### Index

3/11 see Madrid bombings (2004)  
7/7 see London bombings (2005)  
9/11 see September 11 attacks  
21/7 attempted attack 43

‘A Lexicon of Terror’ 145  
Abdulumutallab, Umar Farouk  
(Underpants Bomber) 45  
Abu Ghaith, Sulayman 123  
Abu Huraira 58  
Abu Sayyaf Group (Philippines) 27  
Adorno, Teodor 53  
as ideal state under Taliban 194  
Africa 42, 43, 44, 59, 81, 93, 105, 136, 164  
Ahmadinejad, Mahmoud 146  
Ahmed, Parvez 144–5  
Aisha 57  
AKP see Justice and Development Party 15  
al-Andalus 96  
al-Aqsa Mosque 90, 95  
Alawis 15  
al-Awlaki, Anwar 45, 87  
al-Bani 126  
Albania 164, 189  
al-Banna, Hassan 40, 55, 147–8, 202 note 12  
al-Baqrarah (‘The Cow’) 94, 121  
Albrechtsen, Janet 145  
al-Doussary, Sheik Abdul Rahman 123  
Algeria 27, 43, 51, 109, 137  
1991 coup 27  
1991 elections 39  
Ali, Ayan Hirsi 143  
Allah 12, 13, 14, 20, 29, 31, 40, 46, 48, 50, 51, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 67–9, 72, 75, 76, 77, 80, 86, 95, 106, 107, 109, 111, 112, 114–18, 119, 120, 122, 124, 125–7, 130, 131, 150, 187, 190, 196, 198  
Allardyce, Gilbert 159  
All India Sikh Students Federation 24  
al-Madhi Army (Iraq) 15  
al-Nawawi 64, 67  
al-Qaeda 1, 5, 6, 14, 16, 19–20, 26, 28, 46, 82, 84, 85, 88–9, 113, 115, 123–4, 135, 138–40, 144–6, 187–8  
attack on US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania 93  
al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula 19, 46  
al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb 19  
al-Qaedaism 187–8  
al-Qortoby 116  
al-Sadr, Muqtada 15  
al-Shabaab 19  
al-Suri, Abu Musab 41–2,  
on different stages of and diversity within Jihad Movement 187  
decentralised or Individual Jihad 41–2, 187  
_The Global Call to the Islamic Resistance_ 115  
influence on Melbourne jema’ah leader 115, 131, 204 note 21  
Aly, Waleed 123  
al-Zawahiri, Ayman 14, 140  
Ammendola, Giovanni 178  
America 86, 88, 96, 97, 103, 129, 138, 145  
American Legion 135  

227
Neojihadism

Americans 2, 14, 16, 32, 39, 50, 88–90, 91–5, 97, 120, 129, 135, 136, 138, 139, 145, 190, 191, 198, 201 note 3
Anderson, Benedict 97
an-Nahl (‘The Bees’) 94, 121
Anonymous see Michael Scheuer
Anti-Cult Movement 201 note 3
anti-Semitism 141, 147, 150, 163–5, 169, 187–8, 205 note 36
Arditi 173, 174
Arendt, Hannah 150, 152, 178, 180–2, 191, 195
‘Aristocracy of the Trenches’ see Trincerismo
Armed Islamic Group (AIG, Algeria) 27
Arnett, Peter 88, 95
Arquilla, John 46
Assam 87
Assassins 31
atheists 68–9, 139, 179
Aum Shinrikyo 25
Australia 3, 8, 79, 136, 145, 202 note 4
counter-terrorism white paper 16
Australian Federal Police 108, 203 note 18
Australian Security Intelligence Organisation 108
Awad, Nihad 144
Azerbaijan 79
Azzam, Abdullah 21, 41, 55, 84, 87–90, 92, 104–5, 123, 186–7
contrast with Qutb and Faraj on jihad and jihadism 75–82
on jihad and jihadism 67–75
targets of violence 79–82
Backes, Uwe 10–11
Bainbridge, William Sims 18
Bakashmar, Muhammad 46
Bale, Jeffrey 13–15, 148–50, 196
Bali attacks (2005) 201 note 3
Barkun, Michael 51
Basiqi 32
Basques 98
Beazley, Kim 202 note 4
Beck, Ulrich 133
beheading 46, 144
Bialer, Seweryn 181
bin Baz, Sheik Abdullah 103
bin Laden, Osama 21, 25, 27, 29, 39, 41, 58, 81, 109, 120, 123–4, 131, 136, 186–7, 189–90, 193, 195, 202
note 3
1996 Declaration of War 87–9
1998 World United Front Against Crusaders and Jews Declaration of War 88–91
conflating guilt and guilt by
association in writings and
public statements 94
contrast with previous jihadist writers 89–91, 104–5
jihad to overcome guilt and shame 95–7
on treaty 95
oppression and occupation to justify violence in writings 91–2
political and religious commentaries 83–106
revenge in writings 92–4
significance within The Movement 84–7
targeting civilians and non-combatants 84, 85, 86, 88–9
ummah in writings and public statements 100–104, 105–6
bin Sad As-Saidi, Saul 58
bin Yasar, Sulaiman 58
blackshirts see Fascism (Italian)
blind men and the elephant parable 7
blood 70, 95, 127, 150
importance in Fascism and Nazism 167, 172, 175, 190
Blood Flag 175
Bloom, Mia 34
Boloffi, Gino 164
Bolsheviks 5, 142, 152, 183, 194
Bosnia 38–9, 42–3, 51, 87, 102, 189–90
Bosnia-Herzegovina see Bosnia
Brabender, John 140
Breivik, Anders Behring 34, 42–3, 46
Bromley, David G. 6
Index

Brzezinski, Zbigniew K. 178–9, 182, 196
Buffy The Vampire Slayer 206 note 44
'Buffyverse' 206 note 44
Bulgaria 164
Burke, Jason 29, 187–8
Burma 87
Buruma, Ian 135
Bush, President George W. 2, 5, 135–6, 138–40, 141, 143–4
Caesar 178
Caesar, Julius 30
caliphate see khilafah
Cato 30
Caucasus 19, 79
Ceaus¸escu, Nicolae 182
Chanson, Brigadier General Charles Marie 31
charismatic leadership 19, 85–6, 110–11, 146, 161–2, 174, 182, 195–6, 198–9
charismatic movement 174, 198
'charisma of ideology' (Ingram) 195
Charters, David 6, 9, 16, 146–7, 188
Chávez, Hugo 146
Chechnya 19, 38–9, 79, 102
Chertoff, Michael 141
childbirth (as jihad for women) 57
China 19, 31, 79
Chirac, President Jacques 2
Choudhry, Roshonara 45–6
Clarke, John et al 52
Clarke, Peter 3
Cold War 16, 20, 21, 23–6, 28, 30, 35, 41, 54–5, 82, 141, 186, 201 note 3
Combattentismo 173–4
Communism
see also Marxism–Leninism
continuity theses 1, 185
Cook, David 34, 56, 86
counterculture 20, 24, 36
definition 52
The Movement as 52–3
creeping Islamisation 15
Croatia 42, 189–90
cult
see also martyr cults in fascism
to contrast mainstream Islam 201
note 3
as demonizing appellation 201
note 3
religious innovation in 117
culture 1, 15, 20, 24, 34–53, 98, 99, 142, 194, 198
definition 36
The Movement as 36, 198–9
transmission of within The Movement 37–53
Dalmatia 170
D’Annunzio, Giuseppe 175
dar-al-harb (house of war) 63, 68, 79, 147
dar-al-Islam (house of Islam) 13
dawla (state) 12, 135
deen/din (religion) 12, 13, 135
Demerath, Nicholas 191
democracy 5, 15, 94, 97, 136, 140, 147
dhimmi 64
din wa dawla (unity of religion and state) 13
Djibouti 98
Dolnik, Adam 31
dunya (way of life) 12
Eatwell, Roger 10–11, 157, 205
Egypt 14, 27, 55, 60, 64–5, 77–8, 91, 137, 141, 148, 198, 202 note 12
Egyptian Islamic Jihad (EIJ) 27–8
el-Zein, Abbas 143
Eritrea 87
Esack, Farid 12
Ethiopia 73, 79, 98, 165
Europe 12, 15, 19, 24, 42–4, 73, 79, 81, 136, 146–7, 155, 158, 164, 188
European Union 136
Exodus 93, 203 note 17
extremism(s) 2, 4, 10–12
definitions 10–12
right-wing 10–11
The Movement and extremism 11–12
Fairness and Accuracy In Reporting (FAIR) 137
Faraj, Muhammad Abd al-Salam 21, 26–7, 40, 55, 61, 70, 73–5, 78, 84, 87, 89–91, 93, 95, 104–5, 124
on accidental Muslim casualties
67
contrast with Qutb and Azzam on
jihad and jihadism
79–82
on jihad and Jihadism 64–7
jihad as neglected duty 65–7
targets of violence 66–7
fasces 157
fascio 157
fascism (generic) 155–78
biologizing of politics 159–60,
163–4, 166–7, 177, 189–90, 206
as charismatic movement 174–6
concordant attributes 162–78
definitions 159–62, 177
distinctiveness from The Movement 196, 199
diversity in 158
emotional appeal 158
etymology 156–9
as faith 171–6
‘head, trunk and tusks’ 177–8
martyr cults in 172, 174–5, 176
national regeneration under 168–71
as specifically Italian 159
Fascism (Italian)
anti-Semitism in 165–6
Holocaust under 164–6
Jewish participation in 163–4
racial elements in 163–6
Squadristi (Blackshirts) 171
contrast with Nazi Stormtroopers
205 note 37
FBI 5, 138
Fiji, 202 note 6
fitna 79, 91
Fitta 135
Fiume 170, 175
Florio, Lt. Federico 175
Former Yugoslavia see Yugoslavia
Fox News 201 note 3
Free Aceh Movement (GAM) 27
Friedrich, Carl J. 178–9, 182, 196
Fukuyama, Francis 139
Gardell, Mattias 20
Gellner, Ernest 98, 101
Gentile, Emilio 161, 163, 172, 174, 177,
179, 191–2, 196
Gentile, Giovanni 163, 167–8, 171
Germany 136, 141, 146, 152, 155–6,
168–9, 178, 182–3, 189, 205
note 35
Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) 141
Goebbels, Dr Joseph 176
Goeschel, Christian 176
Goldman, Cesare 164
Goodwin, Matthew 10–11
grand narrative in The Movement 6, 20,
23, 29, 86, 186, 199
Great Britain 98
Greater Israel 91
Griffin, Roger 133, 137, 162–4, 167,
172–4
Grimminger, Jakob 205 note 40
Grossman, Lt Col Dave 47
guilt 69, 86, 204 note 34
in bin Laden’s writings and public
statements 77, 93–5
guilt by association
in bin Laden’s writings and public
statements 84, 86, 90, 93–4, 104,
The Movement’s conflation with
direct guilt 197
Gwynne, Rosalind 85
hajj (as jihad for women) 57
hakimiyyah (sovereignty) 59–61
Hakimiyyat Allah (God’s Sovereignty)
13–14
Hamas 14–15, 19–20, 27, 143
Handschar Division Waffen SS (13th
Mountain) 189
hawala 44
Haworth, James 85
Hebdige, Dick 52
Hezbollah 14–15, 31–2, 135, 140–1,
143
Hill, Ronald J. 19
Himmler, Heinrich 176
revival of Austrian divisions in
Yugoslavia 189–90
Hitchens, Christopher 134, 138, 145
Index


wounded 172
Hizb ut-Tahrir 6, 14, 101
Holsworthy Barracks 43
home grown terrorism 107, 107–31, 195
Afghan and Iraq wars as radicalising factors 44
Howard, John 3, 120
humiliation 66, 95, 160, 168–70, 177, 183, 197
hunger strikes see IRA
Huntington, Samuel 196, 201 note 1
Ibn Taymiyyah 64, 66, 68, 78, 89, 95, 123
Ilardi, Gaetano Joe 47
Indonesia 14, 27–8, 39, 81, 102, 198
information and communication technology (ICT) 18
and radicalisation 45–53
innovation (bida) 117
Inspire Magazine 46, 86
Iranian Revolution 38, 144
Iraq 14–15, 19, 25, 28, 32, 42, 44, 49, 51, 89, 91–2, 95, 102, 108, 120–1, 125, 128, 131, 143, 190, 195
Irish 98
Irish Republican Army (IRA) 3, 30
Islam 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 28, 31–2, 38, 39, 44, 45, 52, 53, 54, 56–7, 58–9, 60–4, 68, 73, 74, 76, 79, 81, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 103, 110, 119, 122, 123, 136, 138, 139, 142, 144, 145, 149, 152, 187, 189, 193, 194, 196–9, 201 note 3
commentators’ comparisons to fascism and totalitarianism 134–5
and Democracy 15
five pillars in 201 note 4
nation in 69, 83, 97, 98, 101
see also ummah
Islamic Group (GI, Egypt) 27
Islamic Salvation Front (FIS, Algeria) 27, 39
Islamic state 65, 68, 71, 72, 76, 78, 105, 112, 147–9
Islamism/Islamists 1, 6, 12–20, 21, 26–30, 35, 39, 45, 52, 55, 71, 75, 82–3, 135, 141–2, 145, 153, 187, 193
comparisons with totalitarianism 147–52
contrast with democracy 14–15
definitions 12–16
diversity within 14–15
Islamo-fascism(s) 137–42
critiques of 143–7
Islamo-Fascism Awareness Week 138
Islamo-totalitarianism(s) 5, 6, 21, 133–53
critiques of 188–96
Israel 14, 15, 32, 65, 78, 86, 87, 95, 147, 198
Israeli, Raphael 32
istishad see martyrdom
Italy 137, 155, 156, 158–9, 164–8, 170, 175, 178, 182–3, 189, 205 note 37
Ivens, Martin 143
Jackson, Richard 201 note 3
jahiliyya (ignorance) 14, 58, 148–9
James, Paul 98
Japan 30, 139, 141
Jema’ah Islamiya (JI) 1, 14
Jenkins, Brian 26
Jerusalem 88–9, 189
Jews 27, 85, 87, 91, 94, 96, 98, 101, 102, 136, 139, 147–8, 164–7, 189
see also Anti-Semitism
as anti-modern scapegoats 165
jihad
definitions 56–7
diversity of forms 56–7
as fard ayn 40, 69–70, 73, 77–9
as fard kifaya 69–70
martial form 12, 56–7, 61, 75–9, 95, 174, 176–7, 195–6
non-Muslims and 203 note 15
rules of engagement for 56–9
see also Azzam; bin Laden; Faraj; Melbourne cell leader; Qutb
The Movement’s secularizing of 193
Neojihadism

jihadism 55–82
as Cold War phenomenon 16
conceptual problems with term 16
definitions 17, 75
distinction from terrorism 41
jizya (tax) 63, 69, 123
Jordan 91
Jund Ansar Allah 20
Justice and Development Party (AKP, Turkey) 15
J.W. Marriott Hotel attack (2009) 145
Kama Division Waffen SS (23rd Mountain) 189
kamikaze 30
Kaplan, Jeffrey 45
Kashmir 38, 39, 87, 92, 102
Kavkazcenter.com 19
Kazakhstan 79
Kenney, Michael 45
Kershaw, Ian 145–6, 157–8
Khamenei, Ali 146
Khatab, Sayed 61, 76
khilafah 12, 29, 65–6, 97, 101, 105, 126, 136, 139, 186, 194, 197
Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah 32, 149
Khosrokhavar, Farhad 32, 123
Kosovo 42, 189
Kühnhardt, Ludger 151
Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) 31, 32
Kurds 15
Kureishi, Hanif 142
Kyrgyzstan 79
Lang, Jeffrey 202 note 4
Laqueur, Walter 137, 162–3, 172, 176
La Rovere, Luca 204–5 note 34
Lashkar-e-Toiba 14, 27
Lenin, Vladimir Ilich 136
Lawrence, Bruce 85
Lentini, Pete 46
Levant 14
Lewis, Bernard 92, 193
lex talionis 93, 94
see also Melbourne jema’ah leader

Melbourne jema’ah 21, 28, 42, 44, 108–10, 114–15
political and religious knowledge and attitudes 116–31
training as source of empowerment and transcendence 47–8, 51–2
use of video materials 50–2
Melbourne jema’ah leader 48–51, 107–31, 190
as charismatic leader 109–16, 190
on conflict and jihad 119–21
contrast with Faraj on Muslim casualties 124

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) 31
Lindh, John Walker 201 note 3
Lucchesi, Cafiero 175
Lyttleton, Adrian 157, 158
Mandaville, Peter G. 98–9
Manifesto of Racist Scientists 165
Mann, Michael 146, 158, 162, 168, 171–2, 176
martyrdom 32, 34, 40–1, 56, 107–8, 197–8
see also cults of martyrs
differences with Christian notions of 58–59
see also Melbourne jema’ah leader’s teachings on diversity in Islam 57
requirements for 57–8
rewards of 57
Marxism-Leninism 18–19, 24, 31, 64, 134, 147–8, 150–3, 156, 161, 182, 195, 205 note 37
Mawdudi, Mawwana 40, 55, 147–8
Mecca 61, 88, 99, 102, 103
Medina 12, 88, 99, 102, 103
Mein Kampf 135, 167, 172, 175
Melbourne 21, 28, 42, 44, 47, 51, 107–9
Melbourne jema’ah 21, 28, 42, 44, 108–10, 114–15
political and religious knowledge and attitudes 116–31
training as source of empowerment and transcendence 47–8, 51–2
use of video materials 50–2
Melbourne jema’ah leader 48–51, 107–31, 190
as charismatic leader 109–16, 190
on conflict and jihad 119–21
contrast with Faraj on Muslim casualties 124

see also Melbourne jema’ah leader
on importance of jema’ah under amir 112–15
on martyrdom 125–7
praise for Al-Suri’s *The Global Call
of the Islamic Resistance* 204
note 21
relationship to Melbourne Muslims 109
relationship with jema’ah 109–10, 114
relationship with Melbourne Muslim clerics 127
religious and political teachings 111–31
revenge and lex talionis in teachings 121–3
teachings on targeting and rules of engagement 123–5
treaty in religious and political teachings 127–30

Melton, J. Gordon 6
memes 6
Michael, George 87–8
Middle East 14, 44, 49, 59, 65, 71, 78, 89, 92, 136, 140, 143, 149
*Milestones* see Sayyid Qutb
Miller, Frank 142
Milošević, Slobodan 146
Mischlinge 190
Moghadam, Assat 203 note 15
Mondolfo, Bruno 164
Mongols 64
Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) 27
Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) 27
Morris, Stephen 141
Mozaffari, Mehdi 12, 148, 150, 152
Mufti of Jerusalem 189
Mugabe, Robert 146
Muhammad
*see also* Prophet Muhammad
Mulgan, Richard 2
Muslim Brotherhood 27, 141, 202 note 12
diasporas 42–4
mainstream 201–2 note 4
moderate 201–2 note 4
Shi'ia/Shi'ite 12, 31, 150, 152, 203 note 15
Sunni 2, 12, 14, 16, 20, 23–6, 28–32, 38, 54, 86, 135, 150, 152, 187
Mussolini, Benito 141, 142, 148, 155, 156–9, 165–8, 170–8, 180, 182, 189, 190, 193, 194, 204 note 34
on Fascism 157, 158
wounded 172
Muttahari, Ayatollah Murtaza 203 note 15
nation 11, 18, 66, 68, 99, 151
definition 97–8
and fascism 157–77, 179–83, 188–91, 190
and political religion 191
types of 98
*see also* bin Laden
*see also* ummah
national identity 98, 100
National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) 24
National Socialism 1, 3, 5, 134–6, 138–9, 141–4, 146, 148–56, 158–60, 163–70, 172–6, 178, 188–90, 194, 197, 205 note 36, 205 note 37
distinctiveness 158–9
Stormtroopers
Contrast with Blackshirts 205 note 37
nation-state 29, 78, 97–8
Nazism *see* National Socialism
Nelson, Dr Brendan 136
Neo-Conservative 5
neo-fascism 142, 146
neojihadism 8, 9, 185, 187, 197–9
as charismatic movement 198–9
as Counterculture 198
definition 197
distinction from Al-Qaedism 187–8
features 198
martyrdom 197–8
routinized charisma in 195, 198–9
as subculture 198
targeting civilians and
non-combatants 197
see also The Movement
neojihadists/nejis 197–9
neojihadist milieu/Nejiverse 198
neo-martyrdom 32
neo-pagan 169
neo-populist 146
Nesser, Petter 45
netwars 46
‘new fascist man’ 159, 165
new religious movements 6, 24, 117
New South Wales 43, 108
New South Wales Police 108
North America 11
North Caucasus see Caucasus
North Korea 182
Norway 34, 42–3
NSDAP see National Socialism
occultist 169
Ogaden 87
Operation Neath 43
Operation Pendennis 43, 47–51,
107–31, 203 note 14
O’Reilly, Bill 201, note 3
Oslo 34,
Oslo Peace Process 103
Pakulski, Jan 17–18
Palestine/Palestinian 15, 19–20, 32, 38,
55, 68, 70–1, 77, 86–9, 91, 92, 93,
95, 97, 101–3
Palestinian National Authority 15
Panunzio, Sylvio 191
Pape, Robert 34, 202 note 10
Passmore, Kevin 159, 163
Patani 87
Paxton, Robert O. 157, 160, 163, 168,
172, 177, 181
Payne, Stanley G. 156, 159, 161, 163,
168, 169, 176
Pearl, Daniel 144
Pearl, Dr Judea 144
Pedahzur, Ami 33–4
Peterson, Richard A. 20, 24, 36–7
Philippines 27, 38–9, 43, 81, 87, 92, 102
Philistines 30
Piazza, James 23, 26, 28
Pipes, Daniel 142, 150–1
Podhoretz, Norman 141–2, 144
Police Order No. 5 (Fascist Italy) 166
political religion 190–3
contrast with The Movement 193
critique of concept of 206 note 43
politicalization of religion 157, 204 note
27
Pravda 181
production of culture perspective 35–7
Prophet Muhammad 12, 13, 40, 57–8,
61, 66, 69, 86, 92, 95, 99, 101, 113,
117–19, 121–3, 130, 131, 138,
149, 187, 190, 198, 205 note 25
Putin, Vladimir 146
Qassam rockets 33
Québécois 98
Qur’an 13, 31, 40, 56–7, 60, 62, 67, 72,
85, 93–5, 101, 108, 119, 121, 128,
130–1, 134–5, 148, 197, 202
note 4
Qutb, Sayyid
contrast with Faraj and Azzam on
jihad and jihadism 75–82
on jihad and Jihadism 59–64
targets of violence 79–82
Reid, John 136
religion
definitions 171–2
religionization of politics 151, 193, 204
note 27
religious movement 6, 18
see also new religious movement
revenge
in bin Laden’s ideology and theology
84, 92, 94, 105
in Melbourne cell leader’s ideology
and theology 121–3, 130–1
Index

in The Movement’s ideology and theology 197
Ritz Carlton Hotel attack (2009) 145
Roman Civil War 30
Romania 19, 182
Romanità 164
Ronfeldt, David 46
Roszak, Theodore 52
Russia 19, 37, 73, 136, 146, 198
Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) 79
Rust, Bernhard 176
Ruthven, Malise 137
sacralization 191, 196
sacralization of politics 191–3
Sadat, Anwar El-assassination of 55, 74
Sageman, Marc 8
Saikal, Amin 144
salaf 12
salafism 16, 32, 40, 109, 117, 129, 203
note 19
Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC, Algeria) 27
Salò, Republic of 164–5
Samson 30
Santorum, Rick 139–40
Saudi Arabia 19, 27, 39, 78, 87–9, 91–2, 102–3, 193
Sayyid, S. 99–100
Scheuer, Michael (Anonymous) 83
Scotland Yard 3
Scottish 98
secularization 151, 169, 191, 196
secularists 71, 139
selaam system 44
self-directed terrorism 41–2, 187
self-immolation see Vietnam
September 11 attacks (2001) 2, 5, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 85, 88, 92, 93, 96, 102, 113, 117, 123, 133, 135, 137–8, 139, 142, 145, 151, 155, 187, 201 note 3
shahada see martyrdom
Shazad, Faisal (Times Square Bomber) 46
Shia/Shi’ite Muslims see Muslims
shirt organisations 147–8
Silke, Andrew 7, 30
Sinigaglia, Duillio 164
SIO39 108, 119, 128–9
Skanderbeg Division 189
Slaughter, Anne-Marie 143–4
Smith, Anthony D 98, 101
Smith, Huston 171–2
Snow, Tony 140
Soage, Ana Belén 147, 202 note 12
social movement definitions 17–18
The Movement as social movement 18–20
Somalia 38–9, 42–3, 87, 92, 102
Southern Sudan 92, 102
sovereignty 10, 13, 19, 59–60, 63, 79, 97, 101, 103, 163, 166
definition 167
differences between The Movement and fascism 190
in fascism, Fascism and Nazism 167–8, 172, 177–8, 182
in Islam see hakimiyyah
in The Movement 190, 196
see also hakimiyyah
Sovietsologists 5
Soviet Union 5, 141
Spain 42, 79, 83, 98, 114
Spartans 30
Speight, George 202 note 6
Squadristi see Fascism (Italian)
Srem 189
Stalin, Iosif 5, 178, 180–2
Stalism/Stalinist 5, 194
state terrorism 10
as conceptual problem 10
statistical legitimacy (Khosrokhavar) 123
Sternersen, Anne 45
Steyn, Mark 134, 143
stigmatized knowledge 51–2
Stormtroopers see National Socialism
Neojihadism

Stowers, Stanley 206 note 43
subculture 1, 20, 24, 36, 49, 52, 187, 197, 199
definitions 52–3
subcultural capital 49
suffragettes 30
suicide
Fascist and Nazi differences towards 175–6
Islamic prohibitions against 31
in Nazi Germany 175–6
suicide bombing see suicide terrorism
suicide terrorism 30–5
definition 31
secular groups’ use 31
Shia/Shi’ite actors’ use 31–2
Sunni actors’ adoption of 31, 32–5
Sunni Muslims see Muslims
Sunni terrorist groups 24–30, 32
strategic groups 23, 26–9
universal/abstract groups 23, 26–9
Syria 14, 41, 91, 135
Tajikistan 79, 87
Taliban 38, 49, 141, 194, 201, note 3
Tamils 98
Tatarstan 79
Temple of Dagon 30
terrorism
as communication 9
component of neojihadism 89–90, 92–4, 185–7
contrast with jihadism 75–82, 185–7
definitions 9–10
fatalities in the twentieth century 10
financing 44
and non-state actors 9–10
and state actors see state terrorism
by Sunni Actors 24–35
training camps 5, 38–9, 46–50, 72
Terrorism Awareness Project (TAP) 138
terrorist groups
bonding of 46–53
Christian 24
ethno-territorial 24
Jewish 24
nationalist 24
new religious movements 24
religious 24
secular 24
Shia/Shi’ite
see also Hezbollah
Sunni see Sunni terrorist groups
Thailand see also Patani
The Movement
comparisons with fascism and totalitarianism 188–96
comparisons with jihadism 185–8
composition of 23
as counterculture 52–3
different conception of the nation from fascism 189–90
differences with Hamas 19–20
emergence through production of culture perspective 37–56
grand narrative of 6, 20, 23, 29, 86, 186, 199
as new enemy 1–4
similar features with fascism and totalitarianism 195
as subculture 47, 50–5
targeting contrasts with jihadists 75–82, 186–7
see also Azzam; bin Laden; Faraj; Melbourne jema’a’ah leader; Qutb
The O’Reilly Factor 201 note 3
The Origins and Doctrine of Fascism 168
‘The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism’ 167–8
Thermopylae 30
Thespians 30
Thierack, Otto-Georg 176
Thornton, Sarah 49
Tibi, Bassam 13–15, 150–2, 187, 193, 196
Timms, Stephen MP 45
Todorov, Tsvetan 179, 190
Tomlinson, Matt 6
totalitarianism(s) 178–82
atheism and 179
creation of new individual under definitions 178–9
distinctiveness from The Movement 196, 199
‘head, trunk and tusks’ 182
leaders in 178, 181–2
mass organisations and parties in 179–80
morals 182
objectives 178
‘perpetual motion mania’ in (Arendt) 180
political religion as component 179, 190–3
relation to religion and science 179–80
similarities with fascism 183
syndrome 178, 182
system 178–9
as utopianism 179
treaty
Azzam and 71, 79in Laden and 95
in Islam 128, 131
to manage relations with non-Islamic states 63, 71, 79, 95
in Melbourne cell leader’s teachings 108, 120, 121, 125
127–30
Quṭb and 63, 79
Treaty of Westphalia 10
Treaty of Versailles 152, 169–70
Trincerismo 173
Turkey 15, 79
Turkmenistan 79
Tzu, Sun 3–4
ultranationalism 146, 161, 163–4, 168, 172
ummah 13, 18, 19, 29, 68, 74, 77–8, 83–4, 86, 91–2, 95, 97, 107, 111, 126, 128, 130–1
contrast with fascist concept of the nation 189–90
contrast with Western concept of nation 98–100

definitions 98–9
see also bin Laden
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)
see also Soviet Union 5, 19, 79, 152, 178, 182
United States of America 16, 41, 139
Utøya Island 34
Uzbekistan 79
Valli, Roberta Suzzi 205 note 37
Van Hiel, Alain 10
Versailles Treaty see Treaty of Versailles
Victoria Police 43, 108, 119, 145, 203
note 18
Vietnam 19, 30
violence and The Movement
see also The Movement; bin Laden; Melbourne jema’ah
in Fascism and Nazism 176–7
in jihadism 185–7
Vittoria Mutilata 170
volkisch 169, 205 note 36
Volksdeutsche 189–90
Vondung, Klaus 206 note 43
Waffen SS 189–90
ethnic and racial hierarchies in foreign divisions 190
foreign divisions 189–90
Muslim Divisions 189–90
war on terror 136, 138–41, 143, 201
note 3
war on terrorism see war on terror
Warsaw Pact 19
wattan (homeland) 128
Wehrmacht 190
Weimar Republic 169
Weinberg, Leonard 11
Welsh 98
What is to Be Done? 136
Whine, Michael 135, 148–9
White, Hugh 3
white separatist pagans 20
White, Stephen 19
Wilders, Geert 135
Neojihadism

Williams, Raymond 36
women 194–195
under Taliban rule 195
under totalitarian Rule 194–5
World Islamic Front Against Jews and Crusaders 25, 89–91
1998 Declaration of War 89–91, 92
targeting of civilians and non-combatants 89–90
World War I 156–7, 169–70, 172–3, 191
World War II I, 138, 141, 142, 143, 156, 181, 186, 189, 201 note 3

World War III 142
World War IV 141
Wright-Neville, David 10, 14, 17
Yemen 19, 87
Yugoslavia 19, 79, 87, 189–90
zakat 44, 104
Zara 170
Zealots/Sicarii 31