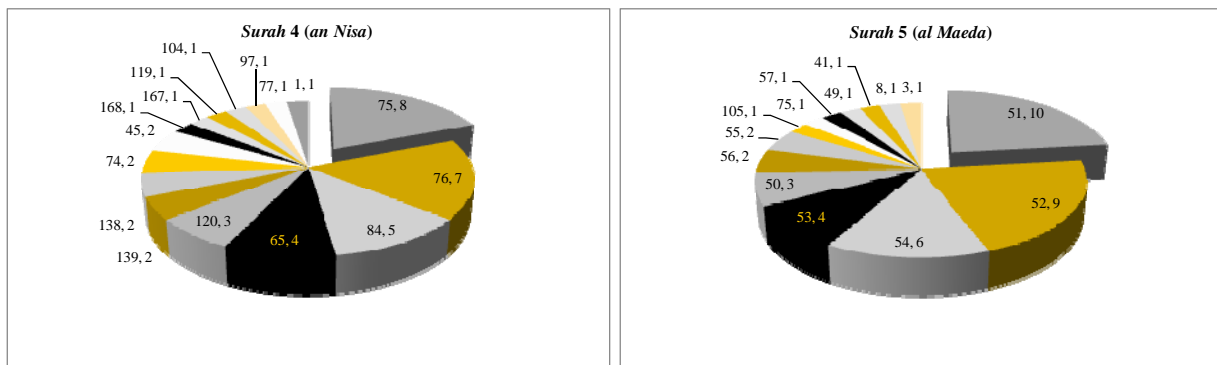


Figure 2. Distribution of *ayat* cited (*ayah*, number) for *Surahs 4 (an Nisa)* and *6 (al Maeda)*.

⁹⁰ al Zanjani, A (n.d.) The History of the Qur'an. Part 4 (M. Qara'I, Trans.) Retrieved from: <http://playandlearn.org/Articles/HistoryOfQuran.pdf>.

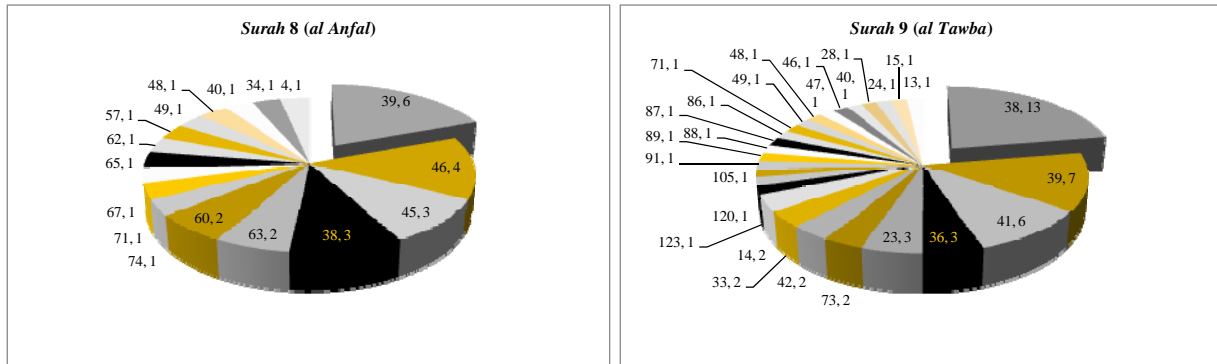


Figure 3. Distribution of *ayah* cited (*ayah*, number) for *Surahs* 8 (*al Anfal*) and 9 (*at Tawba*).

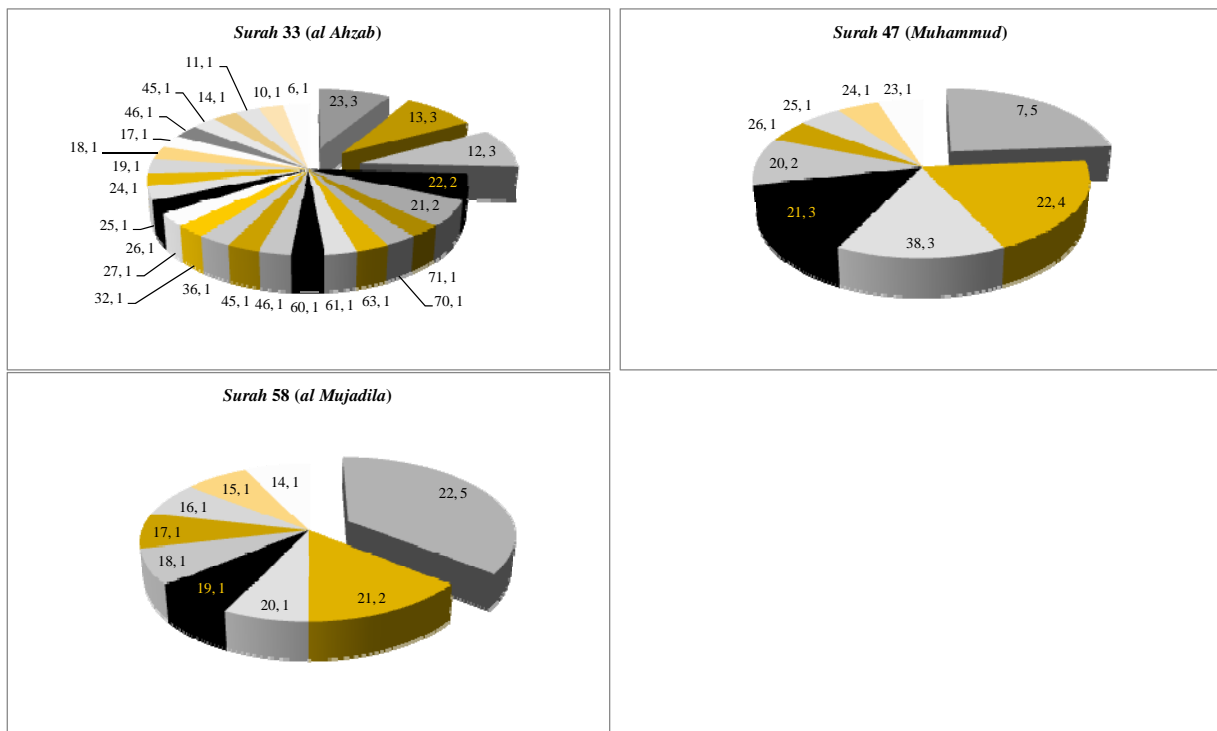


Figure 4. Distribution of *ayah* cited (*ayah*, number) for *Surah* 33 (*al Ahzab*), 47 (*Muhammad*) and 58 (*al Mujadila*).

The three most oft-cited *ayah* were *Surah at Tawba* (9:38, 13 citations) and *Surah al Maeda* (5: 51, 10 citations; 5:52, 9 citations). Neither of the “sword verses,” 9:5 and 9:29, were cited by al Zawahiri.

Discussion

Al Zawahiri’s referencing of the *Qur’an*, based on its extensive utilization (89.3% of sources), represents an important and perhaps fundamental underpinning in regards to the manner in which he posits and argues his perspective. This view is further supported by the following two findings of the subject study. The first is the finding of 282 citations to individual *ayah* and

sequential *en bloc ayat* and the second is the expansion of this funding into a total of 428 *ayat*. These findings, in and of themselves, should be given appropriate consideration when assessing putative arguments that either *en toto* or substantially are premised on the contention that the ideology of the global jihadists lacks a basis in regards to a religious foundation. Such arguments belie the actuality of the religious basis that the global jihadists propound and the manner by which such arguments generate resonance within certain segments of the Islamic world.

The findings of the subject study are generally consistent with the broad views of global jihadist ideology as described by both Gunaratna⁹¹ and Brachman⁹². The proposed narrative, however, is expanded upon by the subject authors as it specifically relates to al Zawahiri. In his view, the condition of the Muslim world, in both the case of singular countries and as a unitary entity, is secondary to two factors. The first of these is the view noted previously. The conflict between non-Islam (unbelief) and Islam (belief), mirroring the concept of conflict between *dar-al-harb* (house of war) and *dar-al-Islam* (house of Islam)⁹³, is crystallized by the conflict between the “Zionist-Crusader project” and Islam⁹⁴. Furthermore, al Zawahiri does not view the conflict as being one of bilateral promotion and rather views it as arising from the aggression of the former against the latter. Within this construct, the *mujahideen* are assigned a particularly special role. Those that have actively taken up *jihad bis saif* against the aggressor, from al Zawahiri’s perspective, are viewed as the vanguard of the Muslim *Umma* as a whole⁹⁵. The second factor, both explicitly stated⁹⁶ and implied throughout the works reviewed based on citation of *ayah* 9:38, is the “battle within ourselves” of “weakness, helplessness and clinging to the Earth.” It is through this analog between the commonly debated⁹⁷ “greater *jihad*” and “lesser *jihad*” that al Zawahiri defines the “internal spiritual struggle” as being one of refusing to engage in *jihad bis saif*. This second factor ties directly into the prescription offered by al Zawahiri for remediating the grievances associated with the conflict in question. This prescription, noted throughout the works reviewed and explicitly stated⁹⁸ is through *jihad*. Al Zawahiri, in providing this prescription, takes a nuanced approach. The first aspect of this approach is through fighting in the context of joining the *mujahideen*. Correlated with this is the rejection of nominal political and social ideologies that can be characterized as non-Islamic (e.g. democracy, secularism and nationalism). Al Zawahiri does give consideration to direct striving in addition to, but not as a replacement for, fighting. In this regard, al Zawahiri allows for demonstrations and protests⁹⁹ but later rejects the same¹⁰⁰ and again rejects the same as an appropriate response to the Egyptian government’s enforcement of the blockade on the Gaza Strip¹⁰¹. Curiously, a general strike,

⁹¹ *Ibid* 8.

⁹² *Ibid* 4 at 11.

⁹³ al Misri, A (n.d.) *The Reliance of the Traveller and the Tools of the Worshipper* (N Keller, Trans.) In N Keller (1994) *Reliance of the Traveller. A Classic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law*. Beltsville, Maryland: Amana Publications, w43.5.

⁹⁴ *Ibid* 61.

⁹⁵ *Ibid* 58 and 61.

⁹⁶ *Ibid* 43 and 76.

⁹⁷ Bonner, M (2006) *Jihad in Islamic History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 13-14.

⁹⁸ *Ibid* 38 and 85.

⁹⁹ *Ibid* 38.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid* 41.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid* 73.

however, was deemed as an appropriate response¹⁰². The second approach that al Zawahiri suggests, for those that can not directly be engaged in physical combat, is through the use of funds, expertise and support for the *mujahideen*¹⁰³.

Two further points are to be made concerning al Zawahiri's promulgation of global jihadist ideology. The first is the explicit indication of the global nature of the conflict. While certain conflicts were focused upon (i.e. Afghanistan, Iraq and the Middle East) the scope of targets was indicated as being global¹⁰⁴. Al Zawahiri repeatedly repudiated the concept of local jihad in favor of global jihad¹⁰⁵. The second point derives from the most oft-cited *ayah* and the implied and actual ideological and physical actor linkages based upon the same. *Ayah* 9:38 refers to an exhortation to go forth in the cause of Allah coupled with the perspective that the life of currency is little when compared to the hereafter. It is abundantly clear that al Zawahiri views this as waging *jihad*, in a selfless manner, for what he perceived to be the cause of Allah. This view appears to be consistent with the *tafsir* of Ibn Kathir¹⁰⁶. This citation plays a pivotal role in the primary message of al Zawahiri's works – that being the exhortation to the *Umma* at large to enjoin in *jihad* against the crystallized physical and ideological actors of non-Islam. The *Umma* itself, as conceptualized by al Zawahiri, is also a point of interest. In this regard, the *Umma* is promulgated as a perceptual construct of an actual physical actor and represents a “hearts and minds” approach, couched within the scriptural commandments of the *Qur'an*, as espoused by al Zawahiri. It is this general population at large that al Zawahiri seeks to co-opt by first co-opting their grievances, mirrored through the lens of Manichean dualistic conflict, and remediated by the global jihadist use of scripture – primarily *jihad bis saif*. Al Zawahiri further uses the scripture, through citation of *ayat* 5:51 and 5:52, to define those whom members of the *Umma* at large should not befriend – namely the Jews and Christians. This linkage to a particular set of physical actors is also present in regards to their ideologies, which al Zawahiri categorically rejects. While *takfir* has been noted as a characteristic of global jihadist ideology, a nuanced position is one that develops from the study of al Zawahiri's works. His view of *takfir* is not global to the degree of excluding the whole of the *Umma* at large as that is the group, in the archetypal sense or otherwise, whose opinions he is seeking to influence. Those that are explicitly excluded are those self-identifying Muslims that actively work against the *mujahideen* (i.e. individuals within governmental apparatuses of Islamic countries) or those that explicitly ascribe to non-Islamic ideologies.

The lack of a finding of a statistical significance in regards to the year that a particular work was produced and the *surah* cited supports the conclusion of constancy of *Qur'anic* citation over the works studied and the over the years considered. The finding of a statistically significant relationship between the *surahs* cited and the period of revelation is also of interest and particularly so when viewed within the construct of *Qur'anic* abrogation¹⁰⁷. Even within the rigid tolerances of *naskh al-hukm duna 'l-tilwa* (the suppression of an original *Qur'anic* ruling

¹⁰² *Ibid* 82.

¹⁰³ *Ibid* 56, 61 and 63.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid* 61.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid* 55, 73 and 76.

¹⁰⁶ Online: <http://www.tafsir.com/default.asp?sid=9&tid=21160>.

¹⁰⁷ Bukay, D (2007, Fall) Peace or Jihad? Abrogation in Islam. *Middle East Quarterly*, 15(4), 3-11.

by a later ruling without suppression of the former's text)¹⁰⁸, al Zawahiri's citations of the more warlike and less tolerant *ayat* provide a substantive religious basis to support his promulgated ideology.

Conclusions

As with any study, it is critical to note limitations. The subject study was limited to those non-book length works for which an English language translation was available. Those sources in Arabic, without a translation, unfortunately, were excluded. The subject study did not focus on al Zawahiri's purely geopolitical arguments, his citations of the *ahadith* or his citations to previous and current scholars. A treatment of these venues, similar to that of the subject study, is a pathway for future work. Additional topics for further consideration, deriving from the subject work, include, but are not limited to, the creation of a deconstructive framework for linking the principal physical and ideological actors in the works of not only al Zawahiri but also in the works of other global jihadist ideologues. Even with these limitations, the subject work shows the importance of consideration of ideology and its religious underpinnings, when it comes to evaluating the global jihadist paradigm.

The lessons for governments, supragovernmental bodies and especially the United States (US) follow quite clearly from the findings of the subject study. Contentions and statements regarding global jihadist ideology predicated upon the view that the same are independent of a religious underpinning are rather baseless at best and counterproductive at worst. While such statements can serve as part of a broad propaganda program, they should not become part of the CT or CI operational doctrine of the agencies involved. It takes but even a cursory evaluation of a single speech of someone such as al Zawahiri, not to mention the evaluation of 56 speeches containing 428 citations to the *Qur'an*, to come to the patent conclusion that religion is a significant basis of the global jihadist ideology. An obvious corollary to this statement is the US Government has zero standing, from the religious perspective, within Islam, to make any pronouncements that carry weight regarding the legitimacy or illegitimacy of *jihad* or any other religious matter. There is no *prima facie* case that has thus far been produced to show that Muslims within the *Ummah* at large, regardless of geographical location, look to the US Government to make any determination regarding the Islamic legitimacy of religious matters. The refusal of some government agencies to use terms such as *jihad*, predicated on the claim that such grants legitimacy to the *mujahideen*, are thusly baseless and grossly counterproductive in developing rational CT and CI strategies if such a line of thinking becomes internalized. The term co-optation, and its derivatives, has been used throughout this study. This term requires appropriate bounding as such relates to CT and CI strategies. Co-optation of grievances occurs in a multiplicity of forms and secondary to a multiplicity of grievances. The nature of these grievances and of co-optation, within the broader goals of US foreign policy, should direct CT and CI strategy. Situations and cases arising from economic, political and social issues should be addressed, once honestly evaluated, using the relevant remediation as such fits into the broader goals of the US. All CT and CI strategy, however, cannot be successfully shoehorned into the socioeconomic model. Those grievances arising from religious ideological differences must first be honestly appraised as such. Secondly, the US must realize that its pronouncements

¹⁰⁸ Burton, J (1990) *The Sources of Islamic Law. Islamic Theories of Abrogation*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 56.

will have no effect on such grievances as the US carries no Islamic religious authority. The appropriate strategy in dealing with this segment of the CT and CI problem is through working with those individuals and religious authorities that do possess gravitas within Islam and that are both willing and able to refute the religious component of the global jihadist ideology from a purely religious basis. This process, however, cannot be done openly as such aids in the delegitimizing of the authority of the figures in question. Partners within the Islamic sphere must be chosen carefully and clandestinely if the US is to develop a workable framework for combating and countering the ideology, underpinned by religion, of the global jihadists.

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