

**Jihadist Reactions to the Muhammad Cartoons
(Working Paper)**

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Introduction

The publication of 12 caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad in the Danish newspaper *Jyllandposten* has sparked massive protests throughout the Islamic world. In several countries, Danish and Norwegian properties and symbols have been attacked by mobs, and Danish products are boycotted in several Muslim countries. A closer look at how the jihadist community has reacted to the caricatures indicates that the conflict is about a lot more than the cartoons themselves. A closer reading also reveals that within the jihadist circles there is disagreement concerning how best to deal with this conflict, and how it should be best approached. There is broad agreement that the caricatures are a horrifying insult against the entire Islamic world, and a crime that ought to be punished in one way or another. Some of the jihadists are more concerned with how to punish the countries in which the cartoons have been published, while other jihadists deem it more important to target the US-led “Crusader Alliance” which occupies Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine. Others again are of the opinion that it is the weakness of the international Muslim community that led to the publishing of the caricatures, and direct their critique inwards instead of targeting the West.

I have chosen to divide this article in three “levels”. The first level constitutes the ideologues, who either are influential religious scholars within jihadist circles, or important writers from the same milieu. The next level is organized groups, such as Iraqi insurgent groups or Palestinian resistance groups. The third level is made up of what I term “jihadist activists”, who are the active participants on the jihadist internet forum *al-Hisba*. The most important discussion is found in the first and the third levels, and this makes the group level less important in this context.

Background

The caricatures were first published in the Danish newspaper *Jyllandposten* on 30 September 2005, and received some attention from the jihadist activists at that time. The cartoons were depicted as a “Crusade against Islam”, and the activists demanded punitive actions against the instigators.¹ However, the interest did not last very long and by mid-October, the whole affair seemed to be entirely forgotten.

Then, by January, there was a formidable rise of postings on the *al-Hisba* forum regarding the caricatures. Two developments were behind this sudden rise. First, and most importantly, was the “internationalization” of the conflict. A delegation of Danish imams toured the Middle East in order to bring the issue to attention of Muslim and Arab leaders. The stated reason behind the tour was that the Danish Premier Anders Fogh Rasmussen had refused to meet with a delegation of Muslim diplomats and to apologize, as the ambassadors of eleven Muslim countries had demanded in a letter sent to him on 12 October 2005.² Therefore, prominent Danish

imams decided to inform the rest of the Muslim world how disrespectfully the Muslims were treated in Denmark after the 9/11. They had with them on their trip some highly provocative images of the Prophet that had not originally been printed in *Jyllandposten*. The delegation later said that these pictures were included to illustrate how the West treated Muslims generally.³

The Hypocrisy and the Decay of the West

The most common reaction, and not only among the jihadists, is to denounce the caricatures as an offensive crime against the entire Islamic world and to demand an apology from those responsible. This means not only the newspapers that have published the caricatures, but also their respective governments.

Another common reaction is to criticize the hypocritical application of freedom of speech in the West. For instance, the Kuwaiti salafi shaykh Hamid al-Ali has claimed that in the West it is permitted to mock Islam, while it is not permitted to mock or to voice suspicion about the Holocaust.⁴ The same argument is set forth in a statement from “Muslims in British Prisons Concerning Denmark”, published by The Islamic Observation Centre in London. The statement is signed by Umar Mahmud Uthman Abu Umar better known as Abu Qatada, widely regarded as al-Qa‘ida’s spiritual leader in Europe. The letter argues that the Danish government will stand up against anti-semitism and defend the memory of Holocaust, while it cherish defamation of Islam.⁵

The jihadists also see the caricatures as an example of the rotting and decaying Western culture. The number two in al-Qa‘ida, Ayman al-Zawahiri, lamented the West in a tape sent to al-Jazeera on March 4 2006, for not holding anything holy except the anti-semitism taboo, the Holocaust and homosexuality. Al-Zawahiri mentioned several other examples, such as the Salman Rushdie affair, the ban against wearing *hijab* in France, and the torture in Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. For Zawahiri, these examples show that the Western talk of free speech, justice and human rights is doubletalk.⁶ Several of the jihadists that are active on internet forums also denounce the entire Western culture, and promote the idea of an insurmountable chasm between the West and the Islamic world.⁷ The administrator of the al-Hisba forum also issued a statement concerning the caricatures, denouncing the perpetrators and the respective governments as drunkards and bisexuals.⁸

The Weakness of the Islamic Umma

Not every jihadist directs the brunt of their attack against the West. Rather, it is the weakness of the Muslim community that led to the publishing of the caricatures. Therefore it is incumbent to address important problems inside the Muslim world. For instance, Abu Maria al-Qorashi, from the Global Islamic Media Front (one of the most active al-Qa‘ida media outlets), complains that many Muslims that remain

passive and al-Qorashi urges them to participate in jihad – with money, the pen, etc. He also criticizes Arab governments for only pretending to be Muslims.⁹

Al-Qorashi is not alone in targeting the “near enemy”, the Muslim countries, and to deal with internal problems instead of diverting anger towards Denmark. Another publication from the Global Islamic Media Front, signed by Bakr bin Salim al-Bakri, is highly illustrative. Al-Bakri depicts the cartoons just as one of many offences against the Muslims. Therefore, al-Bakri urges his fellow Muslims to be less concerned with the Danish caricatures and be more concerned with Muslim states that do not govern according to the laws of Islam and instead apply British and French laws. Al-Bakri also blames the media in the Muslim countries for mocking the Prophet every day. He directs critique against religious scholars whom he denounces as “modernist shayks”, who overstate the Prophet’s tolerance for “the enemies”. He also directs harsh critique against religious scholars working for the state, and following their apostate laws. He implores them to tell the truth instead of saying what the state wants them to say. These religious scholars are willing to accept the Danish apology, as this will benefit the interests of the state. But according to al-Bakri, the shaykhs should place the interests of the religion and the Islamic *umma* above the worldly, local and personal interests. According to al-Bakri, this is the way to enlighten the people, and to waken them from their slumber. Husayn bin Mahmoud, a leading jihadist writer and cleric, also directs some of his ire against the regimes in the Arab world which he denounces as hypocrites. According to bin Mahmoud the Arab regimes criticize the cartoons while they are supporting Bush and Blair in occupying Iraq and killing Muslims.

Just as several of the ideologues do, some of the jihadist activists on the internet also direct their critique against the Arab regimes instead of against Denmark. However, it is important to note that this view is rarer amongst the jihadist activists than amongst the ideologues.

Boycott of Denmark or Boycott of the Crusading Alliance?

The most common reaction, and not only among the jihadists, is to denounce the caricatures as an offensive crime against the entire Islamic world and to demand an apology from “the responsible”, which in practice means the newspapers that have printed the cartoons and their respective governments. Economic boycott is the most common strategy to achieve this apology, and also to punish Denmark for its actions. It is important to notice that not everyone in the jihadist milieu advocates violence, as long as other means are available. For instance, Hamid al-Ali stated in a fatwa concerning the apology from Jyllandposten, that the punishment for mocking the Prophet is death, but boycott is a viable alternative for the Muslim masses. However, al-Ali did not deem the apology from Jyllandposten sufficient to end the boycott. He gave some minimum conditions to end the boycott: The perpetrators and the countries

that support them, must apology to the whole Islamic world. They must promise not to repeat the crime, and to respect Islam. In a later fatwa, al-Ali decreed that Muslims who abstain from the boycott ought to be punished, as they are weakening the total power of the Muslim community.¹⁰

The debate on how to use the boycott weapon is highly illustrative of the multifaceted reactions to the cartoons. An important line of demarcation runs between those who are chiefly concerned with punishing Denmark and those who are more concerned about the US-led “Crusader Alliance”. The latter depict the cartoon as an example of how the Crusader States are attacking and mocking Islam. In this context, Denmark is not the most important target. It is more important to challenge the whole Crusader Alliance and especially the leader of this alliance, the US. A case in point is the publication by the Global Islamic Media Front signed by Bakr ibn Salim al-Bakri. For him, worse than the Danish cartoons, is the fact that the US is using the holy land of Saudi Arabia as a base for targeting civilian Muslims in Iraq. This demarcation line also applies to the discussion regarding boycott.

As we have seen Hamid al-Ali wanted to target every country that published the cartoons with an economic boycott. Husayn bin Mahmoud stresses that Denmark should be the primary target. He warns the Muslims not to be fooled by the devilish plan of the West, which is to print the caricatures in several European countries in order to lighten the pressure on Denmark. The boycott should not end until Denmark “is eliminated from the globe” and the word “Denmark” no longer exists in Muslim dictionaries, he writes.¹¹ And the jihadist supporters that are active on the internet have devoted much space to the issue of which products to boycott, and have compiled extensive lists covering Danish and Norwegian products. One popular list designated four types of boycott. The first was the boycott of Danish companies and businessmen, such as the psychiatric firm Lundbeck (which have offices in Saudi-Arabia and Egypt), and also the boycott of local companies that cooperated with Danish companies, such as The Saudi Chemical Company and the Kuwaiti Danish Dairy Company. The next category was the boycott of Danish staple products such as Lurpak, Nido, etc. Even the French “Sofi de France” should be boycotted since they produce Danish pastries. The third kind of boycott was the boycott of all Danish athletic clubs. Coaches, players, masseurs or sports medicine specialists from Denmark should all be avoided. Meetings with any Danish athletic teams should also be avoided. The fourth and last category was the boycott of products for women. A long list with pictures of beauty products and Danish staple products to be avoided was attached to the posting.¹²

When the Norwegian “Magazinet” reprinted the caricatures, the word spread on the al-Hisba forum and participants asked if someone was willing to gather information about Norwegian products to boycott.¹³ The list covering Norwegian products that should be boycotted hints that the participants on al-Hisba don’t know Norwegian

society very well. The choice of companies to boycott seems to be randomly picked, like the soccer team Brann, the Student Welfare Association of the University of Bergen, and a well-known restaurant in Oslo called Palace Grill. Also, more economically important firms, such as Hydro and Tine, figure on the list while Jotun, a Norwegian producer of paint which is heavily represented in the Middle East, is not on the list.¹⁴ This indicates that the members do not have inside knowledge of Danish and Norwegian society, and may suggest that the members generally do not reside in Europe. However, a recently published study of the readership distribution of the al-Hisba forum alleges that while 29% of the readers are based in the Gulf, as many as 22% are based in Europe.¹⁵ These numbers do not measure where the *active* members of the forum are based. Furthermore, some postings do reveal indirect knowledge of Danish and Norwegian society. For instance, one participant of the forum mentions Annemette Hommel, the Danish officer who was accused of torturing Iraqi prisoners during interrogation.¹⁶ Another participant posted a clipping from an edition of the Norwegian satirical radio show “Hallo i Uken”, where they made fun of the whole cartoon affair.

As opposed to the focus on Denmark and Norway, some of the ideologues and some of the supporters want an economic boycott of the entire Crusader Alliance instead of singling out individual countries. A case in point is the aforementioned Bakr ibn Salim al-Bakri who saw the US as a bigger threat than Denmark. Accordingly, he wants to extend the boycott of Danish products to American products, emphasising that it is more important to boycott the American products. According to al-Bakri, it is incumbent on every Muslim to work for the destruction of the US, and one of the weapons every Muslim can use is boycott. The US should be boycotted until the entire Islamic *umma* is void of US interests. Several postings on the jihadist forums also deem it more important to boycott the US than Denmark and Norway.¹⁷ Al-Bakri still wants to boycott Denmark, but some of the activists that participate in the jihadist forums voice concerns that the boycott of Danish and Norwegian products will favour US products. Therefore one participant urges his brothers to buy products only from countries which do not contribute to the war in Iraq, for instance Germany.¹⁸

This argument has been taken further by jihadists advocating a boycott of the entire West. For instance, the writer Husayn bin Mahmoud, sees this boycott as an occasion to get rid of the Western hegemony entirely. Therefore, he implores the Muslims to buy Muslim products and merchandise instead of those of the West. This will strengthen the Islamic world and weaken the Western world. In this way Mahmoud links the cartoons with an economic and political “independence war” against Western hegemony. Likewise, Hamid al-Ali has urged the foundation of a trade union consisting of the most influential Muslim businessmen. This trade union shall boycott every country that mocks the Prophet.

Also, some of the jihadists active on the forums regard the boycott as an economic tool to challenge the Western economic domination of the Islamic world. They therefore urge the boycott of both Europe and America, which are in need of the oil and fuel in the Islamic world. These participants tend to be more concerned with the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan than with the cartoons.¹⁹

Is an Economic Boycott Sufficient?

Ayman al-Zawahiri, in his tape from 9 March 2006, defines the first front of action as the boycott of Western products, together with attacks directed against the West. Yet others have argued that an economic boycott is not sufficient, and can even have damaging consequences. The Iraqi Islamic resistance groups have stressed this. The Mujahidin Army, for instance, states clearly that “boycott of milk and cheese” is not sufficient. A military track should be pursued in addition to the boycott track. A previously unknown group called “Planning and Follow-Up Authority” (Hai’at al-Mutaba‘a wa al-takhtit) issued a statement where they claimed to have shot down “Christian planes” in Iraq. According to the statement, their intention was to show that the boycott should be abandoned in favour of an aggressive jihad. This group understands the cartoons in light of the Crusader campaign against the Muslims, in which the Vatican is involved. And the Iraqi Christian is part of this campaign, and therefore it is necessary to strike Christian targets in Iraq.²⁰

Interestingly, this communiqué sparked a discussion on the al-Hisba forum concerning the native Christians of Iraq. One participant called “Akrama al-Madani” blames the group for targeting innocent Iraqi Christians and asks how this will punish Denmark? Actions such as this will only have adverse effects on the Mujahidin in Iraq, and he refers to al-Maqdisi’s critique of al-Zarqawi concerning the killing of civilians in Iraq. Al-Madani wants instead to attack targets in Denmark or Danish soldiers in Iraq. The main subsequent discussion is whether the Christians in Iraq (as a group) are supporting the occupation or not.²¹ In his most recent tape, Ayman Al-Zawahiri stresses that it is not sufficient to participate in protests and burnings of a few embassies and then return to normal. This is in accord with earlier statements from al-Zawahiri. Consider, for instance, his tape from May 2003, where he states that

‘Protests will not do you any good, neither will demonstrations or conferences. Nothing will do you good, but toting arms and taking revenge against your enemies, the Americans and the Jews. Demonstrations will not... protect your jeopardised holy places or expel an occupying enemy, nor will they deter an arrogant aggressor...The crusaders and the Jews do not understand but the language of killing and blood. They do not become convinced unless they see coffins returning to them, their interests being destroyed, their towers being torched, and their economy collapsing.’²²

Targeting Denmark or the Crusader States?

The same line of argument runs through the discussion about whether it is more important to avenge the Prophet by targeting Danish interests, or to challenge the larger Crusader Alliance.

It seems to be that the vast majority of jihadist activists do agree on targeting Danish or Norwegian interests as retribution for the publication of the caricatures. Several of the jihadist ideologues have issued veiled calls for violent actions in order to avenge the Prophet. As already mentioned, Hamid al-Ali has said that the punishment for mocking the Prophet is death. Likewise, the letter signed by Abu Qatada who sees the cartoons as a good occasion for Muslims to prove themselves as good Muslims, and the letter ends with the following sentence: “Victory. Victory. The door to Paradise is opened. Congratulations to who is rushing to it”. In the same vein, `Attiyat Allah (in the introduction to his letter called “Muhammad, The Messenger of Allah”, reminds the readers of the destiny of another mocker of Islam, Theo Van Gogh.²³ The Dutch film director Van Gogh was killed in broad daylight in the middle of Amsterdam in November 2004 for his provocative film, “Submission”.²⁴ Several of the jihadist activists on the internet asked if this attack could be repeated in Denmark or Norway.²⁵ In particular, the editor of the Norwegian Christian publication “Magazinet”, Vebjørn Selbekk, who published the pictures in January 2006, and the Secretary-General of the Norwegian Press Association, Per Edgar Kokkvold, who defended the right of “Magazinet” to publish the pictures, have been singled out as targets. Apparently, the participants of the al-Hisba forum (and other forums as well), believe that those two individuals are responsible for the caricatures either as editors of the Danish Jyllandposten, or as the cartoonists.²⁶

One of the most threatening postings is from the member called “Jihad1”. In his posting called “A Reply to Denmark,” he includes several pictures that are threatening attacks in Denmark. This is a reply to the apologies from the editor of the Jyllandposten. In a serious case like this, a feeble apology is not enough, he says. The pictures are meant to be the “real answer”, and threaten that the Danish are going to live in fear until their imminent punishment is fulfilled. The pictures have captions such as –“Boombing (sic) Soon in Denmark”, “I will bomb myself in DENMARK very soon as my brothers in Islam did in UK”, and “Denmark Is Next After UK and Sweden”.²⁷ Several of these pictures first appeared on the internet in October 2005 and were signed by the “Glory Brigades in Northern Europe”.²⁸ This is an unknown group, but according to Internet Haganah (an US-based internet group monitoring extremist Islamic websites), there are some resemblances between these pictures and the pictures from April 2005 that threatened Sweden.²⁹

However, there seems to be some disagreement as to which Danish targets are the most important to hit – targets inside Denmark or targets outside Denmark and especially in Iraq. Read in a bigger context – is it more important to punish Denmark for insulting the Prophet, or should the caricatures be seen as part of the battle between Islam and the West that currently unfolds itself especially in Iraq? Several of the jihadist activists wanted to attack targets inside Denmark, such as the office of Jyllandposten and several postings urged the mujahidin to attack inside Denmark.³⁰ However, the Danish military presence in Iraq was also cited as a pretext for attacking Denmark and for some of the participants this was a more important reason than the cartoons. For instance, one posting gives a list of countries to hit: America, Italy, Denmark, their embassies and interests abroad, and their forces in Iraq.³¹ In other words, the poster wants to target countries with military presence in Iraq. Others urged the Mujahidin in Iraq to kidnap Danes in Iraq and chop their heads off as revenge.³² Pictures of Danish forces in Iraq have been distributed on the forum, apparently in order to make them easier to spot for the mujahidin in Iraq³³

Which Groups Have Threatened with Violence?

Several militant Islamic groups have strongly denounced the cartoons, and threatened retribution against Danish and Norwegian targets. Interestingly, the more radical Islamic groups, such as Hamas or al-Qa`ida in Iraq, have been remarkably silent on the cartoons. Instead, it is the more “quasi-Islamic” nationalist groups that have threatened attacks. This indicates that the Muhammad cartoons are a highly symbolic case, and a case that groups employ to bolster their images as an Islamic group. The “purer” Islamic groups already have a reputation as Islamic groups, and are not so much in need of proving their credentials. This may also explain why the response from the Islamic groups lacks the discussion of the ideologues and the supporters.

A case in point is the Iraqi insurgent group “Islamic Army in Iraq” (*al-Jaish al-Islami fi'l-`Iraq* or IAI). IAI was founded by elements from the former regime in 2003, but there are indications that more radical Iraqi Islamists joined the group at a later stage.³⁴ This has resulted in a power struggle between the moderates and the more radical faction. This struggle was apparent in the negotiations between IAI and France, concerning the release of the two French journalists Georges Malbrunot and Christian Chesnot in late 2004.³⁵ IAI issued a very aggressive statement concerning the caricatures where they called upon Muslims to capture Danes as hostages, and to cut them into small pieces. IAI says it will not spare any Danish and Norwegian citizen in Iraq, even if they are civilian. As several others have done, IAI depicts the cartoons as evidence of the US-led Crusader War against Muslims. Every country that publishes the caricatures should be targeted and Muslim states and civilians ought to break off all relations with them. IAI also stresses that this is a good occasion for Muslims to prove themselves as good Muslims, and everyone should participate in the struggle against the aggressors according to his own ability. The IAI statement can be

interpreted as an outcome of the competition between the moderates and radicals inside the group. It is perhaps even more relevant to situate the statement in the larger context of the Iraqi insurgency. IAI clearly wants to show to the world, and to Iraq especially, that it is an Islamic group and not a front for Ba‘thist supporters.³⁶

The same goes for the one other Iraqi Islamic resistance group that has issued a statement on the Muhammad cartoons, The Mujahidin Army (*Jaysh al-Mujahidin*). In their statement posted on their website and dated 29 January 2006, they interpret the cartoons as a sign of the latent hate towards Islam in Denmark and Norway.³⁷ In retribution, they urged all their brigades to attack as much as they can Norwegian and Danish targets, and everyone that follows their steps.³⁸ It is important to notice that they only ask their own brigades to attack Norwegian and Danish targets. As far as we know, the Mujahidin Army does not have detachments outside Iraq, and therefore it is likely that they refer to targets inside Iraq. As with the IAI, the Mujahidin Army has roots within the former regime, but is apparently a smaller organization than the IAI. The same phenomenon can be seen in Palestine, where the Islamic group Hamas reportedly not instigated or led violent actions in response to the cartoons, whereas pro-Fatah groups and Fatah defectors have issued very specific threats.

The Potential for Mobilisation

A pertinent question is how the cartoon conflict could be employed in the mobilization of Muslims to join jihadist cells or groups. The jihadists themselves stress that the caricatures can have positive effects on the Islamic community. For instance, Attiyat Allah is convinced that the whole affair will lead to more converts to Islam, not only in Denmark, but also in Scandinavia and in the rest of Europe, if Muslims use this occasion to spread the word of Islam (*al-da‘wa*). The letter of Attiyat Allah is trying to convince non-Muslim believers to convert to Islam, and he urges his Islamic compatriots to translate the letter into Danish.³⁹ Husayn bin Mahmoud calls upon the Islamic community to utilise this case as a tool for mobilization. He urges Islamic scholars to use this incident to awaken the sleeping Muslims from their slumber, and to fill the mosques in Denmark with young Muslims.

According to the jihadists, the caricatures can also serve as an eye-opener for many Muslims. Earlier, some of the Muslims, especially those residing in the West, believed the Western hypocrisy of “respect for every religion,” etc. The cartoons have revealed the true face of the West and their hate towards the Muslims, and this will make it easier to mobilize Muslims to join the fight against the West.

The cartoons, in jihadist eyes, have also contributed to a revitalisation of the Muslim community and to the unification of the diverse trends within the Muslim community. According to Husayn bin Mahmoud, this is the first time that the shi`a-Muslims are

chanting for the Prophet Muhammad instead of Husayn. Likewise, bin Mahmoud depicts the success of the economic boycott as a victory for the jihadists, as the boycott has affected several large Western trade companies.

On the other hand, this article has shown that the cartoons have given rise to internal debates and discussions within the jihadist community. The jihadists do not agree on whether it is more important to target Denmark or to target the larger Crusader Alliance. Likewise, they do not agree as to whether they should target the “near enemy”, the Muslim regimes, or the “far enemy” (the US-led Crusader Alliance). As such, the discussion about how to approach the cartoons is related to the larger discussion in the jihadist community.

Concluding Remarks

This paper has pointed out that the reactions to the Muhammad cartoons inside the jihadist community have not been unified. There have been reactions on several levels, from the top level (al-Zawahiri) to the lowest level (the jihadist activists on the internet). Inside the jihadist community there have been discussions as to how to interpret the conflict, and how best to deal with the caricatures. The lines of discussions were mainly twofold; should the jihadists focus their energies on attacking the perpetrators of the caricatures or should they instead target the Crusader Alliance. The second area of conflict was whether one should direct the anger outwards against the West, or inwards against the Muslim community itself.

¹ Al-Barqawi 250, “A Danish Newspaper Draws the Prophet (PBUH),” *al-Hisba* posted 8 October 2005 <http://www.alhesbah.com/v/showthread.php?t=35089> accessed 10 October 2005; and Abu Hamdan, “Danish Newspaper Insults the Prophet Muhammad,” *al-Hisba* posted 7 October 2005. <http://www.alhesbah.com/v/showthread.php?t=34919> accessed 2 February 2006.

² Håkon Gundersen, “Karikaturene sett fra Kairo,” *Morgenbladet* 10-16 February 2006.

³ Ayman Qenawi, “Danish Muslims “Internationalize” Anti-Prophet Cartoons,” *Islam Online* 18 November 2005 <http://islamonline.net/English/News/2005-11/18/article02.shtml>; and Tore Gjerstad, Veslemøy Lode, “En ytterliggående dansk imam startet muslimopprøret,” *Dagbladet* 10 February 2006, <http://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/2006/02/10/457390.html>.

⁴ Hamid al-Ali, “Is the Apology Sufficient?”, undated, www.h-alali.info/npage/fatwa_open.php?cat=&id=14776. For English translation see “A Fatwa from Sheikh Hamed al-Ali Responding to the Apology of the Danish Newspaper of Publishing Caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad,” *SITE Institute* 2 February 2006.

⁵ Qudsuk, “Important Statment From Inside British Prisons About Supporting Allah’s Messenger and the Islamic Religion,” *al-Hisba* posted 1 February 2006 <http://www.alhesbah.com/v/showthread.php?t=50777> accessed 1 February 2006. For English translation see “A Statement from the Muslims in British Prisons Signed by Abu Qatada Concerning Denmark”, *SITE Institute* 1 February 2006.

⁶ “A Tape from Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri Condemning West States for Policies Against Islam and Cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad, and Advises Hamas Regarding Treaties and the Importance of Continued Jihad in Palestine,” *Site Institute* 5 March 2006.

⁷ Rayat al-Khayr, “No Use for Denmark and Norway, Except for the Likes of Muhammad Bouyeri,” *al-Hisba* posted 23 January 2006, <http://www.alhesbah.com/v/showthread.php?t=49245>, accessed 23 January 2006.

- ⁸ Idarat Shabakat al-Hisba, "Bayan 4 min Shabakat al-Hisba, Condemnation of the base and provoking crime against the Prophet," *al-Hisba* posted 26 January 2006, <http://www.alhesbah.org/v/showthread.php?t=49997> accessed 31 January 2006.
- ⁹ "The Global Islamic Media Front Presents an Article: What after the Denmark Happenings...A Work Plan," *SITE Institute* 10 February 2006.
- ¹⁰ Hamid al-Ali, "Is the Apology Sufficient?," www.al-hisba.org/v/showthread.php?cat=&id=14776. For English translation see "A Fatwa from Sheikh Hamed al-Ali Responding to the Apology of the Danish Newspaper of Publishing Caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad," *SITE Institute* 2 February 2006.
- ¹¹ Husayn bin Mahmoud, "Nothing but Thoughts (3)," *al-Hisba* posted by Rooh 50 12 February 2006 <http://www.alhesbah.com/v/showthread.php?t=52181> , accessed 14 February 2006.
- ¹² Abu al-Hassan al-Azdi, "Denmark Will Kneel Weeping," *al-Hisba* posted 21 January 2006, <http://www.alhesbah.com/v/showthread.php?t=48849> accessed 23 January 2006.
- ¹³ Reply to (from al-Muthannan) Talib al-Firdaws, "Norwegian Magazine Prints the Insulting Drawings of the Prophet," *al-Hisba* posted 27 January 2006, <http://www.alhesbah.com/v/showthread.php?t=49916> , accessed 27 January 2006.
- ¹⁴ Abu Hassan al-Azdi, "Why Denmark Only? Norway as Well "Have Been Arrogant", and Here is Norway's Products," *al-Hisba* posted 30 January 2006, <http://www.alhesbah.com/v/showthread.php?t=50439>, accessed 1 February 2006.
- ¹⁵ "The Global Distribution of the Readers of al-Hesbah forum," *Internet Haganah* 2 March 2006, <http://haganah.org.il/harchives/005497.html>.
- ¹⁶ Faris al-Andalus, "500 Danish pagans in Iraq, Who Will Stand up for the Prophet?" *al-Hisba* posted 21 February 2006, <http://www.al-hesbah.org/v/showthread.php?t=54389>, accessed 21 February 2006.
- ¹⁷ See for instance, Akhir Fursa, reply to Abu Hamza 2005, "Our Shaykh Abu Bilal Leads Heavy Attack against Denmark," *al-Hisba* posted 30 January 2006, <http://www.alhesbah.com/v/showthread.php?t=50491>, accessed 1 February 2006 and Abu Bakr al-Iraqi reply to Abu Awis, "Pictures of Danish Forces in Iraq", *al-Hisba* posted 30 January 2006, accessed 1 February 2006.
- ¹⁸ Mansur al-Shami, reply to Abu Azzam 99, "List and Pictures of Danish Products to be Boycotted by all" *al-Hisba* posted 27 January 2006, <http://www.alhesbah.com/v/showthread.php?t=49808>, accessed 27 January 2006.
- ¹⁹ Abu Bakr al-Iraqi, "The Danish drawings... Is Not an Isolated Action, Rather a Phase of the Crusades," *al-Hisba* posted 30 January 2006, accessed 1 February 2006.
- ²⁰ "A Statement from the Planning and Follow-Up Authority in Iraq Announcing Strikes Upon Christian Planes in Iraq as an Example of Revenge for Caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad," *SITE Institute* 3 February 2006, <http://siteinstitute.org/bin/articles.cgi?ID=publications145106&Category=publications&Subcategory=0>
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