

Al-Zawahiri Says 'Mass Protest' is Solution, Talks About Al-Qa'ida's Future Plans

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[Please note: Images may have been removed from this document. Page numbers have been added.]

Terrorism: Al-Zawahiri Says 'Mass Protest' is Solution, Talks About Al-Qa'ida's Future Plans On 5 July, a forum participant posted to a jihadist website a new video produced by the Al-Qa'ida affiliated media production establishment, Al-Sahab Media Production, containing a 1-hour and 35-minute recorded message from Ayman al-Zawahiri, Al-Qa'ida's second in command, entitled "Advice of One Concerned" in which Al-Zawahiri dealt with various problems faced by the Muslim world today. In this speech, Al-Zawahiri called on the Muslims in every Muslim country to resort to force in the face of tyrannical rulers in order to effect change. He explained that this force is a major element and can be accomplished through either a coup or civil disobedience and uprising. Al-Zawahiri talked about a near-term plan consisting of targeting "Crusader-Jewish interests" and a long-term plan which consists of "earnest, diligent work to change these corrupt and corruptive regimes" and "hurrying to the fields of jihad like Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia, for jihad preparation and training." In the statement, Al-Zawahiri questioned the position of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt regarding the latest government decisions reached in the region and asked them directly to answer his questions. Al-Zawahiri moved to the subject of HAMAS and criticized the group for giving concessions and abandoning the Shari'ah. He also warned them about Fatah and asked them to return to the right path. Speaking of the Islamic State of Iraq, Al-Zawahiri said that the State has what it takes to be recognized as a government and asked the Muslims to support it. The entire speech was supported by footage from speeches, lectures, and interviews by renowned Islamic and non-Islamic figures and was interspersed with footage of remarks by various Arab and Western speakers to reinforce Al-Zawahiri's message. The entire message and the footage inserted in it was subtitled in English. Please note that the text below is presented as received in the subtitles, and whenever discrepancies in the meaning or the translation were found, the translation of the actual spoken words can be found in straight brackets next to the words that were poorly translated or missed.

A description of the video follows:

The video begins with the following on the screen:

"Truly Allah loves those who fight in His Cause in battle array, as if they were a solid cemented structure' (Koranic verse: Al-Saff (The Row) 61:4).

"Advice of One Concerned

"Shaykh Ayman al-Zawahiri

"(Year) 1428"

A transcription of the statement taken from the English subtitles follows:

"In the name of Allah and all praise is due to Allah, and may peace and prayers be on the Messenger of Allah and on his family, companions and allies.

"Muslim brothers everywhere:

"Peace be upon you and the mercy of Allah and His blessings.

"I speak today to our Muslim Ummah, as the battles which is waging against its enemies are raging and as it moves from one victory to another, with Allah's help and power, and its enemies retreat in front of it, and as the good omens of the new dawn of victory have begun to loom on the horizon, with Allah's permission and will.

"And the stage preceding victory is normally, in the history of nations, the stage in which there is most seen an increase in conspiracies, plots and inciting of discord, in an attempt by the enemy, who has begun to see his defeat approach, to push back and delay the defeat as much as he can.

"So here I wish to clarify to my Muslim brothers some of the things towards which we must be duly vigilant and for which we truly must watch out.

"The first of the arenas which I want to talk about is the arena of Iraq, where the Mujahideen of Islam in Iraq of the Caliphate and Jihad are advancing with steady steps towards victory and establishment, with Allah's help and power.

"I believe it is incumbent on my beloved brothers in Iraq to take note of a number of things, I don't think they are unaware of these things--in fact, they may appreciate them better than me-- but I hope that they will open their hearts to my words and accept the advice of a caring and concerned brother.

"The first thing which our beloved brothers in Iraq must realize is the critical nature of unity, and that it is the gateway to victory and a matter which is not open to delaying or procrastination, and that they must come together one and all and study in depth and with devotion how to achieve it.

"And the martyr--as we see him--Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi (may Allah have mercy on him) was a forerunner in this field. He announced his joining of the Qaida al-Jihad group, and his pledge of allegiance to Shaykh Usama bin Ladin (may Allah protect him) was a huge stab and decisive blow to the Zionist Crusader project targeting our Ummah and our sanctities, and he resurrected in the Muslim Ummah the spirit of unity, solidarity and aid. Then he and his Mujahid brothers (may Allah bless their efforts) went ahead and formed the Mujahideen Shura Council, which was a big leap on the road of Jihadi action in Iraq. Then, when Allah honored him with martyrdom--as we see it--he was succeeded by his companion on the path of Jihad and Tawheed, Abu Hamza al-Muhajir (may Allah protect him), who strove with his honorable, sincere brothers--as we see them--to establish the Islamic State of Iraq, and it was good news for the Muslims, as they moved one step closer to the outskirts of Jerusalem and the establishment of the Caliphate, with Allah's permission.

"And the creation of governments by resistance and struggler movements isn't something out of the ordinary historically. They have even created governments in exile, so about if the Mujahideen were to acquire strength, power & control over large parts of occupied Islamic land?

"In the recent past to which we were contemporary, the government of the Mujahideen was set up in Peshawar, outside Afghanistan, and everyone hailed it and blessed and congratulated it, and no one objected. And many of those who today object to the Islamic State of Iraq 'because it is not empowered'--or so they claim--were among those who applauded, congratulated and hailed the government of Mujahideen in Peshawar, and moreover, the Saudi regime--which is

hostile to the Islamic State of Iraq--opened the Ka'aba to its members to swear to observe unity inside it, but the promise-making inside the Ka'aba was of no helping preventing the breaking of the promise after leaving it.

"And today, the Islamic State of Iraq is set up inside Iraq, the Mujahideen celebrate it in the streets of Iraq, the people demonstrate in the support of it in the cities and villages of Iraq, and backing of it and pledges of allegiance to it are declared in the mosques of Baghdad, and yet they don't recognize it, because it--as the claim--lacks the necessary qualifications.

"All this because the wind at that time was blowing from Washington, whereas today, the wind--by the grace of Allah--is blowing against Washington, and thus the fatwa changed when the wind and desires changed. The Devil, the world, myself and my desires. How can I be delivered when all of them are my enemies? And speaking of exploiting the name of Makkah. Abdullah bin Abd al-Aziz, whose father fought the Ottoman state and worked for its fragmentation on behalf of the English, has today brought together the leadership of Fatah and HAMAS to agree to surrender four-fifths of Palestine to the Jews in Makkah. And Abdullah bin Hussein, whose grandfather declared a rebellion against the Ottoman state from Makkah in the first war on behalf of the English, is today bringing together parties and weaving conspiracies and plots against the Islamic State of Iraq from Amman on behalf of the Americans. And we hear today--from those who used to encourage the youth to go to Afghanistan--those who issue fatwas which state that the Jihad in Iraq is not obligatory and forbid the youth from going to Iraq, although the commanders of the Mujahideen are urging them day and night to hurry to Afghanistan and Iraq. The martyr of Islam, Abdullah Azzam (may Allah have mercy on him), said (here the video shows his picture and the caption on top of the screen reads "Al-Shaykh Abdullah Azzam (may Allah have mercy on him).")

(Shaykh Abdullah Azzam) "The individual duty of the entire Islamic Ummah: an individual duty ever since the Caliphate fell, an individual duty ever since Palestine fell, and ever since Bukhara fell, and ever since Azerbaijan went. So it's not an individual duty in Afghanistan only: why then are you surprised at hearing this from us? And wonder the wonders and strangest of the strange are those scholars who are still debating: is Jihad is an individual duty or collective duty? I don't (know) from where these people acquire their knowledge. I don't know from where they procure their fatwas. All the Muslims' countries have gone and the tyrants are at the necks of the women and Muslims everywhere, but they're having discussions, eh? They're discussing whether Jihad is an individual duty or collective duty. Yes. Constantinople was the headquarters of the synod of the Eastern Church. As Muhammad al-Fatih was pounding the walls of Constantinople with the catapult, the men of the Church Synod were meeting and discussing how many devils are able to stand on the head of a pin. We're like that: the Jews, the enemies, the Russians and the Americans are coming at us from every side, right? And some of us are still asking, 'Is it an individual duty or collective duty?' May Allah pluck out your eye if you haven't yet seen that Jihad is an individual duty! How? Does this even need to be debated in the first place? If they had studied one book of Fiqh, it is well-known that the attacker is to be repelled, the attacker who seizes the people and wants to take their wealth or attack their honor or religion or country: it is well-known that it is an individual obligation to repel him.

(Al-Zawahiri) "And I read something written by one of them in which he forbids the youth to do that, and says that the commanders of the Mujahideen don't want men, and we must support them with books and cassettes! Is the purpose of the Deen for you to trim your mustaches? O you nation at whose ignorance the nations laugh So O youth of Islam, don't listen to them, and I convey to you the Mujahideen's commanders mobilization of you, so hurry to Afghanistan, hurry to Iraq, hurry to Somalia, hurry to Palestine, and hurry to the towering Atlas Mountains. The

Truth, Exalted is He, said, 'O you who believe! What is the matter with you, that, when you are asked to go forth in the cause of Allah, you cling heavily to the earth? Do you prefer the life of this world to the hereafter? But little is the comfort of this life as compared with the hereafter' (Korani verse: At-Tauba (The Repentance) 9:38).

"Coming back to the subject of Iraq. I say: what is called the government of HAMAS in Gaza and Ramallah has been set up, yet we haven't heard criticism of it from those who criticize the Islamic State of Iraq, nor has anyone accused it of being an unempowered government lacking the necessary qualifications, although half the government in Gaza only connects with its other half in Ramallah through television circuits, and the leader of government can only enter and exit, and indeed, can only move between its two parts after the Israeli army permits and searches him. And many of the representatives and ministers have been arrested by Israel, yet we have not heard the critics criticize it as being a government lacking qualifications. Then HAMAS, which claims that it follows the democratic way and represents the majority of voters, was forced under pressure from the democracy-sponsoring nations- to relinquish a third of the seats of government and agree to give up four-fifths of Palestine and surrender to Mahmoud Abbas the right to negotiate in the name of the Palestinians, and yet we haven't heard the critics say that it is lacking qualification.

"Meanwhile, the Islamic State of Iraq is--by the grace of Allah--much larger and the number of its soldiers and supporters many times more than what is called the government of HAMAS, and its leaders move without permission from anyone, and moreover, they threaten America, and America admits their severe danger, and they invite their Palestinian brothers banished to the desert between Iraq and Jordan victims of the militias serving the Cross--to live in the villages and cities of the Islamic State, and they declare their defense of all causes of the Muslims from Grozny to Ceuta and Melilla, and they promise to strive for the freeing of the Muslims captives, foremost among them the star of Da'awa and Jihad Shaykh Umar Abd al-Rahman (may Allah free him), and even carry out attacks on the Americans in his name, but despite all that, they consider it to be lacking in qualifications. And in comparison, the leadership of HAMAS disowns its Mujahideen brothers and the matter reaches a stage where one of its leaders declares in Moscow that the Chechnya is an internal Russian affair. And HAMAS kills Fatah members on a daily basis, and Fatah kills HAMAS members, and HAMAS announcing that, and doesn't apologize for it, and offers its justifications for what it is doing, and the Arab governments rush to intermeditate between it and Fatah and call on them to unite in the best way, whereas the Islamic State of Iraq announces that it only kills spies and traitors, and declares its innocence of any inviolable blood which one of its soldiers might spill, and not just that, but its Amir announces his readiness to appear before a judicial council in any complaint and that he is prepared to have the right taken from him personally if the legal ruling is issued against him. Yet despite that, a storm of media campaigns, allegations and claims is whipped up in their face, exactly opposite of what is said to HAMAS.

"Why all this inconsistency?

"Because the dragging of HAMAS to the game of political concessions is a Zionist-Crusader decree being implemented by the Arab governments, whereas the establishment of the Islamic State of Iraq is an Islamic Jihadi decree being fought by the Zionist Crusade and therefore by the Arab governments. And if the cause is known, the amazement ends. The brothers' reason for declaring the state--and we think it was rational--was that they wanted to save Iraq from the fate which the Afghan Jihad met after the fall of Kabul. And by the grace of Allah, a large number of the noble Mujahideen in blessed Mesopotamia joined it, but some of their brothers among the people of merit, precedence and sacrifice believed that the time had not yet come for this step.

And we think well of all, we pray for their success and guidance, and we are loyal to them with the love of faith and ties of Islam, and we ask Allah to unite them, raise their banner, strengthen their power, and join their hearts and grant them victory over His enemy and theirs. And I think that these are the emotions of all Mujahideen in Iraq--and indeed, in all lands of Islam--towards each other even if their opinions and judgments differ. But the thing which I want to emphasize is that we must strengthen one another, and guide one another, and advise and instruct our brothers, even if we differ with them, and that we must study how to take the upright middle path (close gaps between us), in order to make use of and benefit from every achievement achieved by our Mujahideen brothers and develop and support it with brotherly affinity, faith-based love, doctrinal brotherhood and Jihadi companionship, even if we see in it shortcomings or something less than perfection.

"Thus, I believe that the brothers who didn't agree with the decision of their brothers in the Islamic State of Iraq must keep in touch with them and study how to mend what they deem to be flaws in the actions and plans of their brothers. And similarly, the brothers in the Islamic State of Iraq must open their hearts to their brothers and listen to them and take what they throw them seriously, and at the same time, they must sincerely advise their brothers about the mistakes or shortcomings they see in them. And before I move on from talking about unity, I would like to talk to my brothers about the huge blessings which we witnessed after every step towards unity, starting from the pledge of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful Mullah Muhammad Umar (may Allah protect him), to the international Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and Crusaders, to the group Qaida al-Jihad. In every step towards unity, we saw from Allah aid, guidance and blessings in our work and protection from the evils of the enemies. And I believe that these blessed steps were the introduction to the Mujahideen's victories, from the smashing of the two dens of American espionage in Nairobi and Dar al-Salam, to the destruction of the destroyer Cole, to the greatest conquest in the raids on New York and Washington by the grace of Allah and his bounty, to these conquests with which Allah has favored the Mujahideen in Afghanistan and Iraq, and not only there, but all over the world from Indonesia to Spain without any power or strength from them, conquests which have forced the enemies of Islam to admit the strength of the Mujahideen."

(The caption on the screen reads: "Thomas Kin, The president of the 11 th Decision Committee of September" and the person is speaking in English while the subtitles are in Arabic: "Put simply the United States has faced one of the greatest security challenges in our long history.")

(Al-Zawahiri) "And I give the good news to our brothers that we are constantly striving, with Allah's help, to unite the ranks of the Mujahideen. And the good news is continuing, and some of the groups prefer that their uniting not be announced right now, while we will soon announce the joining up of others, with Allah's permission. And for Allah is all praise, first and last."

(Then the caption reads: "Abd al-Bari Attwan, chief editor of Al-Quds al-Arabi.")

(Abd al-Bari Attwan) "I differ with the evaluation of Chatham House, the center of strategic studies, although I am a member of it. I differ in that I believe that Al-Qaida Organization hasn't weakened. On the contrary, we can see that al-Qaida Organization after September 11 th is much stronger than it was before September 11 th. Before September 11 th, it was confined to the Republic of al-Qaida in Tora Bora. Other than that, there was no al-Qaida Organization. It was not present in London, it was not present in Iraq, it was not present--for example--in the West, it was not present--as it might be now or in the future--in Darfur. Al-Qaida is no longer the pyramidal organization it use to be: Shaykh Usama bin Ladin, Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri, Shaykh Abu Hafs al-Misri, and after him al-Panjsheri and so on. Now the organization has become

horizontal: a well-known leadership in hiding, and we have the leadership of al-Qaida in Saudi Arabia, we have the leadership of al-Qaida in Europe, we have the leadership of al-Qaida in Iraq."

(Interviewer) "And they are not necessarily connected with each other.

(Abd al-Bari Attwan) "No, they're connected, and herein lies the genius of the organization: for the first time in history, there is a truly international organization. The Palestinians were confined to Palestine, the Iraqis were confined to Iraq, the Lebanese--Hizbullah for example--are confined to Lebanon. But now for the first time, there is an Islamic organization with a global cover and global outlook."

(Interviewer) "A fundamental point: if al-Qaida Organization is in decline(...)"

(Abd al-Bari Attwan) "OK, in an investigation by the Reuters agency in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, where the government has declared more than once that it has eliminated this organization or is about to, it was found that the popularity of al-Qaida Organization was increasing. I will add another point: it's not only American policy that is responsible for the rise and expansion of al-Qaida Organization, but also the repressive policies of the Arab regimes. That is, this repression, this calcification, this widespread corruption, this nepotism, this bequeathing, the humiliation and disgrace and impotence against Israel--for example--in its aggression against Lebanon and its aggression against the Palestinians, the impotence towards the American occupation of Iraq: all of this also serves al-Qaida Organization. No just American policy, but also the local policies of the Arabic dictatorships contribute to that. For example, the project of the American occupation in Iraq: who is the one who ruined the project of American occupation in Iraq? America came and occupied this Arab country in four weeks. All the Arab regimes colluded with this occupation. Who is the one who confronted the project of American occupation and ruined it after three and a half years? America was saying that it would bring manna and birds from heaven and economic prosperity and democracy and affluence and that Basra will be like Florida and Baghdad will be like New York. Who is the one who ruined it? Al-Qaida Organization in addition to other Iraqi resistance groups."

(Al-Zawahiri) "As for the second issue which I wish to point out, it is that the Mujahideen are not innocent of deficiency, error and slips, because they are humans who are sometimes right and sometimes wrong, as humans are. And whether they are right or wrong, they must submit to the purified Shari'ah. The Shari'ah didn't come down for the angels; it came down for humans with their goodness and badness. Thus, the Mujahideen must solve their problems among themselves, and find from the people of rationality, wisdom and sincerity who are numerous, by the grace of Allah--those who will unite, guide, order to goodness, forbid evil and rule with justice. And I don't see any benefit for them in making public problems of the Mujahideen for all to see. In fact, I believe that its harm is much greater than its good. Thus, the beloved Mujahideen must be compassionate and merciful towards each other, and must look after this Jihad as the mother looks after her son as he goes from stage to stage. And what is between the Mujahideen will only be resolved by compromise and humility towards the believers, so everyone must adapt themselves to humbling themselves before their brothers. The Truth, Blessed and Exalted is He, said, 'O you who believe! If any from among you turn back from his faith, Allah will soon produce a people whom He will love as they will love Him; humble with the believers, mighty against the rejecters, fighting in the way of Allah, and never fearing the blame of a blamer. That is the grace of Allah, which He bestows on whom He pleases. Allah is All Embracing, All Knowing' (Koranic verse: Al-Maeda 5:54).

"The third issue which I want to point out to our beloved Mujahideen in Iraq is the issue of the dangers surrounding Iraq. Some of these dangers are clear and blatant and don't need to be explained or proven, and Allah has guided the Mujahideen to confront this type in the best way. We ask Allah to grant them total victory, complete uprightness and ultimate consolidation. And there are other dangers which are insinuating themselves and hiding under the name of aiding the Arabs, Muslims and the people of the Sunnah, while their only concern is eliminating the Arabs, Muslims & the people of the Sunnah in service to the Caesar of Washington and his allies, the Crusaders and the Jews. This danger requires knowledge, fear of Allah, wisdom and insight in confronting it, and moreover, it requires adherence to the doctrine of loyalty and disloyalty and steadfastness in working for the goals of Jihad, which are that the word of Allah be supreme and that the vanguards of the Mujahideen knock at the doors of Jerusalem, liberate the usurped lands of the Muslims from Spain to East Turkistan (Iraq), and raise the banner of the Caliphate to flutter nobly after a long absence.

"So the expanded series of Crusader plotting directs its agents on the peninsula and in Egypt and Jordan to shed crocodile (the word crocodile is not in the spoken Arabic) tears. And then after that, through bribes and buying of loyalties, they try to create voices which will work for the achievement of their programs. And the tragedy is that they depend on--in passing of many of their designs--on parties among the scholars of beggary who search for profits for which to sell their religion or among the broken backtrackers who have retreated from the path. Thus, the people of Jihad must arm themselves with awareness enlightened by the light of revelation and acquainted with the facts of the present state of affairs. So for example, how is it possible for Al Saud to be protectors of the people of the Sunnah, when they are the ones who built their reign on loyalty to the British and then the Americans?

(Another picture is shown and the caption reads: "Dr. Fahad al-Samari, The king Abd al-Aziz Foundation." The speaker speaks in English speaking, with Arabic subtitles.)

(Dr. Fahad al-Samari) "Any royal trip like this has to be big, and it's not just for a show, no, it's like you know, unifying all portions of society with you together. So, he had his own advisors he has some of his own sons, princes, he had some of tribal chiefs at the time, so it is like a small state moving outside its own state to meet Roosevelt and it had to be from all portions of society."

(Another voice of an English-speaking person is heard and the caption reads: "Mike Ameen, Aramco Vice president '7275'"

(Mike Ameen) "It was a very interesting meeting, here is Roosevelt in his wheel chair and as you know he is not a big man and he is in a wheel chair and he is on the deck of the Quinzy (Boat name) and King Abd al-Aziz who is about six foot three inches or six foot four inches big and stricken with Trachoma and could not see well walking with a cane and these two hit it off right away. King Abd al-Aziz started kidding Roosevelt about you're lucky you're in that wheel chair; you can wheel yourself anywhere. And Roosevelt said to him if you like this wheel chair so good I have an extra one; here I'll give it to you."

(Arabic speaking narrator) "After exchanging gifts, they got down to business. America needed to lease an airport and Navy refueling station for its war against Japan. But it was the security of the Saudi kingdom that was at the forefront of King Abd al-Aziz's concerns. He requested American military assistance and training, and they agreed to construct the Dhahran military base. In return, the King guaranteed that the US would always have secure access to Saudi oil. In this way, the deal which for 60 years has been the basis of American-Saudi relations was struck."

(Here an English caption reads: "Yousif Ibrahim, New York Times")

(Yousif Ibrahim) "America struck a pact with Saudi Arabia; you give us oil at cheap prices and we will give you protection. This protection eventually evolved into an American (English word indistinct but Arabic subtitle reads "control") over the entire gulf region and the deal extended to the gulf region, that this was an American area of influence and in return for this it shall be protected from all enemies."

(The next unidentified speaker speaks in Arabic with English subtitles.)

"Thomas Lippman, formally a veteran journalist with the Washington Post and now a researcher with the Institute of Middle East Studies in Washington, says in his book, *Inside the Mirage: America's Fragile Partnership with Saudi Arabia*; first of all there's no doubt about the closeness of the bilateral relationship. In my book; I quote at some length from a State Department document that spells out all the details of the relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia, which is that the United States is involved in every aspect of life in Saudi Arabia except for religion in education and health care, in the political succession, in the role of the king, etc. and that document, which still defines American policy in Saudi Arabia, was written in 1951 so it didn't come from George Bush and Prince Bandar it goes way back. As Bob Woodward says in his book, it is a fact that the United States and Saudi Arabia have had a very close relationship for 70 years now. I think what we learn from Bob Woodward's book that there is, indeed, a degree of cooperation and consultation between this government in the United States and the government of Saudi Arabia that goes beyond what you would normally expect in a bilateral relationship, perhaps even more than the United States and Germany, say."

(Al-Zawahiri) "Is it possible for the one who sold himself and his reign to the Americans to confront the Americans? Is it possible for the people of the Sunnah to be rescued by the one who took the lives of thousands of the people of the Sunnah in Iraq during its embargo? Is it possible for the one who colluded with the Americans in the invasion of Iraq to confront the Americans in Iraq?"

(Unidentified speaker) "Bob Woodward, in his well-known book, *Plan of Attack*, says, in regard to the meeting of Prince Bandar with President Bush on November 15 th, 2002, that Bandar handed the President a personal letter from Prince Abdullah handwritten in Arabic and accompanied by an English translation. Bob Woodward then says that the letter goes on to make clear that the Prince Bandar was carrying with him the main topic, and that on the basis of the instructions, Bandar said, 'Since 1994, we have been in continuous contact with you at the highest of levels regarding what must be done about Iraq and the Iraqi regime, and through that period, we have hoped for seriousness from your side which should have manifested itself in working together to formulate a mutual plan to get rid of Saddam.'

"In 1994, King Fahad proposed to President Clinton a joint Saudi-American clandestine special forces operation to topple Saddam, and in April 2002, the Crown Prince proposed to Bush the spending of a billion dollars in joint operations like this with the CIA,' Bandar went on 'But every time we meet we are surprised by the United States asking us for our opinion about what can be done about Saddam Hussein.' Making it clear that those repeated questions make them begin to doubt the seriousness of America towards the issue of regime change in Iraq.

"Now, Mr, President, we want to hear directly from you about your serious intent regarding this issue, so that we can prepare ourselves and coordinate in a way that will make us implement the right decision based on our friendship and interests.'

"Then he said, 'So in order to protect our mutual interests, we want you, in this difficult situation, to take part in solving the Middle East problem, and we also expect Saudi Arabia to play a major role in forming the regime which will appear not only in Iraq, but through the region after the fall of Saddam Hussein. Bush responded appreciatively to the views of the Saudi Crown Prince, considering him a great friend and ally, and promising that if military force were to be used in Iraq, it would mean the end of the president regime; i.e., that the Saudi regime has been complaining about the hesitation of the Americans and offering them encouragement, money and aid for invading Iraq since 1994.'

"Bob Woodward also mentioned in his book the details of the meeting held on January 11 th, 2003, just before the war, in Cheney's office between Bandar, Cheney, Meyers and Rumsfeld. He says that one of the purposes of the meeting was to convince Bandar to allow the sending of American forces through Saudi territory, as support operations like rescues and refueling wouldn't be sufficient from the other 5 countries bordering Iraq, and so the 500-mile long Saudi-Iraqi border would be decisive, for without it there would be a giant gap in the middle. Bob adds that Meyers sat on the edge of the desk and took from his briefcase a large map across which was written NOFORN:TOP SECRET, NOFORN indicating confidential martial which no foreign national is permitted to look at. Bandar looked at it. Bandar asked if he could get a copy of the large map to refer to while giving his briefing to the Crown Prince. Meyers replied that that would be overstepping his rank. Rumsfeld stepped in and said 'We'll provide you with all the data you want, but as for the map, it's best that I not provide it to you. However, you can take notes if you like.' Bandar asked, 'What are the chances of Saddam surviving this operation?' Rumsfeld and M" As he was about to leave, Bandar, addressing Cheney, said, 'I have now become convinced that there is something I can take to Prince Abdullah, and I believe I can convince him, except that I can't go and tell him that Meyers, Rumsfeld and you told me. I must convey a message from the President.' Bandar wanted to hear the promise directly from Bush. The next day, Rice called Bandar to invite him to a meeting with the President. The President said that he was receiving advice and reports which confirmed that he was a candidate, should the war happen, to wrestle with massive Arab and Islamic reactions which might endanger American interests. Bandar said, 'You imagine, Mr. President, that you are attacking Saudi Arabia or trying to capture King Fahad. It's Saddam Hussein. The people won't shed any tears for him. But if he is attacked again by the Americans and survives, he will become larger than life, a 'legendary hero'. And everyone will rush--certainly--to obey his orders. If he tells them, 'Attack the American embassy' they will rush to attack it.'

"Bandar reminded Bush of what had been said before in the Gulf War 1991. 'Look at what was said before to your father that the Arab world will rise up from the Ocean to the Gulf. This didn't happen, and it won't happen this time either.' The author believes that Bandar knew his country was capable of providing cover for the arrival of American forces by closing the Jawf civilian airport in the northern desert and flying Saudi helicopters day and night as a routine border patrols for one week, then withdrawing. In this way, American special forces would be able to set up a base without attracting much notice. Bandar left, satisfied beyond a shadow of a doubt that they had a promised in front of him that the war was coming. Bandar is now able to return to Saudi Arabia and brief the Crown Prince about everything. Immediately, Bandar arranged a private sitting with the Crown Prince, and the details and map were displayed. The Crown Prince said, 'Silence is a must. Don't tell anyone anything until we decide what to do.' Bandar thought that the invasion of Iraq wouldn't provoke reactions. All praise for Allah who disappointed him. For here is America facing what it didn't face in Vietnam at the hands of the lions of Iraq of the Caliphate and Islam by the grace of Allah and his strength. And when Bob Woodward exposed the collusion of the Saudi regime with the Americans in the invasion of Iraq, Bandar attempted to deny it, saying that he looked at the secret war map which foreigners don't

look at, but denying that he was told of the decision to go to war. (Bandar said): 'I came on the 11th of January to meet the vice-president, secretary of defense and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the vice-president told me, 'The President has not made his decision yet. But, in any case, these are the maps'."

(Al-Zawahiri) "Is it possible for the one who conceded four-fifths of Palestine to Israel to preserve the integrity of Iraq? How can Abdullah bin Abd al-Aziz be trusted with the rights of the Muslims in Iraq facing the Zionest Crusade, when he is the one who sidestepped the right of return of Palestine refugees, by annexing in his surrender initiative the phrase 'a just solution agreed upon by all' to the United Nations resolution 194, because he knows that Israel hasn't agreed and does not agree and won't agree to the return of Palestine refugees."

(Abbas) "I also want in particular to point here to the role played by Your Majesty in launching the Arab peace initiative and adopting it from the brothers, the kings, presidents and amirs of the Arab states that initiative which demonstrates clearly to the whole world the Arab and Palestinian stance towards peace and perfecting the elements and pillars of this peace, as it emphasized an Israeli withdraw from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and the receiving by our people of its legitimate national rights embodied in the setting up of the independent state of Palestine on the territories occupied since 1967, including noble Jerusalem, and the guaranteeing of a just solution agreed upon by all to the issue of refugees according to Resolution 194, all of this in exchange for the establishment of normal relations and full contractual peace with Israel."

(Al-Zawahiri) "Is it possible for those unable to donate their own country to defend Iraq? If we were to look at the graph which compares the national revenues (diagram appears on the screen) of the Saudi state and three of its neighbors for the year 2003, we would find that it is the wealthiest of them. And if we were to look at the chart which shows annual military expenditures for the same year, we would find that it is the largest of them in military expenditure, and moreover, that its military expenditure exceeds the total military expenditure of the three other states combined. However, the incongruity is that it is the least of them in numbers of armed forces!

"Why? This is for three reasons:

"First: Al Saud are not expected to defend the Kingdom. Rather, they are the police force holding the heavy stick to control the Muslim Ummah in the Arabian Peninsula. As for the defense of the kingdom's resources and oil, that is the jurisdiction of the masters in the White House and the Saudi State has nothing to do with it. Didn't Abd-al-Aziz (of) Al Sa'ud agree to that with Roosevelt? America gets the oil and Al Saud get the proprietorship and the protection.

"The second reason is that the Kingdom's colossal defense expenditure is not meant for building a strong army; it is meant to establish a defense infrastructure which may be used by the American forces whenever they might need it. Therefore, there is no compulsory or non-compulsory recruitment in the Saudi State, whereas in the three comparison states, there is a fundamental dependence on compulsory recruitment, which is a measure resorted to by any state whose security is threatened, except that this regime in Egypt has steadily declined in power after signed (the signing of) the accords of surrender to Israel.

"And the third reason for the massiveness (magnification) of Saudi defense expenditure despite the insignificance of the army is the huge amount of thefts which the senior princes of Al Saud

swallow as bribes and commissions for the making of sham deals for which the kingdom has no need. The famous al-Yamama deal alone suffices.

(Here the video cuts to footage of the signing of the deal between Saudi Arabia and Britain followed by the transcript of the narration by the news anchor.)

"Today's signing (in Lancaster Castle) was the crowning of difficult negotiations lasting a full year. When you deal with Saudi Arabia, you're not dealing with a country; you're dealing with one family, the ruling family. The Yamama deal was made with a particular branch of the ruling family. Prince Sultan, who was the defense minister, and his son, Prince Bandar, they are the two who are most closely involved with this deal. Other members of the ruling family got their cut but Sultan and Bandar are the key figures. One member of the Saudi ruling family closely involved in this deal was Prince Turki bin Nasir. He was the son-in-law of Prince Sultan, was appointed head of the Air Force and has been closely involved with al-Yamama for the last 20 years."

(The video then cuts to footage of Dr. Sa'd al-Faqih.)

(Dr. Sa'd al-Faqih) "It deduced that it amounts to 5 billion pounds, or approximately 40 billion riyals, even though the real number is much bigger than this, of course. The real number is no less than 100 to 200 billion riyals, but it's good that it reached this level, good that it reached (this level) in closing that the amount of commissions ending at Sultan and his clique is this big. (It's a good thing that the actual amount of commissions taken by Sultan and his men only reached this level by the end of the deal.) Also, the names of Sultan, Turki bin Nasir, Khalid bin Sultan, and Bandar bin Sultan were mentioned, and the program emphasized that they are the ones who were there and are still there and that there is no hope of treating the issue of corruption. If the same corrupt individual from before is still the one with whom deals are made, there is no hope of eliminating corruption. So it's good. It's something which makes us happy and works in our interest. The fact is, it contributes strongly to demolishing the credibility of this state which talks about a council for fairness and combating of corruption. This corruption which they are talking about is at the very top, at the summit. Where? At number two. Of course, all of them are corrupt, from number 1 to number 60, but he is number 2, the Crown Prince, and deputy chairman of the council of ministers and the defense minister and public investigator-- public investigator! (Imagine that, by God!) Just what is he investigating if he is the biggest thief of the Ummah's wealth? So if this person who is the number 2 in the state is proven in a documentary, and through documents and evidence, to not only have stolen once but to be continuing to steal and in varying ways, with he, his two sons, his daughters, his wife, his son-in-law, and his granddaughter all contributing to this theft: If this is the truth about them which we have reached, then the even bitterer truth we have yet to arrive at and has yet to be arrived at by these investigators who made an effort to get at these documents. They didn't get at what is beyond the Swiss bank accounts, because the British government stopped the investigation. And even if Britain had continued the investigation, they wouldn't have reached the corruption present in our country and how many billions are poured into the pocket of Sultan. As our brother Faisal said last week, 80,000 phony jobs all go back to the account of Sultan; he doesn't need the Yamama deal in the first place: he can just have anything written for him and exploit it in the taking of wealth. This, then, is the truth about the corruption in our country. These are the masters of corruption. And if we were to reach Abdullah, you have the Royal Council, you have al-Tuwajari and those around al-Tuwajari, you have the National Guard Mut'ib bin Abdullah and So-and-So bin Abdullah and So-and-So bin Abdullah and many others. Talk as much as you like about the level of financial and administrative corruption, because the corruption is not limited to Sultan: Sultan is the only one with the longest arm in this corruption, and if we

consider Nayef or Salman or Abd al-Aziz bin Fahd or Muhammad bin Fahd or Abd al-Majid or the Amir of al-Qaseem or the Amir of the South, Khalid al-Faisal, we see that the problem is not just corruption, but falsely consuming the people's wealth and taking advantage of influence, and say whatever you wish about the type of theft and plunder."

(The video cuts back to Al-Zawahiri's speech.)

(Al-Zawahiri) "Thus, the one who stole his own people's treasures can't possibly be trusted with the treasure of his neighbors."

(Here the video cuts to footage of Bandar Bin Sultan speaking in English)

(Bandar Bin Sultan) "In the last 30 years, we have made, we have implemented a development program that was approximately, uh, close to \$400 billion worth. Okay? Now, look at the whole country: where it was, where it now. And I'm confident you know, after you look at it, you could not have done all of that for less than, let's say, 350 billion. Now if you tell me that building this whole country and spending 350 billion out of 400 billion, that we had, uh, misused or get corrupted with 50 billion, I'll tell you 'yes' but I'll take that any time! There are so many countries in the Third World that have oil that are still 30 years behind. But, more important, more important, hey who (are) you to tell me this? I mean, I see every time all the scandals here or in England or in Europe! What I'm trying to tell you is 'so what?'"

(Al-Zawahiri) "That is, Bandar bin Sultan considers that the losing to theft and bribery of 50 billion dollars from a total of 400 billion is acceptable in return for developing the kingdom over a 30 year period. In fact, he considers it a success. That is, he considers that the official rate of corruption admitted by Al Saud is 12.5 percent, so how much is the real rate?"

(Dr. Sa'd Al-Faqih) "They are so corrupt in every sense; in Islamic sense, in financial sense and in administrative sense, in every sense, that no way they can reform and go back and become faithful to the country. Let alone faithful to Islam. So the only way to save the country in every sense, even the basic human sense, is to change the whole royal family."

(Al-Zawahiri) "And even with the 50 Billion dollars which Bandar admitted to, no one has the right to ask, where has it gone? Into whose pockets has it gone? And on what sort of depravity has it been spent? And the, let us consider: what has the kingdom achieved with all this huge spending ^ massive treasure and widespread corruption of which Bandar is proud? Has the kingdom become a military power? Has it become an industrial power? Has it become an economic power? Regrettably, it has become none of that. The Saudi army is extremely weak and unable to protect its own country, and is not allowed to increase its numbers and abilities, despite the widespread unemployment in the country, and its budget is devoured by the crocodiles of Al Saud in bribes and deals. The kingdom is unable to meet its needs for university qualifications, like doctors, engineers, accountants and scientists, nor even technicians like nurses and skilled workers, nor even drivers. All this despite the presence of massive capabilities to achieve all of that. So why has it not been achieved? Nor has the Kingdom become a strong industrial power exporting its products and competing with them on the world markets. On the contrary, it is a market for foreign deputations of every commodity and of every country. So this is what the Iraqi people can expect economically if Saudi influence were to infiltrate them. And as far as politics goes, the fate of Iraq would be gloomy and bleak."

"And as far as politics goes, the fate of Iraq would be gloomy and bleak, if Saudi influence were to infiltrate it. A single glance at the political situation in the Saudi state, tells you what Al Saud might do in Iraq."

(The voice of Dr. Abdallah al-Nafisi is heard in a conference in Doha) "The Islamic movements on the Arabian Peninsula are not moving in a void, but rather are moving in a political, social and economic framework. The entire Arab world, without any exception, is suffering from three extremely critical problems, and we must evaluate the effectiveness of the Islamic movement in the light of its stance towards these three problems. The first problem in the Arab world, and this includes all the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council without exception, is the problem of political despotism. And I mean by political despotism the appropriation of the policy decision by a few. A limited few monopolize the policy decision. They decide and we implement. The second problem is the problem of poor distribution of treasure. Thus, there is the wealthy one who does not know what to do with the money in his hand, and there is the poor who is unable to eat his daily bread, or unable to cover (provide for) his family and children. Poor distribution of treasure. The third problem is social degeneracy and decline not just in terms of morality, but also in terms of institutions. In regard to political despotism, which has increased on the Arabian Peninsula, it is that the ruling regimes on the Arabian Peninsula, without exception, practice government and trade at the same time. They rule and at the same time are cartels in the market, competing with the people for their sustenance. They buy lands and sell lands. They enter into contracts and bids. They enter the world of finance, and enter the world of stocks and shares, They enter into the creation of companies and their overthrow. And at the same time, they decide policy. And, whoever combines ruling and trade will, without a doubt, pervert the political decision to his benefit. For that reason, to do so is prohibited in the Islamic Sharia.

"Al-Suyuti says in Tareekh al-Khulafa'a (History of the Caliphs), that when the Muslims gathered in the tent of Bani Sa'idah and agreed to put power in the hands of Abu-Bakr, Abu Bakr went to his house and took some clothes and shouldered them to go and trade. Abu Ubaydah stopped him and asked him 'Where to, O Abu Bakr?' He replied, 'To the market. Don't I have a family to feed?' Abu Ubaydah said, 'This doesn't befit you, when you are the successor of the Messenger of Allah. Sit in your house and we will apportion for you some money.' Al-Suyuti says in Tareekh al-Khulafaa, that they appropriated to him a part of a sheem and a few dirhams. Now the rulers have taken the whole roast, isn't that so? No a part of a sheep or a sheep. They've taken the sheep with its stuffing and toppings. So this matter has come to make the political despotism the powerful stage on the ground, and this is what has increased the political despotism in the Gulf Cooperation Council states. The poor distribution of treasure is totally clear. We are states which export oil for billions of dollars, yet there are long lines without end of people requesting the state for homes, and they have no homes. They rent. And their situation is like that of the immigrant workers. As for the social degeneration, talk about it as much as you wish."

(Al-Zawahiri) "As political life means only submission to the will of the princes of Al Saud, chanting their praises and keeping silent about their corruption and corrupting. As Al Saud is satisfied with nothing less than owning the land, and what is above and below it."

(Dr. Sa'd al-Faqih speaking in an interview) "Abdallah, Sultan, Salman and Nayif are the powerful ones in authority. No one can take a decision in the country except them. And all of them agree on several things. The first thing is enslavement to America. The second thing they agree on is that the populace has no role in decision-making, and that they own the land and whatever is on it. There are no intelligent people. But these people represent a government and they see the result and see the suffering of the people, and hypothetically -- if there were

intelligent people among them -- they could effect a change. The problem we have is that there is no power of decision, not with the scholars, not with the traders, not with the notables, not with the tribesmen, not even inside the ruling family, other than with 4 or 5 people, who cannot possibly be satisfied with a compromise solution. Why? They're smart in this regard. They believe that any compromise solution in which there is a sort of opening-up of freedoms, will lead to their collapse, because any type of freedom of expression or freedom of assembly--for example--will lead to a massive demonstration demanding the return of the oil wealth. A massive demonstration demanding the release of hundreds of thousands of prisoners. And, as soon as they agree to this demonstration by agreeing to freedoms, this demonstration will overrun their palaces and they will be finished."

(Al-Zawahiri) "So, if the agents of the Saudi state were to take control of government in Iraq, or the regions of the people of the Sunnah, the Iraqis would then suffer the same repression and humiliation, which the people suffer under Saudi rule, under the pretext of combating terrorism and preserving security, i.e., combating jihad and preserving America's security."

"The citizen feels the extent of the states reaction. The citizen is exposed to arrest, because they think he's a cousin or uncle or friend or neighbor or because his name showed up in one of the Jihadist's notebooks. He is exposed to invasion (raiding his home), because the invasion covers the entire alley in which a jihadist individual lives. He is exposed to the lockdown and search of entire areas. When he goes to work, he is exposed to six or seven checkpoints."

(Next there is a picture of the Saudi king and his men shaking hands with guests including General Colin Powell, and men in uniform are shown as a voice is heard saying, "And the agents of Al Saud in Iraq have actually begun to openly declare their animosity to the Mujahideen and their alliance with the Americans.")

(Al-Zawahiri) "If Saudi influence were to spread in Iraq, it would impose on the people of Iraq a ruling clique which would own what is above the ground and beneath it, and would sell Iraq in its entirety to the Americans. For the sake of brevity, I will give one example: Dr. Sa'ud al-Hashimi. He is not a terrorist, nor does he believe in violence, nor is he from the Al-Qa'ida of Jihad group. On the contrary, he opposes its inclinations and calls for non-interference in the affairs of the rulers, and concerning ourselves (to be concerned) with the building of foundations (establishments)."

(Dr. Sa'ud Mukhtar) "That the more there are foundations of civil society which depend on endowments, of course, he called them foundations of civil society, I call them endowment foundations taking funds from the people, and there is a supervisor from the people of this profession or this party or this group, the more these foundations increase in number, and we move away from the tribal mindset and the mindset which depends on the clan, and 'help me and I'll give you a cut' towards the mindset which is based on the foundation, and depends on independent funding and independent popular will, the more many people will be able to say to the wrongdoer, 'Oh wrongdoer, sit on this throne until the Day of Resurrection, but distribute resources justly, and give me my right to practice my freedom; give me my right to state my opinion, and give me my right to build.' I would just like to say that there is an error in conflict management. The Islamists don't know conflict management, except for one type, perhaps. One type, and that is the armed resolution."

(Al-Zawahiri) "So what was his fate? Prison. And he will only get out of it in two situations: The first is if Allah takes him away and he passes from this world to the eternal home, and the other

is if he surrenders as those before him have surrendered, and he becomes a chanter of the praises of Al Saud."

(Dr. Sa'd al-Faqih) "That's why they believe that it is better to shut the door on freedoms from the outset, and thus they didn't put up with Sa'ud al-Hashimi, nor so-and-so and so-and-so, nor us and the opposition in exile, nor the jihadists. Even Sa'ud al-Hashimi and his like, who would tread very lightly, and Shaykh bin Za'ir and others and the three reformers who were imprisoned for two full years, were not put up with them. They don't accept the least degree of freedom in which there is any type of criticism. The important thing is, criticize the minister, criticize the municipality, criticize anyone you like, but for you to criticize the government in its central decisions is impossible."

(Al-Zawahiri) "In fact, and before I leave the subject of the Saudi conspiracy against Iraq, I would like to remind everyone that the most dangerous weapons in the Saudi-American system are not buying of loyalties, spying on behalf of the Americans, or providing facilities to them. No, the most dangerous weapons of that system are those who outwardly profess advice, guidance and instruction, while they are in fact the mouthpieces of Al Saud who surrendered to them (they surrendered to), after the first round and deviated from the path after the first trial, and turned on their heels to defend those whom they used to resist, and pretty the picture of those whom they used to expose, to serve their interest and sponsor the continuation of their corruption, which in turn serves the interests of the Zionist Crusader in our countries (serves the Zionist-Crusader interests in our countries), so what a wretched chain and what a wretched link (support)."

(Dr. Abdallah al-Nafisi) "I would like to reassure Helen Dankos that there is no need to fear the Islamic movement on the Arabian Peninsula, because the Islamic movement on the Peninsula is doing business with the regimes. I exclude from that the group of Al-Qa'ida, and they are a limited few. This group doesn't do business with the regimes, but the rest of the Islamic movements - call them what you like- but are doing long-term wide-ranging business with the regimes, and are benefiting from these regimes. So, there is no need, Helen Dankos, to fear for the stability of petrol (oil decision) on the Arabian Peninsula."

(Al-Zawahiri) "And before I move on from the subject of Iraq, I would like to warn the Muslims there and in Afghanistan about the religion-trading traitors, who conspired with the Crusaders to invade Iraq and Afghanistan and to help the Crusaders to fight the Mujahideen, in exchange for establishing them in positions of authority. They do business in the name of the religion and of the people of the House (household of the prophet), but the people of the House, Allah's pleasure be upon them (may God be pleased with them), are innocent of them. Where are they in relation to the legacy of the people of the House? Allah's pleasure be upon them (may God be pleased with them). The legacy of the people of the House, Allah's pleasure be upon them (may God be pleased with them), is emphasis on the right of the Ummah to be consulted, and install a ruler accountable to it. The legacy of the people of the House, Allah's pleasure be upon them (may God be pleased with them), is devotion to the unity and group (agreement) of the Muslims. And the legacy of the people of the House, Allah's pleasure be upon them (may God be pleased with them), is enjoining of good and forbidding of evil, confrontation of oppression, corruption and political totalitarianism; defense of the Ummah's right to be consulted and hold the rulers to account, and fighting and being martyred for that, and refusing to give up freedom or surrender or accept disgrace or humiliation, in exchange for the scraps of this world. It is a legacy in total contradiction to what is committed by the religion-traders in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the sultan's scholars on the Peninsula and in Egypt and Yemen, who condemn jihad and resistance and bless the invaders and beg them not to go. I call on noble and intelligent people to beware of

the religion-traders who lie to them twice. They lie to them once when they tell them that the Mujahideen are the enemies of al-Husayn, with whom Allah was pleased, and the people of the House, Allah's pleasure be upon them (may God be pleased with them). By Allah, they lied. On the contrary, the Mujahideen are the supporters of al-Husayn, with whom Allah was pleased (may God be pleased with them), and are his allies and soldiers. And had they been present at his battle, they would have fought in front of him and under his banner, and would have placed their chests in front of his. And today, they are the people with the most right (most worthy) to ascribe themselves to him, as they are defending the Ummah of Islam against its enemies. And they lied to them a second time by saying that the Americans and Crusaders are the allies and supporters of al-Husayn, with whom Allah was pleased (may God be pleased with them), and protectors of his Shia. By Allah, they have lied. On the contrary, they are his enemies, they curse him and curse his father, with whom Allah was pleased (may God be pleased with them), and curse his grandfather, peace be upon him, and make war on the religion, doctrine and methodology of al-Husayn. So, where are your intellects, O people of intellect? And where are your consciences, O people of conscience? Better yet, where is your religion. Better still, where is your chivalry and jealousy? Even better, where are you going? You obey al-Husayn, with whom Allah was pleased (may God be pleased with them), by obeying America? And you raise the banner of al-Husayn, with whom Allah was pleased, under the cross of America? And you champion al-Husayn, with whom Allah was pleased, in the armies of America? And you pave the way for the state of al-Husayn with whom Allah was pleased, by pleading for the forces of America to stay? The Truth, blessed and exalted is He, says, 'Muhammad is the apostle of Allah, and those with him are hard against the disbelievers and merciful among themselves. You (O Muhammad) see them bowing and tailing prostrate (in worship), seeking bounty from Allah and His acceptance' (48:29). These were some reflections on the Iraqi scene, which I dedicate to my brothers the Mujahideen in hopes that they will open their hearts to them, and find in them what will benefit them. I ask Allah to grant victory to the Mujahideen in Iraq and unite them, and to steady the pillars of the fledgling mujahid (unyielding) state of Iraq and guide the steps and direct its march; and to guide it to aid Islam and Muslims, unite the Mujahideen and erect the victorious banner of the caliphate in Jerusalem soon, Allah willing. And I invite all Muslims in all lands of Islam in general and in Iraq in particular to support this blessed fledgling mujahid (unyielding) garrisoning state with funds, manpower, opinion, information and expertise, and not to hold back from it any advice or instruction if they see in it any signs of diversion from the proper methodology. And may Allah guide all Mujahideen to unity and harmony, and complete His bounty and favoring of them, with a noble (strong) conquest (victory) and near and manifest victory, with His permission and mercy. May He accept their righteous deeds and reward them in the best way, in this world and the next.

"And the battles of the Crusaders and their slaves with the Muslim Ummah expand to the doctrinal and moral fronts, with all they can muster and with the nastiest they've got. And the arenas are numerous and varied: the bribing of the religion traders in Iraq and Afghanistan to deem as Haram (forbidden) the jihad against the invaders; the backing of the neo-Murjites in their enabling of the sultans of depravity, bribery and treason; the vile and disreputable media, the smothering of trustworthy information, and last but not least, the blackmailing of the tortured and mutilated captives, who after the government of America's slaves cook them in their cauldrons of torture, are paraded for all to see as disfigured monsters and destroyed rubble, who have been stripped of their thoughts and beliefs, and had their convictions removed, for them to declare their remorse, regret and retractions, and for America to hail the filthy dish, and applauds the victory of moderation, tolerance and understanding, over militancy, fundamentalism and extremism, and demands that the experiment be repeated, to the extent that I read a ridiculous bit of humor in Al-Sharq al-Awsat newspaper, which claimed that it received a communique from one of the backtrackers, who faxed it from prison. I laughed inside

and asked myself, 'Do the prison cells of Egypt now have fax machines? And I wonder, are these fax machines connected to the same line as the electric shock machines, or do they have a separate line?' Thus, I caution my Muslim brothers everywhere against the statements and retractions of the graduates and guests of the prisons, on the Peninsula and in Egypt, Yemen, Algeria, Indonesia and all lands of Islam. They are either those who have been coerced and before whose eyes the memories of the torture, lashing, suspension and shocks play like a film, or are those who are disheartened and fallen and looking for a way out of prison and a little comfort. Neither type is to be listened to or relied upon in his statements and opinions, even if he exits the little prison for the big prison, in which the torturers do not refrain from visiting his home, monitoring his every move and directing his statements and actions. And this big prison has not even been avoided by our refugee brothers in the Crusader West, whose sleep is disturbed by visions of themselves bound, shackled and blindfolded and loaded onto the airplane taking them to the countries of murder and torture. Some misconceptions might be placed on the tongues of those who make retractions like their saying that many of the imams, like Ibn-Tarmiyah, and al-Sarakhsi, wrote while in prison, and that the P" As for those who say, 'Don't look at the circumstances in which our words were spoken, look at the proofs behind them and reply to them,' we tell them: we and all the Mujahideen have been replying to these misconceptions in words, writings and actions for decades, and moreover, your own words are the best reply to you. But this is not what I am focusing on, because I am not focusing on words extracted by force: rather, I am clarifying to my Muslim Ummah the dirty game practiced by America and its agents. Thus, I tell these enemies: this is not a noble (moral) fight, to be alone with an isolated prisoner and squeeze him physically and psychologically until he agrees with you for you, then to applaud that. If you are real men, then compete with us by yourselves, in the arenas of ideology, invitation and information, which are the arenas in which you yourselves have admitted your defeat. And I tell them, you are now practicing the same Communist brainwashing methods you used to attack, so stop your lies about freedom and human rights. As for my captive brothers in the prisons of the Crusaders, I tell them: we all appreciate what you are suffering but we are all suffering, even if the manner differs, so you must be patient and steadfast. For, you have shouldered a great trust, so don't neglect it, and rejoice, for victory is near, with Allah's permission, and the herds of Crusaders have begun to split up, and their sole concern has become searching for a way out, so be patient, for victory is an hour of patience. And that torture, which was suffered by our captive brothers from the Islamic movements in Egypt, and which they continue to suffer has not been limited to them. No, the corrupt and corruptive regime has been savage with everyone who opposes it, and indeed, with all the people, and its police and security agencies have become packs of hungry wolves which bite at the flesh, sanctity and honor of our family, brothers and sisters."

(The video shows a man being tortured and screaming. Next, a young man, whom the video refers to as martyr Sayyid Badawi, is shown speaking in Egyptian dialect saying, "I want all the people to see me, to see the torture, and see that the government has no justice in it. He hung me on the door and brought an electric cable, and placed it on my shoulders, I told him, 'I'll die'." He told me, "Our Lord is above and I am below." Another person speaks, "By Allah, I imagined that the angel would come in and ask me, 'Who's your Lord? and what's your religion?' because of the amount of beating." An unidentified Egyptian man, on the street, is being interviewed and is heard saying, "The government treats the civilians as if we are an occupied country. We're not an occupied country. We're a free people.")

(Al-Zawahiri) "But I assure you that if we were to carry out the duty of enjoining of good and forbidding of evil which our religion has made obligatory upon us, we would be able to stop this oppression and repression. If every officer who murdered an innocent person was to be found killed, they wouldn't dare to murder. If every officer who violated someone's honor was to be

killed, they wouldn't dare to violate honor. If every street from whose residents someone was tortured, was to rise and demonstrate and besiege the police station to get the detainee out; if every college or institution from which a student was arrested was to stage a sit-in and boycott classes and request the rest of the students in the university to join them; if every village from which a young man was kidnapped was to besiege the police station; and if the imam of every mosque from whose attendees someone was arrested was to request the worshippers to demonstrate against the police station, these beasts would think a thousand times before biting us one by one. If the unions, universities, factories and mosques were to rise up and take to the streets in a mass protest, the government would give in. They are able to kidnap us one by one, but they won't be able to face a mass wave of resentment and anger. If we are silent about every victim who falls, we shall all fall victims, but if we defend every victim kidnapped, they won't dare to kidnap anyone. The other matter, which I wish to clarify, is that the corrupt and corruptive regime in Egypt strengthens these practices and trains its men in them to protect itself from popular resentment. And the Zionist Crusade led by America encourages the regime because it is protecting its interests against the resentment of the Muslim Ummah. So, in the end, we are facing an alliance of oppression, repression, savagery and greed. And resisting this alliance is the only path to deliverance. And resisting this alliance is carried out in two plans: a near-term plan and a long-term. The near-term plan consists of targeting Crusader-Jewish interests, as everyone who attacks the Muslim Ummah must pay the price, in our country and theirs, in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine and Somalia, and everywhere we are able to strike their interests."

(Abd-al-Bari Atwan of Al-Quds) "He told me personally that he can't fight America on its own soil, but if succeeds in provoking it and dragging it to the Arab region or the Islamic world, he will in that case defeat America. And to date, if we look at the results of this strategy, America has lost. The Soviet Union didn't inflict the losses that Shaykh Usama bin Ladin has inflicted on America. America has lost to date 360 billion dollars in the war against terror. America has lost approximately 5000 people, both military and civilian, in Iraq and Afghanistan, in addition to the 3000 people it lost in New York, in the two World Trade Towers. America is now facing a continuous rise in spending on security and the ongoing security measures, and is confused and insecure. Its allies are abandoning it. Aznar in Spain left it and it fell. Berlusconi fell, Blair is on his way to falling. All of them fell in an extremely dreadful manner. So who is it who caused all these disasters and defeats for the United States of America? "the greatest power in history"? I believe that it is al-Qa'ida Organization and the head of this organization who has been planning strategically and ideologically for these sort of results to this very moment."

(Abdallah al-Nafisi) "Today, the world lives in the shadow of a global system. A global system whose center and heart is the United States and the European Union. This is the center of the global system. As for the rest of the states of the world, they are the outlying states, and include the states of Asia, Africa, Latin America and other states of the world.. The central states control the outlying states using four methods. The first method: monopolization of military technologies. The second method: monopolization of the crudes--oil and wheat. The third method: international legality; the United Nations. And the fourth method: globalization of culture and media. Using these four muscles (sides of the square) the central states control the outlying states. The central states wage all their wars here in the outlying states, and thus all the damages resulting from these wars happens (happen) here, to us. You will note that there was a war in Vietnam, a war in Somalia, a war in Palestine, a war in Iraq, an upcoming war in Sudan, and so on."

(An unidentified voice is heard asking Dr. al-Nafisi a question) "Where is 'here' Doctor? Could you specify what you mean by 'here'?"

(Dr. Al-Nafisi) "The new theory, which al-Qa'ida Organization brought with it, is that there is no escaping the confrontation with the central states, comprising the United States and Western Europe. And that the only way to confront them--according to al-Qa'ida's theory--is by taking the war from the outlying states to the central states, in which case, the damage and consequences of this damage will all take place in the central states. The story isn't unrestrained violence as the media of many states portrays it. No, never! There is a theory that it is a must to take the battle from the outlying states to the central states, for the central states to bear the consequences of this confrontation, instead of us bearing their wars on our soil. Then, and only then, will the central states look at the outlying states and start evaluation things to a calmer and more objective way, which will motivate it to negotiation and mutual understanding with the outlying states. If, on the other and, the Islamic Ummah leaves the affairs to the central states--the Americans and the Anglo-Saxons in Europe--then the Islamic world will continue to be under domination permanently and forever. Let us now apply this to the Arabian Peninsula. Let us apply this argument to the states of the Arabian Peninsula. The Arabian Peninsula is a very important part of the heart of every Muslim in the world. It has the Two Sanctuaries. It has the grave of the Messenger (peace and prayers be upon him), and has the Revered Ka'bah. It is the land of the Two Sanctuaries. We don't fear for our houses the way we fear for the land of the Two Sanctuaries. We fear for the land of the Two Sanctuaries more than we fear for our houses, because our destiny is there. You understand how? That's why it should be pointed out that in the land of the Two Sanctuaries, the supreme hand in all affairs should be for the Muslims, and not the central states. And this can only be achieved, if the will of the Messenger (peace and prayers be upon him) is executed, 'Expel the polytheists from the Arabian Peninsula.' The Messenger (peace and prayers be upon him) was on his deathbed with his Companions around him saying, 'Advise us, O Messenger of Allah, advise us.' His reply: 'expel the polytheists from the Arabian Peninsula and you will be safe.' That is, if you expel them, you will enjoy safety and security. But come along, let us look at the Arabian Peninsula today: what is happening on it today? What is happening is that with every day that passes and every sun that rises, the more the polytheists take control of the Arabian Peninsula. Now there are cities being built on the Arabian Peninsula to take in communities and migrations of these Latin and Anglo-Saxon polytheists. And there will come a day when we will bite our fingers in regret because we were the ones who opened up this Arabian Peninsula to them, and we were the ones who prepared these homes for them, and we were the ones who built skyscrapers on the Gulf coast for them. And in particular, the Islamic movement on the Arabian Peninsula is entrusted with confronting this problem: The problem of stopping this polytheistic march to reside in the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council."

(Al-Zawahiri) "And the long-term plan is divided into two halves: The first half consists of earnest, diligent work, to change these corrupt and corruptive regimes. I am unable here to offer a single prescription for change to every country, because every country has its own circumstances and conditions. But work for change has some general characteristics, most important of which is patience at the length of the path, and then patience at the harm the Mujahideen will meet on the path, seeking reward from Allah and seeking His satisfaction alone, without glancing at the satisfaction or resentment of the creation. The second characteristic: striving to achieve popular sympathy for the Islamic Mujahid (Jihadist) movement for change. The third characteristics: force must be an element in change, and there must be work to achieve its means, whether this force will be put into practice in the form of a military coup, or in the form of a mass popular uprising or mass public disobedience to confront the corrupt and corruptive government, or in the form of guerilla warfare, or in the form of armed political resistance, or in other forms. Whatever its form, method and means, force remains a necessary element for bringing about change, when confronting the alliance of evil and repression to which I referred, after all paths to peaceful change have been blocked. The fourth characteristic that

the Ummah must get used to challenging falsehood, and declaring the truth in its face, even if that leads to sacrifice of wealth and self. The Truth, blessed and exalted is He, says, relating the advice of Luqman, on whom be peace, to his son, 'And enjoin goodness and forbid iniquity, and persevere through whatever may befall you. Lo, that is of the steadfast heart of things' (31:17).

"The fifth characteristic: there must be an organization and leadership leading change, guiding its progress and taking advantage of the opportunities which present themselves. I remember that I met with the struggler brother Adil Husayn, may Allah have mercy on him, before his death, and that he gave me -- among others -- three pieces of advice: He emphasized the necessity of unity between the Mujahideen, the necessity of focusing on striking Jewish and American interests, and the necessity of being ready for the moment when the present regime collapses, because it is a regime which has rotted to a degree which makes its collapse inevitable. But historic transformations can take a number of years, and the winner is the one who avails himself of the opportunity of change, and is prepared to capitalize on it. I ask Allah to reward him in the best way. As for the second half of the long-term plan, it consists of hurrying to the fields of jihad like Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia, for jihad preparation and training. Thus, it is a must to hurry to the fields of jihad for two reasons: The first is to defeat the enemies of the Ummah and repel the Zionist Crusade, and the second is for jihadi preparation and training to prepare for the next stage of the jihad. And I again emphasize that the Muslim Ummah must have awareness based on the constants of the Shari'ah and well-versed in the surrounding reality. And this awareness must be spread in its midst, especially since the Ummah is currently facing a deceptive propaganda war from the Americans and their agents. We must not surrender to their deceptions, but must confront all their lies. And it's a war in which they are doomed to failure. In fact, they have already failed, by the grace and guidance of Allah, despite the huge disparity between the capabilities of the vanguard of the Muslim Ummah and the capabilities of the Jewish-Crusader armies of deception and falsehood.

(Abd-al-Bari Atwan) "He has created a political empire, through his forming of a media empire. If you turn on all the television sets of the world now, you will find that Usama bin Ladin's picture is on them, in Latin America, in Europe, on CNN, in Britain, in Southeast Asia. This media empire proves that the man has a strategic vision for political action, and a strategic vision for media action, and in my opinion, he has been able to achieve a major success, which no one in the world has achieved before him. Ok, these are Shaykhs with beards - as Allah willed-using technology and defeating America on the Internet and defeating it in the media, this is unprecedented. That is regardless of whether we sympathize with this organization or not: we're just analyzing.

"Dr. Thomas Friedman said -- and the words are not mine -- that the tool of globalization which the liberals and many other, among them Fukuyama and Brzezinski, had advertised and said that they would change the world with it, al-Qa'ida Organization has been able to employ in the best way the tools of globalization. How has it employed them? It has employed them in an important cause, which is the employment of the technology of the Internet and summarized information, and what is called the virtual organization, and has been able to lead the youth. There may be some important remarks, which we can make about the ideology of this group, but it has been able to lead the youth because its mechanism of information management is good. These are for the most part Thomas Friedman's words. As our beloved Shaykh Salman said, 'those who want to build their nations have not been able to overcome this difficulty, and employ these numerous masses through good information management, and foundations headed by sincere leaders, leading the masses to lessen the authority of the dictator, whoever this dictator is.'"

(Al-Zawahiri) "We must also awaken in the hearts of the Ummah, the spirit of resistance and jihad; and confrontation of aggression, oppression and tyranny and firmness on the truth; and rejection of the culture of concession and methodology of backtracking, which has led some to abandon the government of the Shari'ah and concede four-fifths of Palestine. And here, I turn to my brothers the Mujahideen in HAMAS and the rest of the Muslim nation in Palestine, who are receiving the missiles of the Jews with their chests and the stabs of the spies of Fatah in their backs. I turn to them and tell them: Be steadfast on the Truth which your Lord sent down on Muhammad, peace be upon him, for victory is from Allah. And life in nothing but a few moments and then you will meet your Lord. So make sure that you meet Him unchanged. And I tell them: your leadership abandoned the government of the Shari'ah and agreed to democracy. Then (it) abandoned democracy and agreed to a third of the government, and conceded four-fifths of Palestine. So did all that do you any good? Did the Israeli crimes stop? Was the economic blockade lifted? Did the flow of American and Egyptian aid and weapons to the traitors who waded in your blood stop? My Mujahideen brothers in Palestine, listen to the advice of someone compassionate and experienced: it is a Crusader-Zionist plot to abort the resistance, and emerge with a farcical solution to the tragedy of Palestine, to deceive the Muslim Ummah and say that America solved the issue of Palestine, so what need is there to fight it, and wage jihad against it? If the Americans truly wanted to give the Palestinians something, they would have given it to Arafat, who conceded everything before they killed him by poisoning. So will the Crusaders and Jews give to HAMAS what they didn't give to Arafat? Therefore, you must pause honestly and sincerely for the sake of Allah to review the past, clarify the present and rectify the future. 'And lose not heart, nor fall in despair, for you must gain mastery if you are truly believers. If a wound touched you, be sure a similar wound has touched the (other) people. And those are the days (of varying fortunes) We give to people by turns, that Allah may know those that believe and that He may take for Himself from your ranks witnesses (martyrs), and Allah does not like those that do wrong. And that Allah may prove those who believe, and may blight the disbelievers, or did you think that you would enter Paradise, while Allah doesn't yet know those of you who really strive, or know those who are steadfast?' (3:139-142).

"And know that the entire Ummah is with you, and that your brothers the Mujahidin are on their way to you, and that the fraternity of Islam, ties of faith and bonds of jihad which connect you and them have been knotted by Allah in His Book. So how can anyone possibly take them apart? 'And (as for the believers), He has attuned their hearts, if you had spent all that is in the earth, you could not have attuned their hearts, but Allah has attuned them. Lo! He is Mighty Wise' (8:63).

"And let your loyalty to Allah, His Messenger and the believers be superior to, more important than and stronger than your loyalty to an organization or leadership. So pause honestly and repair the deviation which overtook the march, and seek your reward from Allah. 'If you help Allah, He will help you, and plant your feet firmly' (47:7). The martyr of Islam, Shaykh Abdallah Azzam, may Allah have mercy on him, says, 'The pledge is always to observe righteousness and piety, because it is a covenant to cooperate in righteousness and piety, and pledging to commit sin and aggression is not permitted, like those who make a private covenant then after a while it is asked of the pledger that he carry out some deeds which Allah isn't pleased with and the Shari'ah doesn't endorse, like boycotting so-and-so, and spying on so-and-so, and searching for the faults of others. 'And it is not permissible for anyone to use a pledge as an excuse for preventing the pledger from performing a righteous deed laid down by the Book and the Sunnah, like jihad in Allah's path for example, as the pledge would then turn into a pledge to commit sin, 'and obedience is in goodness and there is no obedience to a created being in disobedience to the Creator' (Koranic verse). As for the leadership of HAMAS, I tell them to return to the truth, for you will only get something worse than what Arafat got. Arafat was a

secularist closer to the West and Jews than you are. So ponder his fate, to find out what you will get. And here I ask the Muslim Brothers (Brotherhood) and their Guide Muhammad Mahdi Aakif, a frank, clear question which demands frank, clear answer: what is the stance of the Muslim Brothers (Brotherhood) towards the Arab peace initiative, with what it includes in terms of conceding four-fifths of Palestine, and sidestepping the right of return? And what is their stance regarding what news agencies attributed to Abd-al-Mun'im Abu al-Futtuh, member of the office of guidance, who is quoted as having called for the setting up of a bipartite secular state in Palestine? I request the General Guide of the Muslim Brothers (Brotherhood) to declare his opinion in all frankness about what Dr. Sa'ad al-Katatni told BBC radio: that the solution to the issue of Palestine is in the setting up of two states in Palestine: one Palestinian and one Israeli. And I hope that he doesn't respond to me by saying that al-Katatni didn't say that, because his voice was broadcast on BBC radio this past April 7 th. These are clear questions, which must be replied to with clear and frank answers. And I request the Muslim Brothers to declare in all frankness their stance towards respect for the international resolutions, and Arab summit resolutions which concede four-fifths of Palestine and recognize the state of Israel. Why do the Muslim Brothers (Brotherhood) refrain from revealing their stance towards this critical issue, which is one of the most serious of the Muslim Ummah's issues, whereas they discuss at length the minutest details of other matters? At the same time, I call on the fighters of Fatah and ask them: Why are you fighting and killing the Mujahideen in HAMAS? Why are you obeying leaders whom you know are spies for Israel? Don't you know that between you and your meeting your Lord is one bullet, which could come at any moment? How will you reply to your Lord? when you are fighting under a secular banner which is unaffiliated with Islam and is satisfied with less than a fifth of Palestine? Have you prepared an answer for that situation, as you see your brothers being snatched from your midst by death every second? Return to your religion, your Islam, your honor and your Arabness (Arabism), and unite with your brothers in HAMAS against the Jews and their agents.

"And this moves me to address all Arab nationalists, to ask them: 'where to?' You renounced Islam in order to help the Arabs, but you lost both Islam and Arabness (Arabism). So what remains for you of your nationalist project? When your role model, Abdel Nasser, took over Egypt, its borders stretched from the Mediterranean coast to the borders of Uganda, but by the time he died, Sudan had seceded, the Sinai had been occupied, and he had conceded Palestine by approving Resolution 242. Your pivotal cause was sold out by your nationalist brothers in Oslo and what came after. And Qaddafi has turned his back on Arabism and the Arabs, so what rubble remains for you? Isn't it time for you to ask yourselves: who is today defending your lands in Iraq? Aren't they the Muslim Mujahideen? Isn't it time for you to return to your religion, your Islam and your creed, the creed of honor, freedom and dignity, which is confronting the strongest and fiercest Crusade in history?

"I also turn to the Kurdish nationalists, to tell them: you claimed that you liberated the Kurds from the occupation of the nationalist Ba'th, but you actually took the Kurds from one occupation to another. You took them from the Ba'thist occupation to the Crusader-Zionist occupation. And here is your president Talibani, this past May 12 th requesting the Congress to extend the stay of American forces for two more years. Talibani and his like want to take you from fanatical secularist Ba'thist oppression to hateful Crusader-Zionist oppression, and you will never achieve your freedom, and will never be able to make independent decisions, instead you will be like the banana republics, which live like parasites on the scraps of the West. I tell my brothers, the Kurds: you are the protectors of the Muslim Ummah throughout history, so don't allow anyone to pollute this history. And I tell them: we understand your suffering, and your brothers the Mujahideen are the closest people to you, so be understanding with them (agree with them), because their hearts and minds are open to you. In closing, I tell my Muslim

Ummah: don't despair and don't worry, but be encouraged and optimistic, and don't submit or surrender, but resist and wage jihad, for victory is near and the conquest is at hand. But who will pay the price? We ask Allah to help us to pay it. And our final prayer is that all praise is due to Allah, Lord of the worlds, and may peace and prayers be on our master Muhammad, and upon his family and companions."