

The Anti-Western Component in Jihad Conception Announced by Al-Qaeda

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Հակաարեվմայան բաղադրիչը «Ալ-Կաիդա»-ի կողմից ներկայացված ջիհադի կոնցեպցիայում

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Ամփոփում. Այս հոդվածում հիմնական շեշտը դրվում է «ալ-Կաիդա»-ի կողմից հայտարարված ջիհադական պայքարի հակարևմտականության բաղադրիչի վրա: Հոդվածում նախ ներկայացվում է մինչև 20-րդ դարի սկիզբ տեղի ունեցած իրադարձությունները կապված հակարևմտականության և հատկապես հակամերիկյան գաղափարների հետ: Միևնույն ժամանակ ներկայացվում է տվյալ պատմական ժամանակահատվածի քաղաքական և տնտեսական գործոնները, որոնք ևս էլ ավելի մեծացրին հակարևմտականությունը արաբական և ընդհանրապես մուսուլմանական որոշակի շրջանակներում: Քանզի հենց այս գործոնները գեներացրին նաև հասարակ քաղաքացու վերաբերմունքի փոփոխությանը Արևմուտքի նկատմամբ, ուստի հենց հասարակ քաղաքացիները սկսեցին ևս իրենց մասնակցությունը ունենալ ահաբեկչական գործողություններում: Հանգամանալիորեն ուսումնասիրվում է Ուսամա բեն Լադենի կողմից հրապարակված ջիհադի հայտարարման վերաբերյալ տեքստը՝ ներկայացնելով տեքստում տեղ գտած պայքարի կարևոր բաղադրիչների էությունը, ավելի մանրամասնորեն ներկայացնելով պայքարի հակարևմտականության սկզբունքը: Հոդվածում փորձ է արվում նաև ներկայացնել այն կրոնական գաղափարական հակասությունները, ինչպիսիք բերեր կողմերից մեկի գործողությունների ռադիկալիզացմանը: Ուսամա բեն Լադենը, հիմք ընդունելով կրոնական գաղափարները, փորձ արեց Արևմուտքի դեմ պայքարը դնել էլ ավելի գործնական հողի վրա՝ փորձ անելով այն «սքոդել» կրոնական ավանդույթներով և գաղափարներով:

Հանգուցքառեր՝ «ալ-Կաիդա», Ուսամա բեն Լադեն, իսլամ, ջիհադ, մուսուլման, հակարևմտականություն, Միացյալ Նահանգներ, Մերձավոր Արևելք, ահաբեկչություն, արաբներ.

Антизападный компонент в концепции джихада, объявленной Аль-Каеда

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Аннотация. Основной акцент в этой статье делается на антизападном характере джихадистской борьбы, объявленной Усамой Бен Ладеном. В этой статье сначала описываются события до начала 20 века с антизападными и особенно антиамериканскими идеями. В то же время представлены политические и экономические факторы того исторического периода, которые также усилили противостояние в определенных арабских и мусульманских рамках. Поскольку эти факторы также привели к изменению отношения рядовых граждан к Западу, простые граждане сами стали участвовать в террористических актах. Подробно изучен текст декларации джихада, опубликованный Усамой бен Ладеном, в нем представлена сущность составляющих борьбы, более подробно представлена сущность антирациональности борьбы. В этой статье также делается попытка представить религиозно-идеологические противоречия, которые могут привести к радикализации действий одной партии. Таким образом, основываясь на религиозных идеях, Усама Бен Ладен попытался

поставить борьбу против Запада на более практическую почву, пытаясь «поцарапать» ее религиозными традициями и идеями.

Ключевые слова. Аль-Каида; Усама бен Ладен; ислам; джихад; мусульманин; антизападничество; Соединенные Штаты, Ближний Восток, терроризм, арабы.

Introduction

Studying current geopolitical processes in the Middle East becomes obvious the fact that the Western presence continues to play a leading role in regional processes. This leads to transformation of certain ideas in the Arab world, when foreign-controlled peoples take extreme steps to acquire freedom in their imagination and the main route to obtaining it is armed struggle, and in Islamic countries it is authentic and its statements are used in the religious system using the idea of jihad. The clash between international actors and these groups brings disastrous consequences for both sides, and perceptions of each other remain extremely hostile. International terrorism continues to pose a dependent threat to global civilization, human values. The most important reason for such aspirations by the Islamic extremist framework is Western policy toward Islamic countries, therefore Osama Bin Laden and the existing al-Qaeda organization laid the foundation for the jihadist struggle, including bringing a number of economic and political reasons that had a profound impact on the local Muslims themselves, but they considered the differences in religious ideas to be the priority. Of course, the roots of terrorism within the Muslim framework are of an earlier nature, but its development increased in the late 20th century. This was all the more obvious when a group of Muslims, inspired by extremist ideas, formed terrorist organizations and began carrying out various terrorist attacks around the world and these very terrorist acts transformed the attitude of society's large masses toward Islam and Muslims in general. Therefore the lack of certain tolerance on both sides was completely marginalized to both sides' actions. This also immediately affected the great growth of anti-westernism within the Muslim framework. Additionally, it should be noted that Arab countries lack civil society, guarantees of basic human rights and freedoms, and other democratic institutions. Therefore, all this leads to a number of characteristics of Arab society, the forms of government they consume, the internal and external policies, the economy, and the culture.

The anti-westernity of jihadist movements in 20th century

Islam, like its monotheistic cousins Judaism and Christianity, is a religion whose sacred scripture, history and tradition include both peace and violence. The prophets of the Bible and Quran (Joshua, David, Saul, and Muhammad) were also

warriors/military leaders. Historically, all three monotheistic religious traditions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, have justified violence in the name of self-defense, but followers have also legitimated both holy and unholy wars, wars of conquest and imperial expansion and made religious claims to the occupation of land in the name of God.

In Islam's case, for understanding violence in Quranic texts, requires reading the text within its historical context. In Arabia's tribal society and environment, tribal raids and warfare were considered normal and lawful unless a truce had been concluded between tribes. It was forbidden to kill women, children, religious leaders and elders. This rule later was incorporated into Islamic law. Later, as Muslim society expanded, questions were raised about religious and secular authorities, how to represent or legitimize territorial achievements, violence, atrocities, or how Muslims should hold themselves in times of war or peace. These questions became more urgent and these answers were attempted to find in the Quran's texts. The Quran clearly answered these questions – when to fight or make peace, etc. These arrangements in Quran were an "opportunity" for Muslims to perform certain acts. In this context, jihad can be separated for Islam.

By studying the history of Islam, you can get a general picture of what jihad is. Jihad (Arabic; Al-Jihad الجهاد) means struggle, effort and in the religious sense it got the meaning of effort to achieve some valuable goal. Despite the fact that it has been used for a long time, today jihad does not have a common form that will be accepted by all Muslims. Jihad's ideology has undergone multiple changes since the prophet's period and it is not an idea influenced by someone or an organization. This is the result of more specific activities of different individuals, organizations, and authorities at different times that use the words of sacred texts in a certain historical period, assuming political context. Over the centuries, Muslims have discussed the protective, attacking, legal, or illegal forms of jihad but they never came to a common declaration. And it can be assumed that the terrorists "overtook" the idea of Islam and jihad, as Christians once did to Christianity, and the Jews toward Judaism [1]. Jihad had a quite interesting appearance in the middle and end of 20th century, because perceptions of him are quite different among Muslims in different countries. This is becoming more pronounced by a survey conducted by one of the world's most

authoritative and independent organizations- Gallup International among Muslims, from which it can be assumed that perceptions of jihad in Islamic countries are quite different.

In the late twentieth century, Islamically-informed or buttressed ideologies, replaced Arab nationalism/socialism in the Arab world as the primary political ideology. During the 1950s widespread dissatisfaction with Western-inspired liberal nationalism took its toll as monarchs and governments tumbled from power in Egypt, Libya, Syria, the Sudan, Iraq, and other parts. All were based upon some form of Arab nationalism/socialism with its populist appeals to Arab-Islamic roots, stress on Arab unity, criticism of the failures of liberal nationalism and the West, and promise of widespread social reforms. It all happened for the first time under the direction of Gamal Abd al-Nasr, who came to power in Egypt. Reforms in Arab countries influenced by subsequent ideological changes did not yield a significant result. A few years later, the process of collapse of the socialist system began in the Arab countries, which took place in different countries at different times. And the basis of all this was the defeat of the Arab-Israeli war in 1967 then economic failure and government immersion in corruption. Israel's crushing victory Six-Day War symbolized the depth of Arab and Muslim impotence and the failure of modern nation states in the Muslim world.

1967 proved a turning point for many in the Arab world. Critics blamed Western political and economic models for their moral decline and spiritual malaise. Disillusionment with the West, and in particular with the United States, its pro-Israel policy, and its support for authoritarian rulers fed anti-Western feelings. Muslim religious leaders and activists believed their message had been vindicated, maintaining that the failures and troubles of Muslims were a result of turning away from God's revealed path and relying on the West. Many urged a return to the Islamic principles and values that had made Muslim countries so powerful throughout history. Muslims must reclaim their Arab-Islamic identity and heritage, history, culture and values. This quest for identity, a more historic and authentic identity, triggered a resurgence of religion in politics and society across the Muslim world, a force that continues to impact Muslim politics today. Muslim rulers have appealed to Islam to enhance their legitimacy, rule, and policies. Mainstream Islamist movements and political parties appealed to Islam for legitimacy and to mobilize popular support [2, p. 26-41]. At the same time, extremist Islamist (also commonly referred to as jihadist or militant Salafi movements) organizations used violence and terrorism in the

name of Islam to threaten and destabilize governments, attack government institutions, and terrorize populations.¹

Since the last half of the 20th century, a globalization of jihad has occurred in religious thought and in armed struggles. In fact, the jihadist movement shifted from the national level to the international, more universal level [4, p. 6]. In fact, the failure of secular Muslim regimes in the socio-political and economic spheres led to the activation of Islamic radicalism (Fundamentalism)², extremist organizations began to form, ready to fight openly or not openly against Muslim regimes [6, p. 70-78]. International terrorism itself became more widespread because of these radical forces: becoming one of the factors threatening world civilization. Non-governmental Islamic extremist radical currents appeared in the second half of the 20th century, lacked any political background and set social and religious issues [6, p. 80]. However, increasing the number of supporters, they began to play the role of "mediator" between the state and society. And the government, in turn, tried to cooperate with the forces that were not constrained to cooperate with them and often the ruling forces used them to put pressure on those groups or organizations; who were hostile to the power of the day. These processes continued to take place in a bipolar system, when it comes to Islamic ideology non-united position used by the United States and Soviet Union for their very narrow personal interests.

The declaration of Jihad by Osama bin Laden and its anti-westernity

The terrorist attacks of September 11 in 2001 in the United States changed the attitude of the international community towards terrorism. The world community began to pay more attention to the

¹ Salafism was a current of Islamic reform in Egypt at the end of the 19th century, aimed at returning Islam to the Islamic traditions of the time of the Prophet Muhammad, the first four caliphs, of the orthodox ancestors, see [3, p. 900].

² The concept of fundamentalism was formed in the Protestant direction of Christianity in the United States. 1895 At a Bible conference in Niagara, a group of clergymen put forward five basic "fundamental" principles. These principles were established in 1910. approved by the Presbyterian General Assembly, adopted by a number of other conservative religious organizations 1909-1915 In California, R. Thorry and L. Dixon published a 12-volume collection of articles entitled The Fundamentals, which commented on these theses. 1919 In order to make these principles more comprehensible and comprehensible, the 12 volumes were compiled into 4 volumes, mostly free of charge, and continued to be distributed throughout the United States and around the world. After World War II, American fundamentalists called themselves evangelicals and the term fundamentalism remained in circulation and in its narrow sense was interpreted as a theological movement, which aims to preserve all that is the foundation of Christianity (fundament) (see. [5, p. 109-126]).

fight against evil, which was international terrorism.³ Al-Qaeda, led by Osama bin Laden⁴, claimed responsibility for the 2001 terrorist attacks.⁵

Osama bin Laden issued two fatwas in 1996 and 1998⁶ aimed at the Muslims of the world to carry out various military and economic actions against the United States and its interests more clearly Osama bin Laden declared jihad against the United States. The first fatwa issued by Osama bin Laden in 1996 was entitled "Declaration of Jihad against Americans". This text was first published in a newspaper called Al-Quds-Al-Arabi (Arabic: القدس العربي) which has been published in London since the late 1980s. In general, bin Laden's statements or appeals were originally published in this daily.

This text of the declaration of jihad presented the content of the 19th century. A set of thoughts of several prominent Muslim political and ideological figures of the late 20th century. Yes, it was a set of ideas for individuals with strictly religious views [7].

In general, the so-called Islamic "renaissance" began in the late 1970s, which involved the activation of Islamic forces in Muslim countries, such as the Islamic Revolution in Iran, Activation of the "Muslim Brotherhood" organization in Arab-Muslim countries, etc. These events were the result of the fact that it played a leading role in the political process of Islam. According to Muslim politicians, Islam should have provided some political resistance to Western forces. In other words, Western values had to be opposed to Islamic ones.

The history of Islam has shown that the declaration of jihad as a means of carrying out certain military operations, it had two explanations: either he conquered new areas, spread Islam there, or defended Muslim lands from attacks by unbelievers [8, p.55]. The first example was the invasions of the orthodox caliphs, the war in Afghanistan is a vivid example of the second way.

The Afghan war was another reason to declare jihad against non-believers, but here the main arrows were directed against the USSR, it is more clearly seen when in Afghanistan-the local communist forces that seized power, came to the aid of the Soviet Armed Forces and dragged the USSR into the war. Here, to fight the communists, the local Afghans were greatly helped by the support of Muslims. It consisted mainly of volunteers, military and financial support. The main gathering place for the Muslim volunteer forces in this war was the city of Peshawar, located in Pakistan, where thousands of Arab youth gathered, from where they went to the front to fight against the disbelieving communists. Local Arab hotels and facilities were ramzavod centers for Muslims who fought in Afghanistan, and it is no coincidence that Osama bin Laden founded the Al-Qaeda organization through the Arab volunteers fighting there in 1988 in August.

Another problem that served as the basis for bin Laden's declaration of jihad was the presence of US military forces in holy Islamic sites. After the invasion of Kuwait, there was a specific threat that the Iraqi military could invade Saudi Arabia to continue its military successes. Given this threat, Osama bin Laden approached the Saudi authorities with an offer to bring the Mujahideen under his leadership to Saudi Arabia to prevent further aggression by the Iraqi forces, but the Saudis rejected this offer, going on the second path, asking for help from the United States. And so, in order to counter this aggression, as well as the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait, the American armed forces arrived in Saudi Arabia. However, this event was ambiguously perceived by wide Islamic circles [9, p.44]. In fact, this led to the activation of the Islamic opposition in Saudi Arabia and the Arab countries that support this step of the Saudi authorities. Despite the intensification of the opposition, the authorities of a number of countries managed to quell these upheavals, which were often manifested through rallies, and a number of representatives of this opposition were arrested or deported from the country, like Osama bin Laden.

These opposition Islamic forces continued to discuss various tactics to fight the local authorities, and they also planned to declare jihad against Western forces. Until the mid-1990s, in Muslim authoritarian countries, more or less existing anti-government forces tried to direct the jihadist struggle against local dictatorial authorities, as, for example, they tried to destabilize the situation in Algeria and Egypt. These regimes managed to prevent such actions, and the Muslim-radical opposition came to the conclusion that the fight against the "nearest enemy" is ineffective, since they have the support of Western forces behind them,

³ The definition of "terrorism" developed by the UN General Assembly is as follows: "Terrorism" is defined as the unlawful, deliberate act of any individual or group that results in the death or grievous bodily harm of a person, including serious loss of public or private property, including public property and State premises, public transport infrastructure facilities, environment, etc.

⁴ Osama bin Mohammed bin Awat bin Laden also known as Osama bin Laden or Osama bin Laden, "Al Qaeda" He was born in Saudi Arabia and was one of the main sponsors of Muslim organizations fighting in Afghanistan.

⁵ Al-Qaeda (Arabic: القاعدة) "The Base" alternatively sp, "Foundation" al-Qaida and al-Qa'ida) is a militant Sunni Islamist multi-national organization founded in 1988 by Osama bin Laden.

⁶ A message from God to the Muslim community based on irrational, religious dogmas.

that is, the fight must continue against Western forces – the "Distant enemy" [10, p. 50-56]. Thus, a new concept of the implementation of jihad is being formed - this is the fight against the "distant enemy", after success with which it will be possible to achieve success in the fight against the local Muslim authorities [9, p.60-66]. It was a struggle that was to become known to the world as the world jihad.

The text of the jihad statement, published in 1996. In August, it was published in a newspaper called Al-Quds. This statement mainly includes religious texts, and in parallel with this, the problems that Muslims have long faced in Saudi Arabia after the deployment of American military forces are presented. In the following, he gives specific reasons for the disappointing state of the American presence in Saudi Arabia, confirming that the wrong economic management is precisely because of them.

Osama bin Laden begins his text with an appeal to Muslims, especially Muslims in the Arabian Peninsula. This is followed in full by quotations from the Qur'an and the Sunnah. In one of the first paragraphs, there is a hadith⁷, in which the Prophet calls for the removal of kaffir from Arabia⁸: This hadith uses the term "kaffir" (كافر), which has the meaning of the word «unbeliever». This is the word bin Laden uses to describe Christians and Jews. In the first ten paragraphs of the original text, Osama bin Laden quotes several verses of the Koran. These ayyas call for following Allah, the Prophet, and achieving success through the latter. It is with the help of such Ayan tries to promote the idea that by taking risks, taking certain steps, you can achieve solutions, and all this only under the guidance of Allah [11].

The following passages are devoted to a more historical hint. Here, priority is given to Israel's aggression against Lebanon in 1996, trying to show the inaction of the UN. He also blames the UN for the lack of humanitarian aid in Iraq, so the US and the UN are hindering the development of Muslim countries, but the biggest problem for the Muslim community, he considers the presence of US military forces in Saudi Arabia, because the Arabian Peninsula is the cradle of Islam, there are two holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and these cities are under the military presence of Christians.

«The pogroms that took place in Tajikistan, Burma, Kashmir, the Philippines, Somalia, Eritrea, Chechnya and Bosnia and Herzegovina broke our spine and intensified our passions. All

this happened before the eyes of the whole world, but we saw the contempt of the imperialist United States, covered with the immoral steps of the UN, which did not allow us to withdraw the hands of the enemy from us». [12, p. 10]

In this way, Bin Laden is trying to present a dismissive attitude on the part of the international community, linking it to the international interests of the United States.

In the following parts, Osama bin Laden shows that no matter how many Muslims are in difficult conditions, one should not despair, because there are believers inside the Ummah who can take on the role of a leader for the Ummah. The best examples of these leaders are those religious figures who fought with their lives against non-believers, for example, Ibn Taymiyyan, Izz al-Din ibn Abd al-Salam al-Sulami. Speaking of Ibn Taymiyyah, Osama bin Laden notes that he played a major role in the struggle against the Mongol invaders to raise and lead the Arab people, and as for Al-Sulami, he played an important role in the crusader attack on the Muslims. Drawing parallels with the current leaders, he cites the examples of Abdullah Azzam, Ahmed Yassin, Omar Abd al-Rahman. Abdullah Azzam is known for the Afghan war, he was considered one of the ideological leaders for the Arabs who fought in Afghanistan. He and Osama bin Laden formed the Al-Qaeda organization in Afghanistan in 1988, which later had its own networks in different parts of the world. The other Bin Laden mentioned was Ahmed Yassin, one of the leaders of the Palestinian group Hamas, who was killed in Israeli airstrikes. And the last person Osama bin Laden is talking about is Omar Abd al-Rahman. He was considered one of the leaders of Egyptian Islamic groups. He was not killed by the United States, but a death sentence was imposed on him for organizing the terrorist attack that was foiled in 1993 at the World Trade Center Bin Laden is trying to include him in the list of those who were constantly in exile because of their thoughts and ideas [12, p. 12-14].

Another passage of the text he devotes entirely to economic issues, especially the oil policy pursued by Saudi Arabia. He criticizes the economic policy pursued by the Saudi authorities, considering it a complete failure.

«Muslim Brothers of Saudi Arabia, isn't it a shame that our country is the largest buyer of weapons from the United States around the world and the largest trading partner in the region, while the US military forces occupied Saudi Arabia and support their Jewish brothers with financial and military means, who occupied Palestine and kill or evict Muslims from there». [12, p. 20]

⁷ Hadith (Arabic: حديث) - a conversation about various episodes in the life of the Prophet Muhammad.

⁸ «Expel the mushrikeen (polytheists, pagans) from the Arabian Peninsula.»(Narrated by al-Bukhaari, 2932; Muslim, 3089).

The last passages of the text seem to be a direct conversation with the Islamic community. He appeals to Muslims, is it right that the Saudi authorities cooperate with a country that is an occupier of the Palestinian territories, which is one of the main allies of the enemy of the United States and Western forces in general. Bin Laden calls for a boycott of the purchase of American goods, considering it also an important component of the implementation of jihad.

Osama bin Laden, from the early historical periods to his own days, represents the political, religious, and economic situation in the Muslim world. The main condition for getting out of this situation continues to consider the fight against Western forces. He emphasizes that the main function of today's Muslim is to join jihad not only in the territories occupied by skeptics, but also in other regions of the world. At the moment, he considers it a priority to achieve victory in Afghanistan and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

If we try to understand this appeal in ideological terms, we can assume that the main motive for the struggle should be religious, not national. That is, with this statement, he is trying to form a common worldview among believers, not from the point of view of nationalism, but to make it completely religious. He believes that Muslims are brothers, not citizens of different countries; they share the same religious, political vision regardless of their national origin. The basis of jihad should be the fight against non-believers, that is, the separation of believers and non-believers was introduced by bin Laden.

Of course, this statement had its impact. The first results were when Osama bin Laden arrived in Afghanistan, where the restructuring of Al-Qaeda continued on a large scale. This statement also raised the authority of Osama bin Laden among radical Islamic forces. He began to be perceived as a leader for these forces. As for the US reaction, it did not exist at all, since during this time Al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden were not considered a real threat to the US. It is no coincidence that at that time the American authorities so characterized the activities of "Al-Qaeda" against the United States, as a buzzing fly at the ear of a sleeping elephant [13, p. 215]. In fact, the United States did nothing against the statement of this terrorist organization, and the first fruits of the declaration of jihad appeared two years later, when two American embassies went up in the air in the countries of East Africa.⁹ The culmination of all this was the terrorist attack on

September 11, 2001 in the United States, which killed thousands of Americans [14, p. 43-50].

Conclusion

Thus, Osama bin Laden put forward a new concept of the implementation of jihad, involving the fight against the "distant enemy" - the United States and the West, the victory over which will bring success in the fight against the "nearest enemy", that is, with the local authoritarian -Arab authorities. Of course, Israel also played an important role in shaping these ideas, since it received full support from the West, and as a result of the Arab-Israeli wars, it occupied certain territories of neighboring Arab countries more. Bin Laden's call for jihad did not have its completed form only in this statement was subsequently published another fatwa in 1998. These messages were always accompanied by various video messages, which suggested new directions and steps for a specific struggle. Osama bin Laden tried to generalize his jihadist concept with religious ideas, while at the same time including a political and economic component. That is, the implementation of jihad did not imply victory over the enemies only by means of the sword, but had other components. They assumed an economic component, for example, a boycott of Western goods, the cessation of imports to Muslim countries.

In fact, the main driving force of this jihadist struggle was anti-Westernism, which was to become a consolidating mechanism in the Middle East and in Muslim countries in general. Obviously, it did not have much success, since the authorities of the Arab countries fully acted as an ally of the West. Subsequently, after the weakening of Al-Qaeda and the killing of Osama bin Laden, this concept gained a key role for other Islamic and military groups.

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