

Policy Paper

The Effectiveness of Social Networks and Sleeping Cells of Salafism in Jordan

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1.0 Abstract

This paper examines the effectiveness of social networks¹ and sleeper cells of various brands of Salafism in Jordan. This is going to be done by presenting these brands, their positions vis-à-vis the regime, and their strategies for change. Besides, this paper addresses Salafism's political as well as Da'wa (the Call)-related activities – if they exist – and the extent of their outreach.

Interestingly enough, the "terrorist" attack in the Governorate of Karak that targeted the police, gendarmes and foreign tourists demonstrated that extreme Islamist organizations do have the capability of mobilization and polarization to activate its sleeper cells whenever an opportunity arises in order to undermine the stability of Jordan. To be sure, such terrorist attacks and others carried out by lone wolf or other members of these organizations raise a number of questions and speculations about the size as well as the seriousness of the threat posed by these sleeper cells or those who belong to the ideology of Jihadist Salafism. Hence, it is necessary to examine the way of thinking of these organizations at the levels of individuals and leaderships, not to mention the need to examine their future relations with the state and society and their likely plans and targets.

This paper seeks to address the topic of the secrete Shari'a (religious) courts that come in different shapes representing various Salafi schools of thought and their ideological differences. They exemplify the social networks formed by Salafis. This helps examine the controversial issues that divide the members and proponents of Jihadist Salafis and the degree of their compliance with courts' decisions and the position of Jordanian government and its various apparatuses vis-à-vis these decisions.

It also examines the Salafis' relationship with the other whether the state, society, or individuals. Do they enjoy a cooperative kind of relationship or are

¹ Darin Barney defines network society as follows: most of the social networks currently exist are websites. They offer a set of services for users such as instant calling, private messages, e mail, video, blogging, exchange of files etc. The researcher does not consider these networks as virtual reality but they are constituted in principle in the real world. Social networks are being used in virtual reality to express and documents activities carried out by certain people. Therefore, the researcher views social networks as a group of people who meet online in an informal way. They are not necessarily organized. They share ideas and an ideology and take part in some social occasions. For more details on this topic, see Darin Barney, *The Network Society*. This book is translated into Arabic by Anwar al-Jam'ani, the Arab Center for Research and Policies Studies, Beirut, February 2015, pp.236-237.

they on a collision course? Moreover, this paper identifies the approaches employed by the state and its agencies in dealing with the various Salafi schools. It also sheds light on the scientific and practical role played by each school in confronting the other in addition to the intellectual rifts that characterize these schools. In other words, this paper measures the impact of the Salafi schools independently on the individual, state, and society.

Last but not least, the paper addresses the implications of the ongoing regional and international events on the domestic and national scene as well as on the various Salafi movements. In particular, it measures the impact of events unfolded in Syria, Iraq, and the rest of the world on Al-Qaeda – a carrier of Bin Laden's legacy – and Daesh – the carrier of al-Zarqawi legacy – on Jihadists in Jordan. This paper presents the places where the various ideas and ideology of the Salafi schools are located in Jordan. The reasons – social, economic, cultural, religious, and political – behind the spread of these ideas will be discussed.

By and large, this paper relies on the published literatures – visual, audio, or written – of these various schools and the personal interviews with well-known leaders and activists within the various Salafi schools. In addition, a special attention is given to the lawsuits in the security state court for those who have been convicted of ties with some extreme groups.

Undoubtedly, wiping out violence at the international, regional, and domestic levels entails exerting serious efforts at the official and popular level. This effort is to be done devoid from double standards and the bias of great powers dominated organizations. Needless to say, the domination and bias have provided extreme groups with munitions and helped them recruit members. Seen in this way, it is important to presents some suggestions that could help emasculate the spread of these groups. These suggestions are to strike a balance between minimizing the great powers' violations and legitimate counter terrorism. This should secure the freedom of choosing faith, a matter that is safeguarded by the international criteria for human rights during war and peace. Uprooting this phenomenon is however almost impossible given the complexities of the religious, cultural, socio-economic, and political scene. Also, the continuation of clash of civilizations and the difficulty to address radically the conditions that brought about this phenomenon add to the dire situation.

2.0 Sleeper Cells or Lone Wolf

Casting aside the accurate description of those who carried out collective or individual attacks in Jordan, the result is the same.² Whether individually or in groups, some of them succeeded to a great degree to reach their targets and destabilize the targeted areas in the kingdom. Their victims include a number of civilian citizens and some members of the security apparatuses. In lights of what has been going on in the region, these attacks demonstrate the existence of sleeper cells and lone wolf terrorists in Jordan. This begs the following question: will the preemptive detention that encompassed hundreds (lone wolf terrorists and sleeper cells³ included) succeed in averting terrorist attacks given the high rate of ISIS's recent threat to Jordan?⁴

Nevertheless, before answering the abovementioned questions, two points are in order. First, there is a need to present various strands of Salafism and their religious and political positions with regard to the regime. We also need to get acquaintance

² For more details on the series of attacks carried out in Jordan for the year of 2016-17, see annex number one.

³ In the aftermath of a speech given by Abu Mohammed al-'Adnani – a spokesperson for IS – attacks by lone wolves increased in a number of Arab and Western countries. His call was clear. It directs people who carry the thinking of IS (without being linked organizationally with IS or who failed to reach the organization in Iraq and Syria) to carry out attacks. In his speech, he said that "we address the soldiers of the caliphate and its supporters in Europe and America. You, the slaves of God, the monotheists, if Taghut prevents you from migration, then open the door for Jihad and target them. The least you can do in their homeland is way more cherished to us. When you dream of migrating to our land, we wish we were in your place in order to torture and terrorize the Crusaders so that a neighbor fears his other neighbor. If any of you feels incapable then do not underestimate even throwing a stone at a Crusader in his own homeland. Do not underestimate any action as the benefit is great for Jihadis while the pain that the pagans suffer is huge. We were told that some of you cannot do anything because of their inability to reach military targets and because they feel embarrassed to target what so called civilians. You have to know that there is no immunity for blood in the homeland of Crusaders. In that land there are no civilians and there is no space here to detail the evidence. The least of these proofs is dealing with them in kind. Their planes do not differentiate between an armed and unarmed man nor do they differentiate between a man and a wife. Targeting civilians is cherished by us as it is painful and deterring. Get ready, you monotheists, to gain the great reward or martyrdom in Ramadan. For more details, see Abu Mohammed al-'Adnani, the spokesperson of IS. A voiced letter produced by al-Furqan for media production – one of the main and oldest media wings of IS. The speech was made in May 2016. See also annex number three where it contains some directions and instructions issued by the channel of "Nashir." The latter is a telegram site for lone wolves. It targets youth supporting IS in English.

⁴ Marwan Shehadah, "Tahwulat al-Khitab al-Salafi: al-Harakat al-Jihadiya: Dirast Halah, 1990-2007" "The Transformations of the Salafi Discourse: Jihadi Movements, a Case Study, 1990-2007 (Beirut: the Arab Network for Research and Publishing, first edition, p.33. For more details see also, Mithaq al-'Amal al-Islami (The Charter of the Islamic Work) published by the Islamic Group, Cairo, February 1984, pp.29-38.

of the social network and the Shari'a courts formed by Salafism. Therefore, answering the question will be within the context of unpacking the dynamics and geopolitics of Salafism in Jordan. This entails touching on traditional and reformist Salafism in general and comparing it to the Jihadist one in particular.

The Islamist actors known at the Islamic scene are divided into three main currents: Da'awi, political, and Jihadist. The author of this paper derives this typology by drawing on the three ranks of the legitimate political actions of the Islamic movements for change: Da'wa, Ihtisab (confident anticipation of Allah's Reward), and Jihad.⁵ To be sure, this reading of the rankings of the religious work has influenced the visions of the contemporary Islamist groups. Salafism, in its various brands, is rooted in this typology. These brands converge in some cases but diverge – to a great extent – in some aspects of Shari'a and strategies for change as will be outlined below.

3.0 First: "Scientific" and "Reformist" Salafism

Experts on the Salafi case in Jordan see eye to eye that the "Scientific Salafism" is the most spread Salafi current in Jordan. On the heel of the death of Sheikh Albani, the leadership of this brand of Salafism was assumed by his disciples who set up the Albani Center for Studies and Research. Among the reasons for the spread of this kind of Salafism is the freedom enjoyed by its Sheikhs in organizing activities. The security apparatuses impose no restriction on their movement and activities.

Nevertheless, another factor – namely Jihadi Salafism – came to the fore recently. The ideas, vision, and ideology of Jihadi Salafism have gained currency especially among the youth. Therefore, it appeared as a strong competitor for the Scientific Salafism. It managed to recruit new elements among Salafists and others. Its banner of Jihad against invading occupiers and its consideration of the current regime as infidel and apostate helped the movement recruit followers.⁶ In this vein, they came

⁵ Salim Bin 'Id al-Hilali, *al-Jama'at al-Islamiyah fi Daw' al-Kitab wal Sunnah Bifahm Salaf al-Umah* (Islamist Groups in the Light of the Kitab wal Sunnah in Understanding the Predecessors of the Nation (Amman, 2004), p.40.

⁶ Abu Qutada al-Filastini (Omar Mahmud Abu Omar) emphasizes this issue by saying "Therefore, rulers who change the rule of God are infidel an apostates. This replacement is disbelief in the Holly Quran and the Sunnah. See also Abu Mohammed al-Maqdisi, *al-Kawashif al-Jaliyah Fi Kufr al-Dawlah al-Saudiya* (The Salient Hallmarks in the Infidelity of the Saudi State). He dedicated this book to provide evidence that the Saudi State is an infidel one.

up with the revolutionary radical approach to be employed against the pagan and apostate regimes.⁷

This is being said, the Reformist brand of Salafism has remained the least spread. Reformist Salafism has its own legal societies and institutions such as the Society of al-Kitab wal Sunnah (its headquarters is in Hai Nazzal with some branches in other cities and villages), the Center of Abu Abdullah al-Shafi'e (its headquarters in Abu Alandah, one of Amman suburbs), and the Al-Irtiqat' Society (its headquarters in Irbid, north of the Kingdom).

3.1 Differences among Salafisms

Not surprisingly and despite Salafi Brands deny each other the status of being Salafi,⁸ they are rooted in the same ideological base.⁹ Notwithstanding this common background, they have deep methodological and poetical differences. Explicit in their differences is the interpretation of the issue of belief and profanity, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

It is worth mentioning that differences among Salafis are not confined to the doctrinal one. In effect, their differences have increased to include other domains such as politics, democracy, the current regimes and their legitimacy, participating in politics (election and political parties), and the strategies and tools for change.

⁷ A qualitative transformation affected the basic idea of Jihadi Salafism in its fight against the near enemy after the failure to defeat these regimes. It started targeting the far enemy: the United States of America.

⁸ Mashhour Hassan Salman, one of the most salient figures in Scientific Salafism in Jordan and one of the founding members of Imam al-Albani, argues that the followers of Jihadi Salafism are not Salafis in the first place. They indeed backstab the Imams and scientists of this call, call names and they consider them infidel. He wrote about the pure Salafism and its disassociating with the indecent actions, p.28. However, Murad Shukri – a known Salafi researcher and one of the most senior dispels of al-Albani in Jordan disagreed with Mashhour Hassan Salman. He argues that the followers of Jihadi Salafism are Salafi in their ideological bases but they are extremists as they adopt militancy in their actions – a private interview in his house on July 32, 2016.

⁹ An Interview conducted by Mohammed Zahid Zghul with Ali al-Halabi. Al-Halabi, one of the most important traditional Salafi symbols emphasizes that he is against this kind of classifications. In his words, "With regard to this classification, we started hearing traditional Salafism, official Salafism, Jihadi Salafism, and Reformist Salafism. I personally believe that this is neither true nor precise. I wrote an article three or four years ago in Asala Journals entitled one Salafism. In that article, I clarified that this typology is without any value. One of the qualities of the Salafi call is that it is inherited as Prophet Mohammed (peace be upon him) said. The Prophet said, "This knowledge will be carried by the trustworthy ones of every generation. They will expel from it the alteration made by those going beyond bounds; the false claims of the liars and the false interpretations of the ignorant ones." The Prophet also said, "There will always be a group amongst my Ummah that will be triumphant and Allah will cause them to triumph." <http://alhalaby.com/play-1060.html>

Additionally, they differ on their positions on dealing with other Islamists or others who adopt different intellectual and ideological trend (more on this below).

3.2 The Position with Regard to the Jordanian Regime

The views of these Salafi schools of thought on democracy and political participation vary. So are their positions on the regimes in the Islamic and Arab worlds. The Reformist vision believes in peaceful political action from within the regime itself. Contrary to that, the radical view presents itself as an alternative to these regimes. This vision is reflected in the Jordan's Salafis. For this reason, Jihadi Salafism in Jordan depicts Jordan's regime as an apostate and therefore it is seen as the near enemy. This description is based on their understanding that the regimes does not comply by the Shari'a and worse it is in alliance with the "infidel" west.¹⁰ On the other hand, we will present some of the views of Salafis and their positions with regard to the Jordanian regime. Murad Shukri, a Salafi Shari'e researcher, points out to that the deep differences among Salafis lie in identifying their Shari'e position on the regime and the mechanisms of dealing with it. According to Murad Shukri, we can identify three positions:¹¹

- Recognizing the regime and working under its umbrella.
- Considering the regime as infidel and calling for its change by force (chief among them ISIS and al-Qaeda).
- A middle of the road current which avoids talking about the legitimacy of the ruler but they are not fully takfiri (is a Muslim who accuses another Muslim of apostasy).

While the current advocated by the Center of Imam Albani – the most salient representative of Scientific Salafism – concurs with the first position, reality was a bit more complex. Abdulfatah Omar – who accompanied Imam Albani when he first came to Jordan from Syria in the seventies – argues that Albani did not see regimes in the Muslim World as legitimate. He called for their change via his well-known slogan "tasfiyah and tarbiyah."¹²

¹⁰ The infidel non-Muslim is different from the apostate which describes the Muslim for political or religious reasons. He is accused of changing his religion and therefore he is named as the original infidel (not Muslim) and the non-original (apostate).

¹¹ Murad Shukri, a private interview, Op. cit.

¹² Abdulfatah Omar (Abul Harith) is an Islamic preacher, a researcher in Shari'e science, and host of a talk show on the Haqiqah al-Dawliyah TV. He was born in 1952 and graduated from the Shari'a institute in Amman. He met Sheikh al-Albani and became his associate during the decades of seventies and eighties. He combines his specialty in the Shari'e science with interest in modern intellectual issues. He has a critical perspective with regard to the reality of the Salafi call. He thinks that many of those who belong to Sheikh al-Albani were not trustworthy in representing what al-Albani was. He chaired the society of al-Kitab wal

On the other hand, Zayid Hammad, the head of the Society of al-Kitab wal Sunnah, makes it perfectly clear that as a Reformist Salafi heading the society he is working through the already governing regime. He acknowledges the regime's legitimacy and is committed to the Jordanian constitution and laws. He finds out that there is a huge space made available by the regime for others to work. Besides, he points out that there are some Islamists who place self-imposed obstacle that prevent them from engaging in societal work. He refers here to the ideas of isolation, extremism, and introversion instead of openness to the society and the regime.¹³

Unlike others, the Jihadi Salafism deems the Jordanian regime as both illegitimate and apostate.¹⁴ Moreover, it criminalizes the political participation such as parliamentary elections and assuming ministerial positions. And yet, the current does not have a unified mechanism of dealing with the regime. The wing championed by Abu Mohammed al-Maqdisi is porn to political actions considering Jordan a land of Da'wa rather than a land of Jihad or fight. But the other wing – which is an extension of Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi – advocates utilizing violence to stand up to the regime and its institutions.

3.3 Salafists and Political Participation

Driven by solid intellectual ideology that deems the current regime as an infidel Taghut, proponents of Jihadi Salafism refuse to politically participate in various institutions of the regime. They attack other Islamists who take part in parliamentary elections, assume ministerial posts, and set up political parties according to the constitution and laws. In their literature, parliamentary elections are defilement from the work of Satan and assuming ministerial positions means being under the umbrella of Taghut. Also, they consider setting up political parties as requiring recognition of the constitution that bestows legitimacy on the regime.

Scientific Salafism differs in that regard. It expresses a reservation on the regime mainly due to the variation of the positions of its members. Mashhour Hassan

Sunnah more for more than one term and he worked as imam for Jordan's Ministry of Endowments and Islamic Affairs. He a retiree and lives in Tabrbour – one of Amman's suburbs. A private interview on March 10, 2017.

¹³ Zayid Hammad, the head of the society of al-Kitab wal Sunnah. He studied accountancy and financial sciences. He worked as an accountant and a financial manage in one of the private housing companies. Over the past four years, he dedicated himself for the relief and charity work. He is known in his activities in supporting Syrian refugees residing in Jordan. He took part in many conferences and workshops inside and outside Jordan. Through leading the society of al-Kitab wal Sunnah, he supervises some big relief projects while getting some good funds from Qatar and other philanthropists from different Gulf countries. He is one of the most active figures in the relief work in the Arab World. A private interview in his office in Hai Nazal, March 16, 2017.

¹⁴ See the visual issue for the IS, "Wait what is bad for you," issued by the media office of Euphrates province. This visual issue was published on social media on April 5, 2017.

Salman, one of Albani's disciples, explains the objective of the slogan "it is political to leave politics" uttered by Sheikh Albani. He highlights the negative connotation of politics as it is based on deception, unfairness, and denying others' rights. He defends Sheikh Albani by saying that his choice of the slogan is linked to his call for freeing minds from illusions and aberrance in religion as well as in life. He also calls on freeing spirits from worshipping whims and men. Liberating minds, according to Sheikh Albani, is the base for freeing bodies because a body that carries a slave mind cannot be freed. This desired emancipation can only be achieved through *Tasfiyah* (purification and correction) and *Tarbiyah* (education and cultivation). Hence, politics requires working in the essence and truth and that was the preoccupation of Sheikh Albani.¹⁵

Based on this identification and consolidation of the concept, Scientific Salafism was vigilant to shun political participation. Therefore, it disassociates itself from politics and dedicates itself for educational, *Da'awi*, and scientific work. It carries the legacy of Sheikh Albani and takes the same track in spreading knowledge and education (especially the correct faith) while fighting deviation and aberrance.

That is being said, it is not possible to define one specific position for all followers of "Reformist Salafism" with regard to political participation. This is in part because they are currently incapable to nominate candidates and take part effectively in the democratic process. Some of them support political participation to affect reform from within the official institutions. This logic is based on the rule of "Warding off corruptions/evils takes precedence over bringing benefits." And yet, they urge clergymen and preachers to stay aloof from politics to dedicate themselves to education and the *Da'wa*.¹⁶ Some of them do not mind in principle taking part in politics. They urge whoever sees fit to but afraid of failure (because of the existence of objective and subjective obstacles) to do so.¹⁷

¹⁵ Mashhour Hassan Salman, "The Policy that Salafis seek," (Amman, al-Dar al-Athariya), p.33.

¹⁶ Samir Abdulrazaq al-Shawabkeh (known as Samir Murad) was born in 1963 in al-Fawar refugee camp in Hebron. He is a Salafi preacher who considers himself as part of moderate Salafism. He studied the Islamic sciences with many sheiks inside and outside Jordan. He worked as Imam and a teacher in various mosques. Currently, he is the head of the Imam Center, Abu Abdullah al-Shafi'e, in the area of Abu 'Alandah. He is known as an open person to the various Islamic trends and his readiness to cooperate with these trends in order to serve people and religion. A private interview in his office in East Amman – the suburb of Abu 'Alandah on March 24, 2017.

¹⁷ Zayid Hammad, the head of the society of al-Kitab wal Sunnah reveals a number of suggestions and recommendations presented to him by various directions with the purpose of encouraging his society – as the most prominent institution representing the Reformist Salafi trend in Jordan, to take part in the upcoming parliamentary elections held in Jordan and to set up a political party. However, he turned them down for his belief of the lack of

3.4 Salafists and the Strategies for Change

The views of Jordan's Salafism on change vary along three brands: Da'wa, reform, and radical. The Islamist author Bassam Nasser argues that Scientific Salafism's idea of change is both simple and clear. It is a reflection of the interpretation and revival of the idea of "tasfiyah and tarbiyah." This idea was previously held and advocated by Sheikh Albani and his disciples. The first pillar of this philosophy focuses on purifying Islam from deviations or ideas proposed by deviant groups. It is also about purifying the Prophet Hadith (his deeds and says) from counterfeit ones. Seen in this way, all Islamic arts and sciences can be cleansed. It follows that there is a need to raise the Islamic nation based on this purification and this entails a calm and scientific effort. The process of "tasfiyah and tarbiyah" is to continue unchecked until the desired change come to fruition.¹⁸

As far as the Reformist Salafism's strategy is concerned, it urges for going beyond tasfiyah and tarbiyah. It calls for expanding its participation in the public affairs. In other words, it pushes for getting engaged in politics and to be open to the various classes of the society. According to Zayid Hammad – the head of the Society of al-Kitab wal Sunnah –unlike the Scientific Salafism, the Reformist Salafisms is open to all classes in the society and is willing to think outside the box. Besides, it urges to move away from the narrow concepts – which are responsible for the persistence of closeness of certain arguments – to a wider horizon of Islam that has a great mercy on people.¹⁹

This position is echoed by the Salafi Samir Murad who points out to his pioneering experience in running the Center of Imam al-Shafi'e. He extended the room for cooperation with scientists, clergymen, and students from outside the Salafi world. Additionally, he cooperated with them and opened the room for coordination with Ash'arism, Zaidiyyah, and others. His Salafism never stopped him from cooperating and coordinating with other personalities (who do not belong to Salafism). They took part in seminars and conferences organized by his center. He accounted for this openness by underlying the existence of common ground that could facilitate cooperation.²⁰

This reflects an aspect of the deep-seated differences between the Reformist and Scientific Salafisms. It is about the position with regard to other Islamists. Needless

utility of political participation in the current stage. He lacks convincing answers as to what could be done once he gets in the parliament given the current situation. He thinks this will impact negatively on the experience altogether. He prefers to dedicate time for the educational and charity work. A private interview, Op. cit.

¹⁸ Bassam Nasser, a private interview, op cit.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Samir Abdulrazaq al-Shawabkeh (Samir Murad), private interview, Op. cit.

to say, the leaders of Scientific Salafism hold some extreme and indeed antagonistic position toward Islamic groups and movements. They deal with them as if they were deviant groups and their attacks against them are well documented. Contrary to that, leaders of Reformist Salafism hold a moderate position vis-à-vis other different Islamic groups. Besides, they point out to the positive sides in other Islamic groups and do not rule out cooperation and coordination with them. Ihsan al-Uteibi criticized the extreme positions of Scientific Salafism with regard to other Islamic groups. He argues that this position is unlike the position of senior Sheikhs such as Ibn Baz, Ibn Uthaimin, and Albani. Those senior sheikhs used to praise the virtues of other groups' efforts in promoting science and virtue. They hold no hostile position toward them nor see them as deviant groups.²¹

Interestingly, it is not easy for researchers to spot a clear-cut approach on change for neither Scientific nor Reformist Salafism. All said in this regard does not exceed some general articulations with no well-defined meaning. This observation is made by Al-'I'is who reported the argument of Sheikh Mohammed Shaqrah. The latter said, "by doing so, they rule out the genuine aspiration for changing the head of the regime. Rather, they seek to fix the nation in order for Islam to dominate people and life. This is the way where Islam can come back as a crown on the foreheads of Muslims and their land."²²

With no doubt, militant Islamist groups, chief among them is Jihadi Salafism, consider Jihad as the only option to realize its goals – change. It complements Da'wa and Ihtisab. These groups place Jihad at the heart of the strategy for change. In other words, they do not seek change through peaceful manner to gain power. For this reason, researchers call these groups radical rather than reformist.

4.0 Second: Jihadi Salafism

Jihadi Salafism bases its worldview on its reading to the literature of Ahl Alsunna wal Jama'ah and in particular Ahl al-Hadith in addition to its reading of the contemporary Islamic and international reality. It concludes some key concepts that

²¹ Ihsan al-'Uteibi (Abu Tariq) is a Salafi preacher and a researcher in Islamic sciences. He was born in 1965 and sees himself as a reformist/scientific Salafi. He lived in Kuwait for a long period then returned after the Second Gulf War to reside in Jordan. He had some hot debates with figures from al-Albani Center with mutual accusations. He is a strong opponent the Jihadi Salafism and he took a firm position against IS. He never hesitated to describe IS as a product of intelligence agencies to undermine the Syrian revolution. He is also known for his relief efforts in support of Syrian refugees residing in Jordan. He lives in the village of Beit R as in Irbid, north of Jordan. A private interviews in his house, March 30, 2917.

²² Ibrahim Al-'Is's, al-Salaf wal Salafiyun: Ro'ya min Edakhil (The Predecessors and Salafis: A Perspective from within), p.104.

are of paramount importance for anyone who wishes to understand this brand of Salafism. These concepts are based on three key pillars: first, the principle of monotheism. This concept links human being to the creator. It helps proponents of Jihadi Salafists define their position vis-à-vis the current Arab rulers who do not rule according to God's Shari'a. Seen in this way, the concept of monotheism is regarded as one of the most important establishing concepts of the Jihadi discourse. In dealing with others along the lines of the criteria of belief and profanity, the Jihadi discourse has three dimensions: the political one: (Hakimiyya or total submission to God and Taghut²³), the social one (Jahiliyya), and the international one: Al-Wala' wal Bara' (Loyalty and Disavowal. Second, the principle of the Caliphate²⁴ represents the proper Islamic system vs. the civil one, which connects life to the day after. The third principle is Jihad which connects change with using force.

Now we turn on to briefly discuss some of other establishing key concepts as these concepts have been explained in details in other studies and are beyond the scope of this paper. For this reason, not only do I mention the concepts but I also provide references for others to examine. I will only explain concepts that are not adequately clarified in other studies. Of those concepts that are being circulated within the

²³ Taghut is one of the concepts widely circulated in the discourse of contemporary Jihadi Salafism. Sheikh Mohammed Hamid al-Fiqqi traces back the predecessors' usage of the term Taghut. Therefore, he considers Taghut as anything that distracts people from worshipping God and obeying God and his prophet. This could include human Satan or genie Satan or trees and stones. This also include ruling according to foreign laws and others. It includes all human beings have come up with to rule in a way that cast aside God's rules such as the Islamic penal code.

²⁴ IS has employed four keys in its conflict with the other. These keys have contributed in recruiting new supporters all over the world. These four keys also helped IS expand and survival. First, the identity-based conflict, which refers to IS's representation of the Sunnah in defending their targeted identity. The Iran and its militias as well as the sectarian Iraq government target the Sunni identity. It is the same key that was used by another IS branch in Egypt for the religious conflict with Christians as well as with the Israeli occupation. Second is the resistance of occupation and colonialism represented in the American occupation of both Iraq and Afghanistan. It has to do also with the cultural colonialism represented in secularism and liberalism. IS presents itself as the defender of Islami, who can come up with the counterarguments against those anti Islami arguments. Third is the declaration of caliphate. The concept of caliphate is one of the most attracting factors for Arab and non-Arab Muslim youth. It is the dream of the majority of youth – especially this big class of Muslims whose religiosity is one of emotional – to live in a country complied by the rule of Islam. Fourth is opening a front with Israel. A number of wise people of this organizations realize that the opening of a battle with Israel would weaken those who suspect the legitimacy of IS and would recruit the majority of groups and individual throughout the Islamic and Arab world to help financially and non-financially.

ideology of Jihadi Salafism, there are: Faith and profanity;²⁵ Al-Wala' wal Bara';²⁶ Taghut;²⁷ collective work, and the victorious sect.²⁸

In the context of the establishing concept of the Jihadi Salafism's discourse, this paper refers to the concepts of "Jihad" and "Ijtihad" or interpretation." The latter enjoys a high status as the most complete kinds of research. It entails exerting a lot of efforts and energy to figure out some solution for issues that come up. Jihad, on the other hand, is the most complete kinds of work and the highest in ranks because of what it is able to achieve. It is seen as the essence of Islam and the deterrence against aggression. This explains the secret behind the repetition of Jihadi Salafi movements of the aphorism of Ibn Taymiyyah "the pillars of Shari'a is a book that guides and a sword that wins." In Islam, the pen and the sword are companion. Hence, the Shari'a committees are present in the process of forming these groups and are part and parcel of their organizational structure.²⁹

4.1 Division of the World and Targeting Civilians

One of the perilous fatwas and rulings – that are based on the concept of loyalty and disavowal – is the ruling on those who work for the state and in particular its executive institutions such as the police, army, and the judiciary. These institutions are seen as tools to what they call Taught.³⁰ Passing judgment as infidel on those

²⁵ Abdurrahman Bin Hassan al-Sheikh, "Fath al-Majeed: Sharh Kitab al-Tawhid (The Glorious Breakthrough: An Explanation of the Monotheism Book), Riyadh: The Presidency of Scientific Research and Fatwa, fourth edition 1422 Hijri. This book includes a full explanation for the conditions of monotheism. See also, Abdulqadir Abdulaziz, al-Jami' fi Talab al-'Ilm al-Sharif, pp.624-627.

²⁶ Abu Mohammed al-Maqdisi, a dialogue with Marwan Shehadah, Al-'Asr Electronic Website, July 5, 2005, www.alasr.ws

²⁷ Marwan Shehadah, "Ta'sil al-Khitab al-Salafi al-Jihadi (Rooting the Jihadi Salafi Discourse," Al-Misyar Center for Research and Studies, Vol, 5, May 2007, pp.24-25.

²⁸ For more details, see Omar Mahmud Abu Omar (Abu Qutada), al-Jihad wal-Ijtihad: Ta'mulat fil Manhaj (Jihad and Interpretation: Contemplations about the Methodology), Dar al-Bayariq, first edition, 1999. Abu Qutada concludes that the group that Muslim must obey is the victorious group that Prophet Mohammed (peace upon him) had previously foretold. Abu Qutada talked about the necessity of people forming a group and this is a religious and logical necessity. People may ask about the qualities of this group who has the right to do so and whom people should comply with. The victorious group should carry the characteristics praised by the prophet so that it will be a righteous group. The prophet has made it perfectly clear as to which group should people subscribe.

²⁹ Omar Mahmud Abu Omar (Abu Qutada), al-Jihad wal-Ijtihad: Ta'mulat fil Manhaj (Jihad and Interpretation: Contemplations about the Methodology), Dar al-Bayariq, first edition, 1999.

³⁰ Abu Mohammed al-Maqdisi, Fatwa: A Suspicion in Considering the Soldiers of Taghut (those who works in the army, police, and judicial system) as Infidels, The Venue of Jihad and Monotheism, pp-30-41. See also his Fatwa on "Conscription and Considering Armies as Infidels," pp.25-26, www.tawhed.ws

who work for the executive authorities in the Muslim and Arab regimes is deemed one of the most audacious and dangerous contemporary fatwas ever adopted by the theorists of Jihadi Salafists. It is through this fatwa that they consider these regimes as infidel and apostates. The concept of the apostate infidel is a category that encompasses Muslim regimes that do not implement the rule of Allah.³¹ It is also based on the concept of loyalty and disavowal that has helped coin the concept of the "unity of Hakimiyya." They view the alliance of Muslims with these regimes takes from them immunity of blood and money. To them, immunity entails that Muslims get in alliance with neither the occupier nor these regimes. It is the same dichotomy "near enemy" versus "far enemy." While the former refers to Arab and Muslim regimes the latter refers to the west in general and the United States as well as its allies in particular.³² This classification in turn has impacted much of the theoretical and scientific predisposition of the contemporary Jihadi Salafism. Based on concept of infidelity, the world has become divided into two camps: Dar al-Islam (house of Islam) and Dar al-Harb (the house of war).

It is of paramount importance to clarify the concept of Dar al-Islam and Dar al-Harb. To Jihadi Salafis, Dar al-Kufr or al-Harb are those countries where Muslims are the majority and yet they do not comply with the Islamic rulings. It is called Dar al-Kufr. They do not target Dar al-Kufr unless it is classified as Dar al-Harb. This is the pretext employed by the Islamic State (IS) against people of the countries that participate in the international coalition against IS. Once Dar al-Harb is targeted, no distinction between civilian or military targets is made. The fatwas goes even further as it permits the killing of civilians in Dar al-Harb³³ because they are compliant with the decisions and behaviors of the rulers in their countries.³⁴

4.2 Salafists and the Concepts of Imam and Flag

Imam and Flag are two concepts that are present practically and theoretically in the general Salafi thinking. Jihadi Salafism does not stipulate the consent of the ruler for declaring jihad in the absence of the Caliph. This opinion came as a result of a

³¹ Hala Mustafa, *Political Islam in Egypt: From Reform to Militant Groups*, Cairo: Al-Mahrosa Center for Studies, Research, Training and Publication, Second edition, 1999, p.194. See also Salih Syrriya, *The Message of Faith*, pp.28-38.

³² Kamal Habibi, "The Transformation of the Islamic Movement and the American Strategy," Cairo, Dar Masr al-Mahrosa, 2006, pp.209-211.

³³ International Relations from an Islamic perspective are classified within the nature of the relationship with other states whether in peace or war. During peace, relations are built based on justice whereas during war relations are built based on enmity and fight provided that the Islamic conditions for declaring war exist. For more, see Ali Muhyi Eddin, "Islamic Principles of International Relations," a paper presented in Mecca third conference entitled "International Relations between Islam and Contemporary Civilizations," February 2, 2003.

³⁴ Abu Mohammed al-'Adnani, an audio speech, Op. cit.

thorough debate among various scholars. It considers the Jihad lords as the war lords who have the right to declare Jihad against any individual or group or state. As far as the followers of IS are concerned, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi is the one with the prerogative to declare Jihad and peace.³⁵

As to the issue of flag to be raised in the battlefields, the Jihadi groups consider the flags of counties generated by the colonial Sikes Pico as illegitimate. It calls for flags that carry the Islamic identity whether national and pan national. For this reason, these groups take the word monotheism and the black color that indicate the flag of Prophet Mohammed as their flag and slogan during the war.³⁶

4.3 Salafis and the extent of spread in Jordan³⁷

Advocates of Jihadi Salafism in Jordan exist mainly in six cities and areas: the suburbs of Amman particularly in Eastern Amman; populous areas such as Zarqa and Ruseifa – home cities of al-Zarqawi, al-Maqqdisi and currently Abu Qutada; al-Balqa' Governorate – particularly al-Salt, 'Ain al-Basha, and al-Baq'a refugee camp; the Governorate of Karak; Ma'an, and the two governorates of Irbid and Mafraq. The majority of Jihadi Salafism's activists detained belongs to these areas.

Obviously, Jihadi Salafism is linked to Amman especially in populous areas and some Palestinians refugee camps such as Wahdat and Baq'a camps. During the eighties and nineties of last century some Jihadi groups came into being chief among them was Jayish Mohammed group. It was formed by individuals who returned from the battlefield in Afghanistan and who planned and executed sporadic attacks targeting cinema theaters, liquor stores, priests, intelligence officers in al-Bayadar. To be sure, Omar Jum'ah with a nick name of Abu Anas al-Shami – who became the legitimate official of al-Qaeda organization in the Bilad al-Rarfidain and killed in an American raid in 2004 – emerged from Amman. Besides, the chief of the legitimate commission of Nusra Front Dr. Sami al-Arbadi who lived in al-Bayadar of Western Amman became famous.

The cities of al-Zarqa' and Ruseifa are among the most cities where Jihadi Salafi thinking is active. It is from there where the group of Bay'at al-Imam, which was

³⁵ For more details see, www.assakina.com/taseel/3179.html

³⁶ Hakim al-Muteiri, the condition of the permit of Imam and the presence of flag in fighting pagans, the Electronic Muslim Website, www.almoslim.net/node/82469, for more details on the al-'Amiya flag see al-Alukah website, www.alukah.net/sharia/0/43781/

³⁷ An important note: information and date are taken through the interviews with a number of Jihadis and some lawyers defending them. For instance, lawyer Taher Nassir, Musa al-Abdallat etc. Not to mention the following up of files of the State Court and the areas where those Jihadis come from. IS has clearly pointed out the places where its supporters come in its video produced by the Euphrates province, Op. cit.

established by al-Zarqawi and al-Maqdisi, emerged. Al-Zarqawi is called so after his city al-Zarqa'. The majority of those who were killed in Iraq came from these two cities. And those who killed the American diplomat (Laurence Michael Foley) lived in Ruseifa. Also the cell that planned on killing the intelligence officer came from these two cities. The highest percentage of detention, chasing, the attempt to travel for the sake of Jihad, and those killed abroad came from these two cities too.

The uniqueness of al-Zarqa' and Ruseifa in Jihadi Salafism is derived from the fact that al-Maqdisi and al-Zarqawi lived there and had the greatest impact on the spread of this line of thinking. It is worth noting that the effectiveness of al-Maqdisi has declined due to his hostile position toward IS. Indeed, the majority of the supporter of the Jihadi current support IS. Those who did not change their supporting position with regard to al-Qaeda or Nusra Front do so due to the lack of full conviction in the Jihadi thinking but also because of their personal relations with the other comrades from the same current. It is not easy to give up on them. Among the leaders of the Jihadi current in Jordan are Abu Qutada, al-Maqdisi, Abu Mohammed al-Tahawi, Sheikh Rashad Shtewei,³⁸ and Omar Mahdi Zaidan (Abu Munthir). The latter was most likely got appointed as the head of the Shura council in IS prior to his killing.³⁹ Additionally, we can mention Sa'ad al-Hneiti, the brother of al-Maqdisi Salah Eddin al-Barqawi, Sheikh Younis Abu Sirdaneh, Sheikh Luqman Riyalat, Engineer Jarah al-Rahahleh, Sheikh Mohammed al-Shalabi (Abu Sayaf), Sheikh Abu Zayid al-Masri, Sheikh Wisam al-'Omoush, Abdulmajid al-Majali who is serving five year imprisonment due to his support for IS.⁴⁰

Generally speaking, Jihadi Salafism became active in the Governorate of Irbid (and surrounding villages), the camp refugee of Irbid, and the northern and middle Ghour areas. A number of second rank theorists live there, chief among them are Abdulqadir Shehadah al-Tahawi, Sheikh Omar Mahdi Zeidan and his brothers. One of his brother, Mahmud, was killed in an American drone attack in Waziristan. He was a member of the Shari'e committee for Taliban of Pakistan. Another brother,

³⁸ Rashad Shtewei is one of the educated and has a number of research papers being circulated among Jihadis in Jordan. He is seen as someone who is close to IS and therefore he was arrested on a number of occasions. He used to live in al-Baq'a refugee camp and currently lives in 'Ain al-Basha. He was arrested recently in the aftermath of the attack of the intelligence office in camp due to his relationship with the one who carried out the attack. He is still in detention.

³⁹ He was thought to be killed. The use of the term "accepted by God" in the video is an indication to his death.

⁴⁰ Abdulmajid al-Majali, a lawyer, appealed the ruling of the State Court. As a consequence the ruling was reversed because there was not enough legal evidence for conviction. The security authorities detain him after the appearance of his eldest son in IS's video. This is confirmed by his brother, Ismail al-Majali.

Ibrahim, spent six years in Guantanamo after he was arrested in Afghanistan and accused of belonging to al-Qaeda.

Mohammed al-Zheiri, known as the poet of al-Qaeda, also lives in Irbid. Some other followers of Jihadi Salafism are active in al-Ramtha but at a limited scale. Of course, there are some indicators of the existence of the ideas and supporters of Jihadi Salafism in Jordan such as social and religious occasions, the pray of Friday and the two feasts, condolences gatherings, and wedding parties. Thousands of supporters of these ideas do participate in these occasions. They usually appear in Afghani uniform with long hear or short dress with long beard.

Interestingly enough, there are some singing bands available for Jihadi Salafism. These bands use drums but no other musical instruments. Their lyrics are derived from poets who carry Jihadi ideology and the methodology of change. The poet Mohammed al-Zheiri with his zealous poems stood out. They use these songs in occasions of wedding parties, condolences gathering, and in their mobilization and incitement for Jihad and martyrdom. They are also used in eulogy of leaders. The words of these songs do not go beyond the framework of this ideology.

5.0 Salafis and the Institutional- networking work in Jordan

Salafis in Jordan are distributed along the common brands of the three main schools of thoughts: the "Scientific Salafism," "Reformist Salafism," and "Jihadi Salafism." The latter lacks the official and certified institutions because it does not recognize the legitimacy of the regime nor its institutions. Besides, it rejects asking for a legal permit to practice Da'wa, education, charitable works. The network for this current is going to be discussed later in this paper.

5.1 The Networks of the Scientific and Reformist Salafism

There are four societies that can be described as "cultural" or Da'awi. Some of these organizations can be seen as charities. The four societies are: the society of al-Kitab wal Sunnah, the Imam Albani's Center for Research and Studies, the Center of al-Imam Abu Abdullah al-Shafi'e al-'Alami, and the charity of Irtiqah'.

The Society of al-Kitab wal Sunnah is supervised by a number of young Sheikhs led by Sheikh Zayid Hammd. Dr. Basel Faisl al-Jawabrah leads the Imam Albani's Center for Research and Studies while Sheikh Samir Murad al-Shawabkeh heads the Center of al-Imam Abu Abdullah al-Shafi'e al-'Alami. Finally Sheikh Ihsan al-'Uteibi supervises the charity of Irtiqah'. While the Imam Albani's Center for Research and Studies belongs to Scientific Salafism the rest of societies belong to the Reformist Salafism.

5.2 The Networks of Jihadi Salafism

Not surprisingly, Jihadi Salafism lacks registered institutions. In fact, it recognizes the legitimacy of neither the regimes nor its institutions. It is adamant in its position not to apply for a permit to practice its educational and Da'awi activities. And yet, its networks do exist in the form of social gatherings in cities and governorates. Besides, its activities are, by and large, secret.

It is worth saying that Jihadi Salafism employs common social habits in the Jordanian society in the work of its networks. Its followers show solidarity with each other. For instance, the dwellers of the same neighborhood or those who belong to the same tribe take individual initiatives and care of poor, orphans, and those in need. There is no need for a charity to organize their activities. The ideas of solidarity and cooperation are transmitted to the community of Jihadis as they seek to be ideal and chaste. The dwellers of the same neighborhood – not to mention those who carry the same ideology – take care of the families of the killed and the detainees or chased. Financial and other kind of aids are offered secretly and directly to each family.

The charity and relief works have developed within the Jihadi current. These works have become more organized and coordinated through the formation of areas' Zakat committees in cities and governorates. These committees take upon themselves to gather financial donations and distribute them to the sons of those detained or killed in battlefield. Among those who work in this field, the following became famous: Dr. Munif Samarah, Bakr al-Khalaylah, Sheikh Mohammed Sharif (Abu Ahsraf), Salah Nasr (Abu Abdurrahman) from al-Zarqa' and Ruseifa, Sheikh Abdulmajid al-Majali from Karak, Mohammed Abu Omar, Bahjat Ismail (Abu Hammam), Mohammed Abu Ghlos, Abu Zayid al-Masri, Jawad al-Faqih (Abu Abdullah) from Amman, Luqman Riyalt, Engineer Jarah al-Rahahlah, Omar al-Fa'ouri, Hamdan al-Dabbas, Jamil al-Rayan from Baq'ah refugee camp, Abu Mohammed al-Tahawi, Rabi' al-Khdour (who was killed in what became known as the cell of Irbid) from Irbid, and finally Abu Sayaf Mohammed al-Shalabi⁴¹ and 'Awd Kreishan from Ma'an.

⁴¹ Mohammed al-Shalabi (Abu Sayaf), a private interview on March 23, 2017. He is a leading figure in the Jihadi Salafi current in Jordan who came from the city of Ma'an. He served ten years out of 15 years in the prison on the wake of the al-Mafraq case. He was injured in his leg during arresting him on November 2, 2002. The members of the organization were accused of planning on attacking American forces in Jordan and arm acquisition. For more details on the case see al-Ghad daily, <https://goo.gl/NV7uGz>. Also the blog of Jarir al-Husseini, which was supervised by Omar Mahdi Zaidan, issued a statement attacking Abu Sayaf due to the latter's media statements. This has also to do with rivalry on leadership. His ideas of setting up a political party or a Shura Council were severely criticized and organizing their Da'awi, religious, social and political activities in Jordan. For more details see the

The formation of committees for the sake of institutionalizing and organizing the activities has coincided with the idea of establishing the Shura Council of Jordan's Jihadis at the beginning of 2012. During the Arab Spring revolutions, they agreed on establishing Shura Council of Jihadi Salafis in Jordan. They took advantage of the demonstrations and protest movements in Jordan to have their voice heard. The members of the new council are Wisam al-Omouh, Abdulqadir Shehadah al-Tahawi (Abu Mohammed al-Tahawi), Mohammed al-Shalabi (Abu Sayaf), Amir al-Dmour (killed in Mosul), Luqman Riyalat, Jarah al-Rahahleh, Rahad Shtewei, Sa'ad al-Hneiti, and Ahmed Hussein al-Kuwaiti.⁴²

A great number of Jihads were hosted in a farm in al-Dleil owned by a person with the name Abu Bandar.⁴³ They discussed the matter and recommended the establishment of either a Shura council or an underground political party. Omar Mahdi Zeidan (Abu al-Munthir) – who wrote the series of Anka wa Akhas in blog that follow up the news of Jihadi Salafism in Jordan. He uses a nick name of Jarir al-Hasani. In his blog, he leveled critique against the idea. No single leader of this school of thought was saved from his critique.⁴⁴

6.0 Impediment of the work of Social Networks

Obviously, the work of the social networks particularly the welfare and charity is facing obstacles. Restrictions imposed by the security apparatuses to dry up the financial resources of terrorism play a salient role in the process. Any person that is proved to offer support (whether to Jihadis or their families or even to their lawyer), is prosecuted⁴⁵. Seen in this way, restrictions are negatively reflected on the

above-mentioned statement in Jarir al-Husseini's blog "Al-Thabat," <https://goo.gl/5ygN4x>, a private interview conducted with him in Amman March 23, 2017.

⁴² Mohammed al-Shalabi, Private Interview, Op. cit.

⁴³ Abu Maria al-Filastini (Majdi Najim) is one of the second class Jihadi theorists and a close associate of al-Maqdisi and al-Tahawi. He was sentenced for five years against the background of joining the fighters in Syria and practicing the profession of Shari'e judiciary for IS. In a letter entitled "a letter from Sheikh al-Maqdisi to the sons of monotheism" and published in his private blog, he points out that al-Maqdisi was in the prison of Abu Ilulu during the establishment of the council. His advice to the sons of monotheism could be boiled down to the following: to exploit the Da'awi space imposed by the Arab revolutions; to agree on priorities in Mali; and not to pick intellectual battles with laymen, see, <https://goo.gl/DUISJo>

⁴⁴ See Jarir al-Husseini, al-Thabat, a blog, <https://goo.gl/dhkEws>

⁴⁵ The families of the accused in terrorist cases hire lawyers. Sometimes supporters of Jihadis pay for the lawyers on behalf of the families. The number of those detained in Jordan because of terrorist attacks is from 500-700. The number varies according to the conditions and the preventive measures. After the catastrophic incident of the castle in Karak, the number of detainees reaches 1000 persons.

performance of these committees. Their financial resources shrank as families of Jihadis are reliant on the support of relatives and neighbors rather than the supporters of Jihadis.

In this context, al-Maqdisi clarifies that the social networks are random in nature. Meaning that those close relatives and friends were the one who offer financial support for the families of those detained or killed. Some neighbors take care of the families who lost their husbands. Things took a different twist during the Arab Spring though. Attempts were made to form decentralized social committees distributed along various areas and districts. That is because the Jihadi current lacks an organizational structure. These committees included some trustworthy young people whose faith and trust are not in question.⁴⁶ They used to do the same job secretly prior to the eruption of the Arab Spring but they took it to the open afterward. These committees composed lists of the names of those killed or detained in order to take care of them in each area. Donations were received from merchants or those who sympathize with them or through some charities that offer financial or non-financial support for the poor.⁴⁷

Al-Maqdisi makes it clear that the dispute between IS and the Nusra Front had negative impact on the work of social networks in Jordan. Those who belong to these networks are divided between supporters of IS and supporter of Nusra Front. Each of them start distributing aids to his group without taking into account that the one who was killed or detained prior to the eruption of the dispute or without approaching the whole issue from a human or Shari' perspective.

One of the problems facing the families of those killed in Iraq or Syria is that they cannot get a death certificate necessary for inheritance or even certificates of birth for sons returning from abroad. In fact, there are no documents to prove the marriage in the first place. An example of this is what happened to the sons of the daughter of Sheik Ali al-'Abid, a close associate to al-Zarqawi. They are the sons of

⁴⁶ Al-Maqdisi refuses to give the names of persons involved in work of social networks. But information on that was obtained through other resources. The names have been mentioned and they are known for the security agencies.

⁴⁷ During the Arab Spring and in particularly by the beginning of 2011, supporters of the Jihadi current in Jordan formed a Shura council for Jihadi Salafism in Jordan. among its members were Abu Mohammed al-Tahawi, Rashad Shtewei, 'Amere al-Dmour (the Jordanian Abu Samir who was most likely joined IS and was appointed as Amir of the area of al-Bab only to be killed there), Sa'ad al-Hneiti, Luqman Riyalat, Jarah Rahahleh, Mohammed al-Shalabi known as Abu Sayaf, Ahmed Hussein (known as the Kuwaiti) and Wisam a'moush who indeed initiated the idea. We could not verify whether Omar Mahdi Zaidan was a member of the council. But, it is not likely that Omar Mahdi Zaidan was a member given his extremism and rejection of the idea. The names gathered came from more than one resource.

Syrian Suleiman Khalid Darwish known as Abu al-Ghadiyah who was killed during an American airstrike.⁴⁸

7.0 The Number of Jihadi Salafists in Jordan

There is no precise numbers for Jordanian fighters who joined the battlefield in Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Libya, and Afghanistan. In fact, the security apparatuses do not declare the precise numbers. Besides, there is no organized institutional work or record of the numbers of Jihadi Salafists. And yet, the number of those joined IS and Nusra Front is expected to be from 2300-3000 persons⁴⁹ where tens of them were killed. Some returned to Jordan before the borders were closed and they were sentenced to two and a half years to five years in jail.

Nevertheless, the numbers of those who ideologically support extreme Islamist groups – chief among them are IS and Nusra Front – is between 8000-1000 persons. It could be argued that a majority of 80% of extremists living in Jordan do support IS. The popularity of extreme armed groups in Jordan varies according to circumstances and events. For instance the popularity of al-Qaeda in Jordan decreased in the wake of Amman's attacks targeting the three hotels.⁵⁰

It is known that the numbers of Jordanian taking part in the fight in Syria is from 2700-3000 persons. Were it is not for the strict measures taken by the security apparatuses on the borders with regards to the travel of the youth, the number of Jordanian taking part in the Syrian crisis would have been increased. This claim is supported by the court cases before the security court where the accused are on trial for using smuggling to reach Syria and Iraq. They face a jail sentence between 3-5 years.

Undoubtedly, the dispute and divisions among extremists reflect negatively on Jihadi Salafism in Jordan. That being said, it is notable that the numbers of fighters in Iraq and Syria are on the increase. Their number reaches 3000 persons. The number of detainees in the wake of Karak incident reached some 1000 persons. All of that

⁴⁸ A death certificate for Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi was issued two weeks after his death. It was issued by the American authority in Iraq. They kept his corpse and buried him in an unknown place.

⁴⁹ The reports issued by the Center for Research of the Congressional Research Service assesses that the number of Jordanians fighting in Syria and Iraq is around 4000 persons. For more details, see Jeremy M. Sharp, Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs, Jordan: Background and U.S. Relations, Congressional Research Service, January 25, 2017, p.7

⁵⁰ Fares Braizat, The Post Amman Hotel Explosions: Jordan's Public Opinion and Terrorism, Center for Strategic Studies, Public Opinion Unit, January 2006, for more details see, <http://css.ju.edu.jo/ShowNewsAr.aspx?NewsId=133#.WTZ1PrpuJPY>

indicates the growth of the number of followers of Jihadi Salafism particularly when a mere one person can influence intellectually his family, according to Abu Bakr al-Sirhani.⁵¹

8.0 Social and Organizing Networks

The dynamism of the Jihadi groups can be captured by looking at the various ranks of the Da'awi domain. These ranks vary according to the objective conditions of the international, regional, and domestic reality. These social networks are closer to gelatinous network rather than an underground organization that could be felt. Besides, it is not possible to know in details about those in charge with these activities. In the wake of the execution of the Jordanian pilot Mu'az al-Kasasbeh by IS, these network move to underground.

And yet, Jihadi Salafism – on the whole – lacks an effective and organized leadership. The networks are fraught with disagreements and therefore they do not enjoy harmony when it comes to positions and decisions. This is true particularly in the wake of the killing of al-Zarqawi where his leadership was missed. Although the majority of the Jihadis respect Abu Mohammed al-Maqdisi, he does not have a leading role in the management of the Jihadi networks. His role is limited to one of guiding and yet it is not mandatory to his followers. This gap is a consequence of lack of a solid organization or leadership thanks to the unremitting security checks and the realization of the networks that they are infiltrated. And therefore, any attempt to institutionalize these networks will put them in direct confrontation with the authorities.

Commenting on the issue of Jihadi organizations in Jordan, al-Maqdisi said that there were some attempts in the past to organize work in Jordan by some young followers. The debates centered on the form of the organization where some suggested that they copy the experience of the Muslim Brotherhood. This would take the form of committees and families. Al-Maqdisi continued by saying that al-Zarqawi and himself undermined the attempt.⁵² Al-Maqdisi said that his rejection of the idea was

⁵¹ Mohammed Bin Khadr Bin Dheif al-Sirhani (Abu Bakr al-Sirhani) was born in 1976 Mughair al-Sirhan. He finished his high school there and now he holds a bachelor degree in Islamic Studies from Yarmok University. His seven year imprisonment prevented him from finishing his Master degree in Al-Albeit University. He served as Imam in a mosque in Sama al-Sirhan. Currently he is a teacher of Arabic language in Mughair al-Sirhan. A private interview, March 18, 2017

⁵² In an interview with al-Maqdisi on March 14, 2017, he summed up the incident by saying that in 1994 the Jihadi Salafi call – that took the shape of publication, lectures and private meetings in houses – has gained momentum. Individuals close to al-Maqdisi and al-Zarqawi were keen to organize a secret organization. This idea was floated at a time the Israelis and

due to his own experience with al-Sruriya⁵³ as he got engaged in the organizing work in a smart manner away from the method of the Muslim Brotherhood. Gatherings were held in mosques by meeting in lectures, praying, and group trips. During these meetings, the ones in charge of the Sruri group select those who are fit to work in the organizational work. They do not inform the selected ones as they invited them for private classes in the house of one member or leader. This process was to continue until the selected ones become unconsciously active in the organization and become saturated with their ideas and methods of organizational and Da'awi method. This is to become the establishing block of their minds.

Al-Maqdisi continued by saying that it should not be understood that he is against organizational work as Jihad is unlikely to yield results unless it is pursued through collective work. But he cautioned from working in a naive way like Muslim Brothers. He mentions some mistakes and experiences of some members of the Jihadi current. There were attempts to establish a militant organizational work via arm procurement and training. With no vetting is made, they chose activists and order them to strike some American targets without even consulting with them. Soon, they were caught and put in jail.⁵⁴

the Palestinians were negotiating the Oslo accord. Some twenty persons were invited to discuss the issue over lunch. Al-Zarqawi and al-Maqdisi knew that this idea was going to be discussed and they agreed to shoot the idea. In fact, their work was in parallel with the organized one without the need to announce it lest this make them subject to security involvement. This kind of work made it easier for them to move around without drawing the attention of the security agencies. Al-Zarqawi concurred with al-Maqdisi and the preempted the idea. Not to mention that such organization would have given those youth a bigger size and make them subject to security prosecution. In that year, the founding members of the Jihad Salafi in Jordan were arrested and 13 were taken to the court. During interrogation, the opposition of al-Zarqawi and al-Maqdisi to a secret organization came up. In the media, the secret organization was called "Bay'at al-Imam" established by Nabil Abu Harithiya (Abu Mujahid). But in fact there was no name to start with.

⁵³ Al-Sruriya is a political Islamist group that came into being in the wake of the Second Gulf war by Sheikh Mohammed Zein al-'Abidin Bin Srur. He is a Syrian who defected from the Muslim Brotherhood. He started his political activism in Saudi Arabia. He combined the thinking of Ibn Taymiyyah and the political aspect of the Muslim Brotherhood in its methodology. For more information see, <http://www.islamist-movements.com/12175>.

⁵⁴ Al-Maqdisi pointed out to the case of al-Mafraq organization led by Abu Bakr al-Sirhani who later became as a judge for the Jihadi current inside and outside the prison. He was imprisoned for seven years and a half. Al-Maqdisi was exonerated after three years of detention.

9.0 Salafi Courts

Jihadi Salafism forms a type of social networks (secret or open) parallel to civil society organizations (charities and relief) and the judiciary system despite the ideological differences. Reasons for that abound. First, Salafi Jihadis do not trust the institutions of state and society because they submit to Taghut represented in civil laws. Second, it seeks to form a pure and chaste society within the society. They live in alienation within the society, as described by Salafis. Some extremists call it Jahiliyya. Other Salafi schools do not resort to these courts although some individual – on a limited scale – do that for arbitration.

The notion of forming some chaste community has come to the fore in prison and detention. The jailed Salafis get together within jails in certain places and room with other convicted with political crimes. They got segregated from those convicted in criminal or civil cases. They select an Amir to regulate their lives and their relations with each other or with the administration of the jail.

More so than ever, the Amir rules in disputes between political inmates. If these disputes prove to be difficult to rule then they are taken to a judge from outside the prison by presenting all ideas.⁵⁵ However, Abu Bakr al-Sirhani disagreed with al-Maqdisi by saying that it is not necessary for the religious judge to be the Amir of the Jihadi inmates. A judge should meet some conditions and have some qualities such as patience, leadership, and courtesy to organize the relationship with the administration of the jail. During his jail time, Mohammed Du'mus (Abu Omar) – who was accused of murdering the American Lawrence Folly – was the Amir of the political inmates.

Looking at the issue from a different perspective, Mohammed al-Shalabi (Abu Sayaf)⁵⁶ argued that resorting to Shari'e courts, whether the secret or the open ones, has to do with religious and political considerations. There is a desire to apply the rule of God on the Salafi community in the jail to solve the financial or personal disputes without submitting to what they call the courts of Taghut. The latter kind of courts is civilians that do not submit to the rule of God. The court is headed by someone – who assumes the role of a judge – who is the most knowledgeable in the Islamic law. His decisions are noncommittal though it is so when it comes to financial matters. However, in case the convicted cannot afford to pay off the financial obligations, his associates (within and without the prison) gather the amount required.

⁵⁵ Abu Mohammed al-Maqdisi, private interview, Op. cit.

⁵⁶ Mohammed al-Shalabi, Op. cit.

As far as al-Maqdisi is concerned, the Islamic Shari'e courts were formed because the followers of the Jihadi current in Jordan practiced the work of these courts early on. They do not look at organizational and Da'awi related issues alone. But also it covers financial and personal differences and disputes. This is true, al-Maqdisi continues, because they prevent their supporters from resorting to normal civil courts as this is in contradictions with the literature of Jihadis that focus on Loyalty and Disavowal. Hence, litigation in non-Islamic courts was avoided. He adds that they still try to apply the Islamic law. It is worth point out at this juncture that these courts are not legitimate from the state law perspective. They violate the rule of law. But, obliging the youth to submit to litigation in Shari'e courts their piety and religious commitment. In other words, the authority of faith commits them to comply with the rulings of these courts. He adds that they succeeded in solving many disputes by resorting to the secret Shari' courts.

Despite the limited experience, it can be assessed as a successful one to a great extent. Those who look into a controversial issue do consult religious and fiqh references and study them. They also consult with experts and then conclude the proper ruling. Al-Maqdisi argues that it was well-known that they tried to declare their activities with regard to Islamic rule. They printed out and published some rulings. They also talk to laymen in case of a dispute between them and sheikhs. For instance, sheikh Hakam al-Khaza'lah ruled in these disputes and his ruling was accepted by the conflicting parties. Not to mention that his rulings were a reason for putting some of the religiously non-committed persons in the right track.⁵⁷

Abu Sayaf mentioned a story of someone who is close to what he described as the Jihadi current. This person asked to put on trial his addiction on alcohol. He sought to get cleaned from the guilt. His rational was that a regular state court would not listen to him nor imposed a penalty on him. He thought that even if the court looked in his case it would not purify him from a religious perspective because all it could do was to fine him or jail him for a short period of time. For this reason, he resorted to some Salafists who accepted to hold a religious court for him. Abu Sayaf preferred not to disclose the name of the religious magistrate – though he mentioned his nick name as Abu al-Bara' – nor the name of the convicted person.⁵⁸

Among all the magistrates, Sheik Abu Bakr al-Sirhani stood out as the magistrate of Jihadi Salafists. Supporters of IS chose him to decide on a complaint presented against Abu Mohammed al-Maqdisi. The latter's position and anti IS statements were the reason for this complaint. However, the magistrate was pressured by other Salafi leaders, chief among them Abu Sayaf from Ma'an and Luqman Riyalat from Salt to ignore the issue. They argued that the persons who filed a case against al-

⁵⁷ Abu Mohammed al-Maqdisi, private interview, Op. cit.

⁵⁸ Mohammed al-Shalabi, Op. cit.

Maqdisi do not represent IS and therefore do not have an authorization to sue him. They stressed that those people have no personal differences with al-Maqdisi. As a consequence, Sheikh al-Sirhan refused to look into the case despite his well-known sympathy with IS.

As to his work as a magistrate for the Jihadi Salafi inside and outside the prison, Abu Bakr al-Sirhani clarified that disputes may occur among the inmates for personal, financial, or rights related issues. All these disputes require a solution. Accordingly, there should be Shari'e rulings for the sake of conflict resolution. This is important especially for this brand of Salafism and in particular the individuals who refused to have litigation under Taghut. Abu Bakr agreed therefore to assume the role of being a magistrate due to his wide knowledge in the Shari'e science, not to mention his experience as a judge inside the prison, teaching, and leading the pray.

Besides, Sheikh al-Maqdisi himself assumed this job before to solve the problems occurred among his followers. Abu Qutada and others did the same due to their knowledge. Suffice it here to mention others such as Sheikh al-Sirhan, Sheikh Luqman Riyalat, Sheikh Mustafa al-Sanori, Engineer Sheikh Jarah al-Rahahleh, Abu Mohammed al-Tahawi and Sheikh Omar Mahdi Zeidan. They enjoyed a deep knowledge of fiqh and religious rulings linked to al-Hanbali or al-Shafi'e' in general. They consult some experts sometimes with regards to issues linked to personal, financial, security, and organizational differences. Among the issues that al-Sirhan ruled were the visits, finance, personal, and family related issues. The financial dispute is linked to money presented by the families for all detainees. Hence, sometimes there was a disagreement over the portion of each inmate.

In the media, Abu Bakr al-Sirhani⁵⁹ became known in non-official religious judiciary after his rejection to consider the lawsuit against Mohammed al-Maqdisi. A number of supporters of IS, chief among them were Ahmed Abu Glous and Isam al-Ghadir, filed a case against al-Maqdisi who was one of the most critical of IS. They failed to bring an authorization from IS to sue al-Maqdisi and therefore he rejected the case. Al-Maqdisi was accused of backstabbing al-Adnani because of the latter's incitement for bloodshed.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Abu Bakr al-Sirhani, Op cit.

⁶⁰ Al-Sirhani points out that if al-Maqdisi had been put on trial he would have been convicted. He argues that al-Maqdisi did not follow the proper Fiqh sequence and most of his Fatwas are emotional and responsive to the discussion of his supporters. He lacked the knowledge of what was taking place in reality. Those who issue Fatwas should acquaint themselves with reality and should listen to all sides, a matter that al-Maqdisi failed to do. In his interview with the researcher, one of IS's supporters – who preferred to be anonymous – he said that some 17 leaders of al-Qaeda were killed in Yemen after their calls with al-Maqdisi were detected. Al-Maqdisi was calling to secure the release of the Jordanian pilot Mu'ath al-Kasasbeh, a matter that was denied by al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula.

Among the most salient lawsuits that he ruled was a case against Abu Ali⁶¹ accused of being a spy for Jordan's security apparatuses. Abu Ali was one of those who fought along al-Zarqawi and was accused in terrorist cases. Abu Ali claimed that he was practicing what was known in Fiqh as Mukhada'ah⁶² (deception). He claimed that he was deceiving Jordan's security apparatus to secure his runaway – along with others convicted with execution – from jail.⁶³

Abu Bakr al-Sirhani exonerated Abu Ali. It was clear for al-Sirhani that Abu Ali had a curious personality and a desire to know what was going on around him but without reporting. Some people like Mu'amar al-Jaghbir⁶⁴ praised him and testified that Abu Ali was subject to torture in prison during his second detention. He was tortured to tell the security apparatus the whereabouts of al-Zarqawi. Although he knew the location of al-Zarqawi, he rejected to tell them despite torture. That said, al-Sirhani ruled that Abu Ali to offer an apology for his rude style with his associates and for spying on them though not for the sake of the security apparatus. He also ruled on the false eyewitness by blackening their face, meaning they cover their face with black paint as a self-confession of lying and offering false eye witnessing. All of that is caused by the ignorance and the lack of separation between what is religious on the one hand and what is security and political on the other hand. Abu Ali was put on trial face to face with those who accused him and he listened to their witnessing. Besides, he asked for help by some military and security experts – Azmi al-Jaiosi for example – among the convicted in order to verify some of the information offered.

⁶¹ Abu Ali, who preferred to remain anonymous due to the sensitivity of the issue, was one of the previous fighters in Iraq. He was an associate of al-Zarqawi and married to an Iraqi woman. He was also imprisoned by the Americans. He deceived Iraqi and American security agencies pretending that he would hand in al-Zarqawi if they release him. He claimed that once he got released, al-Zarqawi would come and visit him in his house, where they can arrest him. His objective was to smuggle his wife out of Iraq in the first place and then to flee. When he reached his house he took a secret road, was made ready for this purpose, and ran away toward the country of Mujahidin. He was arrested again by the Iraqi authority and was handed in to Jordan. He tried to use the same deception with the Jordanian authority, who dealt with him carefully. A representative of the Intelligence department met him five or six times inside an office in Swaqah prison. For this reason, other Jihadi inmates in the same prison accused him of being an agent. However, Abu Bakr al-Sirhani exonerated him after two years of trial.

⁶² Al-Mukhada'ah (deception) is about misleading someone else (whether an enemy or a friend). Here, it means deceiving or misleading the enemy whether military or security agencies in a given topic. Jihadis considered this practice as party of way by deception. They tend to provide fake information to realize a certain objective.

⁶³ The following names were convicted to death sentence in connection with terrorism: Azmi al-Jaiosi, Mu'amar al-Jaghbir, Sajidah al-Rishawi, Ziad al-Karboli, Khadr Abu Hoshier, Ra'ed Hijazi. Three were actually executed: Jaghbir, Sajidah al-Rishawi, Ziad al-Karboli

⁶⁴ He was one of those sentenced to death. He, along ten others, was executed against the background of taking part in blowing up the Jordanian Embassy in Baghdad on February, 2003.

In his turn, Omar Mahmud (Abu Qutada) ruled in the case of the murder of Ahmed Harbi al-'Abidi who was killed by members of Nusra Front in Dar'a. He ruled that those who took part in his killing had no intention to do so. He ruled that they pay JD117000 on instalments over ten years.⁶⁵

10.0 Jordan State Facing the Courts of Salafi

Despite the fact that forming and holding Shari'e courts are done clandestinely – because of defiance and violation of Jordanian law – the security apparatuses chase those who practice this kind of work and keep a close eye on the details of these cases. Most of the cases viewed by these courts are peace-related ones and therefore the courts' rulings are non-obligatory on the conflicting parties. Thus far, no single magistrate or conflicting parties have been prosecuted by the security agencies.

Commenting on the measures taking by the state against those who practice the profession of magistrates in the courts of Salafi, Abu Bakr al-Sirhani said that security apparatuses investigate cases being tried internally and secretly among the Jihadi Salafi in Jordan. They are accused of establishing a state within a state in Jordan. Besides, they do not acknowledge the legitimacy of regular state courts. They argue that their courts – exactly like tribal judiciary – do not run against law. They also argue that these courts look at peace related cases and Salafi magistrates do not have an executive authority to implement the ruling in case once party rejects. The only things that commit individuals are their faith and piety. Sometimes, those courts help the society avoid a kind of infighting in a way that could threaten the security of the society particularly if these cases involve big tribes. For this reason, some judges avoid ruling in certain cases when they realize that they lack the tools or authority to put pressure on the plaintiff especially if they come to the realization that the continuation of this case will not secure rights.⁶⁶

Al-Maqdisi confirmed that the executive and security apparatuses oppose the presence of this kind of courts as they represent the absence of acknowledgement of law, constitution, and regular courts. It is a kind of defiance and could lead to a state of chaos if the news reached the public. For this reason, they arrested anyone who practices the mission of Shari'e judge in addition to the conflicting parties. And yet, no single case has been sent to the security court with regard to Salafi courts.

⁶⁵ He was killed during the interrogation after being accused of belonging to IS, <http://www.alquds.co.uk/?p=278460>. A Personal statement by Abu Qutada, private interview, Op. cit.

⁶⁶ Abu Bakr al-Sirhani, Op cit.

11.0 Disputes among Salafists

The dispute among Salafists is not only about the plethora of different interpretation of the text. In fact, they all believe in the necessity to refer to the Holy Qur'an and Sunna whenever a dispute arises. They agree that there is a need to follow rather than innovate and to refer to the righteous predecessors and their approach. The dispute however has to do with the application of the text on reality. This may account for the bulk of differences among contemporary Islamist movements. They do not concur on the description and understanding of reality. Hence, their differences centers on how to change reality in accordance to their understanding of the text.

The events of September 11th have changed the course of Jihadi Salafism in Jordan and led to two key currents. First, there is a current that seeks integration in the global Jihadi Salafism championed by al-Zarqawi. This current adopts a fighting strategy that has zero tolerance with the Jordanian regime. The second current is prone to a peaceful approach in Da'wa. It does not see a necessity to get into an armed confrontation with the regime for the time being. Abu Mohammed al-Maqdisi is the key representative of this current despite the fact that both currents share the same ideology and the same theory with regard to the socio-economic reality such as considering regimes – whether democratic, or social, and national – as pagan.

In the wake of the killing of al-Zarqawi in 2006, the division came to fore among Salafists in Jordan. The bone of contention was on leadership and the priority of work. Put differently, the dispute was on who would succeed al-Zarqawi. Al-Maqdisi argued for the need to focus on Da'wa and not to empty Jordan from Jihadis. Contrary to that, others such as Abu Mohammed al-Tahawi, Nasri al-Tahayneh, Omar Mahdi Zeidan, Mustafa Abdulatif, and others argued for the need to continue fighting in conflict fraught places such as Iraq, Yemen, Afghanistan, and Chechnya.

Mohammed Tamimi attributes the reasons behind the current dispute between IS and Nusra Front to the fact that IS values the unity of the country and the people. Therefore, loyalty should be to IS. Al-Baghdadi insisted that al-Qaeda should pledge allegiance (Bay'ath) to IS because the latter represents the widest framework. He rejected the territorial distribution adopted by al-Zawahiri in which the latter argued for the need to have al-Qaeda in both of Syria and Iraq. Al-Baghdadi considered that as a reinforcement of Sykes Picot, an anathema to both IS and al-Qaeda. IS responded to al-Zawahiri by saying it was going to stay and expand.⁶⁷

This makes it easier for us to comprehend the nature of disputes that characterized the most extreme Islamist currents in Syria: IS and Nusra Front for the people of

⁶⁷ Mohammed As'ad al-Tamimi, Private Interview, 7 April, 2017.

Sham. These disputes indeed shocked Islamists before secularists. And yet, they did not take place suddenly. These differences were latent and old. They continued for a time resulting meanwhile in two different approaches or schools of thoughts despite the common ideological background. The dispute ends up in a way that each party considers the other as infidel. It is most likely that the disputes in Syria and Iraq were caused by Jordanians in the first place. Put differently, the disputes among Jordanian Salafists reflected on Syria.

12.0 The future of Salafists in Jordan

On the whole, Islamists in Jordan are going through a setback due to the rivalry among its leaders and their failure to put their act together. Hence, divisions continued unchecked and therefore the number of Salafi groups could mushroom to reach eight in not more. For instance, Jihadi Salafism turned out to be a number of Salafisms: the Salafism of IS and Nusra Front and their affiliations. There are also political Salafism or national Salafism etc. Needless to say, the Scientific Salafism has been divided along the followers of Sheikh Albani and his disciples, the followers of the Society of al-Kitab wal Sunnah, the supporters of Sheikh Samir Murad, the followers of Sheikh Salim al-Hilali who defected from al-Albani Center, the followers of Sheikh Ihsan al-Uteibi who merged the Scientific Salafism with the political one, the followers of Sheikh Wafiq al-Naddaf and other Salafisms. It seems that Salafisms have differences on leadership, priority of work, and the approach to bring about change at Da'wa as well as the political levels.

If anything, the Jordanian state exploits these differences among various schools of Salafism. Indeed, it triggers these disputes and internal defections to undermine and deconstruct these schools altogether. The objectives are to make them less effective and less dynamic. It was obvious on the way the state dealt with Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan.

In a nutshell, the dynamic of Salafism in its various brands seeks to develop itself to adapt in its environment. Additionally, it seeks to develop relations with the others at the individual, collective, societal or state levels. It does so via the self-driven activities based on showing its attractive aspect. The self-driven force of Salafism is based on religion and its comprehensive view of human, the creator, and the world. For instance, it employs the identity-based conflict, the intellectual and colonial struggle to realize justice and freedom to legitimize its political and religious discourse. This is in part to reach its desired chaste world.

It seems that Jordan's strategy in confronting extremism from a cultural perspective often comes as a reaction to important events that target the security and stability of the society and the state. Most of the cultural initiatives came into being as a result of the domination of the security dimension over politics or culture. To be sure, the

attacks against the three hotels in Amman formed the first key incident to launch initiatives. They culminated in the "Letter of Amman" published in November 2004. Besides, Jordan started preparing the legal and legislative environment in order for the state to control the venues for Da'wa, mosques, charities, and cultural nongovernmental organizations.

13.0 Results and Conclusions

- Notwithstanding the dissonance among all Salafi currents, they all agree on the methodological and doctrinal basics such as monotheism, the fight against innovations, the commitment to the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah, the understanding of the predecessors of the nation, and the reliance on Istidlal (deduction and induction) in accordance with the science of the jurisprudence basics.
- The visions and position of Salafi currents with regard to the domestic as well as the external arena vary. The bone of contention is about a set of issues such as the position vis-à-vis the ruler and the regime. Scientific Salafism clearly confers legitimacy on the incumbent regimes. It considers them as legitimate rulers. Besides it defines the mechanisms of reform by resorting to secret advice. Contrary to that, Reformist Salafism is more conservative with regards to the wrongdoings of the regime. It calls for changing these wrongdoings via peaceful Da'wa and in accordance with the existing laws in the Islamic State.
- While Scientific Salafism warns against getting involved in politics considering it a waste of time and bad for preachers, Reformist Salafism believes that it is possible to affect change via political participation in parliament and by assuming ministerial positions.
- Scientific Salafism takes an extreme and aggressive position vis-à-vis other Islamist movement considering them as deviant. On the other hand, Reformist Salafism adopts a mild position. It praises their scientific and Da'wa related work. Besides, it advise them in a kind way when they make mistakes.
- When it comes to strategies for change, Scientific Salafism do not differ much from Reformist Salafism. It lacks a clear methodology to articulate a specific plan and well known programs. All they have is a kind of empty statements and views that do not say anything.
- Jihadi Salafi movements are seen as part of the radical Islamist movements that seek to topple and supersede regimes. Hence, their relationship with the regimes is one of animosity and fight. On the other hand, the strategy of regimes in dealing with these movements is based on the attempt to exclude, marginalize, and eradicate them. In light of the absence of dialogue and understanding between the two sides, they do not acknowledge the legitimacy of each other. Regimes tend to see all Islamist movements as a kind of a challenge to regimes' legitimacy and identity and therefore regimes are suspicious of these movements.

- The objective conditions for the emergence of Jihadi Salafism are still available in Jordan. There has been an increasing level of resentment of the growing relationship of Jordan with both the United States and Israel in particular and the West in general. American foreign policies concerning the Islamic and Arab issues – especially the Palestinian Cause – have contributed in generating violence. Seen in this way, countering extremism and terrorism should be done through forming a broad official and popular alliance that could bring about more political and socio-economic reforms rather than only military, security and legal approaches. For this to materialize, there should be an expansion of popular participation in decision making. This entails more democratic measures, reinforcing freedom, equal economic opportunities, and confronting economic problems based on social justice and putting a cap on corruption.
- It is not possible to differentiate between sleeper cells and lone wolves. When a person who carries the ideology of IS decides to carry out an attack, there is no difference whether he is organized within sleeper cells or lone wolves. It is likely that threats of these cells will grow among the growing number of detainees. Jail helps reinforce their convictions and their determination to go on with their enmity toward the regime and the society.
- As long as the approaches dealing with the growing peril of the extreme Islamist movements do not address the political, religious, socio-economic root causes, attempts to confront them intellectually may lead to a delay in confrontation rather than a solution. Put differently, as long as these root causes persist, the groups will grow to the extent that in one day it will not be possible to confront or make peace with them. It is necessary to have a sort of cooperation based on clear policy of status quo and coexistence with them within certain lines of agreements and general framework to avoid confrontation. In parallel with this, there is a need to continue with an awareness campaign using new social media and the realization of serious socio-economic and political policies.

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FES Amman

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) is a non-profit organization committed to the values of social democracy and is the oldest of Germany's political foundations. In Jordan, FES opened its office in 1986 and is accredited through a long-standing partnership with the Royal Scientific Society (RSS). The aims of the activities of the FES Amman are to promote democracy and political participation, to support progress towards social justice and gender equality as well as to contribute to ecological sustainability and peace and security in the region. FES Amman supports the building and strengthening of civil society and public institutions in Jordan and Iraq. FES Amman cooperates with a wide range of partner institutions from civil society and the political sphere to establish platforms for democratic dialogue, organize conferences, hold workshops and publish policy papers on current political questions.