

## *THE EMIR*

**Interview with Abu Bakr Ba'asyir, alleged Emir of Jamaah Islamiyah, on August 13 and 15, 2005 from Cipinang Prison, Jakarta. Questions were formulated by Scott Atran and posed for him 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 Majelis Mujahidin 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, funnelling 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, Marriot 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)**

**Q. MENURUT ANDA, KENAPA TUHAN MENCIPTAKAN SEJUMLAH MANUSIA UNTUK MEMBUNUH MANUSIA LAIN? (IN YOUR OPINION, WHY DID ALLAH CREATE SOME PEOPLE TO KILL OTHER PEOPLE?)**

A. Secara umum, Allah tidak menciptakan manusia untuk membunuh manusia lain, kecuali orang-orang yang melanggar syariah. Misalnya orang yang melanggar undang-undang Islam atau hukum Islam, orang yang membunuh orang lain itu juga harus dibunuh.

*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. BAGAIMANA ANDA BISA YAKIN BAHWA TUHAN TELAH MENENTUKAN AGAR ORANG-ORANG YANG TERBUNUH MEMANG PANTAS DIBUNUH? (HOW CAN YOU BE SURE THAT ALLAH HAS DECIDED THAT THE PEOPLE KILLED DESERVED TO BE KILLED?)**

A. Orang-orang yang murtad itu pantas dibunuh, demikian juga orang-orang kafir. Kafir ada dua, kafir yang memusuhi Islam dan memerangi Islam disebut kafir harby dan orang-orang kafir dzimmi yang tidak memerangi Islam yaitu orang-orang non Muslim yang netral.

*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. APAKAH ANDA PERCAYA BAHWA SEBAGAI SEORANG MUSLIM ANDA BERKEWAJIBAN UNTUK MEMERANGI DAN MEMBUNUH MEREKA YANG TIDAK PERCAYA/ORANG-ORANG KAFIR? MENGAPA? (DO YOU BELIEVE THAT AS A MUSLIM YOU HAVE A DUTY TO FIGHT AND KILL THOSE WHO DO NOT BELIEVE/KAFIR PEOPLE? WHY?)**

A. Menurut QS 60: 8 & 9 disebutkan kita bisa hidup berdampingan dengan orang diluar Islam asal mereka tidak memerangi dan kita dianjurkan memerangi orang-orang yang memusuhi Islam. Dalam kehidupan muamalah kita bisa hidup berdampingan tapi untuk urusan agama kita tidak bisa berdampingan.

*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. BAGAIMANA PENDAPAT ANDA TENTANG ORANG-ORANG MUSLIM YANG BERPENDAPAT BAHWA MEREKA SEHARUSNYA TIDAK MEMERANGI ATAU MEMBUNUH ORANG-ORANG NON-MUSLIM? (WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ABOUT MUSLIMS WHO ARE IN THE OPINION THAT THEY SHOULD NOT FIGHT OR KILL NON-MUSLIM PEOPLE?)**

A. Selama umat lain tidak memusuhi umat Islam maka kita tidak akan memeranginya. Ini tergantung siapa yang memulai. Kalau orang-orang muslim berpendapat bahwa mereka seharusnya tidak memerangi non muslim yaitu hak mereka. Tapi sebetulnya ada garis pemisah antara muslim dan non muslim yang haq dan yang bathil.

*As long as other communities don't fight against the Muslim ummah 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. APAKAH ANDA BERPENDAPAT BAHWA SEMUA ORANG DILAHIRKAN SAMA, ATAUKAH SEJUMLAH ORANG BELAJAR MENJADI BAIK DAN SEJUMLAH ORANG LAINNYA BELAJAR MENJADI JAHAT? (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. Semua orang dilahirkan sama. Allah yang maha tinggi memberikan fitrah bahwa semua orang pada dasarnya baik. Tapi nanti, berkaitan dengan tauhid, aqidah dan iman seseorang itu bisa membuat orang menjadi baik atau buruk, muslim atau kafir.

*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 tauhid (acceptance of Allah as the one true Allah), aqidah (the way of Islamic faith) and Iman (belief).*

Q. MENURUT ANDA APAKAH SETIAP ORANG SECARA PRIBADI MEMILIH: UNTUK PERCAYA ATAU TIDAK PERCAYA PADA TUHAN DAN UNTUK BERBUAT KEBAIKAN ATAU BERBUAT KEJAHATAN? (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. Dalam QS Al Maidah 172, orang itu lahir dengan fitrah dengan tauhid yang sama, kemudian dalam fitrah tauhid tersebut, manusia bisa berubah sesuai dengan lingkungannya. – Kemudian ABB mengilustrasikan: “ketika ruh ditanya siapa Tuhanmu, semua menjawab Allah, tapi ketika lahir dan besar mereka bisa berubah menjadi tidak percaya pada Allah.”

*In the Qur'an, Al-Maidah verse 172, it says that people were born with the same fitrah (nature) to believe in tauhid (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 God," and he answered, "Allah" but when delivered from the womb and grown up he changed and didn't believe in Allah anymore.*

Q. APAKAH ANDA PERCAYA BAHWA LINGKUNGAN MASYARAKAT SESEORANG MEMBUAT SESEORANG BERBUAT BAIK ATAU BERBUAT JAHAT? (DO YOU BELIEVE THAT A PERSON'S SURROUNDING SOCIETY MAKES THAT PERSON TO DO GOOD OR DO EVIL?)

A. Dalam Islam, lingkungan adalah hal yang penting. Terutama lingkungan dalam mendidik anak tentang agama. Dari lingkungan pula, anak-anak belajar untuk menjadi baik atau menjadi buruk. Sekarang ini, banyak orang Islam di negeri kafir, jadi tidak mendapat lingkungan Islam secara 100%. Indonesia itu rusak lingkungannya. Banyak president Indonesia itu yang gagal; Sukarno, Suharto, Habibie, Gus Dur, Megawati dan SBY. Indonesia itu dipimpin oleh orang-orang yang takabur, karena tidak mengakui hukum Islam. Seharusnya, system hidup Islam itu 100% Islam.

*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 environment. Indonesia's environment is broken. Indonesian presidents have failed - Sukarno, Suharto, Habibie, Gus Dur, Megawati and (current president) Susilo Bambang Yudhono. Indonesia is led by takabur (snobs) who refuse to accept Islamic law. As a matter of fact, an Islamic system of life must be 100% Islam.*

Q. SEANDAINYA LATAR BELAKANG SEORANG ANAK KETURUNAN YAHUDI DARI ORANG TUA ZIONIS DIHAPUS DAN SEANDAINYA ANAK TERSEBUT KEMUDIAN DIPUNGUT/DIADOPSI ATAU DIBESARKAN OLEH KELUARGA ISLAM YANG TAAT, APAKAH KEMUDIAN ANAK TERSEBUT SETELAH MENJADI BESAR AKAN BERPIHAK PADA ZIONIS (PRO-ZIONIS) ATAU MENJADI SEORANG MUSLIM YANG TAAT? (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. Kalau pengajaran Islamnya murni, anak tersebut akan cinta terhadap Islam. Dan lingkungan sangat berperan besar untuk membuatnya menjadi taat. Sebenarnya kemungkinan yang sama bisa terjadi pada yahudi kalau ada anak Islam yang diasuh oleh yahudi atau nasrani. Kalau besar mereka akan menjadi yahudi atau nasrani yang memusuhi Islam. Dia akan menjadi islam dan memihak Islam selama Islam itu benar, selama Islamnya dia pahamiya benar, jika pendidikannya berhasil maka dia akan bisa jadi Islam. Tapi dia tetap akan berbuat baik sama orang tuanya, selama orang tuanya tidak memusuhi anaknya.

*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. JADI SECARA HAKIKI MEMANG PENDIDIKAN ISLAM, ATAU LINGKUNGAN YANG ISLAMI BISA MEMBUAT SESEORANG BERUBAH? (SO, WHICH ONE IS MORE IMPORTANT: AN ISLAMIC EDUCATION OR AN ISLAMIC ENVIRONMENT?)

A. Lingkungan bisa membuat fitrah seseorang berubah. Manusia itu fitrahnya kan tauhid, jadi kalau lingkungannya Yahudi ya berubah jadi Yahudi. Tapi kalau lingkungannya islam ya fitrahnya tetap. Jadi manusia itu dilahirkan dalam tauhid, sebab agama yang mendidik tauhid itu hanya Islam. Jadi lingkungan itu menurut sabda nabi itu yang saya katakan, yang bisa

merubah manusia anak itu jadi Yahudi atau Nasrani itu orang tuanya atau lingkungannya. Kalau memang dia itu lahir lalu lingkungannya Islam ya selamat, fitrahnya selamat. Kalau dia lahir kemudian lingkungannya tidak Islam maka fitrahnya rusak, dia akan menjadi Yahudi atau Nasrani. Manusia punya tauhid sejak lahir, hanya saja bisa nanti ditengah jalan adakalanya mendapat petunjuk kemudian menjadi Islam. Demikian juga yang Islam tadi adakalanya kalau terAllaha setan maka bisa saja jadi murtad.

*Environment can change people's fitrah-nature. Human beings have an innate propensity to tauhid- to believe in the one true God. If a person is raised in a Jews' environment, he'll be Jewish. But if he's raised in an Islamic enviornment, he'll follow his fitrah-nature. Human beings are born in tauhid and the only religion which teaches and nurtures tauhid 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 broken and he can be a Jew or a Christain. Human beings have tauhid 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. KEMUNGKINANNYA TETAP SAMA? (SO, ARE THEIR POSSIBILITIES [ENVIORNMENT AND EDUCATION] THE SAME?)**

**A.** Kemungkinan itu tetap ada, itu tergantung pembinaan pendidikannya. Tapi kalau pendidikannya Islam itu kuat dan benar Inshaallah selamat sampai akhir. Lingkungan memang pengaruhnya besar. Oleh karena itu dalam islam itu pendidikan itu merupakan kerjasama antara tiga hal;

1. lingkungan rumah tangga
2. lingkungan sekolah
3. lingkungan masyarakat

Jadi harus menjadi sinergi antara ketiganya. Jadi kalau di rumah tangga pendidikan dipimpin oleh ayah, kemudian di sekolah oleh guru dan masyarakat harus diatur pemerintah. Kalau tidak atau tidak lengkap salah satunya maka itu rusak. Jadi akan merugikan. Jadi didalam Islam, mulai rumah tangga sampai sekolah itu harus Islam. Jadi lingkungan dan pemerintahan pun harus Islam. Dan islam tidak akan mau menerima yang lain. Dalam arti harus kerja sama, tapi islam bisa tidak mengganggu yang lain. Tapi kalau bercampur itu tidak mau.

*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 andl 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. TAPI KALAU HIDUP BERDAMPINGAN ITU BISA? (HOW ABOUT TO LIVING SIDE BY SIDE?)**

A. Hidup berdampingan itu tidak masalah, kalau untuk urusan ekonomi, tolong-menolong dan urusan-urusan benda saja. Tapi kalau untuk keyakinan itu Islam tegas tidak mau ikut campur, jelas menyatakan bahwa mereka salah.

*To live side by side isn't a problem especially from an economic standpoint, helping each other in material 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. WAKTU DI CIPINANG SINI KAN USTADZ PERNAH BERSINGGUNGAN DENGAN PENDETA DAMANIK? (WHEN IN CIPINANG, DID USTADZ MEET FATHER DAMANIK?)<sup>1</sup>**

A. Pernah dikunjungi, saya hormati. Malah saya mempunyai semacam niat kalau diijinkan oleh Allah, Insyaallah saya akan mengunjungi rumahnya. Itu yang disebut muamalah dunia. Sebab dalam Quran surat 60 ayat 8 “Allah tidak melarang kamu berbuat baik dan adil terhadap orang yang tidak memerangi kamu dalam agama dan tidak membantu orang yang memerangi kamu.” Jadi kita disuruh berbuat baik dan adil, artinya saling tolong menolong bagi mereka yang tidak memerangi kita. Itu saja untuk urusan dunia, selama tentunya ada batas-batas dalam ketentuan syariah ya. Kalau yang dilarang syariah itu tidak boleh. Karena syariat itu tidak melarang urusan dunia kecuali sedikit sekali. Pada umumnya begitu. Jadi misalnya mau kerjasama bisnis boleh saja. Kalau tolong menolong, kita sakit dia menolong, dia sakit kita menengok, kalau dia mati kita ikut sampai ke kuburan, tapi tidak boleh mendoakan. Itu gambarannya tidak begitu.

*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 called '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 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*

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<sup>1</sup> Father Rinaldy Damanik is the leader of the Christian community in Poso District, Sulawesi where violence between Muslims and Christians 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.

*against us. For 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. KALAU PERNIKAHANNYA BAGAIMANA USTADZ? (HOW ABOUT THEIR WEDDINGS?)**

**A.** Kita boleh mengunjungi tapi tidak boleh ikut upacaranya yang sifatnya ritual. Kita boleh menyamapaikan hadiah perkawinan misalnya.

*We can visit them but we can't join in any ceremony that has a ritual aspect. We can give them presents.*

**Q. JADI SECARA PRINSIP PULA, ISLAM TOLERAN SEBETULNYA? SO IN PRINCIPE, ISLAM IS TOLERANT?)**

**A.** Oh besar, yang paling besar tolerannya itu Islam. Yang tidak toleran itu orang kafir, dalam Quran disebutkan mereka mesti memaksa orang Islam untuk masuk ke mereka untuk murtad. Itu dalam surat Al Baqaroh ayat 120 Allah menyebutkan, "orang Yahudi dan Nasrani tidak akan rela sampai kamu mengikuti agama mereka." Kemudian dalam Al Baqaroh ayat 217 di tengah-tengah ayat dan diakhir ayat, "mereka akan selalu berusaha memerangi kamu sampai mereka bisa memusnahkan kamu." Ini informasi dari Allah tentang wataknya orang kafir yang tidak ada toleransinya. Jadi kalau dia diatas angin orang Islam pasti dipaksa. Dalam sejarah peperangan dimana-mana wilayah yang dikuasai, Islam itu dibunuh, seperti Spanyol dulu. Sedangkan kalau Islam yang berkuasa, ketika orang Islam bisa menguasai Masjidil Aqsa maka orang Kristen yang ada malah dilindungi. Jadi didalam Islam itu dinyatakan dalam QS Al Baqarah ayat 147 kalau tidak salah itu, "tidak boleh ada paksaan masuk islam, sebab antara yang bathil dan yang hak itu jelas perbedaannya." Oleh karena itu orang tidak boleh mendakwahi dengan memaksa orang untuk masuk Islam, itu tidak boleh. Tapi yang kita disuruh itu kita menasehati dan mendakwahi. Kalau mau ya alhamdulillah, kalau tidak mau ya tidak apa-apa, tidak boleh dipaksa. Baik kasar ataupun halus. Misalnya ada orang kelaparan minta bantuan, minta makan. Saya bilang, ya saya beri makan tapi syaratnya harus masuk Islam. Itu tidak boleh. Manusia kelaparan ya kita bantu, mau masuk Islam mau tidak itu bukan urusan saya. Ya kita nasehati saja, kalau mau selamat ya masuk Islam. Ya kita bantu dia kelaparan jangan sampai dia mati. Selama dia tidak mengganggu Islam. Nah itu, toleransi dalam Islam. Kalau di luar Islam tidak ada toleransi. Kalau mereka diatas angin tidak ada toleransi, seperti Amerika sekarang yang sedang memaksakan ide-idenya agar Islam berubah dengan kekuasaan senjata dan dollar. Amerika kan begitu, itu kan sekarang yang dilakukan Amerika sekarang dengan program membudayakan apa yang mereka sebut demokrasi. Jadi mereka memaksakan itu. Itu dipaksa, tapi kalau Islam tidak asal kamu tidak ngganggu saja. Maka kalau Islam itu mau menyerang negeri asing itu bukan untuk menjajah tapi untuk mengawasi supaya dia tidak macam-macam. Maka kalau islam datang ke negeri kafir kita katakan kamu masuk islam, atau tetap pada agamamu dengan syarat harus

membayar pajak untuk biaya keamananmu. Tidak mau, perang. Kalau sudah perang lain lagi hukumnya.

*A. Yes, the most tolerant is Islam. Those who lack tolerance are the infidels. The Qur'an says that infidels force Muslims to convert into their religion. The Qur'an says in Al Baqarah 120: "The Jews and the Christians will not feel relief until you follow their religion," Then in Al Baqarah 127, in the middle of the verse and end: "They will always fight you until they can destroy you".*

*The information comes from Allah concerning the attitude of infidels who have no tolerance. When they are in a better position, they push Muslims. In the history of war whenever territory is occupied by them, Muslims are killed as in the Spain in the old days. However, whenever Islam is in charge, Christians are protected. In the Qur'an, Al Baqarah verse 147, if I'm not mistaken, there is no obligation to be Muslim and force recognition of the clear distinction between the wrong and the right.*

*Muslims are forbidden to convert others by force. This is not allowed. We must help starving people, and if they want to be Muslims or not that is not our business. We advise them if they want to be safe [in a spiritual sense] then they have to convert to Islam. We have to help them keep from starvation as long as they don't disturb Islam. This is tolerance in Islam.*

*There is no tolerance but in Islam. If these people (non-Muslims) are in power, they do not tolerate us, as in the case of America now which pushes its idea to change Islam with its weapons and dollars.*

*That is America and that is what America has been doing with its program to spread democracy. In this way they forge others into their mold. In Islam, as long as they people don't bother us, we won't push them. If Islam attacks foreign countries it is not to colonize them but to watch over them so that they can't behave against Islam.*

*When Islam comes to an infidel country, we say: "you can either become Muslim or stay with your religion provided you pay [the Islamic government] a poll tax for your security. There is no war. But during war, conditions will be different.*

**Q. SEPERTI PRINSIP PERJANJIAN HUDYABIYAH? (WHAT IS THE PRINCIPLE OF HUDYABIYAH[THE COVENANT BETWEEN MUHAMMED AND OTHER PEOPLE OF THE BOOK?])**

**A.** Hudaibiyah lain lagi hukumnya. Ini kalau Islam itu kuat harus mendatangi negeri kafir, bukan untuk menjajah, tapi untuk mengawasi jangan sampai membuat rencana merusak Islam. Dimana-mana sifatnya orang kafir itu programnya untuk merusak orang Islam, mesti itu. Nggak ada orang kafir yang tidak merusak orang Islam, begitu ada angin sedikit dia akan merusak Islam. Karena itulah dia harus diawasi.

*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. KALAU ISLAM KUAT ITU TANDANYA ADA USTADZ? (WHAT ARE THE CONDITIONS FOR ISLAM TO BE STRONG?)**

**A.** Kalau ada kekuasaan. Negara-negara kafir harus diawasi dan didatangi. Dasarnya itu tadi, karena kalau dibiarkan mereka akan mengganggu Islam. Mengganggu orang yang mau Islam, yang mau didakwahi Islam.

*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.**

**Q. UNTUK MENJADI MARTIR, ARTINYA SEBAGAI BOM BUNUH DIRI? (DOES BEING A MARTYR MEAN BEING A SUICIDEE BOMBER?)**

**A.** Kemarin sudah saya terangkan kan. Jadi kalau didalam orang kafir itu ada dua; bunuh diri karena putus asa dan bunuh diri karena ingin pahlawan. Tapi dua-duanya ini bunuh diri hukumnya tidak ada nilainya. Tapi kalau dalam Islam ada orang yang bunuh diri karena putus asa, ada juga dalam Islam, itu namanya bunuh diri. Tapi kalau dia itu membela Islam dan menurut pertimbangannya itu dia musti mati, meskipun berusaha keras tapi karena matinya untuk Islam ya dia berangkat. Jadi pertimbangannya itu disitu. Pertimbangannya begini, saya berbuat seperti ini Islam akan untung musuh islam akan rugi. Tapi saya mesti mati kalau tidak mau mati maka tidak bisa. Nah itu usaha, nggak apa-apa, tapi kalau bisa mengelak kalau bisan ndak mati. Tapi kalau mati ndak apa-apa. Itu namanya istimewa atau ijtihad. Istimata artinya mencari mati syahid. Ijtihad artinya mencari mati syahid. Karena mati dalam perjuangan itu mati yang mulia. Menurut Islam itu mati itu kan mesti karena semua irang pasti mati, didalam islam itu bagaimana mendapat mati yang baik, namanya Khusnul Khatimah. Nah mati yang baik itu, topnya mati baik itu syahid.

*As I explained yesterday, 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 in life well and hard he will still go and die for Islam.*

*The consideration is: "if I do this, will Islam can 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 ijtihad. Istimata means looking to become a shaheed (martyr) and ijtihad (becoming a jihadi) means the same. Because to die in jihad (struggle) is noble.*

*According to Islam, to die is a necessity because everyone dies. But to seek the best death is what we callt "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 REALM, 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.** APAKAH TINDAKAN MARTIR DAPAT DIBATALKAN BILA HASIL YANG SAMA DAPAI TERCAPAI MELALUI TINDAKAN LAINNYA, SEPERTI BOM DI PINGGIR JALAN? (*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.** Tentunya. Kalau ada yang memang lebih baik, yang bisa tanpa mengorbankan jiwa, tentunya ditempuh itu. Karena tenaga masih bisa dimanfaatkan untuk yang lain. Itu kan asal mulyana ulama memperbolehkan itu kan asalny a dari cerita nabi Muhammad.

Jadi pada saat itu ada seorang pemuda yang dia itu tadinya dididik untuk jadi tukang sihirnya Firaun. Raja dulu itu punya tukang sihir, pejabat sekarang pun banyak yang punya dukun. Suharto itu dukunnya banyak. Setelah tukang sihirnya tua, dia disuruh untuk menunjuk pengganti, tapi di dalam perjalanan dia ketemu pendeta. Akhirnya dia belajar pada pendeta itu.

Kesimpulannya, akhirnya dia bisa lebih baik belajar pada pendeta itu daripada belajar pada tukang sihir. Ketika itu lalu dia mulai berdakwah, dia kemudian diberi kemampuan untuk mengobati orang buta. Setelah itu dia mengobati banyak orang, kemudian dia mengobati menteri raja yang buta.

Kemudian setelah menteri tersebut sembuh dia menanyakan mau apa saja yang dia mau akan dituruti oleh menteri. Kemudian dia bertanya, saya tidak menyembuhkanmu, hanya Allah yang bisa menyembuhkanmu. Dia tuhanku dan tuhanku. Jadi kalau kamu mau sembuh dan mau mengakui Allah maka kamu akan sembuh. Kemudian diobati sembuh, kemudian beriman pada Tuhan. Setelah sembuh menterinya Firaun tersebut masuk kantor.

Firaun tanya, “Siapa yang menyembuhkanmu?”

“Yang menyembuhkan saya Allah.”

“Siapa Allah?”

“Allah adalah Tuhanku.”

Firaun ini marah dan akhirnya orang ini disiksa. Akhirnya orang ini mengaku dia diajar anak tadi itu. Anak ini disuruh murtad, dakwahnya hanya agar orang mengakui Allah sebagai tuhan agar dihentikan. Ini persoalan pokok kan, dia nggak mau murtad.

Dicoba mau dibunuh berkali-kali tapi tidak bisa. Nah anak itu memberi petunjuk, kamu tidak akan bisa kalau tidak memenuhi permintaan saya. Kalau mau membunuh saya, nggak perlu bawa tentara. Berdirikan saja saya ditengah-tengah lapangan, ambil panahku ini kumpulkan seluruh rakyat di lapangan dan bidiklah aku. Tapi sebelum membidik kamu membaca Bismillahi tuhannya kamu. Tapi anak ini terkenal tidak bisa dibunuh. Ketika dipanah ternyata bisa setelah membaca nama Allah. Berarti memang hanya Allah yang bisa mematikan. Dia memang mati tapi dakwahnya berhasil. Anak tadi itu mengorbankan dirinya demi berhasilnya dakwah. Nah dari situ ulama mengambil kesimpulan siapa saja boleh asal menguntungkan islam dan umat Islam. Di pengadilan saya terangkan itu.

*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. The reason the ulema allow this comes from a story of the Prophet Muhammed*

*There was a young man who received magic training to be one of King Fir'aun's magicians. Kings in the past had magicians. Our government officials also had many magicians. (former Indonesian President) Suharto had many. When this magician became an old man, he was asked to find a replacement. In his search, he met a priest and then he learned from this priest*

*In the end he became a better magician after learning from the priest rather than from other magicians. He then started to spread the word and he received the ability to heal blind people. He healed many people including the blind minister.*

*Then, when this minister was able to see again he offered to fulfill any request in his power that the magician might make. The magician replied that he hadn't healed the minister but that Allah had. "He is my lord and your lord. If you want to be cured and you admit the existence of Allah, you will be cured." Then the minister went to his office.*

*Fir'aun asked him, "Who has cured you?"*

*"The one who cured me was Allah"*

*"Who's Allah?"*

*"Allah is my God."*

*Fir'aun was angry and tortured the minister. Then the minister admitted that he was told this by the magician who had healed him. Then, this magician was told that he would be forced to abandon his conviction and to stop his activity. But this was a matter of principle for the magician, who did not want to abandon his conviction.*

*Many people tried to assassinate the magician. Finally, the magician said that if Fir'aun wants to kill him it's easy. What Fir'aun needs to do is to gather many people in the field and put the magician in the middle and shoot arrows into his body. But before doing that they must say "Bismillah" (in the name of God). When the arrows finally struck the magician he died, but his mission to spread the word of Islam was accomplished. From this story, many ulema agree to allow martyrdom actions as long as such actions will bring many benefits to Islam and the Islamic ummat.*

**Q. APAKAH TINDAKAN MARTIR DAPAT DIBATALKAN BILA ADA ORANG LAIN YANG SECARA TEKNIS LEBIH BAIK DAN DENGAN SUKARELA MENAWARKAN DIRI UNTUK TINDAKAN TERSEBUT? (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?)**

**A.** Ya, persoalannya kalau memang penggantian ini lebih menguntungkan, lebih besar keuntungannya diamankan dia daripada saya. Keuntungannya hanya satu yaitu bagaimana menguntungkan Islam, memenangkan Islam. Itu pertimbangannya. Dalam Islam harus begitu, saya harus begitu, saya harus begitu kemudian tidak ada perhitungan itu tidak boleh. Jadi ada perhitungan dan tidak asal-asalan. Matiku itu harus membawa kebesaran Islam. Kalau sudah ada begitu orang bisa jihad. Kalau jaman Rasulullah itu kan biasa. Orang menyerang sendiri itu kan biasa. Nah ini istimewa ini.

*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 we 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.*

**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. SEANDAINYA TINDAKAN MARTIR TELAH DIJADWALKAN DALAM SEMINGGU – APAKAH TINDAKAN TERSEBUT BISA DIUNDUR AGAR BISA (SUPPOSE A MARTYRDOM ACTION WERE SCHEDULED IN A WEEK – WOULD IT BE ACCEPTABLE TO DELAY THE SAID ACTION )**

**A.** Tergantung pertimbangannya, termasuk pertimbangan perhitungan. Maka ulama tadi membolehkan selama ijtihad itu bisa membawa keuntungan Islam dan kaum muslimin. Kalau tidak malah tidak boleh. Kalau malah bikin fitnah itu tidak boleh. Tapi meskipun demikian, niatnya dia mau jihad itu tetap ada nilainya sendiri. Kalaupun keliru perhitungannya itu ada nilainya sendiri. Insyaallah kalau dia mujahid akan diampuni dosadossanya.

*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.*

**Q. KALAU DITUNDA ITU UNTUK MISALNYA BERIBADAH HAJI? (IS IT ACCEPTABLE TO POSTPONE A MARTYRDOM ACTION IN ORDER TO MAKE THE HAJJ (PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA)?)**

**A.** Oh itu nggak perlu ditunda, karena jihad itu lebih penting daripada pergi haji. Jadi misalnya ada seorang ulama besar, Ibnu Taimiyah pernah ditanya seorang kaya dia bilang, “Bagaimana ini Syekh saya ini punya dana banyak, tapi ada dua kubu yang memperebutkan. Satu ada dua banyak orang miskin yang kalau tidak saya bantu maka mereka akan mati semua. Kalau tidak saya bantu mereka akan mati kelaparan. Tapi kalau uang saya dipakai untuk itu, jihad ini akan kekurangan biaya. Lalu minta fatwa, bagaimana caranya.”

Dia bilang, “Itu kasihkan jihad semua. Itu nanti mati semua. Itu mati tidak apa-apa itu sudah takdir Allah. Sebab kalau jihad kalah yang mati lebih banyak.”

Kalau sudah jihad itu tidak ada amalan diatas jihad, itu tidak ada. Amalan paling tinggi dalam islam itu jihad. Kalau sudah jihad itu yang lain-lain hilang. Itu yang ingin dihilangkan Amerika itu ini lewat ajaran Ahmadiyah ini. Lewat organisasi antek ini. Ahmadiyah itu kan mengharamkan jihad, karena itu kan buatan Kristen, sejak dari India itu kan. Makanya pusatnya di seluruh dunia kan di London, itu kan dibiayai Amerika. Itu memang alatnya untuk menghancurkan Islam, Ahmadiyah, JIL.

*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:*

*“Hey 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 fatwa (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”*

*There is no better deed than 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 Ahmadiyah (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 Ahmadiyah 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. Ahmadiyah 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. PENUNDAAN ITU TIDAK BERLAKU UNTUK SEMUA HAL, ATAU MENUNGGU ORANG TUA SAKIT? (SO IS THE IDEA TO POSTPONE NOT ALLOWED TO ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, EVEN IN ORDER TO VISIT SICK PARENTS?)**

**A. Tidak, tidak. Jadi kalau sudah jihad itu harus dinomorsatukan, kecuali kalau jihadnya itu fardhu kifayah. Kalau fardhu ain, maka harus didahulukan. Sudah nggak wajib ijin orangtua. Tapi kalau fardhu kifayah, itu tadi, jihad untuk mendatangi negeri-negeri kafir untuk mengawasi. Tapi kalau sudah fardhu kifayah itu sudah tidak perlu ijin orangtua. Paham?**

*A. No, no. if we are in Jihad, the Jihad must come first. Unless jihad is in (the state of ) fardhu kifayah (a collective duty, for the nation). If Jihad is in (the state of ) fardhu ’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 fardhu kifayah state, such as Jihad to spy on infidel countries, Muslims don’t require their parent’s permission*

**Q. APAKAH TINDAKAN MARTIR DAPAT SAMASEKALI DIBATALKAN BILA BESAR KEMUNGKINAN KELUARGA MARTIR YANG BERSANGKUTAN BAKAL TERBUNUH DALAM TINDAKAN PEMBALASAN? BEGITUPULA DENGAN MASYARAKAT TEMPAT ASAL SANG MARTIR YANG JUGA BAKAL MENGALAMI PEMBALASAN DAN KORBAN? (CAN A MARTYRDOM ACTION BE PERMANENTLY ABANDONED IF THERE IS HIGH CHANCE THAT THE MARTYR’S FAMILY WOULD BE KILLED IN A RETALIATION ACTION? SIMILARLY WITH THE COMMUNITY WHERE THE MARTYR IS FROM WILL ALSO EXPERIENCE RETALIATION AND CASUALTIES?)**

**A. Itu kan resiko, konsekuensi dari jihad. Kalau keluarga itu paham Islamnya kuat maka mereka akan dapat pahala banyak. Karena kan pahalanya disitu. Kalau paham. Jadi dia itu**

memang sudah merelakan, sudah ikhlas. Maka orangtua yang mengerti itu berterima kasih pada Allah. Jadi ini ada satu riwayat, supaya jelas.

*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 be ikhlas (loyalty, acting out of sincerity for Allah rather than for returns or rewards). The parent who understands this concept must be thankful to Allah. There is also another story from the Prophet's time.*

Di jaman nabi, ada perempuan bernama Khomsyah, sebelum masuk islam, ada kematian saudaranya, kakaknya meninggal itu nangisnya sampai sebulan. Tapi setelah dia masuk islam dia punya empat anak laki-laki. Dia kemudian menyuruh anak-anaknya untuk jihad, untuk menjaga seorang sahabat nabi yang buta bernama Ibnu Mahtum.

*There was a women named Khomsyah. Before embracing Islam, one of her brothers died and she cried months for him. But, when she embraced Islam, she had four sons. Then she asked her sons to look after the Prophet's blind friend, Ibn Mahtum.*

Sebenarnya Allah memberi ijin untuk tidak jihad, tapi dia minta ijin pada Panglima, setelah berdebat-debat, akhirnya diijinkan oleh panglima untuk memegang bendera. Anak-anaknya diminta untuk menjaga. Nah dalam jihad mati semua, sebelum Ibnu Mahtum ini mati, anak-anak yang menjaga mati semua, mati syahid.

*In fact, Allah had allowed this blind man to go on Jihad. But he asked permission from his leader to carry the flag. There was strong argument between the leader and the blind man because of the man's blindness. In the end, the leader gave the blind man permission to carry the flag and Khomsyah's children were asked to guard him. In the battle, all of her children were martyred before Ibnu Mahtum was also martyred.*

Datang berita orang hati-hati menyampaikan. Kematian seorang saudara saja sebulan, nangisnya apalagi ini kematian empat orang anak laki-laki, siapa ibu yang tidak menangis. Tapi akhirnya lain. Setelah diberi berita dengan hati-hati, dia bilang “Alhamdulillah, Allah memuliakan aku dengan kematian keempat anakku.”

*The people worried about giving this news to Khomsyah because if the death of her brother had caused her to cry for months then what would the death of her four sons do to her? What type of mother would she be if she didn't cry? But something unexpected happened because Khomsyah said: “Alhamdulillah, Allah has granted me such a noble status because of the death of my four sons”*

Itu semangat jihad itu kalau sudah dalam jihad itu yang ditakuti orang kafir. Itu moral force. Moral force ini yang menurut Jenderal De Gaulle yang 80 %, tindakan hanya 20 %. Karena kalau orang kafir kan kepahlawanan, kebangsaan, malah ada yang disuruh minum-minum apa itu supaya berani.

*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.*

Rusia itu kalang kabut menghadapi Afghanistan, lain dengan Eropa timur, sebulan dua bulan bisa ditaklukkan. Dia pikir kalau Afghanistan paling dua minggu wong orang bodoh-bodoh, iya kan. Berdasarkan pengalaman di Eropa timur, tapi Afghanistan berdasarkan kekuatan Aqidah tentang jihad itu yang membuat perangnya. Ini ada cerita juga supaya bapak paham.

*Russia was beaten up badly 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 (by / through the doctrine of) in the way of Jihad. I'll tell you a story so that you'll understand.*

Ada seorang ibu di Afghanistan yang kerjanya bikin roti terus menyuruh anaknya membagi-bagikan ke mujahidin. Terus pada suatu saat anaknya kena bom, ditengah jalan anaknya kena bom. Diberitahu ibunya, dia menangis terus ditanya oleh mujahidin dihibur, "Sudahlah ibu sabar, anak ibu syahid." "Lho, saya nggak menangisi anak saya. Tapi saya menangisi, siapa nanti yang akan membawa roti pada para mujahid. Kemudian salah seorang mujahidin menyanggupi untuk menggantikan orang ini.

*There was an Afghan mother who made cakes. She asked her child to distribute the cakes to the mujahidin. 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 mujahidin." Then one of mujahidin agreed to replace her children.*

Nah, ini namanya semangat jihad. Ada keihlasan bahkan keinginan. Bahkan Rasulullah pernah bersabda bahwa saya itu ingin bisa berjihad kemudian mati, kemudian dihidupkan lagi, jihad lagi, mati lagi, dihidupkan lagi sampai sepuluh lagi. Karena begitu mulianya mati syahid.

*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, then do jihad again, then live again, then jihad - for ten times. This is because of the noble status for Muslims who became shaheed."*

### **III. INSENSITIVITY TO QUANTITY**

**Q.** MENURUT ANDA APAKAH MASYARAKAT YANG PERCAYA AKAN TINDAKAN KEMARTIRAN PEDULI BILAMANA SESEORANG MELAKUKAN TINDAKAN MARTIR TAPI HANYA BERHASIL MELEDAKKAN DIRI SENDIRI DAN GAGAL MEMBUNUH MUSUHNYA? MENGAPA? (DO YOU THINK THE COMMUNITY WHO BELIEVE IN MARTYRDOM ACTIONS CARE IF THE MARTYR ONLY MANAGES TO BLOW UP HIMSELF/HERSELF AND FAILS TO KILL ANY OF THE ENEMEY? WHY?)

Bukan, niat syahid itu harus untuk Allah. Kalau waktu-waktu perang lain lagi. Kalau istimewa lain lagi, tapi semua itu kan kembalinya pada kesyahidan itu. Tapi kalau sudah perang sudah lain. Tapi kalau tidak perang, seperti misalnya di London, di Amerika itu harus ada perhitungan.

*No, (provided that) the niat (intention-commitment) to be a shaheed must be for Allah. During battle it is different. Istimata is also different. But the whole notion is being shaheed. During the battle is different. But if not during the battle such as in London and in America there must be other calculations.*

**Q. MENURUT ANDA APAKAH TUHAN LEBIH MEMILIH ATAU MENGASIHI SEORANG MARTIR YANG BERHASIL MEMBUNUH 100 MUSUH ATAU 1 MUSUH? (DO YOU THINK GOD FAVORS OR CARES MORE FOR THE MARTYR WHO MANAGES TO KILL 100 ENEMIES OR 1 ENEMY?)**

**A.** Nilai pahala sama.

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

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

**Q. BERKAITAN DENGAN KONDISI GLOBAL DUNIA INI KIRA-KIRA APA YANG SEHARUSNYA DILAKUKAN NEGARA BARAT DAN TERUTAMA AMERIKA AGAR MAKIN DAMAI, APA PERILAKU-PERILAKU YANG HARUS DIRUBAH KIRA-KIRA? (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.** Yang harus dirubah adalah menghentikan permusuhan mereka terhadap Islam. Tapi itu tidak mungkin karena itu sudah Sunnatullah mereka akan memusuhi kita. Tapi mereka pasti akan kalah. Bukan berarti saya ahli lamar, mereka akan hancur dan yang akan menang Islam. Begitu Rasulullah bilang. Kalau orang Islam bisa habis ndak apa-apa, tapi Islam mesti menang. Orang barat pasti hancur nanti. Karena mereka bathil kan mesti hancur, cepat atau lambat. Uni Sovyet sudah hancur, Amerika itu sebentar lagi. Tidak memusuhi dan membiarkan Islam berkembang dan akhirnya harus dibawah Islam. Kalau tidak mau dibawah Islam kacau, titik. Kalau ingin damai harus diatur oleh Islam.

*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; Westerners will be destroyed. But we don't have to make them enemies if they let Islam grow and in the end 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. KALAU MASIH NGOTOT? (HOW IF THEY PERSIST?)**



**A.** Ya akan terus dilawan, dan mesti kalahnya. Yang bathil mesti kalah, cepat atau lambat. Saya dulu juga pernah kirim surat pada Bush, saya bilang kamu mesti kalah, tidak ada gunanya kamu berbuat. Itu semua sudah ada dalam Quran. Waktu itu lewat pengacara saya, saya kirim lewat kedutaan, entah sampai atau tidak. Kamu itu percuma, mesti kalahnya. Sudah ada ayat-ayat yang menunjukkan. Kamu sudah mengeluarkan biaya sedemikian banyaknya kamu nanti mesti kecewa. Ayatnya itu ada, jadi saya bukan tukang ramal, tapi saya mendapat informasi dari Allah, maka saya nggak pernah kecil hati, nanti ada saatnya. Tapi saya menjadi susah melihat kondisi umat islam sendiri. Jadi kalau umat islam itu kalah bukan karena orang lain, karena umat islamnya sendiri. Karena rusaknya orang islam. Orang islam itu kalau tidak rusak pasti dapat pertolongan dari Allah, kalau dapat pertolongan mesti menang kan. Tapi karena rusak tidak dapat pertolongan.

*We'll keep fighting them and they'll be lost. The bathil (the wrong) 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.** KALAU ADA FACTOR YANG MENYEBABKAN ISLAM KALAH MISALNYA SENJATA, KALAU UMAT ISLAM MENGGUNAKAN NUSKLIR MISALNYA, BAGAIMANA MENURUT USTADZ? (HOW ABOUT USING NUCLEAR BY MUSLIMS, IS IT JUSTIFIED?)

**A.** Ya, kalau memang diperlukan boleh. Tapi umat islam itu kalau berperang berusaha sesedikit mungkin. Maka Allah memerintahkan kita dalam surat 8 ayat 60, itu perintah untuk kita mempersiapkan kekuatan senjata. Itu perintah. Tapi bukan untuk membunuh, tapi disitu digunakan untuk menakut-nakuti musuhmu dan musuh Allah. Tujuan utama nakut-nakuti. Kalau sudah takut dan nggak ganggu ya sudah, tapi kalau meleset ya harus dibunuh. Maka Nabi Muhammad berusaha, itu dalam peperangannya minim sekali.

*Yes, if necessary. But the Islamic ummah should seek to minimize (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 minimize the fighting.*

**Q.** KALAU PANDANGAN PRIBADI USTADZ TERHADAP KEJADIAN BOM DI TANAH AIR, BOM BALI, MARRIOT DAN BOM KUNINGAN, BAGAIMANA? (IN YOUR PERSONAL VIEW, WHAT DO YOU THINK OF BOMBINGS IN OUR HOME LAND, BALI BOMBING, MARRIOTT AND KUNINGAN BOMBING?)

**A.** Saya nilai semua itu mujahid. Niat mereka baik, ingin jihad di jalan Allah tujuannya adalah untuk mencari ridho Allah. Kemudian sasaran mereka sudah betul. Yaitu Amerika, karena Amerika sedang memerangi Islam. Jadi tujuannya sudah betul, sasaran yang diserang sudah betul, tapi perhitungannya yang perlu dipersoalkan. Kalau saya berpendapat, kalau ngebom itu di wilayah konflik. Atau kalau di wilayah aman ya di wilayah musuh. Bukan di negara yang banyak orang Islamnya.

*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 peace areas. We have to target the place of the enemy, not countries where many Muslims live.*

**Q.** PERHITUNGAN YANG SALAH ITU APAKAH TERMASUK, MISALNYA TERNYATA ADA KORBAN UMAT MUSLIM? (WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY "WRONG CALCULATION," THAT THE VICTIMS INCLUDED MUSLIMS?)

**A.** Ya artinya antara lain. Kalau perhitungan saya, kalau ngebom di wilayah aman itu mudah difitnah mudah ditunggangi. Ini pendapat saya, bisa salah. Oleh karena itu saya tetap menilainya sebagai mujahid adapun salahnya itu sebagai manusia biasa. Salah itu biasa. Lagipula mereka ini bukan langkah awal mereka ini membela diri.

*That was one them. In my calculation, if there are bombings in peace areas (where there is no fighting), 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. To err is human. Moreover, their attack was part of their (Muslim) self-defense*

**Q.** ARTINYA USTADZ MENGANGGAP BAHWA MEREKA TIDAK MENYERANG? (DOES THAT MEAN YOU THINK THEY DIDN'T ATTACK?)

**A.** Tidak menyerang, karena mereka membela diri. Mestinya mereka tidak harus dihukum. Bali itu yang 200 orang terbunuh, itu bomnya Amerika itu. Mini nuklir itu, nggak mungkin Amrozi bisa melakukan itu.

*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 mini nuclear and Amrozi (the Bali plotter who bought the explosives) doesn't have the capability to do that.<sup>2</sup>*

**Q.** AMROZI BILANG SENDIRI KE USTADZ? (DID AMROZI TELL YOU THIS HIMSELF?)

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<sup>2</sup> 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, Mukhlis.

A. Ya dia sendiri heran bisa meledakkan itu, ya itu pertolongan Allah memang betul ya, tapi kan bukan dia yang mbikin, tapi ditunggangi oleh Amerika. Itu banyak buktinya dan polisi tidak berani menyelidiki selanjutnya. Jadi Bali itu sebenarnya yang mematikan 200 orang itu bomnya Amerika, bukan bomnya Amrozi. Menurut seorang ahli Inggris, itu bukan bomnya Amrozi, ente tanya Fauzan ngerti itu. Itu bomnya CIANYA yahudi, Mossad dan kerjasama dengan CIA. Saya pernah tukar pikiran juga dengan polisi. Mereka diam saja. Saya bilang, “bapak itu bodoh, kalau Amrozi bisa bikin itu kok malah dihukum, harusnya kan diangkat jadi penasihat militer.” Wong nggak ada militer yang bisa begitu, polisi saja nggak bisa bikin bom yang begitu.

*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 much evidance and so the police dare not countinue their investigations. The bomb in Bali that killed 200 people was America's bomb, not Amrozi's. According to England's expert, that bomb was not Amrozi's bomb. You should ask Fauzan. He knows this subject. That bomb was CIA Jewish bomb. The Mossad cooperates with the CIA.<sup>3</sup> I had an exchange of views with he police and they didn't say anything. I said to them, “ You are stupid to punish Amrozi if he really knows who to make such a bomb. You should hire him to be a military consultant, because there is no military or police person (in Indonesia) who can make such bomb.*

Saya nggak tahu kok, saya itu nggak pernah kenal. Tapi Ali Imron dalam sidang pernah saya tanya, “Iya, saya yang melakukan.” Saya pun percaya. Kata seorang ahli bom dari Australia, orang yang percaya bahwa bom itu dibuat oleh Amrozi dkk yang dari karbit itu adalah orang idiot. Kalau ahli bom Inggris, yang saya pernah baca dari majalah itu. Kalau memang benar Amrozi yang melakukan bom tersebut harus diberi hadiah nobel. Jadi dihukum mati itu tidak adil, dihukum itu tidak adil.

*However, when I asked Ali Imron<sup>4</sup> 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 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. SAYA INGIN MEMINTA PENDAPAT USTADZ TENTANG BUKUNYA NASIR ABAS, DIMANA SALAH SATUNYA MENYEBUT USTADZ ADALAH AMIR JI? (I WANT TO ASK YOUR OPINION OF NASIR ABAS'S BOOK WHERE HE SAID THAT YOU ARE THE EMIR OF JI?)<sup>5</sup>**

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<sup>3</sup> The story about the CIA-Mossad conspiracy is widespread among JI leaders and foot soldiers and (usually with a laugh) used to illustrate that JI is itself a concoction of “Jewish Intelligence.”

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> 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

A. Itu pengkhianatan, namanya pengkhianatan itu. Jadi saya di Malaysia itu ada jamaah, namanya jamaah Sunnah, itupun hanya urusan mengaji saja.

*This is a betrayer, a betrayer. I was in Malaysia and I had a Jama'ah (congregation) the name of it was Jamaah Sunnah. We just studied Islam.*

Q. TAPI USTADZ MENGETAHUI BAHWA NASIR ABAS, ADALAH SALAH SEORANG MURID USTADZ? (WERE YOU AWARE THAT NASIR ABAS WAS YOUR STUDENT?)

A. Iya, saya tahu. Tapi bukan murid disitu, dia bekas muridnya ustadz Hasyim Gani namanya, saya bergabung sama dia. Sudah meninggal sekarang. Itu saya menilai, buku Nasir Abas itu hanya karena disuruh oleh polisi, dan uang.

*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. MENURUT USTADZ, ISINYA TIDAK BENAR, TERUTAMA MENGENAI JEMAAH ISLAMIYAH DAN MENYEBUT USTADZ SEBAGAI AMIR? (ACCORDING TO YOU, THE THE BOOK IS INCORRECT, ESPECIALLY ON JAMA'AH ISLAMIYAH AND YOU BEING ITS EMIR?)

A. Ya, kan tidak terbukti di pengadilan. Pengadilan saja tidak bisa membuktikan.

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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 Terroris*, 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.

In between my interviews with Ba'asyir I interviewed Abas, who says that he quit JI over Ba'asyir's refusal to condemn or contain the operations and influence of Riduan Isamuddin (aka Hambali). In January 2000, Hambali hosted a meeting in an apartment owned by JI member Yazid Sufaat in Kuala Lumpur that included 9/11 mastermind Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and 9/11 hijackers Khalid al-Mihdhar and Nawaf al-Hamzi. As Abas tells it, Hambali, who was JI's main liaison with Al-Qaeda and a close friend and disciple of Khalid Sheikh Muhammed, was given control of Mantiqi 1, which covered the geographical region of Malaysia and environs and was strategically responsible for JI finances and economic development. But Hambali was dissatisfied being saddled with the "economic wing" (*iqtisod*) and wanted to play a more active role in the conflict zones. The then-leader of Mantiqi 3, Mustafa (now in custody) blocked Hambali from muscling in on his area but Hambali was able to send fighters to fight Christians in Ambon (Maluku) in 1999, which was under Mantiqi 2 (covering most of Indonesia and strategically responsible for JI recruitment and organizational development). Encouraged by success in heating up the Maluku crisis, Hambali decided first to extend his (and al-Qaeda's) conception of Jihad to all of Indonesia (including the 1999 bombing of the Atrium Mall in Jakarta, the August 2000 bombing of the Philippines Ambassador's house, and 17 coordinated Church bombings on Christmas eve 2000) and then to "globalize" the Jihad by enlisting suicide bombers to hit Western targets and interests (including a failed plot to blow up Singapore's American, Australian and Israeli embassies in December 2001, and the successful 2002 Bali bombings and 2003 suicide attack on Jakarta's Marriott hotel). Although Abas argues that JI shouldn't be outlawed because many in JI reject Al-Qaeda's vision of global jihad, in fact JI's infrastructure and leadership continue to protect (with safe houses) and condone (as "self-defense") efforts by the likes of master-bomber Dr. Azhari bin Hussain and his constant sidekick, JI's top recruiter Nurdin Nur Thop, who some tell me recently established a suicide squad, called *Thoifah Muqatilah*, for large actions against Western interests.

This is not court and the court has failed to prove it. <sup>6</sup>

**Q.** APA DASAR NASIR ABAS MENULIS BUKU TERSEBUT? (*WHAT WAS NASIR ABAS'S MOTIVATION IN WRITING THAT BOOK?*)

**A.** Ndak tahu saya. Dasarnya disuruh polisi, dikasih uang. Dasarnya hanya itu. Pokoknya semua pekerjaan itu disuruh polisi dan dikasih uang. Ketemu saya saja nggak berani itu. Kalau ketemu saya akan saya suruh jihad ke Chechnya atau ke Philipina selatan sampai mati baru tobatnya bisa diterima. Ngarang-ngarang cerita.

*I don't know. But basically he got orders from the police and he 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.** SAYA DENGAR NASIR ABAS PERNAH KESINI, APA TIDAK KETEMU USTADZ? (*I HEARD THAT NASIR ABAS CAME HERE. DID HE MEET YOU?*)

**A.** Tidak, untuk ketemu yang lain-lain.

*No, he came here to meet others*

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<sup>6</sup> 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).

**Q. USTADZ, KALAU BOLEH TAHU KAPAN PERTAMA KALI USTADZ MENDENGAR NAMA AL QAEDA? (IF I MAY KNOW, WHEN WAS THE FIRST TIME YOU HEARD THE NAME AL QAEDA?)**

**A.** Setelah saya diperiksa polisi, saya kan pernah diperiksa waktu saya melaporkan karena saya difitnah oleh Time. Kan saya pernah menuntut Time, saya tuntutan Time. Saya pernah akan dikasih 100 juta rupiah untuk menghentikan, tapi saya tidak tahu bagaimana kasusnya itu sekarang. Ketika itu saya dicurigai, tapi tidak ditahan. Saat itu saya baru mendengar nama Al Qaeda itu. Ketika itu polisi di bagian intel, namanya saya lupa itu. Saya diperiksa dari pagi sampai sore. Ditanya apa saya tahu nama ini. Baru itu saya mendengarnya. Sebelum itu tidak pernah tahu, wong nggak pernah ada. Saya kan pernah di Pakistan mosok nggak denger. Saya kan nganter anak saya, saya kan jumpa orang-orang Arab tapi nggak pernah dengar nama itu. Di kantor polisi itu saya baru dengar.

*After the police questioned me when 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.<sup>7</sup> A policeman from the intelligence section whose name I forget interrogated me from morning until afternoon. He also 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<sup>8</sup> and meet some Arabs but I never heard that name. In the police office I heard that name.*

**Q. KALAU SYEKH OSAMA BIN LADEN? (HOW ABOUT SHEIKH OSAMA BIN LADEN?)**

**A.** Saya sudah dengar, lama itu sudah dengar lama. Membaca tulisan-tulisan, melihat videonya, ketemu orang-orang Arab waktu di Pakistan itu cerita-cerita tentang Osama bin Laden. sekitar itu waktu saya mengantar Abdul Rahim anak saya. Siapa yang tidak kenal Osama? Dia mujahid waktu melawan Uni Sovyet itu dia mempunyai pasukan sendiri yang dibiayai sendiri. Itu kan pahlawan yang dipuji Amerika dulu, dia kan dibantu Amerika juga. Amerika kan membonceng karena Amerika kan tidak berani dengan Sovyet kan. Mereka takut dengan Sovyet terus mbonceng Afghan.

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<sup>7</sup> Other members of JI who freely acknowledge sympathy with Bin Laden and Qaeda say much the same thing. For example, I interviewed the JI member who founded the first mujahedin 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 9/11 mastermind Khalid Shaikh Muhammed at his home in Jakarta for a month in 1997. Yet, he claims never to have heard of "Al-Qaeda" applied to a specific organization or group headed by Bin Laden until 9/11.

<sup>8</sup> 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 (reports in August 2005, place him in Aceh, heading a new charity, Camp Taochi Foundation) but he is suspected of having taken over JI's contacts with Al-Qaeda remnants after Hambali's capture.

*I heard his name but it was 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. KALAU BERTEMU BELUM PERNAH USTADZ? (DID YOU EVER MET HIM?)**

**A. Nggak, nggak. Saya ingin malahan, mudah-mudahan bebas ini bisa ketemu.**

*No, no. I want to though. After my release, I hope I can meet him.*<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> 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 sharia) 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.

**Q. DIMANA, USTADZ MAU MENCARI KESANA? (WHERE WILL YOU FIND HIM?)**

**A.** Kalau ada, tapi mana bisa. Saya juga masalah Osama itu tegas jawaban saya waktu dipersidangan. Saya simpati dengan perjuangannya, Osama itu tentara Allah. Kalau saya lihat ceritanya, sudah begitu Osama itu mujahid, tentara Allah.

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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 *fatwa* (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 conveys 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.

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



*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.** ARTINYA TETAP BERADA DISISI BELIAU? (*SO YOU WILL BE ALWAYS ON HIS SIDE?*)

**A.** Banyak yang cerita, dan memang benar. Adapun langkah, perhitungan ada salah, manusia biasa. Tapi tidak semua langkahnya saya setuju. Antara lain, dia menyuruh ngebom-gebom itu tidak saya setuju. Pengakuannya kan jemaah islamiyah itu kan itu kan mengikuti fatwanya. Kan fatwanya itu semua orang Amerika harus dibunuh, dimana saja harus dibunuh. Karena Amerika itu harus dibunuh, termasuk warganegara. Pokoknya ada warga Amerika harus diserang. Dia perlawanan total, itu yang saya tidak saya setuju. Kalau di negara Islam, kalau kena fitnah akibatnya dirasakan orang Islam. Kalau di negara mereka silahkan.

*Many say this and Osama is right. His tactics and calculations may sometimes be wrong; he's an ordinary human being. 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 fatwa. His fatwa said that all Americans must be killed wherever they can be found, because America deserves it including its citizens. The most important is that if Muslims find 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.** ITU ARTINYA PERLAWANAN TERHADAP AMERIKA TIDAK AKAN PERNAH BERHENTI KAN? (*SO IT MEANS THAT THE FIGHT AGAINST AMERICA WILL NEVER END?*)

**A.** Nggak akan dan itu wajib hukumnya. Orang Islam yang tidak benci Amerika berdosa. Orang Islam yang tidak benci kepada Amerika, yang saya maksud Amerika itu regim George Bush, itu tanda tidak ada Iman. Paling sedikit menyerang itu kan ada tiga; dengan tangan, dengan lisan dan dengan hati.

*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 (faith) if one doesn't hate America. There are at three ways of attacking: with your hand, your mouth and your heart.*

**Q.** ARTINYA, PEMERINTAHAN, KEBIJAKAN-KEBIJAKANNYA? (*DOES THIS MEAN AMERICA'S GOVERNMENT? ITS POLICIES?*)

**A.** Kalau warganya, kalau warganya yang baik ya tidak apa-apa. Apalagi yang muslim itu kan saudara. Kalau yang nggak muslim pun nggak apa-apa, asal mereka tidak mengganggu kita. Itu yang jadi saksi kemarin, Frederick Burks. Itu dia sendiri yang menulis, dia kan melawan Bush.

*If its citizens are good that's fine, especially the Muslims one. They are our brothers. Non-Muslims also fine as long as they don't bother us. A witness at my trial, Frederick Burks, wrote that he's against Bush.*<sup>10</sup>

**Q.** BAGAIMANA KALAU REGIMNYA BERGANTI DAN KEBIJAKANNYA BERUBAH? *HOW CAN THE REGIME AND ITS POLICY CHANGE?*)

**A.** Ya itu kita lihat, selama tidak ada tujuan memerangi secara an-sich. Kemudian Islam dibiarkan berkembang, pokoknya Islam itu harus berkuasa. Itu memang doktrin Islam. Islam dikuasai itu tidak boleh. Itu hukumnya Allah kok berlindung dibalik hokum manusia, mana ada. Hukumnya Allah ya harus diatas manusia, yang lain dibawahnya. Itu yang nggak dimaui sama kafir itu kan, yang ditakuti Amerika itu kan itu. Saudara baca buku; Wajah Kebudayaan Amerika oleh Adian Husaini, itu buku bagus itu. Tebel bukunya. Wajah kebudayaan barat, bukan Amerika. Kesimpulannya adalah itu. Jadi memang ada beberapa doktrin dari beberapa cendekiawannya untuk memusuhi Islam, memang iya. Clash civilitation itu memang betul itu, pembahasannya memang betul. Selamanya islam dan kafir itu clash. Nggak ada Islam dan kafir itu rukun, yang hak dengan yang batil kok.

*We'll see. As long as there is no intention to fight us and then let Islam grow and Islam rule 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 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 there is doctrine held by western scholars against Islam. It is true there will be clash of civilizations. The argumentation is correct that there will be clash between Islam and infidels. There is no (example) of Islam and infidels, the right and the wrong, living together in peace.*

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<sup>10</sup> 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.