

GILLES KEPEL

JIHAD

THE TRAIL
OF POLITICAL
ISLAM

Translated by Anthony F. Roberts

I.B. Tauris *Publishers*
LONDON • NEW YORK

First published in the UK in 2002 by I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd
6 Salem Road, London W2 4BU

Copyright © I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd 2002

Originally published as *Jihad: Expansion et Déclin de l'Islamisme* © Éditions
Gallimard, 2000

The right of Gilles Kepel to be identified as the author of this work has been
asserted by the authors in accordance with the Copyright, Design and Patents Act,
1988.

All rights reserved. Except for brief quotations in a review, this book, or any part
thereof, may not be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or
transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying,
recording or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

ISBN 1 86064 685 9

A full CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

Printed and bound in Great Britain by MPG Books Ltd, Bodmin

Contents

Introduction	1
--------------	---

Part I Expansion

1. A Cultural Revolution	23
2. Islam in the Late 1960s	43
3. Building Petro-Islam on the Ruins of Arab Nationalism	61
4. Islamism in Egypt, Malaysia, and Pakistan	81
5. Khomeini's Revolution and Its Legacy	106
6. Jihad in Afghanistan and Intifada in Palestine	136
7. Islamization in Algeria and the Sudan	159
8. The Fatwa and the Veil in Europe	185

Part II Decline

9. From the Gulf War to the Taliban Jihad	205
10. The Failure to Graft Jihad on Bosnia's Civil War	237
11. The Logic of Massacre in the Second Algerian War	254
12. The Threat of Terrorism in Egypt	276
13. Osama bin Laden and the War against the West	299
14. Hamas, Israel, Arafat, and Jordan	323
15. The Forced Secularization of Turkish Islamists	342

Conclusion	361
------------	-----

Notes 379

Glossary 431

Maps 434

Abbreviations 441

Index 443

The late twentieth century saw the emergence of an unexpected and extraordinary phenomenon, culminating in a devastating onslaught in the West in 2001: Islamist political movements. Beginning in the early 1970s, militants revolted against the regimes in power across the Muslim world and exacerbated political conflicts internationally. Their jihad or 'Holy Struggle' - aimed to establish a global Islamic state based solely on a strict interpretation of the Qur'an. Religious ideology proved a cohesive force, gathering followers from the young urban poor to middle class professionals and students.

After an initial triumph with the Islamic revolution in Iran, the movement waged jihad against the USSR in Afghanistan, proclaiming a doctrine of extreme violence for the first time. By the end of the 1990s, the failure to seize political power elsewhere led to a split: moderates developed new concepts of 'Muslim democracy' while extremists resorted to large-scale terrorist attacks around the world, beginning with the unprecedented hijackings and biological attacks on the US in 2001.

Jihad is the first comprehensive attempt to follow the history and spread of this new political-religious phenomenon. Gilles Kepel has travelled throughout the Muslim world gathering documents, interviews and archival materials inaccessible to most scholars, in order to provide a full understanding of the scope of Islamist movements, their past, their present and their future direction. As we confront the escalated threat of terrorism, Gilles Kepel helps us make sense of the ominous reality of jihad today.

جَنَابَاتُ

'This is a landmark book, a work of breadth and scope and scholarship, and genuine imaginative powers. It should be the standard work on political Islam.'

Fouad Ajami, author of *Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation's Odyssey*, and Director of Middle East Studies at SAIS, Johns Hopkins University.

جَنَابَاتُ

ISBN 1-86064-685-9



9 781860 646850 >

Jacket design: Stylorouge

I.B.Tauris Publishers

LONDON • NEW YORK

www.ibtauris.com