In late summer 2004, leading scientists from around the world met to discuss the challenges involved in dealing with terrorism. The following question was posed to them at the meeting: Global Networked Terrorism -- how did it start and why? Many of those present contributed statements about the nature of terrorism and the threat that it poses.

What follows are selected individual responses, which give the flavor of the range of opinion among well-educated and skilled people of good will. Authors’ names were removed from submissions, unless they specifically agreed to have names attached for public distribution.

At the end is a summary of all submitted responses, in terms that could be evaluated empirically, were there sufficient interest and resources.

**Global Networked Terrorism--how did it start and why?**

**RICHARD L. GARWIN**

(Physicist Richard Garwin is a former science adviser to several U.S. Presidents and a recipient of the National Medal of Science)

It is my judgment that Global Networked Terrorism--GNT--has emerged in parallel with globalization of commerce and industry because, in both cases new and powerful tools have made them possible. These tools involve open borders, rapid and convenient air travel for personal contact, and, especially, new means of communication involving the Internet, personal computers, and the global cell phone network.

Commercial globalization is driven by the search for profits in greater efficiency, associated with the lower costs in certain areas, political stability, and, in some cases, the exploitation of the displacement of working hours can reduce the calendar time to completion of a task.

GNT, using the same tools, attempts to increase its effectiveness and reduce its vulnerability in carrying out its business. It is able to exploit relatively small numbers of individuals in various countries and locations, provide techniques and guidance, command and control, and, in some cases funding.

Just as in a large multi-national company, occasional personal contact is helpful in establishing trust and a working relationship that is maintained by Email and web contacts. Encryption is used to deny outside knowledge of the content of messages, and for the GNT in some cases steganography is used to conceal in images even the fact of communication.

In the GNT, techniques and tradecraft are shared through training camps, tips, and the Internet. The use of “suicide bombers” or, in general, people willing to sacrifice their lives for the cause, greatly simplifies the task and reduces the technology investment and testing required to use a stolen and hijacked airliner to crash into a building if it all needed to be done without sacrificing one of the terrorists. Instead, no concern at all need be given to “safe escape” and to planning, practicing, and investment for that purpose.
In addition to a unifying principle of the Islamic Revolution, terrorists are often motivated by the local situation—relatives killed or degraded in Chechnya resentment against Israeli security measures, and the like. In addition to resentment, there is also “altruistic punishment,” a strong current in many moralistic people worldwide. Finally, for those who plan to die in committing the terrorist act, there is no further fear of punishment.

In sum, the personal empowerment from explosives, computers, communications, and of overcoming wealth and power through sacrifice is new. A recent United Nations report estimates that with the exception of the more expensive 9/11, Al Qaeda terrorist acts have each cost less than $50,000.

The Roots of Global Terrorism – how did it start and why?
ISAAC BEN ISRAEL

(Physicist Isaac Ben Israel currently heads the Philosophy of Science Program at Tel Aviv University; he is also a Maj. Gen. (res), former Director of Operations for Israel’s Air Force, an architect of its missile program, and one of his country’s chief military and counter-terrorism strategists)

1. A Clarification: Global terrorism is not a threat that can be completely eliminated with military means. The “war” against terror is not a classic war (like the war between two rival state armies). It is more like the war against crime. And terror, like crime, will not disappear totally. Therefore, the goal of the “war” against terror should not be the elimination of it, but reducing it to a bearable level.

2. However, there is a lot to do in the global, multi-lateral level. Terror has global roots, and these can be tackled given a cooperative effort of many countries.

3. What are the roots of terror? In my opinion, the current Islamic terror is not really a war between religions. Bin-Laden does not want to convert Americans. Nor does President Bush (although the term “crusaders” was used). It doesn’t also have a materialistic cause: it is not a way to improve the economical situation of the Muslims. Indeed, the issue of oil supply played some role in the decision taken by the Bush administration to attack Iraq. However this was neither the cause for the Bush strategy to launch a war on terror, nor the cause for Bin-Laden to attack the twin towers. Huntington’s concept of the “Clash of Civilizations’ might be more helpful here, but it is insufficient. What is a “civilization”? Why is terror not supported by Indian or Chinese civilizations?

4. So, what drives terror? I think it is a clash between open societies and closed ones. This kind of clash exists in any society (in Afghanistan as well as in the USA, Sicily or Israel). On one side there are people who view modernization, change, innovation, technology, etc. as good and desired goals. For them these terms express positive attributes. On the other side there are those who view tradition as the most important value of society. They don’t want to change the old system. In their eyes, technology is evil, TV corrupts the souls of youngsters, hand phones pose a threat to the old system, and the end result of this new trend could be the destruction of the old values, decline and falling apart of the family and revolt against authority in general. For them, words like change and
modernization carry an evil message. The USA is the “big devil” because it spreads the culture of modernization. Bin-Laden acted against the USA because he understood that the only way to save his Islamic world, and immunize it against change, is to abolish the generator of this new culture.

5. At the end of the day, one has to choose: does he desire to live in an open society (where alternatives are rationally debated and decided) or in a closed society (where keeping the old order is the ultimate maxim). Not many societies choose the first way. Most of the world still belongs to the second group. It should be emphasized that the measure for openness in a certain society is a matter of degree. It is not a black and white distinction. There are societies that are more open than others. Even within the Islamic world there are societies that are very closed (like Saudi Arabia and Syria) and those that are relatively open (like Indonesia or Turkey). Democracy, according to this view, is only one aspect of open society, and like it, it is also a matter of degree. North Korea, Iran and Syria belong to the same group because they are closed societies (and not because they represent the same “civilization”).

6. We have to distinguish clearly between the goal and the means in this context. The goal is to keep the Islamic world closed. The means are terrorism. It should be emphasized that this goal is by no means a necessary “Muslim” goal and I don’t think it is shared by the majority of the Muslim world. It is the leading ideology of a small group, and it could happen anywhere in any society. The reason why Bin-Laden chose terrorism as a tool to achieve his goal is that open societies are vulnerable to terror (because one can freely move in these societies, human rights are respected, etc.). Terrorism is only a tool in a war to keep the old values unchanged.

7. Another clarification: when I say “change,” I mean “a culture of change,” that is, creating tools for promoting change, even when the results are not known a priori. The essence of such a culture of change is acceptance of “unpredictable change.”

Global Network Terrorism is Metaphysical Terrorism

ANDREI PIONTKOVSKY

(Andrei Piontkovsky is Director of the Strategic Studies Center in Moscow)

In its twentieth century form, terrorism was usually a means to an end, a tool for achieving concrete political goals. In dozens of armed conflicts, separatists such as the IRA or the Basques have used terror along with other methods in their effort to win independence or autonomy from a central government. But in the 21st century we are confronting a new phenomenon, which I would conditionally call “metaphysical terrorism.” This new form of terrorism, practiced mainly by radical Islamists such as al Qaeda, does not even present specific demands such as the release of a prisoner or the independence of a region. As a matter of principle it simply denies western civilization the right to exist, seeking its total destruction.
That distinction is crucial. For a long time we have confronted a Chechen independence movement that in specific situation sometimes used terror as a means to an end. But the challenge facing us is now one of metaphysical terrorism, and to a large extent it is we ourselves who have brought that challenge into being. We have constantly repeated that we are fighting not Chechen separatism but international terrorism, and this has finally become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Thanks to the methods which we have used in this war, we have turned almost the entire populace of Chechnya into our enemies. We have created a huge reserve of living bombs, desperate people ready to carry out the plans of worldwide metaphysical terrorism.

Consider what our head of state said right after the Moscow Metro explosion: That Russia does not negotiate with terrorists but destroys them. It seems to me that this phrase precisely reveals his lack of understanding of the type of terror that we now confront. His wording would have been perfectly apropos (though debatable) if the authorities had received a phone call from some “Liberation Front” right after the explosion, declaring “It was we who blew up the subway. If you do not carry out such and such demands within two weeks, we will blow up something else. We propose that you negotiate with us.” But for a long time there have been no such communications, so our head of state’s words make no sense. And the terrorists’ answer to his words has simply been silence – the meaning of which is, “we do not negotiate with Russians, we blow them up.”

Of course we can tell ourselves if we like that we do have a message from the terrorists: The European Parliament’s resolution calling on us to negotiate. If we seriously believe that, let’s torch the European Parliament with a red hot iron.

Let me suggest a thought which may be paradoxical. Our enemies with whom we have fought, the Chechen separatists led by Maskhadov and the like, have objectively now become our allies in the fight against global terrorism --- because global terrorism is now destroying, first and foremost, Chechnya itself. We can still try to separate Chechen separatism from global terrorism; as a political task this is far from unsolvable. Nobody in Chechnya who is offering any kind of concrete proposal, including Maskhadov, is now insisting on full independence. In general the words “independence” and “territorial integrity” have simply lost their meanings in the face of the tragedy that has now befallen both the Chechens and ourselves. The only things that makes sense now is a radical change in our government’s treatment of the Chechen populace, a full halt to the abuses being committed by the federal armed forces and the Kadyrov gunmen, and a willingness to negotiate with anyone who is not conducting terrorist attacks against peaceful civilians.

There is one more fearsome aspect of this problem. All these calls to “beat the blacks” and so on [in Russian slang, the pejorative term chorny, or “black,” refers to southern ethnic groups such as the Chechens] are triggering a self-perpetuating cycle of violence and terror extending far beyond the borders of Chechnya. We started this war to keep Chechnya Russian; what we are achieving is to turn Russia into Chechnya.

(Note: Aslan Maskhadov led the Chechen separatists who defeated Russian forces in the 1994-1996 war. He was elected Chechen president in January 1997 but ousted two years later by the more radical Chechen Islamist Shamil Besayev. Russian President Valdimir Putin placed a $10 million bounty on Maskhadov’s head, also accusing him of
co-responsibility with Besayev for the 2004 Beslan School massacre though Maskhadov denied any link to it. He was killed by Russian forces in March 2005.)

A Jointly Agreed Upon Statement by Drs. Garwin, Ben Israel and Piontkovsky

There is a clear distinction between 2 types of terrorism:

1. National conflicts with immediate political goals, including some non-state groups.

2. Global, trans-national terrorism which has no short-term demands but a far-away ideological vision. As a matter of principle, it seeks the total destruction of Western civilization.

Both types can mingle and influence each other. The second, in which terror and destruction seem to be ends in themselves, requires only a common enemy and not detailed agreement on a positive outcome and, paradoxically, for this reason may attract broader support – exploiting also most of the existing local ethnic conflicts while exacerbating and radicalizing them.

(Note: According to Michael Scheuer [personal communication 3/05], former head of the CIA's Bin-Laden unit, Al Qaeda and its principal associates have never embraced a nihilistic worldview or operational program that seeks the destruction of Western cultures or civilization as such, but have countenanced any means – including nuclear attack – that may be required to “liberate” Muslim peoples from non-Muslim control)

Global Terrorism: The Killing of Innocent Civilians. When did it start and Why? Richard Wilson

(Richard Wilson is Professor Emeritus of Physics at Harvard University and is deeply involved in many humanitarian projects around the world)

The globalization of terrorism has, in my view, been proceeding at the rate of globalization generally. The magnitude of terrorist acts has increased with the increase of technology generally. This statement is to be understood as an average over periods of 50 years or more.

Then the start of global terrorism began with the beginning of humans and is an inevitable result of animal development which humans as civilized individuals must counter.

I suggest this as a model to be tested. If national quarrels (or other local quarrels) are not defused within a period of 60 years or so, they will spread internationally. Then terrorism will spread (unless unchecked) at the rate of global communication.

As evidence for this I note that I was taught that Russian anarchists and Bolsheviks in 1870-1930 were the global terrorists (they did produce a few bombs in London).
In the present situation the particular characteristics are different and have the following characteristics:

1. It happened to the most powerful country – the US.
2. It was visible on TV after the first minute.
3. It was carried out by Saudis and Egyptians. The common feature is that they professed Islam.
4. By extension, a very large group of people were all blamed by the USA.
5. Panic responses in the USA have encouraged and increased recruitment to Al Qaeda (whatever that is).

But the problem is more general.

Globally Networked Muslim Terrorism – Its Origins And How The Incentives For New Recruits Can Be Reduced.

PERVEZ HOODBHOY

(Pervez Hoodbhoy is Professor of Physics at MIT and at Quaid-e-Azam University in Islamabad. He works tirelessly to rid Pakistan and India of the nuclear menace. He was the first Pakistani scientist of national repute to warn against A.Q. Khan’s roguery, and was taken to court for doing so.).

The recent rise of fundamentalist, neo-totalitarian Muslim movements that use terrorism is an aberration, not a norm in Muslim history. The key contributing factors are the following:

1. The Palestinian-Israeli issue, with daily televised images of Palestinian suffering, together with unstinting US support for Israel, evoke anger and bitterness in Muslim populations around the world. This is, by far, the single greatest element that rallies Muslims against the US.
2. Other nationalist movements such as in Chechnya, Kashmir, and Philippines have turned increasingly towards Islam when denied political accommodation. Their impact is still largely local, but they add to the general feeling that Muslims are being specifically targeted.
3. The deliberate creation of an Islamic network to counter Soviet influence in the Central Asian Republics in the late 1970’s, followed by the creation of a jihadist network aimed at freeing Afghanistan from Soviet occupation, unleashed forces that eventually escaped the control of the sponsors – the US, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt. The invasion of Iraq has unwittingly given further impetus to Islamic groups to engage the US in battle, one that uses asymmetric tactics and is popular because Muslims overwhelmingly believe that this war was about oil and supporting Israel.
4. Faced with internal failure, manifest decline from a peak of greatness many centuries ago, and afflicted by cultural dislocation in an age of globalization, many Muslim societies have placed the blame upon external factors, principally the West. Turning inwards has had political consequences that favor Muslim movements.

5. At least some Muslim states (Pakistan, Saudi Arabia,…) have school curricula that explicitly call for jihad, denigrate other religions, and create a mindset eminently suited for recruitment into extremist organizations. Preachers in mosques, who have large audiences, openly call for violence.

To counter current trends and decrease the supply of recruits to extremist groups will require simultaneous action on many fronts.

- Terrorist groups will continue to recruit successfully as long as large numbers of Muslims feel that they are being unfairly targeted. Unless this changes, and there is a perception that there is some measure of justice in world affairs, this trend is likely to be irreversible.

- Static/declining economies allow for an abundant supply of terrorist recruits. Mitigating economic strategies, skill development, job creation mechanisms, etc are essential.

- Public school education, as well as that in madrassas, must be examined for content and intent. The UN could be asked to define what is unacceptable educational content in any country. Centralization of religious authority, as in Egypt (under Al-Azhar University), is essential to prevent clerics, with large public access, from stoking the fires by issuing arbitrary “fatwas”. International aid could be made conditional to such changes.

Global Terrorism – its origins

(Iranian surgeon and reformist leader, he has called for the opening of Iranian society and increased dialogue with the USA)

Whether global network terrorism actually exists or is only against the USA and its coalition in the “war against terror,” the geopolitical aspect of terrorism has been changed. Now many countries are potentially victims of a new type of terrorism and citizens of any country should be considered a target of terrorism or terrorists. We also can see targeted many international institutions, like the UN and its organization, the Red Cross, trade centers, banks, multi-national corporations.

Now we are dealing with a different type of terrorism, both ideologically (strategically) and methodologically. It is very difficult or even impossible to indicate the exact time for the beginning of this type of terror. Perhaps it is a mutation in an evolution which had been occurring gradually; possibly the unsuccessful phenomenon of globalization, which not only was unable to fill up the gap between South and North but broke many borders, was very important in the evolution of this type of terrorism.
9/11 can be considered the turning point from local to global terrorism, but not the beginning. The new strategy of the USA government announced by President Bush just after 9/11 – that everybody who is not with is against us and an enemy – was also a very important point in the uprising of a new wave of attacks against the USA and its interests.

Global Networked Terrorism

(Iraqi scientist and Shi’ite political leader, and decades-old advocate of democracy; he was tortured and imprisoned for years by Saddam Hussein)

If we limit the definition of terrorism to indiscriminate killing of innocent civilians by non-state sponsored groups, then the roots in the Middle East could be traced to the rise of Wahabism in the Arabian peninsula. This sect preached that whoever professed other understandings of Islam was infidel and should be killed. The Wahabi tribe carried out attacks on Muslim towns, targeting and slaughtering innocent civilians in the 19th century. Modern day Salafi terrorist groups (more specifically Al-Qaeda and associated groups in Arab countries and South Asia) draw from that ideology and are supported and financed by Wahabi institutions and individuals in the Middle East and South Asia, most notably the Gulf States.

Not all or even most of the Iraqi resistance is made up of terrorists. The Iraqi people are very wary of the Americans. Most Iraqis believe – rightly or wrongly but this is what they believe – that the Americans helped Saddam come to power and stay in power, until they changed their minds. The Shi’a also do not forget what they perceive to be their betrayal by the Americans who told them to rise up and free themselves but then let Saddam kill them without lifting a finger to stop him. In [Baghdad’s] Sadr City, children have to walk through ankle-deep raw sewage to schools that hardly have walls, even though hundreds of millions of dollars are supposedly being spent on fixing up these things. Most of the money goes to bribes and into the pockets of corrupt officials and contractors working with the [interim] government or coalition forces. I have witnessed how it works; I have many personal accounts. There is little care for the many innocent civilians wounded or the families of those killed by the resistance or coalition forces.

Global Terrorism: How and Why

(Jordanian scientist and former government minister, who works to promote a permanent peace with an Israel divested of occupied Palestinian territories)

In the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1978-79, the United States (CIA) teamed up with its conventional allies, the ideological Islamists, and with Afghanistan’s neighbor, Pakistan, also with Saudi Arabia. That covert coalition did well in freeing Afghanistan.

While the CIA entered in that coalition, prompted by defense of U.S. interests in that region during the Cold War, the Islamists entered prompted by zeal for Islam and enthused by the triumph of the Islamic revolution in Iran. So, after the liberation of Afghanistan, and especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the CIA and the Islamists parted ways but Pakistan, with U.S. consent, assisted in the takeover of
Afghanistan by the Taliban. The U.S. could not condone destabilization of, say, Egypt. The Islamists who returned to their countries after the liberation were trained militias and were organized to start with. Upon return they started to revolt against the secular governments, especially in Egypt and Algeria. Additionally, the Desert Storm operation led by the U.S. to free Kuwait in 1990-1991 gave the Islamists, now organized in Al Qaeda in Afghanistan, a pretext to agitate conditions in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States to free the “Islamic Peninsula” from the occupation of the “Infidel.”

A campaign started against the U.S. in Somalia in which Al-Qaeda was active; then the U.S. embassies were bombed in 1998 to which the U.S. responded by long range missile attacks on Al-Qaeda camps in Afghanistan. An Al-Qaeda attack followed on a U.S. warship anchored in Aden. Then the confrontation peaked on 9/11 with the “New York and Washington Raids!” The confrontation escalated in the wake of the invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003.

In summary,

1. Bedfellows parted ways and the Islamist felt betrayed in the sense that they realized they were used by the U.S.

2. Islamists were frustrated that they could not take over key Islamic countries (Egypt, Saudi, Algeria) and blamed U.S. support of corrupt regimes in those countries for their failure.

3. The causes that provided ideological motivation for the Islamists were the “occupation” of Saudi Arabia in 1990 by the U.S. coalition; later the U.S. support for Israeli re-occupation of the Palestinian territories was added.

4. Attacks and counter-attacks escalated the situation; it got out of hand.

5. The U.S. President worsened the situation and antagonized most Muslims when he declared that he was embarking on a “Crusade” against the Islamist terrorists. The Islamists thereafter explained and justified their crimes in the context of a campaign against the “Crusaders.”

Minimization and virtual elimination of terrorist attacks and eventually putting terrorists out of business can be done through two complementary processes:

1. Making the world and its target nations safe, and this approach is confrontational and very costly.

2. Mobilizing other nations of the world, especially Muslim nations, in the war against terrorism. This may be achieved through conciliatory moves initiated by the Western nations, primarily the U.S. and U.K, to mitigate the impact of actions (or inaction) taken by them that hurt Muslim nations. Examples of injurious actions have been a) the carpet bombing of Afghanistan in an announced “Crusade,” b) the invasion of Iraq, c) the hostile attitudes toward Iran, Syria and Sudan. Examples of inaction include the support, or at least silence the silence, of Western
Global Terrorism: The killing of innocent civilians – How did it start, and why

(Senior Pakistani diplomat and former army intelligence officer)

Among the fundamental root causes might be the following (which are not listed in any order of preference):

1. Deep suspicions or perceptions among different sides that the other is trying to impose its own way of life or culture, and in the process, preventing the path of peaceful co-existence by attempting to dominate or destroy the other.

2. The predominance of “interests” over “principles,” with different sides all indulging in acts which further their interests, but which go against their own fundamental enshrined principles.

3. An absence of caution, in a situation in which decisive and violent actions to defend one’s own thesis have taken precedence over any effort to analyze the other’s point of view with empathy and understanding.

4. Deep frustration over the inequity and injustice which is engendered by political, economic, and cultural relationships, and a absolute conviction that the other side will just never learn, and so has to be taught a lesson by physical attacks on its nodal structure.

5. The absence of a common framework agreement on definitions, with each side continuing to believe that its own definition of the parameters of the root causes is the only correct one.

6. The emergence of greater confidence in vocal minorities, which were hitherto no more than “fringes” in society, which have gained status in importance and respectability by imposing themselves progressively on the mainstream.

7. The selective sifting of evidence, so as to pick up only those aspects or data which fit into one’s own analysis of the scourge.

8. The emergence of new technologies which offer themselves as “force multipliers” for what otherwise would have been no more than isolated pin-pricks.
Summary of Points and Proposals Extracted from Responses to the Question,  
Global Networked Terrorism – How did it Start and Why  
(compiled with Baruch Fischhoff, Carnegie Mellon University)

Hypotheses regarding specific events (requiring historical studies, informed by social science research):

1. External resources have played critical roles in the initial establishment of specific terrorist movements.

2. The current global terrorist movement needed the unifying Salafist or Wahabist ideology in order to reach organizational critical mass.

3. The core movement provided momentum critical to mobilizing dissatisfaction outside the Salafist or Wahabist ideology. These other terrorist organizations may sustain themselves and proliferate without further Salafist or Wahabist contact.

4. The United States has alienated potential allies, by failing to address their concerns, clearly and explicitly. These failures include both omissions (e.g., not counting civilian casualties) and misstatements (e.g., “crusades”).

5. The evolution of global terrorism has had a large element of chance, in which some “mutations” have prospered in the specific circumstances created by national and international events (e.g., globalization). (There is also something to be learned from historical analysis of specific organizations that did not survive.)

6. September 11 was a pivotal event, in many ways, cited by different authors with many specific hypotheses.

7. In some cases (Chechnya, Iraq, Kashmir), national struggles have been exploited by international terrorists, indifferent to the fate of the local population. There may be growing resentment against these “invaders” as well as against their common enemy.

Hypotheses regarding general processes (requiring social science studies, informed by historical research)

1. Once established (perhaps with the support of major donors), many terrorist organizations become financially self-sustaining, relying on sources such as crime, remittances, and small donors. [The life-cycle and population dynamics of terrorist organization might be studied with the tools of organizational ecology, created to understand the birth and death of firms in emerging industries (tires, lasers).]

2. Two classes of terrorist organizations can be distinguished, in terms of their goals, recruitment procedures, operational objectives, resilience, etc. One class has specific demands (e.g., for territory); the other does not, beyond wanting its opponents dead. [Independent (hypothesis-blind) coding of terrorist organizations’ properties could allow statistical clustering procedures to assess the distinctiveness of these classes, and potentially important outliers.]

3. Once issues are part of an organization’s ideological platform, they remain there (rather than being dropped if they fail to serve functional goals). Beyond core concerns,
the addition of issues is opportunistic, driven by the desire to mobilize support, rather than any essential ideology. [Textual analysis could examine the population dynamics of issues, within organizations (e.g., when Israel-Palestine has become a concern). Network analysis could track the diffusion of issues considering their longevity in their original cases and derivative ones.]

4. Former allies are more implacable foes than forces that have never worked together. If true, then it is possible to imagine a violent parting of ways between terrorist organizations with limited goals (e.g., territorial sovereignty) and others "using" them as means to the end of an unlimited goal (e.g., a closed, fundamentalist society).

5. Open societies can and want to resolve conflicts, while closed ones cannot and will not. As a result, terrorist organizations with specific demands have an interest in preserving their enemies' democratic institutions. Terrorists with unlimited demands do not. Indeed, they succeed when their actions undermine modernity. [Comparative history analysis could evaluate these hypotheses at the behavioral level. Textual analysis and interviews could evaluate them at the ideological and attitudinal level. The "democracy hypothesis" in political science asserts that democratic countries are less likely to go to war with one another. It seems related and is an active research topic.]

6. When globalization has positive consequences on a country's (or region's) general economic, political, and social circumstances, it also reduces recruitment to terrorist organizations. (This is a prediction at the aggregate level; it is not incompatible with recruitment being higher among those individuals who have better circumstances, within a society that has been adversely affected by globalization. Confusing correlations at the individual and national level is called the "ecological fallacy.") [An examination of national and regional statistics would examine this hypothesis. It would require attention to the proper measures of impacts (e.g., is it the mean or the distribution, in a society? Is it absolute or relative to expectations and, if so, which?)]

7. Other countries' perceptions of US intentions are central to the intensity of their support for terror. Three aspects of those perceptions are (a) Is US policy categorical (with us or against us)? (b) Is the US indifferent to the fate of others? (c) Are the US government and people the same? [Survey research could examine these views. An initial question would be whether there is sufficient variation, within and across country, to merit looking for behavioral correlates.]

8. Sustained terrorism requires long-standing, unresolved grievances. Over time, those grievances exhaust the population's energies, hopes, and trust. It creates generations that have known nothing other than conflict and have always seen their "enemies" in adversarial roles. [Comparative historical analyses of relevant cases, with and without terrorism.]
“ON THE MEANING OF JIHAD AND MARTYRDOM”

SHEIKH HAMED AL BETAWI

SPIRITUAL GUIDE OF HAMAS, HEAD OF THE PALESTINE SCHOLARS LEAGUE (ULEMA),
JUDGE (QADI) OF THE ISLAMIC COURT OF PALESTINE (SHARI’A FILASTIN)
FORMER PREACHER AT AL AQSA’ MOSQUE, JERUSALEM
(Interviewed by Scott Atran, Nablus, West Bank, September 8, 2004)

- QUESTION: WHAT IS THE MEANING OF JIHAD?

Answer. Jihad is one of Islam’s dignified principles. These principles value reciprocal treatment: who kills you, kill him.

We fight for dignity (karáma), nation (watan), religion (din) and Al ‘Aqsa’. In the Qur’an, the book of Al-Tauba, verse 111 tells us that Allah brings souls to Paradise killing the enemy and getting killed - that is the high principle of jihad (mabada samia fil jihad).

Allah asks that we be good with everyone who does not raise a hand against us, especially the “People of the Book” (ahl kitab), Christians and Jews, we can live side by side with them, share our food with them, marry their women [if they convert to Islam], and keep their holy places safe.

But others are not as tolerant. France will not allow our women to wear their veils in school.

There are commands from the prophet and the Muslim leaders to not kill women and children, and to not uproot trees.

But the Israelis kill our children and uproot our trees.

Jihad follows the principle of reciprocal treatment: He who attacks you, attack him in equal terms. In the Qur’an, the book of Al-Baqarah, verses 190-191, it says:

“And fight in the way of Allah with those who fight with you, and do not exceed the limits, surely Allah does not love those who exceed the limits. And kill them wherever you find them, and drive them out from whence they drove you out, and persecution is severer than slaughter, and do not fight with them at the Sacred Mosque until they fight with you in it, but if they do fight you, then slay them; such is the recompense of the unbelievers.”

Q. But if people always carry out this principle of “an eye for an eye” (‘ain bil ‘ain), won’t everyone wind up blind?

A. Allah authorized he whose land is occupied to fight the occupier by any means. When Germany occupied France, the French did not meet the occupiers with flowers.

Q. WHO WANTS TO BE A MARTYR (SHAHEED)?
A. We consider those who carry out martyrdom operations mujahideen and martyrs, their resting place in paradise, and Allah and his messenger ordered jihad in defending religion, mankind, and the homeland.

If you asked any person, “Why do you chose to be a martyr?” he will tell you “because there is great injustice and persecution against our people.”

Thus the young men who carry out the martyrdom operations are mujahideen martyrs, not terrorists, what motivated them are the crimes of the Israeli occupation against our people for more than 50 years and the support of the West, especially America, for the Occupation, and the failure of the international organizations such as the Security Council and the General Assembly to protect our people.

Our people do not own airplanes and tanks, only human bombs. Those who undertake martyrdom actions are not hopeless or poor, but are the best of our people, educated, successful. They are intelligent, advanced combat techniques for fighting enemy occupation.

Yehia Ayash was an engineer when he led the Ezziddin Al-Qassam Brigades [Hamas military wing].

Qais Adwan was President of the Student Council at Al-Najah University, which has 12 thousand students.

Mohamed Al-Hanbali was an engineer at the University and his father a millionaire—“Was a student at the College of Engineering, Al-Najah University” His father said to him “I will marry you to the most beautiful girls in Nablus” and he replied: “No father, I will marry in heaven, my mission is to defend my people and my religion.” His father was a friend of mine.

Do you think that the person who leads the Student Council, responsible for 12 thousand students at Al-Najah University, is a stupid person? Of course not, he was very intelligent, for that reason he chose this path.

I know a number of them who were compassionate and intelligent, not deviant, did not have promiscuous relationships with women; their economic status was excellent. Mohamed Al-Hanbali wass the son of a businessman who has a factory; nevertheless, he chose this path.

Those who chose do not fear anything in the world, because this world, headed by America, is an unjust world, they will keep on fighting as long as there is injustice and unfairness against their people - as long as there is occupation.

They are intelligent. They invented advanced combat techniques for fighting the enemy and occupation. They are the finest of our people.

A martyr has to have a heart filled with faith, faith in the justness of his cause, and he must be brave.
Allah created angels, and they are many, they do not defy Allah; and created devils, their function is to harm. And Allah also created mankind midway between angels and devils; some men are like angels, and some like devils.

Q. **DO PEOPLE CHOOSE MARTYRDOM BECAUSE OF POVERTY OR LACK OF EDUCATION?**

A. No, this is the opinion of liars; this is a false belief. Poverty by itself does not lead to martyrdom, but if there were humiliation and confiscation of land and uprooting of trees, the motivation would be strong; 90% of the operations were motivated by a reaction against the crimes of the occupation.

The educated person has a greater motivation for carrying out the operations and for becoming a martyr.

There is private interest and public interest. The believer prefers the public over the private. There are people who have children, they leave their children and go to the operations.

In *Surat Al-Tauba, Ayah 24*:

“If it be that your fathers, your sons, your brothers, your mates, or your kindred, the wealth that ye have gained, the commerce in which you fear a decline, or the dwellings in which you delight are dearer to you than Allah, or His Messenger, or the striving in His cause, then wait until Allah brings about His decision, and Allah guides not the rebellious.”

Prophet Mohamed says actions are assessed by intentions. One might kill Arabs and children in the operations, but Allah would forgive him because his intention was jihad.

Q. **CAN PERSONAL GRIEVANCES ALSO MOTIVATE MARTYRDOM?**

A. Yes, of course. In the village of Tel, Israelis killed a citizen from the Rehan family, and they blocked the ambulance from taking him to the hospital when he was bleeding, and during his burial his brother vowed to avenge for him.

A girl from Jenin carried out a martyrdom operation because the Israeli army killed her brother and fiancé.

Q. **IS A PERSON DESTINED FROM BIRTH TO BE GOOD OR BAD?**

A. No, circumstances affect people, like educational level, bad friends, social and educational circumstances.

Those who carry out our martyrdom operations are excellent people, they would not do these operations if it were not for the occupation. If the occupation ends, the operations will end.

Q. **IF A CHILD BORN TO ZIONIST PARENTS WERE RAISED FROM BIRTH IN A HAMAS FAMILY, WOULD HE GROW UP TO BE ZIONIST OR HAMAS?**
A. **Inshallah** the child will become a good Muslim. Surroundings are more important to determining who a person will become than who they are when they are born.

Our people do not fight the Jews because they are Jews but because they are occupiers, our people do not fight the Christians because they do not occupy our land.

A Jewish child who is killed is a casualty of his unjust government; if it weren’t for its practices he wouldn’t be killed.

Allah creates all people equal but He gives them a choice – the choice of submission (*islam*) and Heaven or war (*harb*) and Hell. Our martyrs are warriors of God (*mujahideen*) not terrorists (*muharbiyeen*). That is why I issued a religious edict (*fatwah*) that they will go to heaven. They are not afraid of anything. They will fight until *jihad* has ended."

Q. **AND WHEN WILL JIHAD END?**

A. When injustice has ended. When this global regime with America as the head of the snake is destroyed."

Q. **HOW ABOUT MUSLIMS USING NUCLEAR ARMS, IS IT JUSTIFIED?**

A. Many more Muslim children have been killed by others then children killed by Muslims. Any means (*ayit wasila*) are legitimate to fight back.

Q. **WHAT DO YOU THINK OF OSAMA BIN LADEN AND AL QAEDA?**

Allah authorized Muslims to kill the women and children of the enemies who kill the women and children of Muslims.

When the martyrs carry out operations they do not intend to kill children, they target the occupiers. Children who are killed just happen to be in the way. Our mujahideen never targeted any school. I am against killing school children in Belsan in Russia. I am against this even though the Russians are killing the children, women, and men in Chechnya, and I heard on the news that the Chechen mujahideen denied responsibility for it.

In spite of America’s crimes in the world, I still oppose the attacks of Osama Bin Laden on September 11. Even though America is waging a war on the Arabs and the Muslims, helping Israel in Palestine, we are against killing the victims of September 11.

Q. **BUT DIDN’T AMERICA COME TO THE AID OF MUSLIMS IN THE BALKANS?**

A. Americans are liars when they say they rescued Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Q. **AND WHAT ABOUT IRAQ?**

A. Iraq will be a graveyard for the Americans, just as Afghanistan was for the Soviets.
I and Sheikh Qaradhawi and many Muslim scholars called for the release of the French journalists [kidnapped in Iraq] because France is not an aggressor against Iraq, this at a time that we support killing any American in Iraq.

I disagree with many of the Shi’ite authorities, many of the Sh’ites declared against fighting Americans in Iraq, and I disagree with what [Iraq’s leading Shi’ite cleric Ayatollah] Al-Sistani decrees against fighting. I say one must fight the American forces, most Shiite authorities are disgraceful, but I support Muqtada Al-Sadr, because he fights the occupation.

But there are Shi’ites who help us. Hizbollah supports our struggle and we theirs even though their faith is deviant and wrong.

We are not against democracy, and we have an equivalent which is the Al-Shura system [a council that may represent tribes, factions or popular voting blocks and may can make decisions or only give advice], but what is happening is that the West practices democracy for its people and practices aggression and non-democracy against us. Europe supported the elections in Algeria but when the Muslims won they opposed the results that give the popular victory to Muslim parties and supported the regime.

Q. CAN THERE EVER BE PEACE WITH ISRAEL?

A. There could be a ceasefire (hudna) with Israel but never real peace (salaam). Israel’s withdrawal to the borders of 1976 is the minimum we can accept, along with the return of the refugees, then leave the matter to history.

But I don’t think they will withdraw from our land, or pull back the settlements. We will live and see: if they withdraw to the 1967 borders and bring back the refugees that would be good; otherwise we will continue fighting them.

Israel is like the Crusaders or the Mongols and other invaders who came here and were expelled. In the end, Israel also will be expelled.

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1 Egyptian cleric Yusuf al-Qaradawi is best known for his popular Al-Jazeera program, ash-Shariah wal-Hayat (“Shariah and Life”), and his website IslamOnline. He has published some fifty books, including The Lawful and the Prohibited in Islam and Islam: The Future Civilization. Muslims widely view him as a moderate conservative who has denounced Al-Qaeda’s killing of innocents, where many Western critics see him as a radical who condones suicide attacks against Israel and American forces in Iraq. Militant Islamist opponents think him lax and dangerously influenced by Western ideas.
Interview with student leader of **AL-KULTA AL-ISLAMIYYA** [Islamic Bloc] at **AL-NAJAH UNIVERSITY IN NABLUS**, which represents more than six thousand students (and which has been the most prolific source of Palestinian suicide bombers)

**Q. WHAT IS AL-KULTA AL-ISLAMIYYA?**

**A.** Al-Kutla is an ideological and political extension and youth organization for the mother movement, Hamas. We take our principles from Islam; in it you find our worldview.

The strength of motivation for a martyr is a person’s conviction in the concept. We stand apart from others in that we have martyrs. The first and strongest motivation is his belief (**imam**), our founding ideology. The features of the martyr begin first with his faith, his behavior, his manners, religious devotion, complete adherence to Islamic laws.

The belief encourages allegiance to the homeland and vengeance upon its enemies. For example: “Kill them where you catch them and expel them from where they expelled you,” says Surat Al Baqara.

Revenge means: “If one transgresses against you, transgress against him like he transgressed against you.”

**Q. DOES POVERTY MOTIVATE MARTYRDOM?**

**A.** Humiliation (**idhlal**) encourages martyrdom, not poverty. We see that the roadblocks and barriers between cities are designed to humiliate the Palestinians and not for security. how will we respond to humiliation?

A martyr is usually more educated than others, often at the university, like Qais Adwan, Mohamed Al-Hanbali and Mohamed Hazaa.²

**Q. WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE FOR AN ACT OF MARTYRDOM TO BE ABORTED IF THE SAME RESULTS CAN BE ASSURED BY OTHER ACTIONS? FOR EXAMPLE, A ROADSIDE BOMB.**

**A.** A Muslim prefers a roadside over a martyrdom operation because the human being is sacred, a martyr is the ultimate hope in life because he kills himself whilst he gives hope to a people, but if he could reach his goal without dying that is better.

Mohamed Hazaa’ – martyr – wrote in his will – he carried out an operation in Jerusalem he killed 19 Israelis in Jerusalem – said: “we do not recite the song of death, but the anthems of life.”

Martyrdom operations came about after all option and capacities failed, and after long patience, after the promises of the world and the United Nations which passed many resolutions that were not adhered to.

**Q. IS IT ACCEPTABLE TO POSTPONE A MARTYRDOM ACTION IN ORDER TO CARE FOR SICK PARENTS?**

**A.** A martyr’s motives are greater than personal or family problems.

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² According to Israeli sources, the majority of Hamas suicide bombers have had college education.
Q. DO YOU THINK THE COMMUNITY WHO BELIEVE IN MARTYRDOM ACTIONS CARE IF THE MARTYR ONLY MANAGES TO BLOW UP HIMSELF AND FAILS TO KILL ANY OF THE ENEMY?

A. Our Allah commands that we have the reasons for making the work successful, but he does not hold us accountable for the result. It makes no difference to Allah.

Q. WHAT WOULD IT MEAN IF A MARTYR RECEIVED 10 TIMES/100 TIMES THE NORMAL COMPENSATION FOR AN ACTION OF MARTYRDOM?

A. This is not compensation. There can be no exchanging of martyrdom for money. Because resisting the Zionist occupation is part of our movement, our ideology, a thing cannot substitute for another thing.

Accepting money from someone close and rich, in return for calling off some martyrdom actions would mean the same as if accepting money from America or Israel.

Q. TO BECOME A LEADER IN HAMAS, DOES IT MATTER WHETHER OR NOT THE PERSON IS WILLING TO BECOME A MARTYR?

A. We are all ready to become martyrs if Allah wishes. Some are chosen not to become martyrs only because they may be needed for others sorts of missions to help their people.

Q. IF HAMAS MANAGES TO FORCE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL WILL IT ALLOW OTHERS, LIKE FATAH, TO TAKE CHARGE IN A FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE?

A. Who dares to take the leadership if Hamas expelled the occupation, we sacrifice for the sake of an ideology, and liberating the homeland is part of our idea, and after that we will insist on our idea, establishing an Islamic regime.

The martyr needs bravery, but built on belief. We differ in our motives from Fatah [the secular and nationalist Palestinian organization led by Yasser Arafat]. Fatah’s motives are short-range, but for Hamas martyrdom is strategic.

Q. WILL IT EVER BE POSSIBLE TO MAKE PEACE WITH ISRAEL?

3 From the perspective of the martyr-sponsoring organization (as opposed to the individual who yearns to be a martyr or the population that supports martyrdom actions), rather than considering the “success” of suicide attack tactics primarily in terms of whether or not the organization sponsoring suicide terrorism has helped to expel foreigners from the terrorists’ homeland, the chief strategic success that spurs the growth of suicide attacks may be to increase the sponsoring organization’s political “market share” among its own potential supporters. With the 9/11 attack, Al-Qaeda rose to the top of the global jihadi heap, although the net result was substantially greater U.S. and foreign intervention in Muslim lands. The Hamas campaign of suicide bombings caused Israel to re-occupy Palestinian lands during the second Intifada, but that increased popular support for Hamas to levels equaling, and sometimes surpassing, the Fatah-dominated PLO (see political tracking polls for the last seven years by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research, www.pcpsr.org/survey/survey.html). Subsequently, secular groups like Fatah’s Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades and the Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine also began carrying out suicide attacks, even praising them on their websites in religious terms virtually indistinguishable from those used by Hamas.
A. We can have a ceasefire (hudna) for a limited time, which could be extended. The minimum that we can accept to stop the fighting is an independent state, the [West] Bank, [Gaza] Strip. If we felt that we were in a free, independent state in our land and airspace, there would be relief and calm.

But this doesn’t mean we will forget our right to Palestine’s historic land, the [Israeli] cities of Jaffa and Haifa are no different than [the West Bank cities of] Jenin and Nablus.

Q. **IF A CHILD BORN TO ZIONIST PARENTS WERE RAISED FROM BIRTH IN A HAMAS FAMILY, WOULD HE GROW UP TO BE ZIONIST OR HAMAS?**

A. If a Jewish child were to be raised with a Palestinian Muslim family he would be a Palestinian Muslim; circumstances have a bigger impact on people than biology.

Q. **WHAT DO PEOPLE IN HAMAS THINK ABOUT AL QAEDA?**

A. What happened in America on September 11 was the result of America’s policy; it is a moment when the powerless felt that America feels the pain of her injustice that she imposes upon the powerless peoples in the world. We are not motivated by absolute animosity or absolute revenge: I do not agree with what happened on Spetember 11, but I find justifications for it.

I also think that who carried out the operation at the Beslan school in Russia [in which hundreds of school children held hostage by Islamist militants died when the school was stormed by Russian forces] had motives similar to what prompted September 11. This was the result of suffering caused by injustice against the Chechen people.

I do not justify killing civilians, but this can happen if the means of resistance run out, when the country’s laws and systems collapse, when the international pacts and treaties that organize relationships during wars are not applied.

Many ideas are shared between Hamas and Al-Qaeda; Allah’s wisdom created a dispute between right and wrong. But there are also big differences. Hamas is a resistance movement on Palestinian land to liberate Palestinian land. Hamas fights Israel. But Al-Qaeda is a movement that fights America and the world. They feel proud to kill, but we do not; we are a religion of peace.

Q. **AND WHAT ABOUT IRAQ?**

A. The situation here is different than in Iraq. America has its army and recruited police there to do its work. We trust the work of the resistance if it is aimed against Americans in Iraq and their helpers, not against the Iraqi people or just because they are Shi’ites.

Q. **HOW ABOUT MUSLIMS USING NUCLEAR ARMS, IS IT JUSTIFIED?**

A. It is not mandatory that we fight American with a nuclear bomb, because there are other options. In an interview with Bin Laden he says a religious duty for Muslims is that they have a nuclear bomb, but the political movements like ours don’t need it.
Our objectives are not limited to liberating Palestine, though, but ending injustice. If today we feel the injustice of the Israeli occupation, in earlier times we suffered from other sources. We will continue fighting against injustice.

I am optimistic, our Allah asks us for optimism. Allah says injustice does not persist. Our jihad depends upon our optimism, or else we would not be able to resist.
“THE EMIR”
Interview with ABU BAKR BA’ASYIR, alleged EMIR OF JAMA AH ISLAMIYAH
August 13 and 15, 2005 from Cipinang Prison, Jakarta.

(Questions formulated by Scott Atran and posed in Bahasa Indonesia by Taufiq Andrie. Most questions and answers were tape recorded. The transcription follows the short introduction below.)

ABB is in a special visitor’s room with seven acolytes acting as his bodyguards, including Taufiq Halim, the perpetrator of the Atrium mall bombing in Jakarta, and Abdul Jabbar, who blew up the Philippines ambassador’s house.

Just outside the visitor’s cell is Hasyim who runs ABB’s daily errands. Hasyim is a member of Majlis Mujahideen Indonesian (MMI), the country’s umbrella organization for militant Islamist groups headed by Ba’asyir. Like many Jemaah Islamiyah members, including ABB and JI founder Abdullah Sungkar, Hasyim originally came from Darul Islam, a post-independence group banned by the Suharto regime that has operated semi-clandestinely in Indonesian society much as the Muslim Brotherhood has in the Middle East.

In 1993, Sungkar split from DI, bringing with him most of the Indonesian Afghani Alumni that he and Ba’asyir had sent to fight the Soviets. Until Suharto’s downfall in 1998, Sungkar and Ba’asyir expanded their network of Islamist schools from exile in Malaysia, tunnelling students to training camps in Afghanistan and the Philippines, and expanding JI’s influence across Southeast Asia. After Sungkar’s death in 1999, Ba’asyir became “Emir” of JI – a position and organization whose existence he publicly denies but for which there is overwhelming evidence, including from current and former JI members I have interviewed.

Although Sungkar himself established direct ties with Bin Laden, it is under Ba’asyir’s stewardship that JI has adopted key aspects of al-Qaeda ideology and methods, targeting the interests of the ‘far enemy” (U.S. and allies) with suicide bombings (Bali, Marriott Jakarta, Australian Embassy) in support of global jihad. Last month an Indonesian court cut his jail time from 30 to 24 months for approving, but not explicitly ordering or planning, the October 2002 Bali nightclub bombings that killed over 200 people, including scores of Australian holidaymakers.

Ustadz (“teacher”) Ba’asyir is surrounded by visiting family and students who offer him a daily assortment of news magazines and foods, especially dates, his favorites. His disciples tend to be well-educated, often university graduates, and they wash his clothers. Ba’asyir’s wife visits him once a month, and Ustadz offers to share the food she prepared with his prison mates, including Christians.

Ba’asyir is a lanky, bespectacled Hadrami (a descendent from the Hadramawt region of Yemen, like Bin Laden and Sungkar) who fasts twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays. He’s 63 and seemingly in good health.

Dressed in a white robe, red sarong and white cap, he is sitting on a wooden chair, one foot up perched on the edge. He exudes politeness and is all smiles, with a strong voice and easy laugh he answers questions as if teaching:
I. Questions meant to explore Jihadi concepts of essentialism (answers indicate there is no inherent racism)

- QUESTION: IN YOUR OPINION, WHY DID ALLAH CREATE SOME PEOPLE TO KILL OTHER PEOPLE?

- Anwer: In general, Allah doesn’t create human beings to kill others, except for people who break the Shari’ah: for example people who violate Islamic regulations or Islamic law. People who kill others must also be killed.

Q. HOW CAN YOU BE SURE THAT ALLAH HAS DECIDED THAT THE PEOPLE KILLED DESERVED TO BE KILLED?

A. People who are “murtad” (apostate) deserve to be killed as well as kafir (infidels). There are two types of infidels: the infidel who is against Islam and declares a war on Islam is called kafir harby (enemy infidel). The second type is kafir dhimmi (protected infidel). These are people who don’t fight against Islam, but don’t embrace Islam or remain neutral.

Q. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT AS A MUSLIM YOU HAVE A DUTY TO FIGHT AND KILL THOSE WHO DO NOT BELIEVE/KAFIR PEOPLE? WHY?

A. According Al Qur’an article 60 verses 8 & 9 we can live side by side with people who are outside Islam as long as they don’t fight us, but we are encouraged to fight people who fight against Islam. In our muamalah (daily activity) we can live side by side but for religious affairs we cannot and must be separate.

Q. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ABOUT MUSLIMS WHO ARE OF THE OPINION THAT THEY SHOULD NOT FIGHT OR KILL NON-MUSLIM PEOPLE?

A. As long as other communities don’t fight against the Muslim ummah (community) we won’t fight them. It depends on who initiates the fight. If a Muslim holds the opinion that Muslims shouldn’t fight non-Muslims, I’d say that is his right. But as a matter of fact there must be a clear segregation between Muslims and non-Muslims; between al haq (the right) and bathil (the wrong).

Q. DO YOU THINK THAT ALL PEOPLE ARE BORN THE SAME, OR SOME PEOPLE LEARN TO BECOME GOOD AND SOME OTHERS LEARN TO BECOME EVIL?

A. People were born the same. Allah the mighty endows every person with a ‘fitrah’ (essential nature) to be a good person. But later, this person can be considered to be good or bad based on his adherence to tawhid (acceptance of Allah as the one true Allah), aqidah (the way of Islamic faith) and iman (belief).

Q. DO YOU THINK THAT EACH INDIVIDUAL PERSONALLY CHOOSES TO BELIEVE OR NOT TO BELIEVE IN ALLAH AND TO DO GOOD OR TO DO EVIL?

A. In the Qur’an, Al-Maidah verse 172, it says that people were born with the same fitrah (nature) to believe in tawhid (the one true Allah) but man can be changed by his environment. Here is a story: When in the womb (ruh) the spirit [of some person]
was asked “Who is his Allah,” and he answered, “Allah” but when delivered from the womb and grown up he changed and didn’t believe in Allah anymore.

Q. **DO YOU BELIEVE THAT A PERSON’S SURROUNDING SOCIETY MAKES THAT PERSON TO DO GOOD OR DO EVIL?**

A. In Islam, environment is very important, especially in educating children about religion. From this environment, children learn to be a good or bad. These days, many Muslims live in infidel countries, and don’t find a 100% Islamic enviroment. Indonesia’s enviroment is broken. Indonesian presidents have failed - Sukarno, Suharto, Habibie, Gus Dur, Megawati and (current president) Susilo Bambang Yuhyono. Indonesia is led by *takabur* (snobbery), those who refuse to accept Islamic law. As a matter of fact, an Islamic system of life must be 100% Islam.

Q. **SUPPOSE A CHILD’S BACKGROUND OF JEWISH DESCENDENCY FROM ZIONIST PARENTS IS ERASED AND SUPPOSE THE CHILD IS THEN ADOPTED OR RAISED BY A RELIGIOUS ISLAMIC FAMILY, WHEN THE CHILD GROWS UP WOULD HE/SHE THEN TURN OUT TO SUPPORT ZIONISTS OR BECOME A DEVOTED MUSLIM?**

A. If the teaching of Islam is pure, children will love Islam and environment plays a big role in making them faithful. If a Muslim child were educated by *Yahudi* (Jews) and *Nasrani* (Christians) then on becoming an adult that child can turn against Islam. He’ll be a Muslim and support Islam as long as his Islam is correct. If he has a successful education, he’ll be Muslim. He’ll also be good to his parents as long as his parents don’t turn against him.

Q. **SO, WHICH ONE IS MORE IMPORTANT: AN ISLAMIC EDUCATION OR AN ISLAMIC ENVIRONMENT?**

A. Environment can change people’s *fitrah* (nature). Human beings have an innate propensity to tauhid- to believe in the one true Allah. If a person is raised in a Jews’ environment, he’ll be Jewish. But if he’s raised in an Islamic environment, he’ll follow his fitrah-nature. Human beings are born in *tawhid* and the only religion which teaches and nurtures *tawhid* is Islam. As I said, according to Prophet Muhammed the only things that can change a a child into becoming Jewish or Christian are his parents or his environment. If he is born in an Islamic environment, he’ll survive. His fitrah -nature is safe. If he is born in a non-Islamic environment, his fitrah will be broken and he can be a Jew or a Christian. Human beings have *tawhid* since birth. However, in their life’s journey they could have an epiphany to be devout Muslim. In contrast, a Muslim who fails to resist the devil’s temptation can become an apostate.

Q. **SO, ARE THEIR POSSIBILITIES [ENVIRONMENT AND EDUCATION] THE SAME?)**

A. It also depends on education. If someone’s Islamic education is strong, then Inshallah he’ll be safe until he dies. Environment also plays significant role. Therefore in Islam, there are three things to consider:

1. Environment at home
2. Environment at school
3. Environment in the society.
There must be a synergy between these three. For example, at home, a father must be responsible for his child’s education and then in school, the government must take that responsibility. If we miss one of them, the child’s education will be broken and not bring any benefits. The home and school must both be Islamic. Society and government also must be Islamic, for Islam accepts no alternatives. Muslims can cooperate with non-Muslims and not bother each other but Islam cannot be mixed up with others.

Q. HOW ABOUT TO LIVING SIDE BY SIDE?

A. To live side by side isn’t a problem especially from an economic standpoint, helping each other in materials things only. But in terms of faith, Islam is clear that there can be no mingling [of faiths] and we say to the others that that they are wrong.

Q. You say that it is fardh ‘ain (an individual obligation) for Muslims to wage Jihad against Infidels.

A. There are two types of infidels. The infidel who is against Islam and declares war on Islam is called kafir harbi (enemy infidel). The second type is kafir dhimmi (protected infidel). These are people who don’t fight against Islam, but don’t embrace it either and basically remain neutral.

Q. WHEN IN CIPINANG, DID USTADZ MEET FATHER DAMANIK?4 IS HE KAFIR DHIMMI?

A. Yes, I was visited and was respected by him. I have a plan, if Allah allows me, to pay a visit to his house. That’s what I call “muamalah dunia,” daily relations in the secular life. Because Al Qur’an article 60 verse 8 says that “Allah encourages us to be kind and just to to the people who don’t fight us in religion and don’t help people who fight us” so we are encouraged by Allah to be good and just to them. It means that we can help those who aren’t against us. On these matters we can cooperate, but we also have to follow the norms of Shari’ah. If Shari’ah says no to doing something, then we shouldn’t do it. Shari’ah never prohibited business in the secular world except in very minor things. So it is generally allowed to have business with non-Muslims. We can help each other; for example, if we are sick and they help us, then if they become sick, we should help them. When they die we should accompany their dead bodies to the grave though we can’t pray for them.

Q. WHAT IS THE PRINCIPLE OF HUDYABIYAH [THE COVENANT BETWEEN PROPHET MUHAMMED AND OTHER PEOPLE OF THE BOOK]?

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4 Father Rinaldy Damanik is the leader of the Christian community in Poso District, Sulawesi where violence between Muslims and Christian led to hundreds of deaths on both sides between late 1998 and 2002 (and where intermittent violence continues to this day). I interviewed Father Damanik in his home in Tentena on August 10, 2005. It turns out that Father Damanik shared the same jail cell block successively for some months (September 2002 – January 2003) with Reda Seyam (legendary Al-Qaeda film-maker), Imam Samudra (the JI computer expert condemned to death for planning the meetings and choosing the targets for the Bali bombings) and Ba’asyir. Damanik befriended all three. There are smiling photos of Reda and Damanik together, and Samudra and Ba’asyir have both confirmed their warm feelings toward Father Damanik. Damanik used to call Ba’asyir "Opa" (grandfather) and Ba’asyir’s wife would bring gifts of food to Damanik. They discussed injustice, Shari’ah, faith in God, suicide attacks and opposing America. According to Damanik, they found much agreement on the sources of injustice but disagreed strongly over the means to overcome it.
A. Hudaibiyah means different things according to the legal situation. When Islam is strong, we come to the infidel’s country, not to colonize but to watch over it so that the infidel cannot plan to ruin Islam. Everywhere, infidels conspire to ruin Islam. There is no infidel who wouldn’t destroy Islam if they were given even a small chance. Therefore, we have to be vigilant.

Q. **WHAT ARE THE CONDITIONS FOR ISLAM TO BE STRONG?**

A. If there is a state, the infidel country must be visited and spied upon. My argument is that if we don’t come to them, they will persecute Islam. They will prevent non-Muslims converting to Islam.

II. **QUESTIONS MEANT TO EXPLORE THE LIMITS OF RATIONAL CHOICE AND UTILITY IN DECISIONS CONCERNING JIHAD AND MARTYRDOM, AND THE ROLE OF SACRED VALUES.**

Q. **DOES BEING A MARTYR MEAN BEING A SUICIDE BOMBER?**

A. There are two types of infidel terms for suicide: first, those who commit suicide out of hopelessness, second, those who commit suicide in order to be remembered as a hero. Both are types of suicide and there is no value in it.

In Islam there are also people who commit suicide out of hopelessness and we call this killing oneself. But if a person defends Islam, and according to his calculations must die in doing so, although he works hard in life, he will still go and die for Islam. The consideration is: “if I do this, will Islam benefit or lose? If I must die and without my dying Islam will not win, then my dying is allowed.” If one can avoid dying that is better.

But to die is also permitted. That we called *istimata* or *istijhad*. Istimata (to seek death, also *istishhad* to become a shaheed) means looking to become a shaheed (martyr) and istijhad (becoming a jihadi) means the same. Because to die in jihad is noble. According to Islam, to die is a necessity because everyone dies. But to seek the best death is what we call “*Khusnul Khotimah*,” and the best way to die is to die as a shaheed.

IIA. **MORAL TRADEOFFS WITHIN THE SAME MORAL REALM OR FRAME** (Answers indicate that within the same moral relam, tradeoffs are allowed – for example, if the material payoff from a roadside bomb were the same as a suicide action then the roadside bomb is preferable)

Q. **WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE FOR AN ACT OF MARTYRDOM TO BE ABORTED IF THE SAME RESULTS CAN BE ASSURED BY OTHER ACTIONS? FOR EXAMPLE, A ROADSIDE BOMB.**

A. For sure, if there are better ways to carry out an action and we don’t have to sacrifice our lives, those ways must be chosen. Because our strength can be used for other purposes.

Q. **WOULD IT BE ACCEPTABLE TO FOREGO A MARTYRDOM ACTION IF THERE IS SOMEBODY ELSE WHO IS TECHNICALLY BETTER AND WHO VOLUNTARILY OFFERS TO DO THE SAID ACTION?**
Sure, as long as the replacement will bring more benefits. It has greater benefit if it is better implemented, unlike me (who wouldn’t be better at that). The only calculation of benefit is what better wins for Islam. That is the only consideration. That is the way whe should act in Islam. Everything must be well calculated. Don’t do something without a plan. My death must bring the glory of Islam. If a person has that concept then the person can do Jihad. In the Prophet’s era, Istimata was common.

Q. SUPPOSE A MARTYRDOM ACTION WERE SCHEDULED IN A WEEK – WOULD IT BE ACCEPTABLE TO DELAY THE SAID ACTION?

A. It depends on the calculation. The ulema allow someone to do ‘istimata’ as long as the action will bring benefit to Islam and the Muslim ummah. If not, it is forbidden. If it creates fitnah (discord) it can be postponed. However, one’s commitment to do jihad will have been registered and retains its value. Even if one made the wrong calculation, (but the intention was true) it will retain its value. Inshallah if that person is mujahid, his sins will be forgiven.

II B. TRADEOFFS ACROSS MORAL REALMS (ANSWERS INDICATE THAT ; TRADEOFFS ACROSS DIFFERENT MORAL REALMS ARE BARRED – FOR EXAMPLE, ALTHOUGH THERE IS DUTY TO FAMILY, DUTY TO GOD ALWAYS COMES FIRST)

Q. IS IT ACCEPTABLE TO POSTPONE A MARTYRDOM ACTION IN ORDER TO MAKE THE HAJJ (PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA)?

A. A martyrdom action cannot be postponed in this case because jihad is more important than making the hajj. For example one of most revered ‘ulema, Ibn Taymiyah, was asked by a rich person:

“O Sheikh, I have so much money but I’m confused about donating my money because there are two needy causes. There are poor people who, if I don’t help, will die of starvation. But if I use the money for this purpose, then the Jihad will lack funding. Therefore, I need your fatwah (religious decision) O Sheikh.”

Ibn Taymiyah replied: “Give all your money for jihad. If the poor people die, it is because Allah fated it, because if we lose the Jihad, many more people will die.”

5 Shaykh al-Islam Ibn Taymiyah al-Hanbali (1263-1328) lived during a time of great upheaval in the Arab world. Educated in Damascus, where he had been taken in 1268 as a refugee from the Mongol invasion that had devastated Mesopotamia, he steeped himself in the teachings of the Pietist school of Islam founded by Ibn Hanbal. He sought the return of the Islamic religion to its sources: the Qur’an and the sunnah, revealed writing and the prophetic tradition. In 1293 Ibn Taymiyah came into conflict with local authorities for protesting a sentence, pronounced under religious law, against a Christian accused of having insulted the Prophet. When the Mongols occupied Damascus at the beginning of the 14th century, Ibn Taymiyah led the resistance party and denounced the suspect faith of the invaders and their accomplices, declaring the Mongol converts to Islam to be kafir and killable. He became a principal inspiration of Wahhabiyah, a mid-18th-century traditionalist movement of Islam, and for Al-Qaeda founders Abdullah Azzam and Osama Bin Laden, who inculcated their followers with their interpretation of Ibn Taymiyah’s teachings.
There is no better deed that Jihad. None. The highest deed in Islam is Jihad. If we commit to Jihad, we can neglect other deeds. America wants to wipe out the teaching of Jihad through Ahmadiyyah (an Islamic school of thought that believes that Pakistan’s Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is the Prophet Muhammed’s successor). Through this organization, America works. Why? Because Ahmadiyyah prohibits its followers to undertake Jihad because (they argue) Jihad is the teaching of Christians. This organization originates from India. Its headquarters are in London, funded by America. Ahmadiyyah is America’s tool to destroy Islam, including JIL (Jaringan Islam Liberal = Islamic Liberal Network), an NGO in Jakarta that advocates a liberal form of Islam. It is funded by USAID.

Q. SO IS THE IDEA TO POSTPONE NOT ALLOWED IN ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, EVEN IN ORDER TO VISIT SICK PARENTS?

A. No, no. If we are in Jihad, the Jihad must come first. Unless jihad is in (the state of) fardh kifayah (a collective duty, for the nation). If Jihad is in (the state of) fardh ‘ain (in the sense of an absolute, individual duty), Jihad must be number one. There is no obligation to ask permission from one’s parents. But even if Jihad is still in the fardh kifayah state, such as Jihad to spy on infidel countries, Muslims don’t require their parent’s permission.

Q. CAN A MARTYRDOM ACTION BE PERMANENTLY ABANDONED IF THERE IS A GOOD CHANCE THAT THE MARTYR’S FAMILY WOULD BE KILLED IN A RETALIATION ACTION? SIMILARLY IF THE COMMUNITY WHERE THE MARTYR IS FROM WILL ALSO EXPERIENCE RETALIATION AND CASUALTIES?

A. That is the risk and the consequence of Jihad. If the martyr’s family understands Islam deeply, they will obtain many rewards. Their reward will come, if they understand. A martyr must have ikhlas (sincerity). The parent who understands this concept must be thankful to Allah. This is the spirit of Jihad that most scares the infidels. This is a moral force. According to General De Gaulle, moral force is 80% and actual action only 20 % [of successful combat]. For infidels the motivation is to be a hero or (to die for) the nation. Some are even encouraged to drink (alcohol) so that they can become brave. Russia was badly defeated in Afghanistan. (Afghanistan) is different than Eastern Europe which could be conquered in only a month or two. Russians thought (that they could conquer) Afghanistan in two weeks maximum because its people were backward, isn’t that right? That was Russia’s calculation based on their experience in Eastern Europe. But Afghanistan fought Russia back with their aqidah (through/by following the doctrine) in the way of Jihad.

I’ll tell you a story so that you’ll understand. There was an Afghan mother who made cakes. She asked her children to distribute the cakes to the mujahideen. One by one her children were hit by shells on their way to deliver the cakes. When the mujahidin informed her they said: “Dear mother, please be strong because your children are martyred.” (The mother replied): “I’m not crying for my children but I’m crying because I don’t know who’ll bring my cakes to the mujahideen.” Then one of the mujahideen agreed to replace her children. So, this is the spirit of Jihad. You find ikhlas and willingness. Prophet Muhammed said: “I want to make Jihad then die, then live again.

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6 This is a radically new philosophy, where jihad now trumps four of the five pillars of Islam: prayer, almsgiving, fasting and pilgrimage. Only the confession of faith in Allah and his prophet remain on a par.
then do jihad again, then live again, then jihad - for ten times.” This is because of the noble status for Muslims who became *shaheed*.

**IIC. INSENSITIVITY TO QUANTITY**

**Q. DO YOU THINK THE COMMUNITY WHICH BELIEVES IN MARTYRDOM ACTIONS CARES IF THE MARTYR ONLY MANAGES TO BLOW UP HIMSELF/HERSELF AND FAILS TO KILL ANY OF THE ENEMY? WHY?**

No, (provided that) the *niat* (intention) to be a *shaheed* must be for Allah. During battle it is different. *Istimata* is also different. Still, the whole notion revolves around martyrdom. But in places like London and in America there must be other calculations. In battle it is best to cause as many casualties as possible.

**Q. DO YOU THINK GOD FAVORS OR CARES MORE FOR THE MARTYR WHO MANAGES TO KILL 100 ENEMIES OR 1 ENEMY?**

**A.** The value (*nilai*) and reward (*pahala*) is the same.

**III. QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE NATURE OF GLOBAL JIHAD AND THE FIGHT AGAINST AMERICA.**

**Q. IN REGARD TO THE GLOBAL CONDITION, WHAT KIND OF THINGS CAN THE WEST, ESPECIALLY AMERICA, DO TO MAKE THIS WORLD MORE PEACEFUL. WHAT KIND OF ATTITUDES MUST BE CHANGED?**

**A.** They have to stop fighting Islam, but that’s impossible because it is “*sunnatullah*” (destiny, a law of nature), as Allah has said in the Qur’an. They will constantly be enemies. But they’ll lose. I say this not because I am able to predict the future but they will lose and Islam will win. That was what the prophet Muhammed has said. Islam must win and Westerners will be destroyed. But we don’t have to make them enemies if they allow Islam to continue to grow so that in the end they will probably agree to be under Islam. If they refuse to be under Islam, it will be chaos. Full stop. If they want to have peace, they have to accept to be governed by Islam.

**Q. WHAT IF THEY PERSIST?**

**A.** We’ll keep fighting them and they’ll lose. The *batil* (falsehood) will lose sooner or later. I sent a letter to Bush. I said that you’ll lose and there is no point for you (to fight us). This (concept) is found in the Qur’an. The other day, I asked my lawyer to send that letter to the (U.S.) embassy. I don’t know whether the embassy passed on my letter to Bush (telling him), “You are useless, you’ll lose.” There are verses in the Qur’an that say, “You spend so much money yet you’ll be disappointed.” The verse is clear so I’m not some one who can predict the future but I get the information from Allah; so I’ll never be sad because I believe the time (of Glory) will come. Still, I feel that the ummah (Muslim community) has a problem now. If the ummah loses the (current) battle it isn’t because of Islam. A Muslim, as long as he is not “broken” (and remains committed to Allah’s rule) will get help from Allah.

**Q. HOW ABOUT USING NUCLEAR WEAPONS BY MUSLIMS, IS IT JUSTIFIED?**
A. Yes, if necessary. But the Islamic ummah should seek to minimalize (the intensity of the fighting). Allah has said in verse 8 article 60 that we should equip ourself with weapon power - that is an order - but preferably to scare and not to kill our enemy. The main goal is to scare them. If they are scared they won’t bother us, and then we won’t bother them as well. But if they persist, we have to kill them. In this way, Prophet Muhammed sought to minimalize the fighting.

Q. IN YOUR PERSONAL VIEW, WHAT DO YOU THINK OF BOMBINGS IN OUR HOMELAND, NAMELY THE BALI, MARRIOTT AND KUNINGAN BOMBINGS?

A. I call those who carried out these actions all mujahid. They all had a good intention (niat), that is, Jihad in Allah’s way, the aim of the jihad is to look for blessing from Allah. They are right that America is the proper target because America fights Islam. So in terms of their objectives, they are right, and the target of their attacks was right also. But their calculations are debatable. My view is that we should do bombings in conflict areas (war zones) not in peaceful areas. We have to target the place of the enemy, not countries where many Muslims live.

Q. WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY “WRONG CALCULATION,” THAT THE VICTIMS INCLUDED MUSLIMS?

A. That was one of them. In my calculation, if there are bombings in peaceful areas, this will cause fitnah (discord) and other parties will be involved. This is my opinion and I could be wrong. Yet I still consider them mujahid. If they made mistakes, they are only human beings who can be wrong. Moreover, their attacks could be considered as self-defense.

Q. DOES THAT MEAN YOU THINK THEY DIDN’T ATTACK?

A. No, they didn’t attack because they defended themselves. They shouldn’t be punished. In Bali where 200 people died, it was America’s bomb. That was a major attack and Amrozi (the Bali plotter who bought the explosives) doesn’t have the capability to do that.  

Q. DID AMROZI TELL YOU THIS HIMSELF?

A. He himself was surprised to see the explosion. When he said that it was Allah’s help he was right but he didn’t make that bomb. America did. There is much evidence to this effect and so the police dare not continue their investigations. According to England’s expert, that bomb was not Amrozi’s bomb. You should ask Fauzan. He knows this subject. That bomb was a CIA Jewish bomb. The Mossad cooperates with the CIA. I had an exchange of views with the police and they didn’t say anything. I said to them, “You are stupid to punish Amrozi if he really knows how to make such a bomb. You should hire him to be a military consultant, because there is no military or police person

7 Amrozi bin Nurahasyim was sentenced to death by an Indonesian court for having plotted the bombing of the Sari Club in Kuta, Bali along with Imam Samudra and Amrozi’s older brother, Mukhlas.

8 The story about the CIA-Mossad conspiracy is widespread among JI leaders and foot soldiers and (usually with a laugh) used to illustrate that that JI is itself a concoction of “Jewish Intelligence.”
(in Indonesia) who can make such a bomb.” However, when I asked Ali Imron in the court he said: “Yes, I did it” I believe him (that he made one of the smaller bombs that went off). A bomb expert from Australia said that anyone who believes that Amrozi and friends made that (bigger) bomb is an idiot; (this is also the opinion of) a bomb expert from England whose comments I read in a magazine. If Amrozi really did make that bomb, he deserves the Nobel Prize. So, the death penalty is not fair.

Q. I WANT TO ASK YOUR OPINION OF NASIR ABAS’S BOOK WHERE HE SAID THAT YOU ARE THE EMIR OF JI?\footnote{Muhammed Nasir bin Abas, who trained Bali bombers Imam Samudra and Ali Imron, received his religious instruction from Sungkar and Ba’asyir in Malaysia before they sent him in 1991 for three years to Towrkhan military camp in Afghanistan. He became a top JI military trainer but also gave religious instruction. In April 2001 Ba’asyir appointed Abas head of Mantiqi 3, one of JI’s strategic area divisions, which covered the geographical region of the Philippines and Sulawesi and was responsible for military training and arms supply. Abas turned state’s evidence in Ba’asyir’s trial, outlining the structure of JI and Ba’asyir’s position as Emir. But Abas refused to openly condemn Ba’asyir or accuse him of ordering any terrorist operations, always respectfully referring to Ba’asyir as Ustadz. In July 2005 Abas published *Membongkar Jamaah Islamiyah* (Unveiling Jamaah Islamiyah). The first part of the book details JI’s organization, ideology and strategy. The second part is a rebuttal to Samudra’s own book, *Aku Melawan Tertoris*, and what Abas believes to be a tendentious use of the Quran and Hadith to justify suicide bombing and violence against fellow Muslims and civilians.}

A. This is a traitor, a betrayer. I was in Malaysia and I had a Jama’ah (congregation) the name of which was Jama’ah Sunnah. We just studied Islam.

\footnote{Ali Imron, the younger brother of Mukhlas and Amrozi, was sentenced to life in prison for the Bali bombings after having expressed remorse for his role in the attacks.}
Q. **WERE YOU AWARE THAT NASIR ABAS WAS YOUR STUDENT?**

A. Yes, I was. But he was not the only one there; he also studied with Ustadz Hasyim Gani. I joined his group. He died. I think Nassir Abas's book is (written) on orders from the police and for money.

Q. **ACCORDING TO YOU, THE BOOK IS INCORRECT, ESPECIALLY ON JAMA’AH ISLAMIYAH AND YOU BEING ITS EMIR?**

A. This is not a court and the real court has failed to prove it.11

Q. **WHAT WAS NASIR ABAS’S MOTIVATION IN WRITING THAT BOOK?**

A. I don’t know. But basically he got orders from the police and received some money. I think that was his motivation. He doesn’t have the courage to meet me. If I meet him, I’ll send him to do Jihad in Chechnya or to the Southern Philippines so that Allah will accept his remorse (taubah). He invented his own story.

Q. **I HEARD THAT NASIR ABAS CAME HERE. DID HE MEET YOU?**

A. No, he came here to meet others.

Q. **IF I MAY KNOW, WHEN WAS THE FIRST TIME YOU HEARD THE NAME AL QAEDA?**

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11 According to Abas, JI’s essential organization and ideology is outlined in a set of general guidelines for the *Jemaah Islamiyah Struggle* (*Pedoman Umum Perjuangan al-Jamaah al-Islamiyah*, PUPJI), a 44-page manual that contains a constitution, outlines the roles of office bearers and gives details of how meetings must be organized (e.g., about what to do if a quorum cannot be obtained in the leadership council). The guidelines declare that anyone who adheres to fundamental Islamic principles that are devoid of corruption, deviation (e.g., Sufism) or innovation, can take the *bayat* (oath of allegiance) to the Emir of JI and become a JI member. Although JI would be, in principle, open to anyone who meets these conditions, in fact only carefully selected individuals, including the Mantiqi leaders, were allowed to take the bayat and obtain copies of the PUPJI. Such individuals generally (but not always) would have undergone previous training in Afghanistan or graduated at the top of their class in courses that Sungkar and Ba’asyir designed for JI recruitment (though designation of courses as JI was unknown to potential recruits). Abas fulfilled both conditions. Although many people (including some Afghan Alumni I have interviewed) think of themselves as JI, or are not certain of whether or not they belong to JI, Abas insists that if they did not formally take the bayat they are considered sympathizers or supporters of JI but not members (just as some prisoners at Guantánamo are sincerely uncertain as to whether or not they belong to al-Qaeda if they did not formally take the bayat to Bin Laden).

Abas says the PUPJI was drafted by a committee, including Ba’asyir, and then formally approved by Sungkar as the basis for JI. When asked about the PUPJI in an earlier (untaped part of the) interview, Ba’asyir claimed, on the one hand, that the PUPJI manual was planted by police and intelligence services but, on the other hand, that it contains sound principles modeled on the doctrine of the Egyptian Islamic Group (*Gama'at Islamiyah*). Abas says that the manual also contains elements of Indonesia’s military organization, particularly in regard to the ranking of personnel (*binpur*) and responsibility for territory (*bintur*). He adds that although the PUPJI allows the JI to conduct itself as a “secret organization” (*tanzim sir*) - and conceal its doctrine, membership and operations from public view – it does not allow the practice of *taqiyyah* (dissimulation) to extend to lying to the (Muslim) public (another reason Abas gives for his leaving JI).
A. After the police questioned me; during the time I was filing a law suit against TIME magazine. Do you remember when I did that? They wanted me to take 100 million rupiah to stop the case but I didn’t. But I don’t know anymore about the case. During that time, I was under suspicion but I wasn’t arrested. That was the first time I heard the name al-Qaeda.12 A policeman from the intelligence section whose name I forget interrogated me from morning until afternoon. He asked about that name (al-Qaeda). That was the first time I heard of it. Before, I never heard of it. I went to Pakistan but I didn’t hear that name. I went there to accompany my son 13 and meet some Arabs but I never heard that name.

Q. HOW ABOUT SHEIKH OSAMA BIN LADEN?

A. I heard his name a long time ago. I read his writings, saw his tapes and met Arabs in Pakistan who talked about him when I accompanied my son, Abdur Rahim. Who didn’t know Osama? He was a mujahid against the Soviets and he had his own military that he funded by himself. He was a hero who America also praised. He was then also supported by America. America was piggybacking on him because America didn’t have the courage to fight against the Soviets. They were afraid of the Soviets and they relied on the Afghans.

Q. HAVE YOU EVER HIM?

A. No, no. I want to though. After my release, I hope I can meet him.14

12 Other members of JI who openly acknowledge sympathy with Bin Laden and Qaeda say much the same thing. For example, I interviewed the JI member who founded the first mujahidin training camp in 2000 for the conflict in Poso, Sulawesi. He had earlier been sent by JI founder Abdullah Sungkar during the Soviet-Afghan War to train in Abu Sayyaf’s Ihtihad camp in Sada, Pakistan and to study with Abdullah Azzam, Bin Laden’s mentor and the person who first formulated the notion of “Al-Qaeda sulbah” (“the strong base”) as a vanguard for jihad. This JI member also acknowledges hosting Khalid Sheikh Muhammed at his home in Jakarta for a month in 1996. Yet, he claims never to have heard of “al-Qaeda” applied to a specific organization or group headed by Bin Laden until 9/11.

13 Ba’asyir sent his younger son, Abdul Rahim, to the Afghanistan border during the Soviet-Afghan war to spend time under the wing of Aris Sumarsono (aka Zulkarnaen, who became JI’s operations chief) later enrolling Rahim in an Islamic high school in Faisalabad, Pakistan. Seeking a stricter salafist education for his son, Ba’asyir directed Rahim in the mid-nineties to Sana’a, Yemen, to study under Abdul Madjid al-Zindani (like Abdullah Azzam, Zindani was a legend among self-proclaimed “Afghan Alumni” who fought the Soviets). By 1999, Rahim was in Malaysia and soon under Hambali’s stewardship. Abdul Rahim now operates freely in Indonesia) but he is suspected of having taken over JI’s contacts with Al-Qaeda remnants after Hambali’s capture.

14 Ba’asyir’s statement that he never met Bin Laden is contradicted by testimony from other JI members, both free and in custody. In the following letter (authenticated by Indonesian intelligence) dated August 3, 1998 and addressed to regional jihadi leaders, Ba’asyir and Sungkar state they are acting on Bin Laden’s behalf to advance “the Muslim world’s global jihad” (jabhah Jihadiyah Alam Islamy) against “the Jews and Christians.”

Malaysia, 10 Rabiul Akhir 1419 [August 3, 1998]

From: Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba’asyir
To: Al Mukarrom, respected clerics, teachers (ustadz), sheikhs

All praises upon God who has said:

“The Jews and Christians will never be satisfied until you follow their way of worship” *Al Baqarah: 120*

Praise and peace upon Prophet Muhammed who has said:

“If I’m still alive, I’ll surely expel the Jews and Christians out of the Arabian peninsula”

And may God bless us and any of his followers who want to follow his orders.

Respected clerics, teachers and sheikhs

This letter is to convey a message from Sheikh Osama Bin Laden to all of you. We send you this letter because we can’t visit and see you directly. However, we send our envoy, Mr. Ghaus Taufiq [a Darul Islam commander in Sumatra], to bring this letter personally to all of you.

We also attach Bin Laden’s written message in this letter and Bin Laden also sends these messages to all of you:

1. Bin Laden conveys his regards (*Assalamu’alaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh*)
2. Bin Laden says that right now, after “Iman” (to believe in God), the most important obligation for all Moslems in the world is to work hard to free the Arabian Peninsula from the occupation of Allah’s enemy America (Jews and Christians).

This obligation is *mathalabusy syar’i* (a consequence of the shari’ah) that every Moslem must not consider this obligation to be a simple matter. Prophet Muhammed, although he was sick, ordered the Muslim ummah to prioritize their obligation to expel the infidels from the Arabian Peninsula. Therefore, as the Prophet has said, the Muslim ummah must take this obligation seriously. It is very important for the Muslim world to work very hard to free the Arabian Peninsula from colonization by the infidel Americans.

If we can free the Arabian peninsula as *masdarul diinul Islam* (the source of Islam) and *makorrul haromain* (Holy Mecca) from occupation by the infidel Americans, *Inshallah* (God willing) our struggle to uphold Islam everywhere on God’s land will be successful. Stagnation and the difficulty in upholding Islam at present stems from the occupation of the Arabian Peninsula by the infidel America.

This great struggle must be put into action by the *ummah* (Muslim community) all over the world under the leadership and guidance of clerics in their respective countries. Under such leadership, we will prevail.

The first step of this struggle is issuing *fatwah* (Islamic edict) from clerics all over the world addressed to the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The edict must remind the King what Prophet Muhammed said about the obligation for the Muslim *ummah* to expel the infidels from the Arabian Peninsula. Otherwise, this world will suffer a catastrophe. These edicts will give strong encouragement and influence to the King of Arabia. This is the message from Osama bin Laden conveyed to all of you.

Sheikh Osama bin Laden really wants to visit all clerics and Islamic preachers everywhere in the world to share his views so that there will be a common understanding about this momentous struggle. In the end, we will have similar movements simultaneously across the world. However, Bin Laden realizes that the situation outside his sanctuary is not presently safe. He also awaits your visit with his deep respect so that this great struggle may proceed. These are Bin Laden’s messages that we convey to all of you.
Q. **WHERE WILL YOU FIND HIM?**

A. If he still exists but how could I. On Osama, my stand in court was clear. I have sympathy for his struggle. Osama is Allah’s soldier. When I heard his story, I came to the conclusion that he’s mujahid, a soldier of Allah.

Q. **SO YOU WILL ALWAYS BE ON HIS SIDE?**

A. Many say this and Osama is right. His tactics and calculations may sometimes be wrong; he’s an ordinary human being after all. I don’t agree with all of his actions. He encouraged people to do bombings. I don’t agree with that. He said that JI followed his fatwah. His fatwah said that all Americans must be killed wherever they can be found, because America deserves it. Therefore (according to Bin Laden) if Muslims come across Americans, they have to attack them. Osama believes in total war. This concept I don’t agree with. If this occurs in an Islamic country, the fitnah (discord) will be felt by Muslims. But to attack them in their country (America) is fine.

Q. **SO IT MEANS THAT THE FIGHT AGAINST AMERICA WILL NEVER END?**

A. Never, and this fight is compulsory. Muslims who don’t hate America sin. What I mean by America is George Bush’s regime. There is no iman (belief) if one doesn’t hate America. There are three ways of attacking: with your hand, your mouth and your heart.

Q. **DOES THIS MEAN AMERICA’S GOVERNMENT? ITS POLICIES?**

We take this opportunity to explain certain facts about Bin Laden:

- At present, Sheikh Osama stays in Afghanistan, in the Kandahar area, under the protection of Taliban
- He doesn’t oppose either the Taliban or Mujahideen. He’s trying to unify both groups.

From his camp in Kandahar, Bin Laden organizes plans to expel infidel America from the Arabian Peninsula by inviting ulemas and preachers from all over the world. In this camp, Bin Laden is accompanied by a number of Arab mujahideen, especially those who previously fought in Afghanistan. Bin Laden and these mujahideen prepare to form “jabhah Jihadiyah Alam Islamy” (The global jihadi coalition in the Moslem world) to fight against America.

The above information is about Sheikh Osama Bin Laden that you should know.

If you have the time and commitment to visit Sheikh Osama, *Inshallah*, we can help you meet him safely.

We praise God to all of you for your attention and cooperation.

*Jazakumullah khoirul jaza* (Thanks to God the best thanks)

*Wassalamu’alaukim*, Your brother in Allah

Abdullah Sungkar  
Abu Bakar Ba’asyir
A. If its citizens are good that’s fine, especially the Muslim citizens. They are our brothers. Non-Muslims are also fine as long as they don’t bother us. A witness at my trial, Frederick Burks, wrote that he’s against Bush.\textsuperscript{15}

Q. \textit{HOW CAN THE AMERICAN REGIME AND ITS POLICIES CHANGE?}

A. We’ll see. As long as there is no intention to fight us and Islam continues to grow there can be peace. This is the doctrine of Islam. Islam can’t be ruled by others. Allah’s law can’t be under human law. Allah’s law must stand above human law. All laws must be under Islamic law. This is what the infidels fail to recognize, that’s what America doesn’t like to see. You should read a book, The face of Western Civilization by Adian Husaini. It’s a good book, a thick one. The conclusion of the book is that western scholars hold an anti-Islamic doctrine. It is true there will be clash of civilizations. The argumentation is correct that there will be a clash between Islam and the infidels. There is no (example) of Islam and infidels, the right and the wrong, living together in peace.

\textsuperscript{15} Frederick Burks appeared at Ba’asyir’s trial testifying that he had interpreted at a 2002 meeting about Ba’asyir between an envoy of President George W. Bush and Indonesia’s then-president Megawati Sukarnoputri. Burks said the unidentified envoy accused Ba’asyir of involvement in a series of church bombings in Indonesia in 2000 and asked for the cleric to be secretly arrested and handed over to US authorities. Megawati declined, he said.