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Joseph Croitoru
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Joseph Croitoru
The Martyr as a Weapon
The Historical Roots of Suicide Bombing

Translated by Janice Becker

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Introduction

Around the world, the deadly flights of September 11, 2001 brought to mind the Japanese Kamikazes of World War II, the first time in history that suicide attacks were employed systematically as a weapon. The Japanese Kamikaze attacks were not limited to spectacular air strikes by suicide pilots, however, but were carried out with boats loaded with dynamite and infantrymen laden with explosives as well. In Japan, where loyalty to the emperor, self-sacrifice, and the traditional Samurai code of honor were twisted for political and military ends, blowing oneself up had been praised as an act of heroism already in the interwar period. The war against America and its allies was declared a “holy war” with the support of the Shinto and Buddhist priesthood, and Japanese suicide soldiers achieved the status of martyrs, promised eternal glory after their act of self-sacrifice. Deeds of Kamikaze pilots were staged for the media—both print and film—to enhance psychological warfare.

The Japanese would soon find imitators. National Socialist Germany applauded more than just the Japanese spirit of self-sacrifice. Bushido, the Samurai warrior ethos, was supposed to inspire national enthusiasm for war itself. In at least one instance, the Japanese model was directly imitated. In April 1945 the first and also the last German Kamikaze pilots took off on a suicide mission. Koreans too looked to the Japanese model. During the period of Japanese colonial domination, many Koreans had served in the Japanese army, where they were forced to participate in suicide operations. This experience was not to remain without consequences during the subsequent Korean War. Here too suicide combatants were put to use. And in communist totalitarian North Korea, the myth of the “living bombs” based on the Japanese model continues to play a central role today in their national cult.

The tactic of suicide attacks also found its way to the Middle East, where it mutated into suicide bombing. It arrived there by way of North Korea, which had supported terrorist organizations around the world going back to the 1970s. The date of its birth can be traced to May 30, 1972, when a somewhat improvised suicide attack by the Japanese Red Army at Lod Airport in Israel stunned the world. This would prove to be the decisive trigger for Palestinian terrorist groups to put this weapon to systematic use. Even at this early date, the media portrayal of Palestinian suicide bombers echoed the portrayal of WWII Japanese Kamikaze pilots too much to have been mere coincidence. As the public perception of the events of September 11 more recently revealed, however, the veil of forgetfulness soon fell on the Palestinian suicide bombings that shook Israel in the 1970s, which were enthusiastically celebrated by the Arab world at the time. Like an impenetrable wall of fog, the Islamic

Revolution in Iran and the spectacular suicide bombings of the Lebanese Hezbollah that soon followed at the beginning of the 1980s continue to this day to shroud this deeper historic continuity.

Although it may be the general opinion that suicide bombers are always religious fanatics, this is contradicted by the much earlier experience of Palestinian suicide bombers in the 1970s, who portrayed themselves as leftist anti-imperialist guerrillas, and not as Islamic holy warriors. This did not deter their sponsors from characterizing them as martyrs, however, in the process making use of the Islamic tradition of warrior martyrs, albeit in secularized form.

To understand the phenomenon of suicide attacks, it is essential to keep in mind that the those who commit them are trapped in images of the hereafter that are still widely held in their traditional societies, whether or not they themselves are strictly religious. As part of a carefully maintained cult of the martyr, the promised status of martyr is just one piece in the mosaic that sustains a willingness to commit suicide attacks, and it is one piece that is present in all contexts where suicide commandos are used. Just as essential is a society marked by patriarchy, which maintains a pre-modern warrior ethos and a code of honor with tribal origins, coupled with continuing national oppression in which deprivation of rights and degradation by a militarily superior opponent have long since become grim normality.

Against this backdrop, suicide bombing becomes a social ritual designed to signal resolve: internally a form of mobilization, and externally a form of psychological warfare. This was true of Japanese suicide attacks during World War II, and that expertise has been passed along through an international web of relationships and modified according to circumstances. The core of this network of relationships consisted originally of North Koreans, Palestinians, Syrians, and Iranians—indeed, that core may be what the American administration has in mind today when it speaks of an “axis of evil” it is determined to fight with all the means at its disposal. Osama bin Laden’s al Qaeda benefited from this international web as well when it transposed suicide commandos from their previous context of national, territorially-rooted struggles to the global level of an Islamic *umma*, the Islamic nation. Al Qaeda knows how to make use of the experience of its terrorist predecessors—whether with boats loaded with explosives or drivers aiming their car bombs at prospective targets, or with the Kamikaze flights of September 11 in which bin Laden’s holy warriors took control of four airplanes using knives and fake bombs in the style of hijackers in the 1970’s and 80s.

The history of suicide attacks explored in this book illustrates one point above all others: The suicide commando, in most cases a Muslim, is at one and the same time both victim and perpetrator. He is a tool in the hands of unscrupulous military strategists who often recruit and

indoctrinate him at an early age in order to use him later for their own glory. The fact that the success of a suicide mission is measured overwhelmingly by the attention it garners in the media has contributed to making the media increasingly a plaything of terrorists, in no small part driven by the media's insatiable hunger for sensationalism. That is also why the history of suicide bombing has been closely linked from the beginning to its staging for the media, as illustrated most recently in the images of September 11.

From Chapter 3: pp. 73 -84:

*North Korean expertise and Japanese suicide terrorists
in service to the Palestinian revolution*

North Korea and to a lesser extent Vietnam—the communist Viet Cong had used suicide attacks as well against the Americans during the Vietnam War¹⁶—are significant primarily because they played a central role in the transfer of the military know-how for suicide attacks to the Middle East during the period of the Iran/Iraq war, which will be discussed later. North Korea also harbored a base of the Japanese Red Army Fraction (*Sekigun-ha*), a Marxist terrorist organization, from where the group would launch the first suicide attack in the Middle East, almost a decade prior to the outbreak of the Iran/Iraq war. The Palestinian People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) also participated in that attack, sharing as it did ties with North Korea. In fact, initial contacts between the Japanese Red Army Fraction and the PFLP are said to have been made on North Korean soil.¹⁷

It was 30 May 1972 when a terror attack of previously unheard of brutality shook Israeli and world public opinion. On that Tuesday, three Japanese men unleashed a blood bath at Lod (today Ben Gurion) Airport in Tel Aviv that took the lives of twenty-six people, mostly Christian pilgrims from Puerto Rico, and injured eighty others. Arriving on a commercial flight armed with machine guns and hand grenades smuggled in their luggage, the assassins shot indiscriminately into the crowd without any thought of escaping with their own lives. One of the three was shot, a second blew himself up with a hand grenade, and the third was overpowered and arrested.¹⁸ It soon became clear that, in addition to the Japanese Red Army Fraction, the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a Palestinian Marxist guerrilla organization, had helped to mastermind the attack that was carried out by the Japanese Red Army. The PFLP's goal was to use armed struggle to destroy the Israeli state

and establish a Marxist-Leninist Palestinian state in its place. The three Japanese assassins, who left no doubt as to their willingness to die, had completed a special course in the use of weapons and explosives at a PFLP training camp in Baalbek, Lebanon, where they were also instructed in the art of killing oneself with a hand grenade.¹⁹ The possibility that North Korean military experts might have played a supportive role here cannot be ruled out completely.²⁰

The Japanese activists made several intermediate landings before finally flying to Rome, the last stop before their mission of death, where they were furnished with weapons and hand grenades by Fusako Shigenobu, the charismatic woman in charge of Japanese-Palestinian cooperation.²¹ According to their operational plan the assassins were to remove the photographs from their passports and if at all possible attempt to disfigure their faces before they were killed or committed suicide in order to make subsequent identification more difficult.²²

Fusako Shigenobu was a key figure in the Japanese terrorist group. She had lived in Beirut since February 1971 under the Arab pseudonym of “Samira” and, in order to leave Japan under a different name, had married one of the men who would ultimately become a suicide commando. She was a member of the central committee of the Japanese Red Army Fraction and her move to Lebanon, together with another central committee member, had caused a split in the organization. The new group led by Shigenobu first operated under the name of Arab Red Army (*Arabu Sekigun*) but was soon renamed the Japanese Red Army (*Nihon Sekigun*).²³ The parent organization was in a period of reorientation at the time, after nine of its leaders had used Samurai swords, knives, guns and primitive homemade bombs to hijack a Japanese plane on March 31, 1970 and take it to North Korea, where they had since taken up permanent residence.²⁴

While some of these activists had always harbored dreams of world domination and igniting a socialist world revolution under Japanese leadership, the revolutionary goals of an opposing wing had been focused solely on Japan. Shigenobu was part of the faction of world revolutionaries. Born in 1945, she had been exposed to radical thinking at an early age. Prior to World War II her father had joined the League of Blood Brothers, an ultra-nationalist terrorist group. The leader of that group, a Buddhist monk named Inoue Nissho, dreamed of leading Japan to conquer the United States.²⁵ Although of a different political persuasion, there was also no shortage of destructive power fantasies within the ranks of the Japanese Red Army. For example, they toyed with the idea of cooperating with American extremists to launch simultaneous attacks on the Kasumigaseki building, at the time Tokyo’s tallest office building, and the Pentagon.²⁶ Fusako Shigenobu thought along similarly grandiose lines, as

she was soon to establish contact with the PFLP in order to wage “world war” against imperialism together with the Palestinian comrades. As she proclaimed in an open letter published in *Al-Hadaf* (The Goal), the magazine of the PFLP,

We in the Red Army once again declare our willingness to fight hand in hand with the Palestinian people and to launch joint attacks at any time in order to defeat the Israeli enemy. None of us should be bound by international law...because only revolutionary violence will enable us to bring down the imperialists of this world...If the imperialists assume the right to kill Vietnamese and Palestinians, then we have the right to blow up the Pentagon and kill the imperialists.²⁷

It was rumored that Shigenobu had a relationship with PFLP head George Habash, a Christian Palestinian, also in Lebanon. From there she led the joint work between her organization, including activist cells in Berlin and Paris that she established, and Habash’s PFLP. The massacre in Lod Airport illustrated what kind of ruthless struggle the fanatical Red Army members had in mind when they called for breaking with all norms in the declaration in *Al-Hadaf* cited above.

Shigenobu could now take pride in having initiated not only the first terrorist suicide attack assassination in the Middle East but also the bloodiest attack Israel had experienced to that date. There can be no doubt that this spectacular act of terrorism bore the marks of the Japanese model of self-sacrifice that Shigenobu was reactivating. It also marked the successful inauguration into the Palestinian terrorist scene of this leading Japanese Red Army comrade, who was under some pressure to make a name for herself. Appropriately, Shigenobu declared her husband, Takeshi Okudaira, the participant in the Tel Aviv suicide mission who had blown himself up with a grenade, the “perfect Kamikaze,” who had even surpassed the Japanese Kamikaze pilots of World War II.²⁸ The fact that the birth dates used in the assassins’ forged passports were dates of significant events in nationalist Japanese history also revealed the influence of the Japanese warrior mentality on this trend-setting terrorist enterprise, i.e. the date of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the date of a putsch attempt by the Japanese military during the 1930’s, and finally the date of the airplane highjacking to North Korea in 1970 described above.²⁹

The almost tragic figure of the lone survivor, Kozo Okamoto, gave further evidence that the spirit of the old Japanese warrior ethos lived on in these activists. After his arrest, he was obsessed with just one thought—to die. The twenty-four year old student from Kagoshima stubbornly refused to talk and could only be moved to make a statement after the investigating officer promised that, in exchange for his confession, he would give him a gun

so he could commit suicide. Despite an agreement set down in writing and signed by both parties, however, the Israelis never fulfilled their end of the bargain. Okamoto, believing he would soon join his comrades in the hereafter, broke his silence but never received the weapon that would end his suffering. Even the death penalty that he had hoped to receive at trial was denied him.³⁰ In response to his sentence of life imprisonment, the defendant stated that he had wanted to die at the airport in Lod, “like a falling cherry blossom,”³¹ but he had failed.

Okamoto, who considered himself a soldier in an army of Marxist world revolutionaries, could not understand why he was tried as a terrorist and a despicable mass murderer. From his vantage point, the airport was a military base in a war zone and his attack was meant to show world public opinion the strength of the Japanese Red Army and demonstrate its solidarity with other revolutionary movements around the world. The action was not meant to serve only the Palestinian cause but rather something much larger—namely, world revolution, which justified the price of so many innocent human lives.³² Just as his comrades, so too was Okamoto apparently inspired as well by the desire to be transformed after his death into a celestial body in the Orion constellation, where a hunter is seen carrying his sword in his belt, an image that Okamoto and his comrades probably associated with a Samurai.³³

Lod was the first lethal combination of the tactic of suicide attack—in this case, using hand grenades—with an act of terrorism. Previously such tactics had been used only against military targets during times of war. This terrorist attack, unprecedented in the brutality aimed at completely innocent civilians, made headlines around the world and left an indelible shock both in the West and in Japan. Press reports in a stunned Israel initially spoke of the attackers as “insane,” an implication that would echo often in spontaneous reactions to the wave of Palestinian suicide attacks that would begin just a few years later. One commentator at the time speculated that the increasing brutality of Palestinian terror was an angry reaction to the utter failure of the terrorist organizations’ strategies—the more peacefully the Palestinian people conducted themselves in the Israeli occupied territories, the more violent became the attacks by Arab terrorists operating from outside the country.³⁴ On top of that, the Japanese attackers were condemned as Nazis, a pattern that would be repeated after subsequent suicide attacks.³⁵

Finally, this new form of terrorism was demonized, such as when Israel Galili, at the time minister without portfolio for the Labor Party, labeled it “vicious and diabolical.”³⁶

While the barbaric attack was celebrated openly by Palestinian activists, the PFLP

spokesman attempted to do damage control, declaring to the Western media that the actual target had been customs and police officers at the Tel Aviv airport and the Christian pilgrims just happened to get in the way.³⁷ The PFLP, while taking official responsibility for the action carried out by the Japanese Red Army, referred to it as “Operation Dir Yassin” in order to portray it as revenge for the 1948 massacre by Israeli soldiers on Palestinian civilians in the village of the same name. The letter claiming responsibility also stated that the operation was carried out by the “Squad of the Martyr Patrick Arguello.”³⁸ Arguello had been shot and killed two years earlier, on 6 September 1970 (so-called Black September) by security officers on board an Israeli El Al jetliner he had attempted to hijack together with PFLP activist Laila Khaled.

The PFLP also attempted to tie the Lod airport attack to the Six Day War of June 1967. Timing the operation for the eve of the fifth anniversary of the “June Defeat” was supposed to indicate that, far from over, that war was now to be continued using “revolutionary violence.” PFLP propaganda, heavily weighted with historic symbolism, was aimed simultaneously at several audiences: first, its own organization with its internal secular cult of martyrdom. Despite its strict Marxist orientation, no one seemed to object to the use of an openly religious term, *shaheed* or martyr. Secondly, PFLP propaganda was designed to speak to the Palestinian population as a whole, whose suffering was to be avenged by the attack at Lod. And finally the Arab world was included, whose honor lost in the “June defeat” was to be restored. There was barely any mention of the Japanese angle, however. Still, their joint statement, “Declaration of War on the World by the People’s Front and the Red Army,” did grace the pages of a special issue of the PFLP magazine, *Al-Hadaf*, complete with Japanese characters.⁴⁰

The PFLP’s war-like propaganda resonated. Responding to the name of the operation, “Dir Yassin,” an editor of *Al-Anwar*, a Lebanese newspaper, declared all of Palestine to be “Dir Yassin.” The fact that the Palestinians succeeded in mobilizing Japanese Red Army members to sacrifice their lives for the cause of Palestine was seen as evidence, according to this Lebanese commentator, that the cause of Palestine now engaged the conscience of free people around the world.⁴¹ Aziz Sidqi, then foreign minister of an Egypt that was still at odds with Israel, praised the attack, saying it showed that Arabs were indeed capable of defeating Israel.⁴² Libyan head of state Moammar Qadhafi, also a declared enemy of the Jewish state who would later provide generous support to the Japanese Red Army, took the occasion of the bloody attack at Lod to demand more courage and spirit of sacrifice from the Palestinian people.⁴³ He reproached them for calling themselves Fedayeen (Arabic for self-sacrificers)

while being incapable of operations requiring true self-sacrifice, such as the Japanese had exhibited at Lod.

Why can't a Palestinian carry out such an operation? You see them all writing books and filling journals with their theories but otherwise they are incapable of carrying out even one daring operation like the Japanese did.⁴⁴

It wasn't the first time Qadhafi had expressed his disdain for the Palestinians' guerrilla war. In March 1970 he cynically suggested that if the Fedayeen, whose efforts had not exactly been crowned with success, were not able to take their liberation war into Israel itself, perhaps they should convert their forces into a regular army and wage conventional warfare. As far as that was concerned, the Palestinians countered, the Arab armies were themselves hopelessly inferior to the Israeli armed forces.⁴⁵

Even Kozo Okamoto, the surviving assassin from the May 1972 terrorist attack in Tel Aviv, did not hold the Arab fighting spirit in high regard. During his trial, he said that one of his reasons for the attack there was a lack of moral passion in the Arab world, and he had hoped the attack would serve to rouse the Arab peoples.⁴⁶ The Japanese Red Army member's disdain for the Arab fighting spirit did not at all prevent him from becoming an overnight hero in Arab countries. On the contrary: after being sentenced to life imprisonment in Israel, Okamoto was still a hero in the Arab world when he was released in May 1985 as part of a prisoner exchange between the PLO and the Israeli government. He then went to live in Lebanon, where along with four other Japanese terrorists, he was convicted of passport forgery and sentenced to three years in prison. While the Lebanese government extradited his four comrades to Japan after they served their sentences, because of his participation in the struggle against Israel and the "heroic operation at Lod" Okamoto was granted political asylum, thus becoming the first and to date only political asylum seeker ever recognized in the history of Lebanon.⁴⁷

Vindication and competition determine program:

Palestinians institutionalize suicide bombing

Gadhafi's demeaning criticism of Palestinians' alleged unwillingness to engage in true self-sacrifice was not the only bitter pill the Lebanon-based Palestinian resistance movement had to swallow after the Tel Aviv suicide attack. The Japanese press provocatively asked why Palestinians had to turn to the Japanese for such operations; weren't the Arabs capable of carrying them out themselves?⁴⁸ Their scolding apparently had an effect—subsequent years

witnessed a marked increase in the brutality of Palestinian attacks on Israel. In the course of revamping the strategy of Palestinian resistance, less and less attention was paid to the life of the assassin, whose death soon became part of the program. This development was undoubtedly encouraged on the one hand by the opinion of the Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan, who stated just one week after the Lod attack that there were no military means that could do much to stop suicide attackers,⁴⁹ and on the other hand by Israel's policy of revenge, which resulted in a car bomb taking the life of Ghassan Kanafani, PFLP spokesman, author, and publisher of *Al-Hadaf*, one month after the Lod attack.⁵⁰

The subsequent wave of new and, as would soon become apparent, new types of terror attacks was spearheaded by a group that had split off from the PFLP in 1968, competing with both the latter and Arafat's Fatah group—the PFLP-GC, the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine, General Commando.⁵¹ Two years after the attack at Lod one of its terrorist squads seemed to mimic the Japanese Red Army when it committed a bloody massacre in Kiryat Shmona, a small Israeli town on the Lebanese border. As the three Japanese suicidal attackers had done at Lod, the three Palestinian terrorists who invaded the Israeli town on 11 April 1974 fired automatic weapons with abandon, indiscriminately killing villagers. Finally they barricaded themselves on the top floor of an apartment building after proceeding from floor to floor, murdering in cold blood anyone they could get their hands on. After first firing on the building, the Israelis finally stormed it. To this day, the PFLP-GC contends that the suicide bombers were armed with explosives and blew up themselves and their hostages. The Israelis insist just as stubbornly that there were no hostages taken at all in Kiryat Shmona and certainly no demand was made that a hundred imprisoned Palestinian terrorists and terrorist suspects be released. Instead, the Israelis stick to their version of the story, according to which the assassins were carrying explosives in their backpacks and they blew up when they were hit by Israeli fire.⁵²

Nonetheless Ahmad Jibril, the head of the Palestinian resistance group involved, insists to this day that the attack on Kiryat Shmona was the first suicide bombing carried out by Palestinians.⁵³ The stubbornness with which Jibril continues to uphold this claim is another indication of the embittered competition among the various Palestinian terrorist organizations. This is anything but new—in the late 1960s through the 1970s it raged with much greater vehemence, even degenerating into armed conflict in none too infrequent instances. As would become clear, the series of Palestinian suicide attacks in the 1970s can only be truly understood against the backdrop of the rivalry that flared up among the various armed organizations. The so-called al Aqsa Intifada that erupted in October 2000 engendered similar

competition among Palestinian terrorist groups in terms of the number of attacks and the constant refinement of technique and logistics—more on that below.

In its letter claiming responsibility for the 12 April 1974 attack on Kiryat Shmona, the PFLP-GC underscored its contention that the commando had express directions according to which if the Israelis refused to meet their demands, they were to blow themselves up, along with their hostages. The squad was said to have been equipped with special explosives expressly for that purpose. It was the first time in the history of Palestinian terrorism that the group claiming responsibility for its combatants entrusted with a suicide mission referred to them not only as Fedayeen but as *majmua intihariya* (suicide commando) as well,⁵⁵ a term that would soon become an established part of the Palestinian terrorist vernacular.⁵⁶

A particularly striking innovation in the Middle Eastern terror scene was the media promotion of the attackers of Kiryat Shmona, which would become a model for the Palestinian terrorist crowd. After the attack the PFLP-GC held a press conference in Beirut, where it released the full names of the terrorists involved and circulated a number of photographs showing the three of them smiling at the camera in full battle dress and heavily armed.⁵⁷ The organization's spokesman had yet another surprise for the journalists in attendance: He played a recording of the terrorists' last will and testament, taped before the attack.⁵⁸ A few months later a memorial was held for them at a Beirut cinema, where a film was shown of the last days of the Kiryat Shmona attackers, including their final words of farewell to posterity.⁵⁹

If, as would appear to be the case, the PFLP-GC was actually imitating the Japanese model—whether to trump its competitor and co-sponsor of the Lod massacre, the PFLP, or to make a name for itself at a time when terrorist attacks were a daily occurrence somewhere in the world and fast becoming routine—its propagandists did not have to search long in Japanese military history to find a pattern for such farewells: the photographs and film of the farewells of Japanese Kamikaze pilots smiling into the camera were surely known worldwide at that time.⁶⁰ During World War II such photos and the names of those shown in them were printed regularly in Japanese newspapers and included in the weekly news round-ups at the movies.⁶² It was well known that Japanese Kamikaze pilots were urged to make a last will and testament, poems they wrote were published,⁶³ and in some cases their voices were even recorded.⁶⁴ The suspicion that the media presentation of the Kiryat Shmona action was inspired by a Japanese model was further corroborated by the official announcement from the PFLP-GC, according to which at the top of the Kiryat Shmona commandos' list of Israeli-held prisoners to be released in exchange for hostages stood the name of the “Japanese Fedayee,”

the famed Kozo Okamoto.⁶⁵

Could the bloody attack on Kiryat Shmona have been an answer as well to Qadhafi's reproach that the Palestinian resistance lacked the spirit of self-sacrifice? And was it not aimed just as much at restoring the lost pride of Palestine, perhaps of the entire Arab world? After all, the recruits included a Palestinian, an Iraqi and a Syrian. There are more than a few facts that support this thesis. When doubts were raised from the Israeli side that the Kiryat Shmona operation was in fact a suicide mission, the Arab press answered in unison that there could be no question that Kiryat Shmona was a suicide attack.⁶⁶ The semi-official Cairo newspaper, *Al-Ahram*, attached "great importance" to the operation, since the Palestinian Fedayeen had now proven that they were indeed able to go to any length.⁶⁷ And Libyan president Qadhafi himself, who had denied that Palestinian military organizations possessed the spirit of self-sacrifice, stated approvingly to the Arab press that with this long-overdue operation the Palestinian fighters for the first time had overcome their "fear barrier," a badge of honor that was apparently so significant to the chroniclers of the Palestinian national movement that it was included in the annals of the movement.⁶⁸

From Chapter 6 (pp. 213 – 226)

The relentless suppression of ethnic minorities and inhumane conditions in many Islamic countries created the breeding grounds for the spread of suicide attacks that began in about the mid-1990s because, whether or not they consider themselves first and foremost Islamic holy warriors, all the suicide bombers, whether in Algeria,⁴⁵ Kashmir, or Chechen, are waging a war of national liberation against a militarily far-superior opponent. Their cult of martyrs seems to be modeled on the one established by Palestinian organizations and the Hezbollah. Even the separatist Workers Party of Kurdistan (PKK), the only one of these otherwise Islamist organizations that is officially secular, characterizes its fifteen suicide bombers to date (eleven of whom were women) as *Sehitler*, the Turkish-Islamic version of martyr derived from the Arabic *shaheed*, and it considers them to be "immortal and holy," like all their martyrs.⁴⁶ Since the PKK does not portray itself as an Islamic organization, it too avoids the problem of reconciling these attacks with the Islamic prohibition against suicide, as did the militant secular Palestinian organizations of the 1970s. Coming from rural areas and deeply influenced by both a patriarchal honor code and the Islamic system of faith and values, PKK fighters⁴⁷ are likely to share a deeply rooted Islamic belief in the afterlife with members of the radical Islamic organizations who in their militarily hopeless fight discovered the

weapon of suicide bombing in the mid-1990s and more so since the end of the 1990s, beliefs that are exploited by their leaders. Their use of the tactic of suicide attacks is generally just another variant of the bloody guerrilla wars they wage, and the same holds true of the Liberation Tigers in Sri Lanka, once again making clear that the functions of suicide bombing are primarily political and demonstrative, to mobilize and especially to fortify psychological warfare—none of these resistance organization will win the battle against the superior military power of their opponents with the aid of suicide attacks, however.

But where do these organizations acquire the know-how to recruit and train their suicide commandos? Here again we come up against the network connecting North Korea, Syria and the Shiites of Lebanon. The Kurdish PKK, for instance, has maintained close relations with Syria for some time. From 1984 into the 1990s they maintained a training camp in the Bekaa Valley region of Lebanon that was dominated by the Syrian occupation army and the Lebanese Hezbollah, where they received support from both North Korea and Syria in training their guerrilla fighters.⁴⁸ The PKK's intensive use of female suicide bombers and the cult of personality surrounding its leader, Abdullah Ocalan, as well as the secular cult of martyrdom attached to the mystification of the nation, all loudly echo the ideology and practice of the pro-Syrian Lebanese Syrian Social National Party (SSNP).⁴⁹ In the case of the PKK, however, the cult surrounding its own martyrs seems to be inspired as well by the cult of personality cultivated around Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey⁵⁰ (PKK's opponent), an official state-sponsored cult which appears secular only from the outside. Like Arafat's Fatah movement, this Kurdish organization has set up training camps for its youth named after their martyrs, as is the fashion.⁵¹

As far as the spread of the weapon of suicide bombing to Kashmir is concerned, the trail leads both to North Korea and the Lebanese Hezbollah. The latter established contacts with a number of Islamic separatist organizations in Kashmir back in 1990, as it reported at the time in its own journal, *Al-Ahd*.⁵² What's more, SIS, the Pakistani secret service that supports Islamic organizations in Kashmir responsible for suicide attacks,⁵³ maintains close ties with North Korea, which has cooperated militarily with Pakistan for some time.⁵⁴ And the Algerian Armed Islamic Group (GIA) and Chechen radical Islamists who send their fighters on death commandos also profit from their international ties with Islamist organizations that have already amassed experience in the field of suicide attacks. The Algerian Muslims were among the first members of what was an initially a rather modest resistance group founded in 1985 in eastern Afghanistan by Saudi billionaire Osama bin Laden, al Qaeda (the base),⁵⁵ which originally was close to the Gulbudin Hekmatyar rebel group supported by SIS, the Pakistani

secret service, in the Afghani's fight against their Soviet occupiers.⁵⁶

As a transnational radical Islamic military organization dominated by Arab circles, al Qaeda has profited in the international recruitment of its members from the wealth of experience accumulated by any number of nationally and transnationally active terrorist organizations. In the process the Palestinian and later the Iranian versions of military training camps mentioned in previous chapters undoubtedly served as models for it. Quickly earning a reputation as a fearless hero in the battle against the Soviet army of occupation that he fought together with the Afghani Mujahadeen, bin Laden seems to have been forging long-term plans from early on. Even during the anti-Soviet war he built up a network of social service institutions and schools, as well as mosques and shelter for refugees, in the Afghani-Pakistani border region.⁵⁷ These were then the source of the children and youth—many not more than 11 years old—featured in al Qaeda recruitment videos wearing camouflage uniforms and practicing with weapons in al Qaeda's version of Palestinian Ashbal camps.⁵⁸ The future holy warriors received more than military training in the camps bin Laden established; they also became acquainted with the methods of terrorism, and a select circle apparently was trained as suicide attackers as well.⁵⁹

The former Saudi bin Laden seems to have done his homework—the now powerful “Brotherhood of bin Laden”⁶⁰ is said to have recruited a strata of cadre, the core of which consisted of former members of the Palestinian PFLP-GC, the same military organization under Ahmad Jibril that first established this tool as a terrorist weapon with its April 1974 suicide bombing. The actual existence of a closely knit web of ties between these two organizations is said to have been confirmed by Mamdouh Mahmud Salim, an Iraqi by birth formerly in charge of bin Laden's finances who was arrested in Bavaria in 1998 and extradited to the US, where he now awaits trial in a New York prison.⁶¹

Against this backdrop the close similarity of the suicide attacks launched by al Qaeda and those of the Middle Eastern terror scene becomes especially clear. Just as Arab military groups had done in Lebanon in their day, bin Laden first sent his holy warriors on missions armed with truck bombs. The almost simultaneous suicide attacks in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania on 7 August 1998 showed striking parallels to Hezbollah's spectacular suicide bombings. All were aimed at American embassies—in Beirut the American embassy was attacked a second time after it was relocated to a different building following the first attack—and occurred just minutes apart, like the double suicide bombing that hit the American Marine barracks and the French paratroopers in Beirut. The technical know-how for these attacks is said to have been provided by Imad Mughniye, a former military cadre for

Hezbollah who at the time allegedly dealt with the planning of the Beirut attacks,⁶² among others, in which militants from the PFLP-GC also participated.⁶³ By the mid-1990s Mughniye, whose terrorist career began in Arafat's Fatah organization, had attended several Islamist terrorist meetings from Khartoum to Teheran where leading heads of the Islamic terrorist scene—including Ahmad Jibril, who by now had aligned himself with the Islamist organizations—came together with bin Laden and other al Qaeda representatives to plan closer collaboration.⁶⁴ And in the case of the suicide attack with an explosives-packed boat against the *USS Cole* on 5 October 2000, bin Laden's organization could draw upon the Palestinian and Lebanese experience in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when Jibril's PFLP-GC and later the Lebanese Syrian Social National Party (SSNP), the Palestinian Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and Fatah had all used boats loaded with explosives to attack Israeli patrol boats.⁶⁵

The suicide attacks on 11 September were also shaped by the logic of multiple simultaneous attacks. They occurred within a period of less than an hour and a half, including Flight 93 that crashed prematurely in a field near Pittsburgh, and the second attack on the World Trade Center in New York occurred just 16 minutes after the first one. The masterminds behind them seemed to have studied well the “golden” decade of aircraft hijackings, the 1970s, when individual operators attempted over and over again to seize commercial flights. However those hijacking attempts failed every time when the skyjackers, often armed only with knives, were overpowered by the passengers themselves.⁶⁶ Some of the would-be hijackers threatened to use bombs they allegedly carried, a diversionary maneuver that led to quite odd results—on 12 August 1977 a nineteen-year-old Egyptian man said his tin of biscuits was a bomb and used it to momentarily take over a French jumbo jet. And another airline hijacker, this time on an American domestic flight, had short-lived success with a similar tactic when, on 19 January 1985, he threatened to use a lighter to set his “bomb” on fire, a rolled-up newspaper.⁶⁸

Apparently the fact that airline hijackers frequently used knives in the 1970s has been completely forgotten over time. Rather than looking for the forerunners of 11 September in this era just a few decades past, many commentators searching for an explanation sought dubious historical analogies to the medieval Assassins—that Islamic sect that arose out of the extremist Shiite religious milieu and was widely feared for the courage of its followers, who used targeted murder in their attempt to overthrow the ruling order of that day. The deeds of the legendary Assassins, who brought down Islamic potentates, government ministers, generals, and religious dignitaries from roughly the final days of the eleventh century to the

end of the thirteenth, are said to have followed the same method of attack: The person chosen to accomplish the deed always used a dagger to strike down his target with his own hand, making no attempt whatsoever to escape because among the Assassins surviving such a mission was viewed as a disgrace that closed the path to honor and a place in paradise.⁶⁹

But the al Qaeda pilots of death were no medieval figures of legend but quite apparently terrorists with extensive training of the best sort who had learned from the long line of failed airline hijackings of the past. So their calculations undoubtedly included forming groups of five for their Kamikaze missions, with one exception—while one section of the group of five was involved in steering the hijacked plane toward their target, the other group's task was to nip any resistance from the passengers in the bud. As evident in the documents found in Mohammad Atta's misdirected luggage, which also included instructions for the attack, the attackers had anticipated resistance⁷⁰ and were well prepared to deal with it. Thus there is every indication, including from telephone conversations some passengers on Flight 93 had with relatives⁷¹—that their plan involved holding the airline passengers in check by threatening them with a bomb on board. Their determination to go to any lengths was signaled not least of all by their red headbands, which at least some passengers probably recognized as part of the costume of Islamic suicide attackers,⁷² and the group ritual of putting on the headbands probably served to strengthen the suicide attackers' resolve. The hijackers also had to deceive the passengers about their real purpose, for instance, by placating them with the assurance that nothing would happen to them if they just remained quiet, as was the documented case with the passengers on the American Airlines plane used by the presumed leader of the death commando, Mohammad Atta, to plough into the North Tower of the World Trade Center.⁷³ In the case of Flight 93, the last of the total of four death flights on 11 September, the passengers on that flight probably saw through this ruse the moment they learned on their cell phones that three other planes had been used for Kamikaze attacks. By this point at the latest they would have doubted the authenticity of the "bomb" consisting of an nondescript carton that one of the terrorists had strapped around his waist, and the passengers prepared to counterattack.⁷⁴ Whatever occurred next on board that United Airlines plane, it ultimately crashed without reaching its target or fulfilling its terrorist mission. In the other three suicide flights, the combination of time-tested terrorist tools—use of knives, simulated bombs, militant Islamic appearance, and deception to pacify the passengers—proved successful, perhaps because in those case five terrorists were at work, and not four as on Flight 93.

The fact that the spectacular terrorist attacks on New York and Washington were also the

first al Qaeda airline hijackings suggests that proven experts in this field were involved in the training of the suicide pilots of 11 September. Overpowering commercial flights was part of the systematic training provided in the Palestinian military camps established by the Palestinians in Lebanon during the 1970s, where even then airplanes mustered out of service were provided for this purpose.⁷⁵ Training in hijacking airplanes was also provided in the training camps in Iran in the early 1980s,⁷⁶ from which Hezbollah would soon benefit when it took up this terrorist method as well.⁷⁷ The al Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan and those that bin Laden's terrorist network allegedly maintained in Iraq included hijacking commercial flights on their training program,⁷⁸ facilitating in all probability an in-depth exchange of experience among the various terrorist organizations.

As already shown, the concept of transforming a plane into a bomb was nothing new in terrorist circles either. Kamikaze pilots were being trained in Iranian and Arab contexts as early as the 1980s. Something similar must have occurred in the case of al Qaeda as well, since bin Laden's organization in Afghanistan had at least one fighter plane available for practice.⁷⁹ And the idea of perpetrating bomb attacks on nerve centers of American power also has a history—even Adolf Hitler had dreamed of an “America bomber” that pilots would “steer into the skyscrapers of New York, like the Empire State building,” presumably in Kamikaze style.⁸⁰ In the early 1970s, the Japanese Red Army had also toyed with the idea of blowing up the Pentagon⁸¹ and one of the masterminds of the first attack on the World Trade Center in 1993, Ramzi Youssef, had planned a Kamikaze attack on CIA headquarters in Virginia in 1995.⁸² On Christmas Eve 1994, four Algerian terrorists with the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), a radical fundamentalist organization, took over an Air France commercial flight in Algiers with the intent of smashing it Kamikaze style into the Eiffel Tower. But since the plane did not have enough fuel to make the flight to Paris, the hijackers had to land in Marseille, where French special forces finally succeeded in forcibly putting an end to the hostage crisis.⁸³ The al Qaeda suicide pilots, who had long viewed the fighting methods of the GIA as a model,⁸⁴ appear to have learned their lesson from these failed hijackings—the planes they took over on the East Coast were scheduled for the long flight to the West Coast so they had full tanks of fuel, the material for the real bombs used in their deadly attacks.

The media staging of these terror attacks that would cost the lives of thousands of innocent victims left nothing to chance either—all the more so since the plan to make a propaganda film of the suicide attack on the *USS Cole* the year before had not worked.⁸⁵ In the case of the meticulously planned attacks of 11 September the staging for the media could not have been

more perfect—millions and millions of viewers could follow on their television screens the spectacle of the destructive power of these terrorist attacks on Superpower America, long thought to be unassailable, attacks that would overshadow all previous ones. The interval between the two attacks on the New York Twin Towers was calculated on the one hand to ensure there would be no interference with the second flight slamming into the South Tower, while on the other hand allowing enough maneuvering room to guarantee the documentation and worldwide media dissemination of the terror attacks, which after all were designed to dramatically illustrate to Western industrial societies that they were indeed vulnerable. The filming of the attack on the first tower was purely accidental and hardly part of the planners' calculations for this perfidious series of attacks.⁸⁶ On the contrary, they quite correctly speculated that all available television cameras would turn to the burning World Trade Center after the first attack so that the second one on the South Tower just 15 minutes later would be caught by countless cameras and the images of the Kamikaze operation that shook America's self-image would flash around the world in real time.

Notes on Chapter 3:

16. For instance in the case of the so-called Tet Offensive at the start of the Vietnam war, the attack on the American embassy in Saigon at the end of January 1968; see George C. Herring, *America's Longest War: the United States and Vietnam, 1950–1975*, New York 1979, p. 186. The North Vietnamese suicide soldiers were known as “sappers” in American military slang; their attacks on American airbases with the aim of blowing up fighter bombers were feared. It was not unusual for the Vietnamese to die in such attacks. The Internet makes it easy to find American Vietnam war veterans who witnessed this; see for example http://www.viet-remf.net/Chapter_Seven.htm. North Koreans fought along side the Communist Vietcong guerrillas during the Vietnam war, and there is at least one known instance in which they appear to have been responsible for “psychological warfare;” see Joseph S. Bermudez, *Terrorism: The North Korean Connection*, New York et al., 1990, p. 166.

17. Colin Smith (*Carlos. Portrait of a Terrorist*, London 1976, p. 113) claims that the first contact between the PFLP and the JRA took place in North Korea during the winter of 1970; according to Bermudez (*Terrorism*, p. 102) contact was made when George Habash, head of the Palestinian People's Front, visited the capital of North Korea in September 1970. On subsequent relations between Habash and North Korea, see Harold M. Cubert, *The PFLP's Changing Role in the Middle East*, London et al., 1997, p. 112.

18. *Time*, New York, 12 June 1972; William R. Farrell, *Blood and Rage. The Story of the Japanese Red Army*, Lexington, Mass., et al., 1990, p. 129. The Israeli daily *Haaretz* (“The Land,” Tel Aviv) reported on 31 May 1972 first cited an eyewitness claiming that the terrorist had killed himself by holding a hand grenade in front of his head and detonating it. In the next edition on 1 June 1972 *Haaretz* then relied on the report of a different Israeli eyewitness who

claimed that the Japanese man threw himself on the hand grenade and exploded with it; a third version from an unnamed security officer published in *Haaretz* on the same date stated that the terrorist fell on his hand grenade by mistake.

19. Farrell, *Blood and Rage*, p. 135 f.

20. Bermudez (*Terrorism*, p. 102 f.) reports that the assistant chief of staff of the North Korean army had already visited Fatah's Palestinian training camp in September 1970 and promised his full support for the Palestinian liberation movement. North Korea was also alleged to have turned increasingly in subsequent years to rival Palestinian combat organizations, perhaps the PFLP as well, and provided military training to their fighters, as well as to the Japanese Red Army members in Lebanon.

21. Farrell, *Blood and Rage*, p. 137.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

23. Claudia Derricks, *Japans neue Linke. Soziale Bewegung und außerparlamentarische Opposition, 1957–1994*, [Japan's New Left. Social Movements and Non-Parliamentarian Opposition, 1957-1994], Hamburg 1995, p. 142. The term "Arab Red Army" appears to be common only in Japanese, while it is impossible to find in Arabic. The parent organization, the Japanese Red Army Fraction, merged with another leftist extremist organization in Japan after Shigenobu left for Lebanon and thereafter was known as the United Red Army (*Rengo Sekigun*).

24. Edward F. Mickolus, *Transnational Terrorism. A Chronology of Events 1968– 1979*, London 1980, p. 168 ff. One of the leaders of the kidnappers, Yoshimi Tanaka, was sentenced to twelve years imprisonment in Japan in February 2002, while four others are said to still live in North Korea; see *Japan Times*, Tokyo, 15 February 2002. Smith (*Carlos*, p. 109) points out that the highjacking of the plane using Samurai swords and homemade pipe bombs was a novelty at the time; airline hijackers had previously used only firearms. But it was the Samurai swords that seized the media's imagination, Smith wrote, which also explains why the pipe bombs later used—at least outside Japan—have since been forgotten. On that, see for example Sean Anderson; Stephen Sloan (*Historical Dictionary of Terrorism*, London 1995, p. 167), which discussed knives and Samurai swords but not pipe bombs, and even Farrell (*Blood and Rage*, p. 81 f.) mentions only swords, but not bombs.

25. Farrell, *Blood and Rage*, p. 108.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 106 f. Shortly after the attack on Lod a Japanese station reported that the terrorists had also considered attacking the airport in New York; see *Haaretz*, 2 June 1974. During his trial Kozo Okamoto, the sole surviving terrorist from Lod, also threatened that the JRA's next attacks would hit New York or San Francisco; see Mickolus, *Transnational Terrorism*, p. 323.

28. Farrell, *Blood and Rage*, p. 106.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 139 f.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 140 f.

33. Smith, *Carlos*, p. 113

34. *Haaretz*, 1 June 1972. Jordanian King Hussein, one of the few in the Arab world who

condemned the attack, was quoted in *Haaretz* (2 June 1972) characterizing the criminals as “mentally ill.”

35. *Haaretz*, 1 June 1972, where Eliezer Livneh, Israeli Labor Party member of parliament, historian and frequent guest commentator in that newspaper, called the attack a “modern Nazi crime by a ‘liberation movement’ ” which like the National Socialists was aimed at genocide against the Jewish people.

36. *Haaretz*, 4 June 1972.

37. Farrell, *Blood and Rage*, p. 142.

38. *Al-Anwar* (The Lights, Lebanese daily newspaper, Beirut), 31 May 1972. In Arabic, the group was called “madshmuat ash-shahid Patrick Arguello.”

39. *Ibid.* In Arabic, the 6 Day War is often referred to as the “June Defeat. ”

40. Yoshihiro Kuriyama, “Terrorism at Tel Aviv Airport and a ‘New Left’ Group in Japan” in *Asian Survey*, vol. 13, No. 3, Berkeley 1973, p. 336.

41. *Al-Anwar*, 1 June 1972

42. *Al-Ahram* (The Pyramids, a semi-official Egyptian daily newspaper, Cairo), 2 June 1972, cited in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 2, No. 1, Berkeley 1972, p. 159.

43. In Arabic: *Amaliya fidaiya*.

44. Farrell, *Blood and Rage*, p. 144 f.

45. Yehoshafat Harkabi, *Palästina und Israel*, Stuttgart 1974, p. 137.

46. Mickolus, *Transnational Terrorism*, p. 323.

47. *The Japan Times*, 14 November 2000; *Al-Bayan* (The News, Islamic daily newspaper, Abu Dhabi), 20 March 2000 and *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* (The Middle East, international Arabic daily published in London) 19 November 2000.

48. *Haaretz*, 13 June 1972.

49. *Haaretz*, 7 June 1972.

50. *Haaretz*, 9 July 1972, reported on the attack the day before in which a fourteen-year-old girl, apparently George Habash’s daughter, was also killed. Kanafani was suspected of participating in the planning of the attack on Lod airport. An Israeli revenge air attack on Lebanon in which numerous civilians were killed had preceded the Lod attack by just a few days; see *Haaretz*, 6 July 1974.

51. Yezid Sayigh, *Armed Struggle and the Search for State. The Palestinian National Movement 1949–1993*, Institute for Palestine Studies, Washington D.C. et al., 1997, p. 229; Barry Rubin, *Revolution until Victory? The Politics and History of the PLO*, Cambridge, USA, 1994, p. 30.

52. *Haaretz*, 12 April 1974; see also *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 13 April 1974.

53. Jibril in a conversation with *Al-Manar TV*, the Hezbollah television station in Lebanon, on 28 July 2002, and a few years earlier as well in a conversation with the Arabic weekly *Al-Wasat* (The Center, London), 9 April 1995. The head of the PFLP-GC branch in West Jordan, attorney Husam Arafat, corroborated this claim in a conversation with Jeffrey Goldberg, “The Martyr Strategy: What does the New Phase of Terrorism signify?”, *The New Yorker*, 9 July 2001.

54. Bard E. O’Neill, *Armed Struggle in Palestine: A Political-Military Analysis*, Boulder, Colorado et al., 1978, p. 129.

55. *Al-Anwar* reprinted in its entirety the declaration of the PFLP-GC in its 12 April 1974 edition.

56. An unknown group in Gaza calling itself “Gaza Suicide Group of Palestinian Forces for People’s Liberation” made a short-lived name for itself about a month after the Lod attack, issuing a leaflet in which it threatened more attacks; the group then vanished just as inexplicably as it had appeared; see *Haaretz*, 7 August 1972.

5.7 Depicted for example in *Time*, 22 April 1974, where the three terrorists seal their determination to die with a comradely handshake, or when they line up and smile for the cameras, as in *Al-Anwar*, 12 April 1974.

58. *Al-Hayat* and *Al-Anwar*, 13 April 1974. *Al-Hayat* (The Life) published as a Lebanese daily newspaper up to 1976 until publication was halted by the civil war, and then again beginning in the mid-1980s in London as an international Arabic daily that today is influenced by Saudi Arabia.

59. *Al-Hayat*, 17 August 1974. Musa as-Sadr, the religious and political head of Lebanese Shiites who could not attend the event because of a schedule conflict, was represented by his secretary, Muhammad Yaqub, who read his speech for him in which he praised the Palestinians’ martyrdom; the Shiite head of the Lebanese journalists association, Riyadh Taha, also gave an address; more on both below. This event took place against the backdrop of violent clashes between the PFLP-GC militia and those of the Christian Phalangists. In addition to the representative of the PLO, another speaker, Abd al-Madshid ar-Rafi’i, one of the leaders of the pro-Iraq Lebanese branch of the Baath Party, used the occasion of the film showing to pay tribute to the willingness to sacrifice of the Palestinians, saying that the Palestinians in Lebanon would not be treated the way King Hussein had treated them in Jordan, where he had driven the Fedayeen out of that country in 1970; his comments were aimed in particular at the Christian militias.

60. The book, *Der Göttliche Wind* [The Divine Wind] by Rikihei Inoguchi and Tadashi Nakajima was published back in 1956 in French and two years later in English and has been reprinted repeatedly since then. The first edition in German from 1959 includes an equivalent depiction on p. 64.

61. I have Professor Ben Ami Shillony, who teaches Japanese history at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, to thank for this information.

62. Lamont-Brown, *Kamikaze*, p. 58.

63. Warner, *The Sacred Warriors*, p. 147.

64. Scherer, *Todesbefehl für Japans Jugend* [Death Orders for Japan’s Youth], p. 63.

65. *Al-Anwar*, 12 April 1974.

66. *Al-Anwar*, 12 April, wrote with confidence that the Egyptian media spoke of a suicide attack.

67. Cited in *Al-Hayat*, 14 April 1974.

68. *Al-Yaumiyat al-filastiniya/Palestine Chronology*, vol. 19 (19 January to 30 June 1974), Beirut 1978, p. 408.

Notes on Chapter 6:

45. In the case of Algeria, the battle was both against the Algerian government and the former

colonial power, France.

46. *Kurdish Observer*, 18 May 2001, Internet edition at <http://www.kurdishobserver.com/2001/05/18/hab02.html>.

47. Dogu Ergil, "Suicide Terrorism in Turkey," in *Civil Wars*, vol. 3, No. 1, London 2000, p. 39.

48. Paul J. White, *Primitive Rebels or Revolutionary Modernizers? The Kurdish Nationalist Movement in Turkey*, London 2000, p. 168; Joseph S. Bermudez, *Proliferation for Profit: North Korea in the Middle East*, Washington 1994, p. 14.

49. Some farewell letters from PKK suicide bombers also echo those of their predecessors from the pro-Syrian SSNP, such as for example the farewell letter of PKK female suicide bomber Zeynep Kinaci (Zilan) in PKK's Berlin magazine *Kurdistan Report*, which is published in the Internet without a date at http://www.nadir.org/nadir/periodika/kurdistan_report/9786/17.html. The PKK also glorifies its suicide bombers, male and female, in the Internet; see for example http://d-cizgi-savascilari.com/arsiv_01/sehit.htm; <http://www.geocities.com/sanaldevrim/intihar.htm> and <http://www.pkk.org/2001/05/hab07.html>.

50. Apparently this is now being driven by the Turkish state itself in response to the media staging of PKK martyrs in the Internet: local Turkish police offices now have categories on their Web sites for their own martyrs (*sehitlerimiz* – our martyrs), who often die in PKK terrorist attacks; see for example <http://www.elazigemniyet.gov.tr/sehitler/sehitler.asp>.

51. See on this <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/grupa/ac/acf/default.pkk.htm>

52. *Al-Ahd*, No. 302, 5 March 1990; No. 303, 12 April 1990; No. 306, 4 May 1990, which report also on a trip to Kashmir by the then-head of Hezbollah, Abbas al-Musawi.

53. The Lashkar-e-Taiba (Army of the Pure) organization and Jaish-i-Mohammed (Army of the Prophet Muhammad) began at the end of 1999 and 2000 respectively to carry out suicide attacks against the Indian Army, especially with car bombs and in a few cases with explosive belts; see Shai, *Ha-Schahidim* (The Martyrs), p. 127–130. It is known of Lashkar-e-Taiba at least that the organization gives children as young as eight military training, which again echoes the model of Fatah-Ashbal; see Yoginder Sikand, "The Changing Course of the Kashmiri Struggle: From National Liberation to Islamic Jihad?" in *The Muslim World*, vol. 91, No. 1/2, Hartford 2001, p. 243.

54. See *Asia Times* (Internet newspaper from Hong Kong), 22 October 2002, at http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/DJ22Df01.html.

55. Roland Jacquard, *Die Akte Osama Bin Laden. Das geheime Dossier über den meistgesuchten Terroristen der Welt*, [The Osama bin Laden File. The secret dossier on the most-wanted terrorist in the world.] Munich 2001, p. 40 f., 97.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

58. Peter L. Bergen, *Heiliger Krieg Inc. Osama Bin Ladens Terrornetz*, [Holy War Inc., Osama bin Laden's terror network] Berlin 2001, p. 42.

59. Rohan Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda. Global Network of Terror*, New York 2002, p. 71 f.

60. Jacquard, *Die Akte* [The File], p. 139.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

62. Gunaratna, *Inside Al Qaeda*, p. 147.

63. See Chapter 4.

64. Yossef Bodansky, *Bin Laden: The Man Who Declared War on America*, New York 1999, p. 108.

65. Shai, *Ha-Schahidim (The Martyrs)*, p. 107 f.

66. Examples of this type include for instance the hijacking attempted on 17 March 1977 by a Japanese man armed with a knife on a Japanese commercial plane; one by an American armed with a razor blade on 8 May 1977 on a flight from Tokyo to Hong Kong; and one by a Japanese man who tried to overpower a domestic Japanese flight from Tokyo to Osaka with a corkscrew and a small plastic knife; see Mickolus, *Transnational Terrorism*, pp. 689, 697, 891.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 719. After the hijacked plane landed in Brindisi to refuel after a detour over Libya, the Egyptian student Tarek Sajed Khater was finally thrown out of the plane by the pilot and arrested; *New York Times*, 14 August 1977.

68. *Haaretz*, 20 January 1985.

69. Bernhard Lewis, *Die Assassinen. Zur Tradition des religiösen Mordes im radikalen Islam*, [The Assassins. A Radical Sect in Islam] trans. from English by Kurt Jürgen Huch, Frankfurt am Main 1989, p. 11.

70. “Look over your plan very carefully and memorize it and anticipate a response and even resistance from the enemy,” cited in “Spiritual directions for suicide attacks,” in Hilmar Hoffmann; Wilfried F. Schoeller (ed.), *Wendepunkt 11. September 2001. Terror, Islam und Demokratie*, [Turning point 11 September 2001. Terror, Islam and Democracy], Cologne 2001, p. 113 (reprinted according to *Der Spiegel*, No. 40, 1 October 2001. Anonymous writing found in the luggage of terrorist Mohammad Atta).

71. Excerpts from the book by Lisa Beamer and Ken Abraham, *Let's Roll! Ordinary People, Extraordinary Courage*, Carol Stream 2002, Internet edition at http://www.beamerfoundation.org/flight_93.html moved the author to the observations made here. The husband of author Lisa Beamer, Todd Beamer, made several telephone calls during the flight and reported details about events on board.

72. *Ibid.* The headbands led one of the hostages to conclude that the terrorists “looked Iranian,” which can be viewed as an indication that the headbands were associated with Islamic extremists, in this case of Iranian provenance.

73. Air control received the following radio message from the plane, “We have a few airplanes under our control. Remain calm and nothing will happen to you. We are returning to the airport. If everyone remains calm, no one will get hurt. If you move about, you will only put yourself and the airplane in danger. Just stay calm.” Cited in Mitchel Le vitas, Dan Barry *Ins Herz getroffen: Der 11. September und seine Folgen*, Munich 2002, p. 46 [A Nation Challenged: A Visual History of 9/11 and its Aftermath] (This is an illustrated book published by the *New York Times*). The text quoted seems to have been learned by heart; remarkable are the repeated attempts at reassurance, which must have been a cornerstone of the sophisticated and clever hijacking plans. Presumably, as apparently was the case on Flight 93 violence was used to further intimidate the passengers. One of those hijacked reported by telephone in any case that the terrorists had stabbed one person; see Note 71 (Lisa Beamer and Ken Abraham, *Let's Roll!*).

74. In a telephone conversation with his wife, passenger Tom Burnett said about the alleged bomb, “I think they're bluffing. We're going to do something.” See Beamer and Abraham, *Let's Roll!*.

75. See *Terrorist Suicide Operation Analysis* (Study by the American Marine Academy in 1985), Internet edition at <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/1985/AS1.htm>.
76. See Chapter 4.
77. Magnus Ranstorp, *Hizb'allah in Lebanon. The Politics of the Western Hostage Crisis*, London et al., 1997, pp. 93, 95, 101.
78. On Afghanistan, see Bodansky, *Bin Laden*, p. 247; on Iraq, see an interview in *Spiegel Online*, 9 July 2002 (Internet edition: <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/0,1518,204423,00.html>) with Ahmed Chalabi, at that time President of the formerly oppositional Iraqi National Congress, who reported the following in regard to the Baghdad regime's support for al Qaeda, "There was financial help and training for al Qaeda soldiers. In Salman Pak, a training camp 30 kilometers south of Baghdad, there were even exercises to practice overpowering airplanes without using weapons. This camp still exists today, and we have discovered that practice plane in satellite photos."
79. *Al-Wasat*, No. 500, 27 August 2001.
80. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 8 October 2002.
81. See Chapter 3.
82. Bodansky, *Bin Laden*, p. 114.
83. Jacquard, *Die Akte*, p. 137 f.
84. Bin Laden is alleged to have helped finance the GIA's magazine, *Al-Ansar*; see *ibid.*, p. 97.
85. Jacquard, *Die Akte*, p. 122; *Al-Wasat*, No. 500, 27 August 2001.
86. The French brothers Jules and Gédéon Naudet happened to be filming a documentary on the New York fire department at the time of the attack and were able to capture the attack on the North Tower on film. See *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 12 March and 10 September 2002.