

Cambridge University Press
0521791405 - The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global
Fawaz A. Gerges
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

THE FAR ENEMY

Since September 11, Al Qaeda has been portrayed as an Islamist front united in armed struggle, or jihad, against the Christian West. However, as the historian and commentator Fawaz A. Gerges argues, the reality is rather different and more complex. In fact, Al Qaeda represents a minority within the jihadist movement, and its strategies have been vehemently criticized and opposed by religious nationalists among the jihadis, who prefer to concentrate on changing the Muslim world rather than taking the fight global. It is this rift that led to the events of September 11 and that has dominated subsequent developments. Through several years of primary field research, the author unravels the story of the jihadist movement and explores how it came into being, the philosophies of its founding fathers, its structure, the rifts and tensions that split its ranks, and why some members, like Osama bin Laden and his deputy Ayman al-Zawahiri, favored international over local strategies in taking the war to the West. This is an articulate and original book that sheds light on the tactics used by the jihadis in the last three decades. As more alienated young Muslims are seduced into joining, the author asks where the jihadist movement is going and whether it can survive and shed its violent character.

Fawaz A. Gerges holds the Christian A. Johnson Chair in International Affairs and Middle Eastern Studies at Sarah Lawrence College. He was educated at Oxford University and the London School of Economics and has previously been a Research Fellow at Harvard and Princeton universities. He is also a senior analyst and regular commentator for ABC television news. His books include *America and Political Islam: Clash of Interests or Clash of Cultures?* (Cambridge, 1999) and *The Journey of the Jihadis: A Biography of a State of Mind* (Harcourt Press, 2006). He has written extensively on Arab and Muslim politics, Islamist movements, American foreign policy, and relations between the world of Islam and the West. His articles have appeared in several of the most prestigious journals and newspapers in the United States, Europe, and the Middle East.

Cambridge University Press
0521791405 - The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global
Fawaz A. Gerges
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

The Far Enemy

WHY JIHAD WENT GLOBAL

Fawaz A. Gerges

Sarah Lawrence College



Cambridge University Press
 0521791405 - The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global
 Fawaz A. Gerges
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
 Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press
 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA
www.cambridge.org
 Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521791403

© Cambridge University Press 2005

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
 and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
 no reproduction of any part may take place without
 the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2005

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Gerges, Fawaz A., 1958–
 The far enemy : why Jihad went global / Fawaz A. Gerges.
 p. cm.
 1. Jihad. 2. War – Religious aspects – Islam. 3. Islam and world politics. I. Title.
 BP182.G4 2005
 297.7'2–dc22 2005020121

ISBN-13 978-0-521-79140-3 hardback

ISBN-10 0-521-79140-5 hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for
 the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or
 third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication
 and does not guarantee that any content on such
 Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press
0521791405 - The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global
Fawaz A. Gerges
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

*For all those who died on September 11
and the loved ones they left behind*

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	page ix
Prologue	1
Introduction: The Road to September 11 and After	16
1 Religious Nationalists and the Near Enemy	43
2 The Afghan War: Sowing the Seeds of Transnational Jihad	80
3 The Rise of Transnationalist Jihadis and the Far Enemy	119
4 Splitting Up of Jihadis	151
5 The Aftermath: The War Within	185
6 The Iraq War: Planting the Seeds of Al Qaeda's Second Generation?	251
<i>Organizations Cited</i>	277
<i>People Cited</i>	281
<i>Notes</i>	287
<i>Glossary</i>	329
<i>Index</i>	333

Acknowledgments

This book has been in the making since 1999 and is based on hundreds of interviews with Islamists, former jihadis, activists, civil society leaders, and opinion makers throughout the Middle East. I benefited greatly from a generous MacArthur Foundation fellowship and a Smith Richardson Foundation grant, which enabled me to spend two years in the region conducting field research, traveling widely, and spending countless hours talking to the rank and file, not just leaders, of the Islamist and jihadist movements. The interviews I conducted inform my analysis throughout the book and complement recently acquired primary sources. This book relies overwhelmingly on original material.

When the United States was attacked on September 11, 2001, I decided to wait until the smoke had dissipated before I concluded the writing of the book. I am glad I did, because the aftershocks of the September 11 earthquake have shed more light on the internal dynamics, tensions, and struggles within the jihadist movement. I also did follow-up primary research to bring the story up to date. My hope is that the book makes a humble critical contribution, not to the polemical and charged foreign policy debate, but rather to understanding the road to September 11 and its aftermath: how and why transnationalist jihadis brought the war to American shores against the wishes of the bulk of their religious nationalist associates who wanted to keep the struggle focused on the home front. And to what extent is this global war a direct product of the internal strife among jihadis themselves?

In researching and writing this book, I have incurred many intellectual debts to friends, colleagues, and strangers who sat down with me for countless hours and shared with me their insights and views. In

Cambridge University Press
 0521791405 - The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global
 Fawaz A. Gerges
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

x • Acknowledgments

particular, I cannot do justice to the hundreds of activists, students, and opinion makers in Egypt, Yemen, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine, and elsewhere who took the time to meet with me and enrich my education on the unfolding struggles in the region. They welcomed me in their homes and offices, put up with my nonsensical questions, and provided me with precious primary sources. This book is as much theirs as it is mine, although they might disagree with my conclusions and are not responsible for any existing errors of judgment or fact.

A partial list of the people who went out of their way to help me includes Hassan Hanafi, Al-Sayyid Yassin, Nabil Abdel Fattah, Mustafa Kamal al-Said, Hazem Amin, Kamal Salibi, Bahgat Korany, Walid Kazeha, Galal Amin, Mustafa Hamarneh, Ahmad Thabet, Adel Hammad, Yosri Mustafa, Emad Eldin Shahin, Ridwan al-Sayyid, Ahmad Sobhi Mansour, Gameel Matter, Abul Ela al-Madi, Esam Sultan, Ahmad Abdullah, Omar Morsi, Tariq al-Bashri, Manar El Shorbagi, Ali Fahmi, Seif al-Din Abed al-Fattah Ismail, Nadia Mahmoud Mustafa, Abdel al-Azeez Shadi, Gamal al-Banna, Dallal al-Bezri, Adel Hussein, Hassan Ahmed Abu Taleb, Mohammed Salah, Dia' Rashwan, Montasser al-Zayat, Mohammed al-Maitami, Nasr Taha Mustafa, Nemat Guenena, Saad Eddin Ibrahim, Enid Hill, Hala Mustafa, Anees al-Anani, Samir Marqus, Faisal Mokarram, Abdel al-Bari Taher, Wahid Abdel al-Majid, Abdu Mohammed al-Jundi, Hassan Zaid, Abdel Kareem Alkhwani, Mansour Azzandi, Gamil al-Ansi, Ghaleb al-Gersh, Najib Ghanem, Khaled al-Bojairi, Haseeb al-Oraiki, Mohammed Khatan, Mohammed al-Yadomi, Yasin Abdel al-Aziz, Abdel Wahab al-Ansi, Ahmad al-Shami, Mohammed Mansour, Mohammed Mottahar, Mohammed Abdel Malak Almotawakel, Mohammed Abdel Wahab Jubari, Layth Shubaylat, Tariq al-Tal, Mohammed Suleiman, Rahil al-Gharaibah, Abed al-Lateef Araibat, Jameel Abu Bakr, Nahed Hattar, Muraywid Tal, Khair el-Din Haseeb, Nadim Mseis, Hicham Chehab, Haytham Mouzahem, Fares al-Sakkaf, Hani Hourani, Abdulwahab Alkebsi, Mona Makram-Ebeid, Nadia Abou El-Magd, and many others.

Colleagues and friends in the Middle East generously offered intellectual nourishment as well as friendship and hospitality. In particular, I would like to thank Tariq Tal and Jocelyn DeJong, Anees al-Anani,

Acknowledgments • xi

Bahgat Korany, Mustafa Hamarneh, and Mohammed al-Maitami for hosting me in their homes and welcoming me with open arms. I remain grateful.

I owe a special thanks to London University Professor Charles Tripp, who read an early draft essay of the book and was not discouraged by its lack of refinement. His critical feedback and insights forced me to contextualize the analysis and be more comparative. Needless to say, any remaining shortcomings are mine. Yezid Sayigh of London University also furnished me with conceptual and practical suggestions that helped me in revising the book. Kamran Bokhari, senior analyst at Strategic Forecasting, Inc., read the entire manuscript and made extensive notes throughout. The book is better thanks to his diligent efforts. Over the years Avi Shlaim of Oxford University has been and remains a source of inspiration and friendship. I also want to thank my friend J. Michael Mahoney, whose moral support has sustained me. I am grateful to Julie Kidd of the Christian A. Johnson Endeavor Foundation, which has been a generous supporter of Middle East studies and my work at Sarah Lawrence. I also want to thank my research students, Marie Webb and Anthony Fleming, for their assistance.

Special thanks go to Ms. Marigold Acland, Senior Editor at Cambridge University Press, for her patience and commitment to this book. Although my contract stipulated that I complete the book by 2002, she just gently nudged me to plug along. More important, her critical feedback enriched the overall analysis. I also want to thank Ms. Shari Chappell, my editor at Cambridge, for shepherding the book from its early conception until birth; Shari's magical editorial touch has transformed the book. The entire team at Cambridge has been most helpful.

Finally, this book belongs to my family. They invested as much time and energy, if not more so, in making it happen as I did. I could not have traveled for long periods or written the book without Nora's love and encouragement; her intellectual feedback has guided the project since its inception. My children's tenderness and affection also kept me sane during those hectic days of travel and writing. Hannah never let a day go by without reminding me that I should hurry and be done with the book. Laith wandered in and out of my study showering me with kisses. From the outset Annie-Marie never tired inquiring about "why did

Cambridge University Press
0521791405 - The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global
Fawaz A. Gerges
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

xii • Acknowledgments

Al Qaeda attack America?” She motivated me to try to find intelligent answers to her question. Bassam helped me access key primary documents and listened closely and patiently to my chatter about the far enemy and the near enemy; he often had something critical to say. This book is a fruit of their love.

Fawaz A. Gerges
New York