On 15 April, a forum participant posted to a website a statement and numerous links to a 25-minute audio speech for Abu-Umar al-Baghdadi, amir of the Al-Qa’ida-affiliated Islamic State of Iraq (ISI). The statement is entitled "the Solid Cemented Structure." The audio message is issued by the Al-Furqan Media Production Establishment, the media arm of The Islamic State of Iraq.

A translation of the audio message follows:

Praise be to God, we thank Him, seek His help, and ask for His forgiveness, and we take refuge in God from ourselves and misdeeds. He who God guides no one can lead astray, and he who God leads astray no one can guide. I witness that there is no god but God, and that Muhammad is His messenger.

Almighty God has said, "You may dislike something although it is good for you, or like something although it is bad for you: God knows, and you do not," (Koran, The Cow: 2: 216). These days we mark the anniversary of a painful calamity, the anniversary of the occupation of Iraq and the fall of (Abbasid Caliph Harun) Al-Rashid’s Baghdad a captive to the Crusaders and the Magian Persians. Five years have lapsed since the occupation of the Land of the Two Rivers: what has our enemy reaped and what have we reaped? In short, after that period our enemy has reaped disappointment, disgrace, and defeat. He declared submissively - and he is lying - that the number of his dead has exceeded 4,000, ignoring his dead from among the mercenaries working for security companies.

Five years have passed and his army is experiencing an unparalleled collapse, for its prestige has been undermined, and the noses of his soldiers have been rubbed in the sand, and it no longer frightens anyone. Capital has turned against it, and an unprecedented economic collapse has begun. Yet the enemy is still persisting although he knows he will lose the war, and victory will be for Islam and its soldiers.

Five years of blessed jihad have passed and we, thank God, are adhering to our religion, proceeding on the path of jihad, and holding on to the banner of monotheism, the banner of "there is no god but God." Those years have passed and our successive delegations have been going to our Lord, they did not change their stand. Ordeals and tribulations have made them purer and more wholesome. They were not harmed by the scarcity of (word indistinct) or the betrayal of the weak.

Five years have passed during which God has distinguished between the ranks, and showed what the hearts had harbored, and He exposed banners which claimed Salafism but which today are plebian ignorance (jahiliyah: a word sometimes used to denote the pre-Islamic period), those who are killed under such banners are the dead of ignorance. The Prophet, may God’s prayers and peace be upon him, said, bringing good tidings to the monotheists: "A group of my ummah (nation) continue to fight in the cause of God, defeating their enemy, undeterred by those who are against them, until Judgment Day." The Prophet, may God’s prayers and peace be upon him, also told us of great tidings, as mentioned in Sahih Muslim (a collection of the Prophet’s sayings), when he said: "I asked my Lord not to destroy my ummah by the (word indistinct) of the laity, and not to set up to rule over them an enemy who is not from among them who will sanction their (word indistinct). And my Lord said: O Muhammad, if I make a
decision it is irrevocable. I grant you that your ummah will not be destroyed by the (word indistinct) of the laity, and not to set over them an enemy who is not from among them who will sanction their (word indistinct), even all those who are in its countries - or He said, from among its countries -- were to band against them." This is a prophetic sign that the infidel foreign enemy cannot defeat the people of Islam, no matter how strong he grows or how large the number of his supporters because, praise be to God, he will be defeated. Those who wager on him have chosen a losing wager.

However, what broke my heart and pained and distressed me at the Sunnis is what we all came to hear about Al-Rafidis (rejectionist: a term used by Salafis for Shiites) refusing to fight other Al-Rafidis in southern and central Iraq, and the magnificent stand of the tribes of central and southern Iraq toward the Al-Mahdi Army, for although that army is clearly an agent of Iran - even its leader has taken up permanent residence in Iran - and its weapons and hardware and the training of its men are all provided by the devils of Qom, only for the purpose of preserving the gains of the Al-Rafidi state in ruling Iraq and standing up to any Sunni demand peacefully or militarily in order to rule over the Land of the Two Rivers once again. The tribes of southern and central Iraq know that the struggle taking place between the Al-Rafidis now has no connection with religious beliefs or the presence of the occupier, for it is a struggle over influence and the funds gained from smuggling oil estimated at $14 billions a year, according to official statements. Yet those tribes, stood by their sons in the Al-Mahdi Army and others, and refused to have the Shiites embroiled in an internal war.

Thus demonstrations were held, slogans were raised, and mediators were sent to reach understanding on stopping the fighting and dividing the cake: the oil and Iraq. On the other hand, we saw that some Sunni tribes have joined with the US occupier, with George, Jirjis (Arabic for George), and Al-Maliki to kill the sons of Sunni tribes, to kill Umar, Muhammad, and Ahmad, and their struggling (mujahidin) sons were described as scum, dirt, and delinquents, according to the arch-agents in the awakenings, foremost among who is the son of Ali Sulayman, the longest serving agent in Iraq and the heir of treachery. It is as though Al-Rishawi (presumably former head of Al-Anbar Awakening Councils, Abd-al-Satar Abu-Rishah) was an active scholar who went to lead the fighting against the mujahidin, the honorable sons of the tribes, and was not a criminal highwayman well known to all the people of Al-Anbar.

I say, those concerns were brought to me by some honorable tribal shaykhs who said: Until when will Sunni infighting continue? Is it not time for those weapons to be directed at the occupiers only?

I was pleased by their stand, and they found among their brothers in the Islamic State of Iraq what they came for and more. After a discussion a plan of action was agreed upon to stop what they called "fighting in the Sunni area between the sons of the tribes," especially after the development of the situation to the extent that some tribes have formed from their police an assassination division to liquidate the tribe's mujahidin sons, and they include those who were released by the Americans, killing the joy of their mothers and kinfolk at their release, pouring a drop of oil on the fire of internecine fighting among the sons of the same tribe. This happened with the Al-Zabaydah tribe in Al-Hadithah where they executed in broad daylight heroes from their own tribe, but from another branch. They also executed heroes from the Buhayan tribes, the Al-Hadithis, the Al-Jwa'nah, the Al-Zawis, and the Bu-Nimr, just as the Bu-Mahal clan did with the brave of the (name indistinct) and Al-Samman.

The shaykhs said the US army and its allies embroiled the tribes in a dark tunnel: namely joining the national forces and the awakening councils, weaving for them rosy dreams which
they initially confirmed with large sums of money to some shayhks and volunteers in the
awakening councils in particular. When everyone became embroiled in their suspect plan they
(the US and allies) began to wash their hands off them and cut off the stipends, and talk about
three-month or six-month contracts, and saying clearly: You have no choice now other than to
cooperate with us or be decapitated by the ISI after you have fought it. You have become sitting
ducks and the only protection you have is from the Americans.

I stressed to the tribal shayhks that the cause of the problem in the Sunni area is the Iraqi
Islamic Party (IIP) and its entourage of bad ulema (religious scholars) and tribal shayhks, and
their lies that have been continuing since they joined the ill-fated political process. What is the
result? A US soldier trampled with his boot on the head of Muhsin Abd-al-Hamid for 20
minutes. (Tariq) Al-Hashimi visited prison and shed crocodile tears like women, and was unable
to free a single prisoner and he is the vice president. What made matters worse is that he stated
that most of those in the minors’ prison were sexually abused. Yet the IIP categorically rejects
the occupier’s departure and considers it a crime. The big question is: Why is the occupier’s
departure a crime? Is power in Iraq in the Sunni’s hands and he fears it will be lost? Or does he
fear for the Sunnis’ financial gains? What law has allowed that criminal such a demand? By God,
Buddha’s law does not support occupation and does not accept it. That is why they fought the
Americans in Vietnam. Tell me what religion do that man and his party espouse? Or does he fear
the mujahidin to whom he attributed every shortcoming, and formed the apostate awakening
councils to fight them on the pretext they are criminal killers?

I want to ask the tribal shayhks: How many of your sons are today in the jails of
the ISI or Al-Qa’ida as they call it, and how many of your sons are in the jails of the invading
Crusader forces and in the prisons of the Al-Rafidi state? How many of your women are in the
prisons of the ISI state, and how many of your women are in the prisons of the Crusader forces
and the Al-Rafidi state? Finally, how many have the ISI men raped, God forbid, and how many
have the Crusader forces raped, and how many have the sons (descendants) of the Al-Rafidi Ibn-
al-Alqami (the minister who betrayed the Abbasid caliph to the invading Mongols in 1258 A.D.)
raped? I think if you were to answer these questions truthfully you will know the real criminal
who should be fought and against whom weapons should be carried.

I ask you by the One God, do you not know that we raided several times the Abu-Ghurayb,
(Babushi), and other prisons to free our sons, and scores of our men were killed as a result? You
recall the incident in which Abu-Anas al-Shami and his brothers were killed on the walls of the
Abu-Ghurayb prison in Al-Radwaniyah. I ask you by the One God, do you not know that we took
as hostages US, British, Russian, and other soldiers, and we had only one demand: to free
Muslim women - even if it is one woman -- from the jails. I swear by the One God that we never
exchanged a single prisoner for money, despite our great need, for our only goal and demand
was to free women and minors from jails. As for the men, only men will free them from the jails.
Is that the same as the action of those who deliberately showed pictures of Sunni women in the
worst condition when held by worshippers of the Cross and the Al-Rafidis, while the soldiers of
the awakening councils and the IIP protect their rear out of fear of being considered mujahidin?
After that, Al-Rishawi and his party from the Islamic Army and the IIP say to you that we are
bigger criminals than the Americans and Al-Rafidah, and they allow themselves to fight their br
others the honorable mujahidin, placing themselves and the men of their clans at the disposal of
Hadi al-Amiri (of Al-Badr Organization) and Petraeus. The buried Al-Rishawi said it to his
master the cross-carrier Bush, pleading to be an agent and a traitor in the presence of the IIP’s
top man in Al-Anbar, Ma’mun Jasim. He said: "We are your allies in Iraq. You can rely on us. Do
not leave us." Bush laughed loud, incredulous at what he was hearing and happy with his new
allies, and said: "No, no, we will not leave you."
Tell me, O my people, was it not the carriers of the Cross who violated our women, shed our blood, imprisoned our sons, insulted our elderly, terrified our children, and demolished our homes? Tell me, then, why do the agents of the awakening councils, their allies, and the betrayers of the resistance want to establish alliance with the Christians and ask them to remain along their side. We rely on God only.

"What is between me and my brothers and between my cousins is very different
I do not harbor old hatreds against them, for the chief of the folk does not harbor hatred,
They do not rush to my support, but if they call me to support them I rush to them
If they eat my flesh I spare their flesh, and if they demolish my glory I build glory for them."
(Verses about loyalty from an Arabic poem)

We say: By God, we never killed anyone unless he was an agent of the Americans, or an unjust person who protects the occupier, among the police, the army, and the awakening councils, who are the root of the problem. The question is: How many times have they prevented the Americans and the Al-Rafidis from arresting our sons and women so as to brag about defending the rights of Sunnis? Or do they defend a state that violates our women and imprisons our sons, when their leader, the vice president, is unable to free a single prisoner because of his impotency? How many Sunnis have joined the police and the army in the Al-Rafidi state? Three percent? Five percent? Not more than that at all. The problem in the Sunni area is because of that lot. Most of the sons of the Sunni clans are either with the mujahidin or support them, and are completely dissatisfied with protecting the patrols of the Crusader occupiers, their bases, and their presence.

Consequently the following has been agreed upon:

First, the formation of a committee of loyal clerics who have never been on the side of the occupier or the Al-Rafidi state; who are known for erudite knowledge and good conduct; and who have no links with any apostate neighboring country, in order to resolve any dispute that occurs in the Sunni areas, among the tribes, mujahidin, or others.

Second, the honorable clerics and tribal leaders shall undertake to urge the people of Sunni tribes to quit the police and the army in the Al-Rafidi state, as well as the awakening councils, provided that the weapons of all Sunni people are directed against the Crusader occupiers and their supporters.

Third, the ISI, may God protect it, pledges to declare an amnesty that will include members of the police, the army, and the awakening councils who abandoned fighting the mujahidin before we get hold of them. The Prophet said: "God is more pleased by the repentance of his worshipper than a man who traveled a dangerous journey, and with him is his riding camel carrying his food and drink. He slept and when he woke up he found his camel has gone. When he became very thirsty he said, I'll go back to sleep. When he woke up he found his camel beside him."
Each tribe shall undertake to control the behavior of its people and punish whoever tries to push the Sunni people to the brink and allow the Crusader occupier to move freely in our land and violate our honor.

Fourth, a committee made up of tribal leaders, clerics, and mujahidin will be formed in each area to run the affairs of their areas in accordance with Islamic shari’ah.
Fifth, a supreme court will be formed to resolve all disputes as of the date of this announcement in accordance with Islamic shari'ah.

Sixth, the ISI and other jihadist groups pledge to hand over anyone religiously proven guilty of illegal killing to the aforementioned committee.

Seventh, a higher administrative committee will be formed to follow up the aforementioned plan, under the Amir of the ISI, and with the amir of every group that has not joined the political process or the awakening councils as members, after they agree to the aforementioned plan.

Finally, this agreement will remain ink on paper unless the clerics and tribal leaders embark on activating and implementing it, at least in any area where the implementation of the agreement is applicable, and without excluding any item from implementing the agreement.

In the course of this talk I must thank my kinfolk and brothers, the shaykhs and brothers the northern tribes in Ninawa and its environs for their steadfastness in the face of all attempts to pressure them to form apostate units against their sons the mujahidin, which obstructed the ill-fated plan to shed the blood and violate the honor of Sunnis in Mosul. From the first day of the Basra operation theatrical, an MP form the Al-Sadrist bloc said: "Why do they target secure Basra and leave Mosul?" Indeed, on the first day of the Basra operations a delegation of the senior devils of the Al-Badr Corps left for Iran, headed by the criminal leader of the Al-Badr Organization Hadi al-Amiri. The delegation included Ali al-Adib and Hasan (al-Sunayd). A deal was concluded there. The campaign against Basra was stopped, and the weapons of the State and the Al-Rafidis are turned toward the Sunnis, on their own ground and in their dearest of places and the base of their strength where they are numerous, in Mosul.

Military operations in Basra were suddenly halted, and (Prime Minister) Al-Maliki announced the halting of all day and night raids and arrests directed at the Al-Mahdi Army, when he had previously described them - in voice and vision on all satellite channels - as smugglers, criminal killers and gangs, and worse than Al-Qa'ida. In an instant Al-Sadrist Trend became a prominent political party that enjoys everyone's respect, and the members of its army (Al-Mahdi Army) became disciplined and are saluted, thanked, and shown gratitude. The crime was agreed upon in Iran. Only a few hours after his arrival from Iran, the criminal and member of the Al-Badr Organization the MP Hasan (al-Sunayd) announced that this time the attack will be on Mosul.

First, in what capacity does this criminal announce his campaign? He is a member of parliament, not a minister of defense, interior, or security, or does it suffice to be a member of the Al-Badr Corps. Meanwhile the Al-Tawafuq (Accord) Front, which counts itself among the Sunnis, sought to stop the fighting against the Al-Mahdi Army, out of concern for the Al-Rafidi Magian army, yet it is permissible to shed Sunni blood in Diyala and elsewhere. They have instigated and fought and are still doing so in support of the occupier, for they are truly more Al-Rafidi and Magian than the Al-Rafidis.

Second, has the military campaign against Mosul ever stopped, for it is raging and it is at its fiercest. The (Zanjiyi) massacre that was perpetrated by the soldiers of both elements of the pagan guards, Al-Rafidi and Kurdish Jew, has claimed many more victims than all the casualties, killed or wounded, they claimed had fallen in all the fighting in six days.

O Sunnis! Vigilance, vigilance, a big plot is being hatched against you. You will be humiliated if you abandon your mujahidin people, who are part of you and the source of your pride, honor, and strength. Do not ever swear allegiance to the IIP and its devils in the political process. By God, they are trumpeting a war to exterminate Sunnis in Mosul. Indeed, it has been confirmed to us that they are now inciting the initiation of massacres against the secure people in Mosul.
once again, after they spared the blood of the Al-Rafidis in the south, especially the blood of
their masters in the Al-Mahdi Army.

O Sunnis, stand united against the occupiers and anyone who helps them whatever his apparent
affiliation and form. Do not support the Cross or those who protect it. You are the people of
chivalry and courage, and more versed than anyone in war. The mujahidin in the wars are from
among you, and you are the true masters of war. Stop the crimes committed by the Crusaders
and occupiers and prevent the ambitions of the Magians, and foil the deceit of the Peshmerga
Jews. Defend your religion, land, and honor, otherwise we will find a thousand Abir and Sabrin
(girls who were raped). You recall the rape of Muhsinah (name indistinct) by her Al-Rafidi
neighbor.
This is an imitative by us and some of your brothers, the tribal leaders. Join hands with us so
that we will be a united rank and so that we point our guns at the occupiers and those who fight
us on their side. Do not shun a hand that has been extended to reconcile those among whom
there is discord, for if you let us down our Lord in Heaven will help us. Almighty God says: "If
God helps you, no one can overcome you,"
(Koran, The Family of Imran: 3: 160).

O God, let us die as Muslims, and let us live as Muslims, and let us join the pious (on Judgment
Day), not disgraced or tempted. O God, fight the unbelievers who deny your messengers, and
shun your way, and inflict your torment on them. O God, fight the unbelievers who were given
the Book, O God of justice. "God always prevails in his purpose, though most people do not
realize it," (Koran, Joseph: 12: 21).

Your brother, Abu-Umar al-Qurashi al-Baghdadi.