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ISLAMIC POLITICAL THOUGHT, JIHADISTS AND SOCIETY: EGYPT, ALGERIA AND AFGHANISTAN IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

MA THESIS

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To my great Family,

FOREWORD

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<u>**September 2016**</u>   **Ahmed ABOU ALI**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

GIA	**:**	Armed Islamic Group.
FIS	**:**	Islamic Salvation Front.
JI	**:**	Al- Jamaa Al- Islamiyya (The Islamic group).

ISLAMİ SİYASAL DÜŞÜNCE, CİHATÇILAR VE TOPLUM, MISIR, CEZAYİR VE AFGANİSTAN KARŞILAŞTIRMALI BIR PERSPEKTIFLE

ÖZET

Hiç süphesiz günümüzdeki çağdaş küresel siyaset daha karmaşık.Küresel Cihad hareketleri önemli konulardan biridir,büyük güçler ile karşılaşır.Cihad İslamın temel görevlerinden biridir,saldırgana karşı kendini savunma üzerinde duruluyor.Biz görüyoruz ki,Cihad kavramını kullanarak bir çok müslüman birey ve gruplar çok sayıda İslam ve diğer ülkelerde siyasi rejimlere karşı mücadele ediyorlar. Bu araştırma cihadi gruplar ve müslüman toplumlar arasındaki ilişkiyi tartışıyor.Ve bir önemli tarihi olaylara tanık olmuş Mısır,Cezayir,Afganistan,Suriye ve Irak gibi ülkelere odaklanıyoruz,nerede ki mücahitler kendi kutsal savaşlarını bu ülkelerden başlamışlar. Bu devam eden cihatçı deneyler Müslüman topluluklar üzerinde siyasi,sosyal ve psikolojik etkiler yapıyor.Siyasi örgütler başlıca toplumsal kuruluşlardır,nerede ki çatışma taraflarının askeri gücüne agmen topluluk herhangi bir siyasi çatışmayı çözmek gücünde. Bu nedenle sosyal inkübatorlerin yokluğu,siyasi ve devrimci örgütleri desteklenmesi yenilginin ve çöküşün en önemli nedeni,ayrıca artış yüzdesi ya da siyasi ve dini bilinçin azalması ve bireylerin sosyal sorumluluğu herhangi bir çatışma yönetiminde temel unsurlardır.

Anahtar Kelimler: *Takfir, Cihatçılar, İslam Devleti, Selefiler,*

ISLAMIC POLITICAL THOUGHT, JIHADISTS AND SOCIETY: EGYPT, ALGERIA AND AFGHANISTAN IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

ABSTRACT

There is no doubt that, the contemporary global politics is more complicated, nowadays, the global Jihad movement is one of the main important issues which face the great powers and roiling them, when Jihad is one of the basic duties of Islam, Which focuses on self-defense against the aggressor, we find that lots of Muslim individuals and groups using the concept of Jihad to fight against the political regimes in many Islamic countries and other.

This research discuss the relationship between Jihadist groups and Muslim societies, and we focused on some countries witnessed important historical events such as Egypt, Algeria, Afghanistan, Syria and Iraq, Where jihadists began their holy war from these countries, which are still far, These continuing jihadist experiments have had a different impacts on Muslim communities, Whether on the political, social or the psychological aspects.

The political organizations mainly are social organizations, Where the community is the only power that can resolving any political conflict, whatever the military power of the parties of the conflict, Therefore, the absence of social incubators support for the political and revolutionary organizations is the most important reasons for the fall and defeat, also the percentage of increase or decrease of the political and religious awareness and social responsibility of individuals are fundamental elements in the management of any conflict.

Keywords: *Takfir, The Islamic state, popular incubators, Jihadists, Salafists.*

1. INTRODUCTION

There is no doubt that, the relationship between jihadists and society is so important to know the characteristics of political and social situation in the periods that we will focus about it in this research, even sometimes Jihadists are different in their ideology and organizational building, but there are a unified view combines them in general such as their view about the political systems who don't implement Islamic rules in the Muslim countries.

In the nineties there was a very bloody conflict between jihadists and the political systems in Egypt and Algeria, even the conflict in Algeria was more bloody, also in Afghanistan when the Soviet Union drop out from there in 1989 and the civil war started between Afghan mujahedeen each other, and the appearance of Taliban movement which could to rule almost of Afghanistan's territory in 1996 and announced the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan there.

Actually there is a difference between the Algerian and Egyptian experiences with the experience of Taliban, but we will focus on the social level in the both experiences, because of the similarity in the ideology of all of them within the case of governance, such as the form of the state, the implementation of Islamic Sharia law, anti-Western position and the Zionist occupation of Palestine.

We can understand the jihadist ideology towards society through studying the experience of these movements in their conflict with authoritarian regimes, as in Egypt, Algeria, and successful experience of Taliban to some extent in the access to the rule of Afghanistan until the end of 2001 after the alien invasion of the international coalition forces led by the United States of America.

The importance of the society and its relationship with Jihadist groups is considered as the main point of this research, because of the role of society and its reflections on the battle of jihadists with the authoritarian political systems, which was the dilemma

of the jihadists and the reason of their downfall by the end of the nineties, and their fate was between killed, imprisoned or banished socially and intellectually.

We will start this research with historical introduction about jihadist ideology in these three countries that we have mentioned previously before going into the details of the relationship between the jihadists and community, we will explain also the historical backgrounds of jihadist movements in these countries, and the reasons of Jihadist ideology's emergence there, then we will discusses the reasons of the emergence of the global jihad movements and their Ideologies such as Al-Qaeda and the Islamic state organization.

Jihadist ideology have passed through several stages contributed to constant development of its theories and methodology, Since the Islamic fundamentalist ideas have appeared in the writings of the contemporary Egyptian thinker Sayyid Qutb, many of contemporaries jihadists have found in the ideas of Sayyid Qutb the reference guide to their ideology, regarding the general Islamic culture and especially in the Jihadist ideas.

The understanding of the causes and the evolution of jihadist ideas comes through reviewing the historical events that accompanied the emergence of this thought on the political, social, cultural and security levels, also understanding the local social environment, internal and external political factors in some Muslim countries will show us the various stages of the evolution of jihadist ideology.

Islamic ideological schools have multiplied over the various Islamic centuries and the doctrinal differences is a key feature within the various Islamic schools, However, the school of jihadist thought is newest of these schools, However, we can find historical origins of this school in the heritage and history of Islamic civilization within the concepts of resisting oppressive rulers and fighting against moral decay and intellectual temptations that threaten the unity of Islamic dogmatic of Muslims' individuals.

Jihadist movement depended on some verses of the Quran and sayings of the prophet Muhammad, which calls for the defense of Islamic law and implement it over the centuries until the judgment day, but the explanatory differences of Quran's verses

and the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad between the Islamic scholars caused a intellectual rivalry invested politically by the political systems and political Islam movements and the issue of Takfir (declaring someone a kafir) was the most prominent contemporary doctrinal issue among Muslim's jurists, where Takfir approach leads to judgment on people that they are believers or non-believers and thus, confiscate their lives.

The relationship between the jihadist movement and communities are relative relationship depends on the nature of the movement's ideology, organizational and dynamics structure of the movement and the culture of the local society and its individuals, all of these factors are related to the structure of the political regime and its foreign policy, regional and international alliances, Therefore, we will discuss in this research the relationship between the jihadist movement and societies and its historical and intellectual developments to know the attributes of the relationship between the two sides, and the impact on the surrounding factors and its changes negative or positive.

The culture of the society is one of the most important features that help to understand the relationships between society in one hand, political and religious organizations in another hand, Therefore, the emergence of any political or religious organization is closely associated with the religious and historical backgrounds of the societies, so we will find during this research that, Jihadist ideology is spreading rapidly in the religious societies that suffer from ongoing political and religious repression, for example, we find that Arab nationalist ideology has spread in Egypt since the beginning of the last century and the idea of Arab nationalism prevalent increased after the arrival of the Liberal officers to the authority, so Arab nationalism has became part of the Egyptian culture at that time, and perhaps until now, Therefore, cultural and ideological polarization has occurred in that period between the Arab nationalist movement led by former president Abdel Nasser and the political Islam movement represented in the Muslim Brothers.

Although, Islamic movement was strongly penetrated in Algerian society, However, this community has not been able so far to bring the Islamists to the power in Algeria, despite their success in 1991 elections that, annulled by the Algerian army,

which is controlled by a group of generals who reject the Islamic ideology in politics, Thus, civil war nearly 10-years broke out and tens of thousands of Algerians killed, without reaching a comprehensive settlement between the two parties.

Afghanistan is one of the most Islamic countries that resisted foreign colonization over a hundred years and so far, Although the majority of the Afghan people innately religious, but it did not prevent the occurrence of civil war between the Afghan Mujahedeen after the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan in 1989, this is due to ethnic and ideological differences between Afghan's social classes despite the Islamic religion that combines all of them.

After the US invasion of Iraq, Iraqis fallen into quagmire of sectarian and ethnic conflicts, because of this conflict several radical Islamic groups have emerged on the Iraqi arena, the most prominent group was al Qaeda, which later became the Islamic state , and they could to control over wide areas in Syria and Iraq, these radical groups have benefited from the existence of US occupation and Iranian supporting to Iraqi Shias, so they could to create limited social incubator inside the Iraqi Sunni areas benefited from the political sectarian and ethnic quotas in favor of Shias and Kurds.

In this paper we will focus on the ideology of Jihadist movements and its relationship with the Muslim societies, as we will discuss the social incubators for these groups, and what is the reasons that, leads to the emergence of social incubator for jihadists and if the social incubators is sufficient for the success of the ideological and dynamic jihadist methodology in the Islamic world or not, and what are the cultural, political and religious variables that affect on the relationship between the both sides.

1.1   Study Topic

-Islamic Political Thought

-Jihadists and Society

-Egypt in eighties and nineties, Algeria in the nineties, Taliban's period in Afghanistan 1996-2001 and the contemporary global Jihad movements (Al-Qaeda-The Islamic State).

1.2   Purpose of Thesis

In this thesis we will discuss the relationship between Jihadist movements and some Islamic societies such as Egypt, Algeria, Afghanistan and the contemporary global Jihad movement and its development stages in Syria and Iraq through a comparison between al-Qaeda and the Islamic State organization, also we will discuss the historical background of the emergence of the modern jihadist ideology in those countries.

1.3   Hypothesis

Research methodology will be based on qualitative research through analysis and comparison between the Jihadist movements and its relation with the local societies in the areas that we mentioned earlier, and the knowledge of the importance of the organizational ideology of any movement and its applications on the ground in determining society's perception of these organizations positively or negatively.

2. JIHADIST THOUGHT: THE BEGINNING AND THE REASONS OF APPEARING, EGYPT, ALGERIA AND AFGHANISTAN

It is not realistic to know the fact and the ideology of jihadist movement in the areas that we mentioned recently, without knowing the history and the reasons that lead to the establishment of each other, so in the first chapter it is so important to focus on the ideas and the scholars that, they put the fundamental points of jihadist thought, when almost of those scholars lost their life under the grip of the authoritarian ruling regimes in the last century, Knowing the historical ideas of these scholars about jihad will explain and make us to understand the jihadist organizations and their actions in the nineties , when they specially relied on the books of the Egyptian scholar Sayyed Qutb who was executed by the former President Abdul Nasser according to his ideas that Abdul Nasser considered it as a threat against the coup of July 23th 1952 or the "July Revolution" as many thinkers called it , which overthrew the monarchy and establish the republic system in the first time of the Egyptian history. Algeria and Afghanistan also have scholars who tried to opposing the non Islamic systems there , such as "Imam Mustafa Boiali" who created the Armed Islamic movement in Algeria in the seventies, and in Afghanistan there was the Afghan Mujahedeen specially Mullah Omar who created the Taliban Movement in the nineties, and became one of the most strongest Islamic leaders in the world.

There is another important factor in the contemporary Jihadist thought that we can't divide it from the political and scientific Islamic movement in general and Jihadism in particular, it is the concept of Salafisation, where Salafisim means the generation who followed the doctrine and the sayings of Quran and the Prophet Muhammad, especially the first three centuries after the Prophet, such as prophet Muhammed's friends and trustworthy Muslim scholars, and there are three main scholars who

theorized to Salafisim : Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Ibn Taymiyyah and Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (Salem, A., 2014).

The Salafist school considered as the most adherent Islamic school to the teachings of the prophet Muhammed's Sunnah, where Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab Revived the Salafist ideology proceeding from Saudi Arabia, then Salafist ideology has become so widespread in most parts of the whole world not only the in Muslim world, So the Salafist school is the first reference for a lot of jihadist movements in the world, whether in the Middle East ,Central Asia or even Southeast Asia, Also, many supporters of the Jihadist school are mainly members of the mother Salafist school, So it can't be denied that the Salafist Muslim community can be considered as a fertile environment for the emergence of a lot of jihadist movements in the Muslim world one way or another, and the simplest evidence of this is the huge numbers of Saudi youth who participated in the Afghan Jihad in the eighties and who shared in the war in Iraq and Syria (Hassan Abo Haniyya, 2015).

Salafism is considered as the contemporary Islamic fundamentalism, where it call for the return to work with the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah and the implementation of Islamic laws, and we will address during the search for a simple explanation of contemporary Salafist schools and their types.

2.1   Jihadist Thought in Egypt

It is fact if we said that, Egypt is the source of the contemporary jihadist thought , and there is many reasons for that, Although the Muslims Brothers which founded in 1928, was the first organization of political Islam in Egypt, they was a comprehensive Islamic organization interests in Islamic advocacy, social activities and political work, but the jihadist trend against dictatorships were not a key priority for the Muslims Brothers, unlike advocacy and community side, which was the first priority of them. The circumstances of the formation of the Muslims Brothers was at a very sensitive period of the Egyptian history, when Egypt has been under British occupation authority, as the beginning of the Zionist incursion in Palestine after the Balfour Declaration in 1917,which was one of the main reasons for the establishment

of the organization by Hassan Al-Banna, who became later an important Islamic leader (Munib, 2010).

Although the Muslims Brothers had an armed wing called the secret apparatus, which has some of the famous military operations such as the assassination of the Judge Ahmed Khazendar in 1948, when the Muslims Brothers accused him with arbitrariness and injustice, when he issued a sentence of life imprisonment on detainees from the organization accused of attacking the British occupation troops in Alexandria in 1947. Also, the Muslims Brothers formed military battalions participated in the war of Palestine in 1948 against the Zionist gangs and militias, it was also one of the reasons for the apprehension of Egyptian government toward them, and the Egyptian government at this time, made many arrests in the ranks of the organization's members, who have returned from the Jihad in Palestine (Munib, 2010).

In July 1952, the Free Officers in Egypt led by the General Muhammad Nagib have done a coup on the monarchal system led by the king Faruk who is the last leader of Mohammed Ali Pasha's family, and the officers announced the Republic rather than the Monarchy in Egypt. Here the first key that we can focus on the onset of Jihadist thought in Egypt especially when the general Gamal Abdul Nasser became the president of Egypt in 1953, and the beginning of conflict between Abdul Nasser and the political Islamic movement, when the Muslims Brothers was the main Islamic political movement in that period (Hammouda, 1985).

In October 1954 the President Gamal Abdel Nasser survived from an assassination attempt in Alexandria, and has accused the Muslims Brothers of orchestrating the incident, but the Muslims Brothers said it is game from him to find an argument in order to liquidate them. This conflict was because of a dispute between Abdel Nasser and the Free Officers with the Muslims Brothers on the other hand about the implementation of Islamic law. Muslims Brothers was a member who participated in "July 1952 revolution", but Abdel Nasser refused any demands from them, and he started to do big arrests in their ranks, when two of the most prominent of Muslims Brothers leaders have been executed, namely Dr -Abdul Qadir Ouda, and Sheikh Mohammed Farghali, who was a candidate for Al-Azhar presidency but he refused.

8

One of the detainees was the most important character, because he will become the most famous thinker and the inspiring for jihadists in Egypt and the Islamic world later, according to his books and thought, he was Sayyid Qutb. Qutb was one of those who arrested in 1954 and sentenced to imprisonment for 15 years, in 1964 the government has issued a decision to release him for health reasons, but he was arrested again in 1965 because of his opposition to detention of his brother Sheikh Mohammed Qutb, and this time he was sentenced to death with seven other members of the Muslims Brothers, and he rejected several temptations of the political system at that time, to give up or back down from his views and his writings, which he wrote it in the prison, and he executed with other 6 persons in August 29th 1966 (Hammouda, 1985).

2.1.1   Sayyid Qutb and contemporary jihadist ideology

Sayyid Qutb, is considered the spiritual father for most of contemporary jihadist movements, because his writings has significant impact on the spread of Islamic fundamentalist thought which is sharply anti-authoritarian political regimes in the Musli5m world, The struggle of Sayyid Qutb was in order to achieve justice and empowerment of Islamic rule depends on the strength of his words and his writings emanating from the Islamic faith, as he differentiates between ideology emanating from the Positivist science such as philosophy and politics, and the ideology which is stemming from the doctrine of the Muslim individual, which is the strongest certainly, where it is derived from the words of the Lord of the Worlds (Allah) and his Messenger Muhammad and other prophets, Where it will certainly solid and powerful in expression, and constant in the heart of the faithful (Abbar, 2016).

After the coup of July 1952 and the arrival of the Free Officers to power, the sharp differences between the Muslims Brothers and Abdel Nasser started clearly, where the desire of Abdel Nasser emerged for private power and excluding the Brothers from the political scene, when the Muslims Brothers was suffering from internal divisions led to increased pressure on the Brothers mentor at that time Hassan Al-Hudaibi, who was representing with lots of other Brothers' leaders the hardliners inside the movement who reject the policies of the free officers, led by Abdel Nasser (Hammouda, 1985).

When Sayyid Qutb was supporting Al-Hudaibi at that time, through his writings in newspapers and magazines, despite that Qutb was not an organizational member of the Muslims Brothers at that time yet, With the increase in the intensity of the conflict between the Muslims Brothers and Abdel Nasser, Nasser took advantage Manshiya accident, which occurred in October 1954 in Alexandria, and accused the Muslims Brothers of orchestrating the incident and had to tip a lot of them in prisons (Azzam, n.d.).

Abdul Nasser has issued a decision to dissolve the organization of the Muslims Brothers and lots of ugliest methods of torture was used against the Brothers in the prisons, also the political system at the time referred lots of the Brothers members headed by the leader Hassan Hudaibi and Sayyid Qutb to comic trials, to liquidate them politically, Because of the political and security tyranny of Abdul Nasser and his regime , and the use of methods of brutal torture against the Muslims Brothers, at this stage, it was a prominent role in the emergence of the radical fundamentalism thought in Egyptian prisons, where this current appeared in the Egyptian prisons, who does not see a solution to dispose of this political system and to establish the Islamic state only by jihad, and use violence to Self-defense and respond to the political system's violence by force (Hammouda, 1985).

Here there is articulated point in the history and reasons of the emergence of contemporary jihadist ideology, which was put by Qutb in his book Ma'alim fi al-Tariq (Milestones), Qutb has wrote a whole chapter in this book under the name of "Jihad for the sake of Allah" shows the importance of jihad to protect Muslim nations from enemies, and the role of jihad in installing the foundations and pillars of Islamic rule, Qutb says in his book Milestones:"Islam faces reality human equivalent of its realistic existence, Islam also faces a conceptual ignorance, based upon realistic virtual systems, with the supporting of the authority which has a physical power" (Qutb, 1979) .

Therefore the Islamic Movement has two ways to face this approach hostile according to Qutb, first: Islamic movement must face this reality through advocacy and clarification to correct beliefs and perceptions, second: Islamic movement must face this reality by force and Jihad to remove these authorities and systems that

convert between the reformist advocacy and people. Here we find that Islamic advocacy and Jihad are inseparable in confronting this reality in general, according to Qutb, and it is the entire belief of jihadist organizations that emerged later, especially in the nineties of the last century. Here we will explain the beginning and the history of the emergence of these jihadist organizations, which are the basis of our study in this research, as a prelude to explain and analyze the relationship between jihadists and the societies in the next chapter (Qutb, 1979).

2.1.2 Jihad organization

Jihad organization is more complex within the Islamic organizations in Egypt, it was formed in 1964 in Cairo, and it was depending on the ideas and the writings of Sayyid Qutb. They aim to implement Islamic Sharia law after the overthrow of the secular system, which is not ruled by Islamic laws, and through the use of armed Jihad, and the founders of this group are Ismail Tantawi and Nabil El-Borai, the strange thing in this matter that they had established their approach when they were in the secondary school (Munib, 2009).

One of the important jihadist groups is the group of Ayman al-Zawahiri, who was arrested by police in 1980 after finding weapons in his home. In general, the main Jihad organization of Ismail Tantawi had a large split until 1981, when the strongest branch of Jihad groups emerged led by Mohamed Abdel Salam Faraj, who succeeded in recruiting a group from the Egyptian Army and intelligence officers, and he was intended for a coup on the system of Sadat and ended up by the killing of Sadat in 1981 (Munib, 2010).

Perhaps the main reason for the continuing dissent within this organization is the lack of regulation of security within the organization, and the various jurisprudence issues between the members and leaders of the organization have had a big impact in the incidence of dissent within the organization, After the beginning of the Afghan jihad in the eighties of the last century ,many members of the Jihad organization emigrated to Afghanistan to participate in the Afghan jihad against the Soviet Union, and when some of them returned to Egypt , the Egyptian authorities have been arrested them, and brought them to the military trials , and the most famous trials was : the issue of returning from Afghanistan in 1992, and the issue of the Vanguards of

Conquest in 1993, So some of the Jihadists was sentenced to the death penalty and imprisonment for long periods (Munib, 2009).

Perhaps the recruitment of officers in the Egyptian army and intelligence is an important turning point in the work of Islamic currents in contemporary Egyptian history, Because it is the first time that an Islamic fundamentalist organization such as al Jihad organization could to penetrate the ranks of the organs of sovereignty of the Egyptian state, while the organization of the Muslims Brothers, which is the strongest and oldest political Islamic organization and it has big number of members could not penetrate the Egyptian state, as the jihadists did, and this success is due to the presence of leaders such as Mohamed Abdel Salam Faraj and Abbud al-Zumar, because They have individual skills and talents, which is hard to be available in the members of political organizations constantly, But the organization was unable to continue, by 1997, especially after the bombings of the city of Luxor in southern Egypt, which targeted foreign tourists, which have been carried out by another jihadist organization which was al- Jemaah Islamiyah, So the jihadist movement lost any public sympathy around them, Especially after they targeted those tourists who have never nothing to do in this war between Mubarak regime and the jihadist movement in Egypt (Munib, 2010).

2.1.3 The different between Jihad organization and the Egyptian Islamic group

The both groups believes that, the political regime in Egypt, which doesn't use Islamic sharia law is unbeliever, but the Jihad organization focused to use "military coup" to overthrow the government, when The Islamic group was focusing on the Islamic advocacy in Assiut university and they adopted kind of violence in their approach, when they tried to ban music and other things they considered it contrary to Islamic law (Munib, 2010).

In the seventies the leader of Jihad organization "Mohammed Abdul Salam Faraj" could to convince the leaders of Islamic group in Assiut university by his ideology, and he could to Integrate between his organization and them under the name of "Jihad organization", but the dispute between them continue until the Incident of president Sadat assassination in 1981 (Munib, 2010).

12

The difference between the both organizations was in the strategic and political tactics, and its implementation in reality, also the conflicts on the administrative and leadership positions had noticeable effect to Jihadists activities, which that did not end between them even in the Egyptian prisons (Munib, 2010).

Jurisprudential issues was not so effected on the activities of jihadists, because on that time Abdul Salam Faraj done many effects to unify all jihadists in Egypt. The Egyptian regime, implementation the Islamic rule and the establishment of Islamic state were the basic majors of all jihadists' ideology, and Faraj could to use these principles to unify the view of them, and when jihad organization succeeded to assassinate the presidents Sadat in 1981, the idea of military became likable in jihadist circles especially the Islamic group, which adopted the military operations against the political regime in Mubarak's period (Munib, 2010).

2.2   Jihadist Thought in Algeria

The history of political Islam in Algeria is different from its counterpart in Egypt. We will focus on the stage of the nineties as the core of the analysis in this research. But before we get to the stage of the nineties and the outbreak of war between the Algerian army which canceled 1991 elections and the Armed Islamic factions led by the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) and the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), we will refer back a bit to learn about the history and the beginning of the emergence of jihadist ideology in Algeria.

When Sayyid Qutb was an inspiring and theorist for jihadist ideology in Egypt, also we find that the Algerian scene had inspiring personalities who inspired some of Algerian youth to embrace jihad intellectually and practically, and here we will divide the historical stage of the jihadist movement in Algeria into two stages:

1-Imam Mustafa Boiali movement in the seventies.

2-Jihadist movement in the nineties.

2.2.1   Imam Mustafa Boiali movement in the seventies

The beginning of the Algerian revolution against France started by the formation of (Association of Muslim Scholars) by Sheikh Abdel Hamid Ben Badis, which

achieved primarily to preserve the Arab and Islamic identity of Algerian people, and the revolution continued until achieving independence in 1963, When France realized realistically the success of the Algerian revolution, France began to think about the rule of Algeria indirectly through negotiations with some of the communist, socialist and liberal parties, who formed (National Liberation Front), which culminated by Evian agreement, which stipulates granting Algeria independence in exchange for cooperation agreements between Algeria and France for 20 years (Al-Suri, 2004).

French President at that time Charles de Gaulle had said "they want the independence of Algeria? We will give them it, and restore it after 30 years". After the independence of Algeria, the presidency took over to Houari Boumediene, who was an Arab nationalist hostile to France, when also the National Liberation Front was the sole ruler at that time, which dominated by the military generals, who began the fight against the Islamic Movement in Algeria (Al-Suri, 2004).

Later the Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid has walked on his approach, which strengthened his relationship with France, Algerian economic circumstances have worsened considerably in that time ,because of the party's sole policy , But by the beginning of the seventies, a leader of the Algerian revolution leaders re-emerged , he was Sheikh Mustafa Boialy, who founded the "Movement of the Islamic State", which its aim was the elimination of the Algerian regime, which was clearly evident its loyalty to France, Imam Mustafa began his advocacy from Al- Ashour mosque in Algiers and his goal was to eliminate the Algerian regime at that time by the military solution "jihad", and soon his supporters became in several regions of Algeria. Mustafa Boialy's organization made several operations against the Algerian regime and the most famous of its operations was the process of "silo" in 1985, when Mustafa Boialy accompanied with some of his insurgents had attacked a military barrack for the Algerian army near "Bougherra" city, and their goal of this process was to capture weapons in the barrack. Boialy and his colleagues were able to complete the process successfully, that is making the Algerian regime feels seriously the seriousness of the Islamic movement ,which led it to carry out a campaign of mass arrests in the ranks of the Islamic movement, and put restrictions against Boialy's family and relatives (Zakaria, 1993).

Although the strength of the doctrine of Boialy and his movement, but they lacked the logistical and financial support, while the Algerian regime was increasingly ruthless with the Islamic opposition, whether civilian or armed.

By 1987, the Algerian army managed to kill the Imam Mustafa Boialy after betraying of his driver, then the movement of "the Islamic state" which founded by Boialy to overthrow the Algerian regime are practically over, but it did not end intellectually and became the inspiration for the largest jihadist movement in the nineties, and this is what we will discuss in the next lines (Zakaria, 1993).

2.2.2   Jihadist movement in the nineties

We can't separate Imam Mustafa Boialy's movement from the jihadist movement in the nineties, when the Islamic Salvation Front, which was founded in 1989 by the Islamic leaders, Abbas Madani and Ali Belhadj, entered into negotiations with the Algerian authorities at that time to release of the members of Mustafa Boialy's group, and the Algerian president at that time Chadli Bendjedid has issued amnesty for members of the group, and they joined mostly into the Islamic Salvation Front, and insisted on the need to overthrow the Algerian regime by armed force, This period was a prelude to the start of the second jihadist movement against the Algerian regime which it led by the National Liberation Front, , but before going into the details of the beginning of that stag, we have to determine the cause of the outbreak of armed Islamic uprising again (Al-Suri, 2004).

1988 saw widespread protests from most of the layers of Algerian society known as the "popular uprising" in protest against the economic and difficult living conditions, which were due to rampant corruption in government institutions and the control of the military to the political decision in Algeria. Therefore, the Algerian president at that time, Chadli Bendjedid issued substantive decisions for the free establishment of political parties and the start of municipal and legislative elections.

Political currents rushed to establish their political parties and was headed by "FIS" party led by Abbas Madani and Ali Belhadj, Despite the fact that both leaders reject democracy, in essence, as an contrary to Islamic Sharia law in many aspects, but the FIS leaders planned to use democracy to call it off later, due to the complete

certainty popular support for them and their confidence in winning the election (Al-Suri, 2004).

In 1990 FIS Swept the election of municipal councils by 953 seat from 1539, followed by the biggest win of the Algerian parliament elections in 1991 with 82% of the seats in parliament, But the outcome of the election certainly did not satisfy the Algerian army, and in January 1992, Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid resigned from his post as president of the Republic, which has been considered because of pressure from the army against the president, and the authority became with the Supreme Council of the State, which the army generals controls it, led by the minister of defense Khaled Nizar, who canceled the election result, when the Islamists considered it explicit coup on the people's choice (Al-Suri, 2004).

Actually here a new episode began in the series of the conflict between the Islamists and the Algerian regime, where those events are the beginning of the fiercest and bloodiest armed clash between the both parties, FIS has established a military wing (Islamic Salvation Army), as the (Armed Islamic Group) appeared, which mostly consisted of the " Arab Afghan " who participated in the Afghan jihad against the Soviets in the eighties, and they returned from Afghanistan to start the battle against the Algerian regime (Al-Suri, 2004).

2.2.3 Islamic Salvation Front "FIS"

FIS was the largest Islamic movement organized by the end of eighties, as it had the ability to access to the general public, which started its advocacy from the mosques. FIS Founded by Sheikh Abbas Madani a former Algerian Mujahid against France, , accompanied by Sheikh Ali Belhadj who is considered as one of the advocates of the Salafist movement, Although FIS rejects democracy altogether and considers it as an contrary approach toward Islamic law, but they used to announce that they will enter to the elections and uses democracy to call it off (Taweel, 1998).

This indicates that the front approach is an integrated project to establish an integrated Islamic state, but it seems that the Islamic front has chosen to use the democratic choice, in order to avoid armed collision with the Algerian regime, which imposed on them after the abolition of the elections (Taweel, 1998).

After the coup of the Algerian army against democracy, Muhammad Boudiaf has been appointed to become president of the supreme council of the State in January 1992, who was one of the symbols of the Algerian revolution against France, Boudiaf has vowed to fight corruption and reform the various institutions of society, at the same time, the leaders of the Islamic Salvation Front, Abbas Madani and Ali Belhadj, leaded the protests in Algiers with the participation of hundreds of thousands of angry people over the military coup against democracy (Taweel, 1998).

Security and military forces have faced these demonstrations with violence and brutal repression, and it has arrived to arrest the heads of the front, Madani and Belhadj and the front became without leaders, But large numbers of the front youths boarded to the mountains and started to get up arms to start the war against the Algerian forces, and they founded the Islamic Salvation army "AIS" leaded by Abdul Qadir Shbouti, Abdul Razak Rajjam, Syed Makhloufi, and Mohammed Saeed, AIS began its operations against the Algerian forces in the capital and surrounding cities, This army was composed of two commands one in the east and the other in the west, Then the two leaderships merged in a unified army, led by Madani Mezrag and he become the prince and chief commander of the Islamic Salvation Army, On 29th June 1992 the President Boudiaf was assassinated, when he was delivering a speech in the culture house in the Algerian city Ennaba, Lieutenant in the Algerian army called "Mubarak Bo Maarfi " was accused in this process , and ruled by death, but the rule was not carried out, and it directed in the last to unknown person (Taweel, 1998).

Some of the Islamic front leaders abroad have declared their rejection against the military solution with the Algerian regime, and entered into political alliance with other parties from different political spectrum, including Islamists, liberal and socialists and they condemned the violence and called to restore democracy back on track again in Rome conference 1995, and the head of the Islamic Front abroad was "Rabeh Kabeer", This political alliance has issued its statement from Rome, and it highly welcomed from the Vatican and various European political circles, Because of some of the FIS leaders abroad in particular, and some Islamists generally refused the military approach of the Islamic front as a way to resolve the dispute with the Algerian regime, this led to weakness or lack of support to the front in the outside

political cover, particularly the Islamists, who refused FIS' military approach, they began the attack on the front and held it responsible for pools blood in Algeria in the nineties (Al-Suri, 2004).

Because of the lack of unity of the Islamists, the Algerian regime found an opportunity to negotiate with the Islamic groups who rejected the military solution to find a political settlement of the conflict, and to give the regime kind of legitimacy (Al-Suri, 2004).

2.2.4   Al-Jama'ah Al-Islamiyah Al-Musallaha (Islamic Armed Group – GIA)

The Armed Islamic Group Founded in the beginning of 1991 by some of Algerian youth who returned from Afghanistan and participated in Afghan Jihad against the Soviets in the eighties and they called Arabs Afghan, and after the cancellation of the 1991 parliamentary elections, a lot of Algerian youth returned from Afghanistan to Algeria, to start the armed struggle against the Algerian military and security apparatus, which canceled the election results, as we mentioned earlier (Al-Suri, 2004).

The first leader of the group was Mansouri Al Alayyani, for a little time, then "Abdul Haq Alaiadh" became the new leader for many months but the Algerian government could to arrest him, Then the leadership of the group moved to the Sheriff Quasimi and his alias was "Abu Abdullah Ahmad", and in the period of his leadership of the GIA, jihadist arena in Algeria witnessed a kind of development, when a lot of other jihadist groups have merged within the ranks of the Armed Islamic Group, as many of the leaders and members of the Islamic Salvation Army's integrated into the ranks of GIA , but the AIS commander Medani Merzak rejected this merger (Al-Suri, 2004).

In 1994 most of the jihadist groups in Algeria has become integrated into a unified organization under the banner of the Islamic armed group led by Abu Abdullah Ahmad, which has become a great power, The approach of GIA is quite different from the FIS approach, GIA has been attacked the Islamic Front curriculum in its publications and leader's books, The essence of the dispute between the two organizations in the issue of democracy and elections, where the GIA sees that democracy as an infidel approach contradicts Islamic law, only the rules that must be

obeyed should be from Quran and prophet Mohammed's sayings, however the system of democracy depends on the rules of humans that sometimes stems from the personal fancies ,that will contradicted with the rules of Allah, But FIS entered to the democratic participation as the best way to reach the power in a peaceful manner and without a human cost could be prohibitive in the case of entering into an armed conflict with the ruling authority (Taweel, 1998).

GIA approach was Salafi-jihadist, it believes only by Jihad to bring down the non-Islamic political regime, and establish the Islamic state, many of the princes has followed to lead the GIA in a short period , due to the prosecution of the Algerian military forces against the leaders of the group, this led to rapid internal differences changes within the intellectual approach of the group, then the group's leadership moved to Jamal Zitouni, and in the period of his leadership of the group, the approach of the group witnessed wide intellectual and religious deviations, and it appeared so clear in Zitouni's book, "Hidayat Rab Al-Alameen " where this book expanded in the arts of Takfir, when he included the families of military officers ,soldiers, police officers and state officials at various levels in the list of his group targets (Al-Suri, 2004).

This ideology has led to the expansion of the group in the murder operations to include broad categories of Algerian civilians, In 1996, the intellectual deviation of GIA more clearly emerged, after Antar Zouabri take over the group's leadership and did frequent killing operations against civilians, the Algerian government enables to infiltrate the group through tuck a lot of spies and intelligence officers in the ranks of the organization, many Algerian officers fled from Algeria later has been recognized that, the Algerian regime could to broke GIA for the purpose of distorting the image of jihad in particular and the Islamists in general (Taweel, 1998).

Islamic Salvation Front was unable to take a clear and decisive stance to declaring jihad, because a lot of the front's leaders were arrested in Algeria, and others escape abroad, Also, some of FIS commanders refused to resort to the military solution against the Algerian regime, while others supported this approach, It ended with the merger of most of the armed Islamic movements, including the jihadist current in FIS in a unified group "GIA", which became the strongest Islamic and militarily faction

against the Algerian regime and the group have began gradually obtain the support of a lot of people ,even it became popular in the influence areas of the FIS (Al-Suri, 2004).

Antar Zouabri had managed the group until 2002 when he was killed by the Algerian forces with two of his assistants , he was the bloodiest leader of the group ever, In his period in the leadership of the group, the military operations of the group took another curve ,where it was more radical and bloody, because at that time, the group expanded in the issue of Takfir, They ruled on the members of the Algerian government ,police and Army's members that they are infidels , because they fight the Islamic movements and scholars that they want to implement Islamic Sharia rules, but GIA didn't stop in this point, they expanded to describe lots of civilian people that they are infidels due to their jobs in the government or in the other institutions such as educational , social and political institutions (Al-Suri, 2004).

Not only that, they also decided to target the other Islamic movements that they believed by the political peaceful settlement, Because of these extremist ideas, a wave of bloody violence began to target the Algerian civilians, and the most famous massacre was in 1997 when 400 Algerian civilians was killed, in a town away 150 km from the capital, The group also adopted in December 1996 bombing in Paris Metro lines led to dozens deaths and wounds. In 1999, the Islamic Army of Salvation the armed wing of the Islamic Salvation Front initiated a cease-fire with the Algerian government, in return for a general amnesty by the Algerian authorities for 2300 Islamist prisoners, and thus ended the armed conflict between the Islamic Front and the Algerian regime, what is known as the law of national harmony, passed by the Algerian Parliament at that time when Abdelaziz Bouteflika came to the presidency of Algeria. Thus, the Armed Islamic Group has become in isolation and quarrel case with the Algerian society, and it no longer has any popular or endorsement mentioned among the Algerian community (Al-Suri, 2004).

3. JIHADIST THOUGHT IN AFGHANISTAN

Our study of Afghanistan a little different from Egypt and Algeria, where the jihadist movement in Afghanistan (Taliban) has been able to rule after the fall of Kabul 1996 and control most of the territory of Afghanistan, except some northern areas that were under the control of Afghan commander Ahmad Shah Masood and the Communist Uzbek leader of Abdul Rashid Dostum.

Here we will focus on the knowledge of the history of the Taliban, which ruled Afghanistan actually from 1996 to 2001, after the fall of the Taliban regime by the international coalition forces led by the United States, in response to the attacks of 11/9/2001, which espoused by al-Qaeda led by Osama bin Laden, which used Afghanistan as safe haven for their leadership and recruit fighters from around the world.

Although the Afghan jihad against the Soviets in the eighties has spawned a lot of jihadi personalities on the scene such as Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Burhanuddin Rabbani, Ahmad Shah Massoud, where they were the most prominent figures in the Afghan jihad and enjoy popular support in their influence areas , but the emergence of Mullah Omar who also participated in the Afghan jihad was considered a milestone in the Afghan scene in the nineties, where he was surrounded by thousands of fighters in a short period, then got the allegiance of the Shura Council scholars in Afghanistan, which is estimated to 1500 scholar in 1996. Therefore, we will focus on the reasons and the beginnings of the emergence of Taliban until the control of the reins of power officially in 1996 after the fall of Kabul, and the declaration of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, and swear allegiance to Mullah Omar who became Amirul Mu'mineen (the prince of believers).

3.1 Taliban, the beginning and the establishment of the "Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan

Taliban movement was established in 1994 by Mullah Mohammed Omar, in Kandahar in the south of Afghanistan, when robberies, kidnappings crimes, moral and social chaos have Spread in Afghanistan , because of the civil war between Afghan Mujahedeen to achieve the political power , and the prevalence of the Phenomenon of warlords, at this time one Islamic scholar called Mullah Omar collected some of his students in Kandahar , some of them was armed, and they started to attack the governmental forces and other Militias in Kandahar, then they attacked a big weapons' depot near the Pakistani borders , which is owned by the Afghan lord Gulbuddin Hekmatyar (Zidan, 2004).

Taliban could to control this depot and they got a huge numbers of different weapons, that they used it in their war. In October 1994 the Taliban took control completely of Kandahar, but the ambition of them did not stop in Kandahar, when their goal was to control all Afghan territory, so they have to crawl until the capital Kabul, to establish an Islamic emirate. In September 1996 Taliban's forces entered to Kabul and they announced "The Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan" leaded by Mullah Omar, and they executed the former afghan president Mohammad Najibullah there. The most important point that Taliban could to balance between war and politics, when they could to defeat Hekmatyar in the east, the president Rabbani in Kabul, and the communists in the north (Zidan, 2004).

Taliban neutralized Rabbani from the conflict when they wanted to defeat Hekmatyar and they neutralize Hekmatyar to enter to Kabul, "Mullahs" in Afghanistan has wide influence in the afghan society because of their leadership to the afghan Islamic schools ,which are widespread all over Afghanistan, Afghans sanctify mullahs because they teach Islam to people and they protect the values, morals and social cohesion, Mullah Omar became the prince of believers (Amir Al Muminin) of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan , and 90% of Afghan territory became under his power expect a little areas in the north ,which was ruled by "northern alliance" led by Ahmed Shah Massoud, who became the only opposition front against Taliban (Zidan, 2004).

Taliban represent the Deobandi school, which was created in India 1857 after the British occupation was expelled from the Islamic revolution there, The founders of this school wanted to stop the western crawl, which threatens Islamic value in Indian sub-continent, Then the Deobandi schools spread all over Muslims areas in the Indian sub-continent included Pakistan and Afghanistan, Taliban follow the Hanafi school , which is one of four famous schools in Islamic jurisprudence , and it is the main approach of Deobandi school, The majority of Taliban's members belong to the Pashtun ethnic, who they Dwell in the southern and eastern regions of Afghanistan specifically in Kandahar and Helmand, Pashtuns known with valor and maintain social customs and traditions, and a large segment of them enroll in religious schools since childhood to learn Quran and Islamic sciences, Because of that Pashtun areas considered as human reservoir for Taliban to recruit new fighters (Zidan, 2004).

In 11th of September 2001, Al-Qaeda organization led by Osama Bin Laden has adopted the attacks against the world Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Virginia, which resulted more than 3 thousand victim, U.S government demanded Mullah Omar to hand over Osama bin Laden, but he refused, Then U.S led by George W. Bush and its alliances decided to start the war against "terrorism" in Afghanistan and they were able to bring down the Taliban regime in November 2001. Taliban fighters withdrew to the mountains, while thousands of them and al-Qaeda fighters were killed and was arrested, The Taliban started using guerrilla war and still ongoing battles with foreign troops and the Afghan government, which was formed after the fall of the movement based on the democratic system (Zidan, 2004).

The Taliban could not rule the country more than 5 years, and the method of its administration of the rule was suffering from many cons, but the movement was able to achieve three major objectives: security, the elimination of the drug trade, the implementation of Islamic law according to their vision (Zidan, 2004).

We will discuss in chapter II of this research, the Taliban as a comprehensive Islamic rule paradigm, which has not been achieved in most contemporary Islamic countries, we will focus on how their management of the various institutions within the state, and also we will discuss foreign policy towards other countries.

4. ATTRIBUTES OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE JIHADIST MOVEMENTS AND THE LOCAL COMMUNITIES IN EGYPT, ALGERIA, AFGHANISTAN IN THE NINETIES

It is impossible to separate the political movements from local communities, as these political organizations' members are basically one of the community's components, where they are citizens and not separated in any way from their homeland, so it is important to know the view and the relationship between the political movements and their local society. Jihadist organizations' relationship toward their local societies was varied in Egypt, Algeria and Afghanistan, this diversity according to the local intellectual, culture and the general political climate, So in this chapter we discuss the relationship between the jihadist movements and society in that period, and how the masses affected on the map of the conflict between the ruling regimes and armed Islamic groups in those countries.

4.1 Jihadist Movement in Egypt and the Reasons of the Conflict with the Political Regime in the Nineties

There is no doubt that, Jihadists in Egypt leaded a fierce war against the political regime in the nineties because of many reasons such as demanding of arbitration the Islamic Sharia and the diplomatic relations between the Egyptian government and Israel, when Egypt retreat from the Arab-Israeli conflict and the recognition of the Zionist entity as an independent state after the signing of the Camp David peace treaty between Egypt and Israel 1978. (Munib, 2009)

The Jihadist thought as we mentioned previously started in the sixties of the last century in Egyptian prisons in the period of Abdul Nasser's rule, when he banned the Muslim Brothers' organization and trapped the political Islamic currents which they rejected his socialist Background and adopting the Arab nationalism thought.

After Anwar Al-Sadat became president in 1970, he released the political prisoners and adopted open policy for establishing political parties, and opened the political arena to all currents including the Islamists, but they didn't create any political party because of their principles which adopt the "Islamic background" if they decided to create any party, but Parties Affairs Committee doesn't allow them to create a political party depends on the Islamic background, because of the religious diversity in Egypt, which contains on Muslims and Christians, wherefore the religious background of any Political party considered as threat against the national cohesion. (Munib, 2010)

The real confrontation between the jihadists and the Egyptian political system started when some members in Al-Jihad organization and Al-Jamaah Al-Islamiyya assassinated the former Egyptian president Anwar Al-Sadat 1981 in the military parade during the anniversary celebrations of October 1973 war. (Munib, 2009)

It was a milestone in contemporary fundamental Islamic thought , when the jihadist thought restricted to resist colonialism, but the new jihadists consider Political regimes in Muslim countries which they don't apply the rules of Islamic sharia and they follow the old colonial powers in their country as the first enemy for Muslim Ummah, Because these regimes oppose the rules of Allah and his prophet (Muhammed), these rules which Allah Imposed it to be applied by all people especially Muslims (Munib, 2010).

The concept of Al Hakimeyya (Governance) is the main point of jihadist thought, and they inferred by many Verses in Quran and sayings of the Prophet (Hadith) that call Muslims to fight with the governors of Muslims if they didn't apply Sharia Laws and if they followed Jews and Christians against Muslims, Thereupon those governors will be considered infidels, So the declare of holy war (Jihad) against them is obligatory on every Muslim (Munib, 2010).

The regime of Abdel Nasser 1953-1970 and the regime of Sadat 1970-1981 was as a reasons stage for jihadist currents' forming, then in the period of Mubarak ruling 1981-2011, Jihadist ideas and its limited operations against the political system in Egypt transformed to a bloody war leaded by Jihad organization and Al – Jamaa Al-Islamiyya against Mubarak regime (Munib, 2009).

After Sadat's assassination, Mubarak regime started to create new security approach to confront jihadists, by entering into a security alliance with the West, using emergency and anti-terrorism laws, which enabled Mubarak relatively to control over political power in Egypt, Mubarak also enabled to create bureaucratic class consist of businessmen, senior military and police officers (Munib, 2010).

Jihadists was pursued from Mubarak regime in the eighties and many people thought that imprison jihadists and leave them in the prisons for a long time will undermine their abilities to confront the government, principally that Mubarak regime have used the military and extraordinary trials to put them in prison for a long time, and actually some of them remained in the prisons of Mubarak and did not get out until the January 2011 revolution (Ali, 2014).

In spite of all the exceptional and harsh measures that Mubarak adopted against Jihadists, There was a great event happened and changed the map of the conflict not only in Egypt but in the Islamic world totally , it was the Soviet invasion against Afghanistan 1979, when the Soviets decided to intervenes there to support the communist government there, where the civil Afghan war (Afghan Jihad) started between the government and several categories of Afghan people, where many of them adopted the Islamic religious trend against the political system at that time (Ismail, 2013).

In the mid-eighties, other international parties directly involved in the Afghan war, that's when the United States allied with some Muslim states such as Saudi Arabia and Pakistan to support the Afghan Mujahedeen politically and militarily, by sending arms to them and allow Muslims from all over the world to participate in the Afghan Jihad, So thousands of Muslim fighters especially from Arab countries came to Afghanistan to help their brothers against the soviets (Munib, 2009).

Jihadists in Egypt, who could to survive from Mubarak regime have traveled to Afghanistan to participate in Jihad there, some of them killed, but other cadres and fighters who attended the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from Afghanistan in 1989 compiled themselves there and began planning to return to Egypt and leading the war against Mubarak and his regime, principally they obtained military and leadership experience in Afghanistan, So the Afghan war have been playing main role in the

spread of jihadist organizations later in Egypt and other Muslim countries (Munib, 2009).

Jihadists don't believe in democracy , they only recognized the Islamic sharia rule, and the main point of the different between Jihadists and other Islamic movements who adopt the civil and political ways to get the power such as the Muslims Brothers and some Salafist currents is that, elections whether parliamentary , presidential or municipality is " Incompatible with Islam" according to its contemporary known legal system, because anyone can vote in these elections even non Muslims people, and lots of people fulfill the conditions for theses elections but maybe they are not Muslims or they don't want Sharia Law, so the result that ,Jihadists argued about these issue is that, the governance and legislation (Al Hakimeyya) is for Allah only not for people, it means that people cannot legislate any rules from themselves (Ordinance), because Allah sent people Quran And prophet's Sunnah that Allah prescribed it for all humanity (Munib, 2010).

Actually Mubarak regime didn't allow civil Islamic movements to participate in the political view and the regime didn't allow them to establish political parties because the parties Affairs Committee is the only authorized entity who can accept the parties enterprise or not, and the committee didn't allow to any entity to create political party with religious background, so the parties should be whatever liberal, secular, or communist (Munib, 2010).

It is clear that the successive political regimes in Egypt from 1952 until 2011 adopted systematic exclusion against Islamists, while these regimes knew that, if there is free elections within transparent political process which does not investigate one, the Islamists will win it, because Islamists in Egypt has popular incubator especially for the Muslim Brothers when they focused in their advocacy in the social side like helping people, create charitable organizations, advocacy in mosques and religious events (researches, 2011).

In fact, Mubarak regime allowed to the Muslims Brothers and other Islamists to practice their activities but with limitation, because Mubarak understood that practicing full restrictions on the Islamists will force especially the young Islamic

slice to resort to violent methods to get their rights, so Mubarak adopted the method of stick and leniency to make kind of balance with them (researches, 2011).

Jihadists believe in the first moment of their beginning that, these systems just understand the language of power, and they cannot establish the Islamic Emirate without defeat the Egyptian political system militarily firstly, then the nation will convulsed with them against injustice and authoritarianism (Munib, 2010).

The second motive of Jihadists to adopt the militarily approach against Mubarak was the subordination to the West and United States in addition to the diplomatic relations between Egyptian government and Israel After the signing of Camp David peace treaty 1979 and the Egyptian recognition with Israel, which had traumatic effect on the Egyptian people and all Arab and Muslim nation (Munib, 2009).

Mubarak believed that Egyptian people are not ready for democracy, because democracy is a culture and people does not act with its tools, but Mubarak and his regime didn't take any measures to make this culture, on the contrary they improved the Police state and Bureaucracy (researches, 2011).

During 30 years of Mubarak's rule , Egypt has not experienced any kind of democratic practice, when the party of Mubarak (National democratic party) was allowed to control the parliament and municipal councils through rigging elections and seeks to weaken the other political parties , which they didn't have popularity in the Egyptian society, in addition to exclusion Islamists from the Egyptian political arena through arbitrary arrests and prevent them from establishing political parties (researches, 2011).

Since the assassination of President Sadat in 1981, both sides Jihadists and political regime decided to choose violence against each other, Jihadists believes by armed Jihad as the only way to displacement Mubarak regime, also Mubarak decided to do the same and he didn't think to find the basic reason of the emergence of jihadist ideology, which advocates to enforcement Islamic Sharia laws and support all Muslims around the world within the idea of Muslim Ummah (Ali, 2014).

4.2 The ideology and dynamic approach of Jihadist movements in Egypt and its impact on their relationship with the community

There is no doubt that, the advocacy to people is an essential principle in Islamic Sharia laws, when Allah said in Quran" Invite to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good instruction, and argue with them in a way that is best. Indeed, your Lord is most knowing of who has strayed from His way, and He is most knowing of who is [rightly] guided" Al Nahl Surah-125.

After the collapse of Ottoman Empire 1923, lots of Muslims scholars or normal people believes in the return of Islamic Caliphate, so some Islamic organizations was established to achieve this Caliphate again such as: Muslims brothers, Jihadist movements, Al-Qaeda and finally "The Islamic state" in some lands of Syria and Iraq led by Abu Bakr Al Baghdadi (researches, 2011).

Jihadists in Egypt believed by Holly war "Jihad" to overthrow the secularist political regime , they prepared individuals, Financial and armament potentials to achieve this goal, and the leaders of those organizations in Egypt tried to attract persons who can be with them via persuasion and advocacy methods, and maybe they succeeded to establish military group which has obvious Islamic and military doctrine, but the most important question is that, Did Jihadists think about the local community and its role to achieve this goal or not? And why jihadists issued an initiative to stop the violence in nineties? And how Mubarak regime had the ability to dismantle the organizational construction of jihadists in Egypt? (Researches, 2011).

It was clear that jihadist movement in Egypt had fundamental mystery approach toward Egyptian society, and they didn't have scientific vision in acting with society, and the reasons are that, the nature of jihadists regulatory was depending on two basic factors: (researches, 2011)

1- The principle of confidentiality in recruiting members as an armed movement and the regime shouldn't have any information about their work (secret organization).

2- Jihadists considered their movement as revolutionary forefront for Muslims people in Egypt, it means that, jihadists should use the method a sudden military

coup against the political regime, and then the masses of people must participate them to complete the revolution.

There is no doubt that any political movement especially who adopt religious thought can't isolate themselves from the social environment, when the political regime has international legitimacy and kind of local legitimacy (Atwan, 2015).

The approach which reliance on confidentiality and secret tactic to create an organization had many basic problems such as Isolation from society, people's apprehension from the term of "secret organization" and the ability of the political regime to terrify people from those movements, when the regime can use its political, media, military and security arms to show them as (Scarecrow) (Atwan, 2015).

The leader of Al-Jamaa Al-Islamiyya Osama Hafiz said that, "his group regretted when they use the secret tactic and the group resorted to secret work after the assassination of Sadat 1981", when the Egyptian police started relentless war specially against Jihadists and political Islamic movements in Egypt generally (Hafez, 2015).

Hafiz admit that his group imitated the secret work as the Muslims brothers adopted, but the majority of the members in Al-Jamaa Al-Islamiyya refused this method, because they used to publish and practice their advocacy at universities and mosques, and there is no reason to work in darkness, but later the security conditions in the eighties and the assassination of Sadat forced the leadership of the group to adopt secret approach specially when they decided to use the idea of military coups within the concept of Holly war Jihad (Hafez, 2015).

The peace treaty between Egypt and Israel is one of the basic factors that Jihadists depend on to create their organization's thought, and even the majority of Egyptian people refused the treaty with Israel, but lots of them refused the way that Jihadists used to kill Sadat, when another people supported this operation, but they didn't adopt it within social view, that's why Jihadists couldn't to complete their plan to make kind of military coup or Islamic revolution, when they thought that Sadat's assassination operation will give impetus to the society to participate and support Jihadists to complete the plan and make it successful (Munib, 2010).

After Sadat's assassination, Mubarak became the president of Egypt and he started to implement emergency laws and the conflict between Mubarak regime and Jihadist groups became exposed to both parties. Mubarak regime began chasing Jihadists in Cairo and in the south of Egypt, where Jihadists' bases was established (Munib, 2009).

In the eighties, Mubarak prisons became full of thousands of jihadist leaders and members and most of them ruled by military and exceptional courts, but the other members who could to escape from Egypt, they immigrate to Afghanistan to participate in Jihad against Soviets there, and after the end of Afghan Jihad, they tried to revive Jihad movement in Egypt again (Munib, 2009).

In 1992, Egyptian security agencies arrested hundreds of Jihadists in what is known Vanguards of Conquest organization, when the majority of this group returned from Afghanistan to revive Jihad movement in Egypt, The Egyptian authorities ruled them by military and exceptional courts again, and this attempt considered as the last one to revive Jihad organization in Egypt before Jihadists announcement the initiative to stop violence against the Egyptian state in 1997(researches, 2011).

4.3 The social nurturing environment and its impacts on the conflict between Jihadists and political systems

The most important issue, which occupies the specialists and researchers in political Islam issues is the identity and the methodology of the Islamic movements, because it is a basic factor to analyze the contemporary Islamic movements within Intellectual and organizational terms, and the interaction of community with them.

As we mentioned previously that, The Jihadist dynamic approach was depending on organizational secrecy in recruiting new members, and it is not important to publish the idea of Jihad between wide segment of society in order to preserve the existence of the organization and the security of its elements and leaders, when the group should focus to recruit new members, who has strong religious tendency and enthusiastic to achieve the desired goal, when lots of normal people don't have these qualities according to the ignorant society because of the absence of the

implementation of Islamic rule, and this ignorant environment can open the way to the weak souls' holders to permeate the group (Munib, 2010).

The Islamic group in Egypt have done several operations in the eighties and nineties such as targeting Intelligence officers, civilian police, banks, foreign tourists and they adopted "Promotion of virtue and prevention of vice" when they tried violently to ban music and attacking the apartments of prostitution and drug dealers, In addition to gun battles fighting with police in Cairo and some other provinces , and they tried to assassinate Egyptian former president Mubarak in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa in 1995 (Munib, 2010).

There is no doubt that , Egyptian local community was not in the atmosphere of this war between jihadists and government , and normal people were practicing their daily lives and business, and Jihadists didn't have any realistic or scientific approach toward Egyptian society in that moment (Munib, 2010).

In the midst of the conflict between Jihadists and government, the political regime used the iron fist against Jihadists and political Islam movement in general such as the Muslims Brothers, and in the nineties the courtrooms was filled with many cases about Islamic groups such as the cases of " Returnees from Afghanistan, Returnees from Albania, Vanguards of Conquest", In addition to judge some of the members and leaders of the Muslims Brothers, all of these cases was In front of military and exceptional courts (Munib, 2010).

The iron fist of Mubarak regime was enough to instilled fear between people, when the Egyptian prisons filled by thousands of Jihadists of all ages for long periods, The families and relatives of those detainees have been subjected to social punishment and became in difficult economic conditions, the mosques and Islamic institutes have been under strict censorship by the Egyptian intelligence and security services, The systematic torture method, forced disappearances and preventing the visit of detainees have been practiced from Mubarak regime by wide manner (Ali, 2014).

When interviewed on 8 June 2016, the leader in the Egyptian Islamic party and the former leader in Jihad Organization Magdy Salem said that Tyranny, dictatorship and the fight against Islamic religion from the Egyptian government In the era of

Abdel Nasser were the main reasons to start thinking about secret Islamic organization which should defend Islam and face the Egyptian government.

Magdy Salem said that , "jihadists depended on two ideas, the first one they should establish "The protection system of the Islamic Dawa" when the Egyptian government targeted Islamic characters , and on the contrary the government opened the way for the cinema and artists to fight the religion and tarnish the image of the religious people, although the Jihad organization is a secret group but it was elitist group not social group, it means that the leaders of the group was studying or graduated from summit colleges in Egypt, and they adopted the approach of individual and Confidential Dawa, and the second idea was the military coups as common and popular way to overthrow the government in the period of the sixties and seventies in many diameters in the world.

According to Salem, The iron fist of Sadat and Mubarak regimes against Islamists in Egypt was the main reasons to adopt Jihadist and military approach from Jihadist groups in Egypt such as The Islamic group , Jihad organization or other groups who adopted more radical ideas than Jihad organization such as "The Muslims group" which adopted Takfiri approach against the government, and admitted that, Jihad organization was not social group and they only started their social work in 1986 under the narrow of the government and they couldn't to do comprehensive social work because of the permanent conflict with the political regime who constantly was targeting them and their activities.

Salem explained that, the jihadist thought was created from the womb of the crisis in Egyptian society, and it aimed to stop the political system which harmed Islam and Islamic scholars Either by using arresting and torture in the prisons or using the cinemas and theater to ridicule from them, when the Egyptian society was living in the case of cultural ignorance and the absence of the Islamic aspects from Egyptian society.

Salem went on to say that ,the clandestine nature of the architecture of the Jihad organization for a long time, and the lack of a clear approach to create social incubator for the group was the fundamental reason that the group couldn't achieve its target to change the political situation in Egypt, Where the group was only

decided to protect the Islamic advocacy and its symbols, then they worked to enable Egyptian people to govern themselves, But the security restrictions from the government did not help the Jihad group and the Islamic Group to move forward in social work and their work became limited to elitism and some armed skirmishes with the political regime within the base of each action has a reaction, Although the Islamic group has been active in a lot of social and advocacy work in the Egyptian universities, But they lost a lot of popularity and strength after entering in armed confrontations with the regime in some provinces, and targeting foreign tourists and using force sometimes to change the evil actions, all of these actions reduced the balance of the group socially, then the political regime was able to eliminate the group organizationally and security.

5. ALGERIAN CIVIL WAR AND THE BEGINNING OF THE ARMED CONFLICT BETWEEN THE JIHADISTS AND THE POLITICAL REGIME IN THE NINETIES

As we mentioned previously that, the civil war in Algeria which started in the beginning of 1992 was very violent and left thousands of victims, when the Algerian army cancelled the results of the elections, which ended with a landslide victory for the Islamic Salvation Front.

Many of Islamists especially Salafist groups started going up to mountains and create armed groups to start war against Algerian army who banned the FIS and arrested lots of its members, but other Islamists such as Muslims Brothers refused using violence and they called to comprehensive national interlocutor (Taweel, 1998).

Islamic Salvation Front was seeking to use democracy to ban it, when the leaders of the front were refusing the democratic system, but they didn't have another choice to achieve the power, so they used democracy to prove their popularity and their right to lead the state and implement Islamic Sharia and establish the Islamic state (Al-Suri, 2004).

Before Islamic Salvation Front initiating in armed struggle, there was one jihadist character known to Algerians Abdul Qadir Shbouti, he was one of the leaders of the Islamic armed movement in sixties and seventies under the leadership of Mustafa Boaali, Some Islamists called him "the general" according to his experience in military operations and guerrilla warfare and he called Islamists and Algerian people to refuse democracy and elections as a trick from the Algerian regime to silence the real opposition in Algeria (Zakaria, 1993).

Shbouti reformed his armed groups again, and the Algerian police admitted that, his groups scattered in various Algerian geography and has good organizational and military power, his movement have begun to target the Algerian security forces and it Pushing the Algerian government to recognize his organization's strength and the

government deployed special forces in the streets and impose a curfew (Taweel, 1998).

In May 1994, the majority of Jihadist groups in Algeria held "unity conference" to unify the Islamic rebel factions against the government and they could to unify the overwhelming majority of jihadists under the leadership of Armed Islamic Group "GIA" led by Sharif Qawasmi, which became the strongest power against the government, But the group has seen accelerated splits because of the intellectual and ideological contrast between its members about some jurisprudential issues such as Takfir, Walaa and Baraa issues, also contrasts about political vision in dealing with the Algerian political regime and Algerian society, Which turned to Armed clashes and mutual assassinations between the factions of the group, Algerian regime has been able to exploit this actions for its benefit in the political, security and battlefield levels (Al-Suri, 2004).

GIA was established from multiple groups that they have different jurisprudential views, but the idea of jihad against the government and establishing Islamic state consolidated them under unified leadership. So in early of 1995 the group entered to defections stage and internal assassination operations between its factions (Al-Suri, 2004).

The group's leadership has become more violent and bloody and they adopted the Takfiri thought and they did collective massacres of some villages pretext of collaborating with the government, and Algerian authorities have probably succeeded in that period to penetrate the GIA and planting big numbers of spies inside the group, Where it was observed later that many of the GIA's operations targeting areas and villages supported Islamists in elections, Some considered it as settle accounts between the Algerian regime and the population of those areas because of their support to the Islamists (Shushan, 2013).

Some of Algerian army officers fled from Algeria during those events, one of them is the captain Ahmed Shoshan when he explain in his diary about how the Algerian security forces could to penetrate the armed Islamist groups in Algeria during the civil war and used some of them to distort the Armed Islamist movement and to thwart the uprising of the Algerian people towards freedom and he explained what he

suffered personally with hundreds of detainees to torture and physical liquidation in the Algerian regime's prisons in that period (Shushan, 2013).

Another Algerian officer his name is colonel Mohammed Samrawy also explained in his diary that the Algerian intelligence in that period used some jihadist prisoners to implement mass killings against civilians Through lured amnesty for their crimes, or torturing them and forcing them to do these massacres, in addition to the penetration that Algerian security agencies could to achieve it in the ranks of the Armed Islamic Group, Also, the presence of a radical wing within the FIS has helped the Algerian government to commercialize the idea of fight against a group of terrorists and the Algerian army is defend its people from these groups (Samraoui, 2009).

Algeria's civil war has left tens of thousands of dead and missing and detainees and later many of the Algerian Islamists who participated in this war against the Algerian regime admitted that the adoption of the armed struggle was wrong , but the Algerian army generals forced a large segment of the Islamists to choose armed violence due to the cancellation of elections' result, the violence of the political regime toward the peaceful protests and the arbitrary arrests of FIS' leaders and thousands of Islamic activists in Algeria (Samraoui, 2009).

In 1998, the Peace and National Reconciliation charter has been declared between the authority and the Islamic salvation army the armed arm of FIS , when FIS renounced violence, Also GIA were torn into small groups, and many of its members participated in the comprehensive reconciliation agreement with the Algerian authorities (Shushan, 2013).

Thus, the Algerian civil war ended, which it was resolved almost in favor of Algerian army generals and especially the wing who adherence France.

5.1 The Balance of Power and The Relative Change in The Popular Support to Jihadists in Algeria During the War

There is no doubt that the Algerian civil war became as a negative paradigm for many Islamic organizations all over the world in order to change any authoritarian regime because of the vast amount of human casualties during the war in addition to

what was considered a catastrophic failure of the Jihadists in Algeria to overthrow the Algerian authority in the nineties (researches, 2011).

Before the conflict in Algeria , The Islamists possessed the trust of the majority of the Algerian people especially FIS which won in the first stage of Parliamentary elections by 81% and it was resounding defeat for the ruling National Liberation Front, it was clear that FIS could to achieve the confidence of broad social categories of the Algerian people through mosques, charitable activities and social associations, so this is a real success for the front, Especially that front has local rivals from other Islamic groups such as Muslims brothers which they couldn't make any political or social victories in that time (labat, 2003).

Some of FIS leaders was thinking to create armed groups in the end of the eighties before the elections such as Said Makhloufi and Abdul Qadir Shboti the leader in the remnants of Mustafa Boaaly's group, they argued this idea because of the bad intentions of many generals in the army and inside the ruling party against their front, and they was thinking that the generals had intention to liquidate the front and its leaders, but they didn't adopt violence as principle to achieve the power, they just wanted to have the power to defend themselves in the face of the potentially violence from the ruling authority (Shushan, 2013).

After the begging of the conflict between Algerian regime from one side and FIS,GIA in the other side, it was clear that the power was in favor of the army, although some of Algerian army's officers was supporting FIS as a socio-political project expresses the aspirations of the Algerian people, But the vast majority of military leaders or all of them strongly rejects the arrival of Islamists to the power, Especially, that some senior generals in the Algerian army have strong relations with the French authorities, Which does not want to see any Islamic system close to France in the area of south Mediterranean, Also, the security and political coordination between France and the security and military authorities in Algeria Perhaps amounts to a full merger between the both sides (Shushan, 2013).

During the war, splits occurred on the level of the FIS leadership , when some of the leaders rejected using violence and they was represent part of the external Algerian opposition, the second part was AIS inside Algeria and they represent the armed

wing of FIS, and the third part was the most important and basic leaders Abbas Madani and Ali Belhadj who were arrested before the beginning of the conflict and they was isolated from the outer perimeter in Algeria, so they couldn't to contact with the other leaders in Algeria or abroad, by that influential leaders of FIS was in the Algerian prisons making the opposition role of FIS against the regime so difficult (Shushan, 2013).

When interviewed on 15 June 2016, The secretary-general of Algerian National construction movement Ahmed Al-Dan said that, FIS has succeeded in mass mobilization for the elections as well as its success in social services, FIS also has succeeded in attracting thousands of cadres and make a drastic change program based on Islam as a sturdy and attractive factor in life, but on the other side Jihadists in Algeria have sinned, where they were lured from the authority to violence ,like they were involved in acts of killing against many of those who disagreed with them and they were infiltrated by intelligence services.

Al-Dan referred that, Algerian society refuse violence and prefer peaceful political change methods, also, the Islamic Movement should adopt mass action method and up to a ratio of not less than 10% of the community where they can do sit-ins and open civil disobedience, armed action force extremists to lose their popularity and Arab Spring revolutions in Egypt and Tunisia has been an example of the effectiveness of peaceful mass action against tyranny.

Al-Dan argued that, The uprisings succeed when it is popular, peaceful, national, free and independent, As the revolution must be close to the head of authority and must proceed with determination and conviction of the majority of people by the inevitability of changing the political system, The peaceful revolutions depends on the strength of the number and occupation of suitable sites, which paralyzes the movement of authority and ability to make decisions.

The military battle between the Algerian regime and the armed Islamic groups have been disproportionately, Also, the absence of a comprehensive political and military vision of militants caused their inability to be together in a unified regulatory framework, In addition to the absence of public support for the armed Islamic movement in Algeria and the lack of appreciation of the Algerian regime strength at

the level of intelligence and military power as well as the external supporting to the regime, all these factors transform the armed uprising to a real tragedy In what is known as the black decade in Algeria (Anon., 2009).

6. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF TALIBAN 1996-2001

The Taliban political and organizational structure is different when we compare it with jihadist movements in Egypt and Algeria, where the Taliban could to establish Islamic Emirate in Afghanistan in the period between 1996-2001 and they could to rule almost of Afghan territory with the exception of the northern parts, which it was under the rule of the Northern Alliance led by the Afghan commanders Ahmad Shah Masood, Abdul Rashid Dostum and most of the population consists of Uzbek and Tajik ethnic. (Zidan, 2004)

The organizational structure of Taliban political regime consist of 4 basic positions: (Zidan, 2007)

1- The leader.

2-Shura Council, unassigned number of members.

3- Council of Ministers "almost of members are from Shura council".

4- States Shura Council.

Mullah is the leader of the movement and was elected by the members of the Shura Council, but in the case of the leader of Afghanistan not only Shura council electing the leader, all of Afghan Islamic scholars should choose the leader who Initially was nominated from Taliban Shura council, and in 1996 more than 1500 Islamic scholars in Afghanistan Swore allegiance to Mullah Omar to be Amirul Mu'mineen in Afghanistan (Zidan, 2007).

The nature of Taliban political system based on the authority of Mullahs, they have the ultimate decision to solve all issues, and al most of them held high ministerial positions in the period of Taliban rule, where Taliban Sanctify Islamic scholars and consider them as the suitable and trusted persons rather than scientific competency of the candidates to held leadership positions in the state. (Zidan, 2007)

The Taliban don't divide between Islam and life, and they think that the scholar can held any position in the administrative, military and political structure of the state, they argue this idea according to the devout and Islamic knowledge of the scholar, which enables him to resolve all problems and issues according to Islamic law which is considered as the first reference to rule the state and Allah and his prophet's orders (Rashid, 2010).

The basic role in Taliban governing theory is "Shura", it means make decisions collectively between the members of Shura council then they send these decisions to The prince to approve it or not, and the Shura is not binding to the prince who has very broad authority in decision-making that he can Issue legislation and decisions alone and obligate the community by it (Zidan, 2007).

The Taliban theory in governance inspired the state's system and structure from the early ages of the Islamic state, although the basic method of the Islamic state's structure does not impose any specific structure of the state, just the rules and legislation derived from the holy Koran and Sunnah, They also refuse to use the concept and the theory of democracy as a western term alien to Islam (Rashid, 2010).

Mullahs dominated on the political and social life in Afghanistan in that period, Therefore, the political system in Afghanistan during the period of Taliban was kind of Theocracy state, where Mullahs hold legislative, executive, judicial and military authorities and the Taliban paradigm looks like clerical rule in Iran , but Iranians mixed between modern science and strict religious censorship in State institutions and they didn't use the clerics to work in positions that they are not fluent to do (Rashid, 2010).

The Taliban have put the Afghan people in international isolation, Because of their seclusion toward international institutions, especially with the United Nations and just three countries recognized the Taliban government in that period Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and UAE, as they were strongly reject the presence of foreign cultural centers in Afghanistan (Rashid, 2010).

In the period of Taliban rule, the political structure of the Afghan state was fragile and rudimentary, especially that, Taliban should have been to start building the state

and its institutions when Taliban could to create kind of stability after control over most of Afghan territory, But because of the international obsessing from the Taliban Islamic paradigm and external isolation imposed by the Taliban itself, Taliban couldn't to establish regular and professional military forces, as they did not have apparent project to build state institutions, but from another side Taliban were able to create security stability and the elimination of cultivation and trafficking drugs, However all of this achievements was not enough to achieve the ambition of the Afghan people in the development and progress (Rashid, 2010).

6.1 The Taliban and Its Relationship with The Components of Afghan Society

Al most of Taliban's members belongs to the Pashtun ethnic who are inhabit in the eastern and southern areas of Afghanistan, Pashtuns characterized by rigidity, strength and stubbornness and they are committed to Islam innately, Ethnicities is variety in Afghanistan where Pashtun represents the majority then Tajiks and Uzbeks and others (Daeef, 2014).

Afghanistan has seen fierce civil war before and the Taliban's control the state, and this war started between many leaders such as Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, and Burhanuddin Rabbani and Ahmad Shah Massoud, but when Taliban was created in 1994 they could to control wide areas in the south and east, then they could to control the capital Kabul and some states in the north, but they couldn't to control all of Afghan territory Because of the resistance forces of Ahmad Shah Massoud and Abdul Rashid Dostum in the northern areas predominantly Uzbek and Tajik (Srafraz, 2008).

Taliban's movement consist of many ethnicities, though Pashtuns are the majority, but other people from other ethnicities participated in Taliban's ranks according to their religious and intellectual backgrounds, due to the spread of religious schools in Afghanistan, which is considered one of the basic factors of the Taliban in recruiting youths, Particularly that most members of the Taliban are religious schools' students (Rashid, 2010).

In the Taliban's Ruling period, Afghanistan witnessed a relative case of security and political stability, Where the Taliban has been able to eliminate the phenomenon of

warlords and bandits, they also were able to eliminate on the cultivation and the drug trade, so there was a case of popular satisfaction with Taliban's security achievements (Srafraz, 2008).

Afghans in general characterized by religious passion and religiosity and consider themselves and Arabs as the best Muslims ever, so Islam integrated all Afghan social slides in one cohesive society, But the civil war to achieve the power in the nineties created a case of social and ethnic rupture, Also, difficult economic conditions and the control of certain groups on the Afghan economy was a major cause of the conflict (Srafraz, 2008).

The Taliban thought doesn't represent any of the ideas of known political or traditional Islam currents such as Muslims brothers, Wahhabism and Sufism, but it can be said that, Taliban create themselves from the heart of the Afghan dilemma, Since the Afghan jihad in the eighties through to the civil war between the Mujahedeen after the Soviet occupation period and the end of the proliferation of warlords, security and social anarchy in the country during the Taliban's emergence, as Taliban based on its members Pashtun ethnic dimension and they recognized Islam according to their own thought (Rashid, 2010).

The Taliban create a unique Islamic paradigm based on the early ages of the Islamic state, which was established by Prophet Mohammed in Medina before more than 1400 years, where Taliban believe that the Prophet Muhammad and his Righteous Caliphs' approach based on the Islamic Dawa, then Jihad and finally establishing the state without take in consideration the nature of the difference of contemporary period and societies compared with the Prophet Muhammad's period (Rashid, 2010).

Taliban didn't have any obvious thought or method for the contemporary state nature in contrast to other Islamic political entities who put general perception according to their view for the state form and how to achieve the political power , Either through establishing political parties or advocacy and community work, and they have obvious overview for the institutional state and its foreign relations with the external societies, so it can be said that Talabani model characterized by rudimentary and lack of clarity.(Rashid, 2010).

There was another basic factor helped Taliban to promote military and administrative power in Afghanistan such as the supporting of some Pakistani religious schools especially Hakkanyya university and other Deobandi schools in Pakistan , Where the Taliban espousing the Hanafi doctrine and al most of its leaders have completed their education in Pakistani religious schools on the Deobandi's school approach in India, so these schools has provided recruits to assist the Taliban in its fight against its enemies in Afghanistan, also they provided financial and advisory support , and they serve as representatives of Taliban in Pakistan (Srafraz, 2008).

The Taliban had a strict religious control over society, they have prevented women from wearing shoes with high heels because women shouldn't make any noisy that can draws the attention of men, They also prevented mixing of men and women in the places of work and study except hospitals and they prevented women from going to school and they argue it that they don't have the possibilities to build new schools but anyway they implement Islamic law which they fought to achieve it (Rashid, 2010).

Mullahs controlled all levers of the states, Whether ministerial , military or political positions in addition to managing states, whereas Mullahs have a higher ability of religious education, which qualifies them to control the executive and legislative authorities and according to their ability to issue all public decisions based on the Islamic Sharia law , As well as they obtained the confidence of Mullah Omar and his political, security and military leaders, All these measures have caused marginalizing against many scientific competencies and created a kind of randomness on the State's Administration level (Rashid, 2010).

Taliban have had the agency of Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice with thousands of members al most of them from the religious schools, this agency's task is to advise people in the streets according to Islamic laws and to ensure segregation between men and women and maintain morals and ethics in the streets, public places and various governmental institutions, this agency This follows Mullah Omar and takes orders directly from him, and there is no supervision or authority from the Ministry of Justice on this agency which works full independence from the other institutions, So Afghanistan has got ranking low internationally especially on the

economic , social development and human rights levels, Because of the wars that the country passed it over twenty years and the absence of a comprehensive strategy for serious national reconciliation and establishing the state again (Srafraz, 2008).

7. GLOBAL JIHAD AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ISLAMIC COMMUNITIES

The Jihadist thought over the different stages that we mentioned previously affected by many intellectual factors, when the Jihadist scholars in Egypt, Algeria and Afghanistan put general intellectual frameworks for their ideology within the borders of the nation-state against the local governments, but after the Post-Afghan jihad period (1979-1989) which has seen the participation of foreign fighters, mostly were Arabs in Afghan jihad against the Soviets, New generation of Jihadists have appeared within a new ideological and organizational framework which was called (Global Jihad), and those group have taken from Afghanistan a safe haven for themselves as an unstable region.

The new ideology which was created by Osama Bin Laden and his organization (Al-Qaeda) classified as global jihad approach which aims to targeting the United States (Greatest devil) ,who bears the responsibility for the imposition of authoritarian regimes on the Muslim peoples and supporting Israel against the Palestinians and they considered U.S the head of the Muslim's nation's problems.

In this part we will discuss the global Jihad ideology from the beginning of Al-Qaeda until the appearance of the Islamic state organization in Syria and Iraq and other areas in 2014 until now.

7.1   Historical Background of Al-Qaeda

After the end of Afghan jihad in 1989 and the defeat of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, Afghan groups started to fight each other to have the role of Afghanistan, many of Arab fighters returned to their own countries because they didn't find any reason to stay after the end of Jihad, but other persons decided to stay there , because they feared from the chase and arrest by the security forces in their countries, when the united states decided to support Afghans against Soviets for political competitive considerations between each other and Saudi Arabia adopted

the Islamic decision to support Afghans financially , logistically and militarily, and this supporting was by American decision (Atwan, 2007).

The foreign fighters in Afghanistan during Jihad consisted of multiple nationalities especially Arabs, central Asia and the Northern Caucasus states, they had one goal unified all of them; it was fighting against the atheist Soviets and support the Afghan Muslim people (Munib, 2009).

At this period, the ideology of the majority of these fighters was non-politicized, and they just immigrate to Afghanistan motivated by religious brotherhood with Afghans and to resist the attack of Soviet communism against Muslims there, but some of foreign fighters had long-term strategy, when they found in Afghanistan a safe haven for themselves and from the influence of the security services in their own countries (Atwan, 2007).

The most important group at this period was the Egyptian fighters who are fall under the Egyptian Jihad organization led by Ayman al-Zawahiri, they decided to stay in Afghanistan with other Islamic groups from Arab northern African states to have military training and return to their home countries in order to start Jihad against dictatorial regimes who are loyal to the West and don't implement Islamic Sharia laws (Munib, 2009).

Many members of those groups returned to their home countries such as Egypt and Algeria and they established armed Islamic groups there such as the Armed Islamic Group in Algeria in the nineties and Jihadist armed groups linked to the Egyptian Jihad movement in Egypt as we mentioned In the previous chapters, but lots of the Jihadist affecting elements preferred to stay in Afghanistan until 1998 ,when Osama Bin Laden who has the finance resources merged with the Egyptian Islamic Jihad group led by Al Zawahiri under the name (World Front for Jihad against Jews and Crusaders), in what became known later by Al-Qaeda (Munib, 2009).

Al-Qaeda was consisted of two wings have a different jihadist ideological backgrounds, and the period which has seen the establishment of the new organization was enough to persuade all intellectual sides in the organization by the methodology of the global jihad which they have adopted it in order to start Jihad

against the US and Israeli interests every time and everywhere around the world (Atwan, 2007).

Many of political researches think that, The Egyptian elements in Afghanistan led by Al Zawahiri and his group adopted the option to fight the near enemy (political regimes in Muslim countries) because they are only agents of global imperialism and former colonizers, but Bin Laden has another idea when he adopted to fight with USA (Far enemy) who support these agents and support Israel Against Palestinians (Atwan, 2015).

The Palestinian Islamic scholar Abdullah Azzam had also a major role in theorizing for the contemporary Jihadism in the eighties of the last century, he is described as pioneer of Afghan jihad, Azzam is considered as a figure ,who theorized for the kinetic Salafism, which combined between the traditional method of scientific Salafism with the Islamic political ideas of the Muslims Brothers, but Azzam distinguished from other scholars by focusing on the importance of religious and political awareness of Muslim Youth, and he explained the rules of the international game in contemporary politics that, pursued by the world imperialism powers in the East and the West against Muslims (researches, 2011).

Many of Muslims youth was affected by the ideas of Azzam, but he differed from bin Laden and al-Zawahiri in the priorities of jihad framework, because he thought that , Muslims should focus their efforts to liberate Palestine from the Zionists occupiers, While both bin Laden and al-Zawahiri have seen the impossibility to Liberate Palestine , because of the existence of the Arab regimes that they surround Palestine from all sides and they are controlled by the global imperialism (researches, 2011).

7.2   The Ideological and Organizational Structure of Al-Qaeda

The Islamic political thought has been significantly increasing in the second half of the last century until now, and there are many contemporary Islamic thought's schools such as Muslims Brothers, Salafi School, Sufism and others, but some of these schools had a trend toward combining religion and politics like Muslims brothers and part of scientific Salafist school which called by kinetic Salafist school (Jamhi, 2008).

Researchers in Islamic affairs when they assort the different intellectual currents within the mother Salafi school see that, Salafist kinetic school distinct from the mother Salafist school by combining between focusing on the traditional Islamic sciences with interest to speak and issue fatwas and doctrinal views which pertaining Muslims in general, including the public policy and governance, and do not adopt full allegiance to the ruler, Unlike scientific Salafism, which adopts the principle of blind obedience to the ruler even if he is oppressors and despot (Jamhi, 2008).

After the appearing of armed Islamic groups in the second part of the last century, scholars began trying to classify of these groups, when these groups adopted Islamic fundamentalist thought and they inferred their ideas from the original Islamic heritage books, which is also considered the main reference for Scientific Salafist School (Munib, 2009).

Al-Qaeda and other Jihadist groups adopt three main factors for their ideology : original Islamic heritage, contemporary political reality and Jihad , So they share kinetic Salafists in the first two factors , but they used the third factor (Jihad) to achieve their purpose which is emanated from the combination of the first two Unlike Kinetic Salafists who are often theorizing for Jihad without practicing factors, it in reality because of Jurisprudential, political and social considerations (Jamhi, 2008).

Al-Qaeda considered as one of the armed groups who operates under the concept of the Salafi jihadism as they prefer to call themselves, this newborn school which emanated from the evolution of the traditional Salafism school, but the traditional Salafism gone through political and social stages witnessed a violent struggle between the ruling regimes and the Islamic movements includes most intellectual currents inside it (Atwan, 2015).

There is no doubt that Al-Qaeda profited from combining between traditional Salafism and contemporary interpretation of religious and historical texts , that Sayyid Qutb had theorized within the political, social and cultural framework conditions of the Islamic Nation under the influence of authoritarian regimes which have appeared after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1924 (Atwan, 2015).

Al-Qaeda interprets the contemporary political situation in the Islamic world as an extension of the colonial era, which affected the Muslim world in the end of the nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth century, and it consider the political regimes in Islamic world that they do not implement Islamic laws as an internal colonialism, and these regimes can't continue to rule Muslims without international legitimacy from the international community and its institutions , Who provided this legitimacy to those authoritarian regimes through world imperialist powers led by the United States (Atwan, 2007).

The jihadist ideas that emerged firstly in the second half of the twentieth century in many Muslim countries such as Egypt, Algeria, Libya, Yemen, Chechnya and Afghanistan based on the resistance against the local regimes on the intellectually, politically and militarily levels and the idea of targeting external sponsor of these countries was not on the table because of the preoccupation of the Islamic movements to tackle the secularist and socialist ideas, which dominated on local politics at that time (Munib, 2009).

Afghanistan has been the save den to the supporters of Jihadism approach to plan and to exchange views about the appropriate ways to replace regimes in the Muslim world with Islamic rule regimes, These jihadist elements who are heterogeneous culturally and socially, based on the writings of the spiritual father of jihadist groups Sayyid Qutb which is characterized as a contemporary interpretation of the historical Islamic texts for the historical Salafist's approach holders, such as Ibn Taymiyyah and Muhammad Abdul Wahab, who theorized for monotheism, Loyalty for Allah and Enmity from converse approaches with Islam (Jamhi, 2008).

The prevailing Jihadist idea in the second half of the twentieth century based on the idea of military coups, where there is no way to confront these authoritarian regimes which don't implement Islamic laws than direct military confrontation, due to the acquisition of security and military force, which in turn use this abilities to suppress Muslim peoples, and there is no way to face these governments than return to tenets of Islam, especially the revival of the duty of jihad (Atwan, 2015).

Al-Qaeda consider itself as a vanguard for the Islamic nation, where it bears the responsibility to convince Muslim individuals to support the Islamic religion and

implement its laws, and to warn Muslims that these regimes are only a creation of colonialism and world imperialism led by the United States, Also, Muslims should not recognize the borders of the Sykes-Picot, which were made by colonialism in the last century to disrupt the unity of Muslims and weaken them (Atwan, 2015).

Al-Qaeda has resorted to the use the strategy of cluster networks in different geographical areas above the Muslim world, Especially in the Islamic countries which contains American diplomatic and military interests such as East Africa and the Arabian Peninsula, so Al-Qaeda did huge bombings targeted the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, and also targeting the whereabouts of US troops in Saudi Arabia and targeting the USS Cole warship in the Gulf of Aden in 2000 , which have resulted hundreds of deaths in the ranks of the US military forces and the civilian and diplomatic missions, Al-Qaeda and its associated groups also has adopted attacks against tourist resorts frequented by foreign and American tourists in Indonesia ,Tunisia in 2002 and Egypt in 2004 and other areas above the world (Atwan, 2015).

Al-Qaeda initially used Afghanistan as a center for recruiting and planning, but after the US invasion to Afghanistan in 2001 in response to the attack of al-Qaeda against the United States on September 11th of the same year, a large numbers al-Qaeda leaders and members have been killed or captured by the international coalition forces led by the United States and Afghanistan was no longer a safe haven for the leaders and members of al-Qaida especially the tribal areas bordering Afghanistan to Pakistan (Jamhi, 2008).

After the end of international military campaign's momentum in Afghanistan, which was able to overthrow the Islamic government of Taliban , Al-Qaeda leaders, especially the second man Ayman al-Zawahri said that, Al-Qaeda primarily is not organization so much as a general idea for every Muslim individual , where every Muslim individual can be member in Al-Qaeda Whatever the place, even though in the United States and Al-Qaeda aims to spread its ideology among Muslims everywhere, so every individual Muslim who wants to participate in Jihad can be do it alone, just he can target the Americans and their interests anywhere on the best of his ability (Atwan, 2007).

There is another important factor particularly in the ideology of Al-Qaeda and generally in the Salafi jihadist approach summed up in the categorical rejection of democracy as an contradictory approach can never be compatible with Islam in many aspects , where Islam call to unify Muslims and combine their ranks ,but democracy calls for competition and partisanship, also Islam calls for the governance of the Koran and the doctrine of Prophet Muhammad but democracy calls to take by the opinion of people without any Islamic controls, Where humans can legislate laws, that may sometimes inconsistent with Islamic Sharia law under the guise of obtaining legal legitimacy by a majority of voters in parliamentary elections, So Al-Qaeda calls to return again to work by the principle of Shura that, observe the process of legislation to commensurate with Islamic law (researches, 2011).

7.2.1 The global Jihad thought in the perspective of Al-Qaeda

Al-Qaeda knows well that, the balance of power with the global imperialism not on their side, Because the United States and its allies have an immense military and intelligence force in addition to the consequential of almost of the political regimes in Islamic world to the influence of those forces ,Also the Islamic societies cuffed and can't resist this imperialist, So al Qaeda decided to start comprehensive confrontation against imperialism on three main axes: provide the Muslim peoples with enough awareness to know the dangers staring Muslims, recruiting necessary security and military cadres and targeting the US interests everywhere in particular and support all Muslim peoples who are still suffering from persecution and repression, such as the peoples of the Caucasus region and others (Al-Suri, 2004).

Al-Qaeda started its plan with intense campaign to explain the problems and challenges which face the Islamic Ummah and leaving Jihad is the main reason for its suffering from oppression and vulnerability so the preparation and practice jihad against the enemies of Muslims is the only way to restore the glories and triumphs of Muslims and the lack of unity among Muslims and recognize the artificial borders are other major reasons for the delay of Islamic nation from the rest of other nations.(researches, 2011).

The Islamic Ummah have social and intellectual fundamental problems summed up in the spread of the of secularism, communism and liberal ideas between Muslims'

circles and the political regimes in Islamic world serve as guards for imperialism against Muslims to prevent them from choosing their rulers freely and implementing Islamic laws among their communities, so Al-Qaeda mobilized all of its media and organizational possibilities to persuade Muslims to this methodology in order to attract the widest possible number of recruits and sympathizers (Jamhi, 2008).

In the seventh of August 1998 , Al-Qaeda targeted the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in conjunction with the eighth anniversary of the arrival of US troops and settled in the Arab Gulf States under the pretext of fight against Saddam Hussein's regime when he invaded Kuwait in the early of 1991, this attacks left at least 224 dead and on 12th October 2000 a suicide bomber used a booby-trapped naval boat attacked the US Cole warship in the Yemeni port of Aden left 17 dead in the ranks of the Americans military sailors and the United States has been accused Osama bin Laden and his organization's involvement in these attacks (Atwan, 2015).

On September 11th 2001, four civilian aircraft was hijacked after takeoff from several US airports and kidnappers planed to target the Pentagon, Congress and the twin towers of the World Trade center building, Suicide bombers have succeeded to target the Pentagon and the World Trade Center, while the US Air Force was able to shoot down the fourth plane in Pennsylvania before arriving to its target, The United States has accused the global terrorism represented by al-Qaeda in this process ,which resulted more than three thousand dead, so the United States has declared war on terrorism everywhere especially in Afghanistan, which is considered the den of al-Qaeda (Jamhi, 2008).

Al-Qaeda boasted of its ability to carry out attacks against the United States in their own backyard, then Qaeda explained later that 19 suicide bomber of its members implemented the attacks, Al-Qaeda considered that the attacks came in response to the blockade by the United States against Iraq, in addition to support Israel against the Palestinians and it was a declaration of open war against the United States and its interests everywhere (Atwan, 2015).

Al-Qaeda depend on decentralized Jihadist network especially in conflict zones which is a fertile environment to find recruits and supporters, so Al Qaeda's ideas have spread quickly in several areas such as Somalia, the North Caucasus, Central

Asia, Pakistan and Southeast Asia and Al-Qaeda has benefited from two basic elements to coax people in those areas such as the occurrence of these areas under the persecution of non-Muslims, such as the Russian occupation of Chechnya , or the presence of local secular political regimes, which reject the implementation of Islamic laws and collaborating with world imperialism as the case in Yemen, Pakistan, the countries of Central and South-East Asia and Middle east (Jamhi, 2008).

Al-Qaeda also benefited from the miserable situation of Muslims who are live retreating period and they lost over sovereignty on Jerusalem which is one of the most sacred places for Islamic nation, so Muslims need to have conscious vanguard to head the confrontation with imperialism and Al-Qaeda has repeatedly explained that, they are not an alternative or guardian of Muslims decision but they only want to help Muslims to get the necessary awareness and understand the nature of the conflict and Jihad is the main factor to create kind of balance of power with imperialism (researches, 2011).

The world passed through very sharp polarization period between communism and capitalism in the second half of the last century, the communist and nationalist ideas have spread in many Muslim countries such as Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Central Asia and others and Political Islamic thought did not begin to rise only after the liberation stage from colonialism and many writings of fundamentalist Islamic scholars have emerged such Abul A'la Maududi in Pakistan, Sayyid Qutb in Egypt and the desire of the Wahhabi movement in Saudi Arabia to find its role in the face of rising communism, but these scholars did not theorize for armed jihad and their writings served as a guidance notes for Muslim youth to sensitize them in front of communism and capitalism risks, However, the brutal repression of the rulers in the Islamic world had a major role in the growth of violent thoughts especially Abdul Nasser's regime in Egypt and Hafez al-Assad in Syria (Atwan, 2015).

The bilateral Jihadism idea as we can call it has grown from two main factors can't be ignored, Jihadist violence against rulers violence and Jihadist violence against world imperialism violence, So Global Jihadism think that , the war against the us which is considered the main supporter for the authoritarian regimes in the Muslim

world will force Americans to stop supporting these regimes, Thus these regimes automatically will collapse under the blows of the local jihadist groups (Atwan, 2015).

7.3   Al-Qaeda in Iraq (From the organization to the state, 2004-2014)

Saddam Hussein's Baathist regime was the greatest warrior against the Islamists in Iraq both Sunnis and Shias , where the Baath Party in Iraq adopts the principles of socialism and Arab nationalism since it came to the power for the first time in 1968, and the ideology of the Baath Party and its security and military branches were unequivocally reject the use of religion in politics , so Baath hounded activists and Islamic groups of Sunnis and Shiites nearly 30 years, but Kurdistan region in northern Iraq was considered the only safe area for the Islamists in Iraq and the Islamic activities in Iraqi Kurdistan were limited only to Islamic Kurds alone (Atwan, 2015).

Before the beginning of the US invasion against Iraq in March 2003, There were many indications confirm the intent of the American to occupy Iraq, especially after September attacks, former US President George W. Bush's administration has done enormous diplomatic and media campaign to link Saddam Hussein's regime with international terrorism and possession of mass destruction weapons (Atwan, 2015).

After September attacks and the dispersal of Al-Qaeda and related groups in Afghanistan, in 2002 a group of Arab fighters led by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi migrated from Afghanistan to the Kurdish areas in northern Iraq, where the Kurdish Ansar al-Islam group operating there and it is Salafi jihadist group fought a fierce war with the main Kurdish parties in Kurdistan for the establishment of Islamic rule there, Zarqawi has created a training camp there for his elements to contest jihad against the United States if it will announce the war against Iraq (Atwan, 2015).

Zarqawi called his organization (Tawhid and Jihad) and has sought to strengthen his relations with the Iraqi Sunni tribes as the first incubator for his organization, Zarqawi's strategy is considered the basic intellectual reference for the Contemporary Islamic state organization in Iraq and Syria, where The terms of Zarqawi's ideology and strategy is based on three main pillars: the savagery that using vicious killings

processes such as beheadings and massive bombings to terrorize the enemies, the inevitable conflict with the Shias and resistance to the United States and its agents in Iraq in the first place, so Zarqawi's strategy has created a sort of discontent in the tribal Sunni ranks, where his ideas did not find a lot of supporters in a society that is proud of its tribal affiliation, but many Iraqi elements that embrace jihadist ideology long ago have joined Zarqawi as one of the main pillars in the resistance against the US occupation as he enjoys a Peerless leadership and organizational style (Atwan, 2015).

In 2004, al-Zarqawi pledged allegiance to Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden and changed his group's name to become al-Qaida in Iraq, al-Zarqaw didn't pleded allegiance to al-Qaida before, in spite of his residence in Afghanistan, This explains the intellectual independence of Zarqawi, although he has the same ideology and targets of al Qaeda, after al-Zarqawi declared his loyalty to a-Qaeda the sectarian violence operations has increased against Shias, as al-Qaeda has dispatched hundreds of fighters and cadres to Iraq to join its branch there (Munib, 2009).

 It can be sure that, the mother leadership of al-Qaida in Afghanistan didn't have effective control over the operations of al-Zarqawi in Iraq, although bin Laden and al-Zawahiri has confirmed the betrayal of the Iraqi Shias and complicity with the American occupation, but it cannot be said that they issued orders to Zarqawi targeting Shias people in general and this has been shown in the conflict between al-Qaeda and the Islamic states later (Munib, 2009).

In 2006, al-Zarqawi was killed by US forces and the Egyptian Abu Hamza al-Muhajir was assigned as his successor, by the end of 2006 Al-Qaeda in Iraq merged with several other jihadi factions under the name Mujahideen Shura Council by the leadership of Abu Omar al-Baghdadi ,then a new alliance between the Council and some tribal Iraqi Sunni leaders happened and they announced the establishment of the Islamic State in Iraq and they choose Abu Omar al-Baghdadi as a leader for them ,but the declaration of the state and the selection of its leader happened without the knowledge of the leadership of al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, which is considered as the real guardian of al-Qaeda in Iraq (Atwan, 2015).

Al Qaeda in Iraq have done all of these steps to consolidate and strengthen the jihadi movement in Iraq, but other the Iraqi resistance factions has refused to join the Islamic State in Iraq in order to its radical approach which doesn't serve the agenda of those factions, when they only aim to bring out the US occupation from Iraq and establish a modern civil state collect all Iraqis of all sects and ethnics, which led to an armed conflict between the two sides, especially in the years 2007 and 2008 (Shakir, 2014).

In 2006, some Iraqi Sunni tribes established military militias with the support of the Iraqi government and US forces to fight the Islamic state in Iraq and it was the first real clash between the the Islamic State in Iraq (Al-Qaeda formerly) and the Iraqi Sunni tribes, the Iraqi tribes accused the Islamic state in Iraq killing hundreds of its sons on the background of joining government forces, which are subject to the supervision of US occupation , also because of the radical ideology of the Islamic state that they want to impose it on the local Sunni community (Munib, 2009).

The Battles between the Sunni tribal fighters and the Islamic state's organization continued for the years 2006, 2007 and 2008, and the tribes were able to expel the Islamic state from the Sunni cities in central and western Iraq, so the organization resorted to use suicide operations and hit and run tactics to inflict the most amount of losses in the ranks of government and tribal forces (Atwan, 2015).

Zarqawi and his successors strategy was based on the need to get out of the process of the organization to the process of the state to be the nucleus of a future Islamic Caliphate State, where Muslims need the nucleus of this state to embrace and attract all jihadists from everywhere and exporting the paradigm of the Islamic state to neighboring areas because it is an important step for the liberation of Palestine from the Zionist entity (Atwan, 2015).

In 2010, Iraqi security forces were able to kill the leader of the Islamic state in Iraq Abu Omar al-Baghdadi, then the organization chose Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi as his successor and the organization still considers itself as a part of al-Qaida in Afghanistan until this moment, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi has begun to restructure his group relied on the former military officers in Saddam Hussein's army who are disgruntled on the new political regime in Iraq, after the outbreak of the Syrian

revolution against Bashar al-Assad's regime in 2011, al-Baghdadi sent a group of commanders and fighters to Syria to establish a jihadist organization there (Shakir, 2014).

The group that al-Baghdadi sent it to Syria was able to establish Jihadi armed group called the Al-Nusra Front and the newborn organization did not announce it relates to Islamic state in Iraq or the mother leadership of al-Qaeda in Afghanistan, In 2013, al-Baghdadi unilaterally and without consulting al-Qaeda leaders in Afghanistan announced the integration of the Islamic state in Iraq with Al-Nusra front in Syria under one entity called the Islamic state in Iraq and Sham, despite the rejection of al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahri to unify between the two parties because the situation on the ground in Syria and Iraq is not appropriate to take this step, but al-Baghdadi insisted on his position and announced disobedience to the orders of al-Zawahiri, but the leader of Al-Nusra front Abu Mohammed Al-Joulani rejected Baghdadi orders to unify the two organizations and he announced his loyalty to al-Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri and he became part of Al-Qaeda leadership in Afghanistan, this conflict between the both sides caused splits in the ranks of Al-Nusra front between supporters and the opponents who decided to be part from al-Baghdadi's new organization which called the Islamic State in Iraq and Sham (Atwan, 2015) .

7.4 Comparison Between Al-Qaeda and The Islamic State On the Ideological and Organizational Levels

After the organizational and ideological split between the leadership of al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and its branch in Syria , and the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria on the other hand, The latter announced the establishment of the Islamic Caliphate State in mid-2016 under the leadership of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and the new Caliphate State in the viewpoint of Baghdadi and his group ruled by the illegality of the other jihadist movements around the world, Because al-Baghdadi became the Khalifa of all Muslims from East to West, They also issued a rule that all Muslims should declare full loyalty to the new Khalifa (Hassan Abo Haniyya, 2015).

Al-Baghdadi's state was able to control vast areas of Iraq and Syria in 2014, and extended their presence to certain areas in Egypt, Libya, Afghanistan, Yemen and Nigeria and thousands of local and foreign fighters have joined them in their different strongholds, especially in Syria and Iraq, They have declared war against the most armed opposition groups in Syria , and in spite of their control of almost one-third of the area of Iraq in early 2014, when they taking advantage of the Sunnis' uprising against Maliki's government which is accused of sectarianism, However, they were not able significantly to gain the confidence of the local Sunni community (Hassan Abo Haniyya, 2015).

The nascent Islamic state goes on the same methodology which was developed by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi to al-Qaida in Iraq, Where they started their mass executions against thousands of Shia soldiers who were captured in the liberated Sunni provinces, the Sunni tribal society split between supporters to the Islamic state and they thought that it is a better alternative than Maliki's Shia government, and opponents look to the project of Al-Baghdadi as an exclusionary and authoritarian paradigm under the banner of religion, Thus the split inside the Sunni community in Iraq still continues (Hassan Abo Haniyya, 2015).

Although al-Qaida's leaders had put the contemporary strategy of global jihad and their ideas became the most prominent contemporary reference, but Al- Baghdadi's state have developed these ideas to improve the organization model to the state model, so this new method requires a complete change in the intellectual priorities , organizational and military strategies, also the media discourse ,that is directed to the Muslims must be professionally to convince people by the idea of the new state, and to get support, sympathy and thus gain legitimacy, Therefore the ideological and military clash between al-Baghdadi and al Qaeda's leadership is considered as the birth pangs of the new paradigm of Al-Baghdadi state (Atwan, 2015).

7.5   The Ideological Differences Between Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State

Both al-Qaeda and the Islamic State belong to the Salafi jihadism school , they believe in the governorship of Islamic law and refusing democracy , the inevitable of jihad against world imperialism led by the United States and against the non Islamic political regimes in Muslim countries and thus the ability to establish initially Islamic

national states to be the nucleus to unite Muslims into a single entity under the Islamic Caliphate State which will enable Muslims to liberate Palestine from the Zionists (Hassan Abo Haniyya, 2015).

Al-Qaeda see themselves as the vanguard fighter of Islamic nation, this is because Muslims need comprehensive ideological and intellectual mobilization to know the equation of the conflict between them and their enemies ,Al-Qaeda also has positioned itself as a global reference for those who wish to participate in jihad through the revival of the historical Islamic texts of the fundamentalist theorists such as Sayyid Qutb, Ibn Taymiyyah and other fundamentalist scholars who emphasized the faithless of the rulers that they don't implement the laws of Islamic Sharia according to the verses of Holly Koran and the Hadeeth of the Prophet Muhammad, so Muslims have the right to announce Jihad against these rulers to hold of their corruption and implement the laws of Allah (Hassan Abo Haniyya, 2015).

Al-Qaeda exploited the environment and the atmosphere of persecution and oppression that Muslims live in, where Islamic communities don't have the ability to chose their rulers freely , also bureaucratic, rampant political and moral corruption in Muslim societies created a fertile environment for the growth of the fundamentalist thought ,due to the increase in the number of dissatisfied people toward the authoritarian governments in the Islamic world, who have plundered the wealth and pursuit the Islamic political currents' activists (Hassan Abo Haniyya, 2015).

Arab political regimes have been consistently pursuing the moderate Islamic movements such as the Muslims Brothers who suffered for decades from the suppression of the Arab political regimes especially in Syria and Egypt, Therefore, al-Qaida believes that the Muslims Brothers are not able to get the political authority because they don't have a deterrent force to defend themselves, and the most notable example for this when the Egyptian former President Abdul Nasser arrested thousands of the Muslims Brothers' members and execute some of their leaders in the last century and finally the military coup in Egypt carried out by Gen. Abdel Fattah al-Sisi to against the president Mohamed Morsi, who belongs to the Muslims Brothers and he arrested and killed thousands of his group's members (researches, Al Mesbar for studies and, 2011).

Al Qaeda believes in the violent armed revolts against authoritarian regimes, especially that authoritarian regimes have security and military branches are used to loyalty to the men of those regimes for decades (Jamhi, 2008).

Al-Qaeda based on establishing jihadist groups in the form of the independent cluster networks for the purpose of targeting US interests and the electronic media had a prominent role in this strategy, where the presumed jihadists do not have to go to the safe areas of al-Qaeda to take the necessary military exercises, because they can just enter to the Jihadist websites and surf the military encyclopedias which was created by al-Qaeda's military commanders (Jamhi, 2008).

Al Qaeda believes that the duty of jihad is obligatory for Muslims especially after the collapse of the Ottoman caliphate in 1924 and the control of foreign occupation in direct and indirect ways to many of the Islamic countries and Sharia Islamic laws was excluded from Muslims' life, so Al-Qaeda aims to revive the jihad in the hearts of Muslims to confront the imperialist project as they claim and they use constant religious and historical sources to prove the validity of their ideology (Jamhi, 2008).

The Jihadist school that founded by al-Qaida has changed a lot, especially after the Arab Spring revolutions, Despite the fact that a lot of Muslim youths convinced of the ideas and methodology of al-Qaeda, However, the jihadist ideology did not spread dramatically within the Islamic communities, because al-Qaeda was classified from the international community as a terrorist organization, and the confusion between jihad and terrorism created a state of fear among Muslims, when many of the political regimes in the Islamic countries began prosecuting all persons who embrace jihadist ideology as a threat to domestic and international peace (Hassan Abo Haniyya, 2015).

Al-Qaeda have found in the Arab Spring revolutions a golden opportunity to reach out to people and convince them that, its approach over twenty years was to reach freedom to these oppressed peoples, Al-Qaeda also begun to demonstrate the validity of its ideology in the need to overthrow Arab political regimes and establish Islamic governments which will led to liberate Palestine from Israelis (Hassan Abo Haniyya, 2015).

Al-Qaeda have blessed the Arab Spring revolutions despite the fact that, the participants in these revolutions were members of different political and intellectual currents such as liberals ,secularists, socialists and Islamists, but Al-Qaeda looked to these revolutions as precious opportunity to get back the volition of people to choose their rulers freely and people there certainly will choose Islam as a political system, so Al-Qaeda leaders have intensified their awareness letters toward people to refuse democracy and go back to take by Shura system (Atwan, 2015).

In contrast to al-Qaida, the Islamic State was not significantly supportive of the Arab revolutions where al-Baghdadi organization is not convinced peaceful demonstrations and sit-ins and they only call for Jihad according to the pretext that, secularists, liberals, socialists and others who reject Islamic law participated in the Arab spring revolutions and they will not lead these revolutions to the Islamic way, So there is no solution for the establishment of Islamic law only through jihad (Hassan Abo Haniyya, 2015).

Both al-Qaeda and the Islamic State benefit from the repression that pursued from the many political regimes in Islamic world, especially against Islamists, Therefore both organizations were able to recruit thousands of Arabs and foreign fighters who are fighting so far in Iraq and Syria, so the strategy of the both groups depend on attracting the largest possible number of jihadists to conflict areas, which is suitable for their presence ,beginning from Afghanistan through Iraq, Syria, Libya and Yemen (Hassan Abo Haniyya, 2015).

Al Qaeda have not aimed to establish an Islamic state by itself or by its own way and it just incite Muslims to do it, this explains that al-Qaida did not try to announce any Islamic state anywhere , which explains that, the previous branch of Al-Qaeda in Iraq declared the Islamic State there in 2006 without advice or consent of al-Qaeda's leadership in Afghanistan, so we can distinguish between two Jihadist schools, the first one play the role of the Jihadism's elite represented in Al-Qaeda and the second one see the need to establish the state to be attractive area to all jihadists from everywhere represented in the Islamic state of Al-Baghdadi and his supporters (Atwan, 2015).

According to the savagery strategy of Al-Baghdadi's state, it has become in the eyes of many people as the radical paradigm of contemporary Jihadism school, while Al-Qaeda has become a moderate jihadist paradigm, where al-Qaeda branch in Syria, which separated from Al-Qaeda recently was able to win the support of many Syrians, Because of the emotional correlation between its members and many of Syrians (Hassan Abo Haniyya, 2015).

Al-Nusra Front in Syria has announced its organizational disengagement from the mother organization of al-Qaida in Afghanistan recently to invalidate the argument of the international community that , Al-Nusra is the Syrian branch of Al-Qaeda which is considered as a terrorist organization, Consequently, several regional and international parties, led by the United States would exploit the link between Al-Nusra and Al-Qaeda to continue bombardment on Syrian territory under the pretext of fighting terrorism (Ali, 2016).

The leadership of Al-Qaeda led by Al-Zawahiri accepted the disengagement between their organization and Al-Nusra in Syria by smooth way, in order to their conviction that, the organizational link between Al Qaeda and Al-Nusra is not a major target to achieve the victory for the Syrian revolution ,because the leaders of the Front in Syria have become mature in the intellectual and military terms, and they no longer need the instructions of Al-Qaeda leadership, So this situation proves the long-term strategy of Al-Qaeda, which not aims to impose a trusteeship on peoples as far as playing the role of Intellectual guidance to those peoples, where al-Qaida recognizes the importance of the intellectual war against the West as an arena for the ideological and consciousness conflict, that Al-Qaeda use it to attract more recruits and sympathizers for the benefit of its approach (Ali, 2016).

7.6   The Organizational Differences Between Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State

Jihadist groups are generally based on three main elements on the level of organizational structure:

1- The prince.   2- Shura council.   3- The members.

The principle of the emirate is one of the most important organized principles of jihadist groups , and choosing prince is through the ballot of Shura Council, which

includes the elite members, experts, regulators and scholars, Therefore, the organizational hierarchy of Al-Qaeda is considered as traditional system of any Jihadist group ,where Prince has broad authority to make decisions after taking the advice of Shura council and the Prince can be isolated if the Shura Council deems it necessary (Hassan Abo Haniyya, 2015).

Al-Qaeda has sought to establish other branches outside Afghanistan, It was able to establish branches in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, the Maghreb region, Somalia, and India, in addition to winning the support of other groups in North Caucasus, Indonesia and Philippines, So Al-Qaeda has been able to spread rapidly in many diameters because of its flexible organizational method, where any person or any organization can be a member or a branch of al Qaeda in the place where they reside through the loyalty declaration to Al-Qaeda or carry out attacks against Americans, Through this strategy a lot of groups has joined to al-Qaeda in many Islamic countries and some of them became more dangerous than the mother organization of Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan as in the case of al-Qaeda in Yemen (Jamhi, 2008).

After September 11th attacks, and the ferocity increasing of the security and intelligence prosecutions against anyone who converts to jihadist ideology, jihadists resorted to more sophisticated means to disseminate their ideas by safer ways what is known as E-Jihad through the internet, where Al-Qaeda and its supporters were resorting to disseminate their scientific and inflammatory materials to everyone and by many languages and they also uploaded security and military encyclopedias for presumed Jihadists to enable them to prepare themselves by secret and safe ways to participate in the global jihad (Jamhi, 2008).

Al-Qaeda noted the importance of individual and collective security of presumed jihadists ,Because of the increasing in the security coordination between the United States and political regimes in the Islamic world, so Al-Qaeda proceeded to marketing new idea dubbed individual jihad, this method is based on the possibility that ,anyone can prepare himself security and militarily through the security and military encyclopedias on the Internet, and then he can choose the appropriate goals and target it by himself without knowing anyone else, It is the same method used by

the organization of the Islamic state now and they call it individual wolves (Shakir, 2014).

After the collapse of the Islamic Caliphate in 1924, and the division of the Muslim world into more than 50 countries, it is not easy to restore the unity between all of these nations again according to the political and radical changes in the structure of the global political system after World War II, Therefore, Al Qaeda as a jihadist military organization noted the difficulty of breaking down the political and geographic boundaries set by Sykes-Picot Agreement in 1916, So Qaeda proceeded to deal with each Islamic country separately according to the nature of the political regime and the Islamic consciousness found in that country (Atwan, 2015).

The idea of re-establishing the Islamic Caliphate present strongly on al-Qaida's agenda, but not in utopian method, So Al-Qaeda acting with Islamic geography according to the concept of Islamic nation states, in the sense that the Islamic Caliphate cannot be re-established again before bring down the non-Islamic political regimes in the Islamic world and establishing Islamic regimes in each Islamic country separately, where the removal of the Sykes-Picot borders at this stage is illogical, because of national, social and political differences that have emerged in every Muslim country in the post-colonial period, Thus, the idea of Islamic unity is still not mature in the mentality of many Muslims (Atwan, 2015).

Both the Islamic state organization and Al-Qaeda have similar organizational qualities regarding the organizational hierarchy, But what distinguishes the Islamic state is the radical volition to break the balance of the conflict with the global powers, it depends on the transition from the organization to the state and expands to more widespread areas ,Not under the concept of organization, but under the concept of the state and its federal states and this strategy required the lack of recognition of the artificial boundaries between the countries of the Islamic world and the transition from the organizational status to the status of the institutional state (Hassan Abo Haniyya, 2015).

Any group of people seeking to establish a state need to gain political legitimacy to achieve its goal, Therefore, Al-Baghdadi and his group resorted to obtain the political and religious legitimacy to their state through control   wide and

geographically interrelated areas in Iraq and Syria, In addition to getting the backing of some religious scholars and tribal elders who support them, And thus Al-Baghdadi is selected from them to be the caliph of all Muslims on the earth, and they canceled the legitimacy of the and Islamic groups and organizations around the Islamic world including Al-Qaeda under the pretext that, the Islamic Caliphate has returned and everyone must declare loyalty and obedience for the nascent Caliphate , and any individual Muslim will delay for declaring loyalty and obedience to Caliph will be considered sinful, so Al-Baghdadi's declaration of the establishing of Islamic Caliphate has led into an armed and ideological conflict with many armed Islamic groups in Syria, Iraq, Libya and Afghanistan until the moment (Atwan, 2015).

The mechanisms for the establishment of the Islamic Caliphate and how to choose its leader is a moot point among many of the elite Islamic scholars and groups, But the agreed points that, the declaration of Caliphate requires the approval of the vast majority of Muslims and their scholars and requires territorial contiguity between the Islamic Countries and the authority of the caliph should be straight and strong in all areas under the authority of the Caliphate to be enable for practicing his administrative and executive authority (Atwan, 2015).

After Al-Baghdadi announced his alleged Caliphate, many Jihadist groups declared loyalty to him in many countries such as Egypt, Yemen, Libya, Nigeria, Afghanistan, Algeria, Somalia and parts of South and Central Asia, Those areas have become as the federal states belonging to the state of al-Baghdadi, who based on the vast areas that he rule in Syria and Iraq to administrate his alleged state, Although these branches enables to control over some geographical areas in those countries , But they could not keep control over land because of the asymmetrical war with regular armies in those areas and the absence of the logistical supply lines from the center of al-Baghdadi's state to its branches and the lack of the territorial contiguity between the geographic regions of the alleged state of Al-Baghdadi (Shakir, 2014).

Al-Baghdadi's Islamic state created a huge media institution to publish the video, audio and written releases of them, this media machine characterized by publishing scenes of slaughter and killing and the scenes of battles waged by the state's army against their enemies, Al- Baghdadi's state has relied on terrorizing its enemies

through innovation brutal methods in killing ,beheadings and burning prisoners alive, So many of Islamic scholars convicted these practices and considered it as a distortion of the Islam's image (Atwan, 2015).

In the beginning al-Baghdadi's state has shown the ability to manage the affairs people in the areas under their control through the establishment of Islamic courts, Economic, social, educational and charitable institutions, In addition to the formation of the police service and the army of the state, but later, al-Baghdadi's state has been unable to maintain control over many of the areas under its control after the United States and its allies began to launch an air campaign, backed by local forces on the ground against the Islamic state in Syria and Iraq still going on, and resulted that , Al-'s Baghdadi state lost more than 40% of the areas that they controlled in Syria and Iraq, especially the cities of Fallujah and Ramadi , and losing many oil fields, which were an important source of funding for them, Al-Baghdadi's state has adopted the slogan of fighting against all groups who refused their approach even against other radical jihadist groups, this new jihadist strategy led to violent split within the jihadist groups themselves between supporters of the state's project and other groups who opposes the jurisprudential and political legitimacy of the nascent state, thus, Arab Spring in Syria and Iraq turned into a kind of ideological wars inside the jihadist school itself, in addition to the US and Russian intervention especially in the Syrian issue made the Syrian and Iraqi issues one of the most complicated political and security dilemma , which threatens the regional and international security and stability (Khateeb, 2015).

Al-Baghdadi's state decided to wage open war on different levels, they started to fight with the local armed groups in Syria and Iraq to control the widest possible area to achieve the dream of the state, in Parallel to this strategy they still using the strategy of global Jihad which was created by Al-Qaeda, and because of the enormous military pressure from the United States and its allies on the the influence areas of Islamic state in Syria and Iraq, Therefore, al-Baghdadi's state adopted bloody attacks against France, Belgium and other countries, in response to the international military campaign on their regions in Iraq and Syria (Khateeb, 2015).

It can be considered that, Al-Baghdadi's state is hybrid of multiple jihadist ideologies, These ideologies have passed developmental stages, starting from the repressive practices of the Arab political regimes against the Islamists in the second half of the last century which have produced the ideas of Sayyid Qutb, Through the emergence of national Jihadist ideology within each Islamic country separately, Then the Afghan jihad stage and the US invasion against Afghanistan and Iraq in 2001 and 2003, and finally Arab Spring revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Iraq and Yemen (Khateeb, 2015).

The social, political and religious factors changes over the years cannot be denied to understand the nature of the Jihadist movements especially the Islamic state, As the political openness and the freely social and religious atmosphere play a pivotal role in the reaction of individuals and groups toward the political, religious and moral conditions existing in the society in a period of time, This is what happened with the various jihadist movements in various Arab and Islamic countries over the years, where Al-Baghdadi's State was established within flamed atmosphere of the persecution of the Shias' elites in Iraq supported by Iran against Iraqi Sunnis, also the persecution of the powerful Shias minority in Syria led by Bashar al-Assad against the Sunni's weak majority, also the coup against the popular volition as what happened from General Sisi's coup in Egypt against the elected President Mohammed Mursi, is considered as a main factor of violence emergence (Atwan, 2015).

Al-Baghdadi's Islamic state combined between local Jihad, global jihad and the institutional state methodologies in order to change the equation of the conflict with the great powers ,and they combined also between fighting the near enemy (local political regimes) and the far enemy (the United States and the West), Therefore the organization of Al-Baghdadi chose to declare the Islamic state to be the starting point for mobilizing jihadists from all over the world and to make the conflict with the great powers within the equation of state against state, not organization against state (Khateeb, 2015).

7.7   The Strategy of Savagery's Management

Management of Savagery is the title of a book written by one of Al-Qaeda, called Abu Bakr Naji, although the identity of this person is unknown, however, the book has become the main guide of al Qaeda's strategy since the nineties until now, the strategy of Savagery's management is based on three main steps: (Nagi, 2015)

1- Spite and exhaustion 2- Management of savagery 3- Stabilization.

Although the founder of this strategy has been developed it to be the main guide for Al-Qaeda, but the state of Al-Baghdadi rushed to implement this strategy strictly, If we follow the events since the founding of al-Qaida in Iraq in 2005 until the announcement of the of Al- Baghdadi's State in 2014, it will be clear that, Al-Baghdadi's group was able to understand and take advantage from the political and military environment around them to implement this strategy (Nagi, 2015).

7.7.1   "Spite and exhaustion"

This stage is based on the exhaustion of the enemy and the depletion of its military and economic capabilities, so the war in Iraq was a shallow swamp for Americans, Where they lost tens of thousands of dead and wounded soldiers and this war has cost the US budget hundreds of billions dollars, when Al Qaeda in Iraq could to drain the US military power and remove the myth of invincibility American military power, Therefore, president Obama's administration since coming to the power in 2008, decided to put a plan to withdraw American troops from Iraq and hand over all military bases to Iraqi government, so US troops completed their full withdrawal from Iraq in by the end of 2011 with the exception of some military trainers to train and help the Iraqi security forces (Nagi, 2015).

The operations that was adopted by Al-Qaeda, such as Kenya and Tanzania attacks in 1998, September 11th attacks and other attacks against the US interests in the Arabian Gulf countries and other areas, was a part of the strategy that aims to overthrow the US military prestige in the hearts of Muslims and give them the motivation of faith to resist US arrogance (Nagi, 2015).

7.7.2 "Management of Savagery"

This stage is considered the main body of the savagery's management strategy, and it based on the exploitation of the creative anarchy in one unstable region, then establishing administrative systems characterized by ruthlessness and firmness, where these areas live in overwhelming anarchy, so these regions need to be under the control of strong administrative system to adjust the security and provide people's needs, The danger of this stage summarized in the instability status period and the unstable circumstances there, where these areas will be forced to defend itself and coexistence with the difficult security, political and life style conditions (Nagi, 2015).

When Al-Baghdadi's group could to control wide areas in Syria and Iraq, They put their control zones under strict management system, Where they create Islamic courts to settle the local population issues and punishing forbidden goods' traders such as drugs, cigarettes and alcohol, in addition to implement Islamic rules such as cutting off the hands of thieves, flogging adulterers and other Islamic laws, also they implemented more severe penalties for spies and all those who oppose the administrative system in their control areas (Nagi, 2015).

7.7.3 "Stabilization"

This stage is last step of savagery administration's strategy, because it is the stage of establishing a strong state after wiping out the dangers around it, and achieving the stability of political, economic and security matters to some extent.

The choosing of savagery's areas in the strategy of Al-Qaeda based on the power of the political regimes in those countries, the nature of the local population, as well as the prevalence rate of weapons among local communities and the geographic nature of the regions, All of these factors aims to choose the right places to create status of anarchy there, Thus weakening the political regimes in these areas progressively and establishing logistical support network to Jihadists in those areas and finally starting comprehensive war against the ruling political regimes there (Nagi, 2015).

The Management of Savagery strategy aims to fatigue and distracting the enemy in different and distant areas, It also aims to create a new equation in the conflict, as the

military and security capabilities between the United States and jihadists in favor of the first , Thus, the guerrilla and revolutionary wars strategy strongly present in the agenda of both al Qaeda and the Islamic State, Despite the fact that, this strategy is based on the excessive violence and moral terrorism, However, the strategy is based on attracting the local population and put them in front of only three choices: Join the jihadists, Join the enemies and thus endangering their lives at risk or being neutral so they will be between the hammer of jihadists and the anvil of the political regimes, consequently, the final outcome of the conflict is an increase in the proportion of anarchy which Jihadists will exploit it to expand their influence (Nagi, 2015).

8. CONCLUSION

The relationship between society and Jihadist movement depending on the culture, religious and political status of communities, for instance the beginning of the contemporary Jihadist ideas in Egypt have appeared in response to the the socialist and nationalist approach of the political regime led by Abdul Naser in the fifties and sixties, Although he was so aggressive against Israelis and he was the most important supporter for Palestinian issue, but the internal policy of Abdul Naser was refusing the implementation of Islamic law, thus, a fierce struggle have occurred between him and the Muslims Brothers, eventually it led to the beginning of the emergence of radical Islamic ideas, which believes in jihad against the non-Islamic government.

Algeria in the seventies and until the end of the nineties has witnessed the emergence of Islamic movements adopted revolutionary jihadist approach, it was also kind of reaction to the non-Islamic political regime, which was established in Algeria after the end of the French colonialism period, and when radical Islamists represented by FIS and some remnants of the armed Islamic groups in the seventies and eighties, they decided first to achieve the political power through the ballot boxes, they could to achieve the overwhelming majority, but the Algerian army's generals with external support from France have canceled the elections and the army jailed thousands of FIS and some other Islamic groups' leaders and members.

In Afghanistan, Taliban movement could to control most of the Afghan provinces, after a devastating civil war with its competitors, but the Taliban have not been able to build a model of the modern state, as they isolated themselves and their people from the outside world and founded a primitive state not in line with the contemporary progress era , they also were not able to establish good relations with their neighbors, and no country in the world recognized the Taliban government only Pakistan , Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates, and finally The Taliban

risked when they allowed to Arab afghans to make Afghanistan as a springboard for global jihad groups led by al-Qaida, Thus the Taliban has entered into asymmetric politically and militarily conflict with the United States and the Western countries.

The economic and political tyranny and social injustice are the main reasons for the emergence of armed violence ideology, an example of this is that, the Middle East and North Africa region suffered from internal conflicts for decades, Although the Arab region is one of the richest regions in the world in natural resources, the reason of this is the lack of equitable distribution of wealth and the spread of political and economic tyranny among the elite bureaucracy and there are no comprehensive and genuine national programs for sustainable development and the lack of the prospects of the intellectual and personal freedom of individuals.

Global Jihad is considered as the biggest threat to the national security of great powers as an intercontinental terrorism and the great powers always work to associate terrorism with Islam especially after the attacks of September, Although the policies of those powers which supporting the tyranny and sectarian regimes in the Arab and Islamic world, such as international silence on the crimes of Bashar al-Assad against the Syrian people, the international silence toward the crimes of the military coup in Egypt which overthrows Mohamed Morsi, the first elected president in Egyptian history, and the US invasion of Iraq which has caused the emergence of jihadist currents there, all of these actions led to the emergence of violent thoughts motivated by revenge.

The reasons of the global jihad ideology's appearance can be seen as a reaction from some Muslims against the Israeli occupation of Palestine, the western support of authoritarian regimes in many countries of the Islamic world and the case of public frustration that, hanging over much of the Muslim peoples because of the economic injustice, political tyranny and foreign interference in Islamic countries affairs, Therefore the US invasion of Iraq, considered by many moderators as the real reason for the intensification of Islamic fundamentalism among many of Muslims people all over the Islamic world.

The jihadist generation that, they are fighting in Syria and Iraq nowadays is the result of the American and Western policies against the volition of the Muslim peoples for

freedom, national and intellectual independence, where the great powers control the Islamic world through the political regimes there, which they don't allow to real democratic and political process.

The Arab spring was another evidence for the authoritarian methodology that, the rulers in these areas for decades were practicing political repression against their people such as Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Yemen, but after the Arab spring revolution , the Islamic civil movements could to be in the power in Egypt and Tunisia, and the Islamists in Libya and Yemen could to fill the political vacuum instead of the obsolete regimes, but the deep state in Egypt and Yemen could to restore the power again, as the internal wars in Iraq, Syria and Libya still going on, Therefore some researches argues these actions that, the Islamists couldn't to protect the newborn democracy because of the lack of the political and administration experiences and the sharp polarization between Islamists on one side and the secularist and liberal parties on another hand.

Although many of Muslim nations suffered from dictatorship and repression, the Jihadist movement who raised tyranny's resist banner couldn't to create clear methodology for the conflict, and there is no successful Jihadist paradigm which can represent the majority of Islamic nations, the reason of this fail that, Jihadists don't aware the equation of the conflict inside the local Islamic societies , where Jihadists in Egypt, Algeria, Syria or Iraq couldn't to sew up any battle in these areas, but on the contrary, they entered to ideological conflict with wide classes inside the society ,because many of them adopted Takfiri approach against people who support the government or work in the governmental institution , and even they started doctrinal battles with other Islamic scholars about the issues of Walaa and Baraa (Loyalty to Muslims and Enmity from non Muslims), as they have started fierce ideological clashes with the official Islamic institutions, Where they considered it as a part of the political system.

Jihadists relatively are not aware of the importance of popular incubators in the Islamic societies, Where they lost the support of society ,when they start using violence, as happened in Algeria in the nineties ,FIS won nearly 80 percent of the seats in local elections, and after the Algerian army canceled elections, and the war

began between the two sides, the army could to penetrate jihadist groups and implement massacres against civilians in areas where the Islamists enjoy popular incubator there, Thus, Islamists in general not only jihadists lost sympathy and support of the Algerian society for a long time, and the Islamic Salvation Front was banned and stopped participating in politics until now.

Al-Qaeda in Iraq have had social incubator was not bad at the beginning of its appearance, where it benefited from the presence of the US occupation in Iraq, But with the passage of time and increase the number of the foreign fighters in the ranks of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, Many of these foreigners have assumed leadership positions in the organization, Therefore, a conflict began between the Iraqi Sunni community which is characterized by tribalism against al-Qaeda.

Al-Qaeda have assassinated many of the tribal leaders who rejected their approach and orientation, So US occupation took benefited from this conflict to align with a row of tribal leaders, and some of them have agreed to enter in alliance with the Americans to fight al-Qaeda in Sunni provinces, Indeed, al Qaeda, which later became the Islamic state in Iraq expelled from wide areas in Sunni areas, where they had sought refuge in the desert and remote areas.

The Islamic state of Al-Baghdadi benefited from the Syrian revolution, where they used the lack of security and stability on the Syrian-Iraqi borders to execute an outlet for them, Baghdadi state after they controlled wide parts of Iraq and Syria, they announced Islamic Caliphate without the consent of the vast majority of the local population in Syria and Iraq, they returned to the starting point and began a new conflict with their Sunni opponents in some areas of Iraq and Syria, The United States and some Arab countries have formed an alliance to fight the Islamic state in 2014, and the war became between the Islamic state in one hand, and the Americans, Iraqi forces ,the Syrian government, the armed Shiite groups in Iraq, Iraqi Kurdish forces in northern Iraq and Syrian Kurdish factions in northern Syria in another hand.

The Islamic States has lost the control of wide areas in Iraq and Syria, and the Sunni population of each of those areas have been displaced because of the destruction of their homes, sectarian and ethnic practices by Iraqi government forces and Kurdish forces in Iraq and Syria, Thus al-Baghdadi's state has placed itself against everyone,

and thus, they started war with everyone and they could not maintain the vast areas that they had controlled.

Although the Islamic state could to control wide areas in Iraq and Syria and they created educational, Social, security, military and Judicial institutions, they practiced brutal and violent tactics in their murder operations against their opponents, as they arrested and killed jurists and media activists, thus, they entered into conflict with the local population because of their authoritarian power and heinous practices, which spread in the media, and they gave the image to the world that, Islam is a religion of violence and killing not a religion of mercy and peace.

Jihadists in general distinct among themselves, according to their ideology and approach they want to establish Islamic state and implement Islamic laws, but they don't have clear and scientific approach to achieve their goals, and they don't have the supporting of the majority of Muslims, In Syria there are several Jihadist groups and until now they fight against Syrian regime in independent organizations of each other, even sometimes they fight each other, Although Syrian people created this revolution to have freedom and dignity, the Syrian people still suffer from killing everyday and the Syrian regime and Russia kill people everyday there under the pretext of fighting terrorists.

Jihadists don't have a clear and well-defined project that they can present it to people, and peoples have the right to approve or reject it, but the Jihadist methodology is still mysterious, especially in relation to its ability to build a modern Islamic state, and their ability to integrate into international politics and foreign relations, Where we did not notice the presence of a clear methodology of jihadists in dealing with the outside world, and the form and how to build the Islamic state.

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