

Political Actors and Boundaries In The Public Proclamations
Of Osama Bin Laden

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This study examines the ideology of Osama bin Laden and how it is transmitted in his statements to motivate, maintain, and unite political actors. Using Charles Tilly's politics of collective violence theory, a social interaction perspective, bin Laden is viewed as a political entrepreneur. As such, he organizes and represents constituencies of the organization he founded, al-Qaeda, through setting boundaries, sharing stories, and establishing social relations within and across boundaries (Tilly 2003: 29-32). I use the interpretive approach of William Gamson's collective action frame theory to compliment Tilly's perspective. The collective action frame components of injustice, agency, and identity were used to evaluate bin Laden's statements. The data used for this study was 24 public proclamations made by Osama bin Laden between 1994 and 2004, derived from *Messages to The World: The Statements of Osama bin Laden* (Lawrence 2005).

Manifest (quantitative) and latent (qualitative) content analyses were used to analyze these statements. Latent content analysis examined the intersections of Tilly's and Gamson's concepts, providing insight as to how bin Laden separates and maintains boundaries through his statements. Manifest content analysis further revealed the identity of political actors, separated into categories of "us" and "them" based upon Gamson's injustice and agency components. God was the most frequently referenced "us" actor in bin Laden's messages, which further exemplifies the religious context of bin Laden's messages. America was the most frequently mentioned "them" actor. Actors in the "us" category were referenced much more than "them" actors. There were no clear trends found in the graphed index scores which probably means bin Laden reacts and responds to events as they occur. Thus, it could be concluded that events of injustice are used as an opportunity to motivate Muslims to commit to jihad.

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Chapter 1

Problem and Perspective

Over the last few decades there has been a rise in the level of collective violence in the Middle East with some of the groups claiming responsibility including Hezbollah, Hamas, and al-Qaeda. Suicide campaigns are a common technique of these organizations embodying a similar goal to expel foreign military forces that they perceive to be occupying their homelands (Pape 2005: 38). Much of this violence in the Middle East is traceable to the influence of Osama bin Laden (OBL) and al-Qaeda. As the leader of al-Qaeda, bin Laden coordinates activities, motivates and mobilizes members, and recruits new members to join the organization. In his statements us-versus-them distinctions are defined for al-Qaeda members and sympathizers through a religious ideology that some call Islamic radicalism. Bin Laden accepts responsibility, praises, and acts as a motivator in providing incentives for attacks in his public proclamations. In a statement released February 11, 2003, just weeks before the U.S. invasion of Iraq, he advised the Iraqi people to pursue “martyrdom operations” against the invaders. This call appears to have been adopted by the Sunni resistance in 2003 (Lawrence 2005: 179). Al-Qaeda has also had a direct role in the Iraq war. Al-Zarqawi was the leader of al-Qaeda *jihadi* operations in Iraq before being killed in a U.S. military operation in June 2006 (Bergen 2006: xviii, 364).

The following study involves the examination of 24 public proclamations made by Osama bin Laden between 1994 and 2004. Using the theoretical

perspectives of Charles Tilly (2003), William Gamson (1992), and James Coleman (1990), this study attempts to develop a more complete understanding of Osama bin Laden's ideology. Applying both objectivist and interpretive approaches and using quantitative along with qualitative methods may allow for a better understanding of the meaning expressed in these messages. Using this broad approach allowed for the derivation of political identities, their frequency of reference, and bin Laden's categorization of individuals or groups as "just" or "unjust" political actors. I also seek to provide the historical context in which these statements were made to better interpret their meanings. In sum, this study is concerned with illuminating the ideology expressed by Osama bin Laden and how he motivates others, acting as the political entrepreneur of a movement that advocates the use of violence for the solution of perceived problems.

Perspective

Numerous books that have been recently published criminalize, demonize, or marginalize al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden. Without being exhaustive these books include: *Al-Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terror* (Burke 2003), *Future Jihad: Terrorist Strategies Against America* (Phares 2005), and *Osama Bin Laden: America's Enemy in His Own Words* (Hamud 2005). These books embody an ethnocentric bias that mimics the corporate media, American public, and United States government vision of who Osama bin Laden is and how he should be viewed. On the other side of the argument, however, is the empathizer who is most likely to

be found in the Islamic world who sees bin Laden as a freedom fighter and pious Muslim.

Deviance is socially constructed through a conflict that emerges between superior and subordinate groups. The behavior of subordinate groups becomes defined as deviant by those holding the power to define normative violations (Ben-Yehuda 1990: 48). Critical criminology and postmodernist perspectives allow for a different kind of evaluation, an evaluation that does not accept the labels and definitions of legal/intellectual authorities and hierarchies (Ferrell 1998: 64-5). This study adheres to this alternative approach and avoids the use of labels that are often used in sociological and criminological research (Barak 1998: 35).

Words such as deviance and deviant are terms created by an authority, meaning the elites in power and reinvented by intellectual, criminal justice agents, and people in general to maintain the status quo. Taking a page from conflict theory, this study is making an attempt to avoid politically loaded terms. Terminology used to represent political actors in this study attempts to avoid politically motivated references. This will lead to the development of an understanding of the meanings and ideologies of a social movement transformed by the leadership of a political entrepreneur. Social movements such as al-Qaeda have been marginalized by researchers as perpetrators of violence (Ferrell 1998: 67). My approach in this study is not to dramatize evil or to marginalize or stigmatize Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda.

The Terrorist Identity (Arena and Arrigo 2006) is one example as to how labeling interferes with the objective study of political actors and entrepreneurs. The use of the term “terrorist” in the title already establishes the authors’ perspective of a negative evaluation of their subject matter. In the book’s introduction there is much focus on judging a group’s acts and identity as wrong so that the actual study purpose becomes lost as does the opportunity for unbiased social research. In understanding social movements, it is important to consider a group’s culture and ideology. This book starts out with a goal to inform society and its understanding of how “terrorist identities are created, embraced, and maintained,” while further adding how these identities “...influence the behavior of members in a militant extremist subculture” (Arena and Arrigo 2006: 5). The authors to some extent acknowledge their labeling and study bias in explaining their attempt to go beyond the vilification and demonization of the groups under study but in this same sentence they continue to recognize the “vile acts” of these groups while referring to them as “terrorists” (Arena and Arrigo 2006: 6).

Journal articles are not immune from this sort of research bias either. An article titled, “Evil and the Instigation of Collective Violence” (Mandel 2002) published in *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* provides an example. Mandel labels political actors such as Osama bin Laden and George W. Bush as instigators. He examines the importance of “instigators” and how they are involved in motivating the perpetrators of collective violence. Mandel observes that “instigators” like Osama bin Laden like to use words and frame violence for

perpetrators or targets in a way that violence is seen to be a moral obligation or duty. Religious duty is often applied in such cases. The name of God is invoked in an effort to master the will of perpetrators in order to serve the purpose of the “instigator” (Mandel 2002: 101-5).

Though the terminology of “instigator” may be appropriate, given that bin Laden labeled himself one in a Times interview conducted on December 23, 1998, but Mandel’s explanation of instigator is flawed (Mandel 2002: 103). Mandel argues that political entrepreneurs have a vision of violence and in order to carry through with this they use religion as a source of motivation. As a result, Osama bin Laden is portrayed as a warmonger who has had only one goal and that is to “instigate” collective violence. His religious pronouncements are only a means to this end. Mandel gives an overview of the current conflict between President Bush and Osama bin Laden while avoiding the exploration of the conflict in a historical context. Though it has a biased focus, this journal article strengthens collective violence literature in observing the language used by political actors.

Labeling and snapshot representations of political actors and the groups or social movements that they are part of is not limited to al-Qaeda or Islamic groups. The Christian Identity movement in the United States has been similarly labeled deviant. Christian Identity provides a good comparison to al-Qaeda because of their similar religious ideology that God is an actor who motivates their movement and their practice of separating themselves from Jews and people of color (Ferber 1998: 56-7, 120-1). As Ferber points out, a lot of Christian movements that are labeled

fundamentalist or extremist share similar goals. In the United States, for example, the Identity Christians and Black Nationalists have a common goal to separate the races geographically. Both groups want an all-white nation allowing them to share the common interest of white nationalism (Ferber 1998: 49).

Biases of labeling and de-contextualization, are similarly true for the Christian Identity movement. One example is presented in *Rebellion, Racism, and Religion: American Militias* (Abanes 1996). In the chapter on Christian Identity, Abanes states:

Religion has been used for thousands of years to mask hate and prejudice. "Spirituality" still serves as a convenient excuse for violence and other forms of antisocial behavior. All that is needed is a little false piety coupled with liberal doses of self-induced ignorance and blind devotion to "the truth." Even the most loathsome attitudes and barbarous acts can be attributed to "serving God" (Abanes 1996: 154).

By such a remark, the author is clearly steeped in judgment and not concerned with objective study or understanding the ideology of the organization or its leaders. The historical significance and geographical locations of the Christian Identity Movement are only given after the author deliberately castigates the group with the quotation that was stated above (Abanes 1996: 154-5). Implying that religion and spirituality serve as a tool used for the perpetration of violence and a rationality of

hate is a prejudice exercised by the author. Furthermore, Abanes use of the words “serving God” to make a point concerning actions and attitudes that are “barbarous” and “loathsome” may be an accurate description of the quote in question, rather than the belief system of the group. To reduce religious beliefs to cynical deceptions that motivate violence contributes to a lack of a cultural perspective or understanding of the difference between religious ideology and it’s direct or indirect influence on the perpetration of violence.

Treating religion as a general category can be problematic for it dismisses culture, history, and different beliefs within religious groups that people maintain. For example, Islam is a generalized term in itself that does not embrace differences in sect and differences resulting from economic and historical influences. Classical Islam maintains that church and state are one as compared to modern versions of Islam where the two are separate (Lewis 1988: 2-4). This distinction is important. If church and state comprise a single institution, a nation’s actions are religious acts. In this perspective, there is no difference between political beliefs and behavior and religious beliefs and behavior.

Examining the sectarian divisions of Islam, the initial break of the Shi’ia from Sunnis was caused by differences concerning the succession to leadership of the Islamic umma¹ after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 A.D. (Nasr 2003:

¹ Umma is the Arabic term meaning the universal Islamic community.

10-1). The Sunnis argued that the four “guided” caliphs² should succeed in power (Bahgat 2005: 156). They believed it was required of the successor of Islam to preserve Islamic borders and public order, while acting as judge and ruler of the community, and protector of the shari’a (Islamic law) (Nasr 2003: 11-2). The Shi’ia believed that only descendants of the Prophet should rule the Islamic community. Therefore, the line of succession should begin with Ali Ibn Abu-Taleb, the son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet (Bahgat 2005: 156). *Imam* is the Arabic term that is used by shi’ites for the successor who is the descendant of the Prophet. According to the Shi’ia, an Imam is believed to have the ability to interpret Islamic law and the Qur’an being that he is chosen by God and his messenger (Nasr 2003: 12). Today, Shi’ia represent about eleven percent of the Muslim population in the world, while the Sunnis remain the dominant sect of Islam (Bahgat 2005: 156). This historic sectarian divide has resulted in less social and economic opportunities for the Shi’ia, and today they remain politically marginalized in many countries. This being said, the importance of culture, referring to the social conditions and materials and how they are responded to or socially organized can not be underestimated; research based on blatant ethnocentric assumptions and perspectives should be avoided (Jefferson 2004: 30).

Another group commonly referred to as a terrorist group is the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The Protestant-Catholic sectarian conflict between Ireland

² The term caliph—*khalifa* in Arabic—means “successor.”

and Great Britain is in some respects similar to the sectarian divide found between Sunni and Shi'ia Islamic groups in Iraq. Though the North Ireland conflict is between two countries, the violence perpetrated by the IRA is often displaced. Whittaker (2001) provides a somewhat fair perspective of the conflict. However, he consistently labels acts as terror reflected in the title of his book, *The Terrorist Reader*. His inflammatory perspective undermines any scientific neutrality (Whittaker 2001: 89-107). Terrorism is consistently used to describe violence that perpetrated by a group other than the group that controls the labeling process. Daniel Byman's definition of terrorism clearly reflects this: "politically motivated violence by sub-national groups deliberately targeting noncombatants, designed to produce far-reaching psychological effects" (Byman 2007).

Terminology creates bias for both the researcher and the reader. I will not be labeling Osama bin Laden a terrorist or a freedom fighter, although this study will involve politics and the political use of language that condemns certain actors while rallying others to a cause. My objective will be to study this field of social activity using concepts and terminology that does not take sides. This is why I have chosen the word "jihadi" to represent al-Qaeda and related groups and persons. A jihadi group has an interest to perform, understand, and abide by *jihad*. There is no simple interpretation of the Arabic word jihad but it will be defined here by its religious meaning in Islam. According to Bernard Lewis, jihad can be understood as a military obligation of Muslims or as an internal moral and spiritual struggle. As Lewis

discusses the term in the following passage, the external meaning predominates in Islamic writings:

...[jihad is] an Arabic word with the literal meaning of “effort,” “striving,” or “struggle.” In the Qur’an and still more in the Traditions, commonly though not invariably followed by the words “in the path of God,” it has usually been understood as meaning “to wage war.” The great collections of hadith [Traditions of the Prophet] all contain a section devoted to jihad, in which the military meaning predominates. The same is true of the classical manuals of shari’a law. There were some who argued that jihad should be understood in a moral and spiritual, rather than a military sense. Such arguments were sometimes put forward by Shi’ite theologians in classical times, and more frequently by modernizers and reformists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The overwhelming majority of classical theologians, jurists, and traditionalists, however, understood the obligation of jihad in a military sense, and have examined and expounded it accordingly (Lewis 1988: 72).

Lewis goes on to say that through revelation by God one of the basic commandments of faith is jihad, and this is part of Muslim teaching as an obligation that Muslims must uphold. The universality of this Muslim revelation is the

fundamental obligation of jihad (Lewis 1988: 73). God's audience in his words and messages is for all human beings and those who have accepted God have a duty to convert people to Islam. Jihad does not end until the Islamic state is in power; either people have accepted Islam, or they have submitted to the state. Until this date there are two realms, the House of War (dar al-harb), those who do not believe, and the House of Islam (dar al-Islam), the realm of Muslim believers under Muslim governance. There is an obligation of war between the two houses based on religion, morality and legality; a war that is believed will end in a victory for Islam. The termination of this war requires an Islamic victory. Therefore, as observed in Islamic law books,³ peace treaties do nothing but prolong the necessity of jihad (Lewis 1988: 73). Wahhabi⁴ Muslims as part of the Sunni puritanical movement view jihad as an

³ Not all Muslims want a Muslim theocracy, and while some scholars believe in secular law there are others who do not. There is also some contention between scholars concerning the meaning of jihad. Some scholars believe jihad is both an offensive and defensive obligation while others believe it to be primarily a defensive obligation (DeLong-Bas 2004).

⁴ Wahhabism, also known as *salafism*, is the dominant form of Islam in Qatar and Saudi Arabia. The Islamic movement takes its name from Muhammad ibn Abd al Wahhab (1703-92). Wahhabis believe they follow or represent the "pious predecessors" (*Salaf as-Salah*). In directly interpreting the words of Muhammad, Wahhabis are different from the traditionalist *sunni* who follow an Islamic legal tradition (*madhhab*). The fundamental texts of Wahhabism include the Qur'an and hadith. The movement is motivated to restore Islam to its original state of purity, free of heresy, idolatry, deviances, and innovations.

obligation of Islam. According to the Wahhabi, Muslims who abandon this duty are viewed as hypocrites and are liable for the destruction of Islam (Scwartz 2007: 113). After coming into power in 1964, al-Wahhab descendant, King Faisal bin Abdul Azziz appointed Wahabbi scholars over hajj (pilgrimage) activities and Islamic education in Saudi Arabia (Scwartz 2007: 112). Osama bin Laden was taught under the educational reforms of King Faisal; one of his teachers was Muhammad Qutb (Scwartz 2007: 116, Gunaratna 2002: 17). Similar to his mentor, Muhammad Qutb, bin Laden identifies and is greatly influenced by the scholarship of the Wahhabi scholar Ibn Taymiyya (Scwartz 2007: 121). Ibn Taymiyya's teachings are cited throughout bin Laden's statements providing Muslim historical relevance for his vision of global jihad (DeLong-Bas 2004: 273).

Bin Laden views jihad as an offensive and defensive military obligation of Muslims. The concept of jihad against a corrupt regime that bin Laden frequently refers to in his statements is inspired by Ibn Taymiyya (DeLong-Bas 2004: 273). Differences over the concept of jihad separate Wahhabi scholars Ibn Taymiyya and the founder Abd al-Wahhab. Unlike Abd al-Wahhab, who viewed jihad as a defensive action of Muslims, Ibn Taymiyya viewed it both an offensive and defensive action. Ibn Taymiyya believed persons who authorized innovations contrary to the Sunna and the Qur'an to be deviant and heretical Muslims. Jihad then, according to Ibn Taymiyya, was not only possible outside but also within *dar al-Islam*, the territory of Islam (DeLong-Bas 2004: 241, 250). Being educated by Muhhammad Qutb, bin Laden was also influenced by the teachings of Wahhabi scholar Sayyid Qutb. Bin

Laden and Sayyid Qutb share in common the belief that Islam is being conspired against towards its destruction through the practices of Jews, Crusader-Zionists, and Christians. Bin Laden, like Sayyid Qutb, believed in order to create a righteous society, violence is a justified act. The glorification of martyrdom found in the teachings of Sayyid Qutb and Ibn Taymiyya also had a major impact on bin Laden's ideology (DeLong-Bas 2004: 273-5). According to Wahhabi belief, as related by Ibn Taymiyya and the official Saudi-annotated Qur'an, jihad is defined as a duty required of Muslims equal to that of the five pillars of Islam⁵ (Scwartz 2007 113, 120).

The leader of jihad has traditionally had the responsibility of leading or ruling the Muslim state (Lewis 1988: 73). As we will see this is somewhat problematic for bin Laden. In this study, Osama bin Laden will be observed to act as a political entrepreneur and as a promoter of jihad. This term of political entrepreneur is neutral and is used to describe a political actor who through social interaction organizes and coordinates organization and group ideology, and activities (Tilly 2003 29-30). The role of the political entrepreneur will be better understood once the ground work for this type of actor is reviewed in Tilly's collective violence theory. The political entrepreneur is an acceptable term to represent an individual and his/her ideology without demonizing the actor.

⁵ The five pillars of Islam include: the profession of faith, daily prayers, alms giving, fasting, and pilgrimage to the holy shrines in Saudi Arabia.

The present study is not intended to demonize, criminalize, lend support to, or place any kind of judgment on the political entrepreneur Osama bin Laden. In the pages above, I have shown that previous researchers have placed criminalizing and deviant labels on political entrepreneurs and organizations. Groups that advocate radical social change are often conceptualized as deviant or criminal rather than objectively studied. This type of research bias is an active process of stigmatizing groups around the world, whether it is al-Qaeda in the Islamic World, the IRA in Ireland, or the Christian identity movement in the United States. Using Tilly (2003) and Gamson (1992) I want to analyze statements made by Osama bin Laden, the leader of the *jihadi* group al-Qaeda. Using content analysis I will examine how the use of language as ideology helps to unite, maintain, and motivate political actors. This study is interested in the ideology of Osama bin Laden that maintains and orchestrates al-Qaeda and other members of contemporary Islamic movements.

Accompanying my use of Tilly's objectivist social interaction perspective, I will also use Gamson's perspective on collective action frames which offers a theoretical approach that is more interpretive. Tilly views political actors in ways that separate their positions with other political identities or organizations. Political actors such as agents of government and polity members make up a regime and these political entrepreneurs provide the organization and networking of this group (Tilly 2003: 30-3). Political entrepreneurs socially interact with their "regime" which provides direction as to the behavior of a group and how these actions will be framed through political identity elements that separate one group from another other (Tilly

2003: 30-2). Gamson's approach offers the researcher an interpretive analysis of the meanings and beliefs that produce the activities of social movements. Political entrepreneurs' discourse can be framed and examined in the way they use certain collective actions frames to motivate a social movement (Gamson 1992: 7). Focusing on the meanings behind actions allows for more understanding of the subjective activity of Osama bin Laden. While Tilly focuses more on types of organizations and how they work with one another, Gamson allows for an observation of content at the direct source of an organization's motivation and ideology, expressed and/or formed through the political entrepreneur.

In the final chapter of this research, there will be a brief summary of the theoretical perspective, procedure, and methods used in this study. Results from both qualitative and quantitative content analysis will then be reviewed. Discussion of these results will include several other interesting findings that were not discussed or discussed very little during analysis. The limitations of this study will then be evaluated in an attempt to discover ways to strengthen future studies of similar research. In conclusion, there will be an examination of opportunities for future research.

Chapter 2

Background

The statements that are under study cannot be properly evaluated without some idea of the contexts in which they were released (see Table 2.1 for a timeline on pages 41-2). By examining the contexts it is possible to see why certain trends develop over time across these statements. The environment that bin Laden is surrounded and affected by helps shape the formation of the ideology that he espouses. In the pages below I will examine bin Laden's activities and whereabouts between the years 1994 and 2004 and how they relate directly to each of the statements being analyzed in this study. This background will provide both a public and private examination of bin Laden during this ten year period. This contextualization of the statements allows for a more complete understanding of the political actor who is more likely to be remembered for one day in September than a decade of his life. Below is an examination of bin Laden's career and activities, an overview of the al-Qaeda organization, and a more specific contextualization of the statements themselves.

Osama bin Laden's Career and Activities

Born in 1957 in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Osama bin Laden was the seventeenth child of fifty-two in a family consisting of at least 300 individuals. In Saudi Arabia, bin Laden's father Muhammad bin Laden became the wealthy owner of the Saudi Bin Laden Group. The construction company would become wealthy and respected by the Saudi royals through its large contracts, one being the renovation of the Islamic

holy cities of Medina and Mecca (Gunaratna 2002: 16-7). It was bin Laden's intention to join the family business after attending King Abdulaziz University but he left early to return to a university in Jeddah. In Jeddah, he learned about the Muslim Brotherhood ideology through Abdullah Azzam and Muhammad Qutb (Gunaratna 2002: 17). When Muhammad bin Laden died in 1968, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia placed bin Laden's children under royal decree. Governed by a committee appointed by the King a trust was founded for Muhammad bin Laden's estate. It has been estimated that bin Laden inherited 200-300 million dollars from his family. However, Bergen estimates that his wealth was less, around 20 million during the two decade period beginning in 1973-4 (Bergen 2006: 10, Gunaratna 2002: 17). Unlike other members of the family who respected their father's wishes, Osama did not refrain from politics. Although Osama worked for the family business in 1973, he also developed a deep interest and devoted his resources toward Islamic activism. Osama left for Pakistan in 1979 when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan (Gunaratna 2002: 17). It was in Peshawar (Pakistan) that bin Laden was influenced by the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood stalwart Abdullah Azzam. In 1984, he and Osama formed the Afghan Service Bureau which recruited, trained, and financed the anti-Soviet resistance (Gunaratna 2002: 18).

A decade later, after the cold war and formation of al-Qaeda in 1988, bin Laden would begin to rise in the public spotlight as a legendary political entrepreneur (Hellmich 2005: 43). In 1994, in an attempt to reform the Saudi regime, bin Laden founded the Advice and Reformation Committee (Bergen 2006: 134). Al-Hawali and

al-Awdah are Saudi clerics that Osama looked up to and learned from. In September of 1994, they were arrested by Saudi authorities for protesting the U.S. occupation in Saudi Arabia. Bin Laden was greatly affected by the arrest of these scholars and he began to speak out against the Saudi regime (Bergen 2006: 149). By April his family would disown him and his Saudi citizenship would be stripped. Bin Laden moved to Khartoum, Sudan where his funding went dry as a result of his assets, being frozen by the Saudi government (Bergen 2006: 152-3). Due to the freeze on his assets the al-Qaeda organization underwent a small crisis between 1994 and 1995, when salaries were reduced and benefits were suspended (Bergen 2006: 154-5). In Sudan, running agricultural and other companies, he lived with hundreds of *jihad* members including the Egyptian *jihadi* leader Ayman al-Zawahiri (Bergen 2006: 125).

Al-Zawahiri was the leader of a jihadi cell in Egypt during the 1970s. In 1978 after attending Cairo University he received a Masters in surgery (Bergen 2006: xviii, 66). In 1981 he and hundreds of militants were imprisoned for the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. After his release in 1984, he moved from Saudi Arabia to build a jihadi organization in Peshawar, Pakistan. Bin Laden's split from Abdullah Azzam was at the recommendation of al-Zawahiri in their first meeting in 1986 (Bergen 2006: xviii, 64). Al-Zawahiri and his Egyptian Jihad organization launched attacks on Egyptian targets following a move to Sudan in the early 1990's. Then the move to Afghanistan led to the formation of an alliance between al-Qaeda and the Egyptian Jihad group by 1998 (Bergen 2006: xviii-xix). Al-Zawahiri has been noted as the main advisor and intellectual force behind bin Laden and al-Qaeda.

The organizational abilities of bin Laden have also been strengthened by having al-Zawahiri at his side (Bergen 2006: xviii, 197, Gunaratna 2002: 26). Al-Zawahiri has served as a physician for bin Laden since 1996 (Gunaratna 2006: 26). The need for a full time physician may be the result of low blood pressure or diabetes which can lead to the liver problems bin Laden is speculated to have (Bergen 2001: 57).

“Sheikh Osama” was a common name given to bin Laden by the youth who immigrated from all around the Arab world to Sudan. The title of sheikh helped to legitimate bin Laden’s authority as a Muslim scholar and spiritual leader (Bergen 2006: 150). As a resident of Sudan from 1994 to 1996, he would continue to criticize the Saudi government and official religious institutions. In an attempt to delegitimize the Saudi government, bin Laden referred directly to the American occupation of the country (Bergen 2006: 115). Late in 1994, members of the Islamic Takfiri group attempted to assassinate bin Laden in Sudan. They considered him a heretic. Bin Laden found out quickly that Sudan was no safe haven either, as several attempts were made on his life and the residents in Khartoum prayed for him to leave (Bergen 2006: 135-6).

While in Sudan, bin Laden formed camps to train jihadist fighters that he recruited from Somalia, Egypt, Algeria, and East Asia. In 1996 he would be pressured to leave by the Sudanese government, who were responding to pressure by the governments of the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt to expel or hand him over (Bergen 2006: 155-6). Bin Laden moved to Afghanistan. He likened this journey to the Prophet Muhammad’s abandonment with his followers of Mecca to

seek the safety of unproven supporters in Medina. In the Prophet's case, this flight (*hijra*) to safety in Medina was the critical event in the establishment of the new Islamic community (Lewis 1988: 105-6). After bin Laden's arrival in Afghanistan, he would develop a crucial bond with the Taliban leader Mullah Omar, and Afghanistan became the recruiting and training ground for al-Qaeda. (Bergen 2006: 161). On August 23, 1996, a few months after arriving in Afghanistan bin Laden declared war against the United States (Bergen 2006: 164-6).

Although al-Zawahiri influenced bin Laden and has aided him in multiple ways, it is thought that bin Laden also influenced al-Zawahiri. Offering protection through the Taliban, bin Laden advised the Egyptian Islamic Jihad members and al-Zawahiri to join forces with al-Qaeda in an alliance against Israel and the United States (Bergen 2006: 198). Zawahiri and bin Laden would officially align as one group in July of 2001 (Bergen 2006: 271).

In 1997, Peter Bergen of CNN television interviewed bin Laden in a meeting made possible by the Advice and Reformation Committee in London (Gunaratna 2002: 116). In the interview bin Laden cited several reasons for his declaration of war on the U.S. including: their continued presence in Saudi Arabia, support of Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, and sanctions placed on Iraq (Bergen 2006: 179-82). On February 23, 1998 bin Laden announced the formation of the World Islamic Front against Jews and the Crusaders (Lawrence 2005: 58). The U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed on August 7, 1998 by al-Qaeda operatives, killing two hundred and twelve. The attacks marked the eight year anniversary of the U.S.

occupation in Saudi Arabia (Gunaratna 2002: 46). Bin Laden was again in the news on August 20, 1998 when al-Qaeda training camps in Khost (Afghanistan) were fired upon by the U.S. Navy. Bin Laden was in Kabul during the attack (Bergen 2006: 224-7). It was back in 1996 when Khalid Sheikh Mohammad went to Tora Bora to discuss with bin Laden a plan concerning an aerial attack on buildings in the United States. The planning for 9/11 would follow several years later between 1998 and 1999 (Bergen 2006: 300-1).

On March 4, 1999, Abdul Hakim, a Taliban official, reported that bin Laden was told not to conduct military operations in Afghanistan (Bergen 2006: 234). Whether this was a ploy to create the appearance of a split between the Taliban and al-Qaeda is unclear, but countries that remained threatened by the organization continued to press the Taliban who had been harboring the organization. In July, the Taliban was placed under economic sanctions by the Clinton administration (Bergen 2006: 243-4). A conversation between a Yemeni and an Egyptian militant was intercepted on August 12, 2000. They were discussing a plot to use airplanes to attack the United States (Bergen 2006: 281). On October 12, 2000, al-Qaeda attacked the USS Cole. The attack was special to bin Laden because the USS destroyer was similar to the one that had attacked the Afghanistan camps with cruise missiles in August of 1998 (Gunaratna 2002: 140-1). Seventeen American sailors on the USS Cole were killed and bin Laden characterized the attacks as evidence that the United States was not invincible and that Muslims could attack successfully. One month

later, in Kandahar, he admitted responsibilities for the attack on the USS Cole (Bergen 2006: 251, 254-5).

Early in 2001 group leaders set out to find willing volunteers to conduct suicide missions against the United States. A promise was also given to the Moroccan Islamic Combat Group that al-Qaeda would provide training and assistance to them (Bergen 2006: 279, 286). In August 2001, bin Laden aired a videotape over the internet where he referred to the American government as being also the government of Israel. The correlation was drawn by bin Laden because he believed that Jews have extensive influence over the American political system (Bergen 2006: 290-1). On September 9, 2001 bin Laden ordered the assassination of Afghan commander Ahmed Shah Massoud. Two al-Qaeda members would execute the order which would give the Taliban more control in Afghanistan (Bergen 2006: 258, 295). On the morning of September 11, 2001 three commercial airplanes hijacked by al-Qaeda members-supporters were used as weapons to attack the World Trade Center buildings and the Pentagon.⁶ Approximately 3,000 people were killed in these well coordinated attacks. The World Trade towers and the Pentagon represented the financial and military power of the United States (Gunaratna 2002: 50-1). From the perspective of bin Laden and al-Qaeda, this was an attack against a nation that had occupied Arab land and killed Arab people.

⁶ Before it could complete its mission of attack, a fourth hijacked aircraft was forced to crash into a deserted Pennsylvania field because the passengers revolted and stormed the cockpit.

Initially, bin Laden claimed no responsibility for the attacks on 9/11, although he did praise them in a statement made on October 7, 2001. This was the same day that U.S. air strikes began against the Taliban in Afghanistan after the United States had asked them to extradite bin Laden. On November 12, 2001, the country fell to the Northern Alliance led by U.S. forces (Bergen 2006: 312, 317-8, 322). Bin Laden was believed to have moved to Tora Bora, Afghanistan in December of 2001. There is some speculation the he was injured there during a military altercation, as one side of his body appeared motionless in a video released on December 26/27, 2001. He took this occasion to emphasize that the cause of jihad was more important than the lives of himself or his followers (Bergen 2006: 332, 370). On November 12, 2002, Al-Jazeera broadcasted a video of bin Laden where he questioned the American coalition in Afghanistan and their goals. On February 14/16, 2003 bin Laden released a statement seeking to avenge and reverse the 1916 Sykes-Picot agreement⁷ (Bergen 2006: 372-3).

In 2003, bin Laden focused most of his attention on Iraq. In October he called on Muslims to attack coalition members, and then followed up by thanking the Iraqi

⁷ Following World War I, the French and British governments on May 16, 1916 secretly defined their spheres of control and influence on the Ottoman Empire (now the Middle East). Control of Jordan, Iraq, and Haifa was allocated to Britain while the control of Lebanon, Syria, Northern Iraq, and Southeast Turkey was allocated to France. Under the agreement the area known as Palestine was to be administrated internationally. Italy and Russia would later be included in the agreement extending the sphere of European influence and control over Armenia, Kurdistan, and Anatolia.

people for conducting jihad against the coalition (Bergen 372-5). In an attempt to get European governments to leave Afghanistan and Iraq, bin Laden offered a truce to these governments on April 14/15, 2004. Then on May 6, 2004 he called for the assassination of U.S. officials in Iraq, including Ambassador Paul Bremer (Bergen 2006: 373-4, 352). Bin Laden admitted his involvement in the 9/11 attacks in a video that aired on al-Jazeera television on October 29, 2004. The attacks were made in response to America's foreign policy, he said, and he denied the allegations by President Bush that the hijackers were targeting America's freedom (Bergen 2006: 378). Bin Laden viewed the American invasion of Iraq as an attempt to steal the country's oil. In his statement released on December 16, 2004 he called for Iraqi's oil industry to be sabotaged to prevent its exploitation by the United States and its allies (Bergen 2006: 352). On December 27, 2004, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi was welcomed into al-Qaeda by bin Laden (Bergen 2006: 364-5).

Al-Zarqawi left his home country of Jordan in 1989 to fight in the battle of Khost (Afghanistan). In 1993, after his return to Jordan he founded the jihadi group, al-Tawhid. After plotting an attack on Israel he was imprisoned from 1994 to 1999 in Jordan (Bergen 2006: xviii). Until 2002, al-Tawhid was not interested in attacking the United States; rather the organization was concerned with conducting campaigns against Israel (Bergen 2006: 356). Returning to Afghanistan, al-Qaeda assisted al-Zarqawi in establishing a camp in Afghanistan near Iran (Bergen 2006: 352). He became the lead man for al-Qaeda in Iraq in 2004. His relationship with bin Laden became stronger through communication on the internet, after the 2003 U.S.

occupation of Iraq. Al-Zarqawi was killed on June 8, 2006 by a U.S. led air strike. It is unknown if bin Laden lives on in secrecy or has since perished; therefore, his future legacy as a political entrepreneur remains unknown.

Overview of al-Qaeda

Al-Qaeda, the international organization that bin Laden founded, was created in an attempt to unite and guide the activities of a variety of Islamic groups. The Arabic term that represents these Islamic groups is translated in English as “The Base” (Hellmich 2005: 43). Its establishment in 1988 followed the collaboration between Abdullah Azzam and Wahhabi-oriented Osama bin Laden during the war against the USSR in Afghanistan (Hellmich 2005: 43). Although, Abdullah Azzam taught bin Laden at King Abdulaziz University, the two individuals advocated distinct goals following the group’s unification. Jihad came to mean something different for each man (Gunaratna 2002: 17, Bergen 2006: 74). Azzam advocated reclamation of Muslim lands, such as Afghanistan and Palestine. Bin Laden wanted to wage jihad for the overthrow of ‘apostate’ governments throughout the Muslim world. The division is thought to have played a big part in Azzam’s assassination by unknown assailants one year after the founding of al-Qaeda (Bergen 2006: 74). Al-Zawahri and his movement joined al-Qaeda noting that a common external enemy was responsible for the lack of achievement experienced by Islamic groups in their respective countries (Hellmich 2005: 43).

Formed in Afghanistan, al-Qaeda would be mainly composed of Arabs who were part of the *mujahidin* that fought against the Soviet Union. Training camps and

funding were provided to the mujahidin by the United States, Saudi Arabia, and the European nations during the cold war with the Soviet Union (Gunaratna 2002: 55). The restoration of the Islamic Caliphate was bin Laden's supreme goal, but as the leader of a diverse Islamic social movement he developed other goals, such as assisting victimized Muslims (in Bosnia and Chechnya) and overthrowing apostate rulers in the Muslim world (especially in Egypt and Saudi Arabia). In 1994, al-Qaeda faced its first big obstacle when Middle Eastern governments including Saudi Arabia and Egypt turned against the organization (Gunaratna 2002: 55). Although these governments pressured al-Qaeda, Osama bin Laden remained the group's leader. He was able to train, recruit, and retain authority through public pronouncements that helped to define relationships between the group and other local and global organizations (Gunaratna 2002: 56-7).

Concerning the organization itself, al-Qaeda is unique because of its cell-like structure. It is an organization made up of cells each one having its own communication structure, control, and command (Gunaratna 2002: 57). These "loose coalitions" can disband if Al-Qaeda's security is compromised or join together for concerted attacks. The organization combines financial, technical, and human resources to advance a common goal (Gunaratna 2002: 57). This type of structure allows independent leadership to be exercised in each cell, and the position of a lost leader is usually filled quickly. Bin Laden, the supreme leader of the group, appoints individuals for important positions, such as membership on the consultative council. While the group is a global movement for jihad, appointments and promotions are

based upon nationality and friendship as well as family ties (Gunarantna 2002: 57). The organization is even further defined by its four operational committees each having their own function and led by an Emir (Prince). These four operational committees are: media and publicity, *fatwa* (legal/judicial decree) and Islamic study, finance and business, and military (Gunarantna 2002: 57).

Al-Qaeda has been accused of and has admitted to committing numerous attacks throughout the world in pursuing its goals. Between 1995 and 1996, two Military bases were attacked in Saudi Arabia, the first in Riyadh killing five and the second in Dhahran killing 19 (Pape 2005: 258). In 1997, the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya were attacked claiming the lives of 212 people (Bergen 2006: 219). In 2000, the attack on the USS Cole in Yemen killed 17 sailors (Bergen 2006: 251). Al-Qaeda's most infamous attack occurred on September 11, 2001. The airplane attacks on the World Trade Center buildings and the Pentagon took nearly 3,000 lives (Bergen 2006: 283). Why so many attacks? This question may best be answered by evaluating the ideology of the group's leader and the context in which his statements were made. In 2001, al-Zawahiri, bin Laden's closest associate, defended al-Qaeda's violent activities: "It is a battle of ideologies, a struggle for survival, and a war with no truce" (Bergen 2006: 392).

Osama bin Laden's Statements and Their Contexts

Statement 1: 12/29/1994

The first statement is a letter addressed to bin Baz, Saudi Arabia's foremost judicial authority. He issued two *fatwa*'s endorsing King Fahd. One *fatwa* authorized

Operation Desert Shield in August 1990 and the other authorized Operation Desert Storm in January 1991. These decrees allowed Muslims to participate in the Iraq invasion and U.S. Troops to deploy. In July 1992 a document known as the "Memorandum of Advice" relating the opinion of 107 Wahhabi clerics was sent to King Fahd. The document stated that permitting American troops on Saudi soil has resulted in human rights abuses and corruption (Lawrence 2005: 3). Subsequently, Safar al-Hawali and Salman al-Auda were thrown into jail by Saudi authorities in 1994. The two sheikhs were important figures in Osama bin Laden's life. (Lawrence 2005: 3, Bergen 2006: 149). In 1994 bin Laden was stripped of his Saudi citizenship and founded the "Advice and Reform Committee" in response to the *sahwa* (religious awakening) repression taking place in Saudi Arabia (Lawrence 2005: 4, Bergen 2006: 134, 152-3). The Oslo accords peace agreement endorsed by bin Baz in August of 1993, between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel, is another of bin Laden's main criticisms. He refers to these accords as an overt example of regime politics coming before the *umma* and God. He also criticized the imprisonment of the devout scholars' discussed above and the regime's failure to uproot communism in Yemen (Lawrence 2005: 4).

Statement 2: 1995/1996

In this message bin Laden directs his attention to the "honorable Islamic scholars" of the Arab world. The American occupation in the Arabian Peninsula is viewed in the historical context as an unprecedented calamity to befall upon the *umma*. Apostate scholars and rulers of the Saudi regime who have collaborated with

the West are responsible for this defilement of the holy land. Bin Laden calls for believers to wage jihad against the umma's enemies (Lawrence 2005: 15, Bergen 2006: 115).

Statement 3: 8/23/1996

Osama bin Laden issues a fatwa in this message authorizing a jihad against Americans, mainly a response to their continuing presence in Saudi Arabia (Lawrence 2005: 23, Bergen 2006: 164-6). This statement follows his May 1996 arrival in Afghanistan. This move was the result of American, Egyptian, and Saudi Arabia pressure on the Sudanese government who subsequently requested bin Laden's departure from Khartoum, Sudan (Lawrence 2005: 23, Bergen 2006: 155-6). In the message he calls for the Saudi regime to be indicted, while blaming the United States and United Nations for the suffering of Muslim people throughout the world. The U.S. occupation of Saudi Arabia is viewed in his own words, "the greatest disaster to befall Muslims since the death of the Prophet" (Lawrence 2005: 23). Bin Laden attributes mass unemployment, corruption, ignored petitions of the jailed, poverty, and inflation to the misdeeds of the Saudi regime. These misdeeds include the collaboration of the Saudi regime with Israel and the occupation by the United States, which bin Laden believes justifies the bombings in Khobar and Riyadh. Bin Laden calls on *mujahidin* in Bosnia and Afghanistan to engage in jihad against the 'Judeo-Crusader alliance' (Lawrence 2005: 24).

Statement 4: 11/1996

In an attempt to reach a global audience with expanding media coverage (for the onset of jihad), bin Laden did an interview for a journal edited by Muslim activists in Australia, known as *Nida' ul Islam*. Bin Laden denied any responsibility behind the attacks of Khobar and Riyadh, but supported them, hoping that the Gulf sheikdoms and the Saudi ruling family would change their policies (Lawrence 2005: 31). Bin Laden goes on to discuss sanctions placed on Iraq by the UN, that have resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths, and the Lebanon refugee camp bombing conducted by Israel (Lawrence 2005: 31).

Statement 5: 03/1997

This statement is an interview conducted by Peter Bergen, a reporter for CNN. Bin Laden provides his reasons for declaring war on the United States: their presence in Saudi Arabia, support of Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, and the sanctions they placed on Iraq (Bergen 2006: 179-82). He emphasizes that America should be forced out of the Muslim world. American citizens are fair game according to bin Laden because they vote and pay taxes that support a government that kills innocents throughout the Muslim world (Lawrence 2005: 44).

Statement 6: 02/23/1998

This statement discusses the newly formed World Islamic Front against the Jews and Crusaders (United States/nations against Islam). Bin Laden acquires four high profile signatories from sheikhs and Islamic leaders in this statement to help legitimate himself as a religious scholar. They agreed with bin Laden that war has

come upon Muslims, Muhammad, and God through the policies of the United States. Bin Laden goes on to emphasize the individual duty of jihad to his Muslim audience (Lawrence 2005: 58).

Statement 7: 12/1998

U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed on August 7, 1998: and, in response, on August 20, 1998 al-Qaeda training camps in Khost, Afghanistan were fired upon by the U.S. Navy (Gunaratna 2002: 46, Bergen 2006: 224-7). Operation Desert Fox would take place in mid-December when high-explosives were used on Iraq for 70 continuous hours by the United States Air Force (Lawrence 2005: 65). Bin Laden praises the attacks in East Africa but denies involvement. He also denies the allegation that he and the Arab *mujahidin* received any help from the CIA in fighting communism. Bin Laden believes that in order to defend the *umma* and defeat the Crusaders the Islamic people may have to fight beyond their borders (Lawrence 2005: 65-66).

Statement 8: 4/9/2001

The International Conference of Deobandis⁸ between April 9 and 11, 2001 was held in Taro Jaba, Pakistan. This statement was recorded to send to the delegates

⁸Originating in South Asia and spreading to parts of Afghanistan and South Africa, the Deobandi Party is an Islamic revivalist movement. British colonialism in India led to the development of the Deobandi movement, which feared the assimilation of the Islamic religion. The Deobandis adhere to *Tasawwuf* (Islamic sufi spirituality), *Shari'a* (Islamic law), and the *Sunnah* (traditions of Muhammad).

of the conference which was organized by Jamiat-Ulema-I-Islam (JUI)⁹. Maulana Fazlur was a signatory to the fatwa bin Laden and the World Islamic Front issued, and is also the leader of JUI. This message was a dual request, asking delegates to join in jihad and to pass a resolution that would aid the Emirate of Afghanistan (i.e., the Taliban government). Bin Laden also uses the term Commander of the Faithful in reference to Mullah Omar, the Taliban leader, showing the bond that had grown between them in Afghanistan since its nation contained al-Qaeda's main command center (Lawrence 2005: 95, Bergen 2006: 161).

Statement 9: 9/24/2001

This statement follows the 9/11 attacks carried out by al-Qaeda operatives who were successful in destroying the World Trade Center and damaging the Pentagon (Gunaratna 2002: 50-1). President Bush announced a war on terror on September 16, 2001 and in doing so asked for the aid of General Musharraf of Pakistan to find bin Laden (Lawrence 2005: 100). Riots broke out in Karachi, Pakistan for several days in response to Musharraf's agreement to help the United States; many protestors lost their lives. In this message bin Laden speaks mainly to the people of Pakistan, remaining confident that the neo-Crusader-Jewish campaign will be resisted by brothers fighting for Islam (Lawrence 2005: 100).

⁹ Jamiat-Ulema-I-Islam (JUI) originated from the Jamiat-Ulema-I-Hind (JUH) which was founded by the ulema of the Deobandi Party. The JUI Islamic movement split from JUH in 1945 and turned their focus to supporting the independence of Pakistan. Jamiat-Ulema-I-Islam literally means "Society of the Religious Scholars of Islam."

Statement 10: 10/7/2001

This message was released on the day the United States, France, and Britain attacked the Taliban in Afghanistan (Lawrence 2005: 103, Bergen 2006: 317). Bin Laden states that the U.S., Israel, and UN are responsible for events in Palestine and Iraq. He denies responsibility for the 9/11 attacks, but due to America's hostilities he defines the event as retribution for the people of Islam (Lawrence 2005: 103).

Statement 11: 10/21/2001

This is an interview conducted by Taysir Alluni an Al-Jazeera reporter, while the Taliban still remained in control of Afghanistan. This interview may have led to the United States bombing of the Al-Jazeera network. In 2003, charged with supporting al-Qaeda, Alluni was arrested and imprisoned from September 2003 to March 2005 in Spain without trial and held for 119 days in solitary confinement (Lawrence 2005: 106). In the interview Bin Laden states that the Qur'an forbids the murder of innocents. Bin Laden also argues the Qur'an justifies retaliation against infidels who commit such atrocities. Therefore, the attacks on the United States were merely retaliation against those carried out attacks on civilians in Iraq and Palestine (Lawrence 2005: 106). He believes the economic costs of the attacks on financial and military institutions have brought to light the conditions in Palestine to the United States. He denounces Arab regimes for allying with Jews and Christians and asks Muslims around the world to engage in a defensive jihad. In closing he contemplates the reason why other countries wish to be involved in this conflict (Lawrence 2005: 106-7).

Statement 12: 11/3/2001

Bin Laden observes the current war in Afghanistan historically, as another act of aggression, a crusade against Islam. The aggressions started with Europe's colonial division of the Middle East at the end of World War I. He discusses the many deliberate atrocities against Islam including the partitioning of Palestine due to the creation of the state of Israel, and the Bosnian Muslims who have suffered as a result of the UN being used as a political vehicle by the Crusader States (United States and allies). He views the following Muslim nations or groups of Muslims within these countries to have suffered as a result of plots against Islam: Kashmir, Chechnya, Palestine, Iraq, Southern Sudan, and East Timor. Bin Laden calls on Muslims to take a stand against the infidels in this crusade (Lawrence 2005: 133-4).

Statement 13: 11/12/2001

On the day this interview was released in London, the Taliban fell to the Northern Alliance (Bergen 2006: 322). Bin Laden continues to deny responsibility for the 9/11 attacks though he justifies them as revenge and self defense against U.S. aggressions in the past and as well as continuing aggression against the Muslim people. All Americans are blamed for the U.S. government policy because they pay taxes and elect people into office. Bin Laden calls out to the American people, drawing a parallel to the war in Vietnam, and asks them to take a stand against the U.S. government in condemning its policies. Bin Laden declares that Musharraf, the leader of Pakistan, will be punished for collaborating with the American government (Lawrence 2005: 139).

Statement 14: 12/26/2001

This message was released after the attack on Tora Bora, Afghanistan by U.S. forces. Bin Laden was thought to have been in the area and perhaps even injured during the bombing (Bergen 332, 370). Assets and infrastructure of the Taliban and al-Qaeda were destroyed and the leadership was displaced as a result of the mounting attacks primarily conducted by U.S. forces. Bin Laden continues to defend the attacks of 9/11 as a response to the oppression and killing of innocents in Palestine, he argues that the 9/11 attacks caused a major blow on the "usurious global economy". Bin Laden predicts that America will fall, but only through an umma awakening, as occurred when facing the Soviet army that resulted in victory for the Afghan mujahidin (Lawrence 2005: 145).

Statement 15: 8/25/2002

At the time of this message, NATO troops were present in Afghanistan and the U.S. had installed the Karzai government. This message is a call for Afghans to resist the U.S. army using historical examples such as Muslim resistance against the British colonists and the Mongol invaders. Bin Laden expresses confidence that Afghanistan will prevail in this new struggle as they did against the Soviets (Lawrence 2005: 158).

Statement 16: 10/6/2002

In this message bin Laden discusses atrocities experienced by Muslims and the U.S. political misdeeds that caused them. He then attacks American morality and culture, citing drug addiction, gambling, usury, environmental destruction, separation

of church and state, man-made laws, and prostitution. Bin Laden calls for Americans to convert to Islam (Lawrence 2005: 160). He states that peaceful means to end the war is improbable. Bin Laden declares that America is a corrupt political system and provides examples, such as: the cancellation of Algeria's democracy¹⁰, the Qunduz massacre cover-up¹¹, suspension of civil liberties by the Patriot Act, rejecting the Kyoto Accords¹², and the unlawful imprisonment of persons at Guantanamo Bay.

¹⁰After the first round of the Algerian democratic elections in December 1991 the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) was on the way to winning in the second round by a two-thirds majority. The second round of voting was cancelled by the Algerian military, which also banned the FIS and forced the resignation of President Chadli Bendjedid. The United States condemned the military takeover in a statement but it was retracted twenty-four hours later with no condemnation of the coup. In 2002, the Algerian government was given assurance by the United States that they would supply Algeria with equipment and military aid to fight Islamic militants. On February 27, 2003 Human Rights Watch estimated that the Algerian security forces were responsible for the "disappearance" of at least 7,000 people.

¹¹In Qunduz on November 25, 2001 Taliban fighters surrendered to Northern Alliance forces. On route to Qala-e-Jangi prison shipping containers that were used for transporting prisoners caused asphyxiation (thirst and suffocation) costing hundreds of prisoners their lives. Bin Laden believes more than 1,000 *mujahidin* were killed in the transport. A prisoner uprising at Qala-e-Jangi would later cost the lives of 230 prisoners.

¹²The Kyoto Protocol is an international treaty/UN agreement concerning the environment, under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. The protocol allows countries to make a commitment to reduce greenhouse gases and carbon dioxide emissions. In 2005, the United States was the largest

Bin Laden blames Americans, who are partly responsible for its government's actions by doing nothing to change its policies (Lawrence 2005: 160-1).

Statement 17: 11/12/2002

In this statement bin Laden discusses six attacks that were carried out in 2002 by different Muslim groups in Moscow, Bali, Kuwait, Yemen, Pakistan, and Tunisia. Bin Laden rationalizes the loss of life by the injustices carried out by the United States and allies including those in Chechnya, Afghanistan, Palestine, and Iraq. Invoking the *basmala*¹³, Bin Laden attempts to show the distance between God and American allies (Lawrence 2005: 173).

Statement 18: 2/11/2003

This message, which is focused on the Iraqi people, was released five weeks before the U.S.-Britain assault was launched on Iraq. Bin Laden condemned the impending invasion of Iraq while giving the Iraqi people advice on how to defend themselves. He advised the Iraqi people to pursue "martyrdom operations", close combat and street fighting tactics that would inflict huge casualties on the invading forces (Lawrence 2005: 179). Bin Laden states that Arab leaders who have aligned with the United States' interests have placed themselves outside the umma and are

single emitter of carbon dioxide. The United States is a signatory to the Kyoto Protocol. However, the United States has not ratified the protocol, which is required for the protocol to be binding.

¹³ The *basmala* is recited daily in Muslim prayers and prior to daily tasks. Translated into English it means "In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful." Used in numerous contexts, it is the first verse of the first chapter of the Qur'an.

now vulnerable to bloodshed and having their money stolen from them. Bin Laden mentions six countries where Muslims should become free of traitorous tyrants: Pakistan, Nigeria, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Yemen. Though Bin Laden is not fond of the Iraqi Ba'athists, he views them as having a common interest in defeating the invading enemy (Lawrence 2005: 179-80).

Statement 19: 2/14/2003

In this message bin Laden seeks to avenge and reverse the 1916 Sykes-Picot agreement (see note 1) (Bergen 2006: 373). Presented in the form of a sermon on the Feast of the Sacrifice, he discusses the Bush-Blair axis and the coming war against Iraq. Bin Laden denounces Jews and Arab States aligned with the Zionist¹⁴-American aggressors. He urges Muslims to disassociate themselves from these tyrants and lists some of those guilty of this alliance, including Karzai (in Afghanistan), Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and Pakistan. He goes on to discuss how America is not invincible citing the attacks on 9/11 to support this argument. He reassures the mujahidin that God will reward them in the next life (Lawrence 2005: 186).

Statement 20: 10/19/2003

As Bin Laden predicted the United States and its war allies found themselves in the middle of guerilla warfare and suffered large losses of life while facing the

¹⁴ Zionists were representatives of an international movement for the re-establishment of a Jewish national or religious homeland in Palestine; recently they have supported the modern state of Israel.

Sunni resistance. Bin Laden is pleased with the Iraqi resistance and encourages Muslims to collaborate with the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Ba'ath socialist party to fight the common enemy. Bin Laden warns against peace agreements with the Jewish-Crusader alliance and those Arab regimes that are outside the Islam community (Lawrence 2005: 207).

Statement 21: 1/4/2004

A few months prior to this statement it was decided in Washington that an Iraqi interim Government would be placed in control of Iraq by mid-2004. In this message Bin Laden discusses how Islamic beliefs are compromised by the U.S. (Lawrence 2005: 212). Bin Laden links current governments that represent Muslims with failed secular doctrines such as socialism, democracy, communism, and pan-Arabism. In attempt to oust the usurpers he calls for Muslims to rid themselves of their rulers, meaning all those who support the Crusaders and their occupation of Saudi Arabia and attack on Iraq. Bin Laden offers an alternative to the current political debauchery and stresses the necessity of jihad (Lawrence 2005: 212-3).

Statement 22: 4/15/2004

This message follows the suburban train attacks in Madrid on March 11, 2004 and the assassination conducted by the state of Israel of the Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin (Lawrence 2005: 233). In an attempt to get European governments to leave Afghanistan and Iraq, bin Laden offers a truce to these governments (Bergen 2006: 373-4). The terms of the truce would require Europe to disassociate itself from the

American conspiracy against Islam, not to interfere with Muslim affairs, and to agree not to kill any more Muslims (Lawrence 2005: 233).

Statement 23: 10/29/2004

In this message Bin Laden admits his involvement in the 9/11 attacks. He explains that the attacks were in response to America's foreign policy (Bergen 2006: 378). Bin Laden compares the attacks to Israeli attacks that were backed by the U.S. in Lebanon in June 1982 (Lawrence 2005: 237-8). He observes that American interests were focused on oil and corporate contracts for the reconstruction of Iraq. He believes Americans should be informed about U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East in order to avoid further attacks. This statement comes days before the U.S. presidential election; thus, bin Laden appears to be trying to influence American public opinion (Lawrence 2005: 237-8).

Statement 24: 12/16/2004

In this statement bin Laden calls for Iraq's oil industry to be disrupted so that it can not be exploited by the occupiers (Bergen 2006: 352). In his own words he views the Iraq war as "an extension of the struggle against the Zionist-Crusader alliance, who fights us everywhere, just as we fight them everywhere, trying to expel them, God willing" (Lawrence 2005: 246). He discusses the betrayal of the Saudi regime in its alliance with the United States and Britain. Bin Laden elaborates on the misdeeds of the Saudi dynasty singling out prominent members of the royal family: Prince Abdallah, Nayef, Sultan, Bandar, and Talal. Bin Laden encourages a call to arms to depose corrupt tyrannical Arab rulers. (Lawrence 2005: 245).

Table 2.1 Activities and Whereabouts of Osama bin Laden from 1994 to 2004

Year	Location	Major Activities	Statement Date (No.)	Events/Attacks
1994	Sudan	OBL becomes known as "Sheikh Osama" after criticizing Saudi royal family (150) Founds Advice and Reformation Committee (134), Saudi Citizenship stripped and Disowned by family (152-3) Criticizes religious institutions and Saudi government; mainly American occupation (115) Lived with Zawahiri and jihadists; while managing several companies (125) Saudi Clerics arrest: bin Laden speaks for those who's voices of truth silenced (149) Takfiris assassination attempt on bin Laden (135-6) Al-Qaeda crisis; salaries disruption due to OBL's assets frozen by Saudi Arabia (154-5)	12/29/1994 (1)	
1995		Egyptian wing of al-Qaeda attempts to assassinate Egyptian president Mubarak (128)	1995/1996 (2)	U.S. military base in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia; 5 killed (P258)
1996	Afghanistan	Bin Laden ensures the protection of Egyptian Islamic Jihad members and Zawahiri under the protection of the Taliban (198) Proposal to strike buildings in the U.S. is presented by Mohammed (300), Pressured to leave Sudan; the Sudanese government pressured by Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the United States. Recruited people from Algeria, Egypt, East Asia, and Somalia; trained them in Sudanese camps (155-6) Bin Laden develops relationship with Taliban leader Mullah Omar. Afghanistan becomes superior training ground of Al Qaeda (161) Issues fatwa declaring war against the U.S. (164-6)	08/23/1996 (3) 11/1/1996 (4)	U.S. military base in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia; 19 killed (P258)
1997		Peter Bergen Interviews Bin Laden; declared war on the U.S. for several reasons: their continued presence in Saudi Arabia, their support of Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, and the sanctions placed on Iraq (179-82)	Mar-1997 (5)	
1998		Forms World Islamic Front against Jews and the Crusaders (194-6) First interview to air on American television threatening to attack American (199-202) Zawahiri speaking for OBL denies role in embassy attacks. Following his statement, U.S. Navy fired cruise missiles upon Khost, Afghanistan attacking al-Qaeda training camps. Six men were killed, bin Laden was in Kabul (224-7)	02/23/1998 (6) Dec-98 (7)	U.S. Embassies: Tanzania, Kenya; 212 killed (219)
1999		Taliban official Abdul Hakim reports: tools of communication have been stripped from OBL and was told not to conduct military operations in Afghanistan (234)		
2000		OBL attention turned to Yemen where al-Qaeda planned bombing of U.S. warships (250) Conversation intercepted concerning a plot to use airplanes to attack the U.S (281) OBL admits to being behind the attacks of the USS Cole(254-5)		U.S.S Cole in Yemen; 17 killed (251)

2001 (Prior to 9/11)	<p>Al-Qaeda promises to assist the Moroccan Islamic Combat Group (279)</p> <p>Al-Qaeda sends out issue to find volunteers for suicide missions against the U.S.(286)</p> <p>OBL and Zawahiri alliance formed (271)</p> <p>Memo received by Bush explaining possibility of attack on the U.S. by airplanes (289-90)</p> <p>Bin Laden refers to the American government as an Israel government considering the pull Jews have in the American political system. Views Pentagon as a Jewish target (291)</p> <p>Prior to 9/11 OBL tells followers its time to go back to Yemen and leave Afghanistan (308)</p>	4/9/2001 (8)	
2001 (9/11 and after)	<p>OBL tape airs day U.S. began air strikes against the Taliban; his first appearance since 9/11. Claiming attacks have no Islamic connection but praises them (317-8)</p> <p>The Taliban falls to the Northern Alliance (322)</p> <p>OBL bunker destroyed by attack ; two nights prior had moved just meters away (333-4)</p> <p>OBL writes will; noting the acceptance of Jew and Christians comforts and discarding the Qu'ran has lead Muslims to face a state of defeat and humiliation as a nation (369-70)</p> <p>OBL video emphasizes the role of the umma and Muslim awakening as more important than the existence</p>	<p>9/24/2001 (9)</p> <p>10/7/2001 (10)</p> <p>10/21/2001(11)</p> <p>11/3/2001(12)</p> <p>11/12/200(13)</p> <p>12/26/200(14)</p>	<p>9/11 attacks on WTC's and Pentagon; estimated 3,000 killed (283)</p>
2002	<p>OBL video; he calls out members of the American coalition asking why they joined in the American cause those include: Australia, Germany, Britain, France, and Italy (272-3)</p>	<p>08/25/200(15)</p> <p>10/6/2002 (16)</p> <p>11/12/200(17)</p>	<p>U.S. consulate in Karachi; 12 Bali, nightclub; 202 killed (P258-9)</p>
2003	<p>OBL seeks vengeance and wants the reverse of the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 (373)</p> <p>Advises Muslims to conduct attacks against coalition members in Iraq (372)</p> <p>OBL sends a message to the Iraq people thanking them for their jihad and advising others to fulfill their duty (351),</p> <p>Al-Qaeda launches newsletter <i>Al Batar Military Camp Publication</i> ; publication for Saudi jihadists concerning a campaign launched by the group on the Saudi Arabian govt. (376)</p>	<p>2/11/2003 (18)</p> <p>02/14/200(19)</p> <p>10/19/200(20)</p>	<p>Residential areas in Riyadh attacked; 35 killed (B375)</p> <p>Casablanca, Morocco; 31 killed and British embassy in Istanbul, Turkey; 25 killed (P259)</p>
2004	<p>OBL offers European governments a truce if they leave Afghanistan and Iraq (373-4)</p> <p>OBL calls for the assassination U.S. officials in Iraq and offers a reward for the death of Paul Bremer the Ambassador (352)</p> <p>Tahwid group of Jordan pledges allegiance to al-Qaeda/Osama bin Laden (364)</p> <p>Admits to 9/11 attacks. Says attacks are result of America foreign policy, not freedom (378)</p> <p>OBL post message on internet asking for the disruption of Iraq's oil industry. Noting one of the main reason U.S. entered Iraq is to steal its oil (352)</p> <p>Discusses the Alliance between Riyadh government and the Crusaders (374)</p>	<p>1/4/2004 (21)</p> <p>04/15/200(22)</p> <p>10/29/200(23)</p> <p>12/16/200(24)</p>	
	Sources: Peter Bergen (2006); Robert Pape (2005) indicated with P before the page reference.		

Chapter 3

Theory and Methods

Theory

The definition of a group from a researcher's perspective should be neither in the form of subjective judgment nor through use of any confirmation that may reflect distorting cultural biases. The term jihadi as previously discussed qualifies as a neutral term that labels neither bin Laden nor his group's actions as acceptable or criminal. Following this neutral approach Osama bin Laden can be viewed as the leader of al-Qaeda, a social movement organization (SMO). An SMO promotes a belief that the mainstream conceptions of the possible, the moral, and the real can be challenged by reality constructions that are both idealistically and moralistically rendered (Lofland 1996: 103). In this study, three complementary theoretical approaches were used to study the public statements of the SMO leader Osama bin Laden. The first is Charles Tilly's (2003) collective violence theory, which attempts to explain violent social movements as a product of contentious politics. According to Tilly the political entrepreneur plays a central role in these movements. Complementing Tilly, Gamson (1992) provides an interpretive approach that uses collective action frames to understand the meanings that movement participants and leaders construct. Finally, Coleman (1990) contributes to the theoretical constructs that I use in this study by identifying the principal types of social actors.

Tilly's Theory of Collective Violence

Tilly's theory is a social interactionist approach, attempting to explain when contentious politics generate violence (Tilly 2003: 5-7, 26). The likelihood of the use of violence by a specific group of actors will occur under specific conditions and one of these is dependent upon the type of national government or regime. Tilly develops a matrix to distinguish different types of governmental regimes with one axis representing governmental capacity and the other axis measuring the level of democracy (Tilly 2003: 42-4). Governmental capacity is the "extent to which governmental agents control resources, activities, and populations within the government's territory" (Tilly 2003: 41). The level of democracy is determined by the relations that exist between governmental agents and members of the population. These relations include the amount of protection ensured by governmental agents, and the extent of collective control of resources and governmental personnel. A regime type can vary from fragmented tyranny to authoritarianism to a democracy (Tilly 2003: 41-4).

According to Tilly, violence falls under seven non-exclusive categories: individual aggression, brawls, opportunism, scattered attacks, coordinated destruction, broken negotiations, and violent rituals. The type of interpersonal violence that dominates within a regime or among individuals is dependent upon two-dimensions, salience of short-run damage and the extent of coordination among violent actors (Tilly 2003: 13-15). As Tilly explains, the salience of short-run damage is determined by "interactions among the parties, asking to what extent

infliction and reception of damage dominate those interactions” (Tilly 2003: 13). The extent of coordination can range from low, this being “improvised signaling and/or common culture”, to high in which the “involvement of centralized organizations whose leaders follow shared scripts as they deliberately guide followers into violence generating interactions with others” (Tilly 2003: 13).

This collective violence is the product of contentious politics within a specifically identified type of government. Violence can also be facilitated by the contentious claims-making of a social movement. A government is usually made of organized political actors such as government officials, political entrepreneurs, violent specialists, and subjects. Political actors through government interaction constitute a political regime (Tilly 2003 26-30). Although Tilly’s focus is mainly on regimes, social movements are often made up of similar organized political actors. Thus, the interaction of actors in a collective organization can constitute a social movement (Tilly 2003: 30). The present study examines Osama bin Laden and his identity as a political actor and political entrepreneur. A political entrepreneur organizes and networks the activities of an organization which often engages in collective violence (Tilly 2003: 28). A political entrepreneur’s specialty is to represent, divide, link and organize constituencies (Tilly 2003: 30). This political identity describes Osama bin Laden in his role as representing and organizing the jihadi group al-Qaeda.

Through social interaction political actors establish a moral and ideological identity of themselves and an organization. Political identities such as the political

entrepreneur have four crucial elements that can be used in social interaction. These include the ability to set boundaries, share stories (that maintain boundaries), and establish social relations within and across boundaries (Tilly 2003: 32). 'Boundaries' are used to separate groups, regimes, or organizations into "us" and "them" categories. Activation and suppression of boundaries occurs when one group becomes separated by using identity categories as defined by politics, religion, class, and ethnicity. In an attempt to develop/maintain boundaries one group suppresses another group(s) by defining them as enemies and by subordinating them as "other" (Tilly 2003 21, 32-4). A process known as "polarization" is used to differentiate groups into polar extremes. A group is more likely to view killing as less barbaric if the adversary is socially constructed to represent their opposite (Tilly 2003: 21-2).

Political actors use 'shared stories' to maintain boundaries which provide inter-group relations that may be used by regimes or social movements such as al-Qaeda to strengthen ties of a group or build fear and resentment of another group. 'Social relations within boundaries' allow members to understand what they have in common as a collective. Tilly uses the example of signals, which may be used by a specific group, "to indicate common membership" (Tilly 2003: 32). 'Social Relations across boundaries' constantly provide a division between groups. An example of this often occurs during peace talks or open threats that establish the "us" versus "them" ideology (Tilly 2003: 32). Political entrepreneurs play a role in many different forms of interaction such as brokerage, coordination, and representation but for the purposes of this study the four main elements (boundaries, shared stories, and social relations

across and within boundaries) discussed above are the most salient (Tilly 2003: 34-6). These elements are invoked by political entrepreneurs, who use them as tools in social interaction, to maintain and separate political identities into groups characterized by us-them distinctions and boundaries (Tilly 2003: 32-4).

Gamson's Theory of Collective Action Frames

To complement Tilly's objectivist approach, this study will also incorporate a *verstehen* approach, a theoretical position associated with Max Weber (Weber 1978). Weber argues for an interpretive approach to sociology. He insists that in order to understand social action, the sociologist must analyze what the course of action means to the participants. Weber separates the terms "social" and "action" to give a better understanding how to study social phenomena. As Weber puts it, "Action is social insofar as its subjective meaning takes account of the behavior of others and is thereby oriented in its course" (Weber 1978: 4). Gamson's (1992) sociological theory of collective action frames implements Weber *verstehen* perspective with reference to social movements and forms the second theoretical thrust of the present study.

In a well-known article, Snow and Benford (1988) state there are three structural parts or framing tasks concerning social movement belief systems. First, there is a diagnosis of a problem that inhabits an aspect or event of social life requiring amelioration. Second, given the diagnosed problem, a proposed solution is produced that specifies the course of action to be taken in order to solve the problem. The first two framing tasks center on the achievement of consensus mobilization.

Finally, the last framing task is the motivational impetus which deals with action mobilization; a process that involves rationalizing corrective action (Snow and Benford 1988: 199).

In order to explain collective action frames, Gamson subscribes to Snow and Benford's characterization of social movements as campaigns and activities that are inspired and legitimated through action oriented sets of beliefs and meanings (Gamson 1992: 7). The desire and need for some type of action is developed through collective action frames by offering different ways of understanding. Collective action frames are not exclusive in their order or by the means which social movements use them. For example, different constituencies of a movement may be offered several different frames and some movements as a whole may be conflicted over which frames they wish to concentrate on. Collective action frames are verbalized by organizational leaders or what Tilly refers to as political entrepreneurs. Though collective action frames are not exclusive, they all have one thing in common and this is motivation to action; what differs is the particular frame a group shares, thus specifying a movement's action. Gamson observes three major components of collective action frames; injustice, agency, and identity (Gamson 1992: 7).

The injustice component is an expression of moral indignation in the form of political consciousness. The injustice component is laden with emotion and goes beyond the bounds of mere intellectual or cognitive judgments concerning what is equitable. A requirement for an injustice frame is what Gamson calls, "a consciousness of motivated actors who carry some of the onus for bringing about

harm and suffering” (Gamson 1992: 7). McCarthy and Zald suggest that an organization or entrepreneur can manipulate, create, and define grievances and discontent (Gamson 1992: 31). McAdam argues that a situation must be defined as unjust by a collective of people before collective action can occur (Gamson 1992: 31). A critical need for the injustice component is the ability to link an identifiable person or group to an undeserved suffering or hardship. The culpability of the target, as in whether the target has actually committed the injustice, is not important, the concreteness of the target is. The target can be an individual, corporation, government agency, or some any other group or organization that is clearly identified (Gamson 1992: 32).

Another component of collective action frames is agency, which can be defined as a conscious production of collective action that make it possible to alter policies and conditions. Agency is a motivational component that allows actors or agents of action to understand the “we can do something”, as opposed the mere “something can be done”. Collective action frames empower people in the sense that their own history is defined by themselves as potential agents (Gamson 1992: 7). The third major component of collective action frames is identity. Identity is the process of defining a “they” or “them” which is oppositional to a “we” or “us”. This dichotomy of identities means that the two parties are at odds in terms of values and interests. An important requirement of collective action is a “we” or “us” who will act to bring change to a problem that has risen at the result of “their” unjust policies and practices (Gamson 1992: 7-8). Integrating Gamson’s three collective action

frame components with Tilly's politics of collective violence theory constitutes the theoretical contribution of this study of Osama bin Laden's "messages to the world."

Figure 3.1 below shows the overlap of the theories that constitute this study. The rows represent four of the crucial elements of social interaction that can be assembled by political identities, especially political entrepreneurs: social relations within and across boundaries, shared stories, and boundaries (Tilly 2003: 32). The columns represent the three components of collective action frames: injustice, identity, and agency (Gamson 1992: 7). The X's in the table show the areas where the overlap is most conspicuous. As can be seen, injustice overlaps with social relations within and outside, stories, and boundaries. Identity is formed through boundary separation, stories, and relations across and within these boundaries. Agency is usually related to the social relations within boundaries and stories but can not be excluded from relations across boundaries. The most consistent overlap with Gamson's three collective action frame components is with Tilly's category of shared stories. This diagram is helpful in showing the overlap of the theoretical perspectives of Tilly and Gamson, however, political actors and identities require more examination and specification. Introducing Coleman into this study provides a more precise definition of political actors in examining their differences and similarities.

Figure 3.1
Theoretical Overlap: Tilly and Gamson

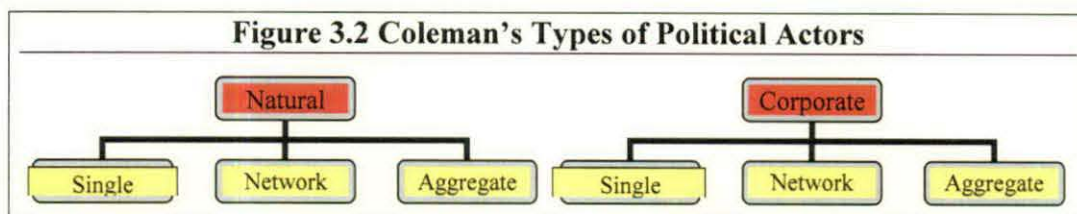
Elements that Political Identities Assemble	Components of Collective Action Frames		
	Injustice	Agency	Identity
	Boundaries	X	X
	Shared Stories	X	X
	Relations Across	X	X
	Relations Within	X	X

Coleman: Defining Political Actors

Coleman (1990) can be used to provide a more exhaustive definition of political actors. As Coleman suggests political actors are defined and differentiated by two categories, natural persons and corporate actors (Coleman 1990: 531). Natural persons are individual actors. An example of a single natural actor is Sheikh bin Baz. Muslims are an example of aggregate natural actors. They are a collective of individuals with a shared set of characteristics. What distinguishes a network of natural actors from an aggregate is the presence of social ties linking each member to the network. For instance, natural actors who relate to one another as friends constitute a network. Corporate actors are purposive organizations that depend upon natural persons to accomplish their goals (Coleman 1990: 531). In other words, corporate actors are created for special purposes. An example of a corporate actor is the government of Saudi Arabia, which represents the country and its people. As explored below, natural persons and corporate actors are further defined by

differences that exist between single natural and corporate actors, aggregates of actors, and networks of actors.

Figure 3.2 is a tree diagram that notes the different types of political actors that are relevant to the present study. The orange shaded areas represent the two main categories, natural persons and corporate actors; those underneath represent the specific types of actors that make up the two main categories.



In this study, there are several prominent examples of single actors. These include: President Bush, Osama bin Laden, and other less specific categories such as a king or representative. As an individual person, an actor such as President Bush is a physical body, but as a corporate actor he exists as the leader of a political body. Each type of actor is subject to different rights (Coleman 1990: 540-1). Sovereignty and authority held by an individual person relies solely on the type of regime or government that is put in place. According to Tilly, regime type is determined by the level of democracy and government capacity of a specific group (Tilly 2003: 41). Thus, one of the determining factors as to how corporate actors become representative of natural persons is regime type.

The concepts of natural and corporate actors require further elaboration when the types of political actors are gathered into different forms of a collective, mainly either an aggregate or a network. A network is when an actual relationship exists between two or more parties. As Coleman presents in his structure of relations, relationships allow for separate parties to contribute, sanction, coordinate, and negotiate through an inter-connectedness that ties them together as one (Coleman 1990: 276-7). An example of a corporate network would be an alliance that is made up of several governments or political actors of those governments, such as the Global Crusader Alliance. Aggregates are conglomerations, where there are no true relations defined, such as Muslims or Christians. Natural actor networks are defined by clear relationships, but in an aggregate there is no necessary relationship; natural actors comprise a crowd or populous mass in this case. In referring to an amorphous group with no determinate ties, an aggregate for both natural and corporate actors is often suggested by a shared characteristic that may be used to identify the group such as ethnicity, religion, or national origin.

As Coleman suggests, a community is a good example of an aggregate of natural persons (Coleman 1990: 539). An example of a specific community is the *umma*, the Islamic community, to which bin Laden refers with some frequency (Lewis 1988: 17, 38). Sometimes a community can form into a network, an example being a community watch program where people relate directly to one another and work together. A corporate network is found in a corporation, such as the relationships that may exist between top managers and the board of directors

(Coleman 1990: 561-4). However, a natural person network can be made up of employees interrelated in a corporation, which might mean a non-business relationship between the employees.

Methodology

An interpretative approach is used for this study to learn how the political entrepreneur Osama bin Laden frames his arguments. The meanings that lay below the surface of human action can be studied through words and symbols that represent the actor who uses them (Berg 2004: 266). The unobtrusive research technique that studies recorded human communications, content analysis, is used to evaluate messages released by Osama bin Laden (Babbie 2005: 328). The unit of analysis here is bin Laden's messages. They are represented in the form of texts, although the original messages were released in various media, from videotape to internet web pages (Lawrence 2005: ix).

Content analysis is used here in conjunction with quantitative and qualitative methodologies to reveal both the manifest and latent content of the statements. Latent content refers to the underlying symbolism of an interpretive reading of the text, and manifest content refers to the countable or physical elements present in a message (Berg 2004: 269, Babbie 2005: 333-4). Using latent content analysis the messages are studied in terms of the deeper meaning of the message as it relates to how bin Laden represents injustice and agency. The complete passages of text, on which the latent content analysis is based, are compiled in the Appendix A. Manifest analysis is used to identify political actors mentioned in bin Laden's statements. Since the

messages are of different lengths, an index has been computed to standardize the frequencies of statements referring to specific actors and to observe any patterns that may exist in bin Laden's reference to these political actors. An explanation of how the index was calculated is presented in Chapter 5, which deals with the results of the manifest content analysis.

Data

The sources of data for this study are twenty four public proclamations made by Osama bin Laden, between 1994 and 2004. The first statement examined for this study is dated December 24, 1994 while the last statement was released on December 16, 2004. These 24 statements can be found in *Messages to The World: The Statements of Osama bin Laden* (Lawrence 2005). A credible source was required that was also non-biased in its representation of Osama bin Laden's messages; Lawrence's book was able to provide this. The original medium in which these messages were presented were diverse, including the internet, audio and videotape transcripts, and newspapers (Lawrence 2005: ix). Concerning the authenticity of these messages, they have been examined by experts and officials and substantiated as authentic. A majority of scholars accept these messages as originating from Osama bin Laden (Lawrence 2005: ix).

The messages were translated by a single translator, James Howarth, lending consistency to word choice in the translations. Howarth mentions that he omits from the translations many of the praises and invocations of Muhammad and God, which are characteristic of Muslim speech, so there could be a better understanding of the

message and greater clarity of the contents (Lawrence 2005: ix). Obviously, this decision may detract from the religious tone of the statements; however, it may improve non-Muslim readers' understanding of the texts. Some words could not be translated into English, such as mujahidin; therefore, they retain their original Arabic text (Lawrence 2005: ix). Howarth explains that in his translations he is not endorsing nor is he reflecting his own personal views in the text. It is his goal to be informative not political in his translations (Lawrence 2005: x). This stance agrees with the non-judgmental verstehen perspective adopted in this study.

Another source of data for this study is CNN reporter Peter L. Bergen's book, *The Osama bin Laden I Know* (2006). This book was used to contextualize the statements that were released over the ten year period. Bergen provides a large amount of information through diverse sources including: courtroom and media transcripts, interviews of persons who met Osama (one meeting that Bergen personally had with bin Laden), official U.S. and al-Qaeda documents, and segments of original statements released by Osama bin Laden. This book and the statement introductions provided in Lawrence's book allowed me to give background of the whereabouts and most significant activities concerning Osama bin Laden between 1994 and 2004.

Analysis

The research process has been both inductive and deductive. Initially, I became interested in social movements and collective violence when I read Tilly's work on this topic. However, the application of this theory was made clearer through

immersing myself in the messages of bin Laden. Thus, my approach was to move back and forth in attempt to tie the theoretical perspective and content of the messages together. Immersing myself in the texts following an inductive approach would allow me to see that another theory would have to be used in conjunction with Tilly's behavioristic theory. These messages needed to be analyzed from both objective and interpretive perspectives to truly understand the meanings and ideologies expressed in bin Laden's statements. The collective action frames theory by Gamson seemed well suited to complement Tilly's theory and provided a useful way to analyze the contents of bin Laden's statements.

The first step of the research procedure was to read through the 24 statements. While reading, political actors were pulled out from each statement and the summed frequency of the actor's mention was tabulated in a chart for each of the statements. A total of six hundred and seventy-nine actors were found by this method. Some of the actors are vaguely referenced and others are referenced as multiple actors presented together and occasionally organizations are referred to, therefore exclusivity was a problem for defining some of these. In this process of identifying political actors I avoided such things as geographical locations. Country actors, such as Iraq, had to be analyzed in context to consider whether or not to include them. If a country was referenced as a regime or a corporate actor, it was tabulated; however, if it was mentioned solely as a geographic location, it was excluded. Following this procedure revealed the manifest content of the statements. A different approach was required to assemble the evidence for the latent content analysis.

This step involved an intense reading of each statement. Each statement was evaluated and separated based on the collective action frames of injustice and agency. Statements referring to agency and injustice were separated by the political actors that were referred to and sequenced in chronological order within each statement. Although, agency and injustice are placed into separate categories, these components of collective action frames are presented together by statement for contextual comparison. The separation of statements according to collective action frames allowed for a data source more appropriate for latent content analysis.

In the third step, political actors were separated by identity, thus allowing for the analysis of manifest data. Boundary maintenance terminology was used to separate the actors in the categories: “Us”, “Them”, and “Us/Them.” “Us” represents a group or actor who is presented in a way that is promoted or found acceptable to the political entrepreneur while “Them” is its contextual opposite. “Us” generally refers to actors who are either the targets of injustice or agents who can help to fight injustice. “Them” refers to actors whose behavior is unacceptable and those who commit actions that are constructed as unjust.

The “Us/Them” category is provided in Appendix B but it is not evaluated in this research given its ambiguity, vagueness, and the minimal attention given to these categories by bin Laden. Of the 289 actors in this category most have few references and most of those actors with a higher frequency of mention are ambiguous references, such as “anybody” and “everyone”. There are also other categories that represent both “Us” and “Them”. However, these categories are not clearly

representative of either category. For example, an identity for Arabic States/Countries is unclear for these actors are spoken of both in the form of agency and injustice equally, placing the category in an in-between arena. Bin Laden speaks of specific rulers such as President Bush and Mullah Omar in his texts in ways that places them clearly in either the “Us” or “Them” categories. In contrast, a term like “ruler(s)”, which appears 45 times in the statements, is ambiguous because bin Laden can be referring to either a just or an unjust regime. The only way to sort out the meaning is to examine the context in which the term is used. To show the ambiguity of such terms these have been placed in an “Us/Them” category.

The fourth step involved a frequency analysis of political actors using the identity table that can be found in Appendix B. The rows of the three categories (Us, Us/Them, and Them) were added to show the difference and similarity of counts for each political actor over the entire 24 statements. Then these rows were totaled for each category allowing for a comparison of frequency distribution according to the three types of identity; which were placed in another table that can be found in the quantitative analysis (Chapter 5). When I graphed “Us” and “Them” as raw distributions, patterns were not revealing because the raw frequencies occur in statements of varying lengths. Solving this problem would require a standardization of frequencies, therefore an index was created, which will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

Utilizing an integrative theoretical perspective was facilitated with the content analysis of bin Laden’s statements which allowed for the use of both qualitative and

quantitative methods. Manifest content analysis, a quantitative approach was used to find political actors referenced in the messages. The political actors as defined by Tilly and Coleman were tallied and a frequency analysis conducted. Qualitative methods allowed for an understanding of all the elements and deeper meaning found within the messages through the evaluation of communication and ideology expressed within them (Berg 2004: 270). Using Gamson's components of collective action frames for latent content analysis, bin Laden's messages were separated by forms of agency and injustice. The separation of the components of collective action frames was determined by the meaning bin Laden attributed to certain events or actors within the context of his Wahhabi Muslim theology. This is a belief system that offers both action and reward for actors who uphold the rules and requirements of the social movement of which bin Laden remains the recognized leader. The third component of Gamson's collective action frames was derived from the analysis of agency and injustice as well as Tilly's constructs that political identities assemble and maintain social relations within and across boundaries.

Using the political actors observed in bin Laden's statements, these identities separated the actors into "us" and "them" categories allowing for further quantitative analysis. The manifest and latent analysis procedures discussed above led to further evaluation of these political identities concerning trends and patterns as shown in graphs. The graphs illustrate the salience of each identity based upon how frequently it was mentioned in bin Laden's statements. The full compilation of qualitative data texts has been placed in Appendix A, while examples are provided in the findings to

show clear trends in bin Laden's statements of patterns and changes in his ideology over time. The context of these statements plays a huge role in understanding the meaning underlying these messages. Using Bergen (2006) and Lawrence (2005) I have provided a narrative and outline to show what was going on at the time each statement was issued.

Chapter 4

Qualitative Content Analysis

Using qualitative content analysis allows for a deeper understanding of the public proclamations of Osama bin Laden. This analysis of bin Laden's statements involves the application of the theoretical intersections of Tilly's elements that political identities assemble (boundaries, shared stories, and social relations across and within boundaries) and Gamson's three components of collective action frames (injustice, agency, and identity). Boundaries are used by political identities to separate political actors into "us" and "them" categories. Shared stories maintain these boundaries and are used to strengthen in-group ties or to polarize and weaken out-group ties. Social relations within boundaries allow political actors as a collective to better understand what they have in common. While social relations across boundaries usually divide groups and establish an "us" versus "them" ideology (Tilly 2004: 32).

When political actors assemble boundaries and the relations within and across those boundaries are used to separate and unite political actors. Collective action frames, verbalized by organizational leaders offer different ways of understanding that then develop into specific types of action. Thus, Gamson's three components of collective action frames share this idea that the motivation to action exists. Usually these collective action frames as well as political identities express some sense of injustice. Injustice is an expression of moral indignation that can be linked to an identifiable political actor. The conceptualizations of injustice fuel group agency.

Agency is a motivational component of a social movement which makes the alteration of policies and conditions possible. Therefore, identity provides a function in defining political actors in a “they” or “we” dichotomy facilitated by the just or unjust policies of an actor (Gamson 1992: 7-8). The following analysis examines the intersections of Tilly and Gamson’s theories in attempt to understand the ideology and type of motivation Osama bin Laden espouses.

Boundaries and Identity

The following are examples of bin Laden’s use of boundaries in identifying an “us” and a “them”. In an interview released in March 1997, bin Laden’s sentiments for the American government, American Presidents Bush and Clinton, and Israeli soldiers are apparent. As discussed in this statement these actors represent “them” identities while Muslims and people of the Arabian Peninsula are “us” identities:

...the American government provokes disgust and revulsion. This is because the name of the American government and the name of Clinton and [George HW] Bush directly reflect in our minds the picture of children with their hands cut off, the picture of children who died in Iraq, the picture of the hands of Israelis with weapons destroying our children. The hearts of Muslims are filled with hatred towards the United States of America and the American president. The President has a heart that knows no words. A heart that kills hundreds of children definitely knows no words. Our people in the Arabian

Peninsula will send him messages with no words because he does not know any words (Lawrence 2005: 56).

Bin Laden frames the “them” identities of the American government and American people as agents of aggression. The American government and its people are equally loathsome in bin Laden’s view. A statement released in December 1998 also shows how America is perceived as an enemy and as the ideologues, and killers of children. Americans are described as a vile people that are valueless:

...America has taken over the media sphere, manipulating in different measures these enormous powers as it sees fit. Every American is our enemy, whether he fights directly or whether he pays taxes. Perhaps you have heard the recent news that three-quarters of the American people support Clinton in attacking Iraq. This is a people whose votes are won when innocents die, whose leader commits adultery and great sins and then sees his popularity rise—a vile people who have never understood the meaning of values (Lawrence 2005: 70).

Bin Laden uses boundaries of life and death to distinguish the two sides of the struggle that he is engaged in, characterizing America as the deviants. The past passage quoted is a response to the question an Al-Jazeera reporter asked concerning

bin Laden's support for "terrorist groups" and whether he would be willing to go on trial to face the accusations (Lawrence 2005: 72-3):

I say that there are two sides to the struggle: one side is the global Crusader alliance with the Zionist Jews, led by America, Britain, and Israel, and the other side is the Islamic world. It is not acceptable in such a struggle as this that the Crusader should attack and enter my land and holy sanctuaries, and plunder Muslims' oil, and then when he encounters any resistance from Muslims, to label them terrorists. This is stupidity, or considering others stupid. We believe that it is our legal duty to resist this occupation with all our might, and punish it in the same way as it punishes us (Lawrence 73).

By this passage it is clear that the "us" side consists of Muslims and the Islamic world while "them" consists of the global Crusader alliance with the Zionist Jews made up of the countries of Israel, America, and Britain. The "them", meaning the global forces against the Islamic world, is also made up of many other actors as will be seen in the next chapter. It is clear that bin Laden views the Judeo-Christian coalition as a group that is organized to exploit the Muslim world. When bin Laden speaks of the Islamic world he speaks of those who follow his interpretation of Islam. However, there are actors representing and existing in the Islamic world that are part

of the “them” category, notably the Saudi Royal family and others ruling in the Arab region.

In the following segment of a statement released on December 16, 2004, further “us-them” distinctions are made between America and the Western Judeo-Christian world and the Islamic umma:

This struggle is partly an internal regional struggle, but in other respects it is a struggle between global unbelief, with the apostates today under the leadership of America on one side and the Islamic umma and its brigades of mujahidin, on the other. These oppressive, traitorous ruling families in the region today, who persecute every reform movement and impose upon their peoples policies that are against their religion and their worldly interests, are the very same families who helped the Crusaders against the Muslims a century ago (Lawrence 2005: 250-1).

Shared Stories

Shared stories are used by political actors to maintain boundaries between groups (Tilly 2003: 32). Stories are extended exemplifications of the collective action frame components that include agency and injustice. They describe accounts of injustice experienced or serve to motivate actors to resist injustice and to change present conditions for the better (Gamson 1992: 7). Stories provide examples of both

components. They clarify the identity of political actors whose stories are being told. In a statement released on December 29, 1994, we see how Sheikh bin Baz's actions serve as a type of story interconnecting all three of Gamson's collective action frame components. Bin Baz was the judicial authority in Saudi Arabia who endorsed and legitimated King Fahd's authority, issuing two fatwa's that allowed foreign troops, mainly the United States, to occupy Saudi Arabia (Lawrence 2005: 3). In the following passages bin Laden chastises sheikh bin Baz and other Muslim leaders such as King Fahd for becoming prey to the West and allowing themselves to be exploited. In effect bin Laden is evaluating himself as the accuser and judge of others' wrongdoings:

...we wanted to remind you at this time, an age in which falsehood has spread, in which corrupt and wayward people have caused controversy, and in which the truth has been buried, preachers have been imprisoned and reformists silenced. What is even more curious is that this has not only happened in your knowledge and with your silence, but as a result of your judicial decrees (fatwas) and opinions (Lawrence 2005: 5).

When the forces of the aggressive Crusader-Jewish alliance decided during the Gulf war in connivance with the regime to occupy the country in the name of liberating Kuwait, you justified this with an

arbitrary fatwa excusing this terrible act, which insulted the pride of our umma and sullied its honor, as well as polluting its holy places (Lawrence 2005: 7).

Bin Laden's assessment of Sheikh bin Baz's wrongdoings continues. The following are some excerpts:

When the regime decided to attack Sheikhs Salman al-Auda and Safar al-Hawali who had stood up for truth and suffered much harm, you issued a fatwa condoning everything suffered by the two sheikhs as well as justifying the attacks and punishments suffered by the preachers, sheikhs, and youth of our umma who were with them (Lawrence 2005: 8).

...you were not satisfied with abandoning Saudi Arabia, home of the two Holy Sanctuaries, to the Crusader-Jewish forces of occupation, until you had brought another disaster upon Jerusalem, the third of the Sanctuaries by conferring legitimacy on the contracts of surrender to the Jews that were signed by the traitorous and cowardly Arab tyrants (Lawrence 2005: 9).

These passages are the accounts of Sheikh bin Baz's injustices that bin Laden has taken note of and sent out in one of his first messages directed toward a wider audience. One of the main forms of injustice that bin Laden is very disturbed by is bin Baz's endorsement of the Oslo Accords peace agreement between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel, which he refers to in the last passage. Bin Baz's political identity is revealed mainly through his support of the Saudi regime and its suppression of reformers and its collaboration with Crusader-Jewish forces. The deeper meaning of this story is that religious scholars are not supposed to be "them" actors, but bin Baz has failed to live up to his responsibility. So bin Laden not only criticizes the individual here but puts other religious scholars on notice that they must not follow bin Baz's example. Also, by criticizing bin Baz, a religious notable, bin Laden elevates his own status as an Islamic scholar and spokesperson.

The following passages contain advice to bin Baz. Bin Laden uses him as an example to prevent others from straying from the correct path toward the wrong path of the Saudi regime and against the umma. In the second passage bin Laden discusses bin Baz's negative response to the Memorandum of Advice. The Memorandum of Advice was a document signed by 107 Wahhabi clerics criticizing King Fahd and the Saudi government, specifically because of the United States's presence in Saudi Arabia. Bin Baz denounced the Memorandum; however, seven members of the Council of the ulema did not and they were dismissed by King Fahd (Lawrence 2005: 3). Bin Baz also ignored the discontent of The Committee for the

Defense of Legal Rights, an Islamist group that accused the Saudi regime of being apostate (Scwartz 2007: 117):

Honorable sheikh, by mentioning all this we wanted to remind you of your duty to your religion and to our umma, and to bring your attention back to your enormous responsibility. For recalling this will be of benefit to the believers (Lawrence 2005: 5).

Honorable Sheikh, our considerable concern at the state of our umma and of scholars such as you is what motivated us to remind you of all this. For we esteem you and those like you too highly to think that the ruling regime could exploit you in such a terrible way and throw you in the face of every preacher and reformists, or that every word of truth and call to honesty would fall silent at your fatwas and opinions, as happened with your response to the Memorandum of Advice and the Committee for the Defense of Legal Rights and others (Lawrence 2005: 12).

Again, bin Laden chastises the guilty party, shaming bin Baz for his actions excluding him because of his backing of the Saudi regime which supports the Judeo Christian alliance. In the following passage bin Laden continues to provide an example for bin Baz and other religious scholars. However, this passage is

particularly noteworthy because it argues the historic independence of the ulema from secular political power:

The forefathers of our umma and their successors have set a good example, and one of the most prominent characteristics of these righteous scholars was the way they disassociated themselves from the sultans (Lawrence 2005: 12).

In this passage it sounds as though bin Laden is supporting the idea of the separation of politics and faith. However, as discussed in several other bin Laden's messages a regime is not legitimate nor should it be followed if it does not practice Islamic law and ensures the protection the umma. In a statement released on October 29, 2004, bin Laden admitted his involvement in the 9/11 attacks. In this particular statement bin Laden gives a brief story describing the 1982, Lebanon attacks carried out by Israel that were backed by the United States. The following passages of that statement provide insight as to how the jihadi actions on 9/11 were justified by bin Laden who witnessed crime, war, and death carried out by Israel and the United States:

The events that made a direct impression on me were during and after 1982, when America allowed the Israelis to invade Lebanon with the help of its third fleet. They started bombing, killing, and wounding

many, while others fled in terror. I still remember those distressing scenes; blood, torn limbs, women and children massacred. All over the place, houses were being destroyed and tower blocks were collapsing, crushing their residents, while bombs rained down mercilessly on our homes... The whole world heard and saw what happened, but did nothing. In those crucial moments, many ideas raged inside me, ideas difficult to describe, but they unleashed a powerful urge to reject injustice and a strong determination to punish the oppressors. As I looked at those destroyed towers in Lebanon, it occurred to me to punish the oppressor in kind by destroying towers in America, so that it would have a taste of its own medicine and would be prevented from killing our women and children. On that day I became sure that the oppression and intentional murder of innocent women and children is a deliberate American policy. It seemed then that “freedom” and “democracy” are actually just terror, just as resistance is labeled “terrorism” and “reaction” (Lawrence 2005: 239-40).

This is one of the few personal accounts of injustice in which bin Laden expresses his personal emotions. A personal account of agency, bin Laden is motivated to “punish the oppressor in kind” and this was realized in the September 11, 2001 attacks on America. There are several stories referenced in bin Laden’s

message that are extended exemplifications of agency. Most of the stories are from the hadith literature which emphasizes jihad and self sacrifice (also important in Christianity) for the umma and Islam. An example of this is found in a statement released on August 23, 1996 when bin Laden references the hadith of al-Bukhari:

I say to the youth of Islam, who have waged jihad in Afghanistan and Bosnia-Herzegovina, with their financial, spiritual, linguistic, and scholarly resources, that the battle is not over yet. I remind them of what Gabriel said to the Prophet, after the battle of Ahzab: "When the Messenger of God, prayers and peace be upon him, departed to Medina and laid down his sword, Gabriel came to him and said: 'You have laid down your sword? By God, the angels have not laid down their swords. Get up and go with whoever is with you to the Bani Qurayza, and I will go ahead of you to shake their fortresses and strike fear into them.' So Gabriel went off, accompanied by his pageant of angels, the Prophet, and his holy warriors and helpers" (Lawrence 2005: 29-30).

Bin Laden's call to arms in this passage is not much different than the call to arms for Americans after 9/11. It is reminiscent to the World War II slogan and poster "Uncle Sam wants you." The passage is used in a statement to motivate the youth of Islam who fought in Afghanistan and Bosnia-Herzegovina to continue their

jihad tirelessly in emulation of the Prophet's struggle. Bin Laden in a sense is motivating the youth of Islam as Gabriel motivated the Prophet. In a statement released on December 26, 2001, bin Laden includes parts of a parable in his message that was once told by the Prophet (as is found in the hadith) called "the uneducated boy, the magician, and the monk":

One day, an animal was blocking the road, and the boy said, "Today, I'll find out who is better, the monk or the magician." Because he was lacking in knowledge, he did not as yet understand which one was better, so he asked God to show him. If the monk was more beloved to God Almighty, then he would be able to kill the animal. So the boy picked up the rock and threw it at the animal, and it dropped dead. The monk turned to him and said: "My son today you are better than me," even though he was far more knowledgeable than this ignorant young boy. Nevertheless, God Almighty lit up the boy's heart with the light of faith, and he began to make sacrifices for the sake of "There is no god but God" (Lawrence 2005: 154).

The story above is not presented in full because bin Laden knows his audience is familiar with it. Bin Laden uses this story to emphasize the need for scholars to tell the youth of Islam the importance of fighting for principles and faith just as the 9/11 hijackers did. The following passage is part of bin Laden's commentary on the story:

This is a unique and valuable story which the youth of Islam are waiting for their scholars to tell them, which would show the youth that these [the 9/11 attackers] are the people who have given up everything for the sake of “There is no god but God”, and would tell them what the scholar told the boy: “Today, you are better than us” (Lawrence 2005: 154).

Relations Across Boundaries and Injustice

Bin Laden references numerous injustices that Muslims have experienced at the hands political actors across the “us-them” boundary in his messages. Actors that represent the “them” status have acted in ways found to be criminal or contradictory to Islam thus placing them outside the Islamic umma. Those who created the modern nation state of Israel and Jewish people are “them” actors often blamed for such injustices. In a statement released on December 29, 1994, Jews are viewed as an enemy occupying Palestine:

The current Jewish enemy is not an enemy settled in his own original country fighting in its defense until he gains a peace agreement, but an attacking enemy and a corrupter of religion and the world...(Lawrence 2005: 9).

In the passage above bin Laden refers to the partition of Palestine in 1948 that created the state of Israel by the United Nations. He considers this a theft of the land of Palestine (as do many intellectuals and scholars). Accounts of Israel's injustices concerning war and destruction are numerous. Another account is given in a statement released on October 7, 2001:

As I speak, Israeli tanks and bulldozers are going in and wreaking havoc and sin in Palestine—in Jenin, in Ramallah, in Rafah, in Beit Jala-and other parts of the domain of Islam, and we do not hear anyone protesting or even lifting a finger to stop it (Lawrence 2005: 104).

Again, bin Laden is addressing the culpability of the whole world here, in refusing to support the downtrodden. Also in his messages, America is the most referenced political identity concerning accounts of injustice occurring across boundaries. One of the early acts of injustice by America was their troop settlements and business arrangements with and in Saudi Arabia¹⁵ and the Arabian peninsula as related in a statement released between 1995 and 1996:

¹⁵ The United States-Saudi alliance goes back to World War II and was made official on February 14, 1945. This alliance developed through President Roosevelt's use of U.S. aid to help King Ibn Saud, whose country was facing major food shortages (Scwartz 2007: 108-9).

The enemy invaded the land of our umma, violated her honor, shed her blood, and occupied her sanctuaries. This aggression has reached such a catastrophic and disastrous point as to have brought about a calamity unprecedented in the history of our umma, namely the invasion by the American and western Crusader forces of the Arabian peninsula and Saudi Arabia, the home of the Noble Ka'ba, the sacred House of God, the Muslim's direction of prayer, the Noble Sanctuary of the Prophet, and the city of God's Messenger, where the Prophetic revelation was received. This momentous event is unprecedented both in pagan and Islamic history. For the first time, the Crusaders have managed to achieve their historic ambitions and dreams against our Islamic umma, gaining control over the Islamic holy places and the Holy Sanctuaries, and hegemony over the wealth and riches of our umma, turning the Arabian peninsula into the biggest air, land, and sea base in the region (Lawrence 2005: 15-16).

The Saudi government, rulers of the Arab region, and religious scholars are also referenced throughout bin Laden's message as unjust ("them") political actors. The regimes, scholars, and rulers continue to be mentioned in his statements as negligent and active supporters of the aggression perpetrated by the Crusaders. From the statement released between 1995 and 1996 bin Laden notes the injustices of the region's rulers and religious scholars, who not only allowed the Crusader occupation

of the land of the umma but implemented the plans of the enemies. He uses the word Crusader to remind people of the two middle age era Christian crusades. A word that fuels the fear in people of a brutal Christian crusade by the west focused on the east:

All this happened on the watch of the region's rulers, and with their active participation—in fact, these are the people actually implementing the plans of our umma's enemies. This invasion was financed by these rulers using our umma's wealth and savings. Honorable and righteous scholars, this is the first, the biggest, and the most dangerous Crusader invasion of Saudi Arabia, and the leaders that some were counting on to defend our umma from aggression appear in fact to be the tools of that same aggression. And many scholars who were supposed to stand up for the truth, support their people and motivate our umma towards their duty of preparing for jihad, have forsaken our umma and pandered to the rulers (Lawrence 2005: 16-17).

Following the 9/11 attacks, the United States backed the attacks of the Northern Alliance forces against the Taliban and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. Bin Laden views this injustice as just another chapter of injustice carried out by the Crusader against Islam. In a statement released on November 3, 2001, he speaks briefly of the attack's historical significance and how the world is divided by the attack:

...when the United States launched this unjust campaign against the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, people were again divided: one section supported these unjust campaigns, and the other condemned and rejected them (Lawrence 2005: 134).

He continues characterizing the conflict in Afghanistan as part of the history of aggression and imperialism by Crusader powers. He avoids the context in which the United States wanted the Taliban to surrender bin Laden but the Taliban refused:

Look at this war that began some days ago against Afghanistan. Is it a single unrelated event or is it part of a long series of Crusader wars against the Islamic World? Since World War One, which ended over 83 years ago, the entire Islamic world has fallen under the Crusader banners, under the British, French, and Italian governments. They divided up the whole world between them and Palestine fell into the hands of the British. From that day to this more than 83 years later, our brothers and sons have been tortured in Palestine. Hundreds of thousands of them have been killed, hundreds of thousands detained (Lawrence 2005: 135-6).

The Iraq war is another example of injustice that bin Laden discusses in his statements. In a letter addressed to America on October 29, 2004 bin Laden discusses

the injustices of America and President Bush concerning Iraq and Palestine. He places emphasis on President Bush who he believes has committed unjust acts against Islam for his own personal interests and against the American public interest. Then he turns his attention to the American nation and its allies who perpetrate acts of injustice:

...the black gold blinded him [President Bush] and he put his own private interests ahead of the American public interest. The war went ahead and many were killed. The American economy bled and Bush became embroiled in the quagmires of Iraq, which now threaten his future. He is like the grumpy goat who dug out of the ground the very knife with which he would be killed. I tell you, fifteen thousand of our people have been killed, and tens of thousands injured, while you have had over one thousand killed and more than ten thousand wounded. Bush's hands are covered with the blood of all these casualties, from both sides, all in the name of oil and more business for his private companies. You should know that you act like the nation that punishes the weak man who has profited from the death of one of its sons, but absolves someone from a more privileged background who has profited from the death of a thousand of its sons—just like your allies in Palestine who terrorize women and children, and kill and imprison men (Lawrence 2005: 243).

Relations Across Boundaries and Agency

In bin Laden's statements, agency takes the form of actions taken against the perpetrators of injustice and calls for Muslim agents who have acted unjustly to reform. In the first instance bin Laden refers to actions initiated, coordinated, motivated, or merely praised concerning the Muslim jihad or a specific political identity. In a statement released on August 23, 1996 bin Laden issues a fatwa declaring war against the United States. He asks for a defensive jihad against the American occupier and a boycott of their goods:

Depriving these occupiers of the huge returns they receive from their trade with us is a very important way of supporting the jihad against them, and we expect you to boycott all American goods. Men of the radiant future of our umma of Muhammad, raise the banner of jihad up high against the Judeo-American alliance that has occupied the holy places of Islam (Lawrence 2005: 29).

Bin Laden understands the importance of foreign trade to America so he asks Muslims to boycott their goods. Interestingly, America is one of the richest countries in the world benefiting the most from free trade, while maintaining the highest level of economic inequality among Western democracies (Smeeding 2005: 955, 959). According to 2001 Federal Reserve Board data, one-third of all the net worth in America is held by the top one percent of income earners (Smeeding 2005: 968-9).

As the next passage continues, bin Laden urges Muslims to commit to jihad for the sake of other Muslims across the world:

I say to our Muslim brothers across the world: your brothers in Saudi Arabia and Palestine are calling for help and asking you to share with them in the jihad against the enemies of God, your enemies the Israelis and Americans. They are asking you to defy them in whatever way you possibly can, so as to expel them in defeat and humiliation from the holy places of Islam (Lawrence 2005: 30).

This passage is a good example of bin Laden invoking a call from God, in that the very faithful will feel guilty if they don't join in. Moving along, in 1996 two explosions occurred in Riyadh directed against the American occupiers. Bin Laden denied any responsibility to the attacks but pledged his support for them while relating the significance of the attacks:

The two explosions in Riyadh had a significant impact on both the domestic and foreign fronts. Most important amongst these is the people's awareness of the significance of the American occupation of Saudi Arabia, and that the original decrees of the regime are a reflection of the wishes of the American occupiers. So the people became aware that their main problems were caused by the American

occupiers and their puppets in the Saudi regime, whether this was from the religious perspective or from other aspects of their daily lives. The sympathies of these people towards the working scholars who had been imprisoned also increased, as did their understanding of advice and guidance, which prompted the people to support the general reform movement led by the scholars and the callers of Islam. This movement with the bounty of God is increasing in power and in supporters day by day at the regime's expense. The sympathy with these missions at the civil and military levels was great, as were the sympathies of the Muslim world with the struggle against the Americans (Lawrence 2005: 36-7).

Bin Laden has a lot to say about these attacks but what seems most important is their capacity to raise the awareness of the Muslim people. Muslims are coming to the realization that the American neo-colonial presence and actions of the Saudi regime are unjust as the Islamic movement continues to grow stronger. One of the most significant attacks carried out to date against the United States occurred on September 11, 2001. Bin Laden denied responsibility for the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon for some time, but he didn't hesitate to praise the attacks and those involved. In a statement released on October 21, 2001, bin Laden acknowledges the attackers succeeded because they followed the path of God. Bin Laden views violence acceptable if God supports it. He goes on to discuss the

relevance of the towers and the collapse of Western civilization's values and appeal. These targets were symbolic targets of world trade, western capitalism, and secularism over faith. According to Bin Laden, these attacks are a result of injustices that were the direct result of the policies of America and its allies against the umma:

The young men, for whom God has created a path, have shifted the battle to the heart of the United States, and they have destroyed its most outstanding landmarks, its economic and military landmarks, by the grace of God (Lawrence 2005: 107).

As bin Laden continues, it is important to mention that he is accurate in accusing the U.S. government for pressuring the media to stop airing his videos:

But I mention that there are also other events that took place, bigger, greater, and more dangerous than the collapse of the towers. It is this Western civilization, which is backed by America has lost its values and appeal. The immense materialistic towers, which preach Freedom, Human Rights, and Equality, were destroyed. These values were revealed as a total mockery as we made clear when the U.S. government interfered and banned the media outlets from airing our words, because they felt that the truth started to appear to the

American people, and we aren't really terrorists in the way they want to define the term, but rather because we are being violated in Palestine, in Iraq, in Lebanon, in Sudan, in Somalia, in Kashmir, in the Philippines, and throughout the world, and that this is a reaction from the young men of our umma against the violations of the British government (Lawrence 2005: 112-3).

In a statement released on October 19, 2003, bin Laden praises the Iraqi insurgency in fighting the American invaders of Iraq. This form of agency overlaps with the statements that refer to relations within but here the specific target is America so that the praise and motivation used in bin Laden's message actually refers to relations across the us-them boundary. The following are several passages where bin Laden salutes and advises Muslims, specifically those in Iraq:

I salute you and your blessed jihad, for by God you have massacred the enemy and brought joy to the hearts of Muslims everywhere, especially in Palestine. God has given you the best reward and your jihad is appreciated. God has made you stand firm and guided your fire (Lawrence 2005: 207-8).

Bin Laden does seem to have some inconsistencies in his statements. In this passage he uses a massacre to explain an act of God pursued against

the enemy but in other statements he uses the word to describe western attacks. In the following passage it is apparent that bin Laden is building the egos of those who commit to jihad, and he describes them as heroes:

It is little wonder that you have managed to do what you have done to America, bring this shame down upon it, for you are the descendants of the great knights who brought Islam as far east as China (Lawrence 2005: 208).

In the following passage bin Laden argues that “whoever cooperates with America”...”is an apostate and an infidel” (Lawrence 2005: 209). What makes this problematic is that bin Laden fails to define “cooperate” or “collaborate,” a word he commonly uses in other passages. This creates a further rigid boundary without clear rules or structure:

I direct my call to Muslims generally and to the people of Iraq specifically, and I say to them: Make sure you do not collaborate with the Crusader forces of America and their supporters. Whoever cooperates with America under whatever name or title is an apostate and an infidel (Lawrence 2005: 209).

The second part of the analysis of agency across boundaries concerns the reformation of unjust actors. Bin Laden offers advice to political actors across the us-them boundary suggesting how wrongdoers can reform themselves. In an interview statement released in November 1996, bin Laden discusses the injustices of the Saudi regime and ways it can reform. One of these options, as discussed below, is the release of the imprisoned religious scholars and the reinstatement of Islamic law:

There are several choices for the [Saudi] regime. The first of these is reconciliation with all different sectors of the public, by releasing the honest scholars and offering essential changes, the most important of which is to bring back Islamic law, and to practice real consultative government (Lawrence 2005: 38).

In an interview statement released in March 1997, bin Laden sends a message to the mothers of American troops calling for their exercise of agency to bring about an end to American aggressions:

...a message I address to the mothers of the American troops who came here with their military uniform walking proudly up and down our land while the scholars of our country are thrown in prisons. I say that this represents a blatant provocation to 1.25 billion Muslims. To these mothers I say that if they are concerned for their sons, then let

them object to the American government's policy and to the American president. Do not let themselves be cheated by his standing before the bodies of the killed soldiers describing the freedom fighters in Saudi Arabia as terrorists (Lawrence 2005: 57).

This is not the only time that bin Laden crosses boundaries to reach out to America and its people. In the passage above bin Laden asked mothers of soldiers to object the American government's policies. In a statement released on October 6, 2002, bin Laden addressed the question as to what the jihadi and Islamic movement wants from America and its people:

The first thing that we are calling you to is Islam... The second thing we call you to, is to stop your oppression, lies, immorality, and debauchery that has spread among you (Lawrence 2005: 166).

A third thing bin Laden asks of the Americans is that they forego their false attitude of self-righteousness:

What we call you to thirdly is to take an honest stance with yourselves... a nation without principles or manners... values and principles are something which you merely demand from others, not that which you yourself must adhere to (Lawrence 2005: 170).

Bin Laden's fourth point is for America to cease its ideological and financial support of anti-Muslim regimes around the world. One of these being Israel, who was the number one recipient of United States arms until recently:

We also advise you to stop supporting Israel, and to end your support of the Indians in Kashmir, the Russians against the Chechens, and also to cease supporting the Manila Government against the Muslims in the southern Philippines (Lawrence 2005: 171).

His fifth point involves a threat of murder toward Americans if they do not leave Muslim lands. This could also imply that bin Laden is expressing his discontent for globalization and wants to discard free trade:

We also advise you to pack your luggage and get out of our lands. We only desire this for your goodness, guidance, and righteousness, so do not force us to send you back as cargo in coffins (Lawrence 2005: 171).

Lastly, bin Laden calls for America not to interfere with Muslim self-determination, with what seems to be a threat of another attack if they do not:

Sixthly, we call upon you to end your support of the corrupt leaders in our countries. Do not interfere in our politics and method of education. Leave us alone, or else expect us in New York and Washington (Lawrence 2005: 171).

This is followed by a seventh requirement, a request for negotiations coupled with the alternative threat of violence:

We also call you to deal with us and interact with us on the basis of mutual interests and benefits, rather than policies of subjugation, theft, and occupation, and do not continue your policy supporting the Jews because this will result in more disasters for you (Lawrence 2005: 171).

In the passages above bin Laden calls America and its people to accept Islam and asks the nation to end its injustices around the world. He adds that America should take an honest stance with itself and end its support of Israel and other Crusader governments. Bin Laden continues by asking America to leave the land of the umma, and interact with Muslims on a basis of mutual interests. Bin Laden makes it clear that if America does not want to adhere to the seven guidelines discussed above that they should expect more violence.

In a statement released on April 15, 2004, bin Laden offers a truce to Western European governments if they disassociate themselves from the American conspiracy against Islam, not interfere with Muslim affairs, and agree not to kill any more Muslims. The following passage explains this truce offer to Western Europe:

So I present to them this peace proposal, which is essentially a commitment to cease operations against any state that pledges not to attack Muslims or intervene in their affairs, including the American conspiracy against the great Islamic world. This peace can be renewed at the end of a government's term and the beginning of a new one, with the consent of both sides. It will come into effect on the departure of its last soldier from our lands, and it is available for a period of three months from the day of this statement is broadcast (Lawrence 2005: 235).

Relations Within Boundaries and Injustice

This part of the analysis is primarily concerned with relations between corporate political actors who have formed networks and alliances to perpetrate violence. Bin Laden gives several references as to how the enemy is allying against him and the nation of Islam. Bin Laden's assessment that America and Israel are allies is true, and they are cited as allies numerous times in his statements. In a statement released in November 1996, bin Laden describes how the two have

committed injustices against the Muslim world all the while accusing Muslims of terrorism:

As for their accusations that we terrorize the innocent, the children, and the women, these fall into the category of accusing others of their own affliction in order to fool the masses. The evidence overwhelmingly shows America and Israel killing the weaker men, women, and children, in the Muslim world and elsewhere (Lawrence 2005: 40).

Bin Laden refers to the Zionist lobby in America several times throughout his statements to show how the United States and Israel are interconnected. He also discusses the American and Jewish use of language as a political means to continue injustices against Muslims. This is referenced in the following passages of a statement released on October 21, 2001:

...because of the fact that it [America] has very strong ties with and are under the payroll of, the Zionist lobby, which serves the needs of Israel, which kills our sons and our children without right so that it can keep on ruling with total control (Lawrence 2005: 113).

It is not enough for bin Laden to show the strong ties that America and Israel have with one another. In a statement released on November 3, 2001, he makes it clear that there is no distinction between Israel and America, they are one and the same Crusader bloc. Those who believe otherwise are enemies, as he makes this point by manipulating religious guilt:

Those who distinguish between America and Israel are true enemies of the umma. They are traitors who have betrayed God, His Prophet, and their umma, who have betrayed its trust, and who numb its senses.

These battles cannot be seen in isolation from each other, but must be seen as part of the great series of fierce and ugly Crusader wars against Islam (Lawrence 2005: 138).

America and Arab governments are also mentioned throughout bin Laden's messages as allies against Muslims and the umma. In the statement released on October 6, 2002, bin Laden references the collaboration of Arab governments, America, and Israel and several injustices for which they are responsible. First, he discusses the injustices of America as an ally to numerous Muslim enemies:

You attacked us in Somalia; you supported the Russian atrocities against us in Chechnya, the Indian oppression against us in Kashmir, and the Jewish aggression against us in Lebanon. Under your

supervision, consent, and orders, the governments of our countries which act as your collaborators attack us on a daily basis. These governments prevent our people from establishing the Islamic shari'a using violence and lies to do so. These governments give us a taste of humiliation and place us in a great prison of fear and subjugation. These governments steal our umma's wealth and sell it to you at a paltry price. These governments have surrendered to the Jews, and handed them most of Palestine, acknowledging the existence of their state over the dismembered limbs of their own people (Lawrence 2005: 163).

The Saudi Arabia regime, which is commonly referred to as the government in Riyadh, is a specific Arab government ally of America. In a statement released on October 29, 2004, bin Laden discusses some of the injustices that the Saudi regime is responsible for in the past, such as the American presence of Saudi Arabia and its cooperation in the current war in Iraq. Bin Laden charges the regime with allying itself with the Crusader unbelief currently under the leadership of President George W. Bush:

This government in Riyadh has entered into a global alliance with Crusader unbelief under the leadership of Bush, against Islam and its people, as happened in Afghanistan, and the conspiracies in Iraq,

which have not yet ended. They opened up their bases to the American forces so that they could conquer Iraq, which helped the Americans and facilitated their occupation. Then the Saudi Minister of defense got up one day and scorned the religion, the blood, and the minds of Muslims by admitting that his government had opened its airports to the Americans for their legally humanistic objectives (Lawrence 2005: 254).

This passage is an illustration of bin Laden's own anger about the American alliance with Saudi Arabia, his homeland. The last sentence shows how the Saudi government attempts to justify its perfidy. Bin Laden continues:

And now here they are today showing us a new link in their chain of conspiracies with America. This one they have described as the initiative to send Arab and Muslim forces to maintain security in Iraq. This is an enormous act of treachery. They weren't satisfied with helping the infidels to occupy lands of Islam, but they also had to come up with this initiative to confer legitimacy on the American occupation (Lawrence 2005: 254).

In a statement released on November 12, 2002, bin Laden once again points out the American and Israel alliance that has committed injustices against Muslims in

Palestine. Following his brief discussion he asks why other governments are allying with America in the war on Afghanistan. Though it is in the form of a question, he acknowledges the alliance that has been formed against Afghanistan and the people of Islam:

What Bush, the pharaoh of the age is doing, killing our sons in Iraq, and what America's ally Israel is doing, using American airplanes to bomb houses in Palestine with old men, women, and children, in them was enough for the sane leaders among you to distance themselves from this criminal gang. Our people have suffered murder and torture in Palestine for nearly a century. But as soon as we defend them the world gets agitated and joins forces against the Muslims under the false and unjust pretext of fighting terrorism. Why are your governments allying themselves against the Muslims with the criminal gang in the White House? Don't they know that this gang is the biggest murderer of our age?... Why are your governments, especially those of Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Germany, and Australia, allying themselves with America in its attacks on us in Afghanistan (Lawrence 2005: 174)?

In a statement released on February 14, 2002 bin Laden observes that the alliances between Crusader forces against Islam is historically significant. He

discusses the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 and compares it to the American President Bush/British Prime Minister Blair axis attempting to establish the state of Greater Israel:

As I speak our wounds have yet to heal from the Crusader wars of the last century against the Islamic world or from the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 between France and Britain, which brought about the dissection of the Islamic world into fragments. The Crusaders' agents are still in power to this day, in light of a new Sykes-Picot agreement, the Bush-Blair axis, which has the same banner and objective, namely the banner of the Cross [i.e., Christian hegemony] and the objective of destroying and looting our beloved Prophet's umma (Lawrence 2005: 187).

One of the most important objectives of this new Crusader campaign, after dividing up the region, is to prepare it for the establishment of what is called the state of Greater Israel, which would incorporate large parts of Iraq and Egypt within its borders as well as Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan, the whole of Palestine, and a large part of Saudi Arabia (Lawrence 2005: 189).

This analysis has shown how relations within the “them” category perpetrate injustice through networks, alliances, and one-sided agreements. Relations within the “us” category also have a direct connection to injustice in bin Laden’s statements. In one of his earlier statements released between 1995 and 1996, bin Laden refers to religious scholars across the us-them boundary but he is also referring to them within. Islamic scholars should be an “us” identity. However, not all are “us” actors (such as the turncoat jurist bin Baz), but most are or at least could be allies of Islam. When he speaks to the religious scholars in the 1995-1996 statement he is describing their injustices against the umma and its people in aiding the American occupation of Saudi Arabia:

To the honorable scholars of our Islamic umma in general and to the scholars of the Arabian peninsula and Saudi Arabia in particular, may God keep them.... You are all aware of the degree of degradation and corruption to which our Islamic umma has sunk, in its government and in the feebleness and cowardice of many of its scholars in the face of its enemies, as well as in its internal divisions. This is because of their neglect of religion and weakness of faith, which allowed the enemy to attack (Lawrence 2005: 15).

Relations Within Boundaries and Agency

This part of my analysis concerns the “us” relations within boundaries and agency. There are two parts to this analysis the first being an evaluation of bin Laden’s discussion of alliances and the binding together of the “us” category. The second part concerns Osama bin Laden’s general motivation of jihad and how it is a religious duty of Islam. The Taliban government of Afghanistan, the people of Afghanistan, and the mujahidin in Afghanistan are several of the most prominent political identities found in bin Laden’s statements concerning allies of his and the Muslim nation. An example of this is found in an interview statement released in November 1996:

The Afghan government [i.e., Taliban] has not asked us to leave the country... Thanks to God, our relationship with our brother mujahidin in Afghanistan is a deep and broad relationship where blood and sweat have mixed as have the links over long years of struggle against the Soviets; it is not a passing relationship, nor one based on personal interests. They [the Taliban] are committed to support the religion approved by God, and that country remains as the Muslims have known it, a stronghold of Islam, and its people are amongst the most protective of the religion approved by God, and the keenest to fulfill His laws and to establish an Islamic state (Lawrence 2005: 41-2).

In the passage above it seems that a Muslim theocracy is supported by bin Laden but an important requirement for him is that the state must be guided by the law of God, which as far as bin Laden is concerned is Islamic law, or shari'a. The strong, supportive relationship between al-Qaeda and the Taliban is further testified to in a statement released in December 1998. It is here where bin Laden discusses the context in which the Taliban has been pressured by states, but it remains strong by God's will as does its relationship with al-Qaeda:

So our relationship with the Taliban is very strong and firm, and it is a doctrinal relationship based on us sharing the same belief, not a political or business relationship. Many states have participated and attempted to put pressure on the Taliban, trying to tempt it or scare it, but God Almighty has made it firm (Lawrence 2005: 85).

In a statement released on April 9, 2001, the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan under the leadership of Mullah Omar is viewed as the Islamic state abiding by God's laws. Mullah Omar is praised by bin Laden for making great Islamic decisions such as being against the campaign of global unbelief. As discussed in this statement it becomes clear that Afghanistan and its leader Mullah Omar are both important allies for Islam:

You yourselves know that God has ordained for this umma in these difficult times to establish an Islamic state that abides by Gods laws and raises the banner of His unity, and that is the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan under the leadership of the commander of the faithful¹⁶ Mullah Muhammad Omar...Mullah Omar is the ruler and rightful commander who rules by God's laws in this age. His great Islamic decisions include the destruction of idols, the prohibition of growing opium and the proud stance against the campaign of global unbelief are but some of his historic Islamic positions that affirm his honesty and steadfastness on the path for which we admire him. God is his only reckoner (Lawrence 2005: 98-9).

Another alliance in the "us" category is the World Islamic Front. Exactly who is part of this Front isn't clarified in bin Laden's statements but several signatories were referenced for the fatwa he and the Front issued against Jews and Crusaders in a statement released on February 23, 1998. These signatories included: Ayman al-Zawahiri (amir of the Jihad Group in Egypt), Abu-Yasir Rif' ai Ahmad Taha (Egyptian Islamic Group), Sheikh Mir Hamzah (secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan), and Fazlur Rahman (amir of the Jihad movement in Bangladesh)

¹⁶ The title of "commander of the faithful" (amir al-mu'minin) is traditionally applied to a pious Muslim ruler who leads his people to righteousness and in compliance with the shari'a (Islamic law) (Lewis 1988: 50-1).

(Lawrence 2005: 58-9). Though the Egyptian Islamic Group participated in the signing they are not members of the World Islamic Front. Bin Laden discusses this and how they have remained an ally to Islam in a statement released in December 1998:

They [Egyptian Islamic Group] have links to us. Yes we have very strong links with them, by the grace of God, since the days of jihad, when we were fighting in the same trenches against the Soviet Union. They played the supportive, supervisory role in the signing of the juridical ruling calling for America and Jewish blood to be shed...It did sign the juridical ruling but it is not part of the World Islamic Front (Lawrence 2005: 89).

Bin Laden makes it clear in his statements that Muslims as a whole are the ones fighting the global Crusaders not just one individual or organization, such as Osama bin Laden or al-Qaeda. In an interview statement released on October 21, 2001, this is clarified. In the following passage bin Laden discusses the allies of Islam as a unified group that is bound together by a common faith:

I say in response to this [question of whom al-Qaeda represents] what I have stated before, that this matter isn't about any specific person, and that it is not about the al-Qaeda organization. We are the children of

an Islamic nation, with the Prophet Muhammad as its leader; our Lord is one, our Prophet is one, our direction of prayer is one, we are one umma, and our Book [i.e., the Qur'an] is one. And this Blessed book, together with the hadith of our noble Prophet, has religiously commanded us with the brotherhood of faith, and all true believers are brothers (Lawrence 2005: 119).

Muslims wherever they may be as true believers in God and followers of Islam are aligned as one with bin Laden, al-Qaeda, and the umma. In a statement released on September 24, 2001, bin Laden refers to the Muslim nation in Pakistan, comparing it to the Afghanistan mujahidin two decades previously. He is referring to Pakistani Muslims who conducted protests that turned deadly against the Pakistani military, who were aligned with the United States following the 9/11 attacks (Lawrence 2005: 100):

It is no surprise that the Muslim nation in Pakistan will rise up to defend its Islam for it is considered Islam's first line of defense in this region, just as Afghanistan was considered first line of defense for itself and Pakistan against the Russian invasion more than twenty years ago (Lawrence 2005: 101).

Bin Laden sends a message to the holy warriors in Iraq in a statement released on October 19, 2003. In it he praises the participation of Muslims in their defense of the umma against America and its allies who invaded their land. Thus, the Muslim nation in Iraq can be viewed as another ally:

To my brother holy warriors in Iraq, to the heroes in Baghdad, the house of the caliphate¹⁷ and all around: Ansar al-Islam [Partisans of Islam], the descendants of Salah al-Din: free men of Ba'quoba, Mosul, al-Anbar, those who emigrated for the sake of God to fight for the victory of their religion, leaving their religion, leaving their fathers and sons, leaving their family and homeland: You are the soldiers of God, you are the arrows of Islam, and you are the first line of defense of this umma today (Lawrence 2005: 210).

Interestingly the phrase “first line of defense” in this passage is reminiscent of another political entrepreneur President George W. Bush discussing Homeland Security. As for the second part of this section, bin Laden continually tries to motivate scholars, believers, and Muslim peoples throughout his statements toward jihad and defending the umma. Using scriptures from the Qur'an, bin Laden reminds Muslims of their religious duties as believers in a statement released on August 23,

¹⁷ Baghdad was the capital of the Islamic Abbasid Caliphate from 750 to 1258.

1996. The last passage is a promise to those who lose their life in the fight of jihad that their deeds will not go unnoticed by God:

You who believe, be mindful of God, as His due and make sure you devote yourselves to Him, to your dying moment...Believers, be mindful of God, speak in a direct fashion and to good purpose, and He will put your deeds right for you and forgive you your sins. Whoever obeys God and His Messenger will truly achieve a great triumph (Lawrence 2005: 24).

He will not let the deeds of those who are killed for His cause come to nothing: He will guide them and put them in a good state: He will admit them in the Garden He has already made known to them (Lawrence 2005: 29).

In a statement released on February 23, 1998, bin Laden uses the words of God from the Qur'an once again but this time he is using it more as a device to motivate and mobilize believers and Muslims toward jihad. It is also made clear that if Muslim believers do not commit to servitude and fight for God they will be punished by him:

Believers, respond to God and His Messenger when he calls you that which gives you life. Know that God comes between a man and his heart, and that you will be gathered to Him... Believers, why when it is said to you, 'Go and fight in God's way' do you dig your heels into the earth? Do you prefer this world to the life to come? How small the enjoyment of this world is, compared with the life to come! If you do not go out and fight, God will punish you severely and put others in your place, but you cannot harm Him in any way: God has power over all things (Lawrence 2005: 62).

Bin Laden also motivates specific Muslim nations to jihad in his statements. He speaks directly to the people of Afghanistan informing them of the importance of jihad. Bin Laden believes they understand this considering their record of remaining faithful to Islam and avoiding an invaders' settlement there. The reward of jihad can be reaped in this world giving Muslims more power and wealth, make them feel better about their religious identity and ensure their safety. All this is discussed in a statement released on August 25, 2002:

Oh people of Afghanistan you know that jihad is of the utmost value in Islam, and that with it we can gain pride and eminence in this world and the next. You know that it saves our lands, protects our sanctity, spreads justice, security, and prosperity, and plants fear in the

enemies' heart. Through it kingdoms are built and the banner of truth flies high above all others. Oh people of Afghanistan I am convinced that you understand these words of mine more than anyone else since throughout the ages no invader ever settled in your lands since you are distinguished for your strength, defiance, and fortitude in the fight, and since your doors are open to Islam. That is because Muslims never came as colonizers or out of worldly self-interest, but as missionaries bringing us back to God (Lawrence 2005: 159).

Bin Laden also motivates religious scholars to spread the message about how important jihad is. According to bin Laden, Islamic scholars are an authority which Muslims should listen to and obey. An example of this is found in a statement released on April 9, 2001:

Teach them that there is no pride or victory except in jihad for the sake of God, by which the first generation [of Muslims] overcame this sense of estrangement and exile in the world by becoming Muslims and by which the latter generations are victorious and are able to overcome their own estrangement. Teach them that jihad for the sake of God can only be done by a group that listens to and obeys a single commander, through which God unites them from their differences and disarray (Lawrence 2005: 97).

Bin Laden continues giving advice to Islamic scholars concerning the importance of kinship, authority, and obedience for the existence of Islam:

Teach them that there is no Islam without a spirit of kinship, no kinship without authority, and no authority without listening and obeying (Lawrence 2005: 98).

Conclusion

Qualitative content analysis has clarified the boundaries and political identities of Osama bin Laden's statements. In the twenty-four statements under analysis, injustice is defined as unjust action by political actors such as the American government and Israel. Forms of agency portray a different group of actors—the "us" actors, such as the Muslim nations and the Islamic umma. Tilly's shared stories exemplify Gamson's three components of collective action frames. Bin Baz is an example of one who betrayed the umma while bin Laden gives options for his reform and provides an example for other religious scholars. Tilly's concept of relations across boundaries is usually used to show the mechanisms that divide groups. Relations across boundaries and the intersection of injustice is a highly salient theme in bin Laden's statements. One example of this is America, a "them" actor, frequently mentioned having committed the unjust act of occupying Saudi Arabia and killing Muslims.

Bin Laden's statements also provide examples of social relations across boundaries and agency. In one of his early statements he issued a fatwa against the United States, calling on all Muslims to fulfill their religious duties by attacking Americans. In other statements he praises the attacks carried out by "us" actors against the enemy, such as those that took place in east Africa and Manhattan. Bin Laden also offers ways in which the Saudi regime, America, and Europe can reform to ensure their own security and be absolved of their injustices. Such statements do not lessen the gap of the "us-them" boundary but further clarify what separates the two.

Tilly's concept of social relations within boundaries helps clarify the common bond of a collective group of actors. There are several examples of social relations within boundaries and injustice in Bin Laden's statements. America and Israel comprise an alliance most frequently mentioned in his statements; in later statements he actually defines them as indistinguishable. Another example is the American and Saudi regime collaboration that is referenced throughout his messages. The intersection of social relations within boundaries and agency is also predominate in bin Laden's statements. One example of this is the continual mention of the supportive relationship between the Taliban, Taliban leader Mullah Omar, and al-Qaeda. Social relations within boundaries are also used by bin Laden to directly or indirectly (through religious scholars) motivate Muslims of the umma to conduct jihad.

In the following chapter, political actors are identified based on the “us-them” distinction. The analysis of the present chapter has examined the ideology that the political entrepreneur Osama bin Laden uses in his public proclamations to motivate, mobilize, and separate groups of political actors. Furthermore, Gamson’s collective action frame components of injustice and agency have been given specific attention in this chapter along with their intersections with Tilly’s concepts of boundaries, which help to identify political actors. Identifying the political actors in Bin Laden’s statements provides the context for the quantitative content analysis in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

Quantitative Content Analysis

Using manifest content analysis, 679 actors were identified in Osama bin Laden's 24 messages. The frequency of mention for each actor was recorded per statement. Analyzing forms of injustice and agency allowed for the categorization of political actors with respect to their collective action frame identity. Of the actors, 289 were identified in an ambiguous "us/them" category. The identities of these actors were ambiguous because they were either vaguely referenced or the identity changed with the context. The analysis of this chapter is concerned with unambiguously identified actors. Appendix B shows an exhaustive list of all actors, categorized by their collective action frame identity, along with the frequency of mention per statement. After excluding the "us/them" category, the remaining actors under analysis were categorized as either "us" or "them". The "us" category consists of 130 actors and the "them" category consists of 239. Table 5.1 provides the frequency counts for all 24 statements as well as the totals for each category.

Table 5.1
Grand Totals of Frequency Counts for All 24 Statements

Statement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Totals
Us	132	77	116	133	144	50	391	86	34	33	292	81	40	169	27	99	13	78	333	71	242	13	37	389	3079
Us/Them	15	7	4	23	45	7	107	1	0	3	73	15	6	48	4	13	4	22	106	34	173	5	8	133	856
Them	73	13	41	95	133	22	184	10	8	24	230	66	62	93	12	91	25	63	161	24	123	28	63	256	1900
Totals	220	97	161	251	322	79	682	97	42	60	595	162	108	310	43	203	42	163	600	129	538	46	168	778	5835

Although the “them” category has more actors than the “us” category, these actors are less represented in the statements. The total mentions in the “us” category is 3079 as compared to 1900 in the “them” category. Bin Laden refers more and uses more specific terms for actors in the “us” category. It should be noted, however, that the grand total of the “us” category is significantly skewed by the mention of God nearly a thousand times in the statements. Twenty political actors were pulled from the two identity categories, ten from each category, representing the greatest frequency of counts over the 24 statements. After counting the number of pages for each statement it became apparent to me that the shortest statement consisted of only three pages while the longest statement consisted of thirty-one pages. It was clear that an index would be needed for an accurate comparison of the frequency of actor references among the statements.

The index, shown in Table 5.2, was calculated by dividing the frequency of actor mention by the number of lines per statement (see bottom of table in Appendix B for number of lines). The quotient was then multiplied by 1000 so as to avoid very small decimals. An index score was calculated for each actor for each statement. The index score is a number that standardizes the frequencies counted in the statements and makes it possible to compare the frequency of an actor’s being mentioned between statements.

Table 5.2
Index Formula

Frequency of Actor Mention	
Divided by	X 1000 = Index Score
Total Number of Lines Per Statement	

Table 5.3 shows the index scores for each of the 20 actors in the 24 statements. In the table the “us” and “them” categories are separated and the actors in each category are in order from highest to lowest average index score. The top three actors in the “us” category are God, Muslims, and Muhammad. Even though the translator expunges many references to God and Muhammad these identities are still very prominent in bin Laden’s messages and confirm how fundamentally religious in their context his messages are. The top three actors in the “them” category are America, Jews, and the general category enemies.

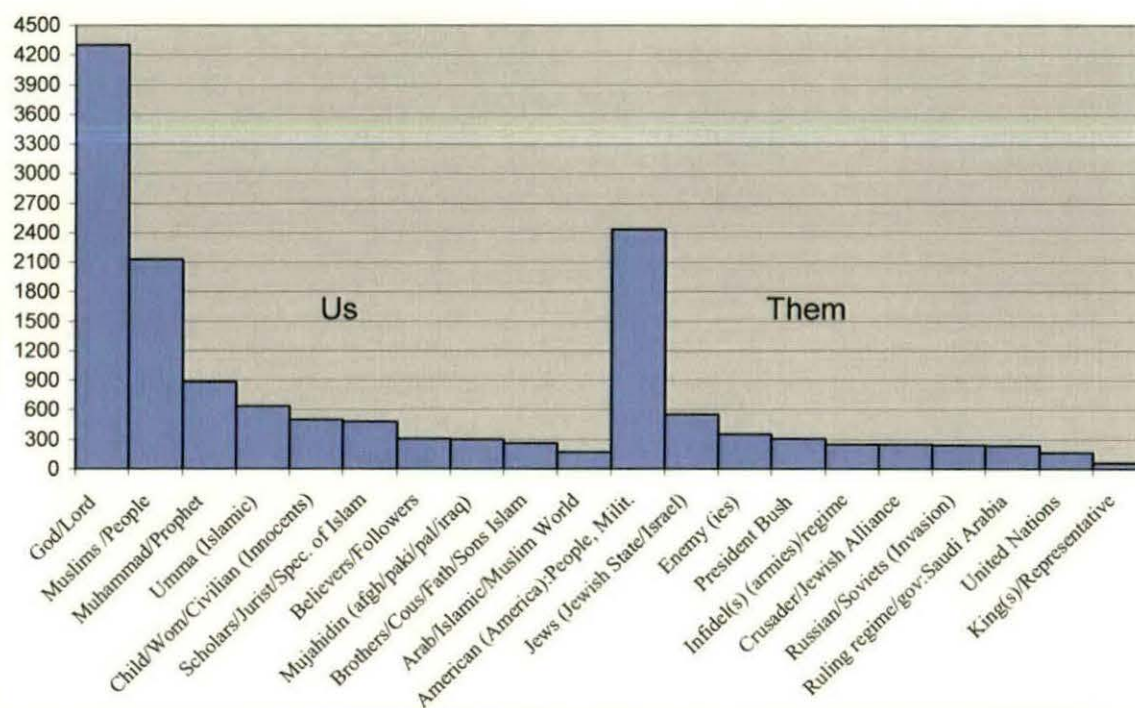
Totaling the index scores for all actors through the 24 statements gives some idea as to how frequently the 20 actors were referenced throughout the entirety of these statements. In Figure 5.1, the index score grand totals of both “us” and “them” are calculated and ordered highest to lowest; the distribution is presented both in tabular and bar graph format. The index score grand total for God (4297.6) is almost double the index score grand total of America (2434.4). God is the most important actor in bin Laden’s messages. Examining the graph and the table, we see that Muslims, the second most frequently cited “us” actor, and America, the first most frequently cited “them” actor, occur with approximately equal frequency.

Table 5.3
Index for the Most Frequently Mentioned "Us" and "Them" Actors

Statements	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
# Lines	254	104	166	257	320	80	689	113	34	56	552	144	45	207	40	327	47	156	565	118	532	75	169	862
God/Lord	98.4	269.2	222.9	108.9	134.4	250.0	152.4	283.2	264.7	267.9	146.7	173.6	88.9	289.9	225.0	94.8	42.6	256.4	192.9	271.2	157.9	66.7	65.1	174.0
Muslims /People	63.0	57.7	102.4	163.4	93.8	112.5	104.5	141.6	0.0	71.4	68.8	76.4	266.7	135.3	100.0	30.6	42.6	70.5	93.8	101.7	77.1	40.0	17.8	97.4
Muhammad/Prophet	31.5	96.2	78.3	19.5	18.8	37.5	29.0	44.2	58.8	53.6	54.3	55.6	44.4	38.6	50.0	15.3	21.3	25.6	37.2	25.4	16.9	0.0	0.0	31.3
Umma (Islamic)	59.1	182.7	24.1	3.9	3.1	0.0	36.3	53.1	29.4	17.9	29.0	27.8	0.0	14.5	0.0	15.3	21.3	6.4	46.0	25.4	18.8	0.0	5.9	16.2
Child/Wom/Civilian (Innocents)	3.9	0.0	6.0	19.5	46.9	0.0	17.4	26.5	58.8	35.7	48.9	27.8	66.7	43.5	0.0	12.2	21.3	6.4	7.1	0.0	7.5	0.0	35.5	8.1
Scholars/Jurist/Spec. of Islam	55.1	105.8	36.1	77.8	18.8	25.0	5.8	70.8	0.0	0.0	10.9	0.0	0.0	9.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.9	25.4	1.9	13.3	0.0	9.3
Believers/Followers	7.9	9.6	12.0	11.7	12.5	37.5	7.3	0.0	29.4	0.0	19.9	13.9	0.0	14.5	25.0	21.4	0.0	25.6	23.0	0.0	9.4	13.3	0.0	9.3
Mujahidin (afgh/paki/pal/iraq)	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.7	12.5	0.0	13.1	8.8	29.4	0.0	10.9	0.0	22.2	24.2	50.0	6.1	0.0	25.6	33.6	0.0	13.2	0.0	17.8	17.4
Brothers/Cous/Fath/Sons Islam	3.9	0.0	12.0	3.9	3.1	0.0	20.3	0.0	29.4	17.9	23.6	27.8	0.0	43.5	25.0	0.0	0.0	6.4	10.6	16.9	7.5	0.0	0.0	4.6
Arab/Islamic/Muslim World	0.0	0.0	0.0	23.3	43.8	0.0	21.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.6	34.7	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.4	8.8	0.0	5.6	13.3	0.0	1.2
American (America):People, Milit.	0.0	9.6	66.3	151.8	221.9	87.5	107.4	0.0	0.0	178.6	99.6	55.6	622.2	198.1	50.0	82.6	42.6	57.7	81.4	59.3	56.4	40.0	124.3	41.8
Jews (Jewish State/Israel)	43.3	9.6	12.0	11.7	25.0	37.5	33.4	0.0	0.0	17.9	56.2	27.8	66.7	19.3	0.0	52.0	21.3	19.2	42.5	8.5	16.9	13.3	5.9	10.4
Enemy (ies)	15.7	38.5	30.1	15.6	3.1	37.5	8.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.6	13.9	66.7	19.3	25.0	0.0	0.0	32.1	10.6	8.5	7.5	0.0	0.0	13.9
President Bush	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	29.4	17.9	29.0	13.9	66.7	4.8	0.0	6.1	21.3	0.0	5.3	8.5	1.9	26.7	71.0	1.2
Infidel(s) (armies)/regime	11.8	0.0	6.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.1	0.0	0.0	35.7	0.0	20.8	44.4	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	19.2	15.9	25.4	13.2	0.0	0.0	16.2
Crusader/Jewish Alliance	7.9	0.0	6.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	19.9	55.6	22.2	24.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	38.5	15.9	16.9	26.3	0.0	0.0	8.1
Russian/Soviets (Invasion)	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.8	18.8	0.0	14.5	0.0	29.4	0.0	27.2	34.7	0.0	24.2	50.0	3.1	0.0	0.0	10.6	0.0	0.0	13.3	5.9	0.0
Ruling regime/gov:Saudi Arabia	47.2	0.0	12.0	58.4	53.1	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.5	0.0	22.2	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6	0.0	0.0	11.6
United Nations	0.0	0.0	6.0	0.0	3.1	0.0	5.8	8.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	62.5	44.4	0.0	0.0	3.1	0.0	0.0	3.5	0.0	9.4	13.3	0.0	1.2
King(s)/Representative	3.9	0.0	6.0	3.9	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	3.8	0.0	5.9	15.1

Note: Index numbers rounded to one decimal place.

Figure 5.1 Index Scores of the Most Frequently Mentioned Political Actors



Us and Them Index Grand Totals					
God/Lord	4237.6	American (America)/People, Milit.	2434.4		
Muslims /People	2128.9	Jews (Jewish State/Israel)	550.4		
Muhammad/Prophet	883.4	Enemy (ies)	350.3		
Umma (Islamic)	636.1	President Bush	306.7		
Child/Wom/Civilian (Innocents)	433.8	Infidel(s) (armies)/regime	246.3		
Scholars/Jurist/Spec. of Islam	481.6	Crusader/Jewish Alliance	245.9		
Believers/Followers	303.3	Russian/Soviets (Invasion)	233.4		
Mujahidin (afgh/paki/pal/iraq)	236.4	Ruling regime/gov.Saudi Arabia	231.0		
Brothers/Cous/Fath/Sons Islam	256.5	United Nations	161.2	Us Mean	935
Arab/Islamic/Muslim World	167.4	King(s)/Representative	56.3	Them Mean	482.3

The third and fourth most frequent “us” actors, Muhammad (883.4) and Umma (636.1), occur somewhat more frequently than the second most referenced “them” actor, Jews (550.4). Again, there is a predominance of religious connotations in the frequently mentioned “us” category actors. The predominance of references to “us” actors continues throughout the list. Finding the mean for both categories separately, the “us” mean (995.1) was nearly twice the size of the mean for “them” (482.3). Index grand totals and frequency grand totals together show “us” actors being much more represented in bin Laden’s statements than “them” actors.

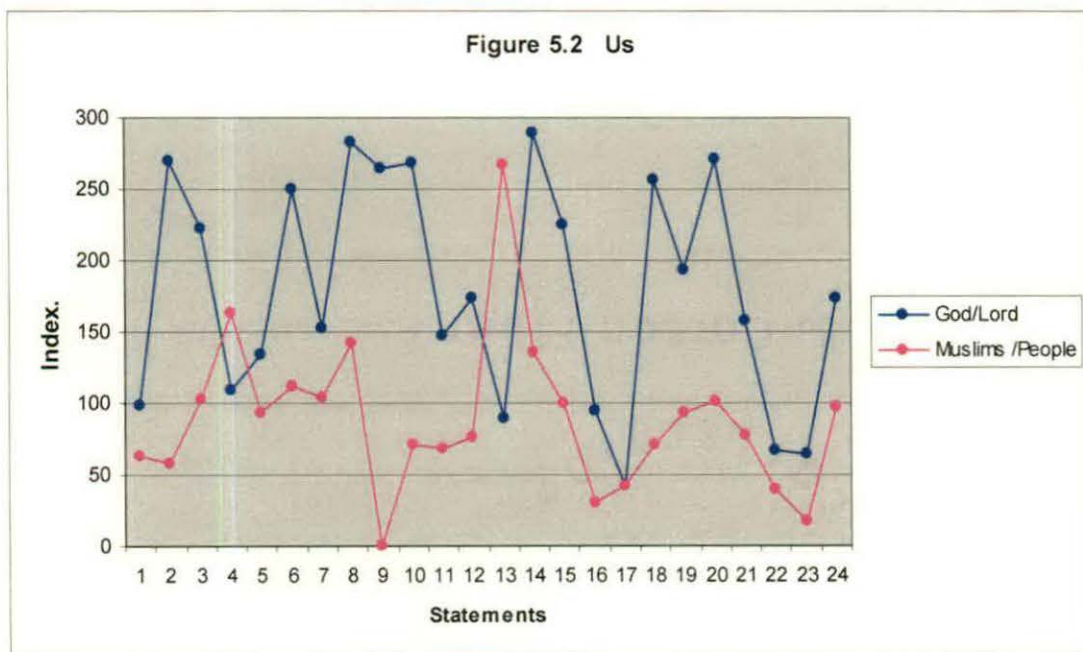
Table 5.4 Index Averages Per Statement

Us		Them	
God/Lord	179.1	American (America):People, Milit.	101.4
Muslims /People	88.7	Jews (Jewish State/Israel)	22.9
Muhammad/Prophet	36.8	Enemy (ies)	14.6
Umma (Islamic)	26.5	President Bush	12.8
Child/Wom/Civilian (Innocents)	20.8	Infidel(s) (armies)/regime	10.3
Scholars/Jurist/Spec. of Islam	20.1	Crusader/Jewish Alliance	10.2
Believers/Followers	12.6	Russian/Soviets (Invasion)	10.0
Mujahidin (afgh/paki/pal/iraq)	12.4	Ruling regime/gov:Saudi Arabia	9.6
Brothers/Cous/Fath/Sons Islam	10.7	United Nations	6.7
Arab/Islamic/Muslim World	7.0	King(s)/Representative	2.3

As presented in Table 5.4 the index averages per statement were calculated for all 20 actors. Once again it should be taken into account that some of the messages had around 100 lines as compared to others having 500 or more. The index average per statement for God was 179.1 as compared to America’s average 101.4. This trend continues just as it did for grand totals of index scores, for example the next three “us” index averages—Muslims (88.7), Muhammad (36.8), and Umma (26.5)—are found more frequently than Jews (22.9), the second highest index average for “them”.

Thus, the index averages per statement show higher representation of “us” actors throughout the entirety of the statements.

The next step of the quantitative content analysis was to graph the index scores. Figure 5.2 is a comparative graph of the index score distribution for the two most frequently mentioned “us” actors, God and Muslims. References to God as an actor is fairly equally distributed through all 24 statements. This is really no surprise given that God is the most often cited actor in bin Laden’s statements. Muslims have a moderate distribution in the first eight statements but this drops to zero in statement nine. This drop can be explained by the fact that statement 9 is short and it focuses on a particular group of Muslims, the Pakistan Brothers.



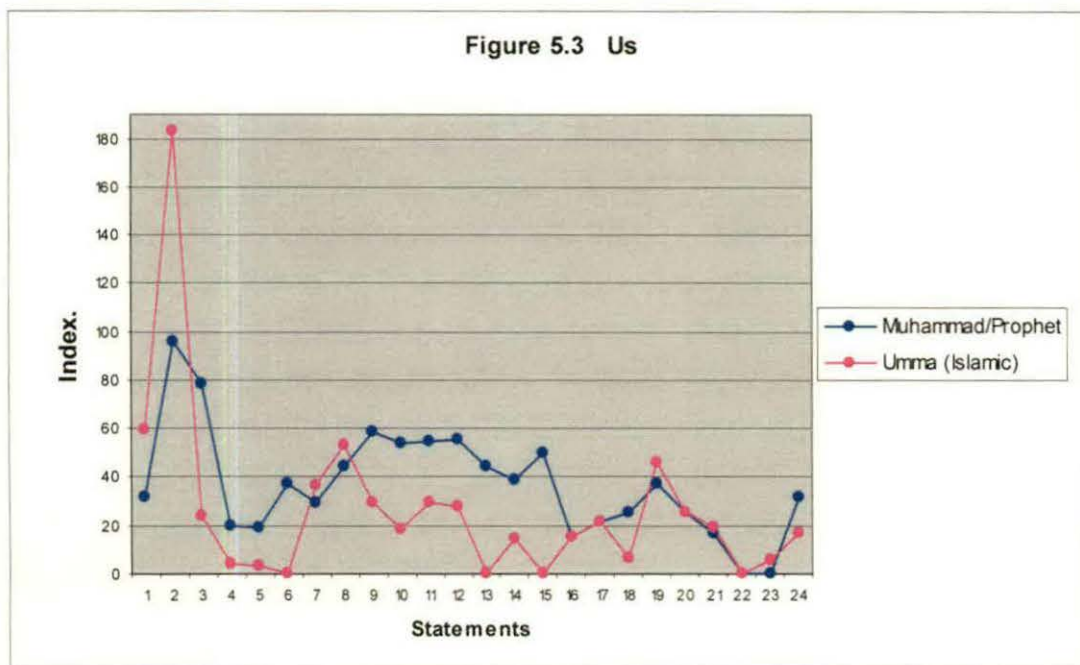
However, the sharp increase that occurs in the Muslims index score for statement 13 is significant. The Muslim index score in this statement is high because

it is referenced 12 times in a span of 45 lines. This statement was released on November 12, 2001, the day that the Taliban fell to the Northern Alliance (Bergen 2006: 322). In the statement bin Laden discusses Muslims throughout the Muslim world as victims of the United States and its allies, expressing the right to conduct attacks, such as occurred on September 11 (Lawrence 2005: 140-1). Overall, there is a slight decline in index scores for Muslims over the 24 statements. This decline isn't huge, but it could be as a result of bin Laden using more specific references to Muslim populations and groups. For instance, bin Laden focuses more frequently in his statements on the Iraqi people starting at statement 19, just weeks before the U.S invasion of Iraq (Lawrence 2005: 179,186). The dip that occurs in statement 23 is due to bin Laden's main focus being on the United States and its people (Lawrence 2005: 238-44).

Figure 5.3 shows the index comparison of the next two highest "us" actors, Muhammad and Umma. Both Muhammad and Umma are referenced most often in statement 2. In this statement, bin Laden continually refers to the Messenger of God and his call for believers to commit to jihad to defend the umma against its enemies. In this message addressed to the honorable Islamic scholars, bin Laden views the stationing of foreign troops in the Arabian Peninsula as an unprecedented calamity affecting the umma, a defilement of the holy land of Islam (Lawrence 2005: 15-9, Bergen 2006: 115). The next highest reference for Muhammad is found in message 3. In this statement bin Laden clarified the battle lines of jihad by issuing a fatwa declaring war on the United States (Bergen 2006: 164-6). It is important to keep in

mind that according to scholars only clerics are allowed to issue a fatwa. As the messages progress, the references to Muhammad decline slightly.

The Prophet is mentioned to motivate believers to be committed to jihad. Bin Laden also states that they will be rewarded by God for fighting against the Judeo-Christian alliance, the perpetrators of injustice in the Muslim world (Lawrence 2005: 24-30).

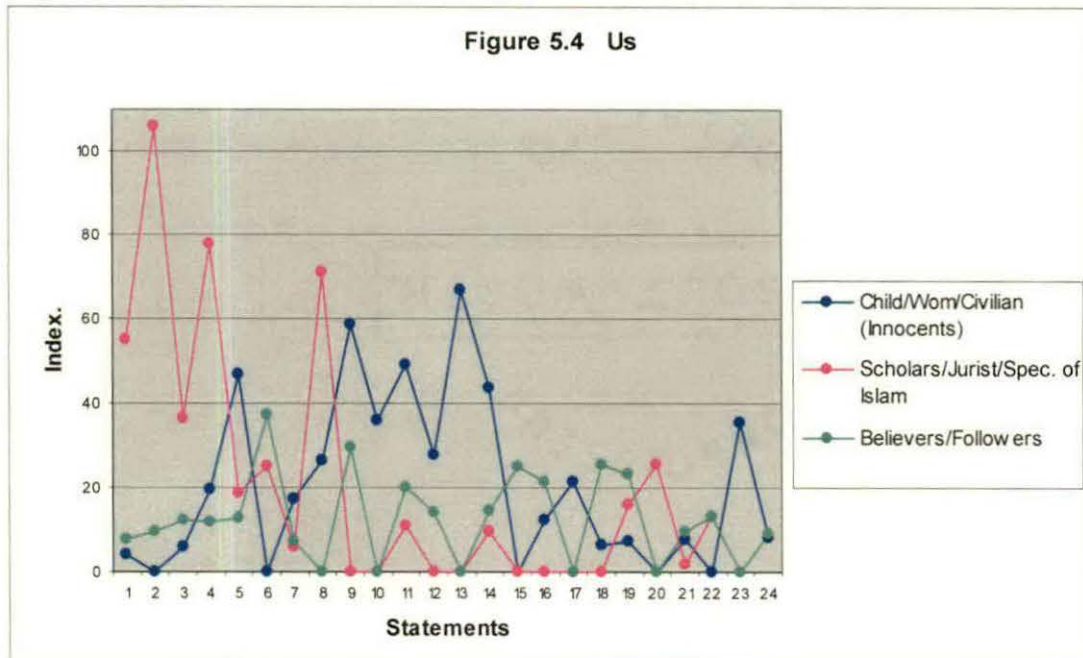


Muhammad is moderately referenced between statement 7 and 15. These references are primarily directed to Muslims and jihadists, using passages from the hadith (traditions of the Prophet) to motivate the continuous fight for God, Islam, and the umma. Muhammad is not mentioned in statements 22 or 23. These messages are less directed toward motivating Muslims to jihad. In fact message 22 is a letter to

Europe offering them a truce while, most of statement 23 is directed at the American people (Bergen 2006: 373-4; Lawrence 2005: 238-244).

Turning to the umma index score. It peaks at 183 in statement 2 and doesn't exceed 60 for the remainder of the messages. The second statement it should be recalled, is a call for jihad to defend the umma. The index score for umma plummets to just above 20 for statement 3. In this message bin Laden continues to urge Muslims to commit to jihad, "against the Judeo-American alliance that has occupied the holy places of Islam" (Lawrence 2005: 29). Excluding statement 2, references to the umma remain fairly consistent throughout the other messages.

Another comparison between "us" category index scores is found in Figure 5.4. Bin Laden's references to innocents, such as women, children, and civilians, is somewhat consistent throughout the twenty four statements other than its drop between messages 18 and 22. Innocent actors are used in bin Laden's statements to identify the victims of the injustices perpetrated by the Judeo-Crusader alliance. Though statement 18 shows a drop in the use of innocent actors, the message contains references to atrocities being experienced by civilian populations of different parts of the Muslim world. In statement 19, which has one of its lowest rates of reference to innocents, bin Laden says, "...our children are dying because of the American sanctions in Iraq" (Lawrence 2005: 187). Innocent actors are mentioned in a similar context in statement 10, where bin Laden referring to America says, "...a million children have been killed in Iraq though they have done nothing wrong" (Lawrence 2005: 104).



Just like God and Muhammad, but at a lower level, believers and followers are consistently mentioned throughout the statements. What is interesting about Figure 5.4 is the differences in frequency of scholars in bin Laden's messages. Scholars are important actors in bin Laden's messages early on, but after statement 8 their role is less significant. In the first message bin Laden addresses bin Baz, the judicial authority at that time in Saudi Arabia who is criticized for issuing two fatwa's endorsing King Fahd's policies. Bin Baz's judicial decrees allowed Muslims to participate in the Iraq invasion, and U.S. troops to deploy to the area (Lawrence 2005: 3). In message 2 bin Laden speaks to the honorable scholars of the Arab world. He blames apostate scholars and rulers who have collaborated with the West and holds them responsible for the American occupation (Lawrence 2005: 15, Bergen 2006: 115). Bin Laden is unhappy with the occupation of Islam's holy land by foreign

troops in these early statements, and he attacks scholars whom he believes are responsible for allowing this to happen.

This said, bin Laden realizes there are good scholars as he points out in message 4: “there remain in Saudi Arabia a good number of honest scholars and students who work according to their teachings, and who have taken visible and daring stances against the activities of unbelief” (Lawrence 2005: 34). In 1994, around the time of these early statements, bin Laden formed the Advice and Reformation Committee in an attempt to reform the Saudi regime (Bergen 2006: 134). These early statements seem to set the foreground of bin Laden attempting to legitimate himself as an Islamic scholar. He did this by speaking out against the regime who imprisoned two scholars for speaking against the American occupation, and by seeking the approval of other honorable scholars through the Advice and Reformation Committee (Bergen 2006: 149; Lawrence 2005: 34-5). In his early messages especially, bin Laden refers to honorable and revered scholars to justify his stance, but these references become less important in later statements once his legitimacy has been established. One example of how bin Laden uses honorable scholars to justify jihad is found in statement 6: “Religious scholars throughout Islamic history have agreed that jihad is an individual duty when an enemy attacks Muslim countries” (Lawrence 2005: 60).

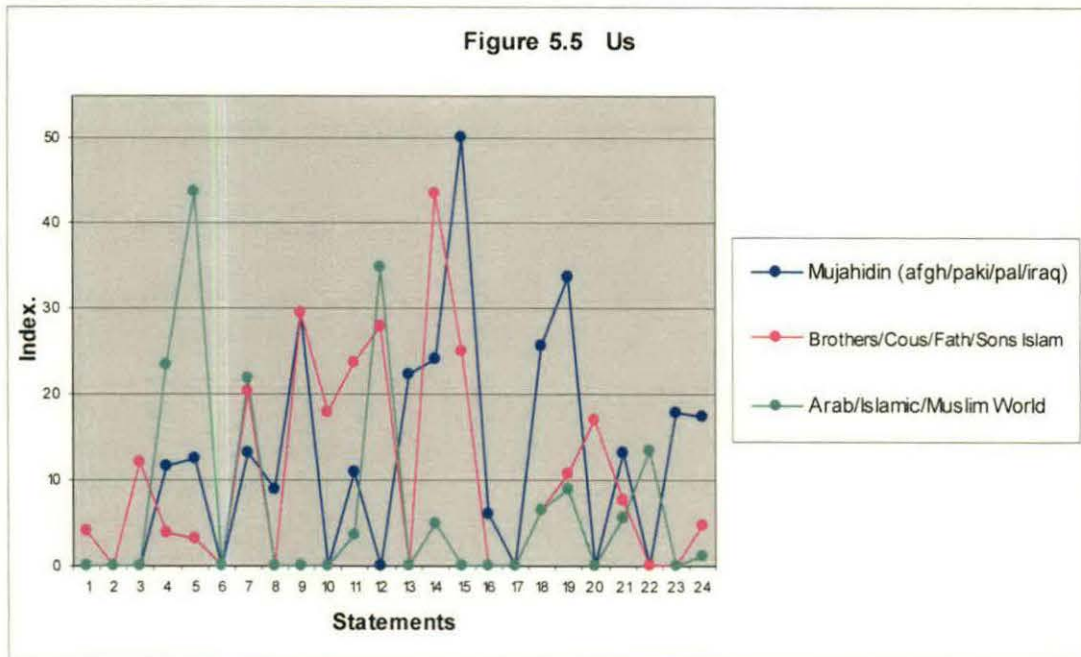
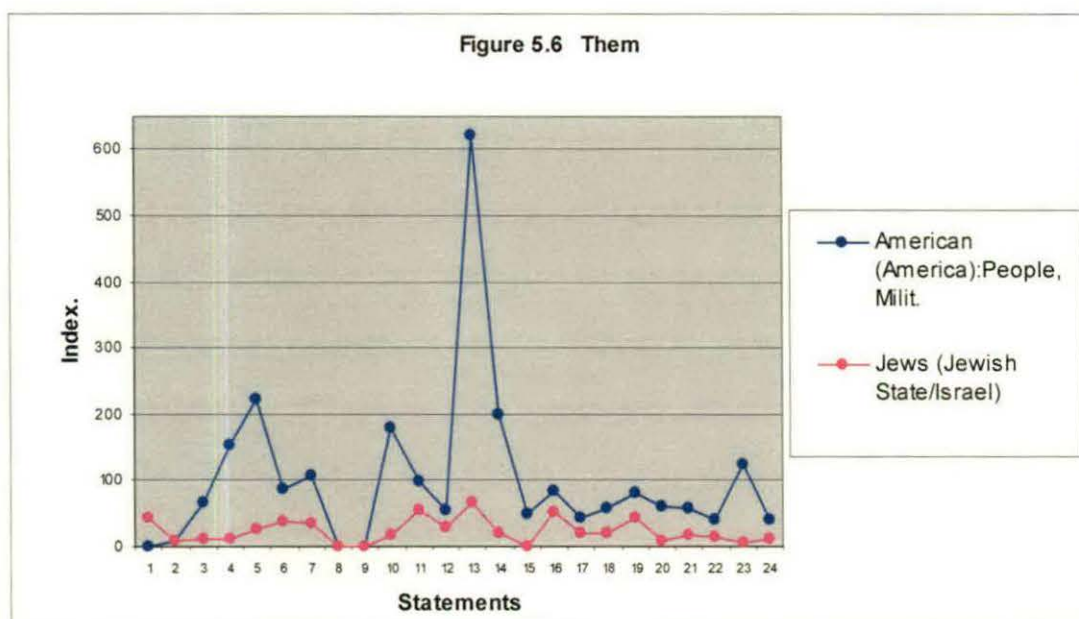


Figure 5.5 consists of the index score comparisons for the remaining frequently-mentioned “us” actors. Mujahidin and Brothers of Islam seem to be consistently mentioned throughout bin Laden’s messages and are overlapping, if not identical, terms for political actors. The peaks for statements 14 and 15 are not extreme considering the scale of this graph. However, one trend is apparent between the two identities, this being their almost mirror-like occurrence in the statements. This pattern reinforces the conclusion that bin Laden is using the terms interchangeably. Their similar use pattern is nothing unusual considering that the Mujahidin is made up of Brothers, Cousins, Fathers, and Sons of Islam. Bin Laden frequently refers to the Mujahidin as brothers in his statements. The Arab/Islamic world identity appears somewhat inconsistently throughout the statements. The identity is little referenced in statements specifying particular countries, such as

Palestine, Iraq, and Afghanistan rather than the Islamic or Arab world as a whole.

For instance statement 9 focuses on Pakistan and Afghanistan and statement 15 has a primary focus on Afghanistan (Lawrence 2005: 100-2,158-9).



As shown in Figure 5.6 both Americans and Jews are mentioned in almost all of bin Laden's statements. These identities make up a large part of the collective action frame component of injustice. The obvious question is what happened in statement 13? The index score for America climbs above 600 in this statement, a score three times larger than the next highest which is found in statement 5. Statement 13 was released on November 12, 2001, the day the Taliban fell. Bin Laden used this occasion to declare that all Americans are responsible for the U.S. government's foreign policy: "...they pay taxes to their government and they voted for their president" (Lawrence 2005: 139-40). In this message America is presented

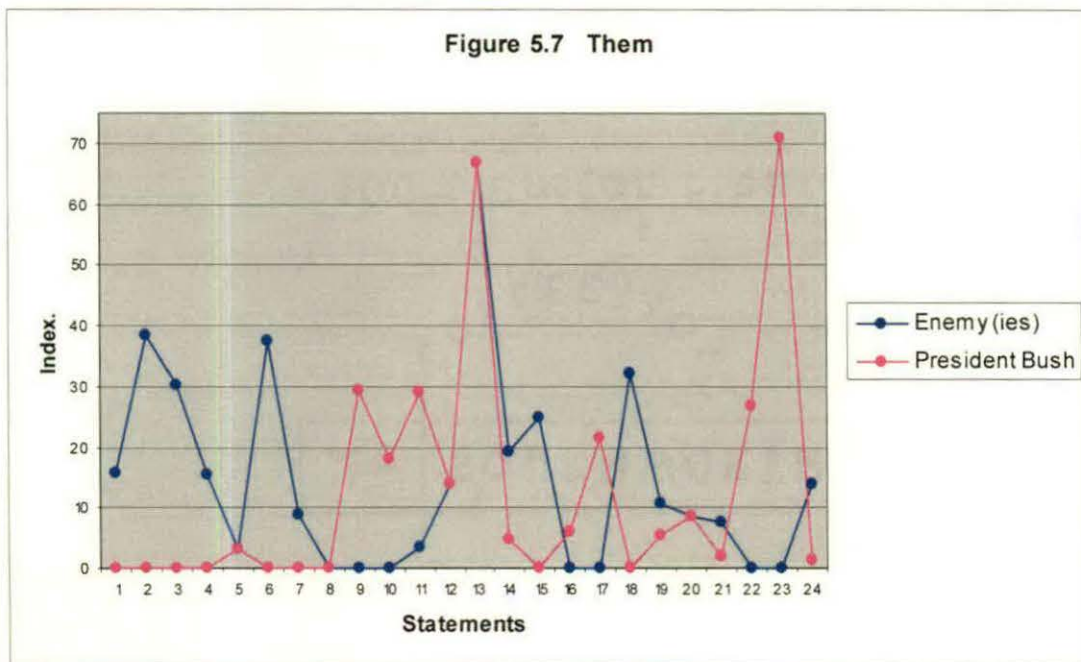
both from the perspective of injustice and agency. America commits injustices by being against Muslims in an ongoing crusade that is supported by a pro-Jewish lobby, and by killing people all throughout the Muslim world. On the other hand, Americans as a people may exercise agency for they have the power to stand up against their government's actions (Lawrence 2005: 140-4).

Statements 1 through 5 show a positive rise in the index score for America, which is the result of bin Laden's increasing focus on the injustices of America. In statement 4 he defines the relationships America has with Israel and Saudi Arabia. One instance of this cites the Judeo-American alliance:

After the end of the Cold War, America escalated its campaign against the Muslim world in its entirety, aiming to get rid of Islam itself. Its main focus in this was to target the scholars and the reformers who were enlightening the people to the dangers of the Judeo-American alliance (Lawrence 2005: 39).

Jews have a very consistent reference in the 24 statements. Jews were also most referenced in statement 13, which charges them with injustice. The first statement is the only one in which Jews/Israel was referenced more often than America. Interestingly, in this statement Jews/Israel were referenced eleven times while America was not referenced at all. Bin Laden shines a light on the Jewish occupation of Palestine:

The current Jewish enemy is not an enemy in his own original country fighting in its defense until he gains a peace agreement, but an attacking enemy and corrupter of religion and the world (Lawrence 2005: 9).



In Figure 5.7 the “them” category of enemy/enemies is shown referenced throughout the statements, though no particular pattern is apparent. Interestingly, the second highest index score for enemies shares the highest reference to President Bush. Enemy is used in statement 13 to separate the “us” from the “them” and to justify jihad against enemies who occupy Islamic lands (Lawrence 2005: 140-4). President George W. Bush is hardly mentioned until statement 9 where he is labeled the “biggest crusader” by bin Laden in referring to the neo-Crusader-Jewish

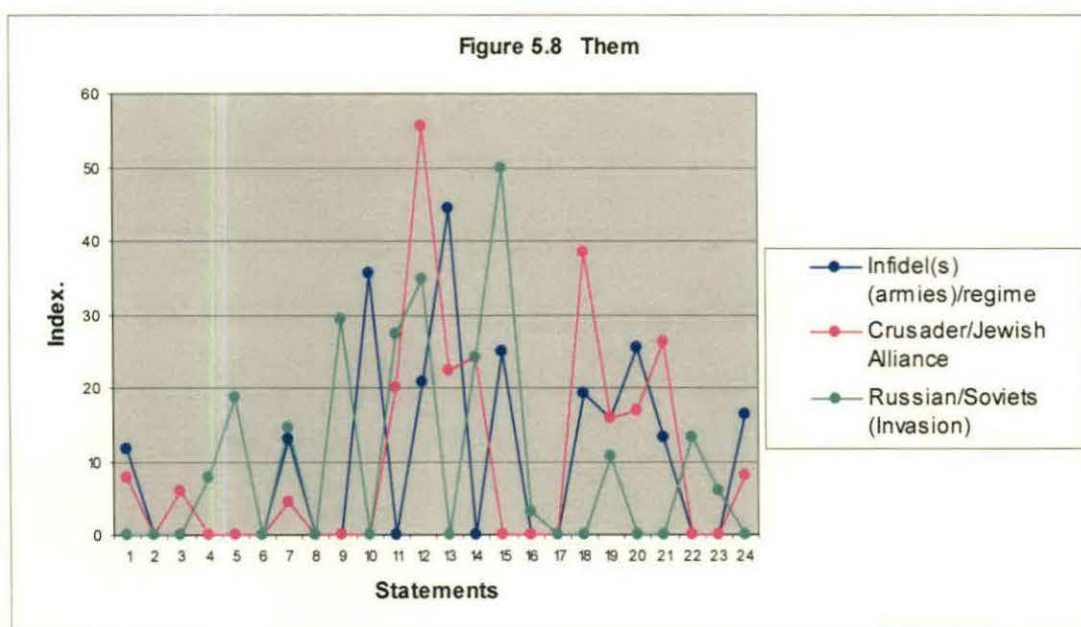
campaign (Lawrence 2005: 101). This statement released on September 24, 2001, falls between the 9/11 attacks and the U.S. air strikes on Afghanistan (Bergen 2006: 307, 317-8). From this statement on Bush is frequently mentioned in a number of the statements, statement 13 in particular.

Statement 13 was released on November 24, 2001 during the war in Afghanistan and following the air strikes on September 24. Here Bush is spoken of as an instigator of the war and bin Laden emphasizes Bush's use of the word "Crusade" in labeling the war (Lawrence 2005: 142-4). Statement 23 is a very special message unlike any of the other 24 messages. It was written to the American people in attempt to get them on the side of Muslims and to put an end to injustices enacted through U.S government foreign policy, including those concerning the Iraq war (Lawrence 2005: 238-243). The following passage sums up how Bush is portrayed in this statement:

...the Bush administration has likewise profited. Anyone seeing the enormity of the contracts won by dubious large corporations, like Halliburton and others connected to Bush, and his administration, can be certain of that. But the reality is that it is you, the American people and your economy, who are losing (Lawrence 2005: 242).

In Figure 5.8 we see that the "them" categories infidels and Russians are referenced on and off in bin Laden's messages. The highest index score for infidels is

in statement 13. Similar to enemies, infidels is used as a general label for the “them” category. On the other hand, Russians and Soviets are more specific identity labels. References to this identity gradually increase to a high index score of fifty in statement 15 and then drop to below twenty for the remainder of the messages. In statement 15 bin Laden speaks about the war in Afghanistan declaring that Americans and their allies will not prevail versus the mujahidin. He compares the current forces of global unbelief to the Russians in the 1980’s (Lawrence 2005: 159).



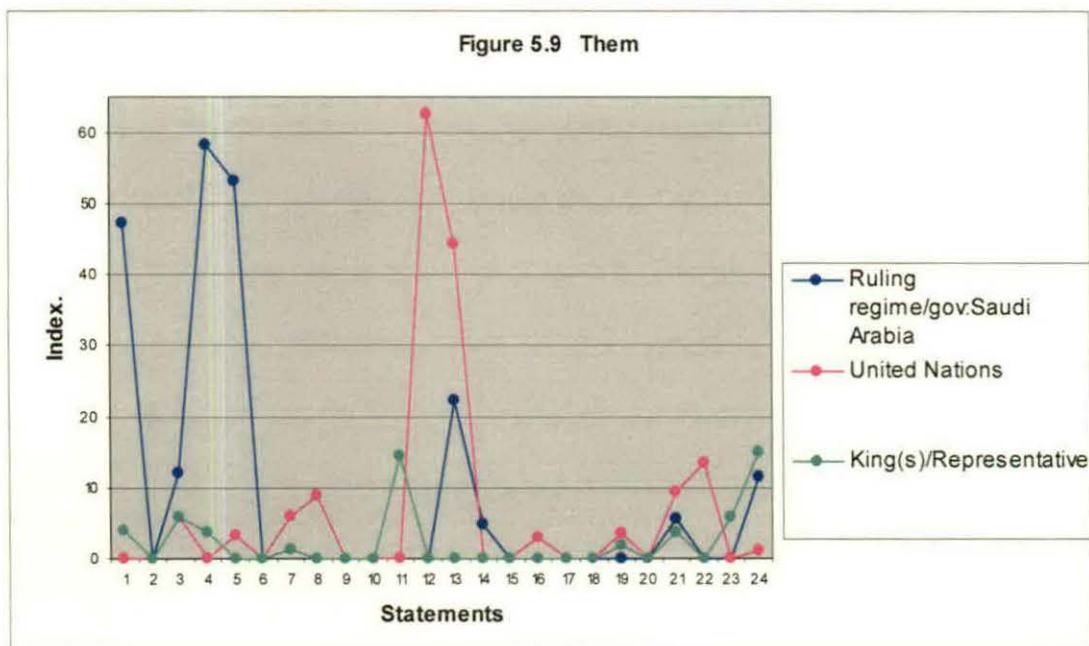
As Figure 5.8 shows, the Crusader/Jewish Alliance is most referenced in statement 12 followed by statement 18. Clearly, as the statements progress, bin Laden speaks of injustice in the form of the atrocities committed by this alliance. However, the Crusader/Jewish Alliance can be used interchangeably with other terms. This identity may be represented in several other forms that are more specific or

general, such as Global Crusader Alliance, Judeo-Christian Alliance, Jewish-Crusader Alliance, Neo-Crusader Jewish Campaign, Zionist American Alliance, and the Zionist Crusader Alliance. Most of these references are also presented in later statements showing the focus of bin Laden turning toward the injustices of America and Israel as allies. Crusader is a generic term but it refers for the most part to America, Israel, Russia, and Britain. The high index score in statement 12 is clearly a reflection of the war that was going on in Afghanistan, presented in the American and British Press as “the war on terror”. Bin Laden’s increased use of the term Crusader was spurred by President Bush’s word choice as pointed out here:

...the issue is one of faith not a “war on terror,” as Bush and Blair depict it...Bush left no room for doubts or media opinion. He stated clearly that this war is a Crusader war...Look at this war that began some days ago against Afghanistan. Is it a single unrelated event or is it part of a long series of Crusader wars against the Islamic World? (Lawrence 2005: 135).

Figure 5.8 shows that the Saudi Arabia regime is referred to a lot in early statements. As was discussed previously, the early 1990’s was a period in which bin Laden attempted to reform the Saudi regime through the Advice and Reformation Committee, primarily for their allowing of the U.S. occupation (Bergen 2006: 134,146). In statement 3 bin Laden discusses the harsh conditions that are plaguing

Saudi Arabia and questions Saudi legitimacy because of their inability to protect the land of Islam, allowing God's enemies (America Crusaders) to occupy it for years (Lawrence 2005: 27-8). In statement 4 the index scores for the Saudi regime peaks when bin Laden offers several options of reform to the Saudi regime and its people, such as releasing the honest scholars and reinstating Islamic law (Lawrence 2005: 38-9).

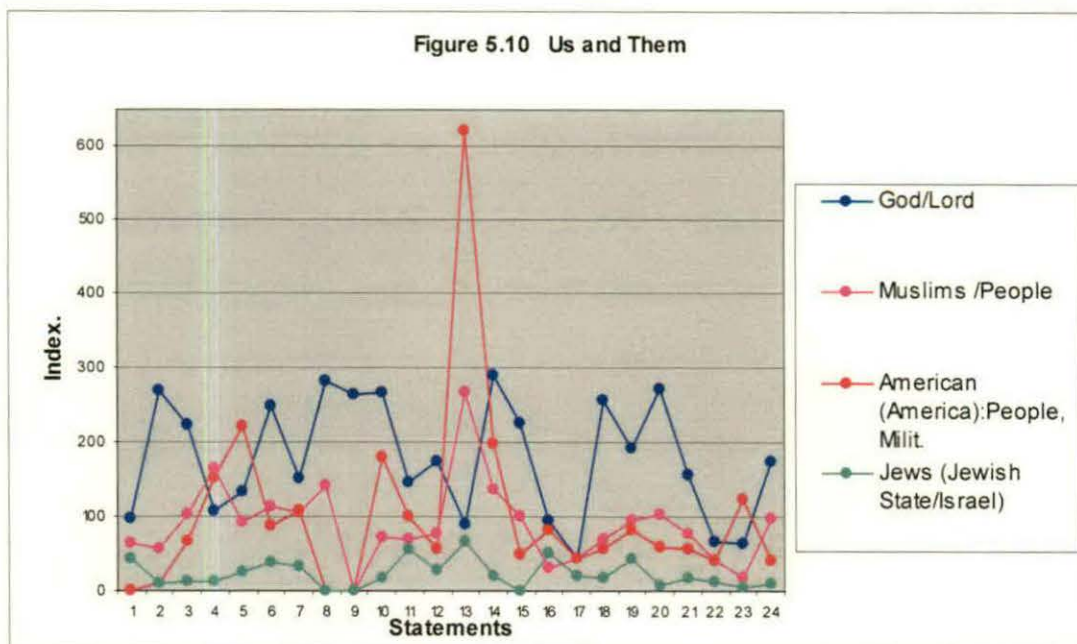


The political identities of the United Nations and King/Representative are mentioned somewhat consistently throughout bin Laden's messages. However, in two statements, there is a high number of references to the United Nations. This occurs in statements 12 and 13 where bin Laden tells Muslims and the world that the United Nations is not a responsible unit of protection. He cites the slaughter of

Bosnian Muslims and those occurring throughout Europe in the “safe havens of the United Nations;” he urges Muslims not to appeal to it for help (Lawrence 2005:134-44). In statement 12 he reveals concisely how he feels about the United Nations:

Aren't our tragedies actually a result of the United Nations' actions?
Who issued the decision to partition Palestine in 1947 and gave
Islamic lands to the Jews? It was the United Nations. Those who
maintain that they are the leaders of the Arabs and are still part of the
United Nations are contravening what was revealed to Muhammad.
Those who refer to international legitimacy have contravened the
legitimacy of the Qur'an and the teachings of the Prophet. For it is at
the hands of this same United Nations that we have suffered so much
(Lawrence 2005: 136).

Figure 5.10 is a graph that compares the two highest referenced political identities for the “us” and “them” categories respectively. These identities have already been evaluated in their separate categories above. What is of particular interest in this figure is the index score heights found in statement 13. America's frequency of mention in statement 13 is twice that of any other score in the entire graph. The index scores for Muslim/People reaches its highest limit in this statement as well. Curiously, God is less referred to in this same statement.



It is in the thirteenth statement, several months after the 9/11 attacks, that bin Laden declares that Muslims have the right to conduct “revenge attacks on the United States,” justifying this by blaming the U.S and its allies for killing Muslims, “in Palestine, Chechnya, Kashmir, Palestine, and Iraq.” (Lawrence 2005: 140-1). He cites the American people as part of the problem considering that they pay taxes and participate in the electoral process (Lawrence 2005: 140-1). This message consists of 207 lines, with America being referenced twenty-eight times as compared to four references to God.

In statement 9 the identities of Muslims, Jews, and Americans are not represented. However, similar identities are found in the statement such as the American Crusader Forces and allies, Neo-Crusader Jewish Campaign, and Muslim brothers in Pakistan.

Conclusion

Quantitative content analysis has allowed for a better understanding and discernment of the boundaries and identities found in bin Laden's statements. The frequencies of mention for God and Muhammad further reveal the religious context of his messages. Actors in the "us" category were referenced nearly twice that of actors of the "them" category, with God being the highest reference. After graphing and analyzing index scores, statement 13 released on November 12, 2001, revealed the most interesting findings, considering its high reference to "them" actors. America had the highest index score and was typically described as an agent of injustice. Here bin Laden also fuses the American people with their government. After analyzing the index graphs clear trends are not found, most likely because bin Laden was reacting and responding to events as they occurred. Each statement refers to actors that bin Laden finds most prominent in the recent events. Most interesting, if this is his approach then bin Laden may be viewed as a political entrepreneur who actually relies on events of injustice as an opportunity to motivate Muslims to commit to jihad.

The purpose of this chapter has been to complement the qualitative content analysis of the previous chapter by examining bin Laden's frequency of reference to political actors in his public statements. The main focus of this quantitative content analysis has been on the ten most frequent "us" identities and the ten most frequent "them" identities. I devised an index that permitted the frequency of mention of these identities to be compared between statements of different length. The index scores

for these identities were then presented in a series of graphs and the patterns were explained by referring to the contexts and the contents of bin Laden's statements. Appendix B provides a complete breakdown of the frequency of mention for lesser political identities that appear in bin Laden's messages.

Chapter 6

Discussion and Conclusion

The objective of this study was to develop a more complete understanding of Osama bin Laden's ideology and how it is conveyed in his statements to motivate, maintain, and unite political actors. Before doing this I needed a way to define al-Qaeda and its representatives without research bias. Avoiding a dramatization of evil and deviant labels such as "terrorist" I chose the neutral term jihadi. Al-Qaeda as a jihadi group has an interest to perform jihad, which is predominately considered a military obligation of Muslims to protect their religion and their lands from non-Muslim aggressors and occupiers. Some—including bin Laden—also consider jihad an obligation to rid Muslim countries of apostate rulers who violate Islamic law and rulers who collaborate with non-Muslim aggressors and occupiers (Lewis 1988: 72). Utilizing Tilly's politics of collective violence theory (Tilly 2003: 28-30), we can interpret Osama bin Laden as a political entrepreneur who provides and maintains organization, coordination, and networking links for al-Qaeda. A political entrepreneur also defines political actors and the boundaries that separate them (Tilly 2003: 29-34).

In this study I examined 24 public proclamations made by Osama bin Laden between 1994 and 2004. The background chapter presented the contexts in which these statements were made. There is a brief discussion of bin Laden's early life but the main focus remains on the ten year period in which these statements were made. This and the overview of the al-Qaeda organization, provides insight into how bin

Laden went from being primarily a businessman and member of the Afghanistan mujahidin to becoming a political entrepreneur of a violent social movement organization.

In studying the public proclamations of al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, three theoretical perspectives were used. The first of these was Tilly's politics of collective violence theory, a social interaction perspective that attempts to explain collective violence as the product of contentious politics. The political entrepreneur is a special political actor who organizes and represents constituencies of an organization such as al-Qaeda (Tilly 2003: 30). Osama bin Laden as a political entrepreneur has the ability to set boundaries, share stories, and establish social relations within and across boundaries (Tilly 2003: 32). Gamson's theory of collective action frames is the second theoretical perspective. It compliments Tilly's theory by providing a more interpretive approach to bin Laden's ideology. Through collective action frames, action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings legitimate and motivate the activities of social movements according to Gamson (1992: 7).

Injustice, agency and identity are Gamson's three collective action frame components that were used to evaluate the statements of Osama bin Laden. Coleman provided the third theoretical perspective used in this study. His ideas were helpful in conceptualizing the different types of political actors that appear in bin Laden's statements. Central to defining these political actor types was Coleman's (1990: 531) distinction between natural persons and corporate actors.

Since combining Tilly's and Gamson's theoretical perspectives is an innovation of the present study, I want to further assess the complementarities of the two perspectives. Tilly establishes that political entrepreneurs organize and network groups through social interaction. This interaction takes place within democratic and non-democratic regimes which provides direction as to how actions will be framed and what kind of collective violence may endure (Tilly 2003: 30-3). Frame analysis gives depth to further illuminate the processes illuminated in Tilly's theory.

Applying Gamson's interpretative approach the discourse of political entrepreneurs can be examined in the way they use collective action frames to motivate a social movement and define its goals (Gamson 1992: 7). Tilly also adds important dimensions to Gamson's approach in identifying types of governments from which specific political actors emerge and build social movements and organize collective violence (Tilly 2003: 30-3).

The 24 statements under examination came from *Messages to The World: The Statements of Osama bin Laden* (Lawrence 2005). Content analysis was used to reveal both the manifest and latent content of bin Laden's statements. Actors were pulled from the texts and their frequencies tallied for each statement. Following this procedure the content of the statements were analyzed and statements were separated by the collective action frame components of agency and injustice. With political actors separated by agency and injustice I was able to derive their political identity as an "us", "us/them", or "them" actor. The manifest (quantitative) content analysis used most frequently occurring "us" and "them" identities. The crucial elements that

political identities assemble (boundaries, shared stories, and relations across and within boundaries) were pulled from the separated categories of agency and injustice and were the basis for the latent (qualitative) content analysis.

Using Tilly's elements that political identities assemble, conceptualization of political identities, and contentious politics that may lead to collective violence, as well as Gamson's collective action frame components I was able to develop a deeper understanding of bin Laden's statements. The statements reveal "just" actors as found in forms of agency to include the Islamic umma and Muslim nations. Most actors predominating in forms of injustice are defined as "unjust" and include such actors as the United States, Israel, and the United Nations. These boundaries and identities that differentiate actors by an "us-them" distinction are further identified in the quantitative analysis. Shared stories found in bin Laden's messages exemplify Gamson's collective action frame components. One example of this is bin Laden's attempt to motivate the youth of Islam toward jihad by telling a story from the hadith about how Muhammad was motivated to jihad by Gabriel.

The intersection of relations across boundaries and injustice frequently occur in bin Laden's statements. An example of this is found in bin Laden's frequent discussion of what he refers to as the occupation of Saudi Arabia and the killing of Muslims by the "them" actor America. In an early statement released by bin Laden he issues a fatwa against the United States, and in later statements he praises attacks carried out by "us" actors against the enemy. These are examples of the intersection of relations across boundaries and agency. The issuing and glorification of military

pursuits against “them” actors are accompanied with other relations across boundaries such as peace offerings. Throughout bin Laden’s statements offers of security are granted to Europe, the United States, and the Saudi regime in exchange for reforms. Such peace overtures could also be seen as a strategy to strengthen boundaries. Bin Laden acting as diplomat understands that these peace offers are more than likely going to be denied. This denial of reformation for peace results in the widening of boundaries between the separate categories of “us” and “them” political actors.

The American and Israeli alliance is frequently mentioned in bin Laden’s statements as is the Saudi and American alliance. These alliances predominately define the intersection of social relations within boundaries of the “unjust” actors. Corporate actor networks such as these further define the boundaries between the crusader/global forces of unbelief and the Muslim jihadi movement. Relationships between al-Qaeda, Muslims, God, honorable scholars, and Afghan mujahidin that are frequently mentioned in bin Laden’s messages are good examples of the intersection of agency with social relations within boundaries.

The objective of the quantitative content analysis was to define political actors by the boundaries of “us” and “them”. Clarifying their identity involved a separation of actors based upon their occurrence in the divided forms of agency or injustice. Some actor’s identities could not be separated by this dichotomy due to their ambiguity, therefore they were placed in an “us/them” category, which was not analyzed. The “them” category consisted of 239 actors in the statements and the “us” category consisted of 130. Although the difference in number of actors was 109, it

could be concluded by the tallied frequencies that “us” actors were more referenced in the statements having a grand total of 3079, compared to the “them” category grand total which was 1900.

Most of the quantitative content analysis concentrated on the ten most frequent “us” identities and the ten most frequent “them” identities. So that the frequency of mention of these identities could be compared between statements of different length an index was created. Of these identities the “us” actor God was found to be the most frequently mentioned actor in bin Laden’s statements; almost double that of any other actor. America/American People was the most frequently mentioned “them” actor in the statements with an approximately equal reference to the second “us” actor, Muslims. Muhammad is the third “us” actor which further exemplifies how fundamentally religious bin Laden’s messages are.

The index scores of the 20 political identities were presented in a series of graphs using the contexts and contents of bin Laden’s statements to explain their patterns and extremes. God was a consistent high reference found throughout the entirety of bin Laden’s statements. One of the most interesting findings was in the statement released on November 12, 2001. In this statement index score’s peaked for the political identities America, Muslims, Enemy(ies), and Jews/Israel. America is referenced more than any other political actor in this statement and with an index score above 600, and America/American People is the highest referenced actor in a single statement. In this message bin Laden declares that Muslims have the right to conduct revenge attacks against the United States, since America and its allies are to

blame for killing Muslims around the world. American people are viewed just as guilty as their government because they pay taxes and participate in the electoral process (Lawrence 2005: 140-1).

Bin Laden's early statements also show a unique pattern in his mention of honorable scholars. As shown in the graphs and content of the first eight statements the role of scholars is very significant, but in the remaining messages there role is somewhat less important. In the early statements he announces the grievances of Muslims and how some scholars like bin Baz have acted unjustly towards the umma by supporting the Saudi regime. Most interesting, it seems that early on bin Laden is attempting to legitimate himself as an Islamic scholar, continually referencing honorable and revered scholars to justify his own role. Though his leadership of al-Qaeda began in 1988, his legitimacy as a sheikh would not be established until the mid 1990's.

Both manifest and latent content analysis of the statements reveal bin Laden's continual attempt to motivate Muslims and the umma to jihad against "them" actors, predominately the United States, Israel, and the United Nations. After analyzing the index score graphs no clear trend was found in the statements. Thus, it could be concluded that bin Laden is responding and reacting to events as they occur. If this is the case bin Laden as a political entrepreneur is highly reliant on opportunism. As Tilly describes, there are several mechanisms of opportunistic violence including the "selective retaliation for previously experienced wrongs" and the "activation of

available us-them boundaries” (Tilly 2003: 132). These mechanisms are often used by bin Laden.

As discussed in the statement released on December 26, 2001, Bin Laden continually focuses on attracting young people to commit to jihad in his messages. This is similar recruiting approach taken by “legitimate” armies of “legitimate” governments. Bin Laden also uses kernels of truth in his statements which may be one reason why many support him ideologically. An example of this can be found in the statement released on December 29, 1994, concerning his discussion of the Jewish occupation. He points out that the Israeli government has occupied Palestine for over 60 years, this is a historical fact. Those displaced are Palestinian Arabs predominately Muslims. Their land and homes as resources have been denied them, resulting in gross inequality. In the statement released on October 29, 2004, bin Laden once again gives bits of truth concerning the thousands of casualties and wounded on both sides in Iraq and Palestine as a result of American injustices. It true that there have been many people killed and wounded in Iraq, as of April 12, 2007, over 60,000 civilians and 3,282 American soldiers have been killed by the military intervention in Iraq. The growing “civil war” in Iraq is increasing these casualties and there is some evidence that bin Laden is fueling it by supporting insurgents.

In the statement released on August 23, 1996, bin Laden discusses the Ottoman Empire and how it was carved up by Britain, France, and Italy after World War I. Bin Laden’s use of historical accuracy in bits and pieces is important in mobilizing collective sentiment. In a statement released on February 14, 2002, he

further discusses the Sykes-Picot agreement. However, later in the same message he says there is another new plot to re-carve up the Middle East into a state of Greater Israel. Bin Laden is able to motivate jihad by conjuring up fear from a historical division of political boundaries and applying it to the present day. This alleged grand plot to re-carve the Middle East into a Greater Israel also signifies an anti-Semitic ideology expressed throughout bin Laden's statements. Similar to racist ethnocentric group ideologies, bin Laden utilizes anti-Semitic stereotypes characterizing the Jewish people as wealthy and politically powerful world players. Another example of this can be found in the statement released in October 6, 2002, where he accuses Arab governments of stealing the wealth of the umma and surrendering most of Palestine to the Jews.

There are numerous other examples of where bin Laden tries to mobilize support. In the statement released on December 1998, bin Laden focuses on the Soviet Union as a reminder to Muslims that Islam has defeated infidels before. The death of women and children is also important in mobilizing support for his jihad. In a statement released on November 7, 2001, he says that one million children have been killed in Iraq as a result of America's injustices. As discussed earlier the index grand totals for "us" actors is nearly twice that of "them" actors. This could be as a result of bin Laden's goal to unite all Muslims under his standard of jihad.

It is also interesting how bin Laden views illegitimate state violence. In the statement released on October 29, 2004, he discusses the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. He expresses anger at the whole world for not preventing this act of war. Then he

focuses on the women and children who were killed as a result of the violence. This is an attempt to draw attention to illegitimate state violence that kills non-military personal. In the November 12, 2002 statement, bin Laden discusses illegitimate state violence again, specifically the United States' bombardment of homes killing innocents in Palestine. It is also in this statement that bin Laden portrays President Bush as a monarch rather than a democratically elected leader—someone who runs an empire not a nation-state. He goes on to say that the “White House” better known as the American government, is a criminal gang. Later, he portrays them as a group of murderers.

Bin Laden has used events such as 9/11 and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq in his statements to motivate and mobilize Muslims to jihad. It should be mentioned that mechanisms of opportunism are also used as a mobilizing tactic by the United States to do similar forms of violence. Exploitation and opportunity hoarding are two other relational mechanisms used by bin Laden to recruit jihadi followers. We see this in the socialization of Muslim youth through bin Laden's ideology. They are led to believe they will become martyrs and ascend to paradise if they sacrifice themselves through acts of violence. Exploitation occurs when “powerful connected people command resources from which they draw significantly increased returns by coordinating the efforts of outsiders whom they exclude from the full value added by that effort” (Tilly 2003: 10). Tilly explains that opportunity hoarding occurs, “when members of a categorically bounded network acquire access to a resource that is valuable, renewable, subject to monopoly, supportive of network activities, and

enhanced by the network's *modus operandi*" (Tilly 2003: 10). These mechanisms are used to sustain and generate numerous inequalities between categories of humans which are reinforced through boundaries based on nationality, ethnicity, race, gender, religion (Tilly 2003: 10).

Bin Laden's messages are also riddled with discussions of oil and how it is being exploited by the Crusader Alliance (Israel, America, and Britain). In a statement released in December 1998, he describes the alliance plundering Muslims' oil. One of his more interesting discussions of oil is found in the statement released on October 29, 2004. In this message bin Laden explains that President George W. Bush placed oil and private interests before the public interests of Americans. After bin Laden discusses the number of casualties and injured as a result of the Iraq war he says, "Bush's hands are covered with the blood of all these casualties, from both sides, all in the name of oil and more business for his private companies" (Lawrence 2005: 243). This passage seems somewhat contradictory considering that Americans are viewed as guilty of injustice earlier, and now they are viewed as victims due to the perpetration of injustice by their government. The Bush administration has justified the military intervention into Iraq as an attempt to end corruption and human rights abuses by initiating a forceful regime change. It is true that political corruption exists at high levels in oil-dependant countries such as Iraq. However, the transition of regime change under the leadership of United States has been riddled with corruption itself (Le Billion 2005: 685-6). This of course provides bin Laden with more information to utilize in building collective sentiment.

The reconstruction effort of Iraq involves only a few companies with large infrastructure contracts. Of these companies, many are from the United States and are connected to the Bush administration through campaign finance or private endeavors. For example, Halliburton has made billions from the reconstruction effort, and U.S. Vice-President Dick Cheney was its former CEO. Although the war was initiated by the United States, most of the financing for reconstruction has come from the oil revenues and repatriated funds of Iraq (Le Billion 2005: 686, 696). While bin Laden is partially responsible for the death toll in Iraq (aiding in the insurgency) the occurrence of petroviolence should not be underestimated. Resentment in Iraq has been fueled by the lack of improved living conditions and economic benefits which has resulted in further violence. Infrastructure projects and flow of oil has been disrupted by insurgents opposing the United States (Le Billion 2005: 686-7).

Again, some of the most inequitable, socially unjust, and chaotic political economies are those that are in oil-dependent states. According to Transparency International petro-states rank among the lowest on the World Corruption Index (the lower the score, the higher the level of corruption). Watts clarifies that, “as the proportion of GDP accounted for by oil increases, economic underdevelopment, state corruption, and political violence grow in equal measure” (Watts 2005: 384-5). Petroviolence has occurred all around the world. In Africa, oil protestors have been killed by private military forces and through the utilization of arms imported by oil companies. Indigenous opposition and insurgents have been suppressed through

military campaigns initiated by the Columbian government which are supported by the U.S. military to protect oil pipelines. In the Niger Delta, during the early 1990's ethnic minorities experienced numerous human rights violations at the hands of state security forces and mobile police working in the interest of Shell Oil (Watts 2005: 391).

Lastly, there are also important gender implications found in bin Laden's statements. Women and children are viewed primarily as victims in his statements. In a statement released on October 29, 2004, women are portrayed as the more vulnerable gender and like children, they are being used to generate sympathy for bin Laden's cause among traditional Muslim men. There are places in his messages where he expresses the idea of patriarchal ownership in labeling women and children as property and calling them, "our women and children." Interestingly, in a statement released in November 1996, bin Laden includes men in the category of victims but not without first qualifying these men as "weaker".

In the interview statement released on March 1997, bin Laden calls out to the mothers of American troops to end American aggressions. It is interesting that bin Laden values American women here as people with political power. Women of the United States are viewed as people with agency and a voice that is strong enough to stop the war, whereas Muslim women (in particularly those in Saudi Arabia) are viewed as victims and property. The actors in bin Laden's statements are predominately male. In fact of the twenty most frequently mentioned political actors that I examined women are mentioned rarely. They are portrayed mainly as victims

therefore, and are placed with children and civilians who make up the category of innocents (an “us” actor). Women are only mentioned once in the category of “them” actors, this being the mothers of American troops.

In almost all of bin Laden’s messages masculine agency predominates. His description of the mujahidin sounds like a patriarchal gendered social movement of military fighters made up of brothers, cousins, fathers, and sons of Islam. The frequent androcentricity of his remarks continues with actors taking only the form of men, such as the brotherhood of faith, holy warriors, and heroes. Although bin Laden’s remarks are gendered in nature the reality is that these usages are a function of the Arabic language where gender specificity is built right into the morphology of nouns and verbs (personal communication, Edward Reeves, April 5, 2007). Bin Laden is following the conventions of his language in such cases, although these conventions clearly have cultural, social, and political implications.

Limitations of This Study

There are several weaknesses of this research that bear mentioning. Relying on translations rather than the original Arabic texts is one of the major limitations. An interpretive analysis seeks to understand the viewpoint of the actor as it is expressed in his or her own words. The translator poses the possibility of misinterpretation. However, in the present case, the translator states that he tried to remain as faithful to bin Laden’s words as possible.

The study was limited to texts that were already recorded. It is also important to note that this study only examines the messages bin Laden released up until 2004.

This is an on-going process. Bin Laden has released more recent messages under different contexts. Studying an on-going social phenomenon requires some limit on the collection of data in order to ensure quality research.

Although, content analysis was the research methodology used, the study would be better if an integrated approach had been taken combining several methods such as interviews or surveys. Causal relationships between variables can not be tested using content analysis. Accessibility to raw data on bin Laden and al-Qaeda and other jihadi groups may prove the greatest limitation of this study and others like it, because these groups operate in a highly secretive manner.

A further limitation of this study is that several of the messages under analysis were shortened in length. Many of the praises and invocations of God and Muhammad were omitted from the messages for reasons of clarity to non-Muslim readers. The omissions may have detracted from the religious tone of the messages and thrown off the frequency totals for God and Muhammad. However, these identities are still found to be two of the most referenced “us” political actors, and therefore bin Laden’s messages remain fundamentally religious in tone.

There are other limitations concerning the political actors found in bin Laden’s statements. Some of the ambiguous actors found in the “us/them” category could have been classified as “us” or “them” if their contexts were further evaluated. This would have required a lengthier amount of time and would probably add little to the research findings, considering these actors were less represented in the statements. As a further limitation, the list of political actors in Appendix B is exhaustive but is

not exclusive. For example, the Crusader/Jewish alliance is treated as a separate political actor from the American Crusader Forces but the two political actors may overlap in bin Laden's frame of reference.

The neutral and less prejudicial approach that I applied in this research was not realized in full. Several of the resources I cited in my research, though authoritative, did not approach the study of bin Laden and al-Qaeda completely objectively. In fact, several authors such as the former CIA employee Rohan Gunaratna criminalized these actors.

Opportunities for Future Research

At the conclusion of this study, it became clear to me that there are opportunities for future research. The theoretical perspectives of Tilly and Gamson could be further explored—in particular the political entrepreneur and how he/she frames political actors in their interactions. Political entrepreneurs in different sectors could be studied. This would entail a similar analysis of another actor's ideology in a different sector, such as a study of President George W. Bush's press releases or the official statements of the Saudi Arabian Government. Using behaviorist and interpretive theoretical perspectives together allows for a more grounded study. Combining these perspectives allows for the study of a political entrepreneur's ideology and how it motivates support and creates boundaries between political actors, using collective action frame components in the political entrepreneur's communications.

Future research may also concentrate more on the network structure of al-Qaeda and how activities are coordinated. This may help lessen the gap between the

proclamations and ideology of bin Laden and the actual events or attacks attributed to al-Qaeda or other social movements. Researchers engaged in future studies should remain as non-biased and unobtrusive as possible. Critical criminology (Ferrell 1998) offers a promising perspective to study political actors and their interpretations of the world as well as the effects of the political policies of government entities on social movements and vice versa.

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Appendix A

Osama bin Laden's Statements Categorized by the Collective Action Frame Components Injustice and Agency

Appendix A

Osama bin Laden's Statements Categorized by the Collective Action Frame Components Injustice and Agency

Statement # 1 Injustice		Date of Statement: 12/29/1994
Actors	Forms of Injustice	
Hon. Sheikh: bin Baz	(pg 5) ...we wanted to remind you at this time, an age in which falsehood has spread, in which corrupt and wayward people have caused controversy, and in which the truth has been buried, preachers have been imprisoned and reformists silenced. What is even more curious is that this has not only happened in your knowledge and with your silence, but as a result of your judicial decrees (fatwa) and opinions.	
(Corrupt/Wayward People)		
(Practice/Legalizers Usury)	(6-7) We have heard from you only to the effect that practicing usury is absolutely prohibited, although this position ignores the fact that your words deceive people because you do not distinguish in your judgment between those who merely practice usury and those who legitimate it and make it illegal...distinction is very clear: he who practices usury is committing a serious and grave offense..but as for he who makes usury legal, in doing so he becomes an apostate and an infidel who has placed himself outside the religious community, because he has considered himself an equal and a partner to God in deciding what is permissible and what is not.	
(Practitioners/Regime of Usury)	(7) Although he who practices usury to the utmost degree has declared war on God and on his Prophet, yet still we hear you expressing praise and commendation for this regime, which is not satisfied merely with its addiction to usury but has also legalized and justified it.	
(King)	(7) When the king hung the cross around his neck and showed it to the world, happy and smiling, you excused his deed and justified this terrible act, despite the fact that it clearly constitutes unbelief and that it shows pleasure and preference for the perpetrator of the deed, rather than knowledge.	
(Crusader-Jewish Alliance/Regime)	(7) When the forces of the aggressive Crusader-Jewish alliance decided during the Gulf War in connivance with the regime to occupy the country in the name of liberating Kuwait, you justified this with an arbitrary fatwa excusing this terrible act, which insulted the pride of our umma and sullied its honor, as well as polluting its holy places. You considered this to be a way of seeking help from the infidels in your time of need, neglecting the curbs and restrictions such as calling for help necessarily imposed.	
(Saudi Regime/Comm. Soc Yemen)	(8) When the ruling Saudi regime undertook to help and support the leaders of apostasy, the Communists Socialists in Yemen against the Muslim Yemeni people in the last war there, you kept a committed silence. But when the tide	

turned against these communists you issued no doubt under pressure from the regime advice calling on everyone to agree to peace and reconciliation on the basis that they are all Muslims! It is ludicrous to suggest that Communists are Muslims whose blood should be spread. Since when were they Muslims? Wasn't it you who previously issued a fatwa calling them apostates and making it a duty to fight them in Afghanistan, or is there a difference between Yemeni Communists and Afghan Communists? Have doctrinal concepts and the meaning of God's unity become so confused? The regime is still sheltering some of these leaders of unbelief in a number of cities in the country, and yet we have heard no disapproval from you.

(Saudi Regime)

(8) When the regime decided to attack Sheikhs Salman al-Auda and Safar al-Hawali who had stood up for truth and suffered much harm, you issued a fatwa condoning everything suffered by the two sheikhs as well as justifying the attacks and punishments suffered by the preachers, sheikhs, and youth of our umma who were with them.

(Regime/Fatwa/Jew Peace)

(9) ...your latest astonishing fatwa justifying peace with Jews, which is a disaster for Muslims. This was clearly a response to the political wishes of the regime, which decided to reveal what it previously had in mind and enter into this farce of capitulation to the Jews. You issued a fatwa wholly endorsing this peace, which was praised and lauded by the prime minister of the Zionist enemy and his parliament, after which the Saudi regime announced its intent for more normalization with the Jews.

(Crusader-Jewish/Arab tyrants)

(9) ...you were not satisfied with abandoning Saudi Arabia, home of the two Holy Sanctuaries, to the Crusader-Jewish forces of occupation, until you had brought another disaster upon Jerusalem, the third of the Sanctuaries by conferring legitimacy on the contracts of surrender to the Jews that were signed by the traitorous and cowardly Arab tyrants. These contracts constitute a serious and dangerous calamity containing deceit and deception from a number of different perspectives.

(Fatwa/Enemy occup. Palestine)

(9-10) Palestine could do without this kind of fatwa, which abandons the jihad and lets things be, which accepts the enemy's occupation of the holiest of the Muslims' holy places after the two Holy Sanctuaries, and which confers legitimacy on this occupation.

(Jewish occupation)

(10) (related as a form of injustice given its hypocrite connotation) ...remind you at this point of your previous fatwa on this issue. When you were asked how to liberate Palestine, you said that it was impossible to reach a solution unless this was considered an Islamic issue, and unless we stand shoulder to shoulder in solidarity with Muslims in order to save them, unless we wage an Islamic jihad against the Jews until the land is returned to its people and these deviant Jews return to their country.

(Apostate Rulers)

(10) ...Apostate rulers...are not acting in the interest of our umma. But through these fatwa's of yours you are giving legitimacy to these secular regimes and acknowledging their authority over Muslims, in contradiction of the fact that you have previously pronounced them to be infidels. This has been made clear to you by a select group of scholars and preachers in their appeal to you to refrain from issuing such fatwa's.

(11) This fatwa of yours was deceitful, as it contained shamefully misleading generalizations. It is not even valid

	as a fatwa on the authority of a just peace, let alone this fake peace with the Jews, which is a huge betrayal of Islam and Muslims. No normal Muslim would accept it, let alone a scholar like you who is obliged to show zeal for our religious community and umma.
Practitioners of Usury	(11) The falsehood in previous fatwa's, even if not issued by you, were knowingly uttered by their authors and had dangerous consequences, but when they come from you, it is certain that the fault in them should not be ascribed to a lack of legal knowledge on your part, but rather to a lack of understanding of the truth of reality.
	(7) The political and economic crises that the country is suffering, and the crimes of all varieties that have spread through it like wildfire, are punishment from God. They are part of the war God has declared on those who have not ceased to practice usury and similar evils and of the eradication of usury that He has ordained.
Saudi Arabia: State Inst./Banks	(6) ...spread of corruption, which has penetrated all aspects of life...various evils have spread as detailed in the advisory memo submitted by a select group of scholars and reformists...most serious things the scholars highlighted...was the setting up of rival authority to God. This can be seen with the enactment of man-made laws that deem illegal acts to be permissible, the worst of which is the practice of usury, which is now widespread in the country thanks to the usurious state institutions and banks whose towers are competing with the minarets of the two Holy Sanctuaries.
Saudi Arabia: Ruling Regime	(6) ...usurious regimes and laws which these banks and institutions are working are legitimate in the eyes of the ruling regime and officially certified by it.
(Regime/Arab Tyrannies: Jews)	(10) Given this false peace with the Jewish enemy, to which defeatist Arab tyrannies and regimes are committing themselves, comes full of conditions, can it really be allowed to happen? Everyone knows that this is not the case. For this alleged peace that the rulers and tyrants are falling over themselves to make with the Jews is nothing but a massive betrayal, epitomized by their signing of the documents of capitulation and surrender of the Holy City of Jerusalem and all of Palestine to the Jews, and their acknowledgment of Jewish sovereignty over Palestine forever.
(Apostate Rulers)	(10) These apostate rulers who are fighting against God and His Messenger have no legitimacy or authority over Muslims, and they are not acting in the interests of our umma.
Jewish enemy	(9) The current Jewish enemy is not an enemy settled in his own original country fighting in its defense until he gains a peace agreement, but an attacking enemy and corrupter of religion and the world.

Statement # 1 Agency

Date of Statement: 12/29/1994

Actors

Forms of Agency

Scholars

(pg 4) ...great status the scholars..given by God...He has given them this distinguished standing, since theirs is the legacy of the Prophets, from whom they have inherited this religion. They protect it from the corruption of fanatics, from false ascriptions of liars, from the interpretations of the ignorant and from dilutions of profligate oppressors. They represent the model exemplars of our umma in promoting victory of truth, despite all its burdens and preferring it to a worldly life.

(7) ...ibn Abbas said, as related by ibn Jarir: Committing usury is a serious offence, so the leader of the Muslims should call the offender to repent and punish him if he fails to do so. This is just for those who practice usury, so what about those who legalize it?

(Qualifications:Scholars & fatwa)

(11) Anyone who undertakes to issue a fatwa concerning the serious issues of our umma has a duty to be knowledgeable about all the dimensions, and the dangers and detrimental effects that might ensue from it. Such knowledge is one of indispensable conditions of becoming a jurist.

Revered Scholars

(pg4-5) ...forefathers of our umma and their successors, undertook these missions admirably. Sa'id bin Jubayr's stance in the face of al-Hajjaj's tyranny, when he stood up for the truth, Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal's challenge to the power of the sultan and his patience in the struggle over the nature of the Qur'an, and Taymiyya's heroic endurance of prison for the victory of the traditions of the Prophet..all these are examples of people who embraced their duty so that truth would be victorious and out of zeal for their religion.

(9) (referring to Jewish enemy/occupation) Sheikh of Islam ibn Taymiyya apply: There is no greater duty after faith than unconditionally fighting the attacking enemy who corrupts religion and the world. He must be resisted as hard as possible, as stipulated by our companions the scholars and others.

(Issuing a fatwa)

(11) The Imam ibn al-Qayyim says: Neither the jurist nor the ruler can issue a fatwa and rule in truth without two kinds of knowledge: first, material, tangible knowledge and true understanding of the surrounding context, and secondly, the duty of understanding God's judgment that he has laid down in His book and on the tongue of His Messenger. He then has to apply the one to the other.

(11) Imam ibn Taymiyya: When it comes to jihad, we must take into consideration the correct opinion of religious scholars who have experienced what is confronting the worldly men, except for those who focus solely on the ritual aspects of religion; their opinion should not be taken, nor should the opinion of religious scholars who have no experience in the world.

(Standing for God/Religion)

(12-13) Imam Abu Hanifa and others with their great integrity in matters of religion, avoided working with the rulers of their age, even though those sultans cannot be compared to the rulers of today, whose degeneracy and corruption of religion is no secret. And in our time, when Sheikh Abdallah bin Hamid has realized the danger of the course that the ruling Saudi regime is taking, and the damaging consequences for those who participate or are

Hon Sheikh: bin Baz

(Palestine jihad)

(Why the reminder to bin Baz)

(Tyrants/Opressors)

Muhammad

implicated in it and desert their religion, he resigned from the Supreme Council of Judges. The Imam al-Khattabi warned of getting involved with these rulers: I wish I knew who is getting involved with them today but does not believe their lies and who is speaking justly when he sees their councils, and who is advising them and who is taking advice from them.

(5) ...remind you of your duty to your religion and to our umma, and to bring your attention back to your enormous responsibility. For recalling this will be of benefit to the believers.

(9) The legal duty regarding Palestine and our brothers there, these poor men, women, and children who have nowhere to go is to wage jihad for the sake of God, and to motivate our umma to jihad so that Palestine may be completely liberated and returned to Islamic sovereignty.

(10) The kind of decree that fully supports the enemy's attempts to face down the zealous Islamic efforts to liberate Palestine by means of jihad, which the operations of heroes and the youth of Muslim jihad in Palestine have shown to be the only useful way to confront the enemy and guarantee the country's liberation, God willing.

(11-12) The necessary conditions of such fatwa's cannot be fulfilled (due to his lack of understanding the truth of reality), so they are therefore unfit to be issued in the first place. This makes it necessary for the issuer to stop issuing fatwa's, and to leave it to the specialists who can bring together knowledge of legal judgments and knowledge of reality.

(12) ...our considerable concern at the state of our umma and of scholars such as you is what motivated us to remind you of all this. For we esteem you and those like you too highly to think that the ruling regime could exploit you in such a terrible way and throw you in the face of every preacher and reformists, or that every word of truth and call to honesty would fall silent at your fatwa's and opinions, as happened with your response to the Memorandum of Advice and the Committee for the Defense of Legal Rights, and others.

(12) ...you have reached a good age, and you have achieved much in the service of Islam, so fear God and distance yourself from these tyrants and oppressors who have declared war on God and His Messenger, and stand with the righteous men. The forefathers of our umma and their successors have set a good example, and one of the most prominent characteristics of these righteous scholars was the way they disassociated themselves from the sultans.

(13-14) What we have mentioned is known by men of knowledge and a select group of our umma's scholars and preachers has previously brought it to you attention, presenting to you several appeals in this regard. They included the one made a while back asking you to refrain from the fatwa justifying this alleged peace with the Jews which is no more than capitulation. They showed that this fatwa did not meet the necessary conditions of legality and they warned of the many dangers both religious and worldly that would follow from it. (Mentions the signatories of 11 honorable Sheikhs).

(8) God cursed him who accommodates an innovator.

(towards bin Baz)

(13) Whoever enters the sultan's door has be led astray. (So beware honorable sheikh of relying on these men whether in word or deed)

God

(13) (as related by al-Bukhari) He who believes in God, let him say something good on the Last Day or be silent.

(13) (OBL referring to bin Baz) ...and do not rely on those who have been oppressive or else the fire will befall you for what other protectors do you have than God? and you will not be victorious.

OBL (request to God)

(14) we ask God to respond to our striving for truth and provide for us, his followers. We ask Him to show the liar his lies, and help us avoid them, and to establish an order of guidance for our umma in which those who obey Him will be proud and those who disobey him will be humbled and in which good is enjoined and evil rejected, and in which justice is done and the truth is spoken, in which the banner of jihad is raised up high to restore to our umma its pride and honor, and in which the banner of God's unity is raised once again over every stolen Islamic land from Palestine to al-Andalus and other Islamic lands that were lost because of the betrayals of rulers and the feebleness of Muslims. We ask Him to direct our affairs for the best and take away our sins. We ask Him to help us to say and do the right things, and for success tin what He loves and what pleases Him in life, and for the best outcome when we die. He is our protector and enabler.

Statement # 2 Injustice**Date of Statement: 1995/1996****Actors****Forms of Injustice****Honorable Scholars**

(p15) Aware...degree of degradation & corruption to which our Islamic Umma has sunk its govt. and cowardice of many of its scholars in the face of its enemies, as well its internal divisions...because neglect of religion and weakness of faith which allowed the enemy to attack

(17) ...many scholars who were supposed to stand up for the truth, support their people and motivate our umma towards their duty for preparing for jihad, have forsaken our umma and pandered to rulers.

(17) Our Islamic umma is confronting a very grave challenge and subjected to terrible aggression

(18) ...the divine punishment afflicting the umma is due to the neglect of its religion and the abandonment of jihad for the sake of God

The Enemy

(15) The enemy invaded the land of our umma, violated her honor, shed her blood and occupied her sanctuaries.. aggression reached...catastrophic, disastrous point...brought about calamity unprecedented in history of our umma

American/West Crusad. Forces

(16) ...invasion by American and western Crusader forces of the Arabian peninsula and Saudi Arabia, home of Noble Ka'ba, sacred house of God, Muslims direction of prayer, noble sanctuary of prophet, city of God's Messenger, where prophetic revelation was recieved...momentous event unprecedented both in pagan and Islamic history...Crusaders managed to achieve their historic ambitions and dreams against our Islamic umma, gaining control over Islamic holy places and holy sanctuaries, and hegemony over the wealth and riches of our umma, turning Arabian peninsula into the biggest air, land, and sea base in the region

(17) directed at hon. scholars: first, biggest, and most dangerous Crusader invasion of Saudi Arabia

(17) Crusaders occupation of Saudi Arabia

OBL**Regions Rulers**

(p16) Poem: ...no solace for what happened to Islam. The peninsula's fate cannot be mourned

(p16) All happened on watch of regions rulers, ..their active participation...these people actually implementing the plans of our umma's enemies. This invasion was financed by these rulers using our umma's wealth and savings

(17) ...leaders some were counting on to defend our umma from aggression appear in fact to be the tools of that same aggression

(17) (Islamic Umma) Her rulers and many of her scholars have forsaken her.

(17) Our umma has despaired of all those politically and militarily bankrupt leaders, who have lost all credibility.

Jews**General Injustice**

(17) Jews violation of Palestine and the first of two directions of prayer

(17) the destruction and slaughter being meted out to Muslims in Chechnya today and Bosnia yesterday and throughout the world everyday, can matters get any worse?

Actors

Forms of Agency

Honorable Scholars

- (p17) OBL reminds them of the covenant: you made with God, to show people the truth without fear or apprehension.
- (17) ...this is your role..today is your day.
- (17) ...who will lead and direct her if not you?
- (17) (umma)...She is looking to the divine scholars who lead her with inspiration and drive her on the right path and fight with her in the theatres and battlefields of jihad for the sake of God almighty. If you do not dedicate yourselves to this task now then what are you waiting for?
- (17) ...would you give the reins of our umma to secular, apostate opportunists?
- (18) ...come lead your umma...and call her to God, and return her to her religion in order to correct beliefs, spread knowledge, enjoin good, and forbid evil. Call her to jihad for the sake of God and call her to motivate people for it.
- (19) ...rise up for the sake of God.

God

- (17) God took a pledge from those who were given the Scripture-'Make it known to people; do not conceal it. As for those who hide the proofs and guidance We send down, after We have made them clear to people in scripture, God rejects them and so do others.
- (18) If you do not go out and fight, God will punish you severely and put others in your place, but you cannot harm Him in any way. The painful torment of which God warns those who refrain from jihad is that He will give authority to their enemies over them in this world.
- (19) (directed to scholars) Why is it said to you, Go and fight in God's way do you dig your heels in the earth? Do you prefer this world to the life to come? How small the enjoyment of this world is compared with the life to come.If you do not go out and fight, God will punish you severely and put others in your place, but you cannot harm Him in any way. God has power over all things
- (19) OBL asks God: to give our umma true guidance and establish an order of guidance for our umma in which those who obey him will be proud and those who disobey him will be humbled and in which good is enjoined and evil rejected.

Believers: (Scholars)

- (18) (Quran): Believers respond to God and his Messenger when he calls you to that which gives you life and life to which the Qur'an, God, His Messenger are calling you, should be a life of self-respect in this world and victory in the next-a life of jihad for the sake of God Almighty.
- (18) ...Is there any torment in the world-in the spirit, or the senses-worse for any believer than the humiliation and weakness that his umma is experiencing not to mention the defilement of her holy places, occupation of her land and violation and plundering of her sanctuaries?
- (18) (Quran/OBL) Prophet, urge the believers to fight. Fight them: God will punish them at your hands, he will disgrace them, He will heal the believers' feelings and remove the rage from their hearts.

(19) ...if cannot do so in your own country then emigrate for the sake of God. And if anyone leaves home as a migrant towards God and his Messenger and is then overtaken by death, his reward from God is sure. God is most forgiving and most merciful.

Muhammad

(18) Prophetic saying: If you have made a solemn pledge but then follow cows' tails and are happy with your lot and abandon the jihad, God decrees humiliation for you and will not remove it until you return to your religion.

Revered Scholar

(19) (Abi Umayya) Emigration is related to jihad and jihad will go on until the Day of Judgment...as related on Ahmad's authority "Emigration will never cease, so long as there is jihad."

Statement # 3 Injustice

Date of Statement: 08/23/1996

Actors

Forms of Injustice

Judeo-Christian alliance

(p25) It is no secret to you my brothers, that the people of Islam have been afflicted with oppression, hostility, and injustice by the Judeo-Christian alliance and its supporters. This shows our enemies' belief that Muslims blood is the cheapest and that their property and wealth is merely loot. Your blood has been spilt in Palestine and Iraq, and the horrific image of the massacre in Qana in Lebanon are still fresh in people's minds. The massacres that have taken place in Tajikistan, Burma, Kashmir, Assam, the Philippines, Fatani, Ogaden, Somalia, Eritrea, Chechnya, and Bosnia-Herzegovina send shivers down our spines and stir up our passions. All this happened before the eyes and ears of the world but the blatant imperial arrogance of America, under the cover of the immoral United Nations has prevented the disposed from arming themselves.

(America/United Nations)

(Judeo-Crusader alliance)

(25) So the people of Islam realized that they were the fundamental targets of the hostility of the Judeo-Crusader alliance. All the false propaganda about the supposed rights of Islam was abandoned in the face of the attacks and massacres committed against Muslims everywhere, the latest and most serious of which the greatest disaster to befall the Muslims since the death of the Prophet Muhammad is the occupation of Saudi Arabia, which is the corner stone of the Islamic world, place of revelation, source of the Prophetic mission, and home of the Noble Ka'ba where Muslims direct their prayers. Despite this, it was occupied by the armies of the Christians, the Americans, and their allies.

(Crusader Campaign: America)

(Old/New Scholar comparison)

(Judeo-Crusader alliance)

(25-26) After the scholars of Islam underwent an enforced absence enforced due to the oppressive Crusader campaign led by America in the fear that these scholars will incite our Islamic umma against its enemies, in the same way as did the pious scholars of old such as ibn Taymiyya and al-Iss ibn Abd al-Salam this Judeo-Crusader alliance undertook to kill and arrest the righteous scholars and hard working preachers. They killed the mujahid Sheikh Abdallah Azzam, they arrested Sheikh Ahmed Yassin in Jerusalem, and they killed the mujahid Sheikh Omar Abd al-Rahman in America, as well as arresting-on the advice of America a large number of scholars, preachers and youth in Saudi Arabia. The most prominent of these were Sheikh Salman al-Auda and Sheikh Safar al-Hawali.

(Injustice affected OBL)

(26) The injustice was inflicted on us, too, we were prevented from talking to Muslims and were hounded out of Saudi Arabia to Pakistan, Sudan, and then Afghanistan. That is what led to this long absence of mine.

(27) This has afflicted every section of society whether civilian or military or security personnel, or the unemployed who now represent a broad section of society numbering hundreds of thousands. The situation in Saudi Arabia has begun to resemble a huge volcano that is about to explode and destroy unbelief and corruption where it comes from. The two explosions in Riyadh and Khobar are merely warning signs pointing to this destructive torrent which is produced by bitter repression, terrible injustice, and the humiliating poverty that we see today.

Saudi Arabia: Regime

(27-8) People are struggling even with the basics of everyday life and everyone talks frankly about economic recession, price inflation, mounting debts, and prison overcrowding. Low-income government employees talk to

you about their debts in the tens or hundreds of thousands of riyals, whilst complaining that the riyals value is declining dramatically. Domestic debts owed by the government to its citizens have reached 340 billion riyals, and are rising daily due to usurious interest, let alone all the foreign debt. People are wondering are we really the biggest source of oil in the world? They feel that God is bringing this torture upon them because they have not spoken out against the regimes injustice and illegitimate behavior, the most prominent aspects of which are its failure to rule in accordance with God's law its depriving of legal rights to its servants, its permitting the American occupiers into Saudi Arabia and its arresting of righteous scholars inheritors of the Prophets legacy and unjustly throwing them in prison. The regime has desecrated its legitimacy through many of its own actions.

(28) ...suspension of the rulings of the Islamic law and replacement thereof with man-made laws and its entering into a bloody confrontation with the righteous scholars and pious youth.

(28) ...inability to protect the land and its allowing enemies of God to occupy it for years in the form of the American Crusaders, who have become the principal reason for all aspects of our land's disastrous predicament.

Actors

Forms of Agency

Muhammad

(p24: related by a-IBukhari) Expel the Polytheists from the Arabian peninsula.

(25) The people are close to an all-encompassing punishment from God if they see the oppressor and fail to restrain him.

(29) There are one hundred levels in Heaven that God has prepared for the holy warriors who have died for Him between two levels as between the earth and sky.

(29) (as related by al-Jami al-Sahih) The best martyrs are those who stay in the battle line and do not turn their faces away until they are killed. They will achieve the highest level of Heaven, and their Lord will look kindly upon them. When your Lord looks kindly upon you a slave in the world, He will not hold him to account.

(29) (as related by Ahmad al-Tirmidhi) The martyr has a guarantee from God: He forgives him at the first drop of his blood and shows him his seat in Heaven. He decorates him with the jewels of faith, protects him from the torment of the grave, keeps him safe on the day of judgment, places a crown of dignity on his head with the finest rubies in the world, marries him to seventy-two of the pure virgins of paradise and intercedes on behalf of seventy of his relatives.

Revered Scholar

(24) Shu'ayb: I cannot succeed without God's help: I trust in Him and always turn to Him.

God

(24) You who believe, be mindful of God, as His due and make sure you devote yourselves to Him, to your dying moment.

(speaking to Believers)

(24) People, be mindful of your Lord, who created you from a single soul, and from it created its mate, and from the pair of them spread countless men and women far and wide; be mindful of God, in whose name you make requests of one another. Beware of the severing ties of kinship: God is always watching over you.

(24) Believers, be mindful of God, speak in a direct fashion and to good purpose, and He will put your deeds right for you and forgive you your sins. Whoever obeys God and His Messenger will truly achieve a great triumph.

(24-5) Believers, you are the best community singled out for people: you order what is right, forbid what is wrong, you believe in God.

(speaking to Prophet)

(29) He will not let the deeds of those who are killed for His cause come to nothing: He will guide them and put them in a good state: He will admit them into the Garden He has already made known to them.

(30) If they seek help from you against persecution, it is your duty to assist them.

Youth of Islam

(29-30) ...the youth of Islam who have waged jihad in Afghanistan and Bosnia-Herzegovina, with their financial, spiritual, linguistic, and scholarly resources, that the battle is not over yet.

(reminding them Gabriel/prophet)

(30) ...remind them of what Gabriel said to the Prophet after the battle of Ahzab when he laid down his sword: You have laid down your sword? By God, the angels have not yet laid down their swords. Get up and go with whoever is with you to the Bani Qurayza, and I will go ahead of you and shake their fortresses and strike fear

	into them.
OBL	(26-27) ...by the grace of God there became available a safe base in Khurasan, high in the peaks of the Hindu Kush the very same peaks upon which were smashed by the grace of God, the largest infidel military force in the world, and on which the myth of the great powers perished before the cries of the holy warriors.
(OBL/Other Muslims)	(27) ...in the same peaks of Afghanistan we work to do away with the injustice that has befallen our umma at the hands of the Judeo-Crusader alliance, especially after its occupation of Jerusalem and its appropriation of Saudi Arabia. We pray to God that He might bless us with victory He is our protector and is well capable of doing so. (27) ...here we are today working and discussing with each other to find ways of rectifying what has happened to the Islamic world generally and Saudi Arabia in particular. We need to study the appropriate paths to take in order to restore things to good order, and to restore to the people their rights after the considerable damage and harm inflicted on their life and religion.
Religious Scholars (metaphor interpretation)	(28) The voices of the shadows have spoken up, their eyes uncovering the veil of injustice and their noses smelling the stench of corruption. The voices of reform have spoken up, calling for the situation to be put right: they have sent petitions, testimonies, and requests for reform. In the year 1411 AH, at the time of the Gulf War, a petition was sent to the king with around 400 signatures calling for reform in the country, but he made a mockery of them by completely ignoring their advice, and the situation went from bad to worse.
(Men of Future of Umma)	(29) ...raise the banner of jihad up high against the Judeo-American alliance that has occupied the holy places of Islam.
Brother Muslims:Saudi Arabia	(29) Brother Muslims of Saudi Arabia, does it make any sense at all that our country is the biggest purchaser of weapons from America in the world and America's biggest trading partner in the region, while at the very same time the Americans are occupying Saudi Arabia and supporting with money, arms, and manpower, their Jewish brothers in the occupation of Palestine and their murder and expulsion of Muslims there? Depriving these occupiers of the huge returns they receive from their trade with us is a very important way of supporting the jihad against them and we expect you to boycott all American goods.
Muslim brothers across world	(30) ...your brothers in Saudi Arabia and Palestine are calling for help and asking you to share with them in the jihad against the enemies of God, your enemies the Israelis and Americans. They are asking you to defy them in whatever way you possibly can, so as to expel them in defeat and humiliation from the holy places of Islam.
Muslims (Calvary of Islam)	(30) ...be mounted! This is a difficult time, so you yourselves must be tough. You should know that your coming-together and cooperation in order to liberate the holy places of Islam is the right step towards unification of the word of our umma under the banner of God's unity. At this point we can only raise our palms humbly to ask God to provide good fortune and success in this matter.

Statement # 4 Injustice**Date of Statement: 11/1996****Actors****Forms of Injustice****Police States in Arab World**

(security/military organization)

(p33) It is not a concealed fact that the police states in the Arab world rely on some organizations in order to protect themselves. Amongst these organizations is the security organization, on which they spend generously, whose foremost mission is to spy on its own people in order to protect the person of the ruler, even if this is at the expense of the rights of the people and their security, as well as the military sector, which is prepared to strike the people if they wish to reject and remove this oppression and establish truth.

(Media sector)

(33) The media sector is the same category, as it strives to beatify the persons of leaders, to sedate the community and to fulfill the plans of the enemies through keeping the people occupied with minor matters, and to stir their emotions and desires until corruption becomes widespread amongst the believers.

(Scholars of the authorities)

(33-4) There is also another organization which takes priority with the leaders in the Arab world, and is used to leading the people astray, and to opening the door wide for the security factions to fulfill their aforementioned objectives. This is the organization of the scholars of the authorities, as the role of this organization is the most dangerous of roles throughout the Arabic countries. History is the best witness of this.

(Religious organizations)

(34) Every time a leader engages in the major unbelief, which takes them out of the fold of Islam in broad daylight and in front of all the people, you will find a fatwa issued from their religious organization. The religious organization in Saudi Arabia, in particular plays the most ominous of roles. Overlooking the question of whether or not it fulfils this role intentionally, the harm which has resulted from its efforts is no different from the efforts of the most ardent enemies of our umma.

Saudi Arabia: Regime

(34) The regime in Saudi Arabia has given a very high priority to this organization, which has been able to increase its stature in the estimation of the people, until some of the common people started worshipping it as an idol separately from God, and without the will of the members of this organization.

(34) The regime has striven to keep honest scholars in the shadows and then to remove them, one way or another from being effective elements in the lives of the people in the community. At the forefront of these scholars was the Sheikh Abdallah bin Hamid...who was the jurist in the Arabian peninsula, and who headed the Supreme Council of Judges...the regime constrained him and tightened its grip on him until he offered his resignation. He has many famous writings in response to the unacceptable laws which the government introduced in place of the Law of God; one of these is a treatise dealing with the law of work and workers, which tackles many of the man-made laws which contradict the Law of God.

(35) ...promoted some of the scholars who were far below Sheikh bin Hamid; in a cunning plan which began more than twenty years ago, they foregrounded those known to be weak and soft. During this time, the regime enlarged the role of bin Baz because of what is known of his weakness and flexibility, and because he was easily influenced by that usual practice of the interior ministry: providing him with false information. So, a generation

of youth was raised believing that the most pious and knowledgeable of people is bin Baz, as a result of his promotion in the media through a concerted policy, a promotion which had progressed over twenty years.

(Concerning America/Brits)

(35) After this, the government began to strike with the cane of bin Baz every corrective program which the honest scholars put forward; further, it extracted a fatwa to hand over Palestine to the Jews, and before this, to permit entry into Saudi Arabia to the modern-day crusaders under the rule of necessity; it then relied on a letter from bin Baz to the minister for internal affairs and placed the honest scholars in jail.

(36) The external policy of the Saudi regime towards Islamic issues is a policy which was tied to the British outlook from the establishment of Saudi Arabia until 1945; it then became attached to the American outlook after America gained prominence as a major power in the world after World War Two...the policies of these two countries bear the greatest enmity towards the Islamic world.

(36) ...the regime does not cease to cry in the open over matters affecting Muslims, without making any serious effort to serve the interests of the Muslim community, apart from small gestures in order to confuse the people and throw some dust into their eyes.

America & Saudi Regime

(37) ...the relationship between the regime and the American occupiers, these operations have embarrassed both sides and have led to an exchange of accusations between them. So we have the Americans stating that the causes of the explosions are a result of the bad policies of the regime and the corruption of the members of the ruling family, and the regime is accusing the Americans of exceeding their authority by taking advantage of it, forcing it to enter into military and civil contracts which are beyond its means, which has led to a major economic recession that has hit people hard. In addition to this are the Americans crude and arrogant behavior towards the Saudi army and their general behavior with citizens, as well as the privileges which the Americans enjoy distinct from the Saudi forces.

America/Israel

(Judeo-American Alliance)

(Israel-American)

(39) After the end of the Cold War, America escalated its campaign against the Muslim world in its entirety, aiming to get rid of Islam itself. Its main focus in this was to target the scholars and the reformers who were enlightening the people to the dangers of the Judeo-American alliance; it also targeted the mujahidin. We too have been hit with some of the traces of this campaign as we were accused of funding terrorism and being a member of an international terrorist organization. America's aim in making these allegations was to place psychological pressure on the mujahidin and their supporters, so that they would forsake the obligation of jihad and the resistance of oppression and Israel-American occupation of Islamic sacred lands.

(mainly America)

(40) As for their accusations that we terrorize the innocent, the children, and the women, these fall into the category of accusing others of their own affliction in order to fool the masses. The evidence overwhelmingly shows America and Israel killing the weaker men, women, and children, in the Muslim world and elsewhere. A few examples of this are the recent Qana massacre in Lebanon and the death of more than 600,000 Iraqi children because of the shortage of food and medicine which resulted from the boycotts and sanctions, also, their

withholding of arms from the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina, leaving them prey to the Christian Serbians who massacred and raped in a manner not seen in contemporary history. Nor should one forget the deliberate, premeditated dropping of the H bombs on cities with their entire population of children, elderly, and women, as was the case with Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Then killing hundreds of thousands of children in Iraq, whose numbers of dead continue to increase as a result of the sanctions. Despite the ongoing American occupation of Saudi Arabia, America continues to claim that it is upholding the banner of freedom and humanity yet, it perpetrated deeds which you would not find the most ravenous of animals debasing themselves to do.

Russian

(40) ...inhuman Russian campaign against our women, our children, and our brothers in Afghanistan.

Actors

Forms of Agency

Scholars

(p34) ...there remain in Saudi Arabia a good number of honest scholars and students who work according to their teachings, and who have taken visible and daring stances against the activities of unbelief which the regime is perpetrating.

(35) ...the confidence of the people and youth in bin Baz was shaken, whilst their confidence of the working scholars, particularly those in the prisons, increased.

(Advice and Reform Committee)

(35) ...promote the honest scholars as they deserve in front of the people so that the support of the people swings behind them.

Islamic Movement

(36-7) The two explosions in Riyadh had a significant impact on both the domestic and foreign fronts. Most important amongst these is the people's awareness of the significance of the American occupation of Saudi Arabia, and that the original decrees of the regime are a reflection of the wishes of the American occupiers. So the people became aware that their main problems were caused by the American occupiers and their puppets in the Saudi regime, whether this was from the religious perspective or from other aspects of their daily lives. The sympathies of these people towards the working scholars who had been imprisoned also increased, as did their understanding of advice and guidance, which prompted the people to support the general reform movement led by the scholars and the callers of Islam. This movement with the bounty of God is increasing in power and in supporters day by day at the regimes expense. The sympathy with these missions at the civil and military levels was great, as were the sympathies of the Muslim world with the struggle against the Americans.

(37-8) These missions (the Riyadh bombings) also paved the way for the raising of voices of opposition against the American occupation from within the ruling family and the armed forces; in fact, we can say that the remaining Gulf countries have been affected to the same degree, and that the voices of opposition to the American occupation have begun to be heard at the level of the ruling families and the governments of the Cooperative Council of Gulf countries. A difference in outlook between the Americans and the Gulf states has appeared for the first time since the Second Gulf War. This was during the conference attended by the ministers of external affairs of the countries comprising the cooperative council of Gulf states which was held in Riyadh to look into the American missile aggression against Iraq. These differences are a sign of the strain which has appeared in the relationship between America and the countries of the region following the jihad mission against the Americans in Riyadh, and as a result of the fear of these regimes that similar jihad missions might take place in their own lands.

(38) ...result of the increasing reaction of the people against the American occupation, and the great sympathy with the jihad missions against the Americans is the eagerness of the Americans and the Saudis to propagate false information to disperse this sympathy. This can be witnessed in the statements that some of the countries in the region were behind the jihad missions inside Saudi Arabia; however the people are aware that this is an internal

(OBL/Muslims/Regime)

Saudi Arabia: the Regime
(and the people)

God

(OBL request to God)

Islamic movement against the American occupation which is revealing itself in the most clear picture after the killing of four champions who performed the Riyadh operation, whom we ask God to accept amongst the martyrs.

(38) In the face of an internal calamity it has become routine policy for countries to lay responsibility on an external country. Before the puppetry of the Arabic countries to America became plainly obvious, the security sectors never hesitated to accuse any rectifying Islamic Movement of being a puppet of America and Israel.

(40) Our history is similar with respect to our differences with the Saudi regime; all that has been proved is our joy at the killing of the American soldiers in Riyadh and Khobar. These are the sentiments of every Muslim.

(38-9) There are several choices for the regime. The first of these is reconciliation with all different sectors of the public, by releasing the honest scholars and offering essential changes, the most important of which is to bring back Islamic law, and to practice real consultative government. The regime may resort to this option after finding itself in the position of being a morsel of food for the Americans to consume, after it has sown discord among its people. These people today feel that the Americans have exceeded their limits both politically and economically and the regime now knows that the public are aware that its sovereignty is shared. This was particularly evident in the recent period through the US press statements which gave justification to the American occupation, which only exists to rob the wealth of the people to the benefit of the Americans. This option is dependant on the agreement of the people who hold the solution and have the ability to effect change; at the forefront of these would be the honest scholars.

(39) ...second option...is very difficult and dangerous one for the regime. It involves an escalation in the confrontation between the Muslim people and the American occupiers and confrontation of the economic hemorrhage. Its most important goal would be to change the current regime.

(39) (OBL exalting God) ...thanks be to God, America's campaign was not successful, because terrorizing the American occupiers is a religious and logical obligation. We are grateful to God Most Exalted in that He has facilitated jihad in His cause for us, against the Israeli-American attacks on the Holy Sanctuaries of Islam.

(41) So prophet fight in God's way. You are accountable only for yourself. Urge the believers on. God may well curb the power of the disbelievers for He is stronger in might and more terrible in punishment. Why should you not in God's cause and for those oppressed men, women, and children who cry out, Lord rescue us from this town whose people are oppressors! By your grace, give us a protector and helper!? When you meet the disbelievers strike them in the neck.

(41-42) Messengers this community of yours is one single community and I am Lord, so serve Me. (OBL says concerning Muslims using Gods words) As for those who have divided their religion and broken up into factions, have nothing to do with them.

(42) ...to give this community the guidance to exalt the people who obey Him and humiliate those who disobey Him, and to give us a law whereby decency is commanded and evil is forbidden. O God bless Muhammad, Your

Muhammad

servant and messenger, and his family, and companions, and give them peace. All gratitude to God the Lord of the worlds.

(41-2) Whoever believes in God and the last day must speak good or not speak at all. (Concerning Muslims;) Inform and do not repel and make it easy and do not make it difficult.

Muslims/Believers

(41) Our encouragement and call to Muslims to enter jihad against the American and the Israeli occupiers are actions which we undertake as religious obligations. God Most High has commanded us in many verses of the Qur'an to fight His path and to urge the believers to do so.

(41) ...We have given an oath to God to continue in the struggle as long as we have blood coursing through our veins or a seeing eye, and we beg of God to accept and to grant a good outcome for us and for all the Muslims.

(41) ...(concerning Judeo-Christian campaign) Muslims must prepare with all their might to repel the enemy in military, economic, missionary, and all other areas. It is crucial for us to be patient and to cooperate in righteousness and piety and to raise awareness of the fact that the highest priority, after faith, is to repel the invading enemy, which corrupts religion and the world, as the scholars have declared; and for this cause, it is crucial to overlook many of the issues of infighting in order to unite our ranks so that we can repel the greater unbelief.

(41-42) All must act in order to give life to the words of the Most High...essential to volunteer and not to bicker, and the Muslim should not belittle righteousness in any way.

Afghan Government
Infighting Afghanistan
(International Press)

(41-2) (concerning the Afghan Govt.) They are committed to support the religion approved by God, and that country remains as the Muslims have shown it, a stronghold of Islam, and its people are amongst the most protective of the religion approved by God, and the keenest to fulfil His laws and to establish an Islamic state. ...has saddened us as it has saddened all the Muslims...we wish to indicate that the picture of events painted by international press is grossly distorted and that this infighting is much smaller and less fierce than Muslims on the outside might imagine, and that most of the country is living a normal peaceful life, despite some petty crimes here and there as some elements attempt to create corruption under cover of the disputes amongst some of the groups. We are hoping that Afghanistan will regain very soon, God willing, its Islamic position which would befit its history of jihad.

(41-2) The Afghan government has not asked us to leave the country...Thanks to God, our relationship in with our brother mujahidin in Afghanistan is a deep and broad relationship where blood and sweat have mixed as have the links over long years of struggle against the Soviets; it is not a passing relationship nor one based on personal interests. They are committed to support the religion approved by God, and that country remains as the Muslims have known it, a stronghold of Islam, and its people are amongst the most protective of the religion approved by God, and the keenest of fulfill His laws and to establish an Islamic state.

Statement # 5 Injustice**Date of Statement: 03/1997****Actors****Forms of Injustice****Saudi Regime/US Regime**

(p45) Regarding the criticisms of the ruling regime in Saudi Arabia and the Arabian peninsula, the first one is their subordination to the U.S. So, our main problem is the US government, while the Saudi regime is but a branch or an agent of the U.S. By being loyal to the US regime, the Saudi regime has committed an act against Islam. And this, based on the ruling of sharia, casts the regime outside the religious community. Subsequently, the regime has stopped ruling people according to what God revealed, not to mention many other contradictory acts. When this main foundation was violated, other corrupt acts followed in every aspect of the country, the economic, the social public services and so on.

(Islamic Movement)

(46) We (Islamic movement) believe that the current prices (of oil) are not realistic due to the Saudi regime playing the role of a US agent and the pressures exercised by the US on the Saudi regime to increase production and flooding the market that caused a sharp decrease in oil prices.

(Egypt, America, Yemeni)

(50) (in response to Advice and Reformation Committee) ...Saudi regime did not like this and started to exercise pressure on the Sudanese regime. The US government, Egyptian government, and the Yemeni government also helped in doing so. They asked the Sudanese regime to extradite me, and the pressure continued. Saudi Arabia dropped all conditions agreed with the Sudanese regime in return that I be driven out of the Sudan. The US government had already taken the same stance and pulled out from its diplomatic mission from Khartoum saying that it would only return after I had left. Unfortunately, the Sudanese government was in some difficult circumstances and there was a tendency inside the government that inclined to reconciliation or surrender. Then when they insisted initially that I should keep my mouth shut I decided to look for a land in which I could breathe a pure, free air to perform my duty in enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong.

(Sudanese government)**America (US Govt./Regime)****(Israel)**

(46-7) (US Government) It has committed acts that are extremely unjust, hideous, and criminal, whether directly or through its support of Israeli occupation of the Land of the Prophet's Night Journey. And we believe the U.S. is directly responsible for those who were killed in Palestine, Lebanon, and Iraq. The mention of the U.S. reminds us before everything else of those innocent children who were dismembered, their heads and arms cut off in the recent explosion that took place in Qana. This U.S. government abandoned even humanitarian feelings by these hideous crimes. It transgressed all bounds and behaved in a way not witnessed before by any power or any imperialist power in the world. They should have been sensitive to the fact that the qibla of the Muslims raises the emotion of the entire Muslim world. Due to its subordination to the Jews, the arrogance and haughtiness of the U.S. regime has reached such an extent that it occupied the qibla of the Muslims who are more than a billion in the world today.

(47) ...U.S. government's targeting of Muslim civilians and executing more than 600,000 Muslim children in Iraq by preventing food and medicine from reaching them. So, the US is responsible for any reaction, because it extended

its war against troops to civilians. This is what we say. As for what you asked regarding the American people, they are not exonerated from responsibility because they chose this government and voted for it despite their knowledge of its crimes in Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, and in other places, and its support of its client regimes who filled their prisons with our best children and scholars.

(49) U.S., which has in collaboration with the Israeli government, led the ferocious campaign against the Islamic world in occupying the holy sites of the Muslims.

(Soviet Union)

(New World Order)

(50-1) (In response collapse Soviet Union) ...this collapse made the U.S. more haughty and arrogant, and it has started to see itself as a Master of this world and established what it calls the new world order. It wanted to delude people that it can do whatever it wants, but it can't do this. It leveled against me and others as many accusations as it desired and wished. The U.S. today as a result of this arrogance, has set a double standard, calling whoever goes against its injustice a terrorist. It wants to occupy our countries, steal our resources, install collaborators to rule us with man-made laws, and wants us to agree on all these issues. If we refuse to do so it will say we are terrorists. With a fleeting glance at U.S. behavior, we find that it judges the behavior of the poor Palestinian children whose country was occupied: if they throw stones against the Israeli occupation it says they are terrorists, whereas when the Israeli pilots bombed the UN building in Qana, Lebanon while it was full of children and women, the U.S. stopped any plan to condemn Israel. At the same time they condemn any Muslim who calls for his rights, they receive the highest officials of the Irish Republican Army at the White House as a political leader, while woe all woe if the Muslims cry out for their rights. Wherever we look we see the U.S. as the leader of terrorism and crime in the world. The U.S. does not consider it a terrorist act to launch bombs at nations thousands of miles away, when it would not be possible for those bombs to hit only military troops. Rather, those bombs were dropped on entire nations, including women, children, and elderly people and up to this day the traces of those bombs remain in Japan. The US does not consider it terrorism when hundreds of thousands of our sons and brothers in Iraq died for lack of food or medicine.

(Israel)

(IRA)

(Muslims)

(Sheikh Omar Rahman)

(US/Egyptian regime)

(US Govt.)

(Operation Restore Hope)

(Somalia)

(53) Sheikh Omar Abul Rahman is a Muslim scholar well know all over the Muslim world. He represents the kind of injustice that is adopted by the U.S. A baseless case was fabricated against him, even though he is a blind old man. We ask God...to relieve him. The U.S. sentenced him to hundreds of years just to please its caprice and the whims of the Egyptian regime. He is now very badly treated and in a way unfit for an old man like him or any Muslim scholar.

(54) The U.S. government went to Somalia with great pride and stayed there for some time with a strong media presence, wanting to frighten people that it is the greatest power on earth. It went there with pride and with over 28,000 soldiers to fight a poor unarmed people. The goal of this was to scare the Muslim world and the whole world saying that it is able to do whatever it desires. As soon as the troops reached the Mogadishu beaches, they found no one but children. The CNN and other media cameras started photographing them with their camouflage and heavy arms entering with a parade crawling and showing themselves to the world as the "greatest power on

(CNN/Media)

	earth".
(Cooperating w/Arab Mujahidin) (Brothers Somalia)	(54-5) With God's grace, Muslims over there cooperated with some Arab mujahidin who were in Afghanistan. They participated with their brothers in Somalia against the American occupation troops and killed large numbers of them. The American administration was aware of that. After a little resistance, the American troops left after achieving nothing. They left after claiming that they were the largest power on earth. They left after some resistance from powerless, poor, unarmed people whose only weapon is the belief in God, and who do not fear the fabricated American media lies. We learned from those who fought there that they were surprised to see the low spiritual morale of the American fighters in comparison with the experience they had with the Russian fighters. The Americans ran away from those fighters who fought and killed them, while the latter stayed. If the U.S. still thinks and brags that it still has this kind of power, even after all these successive defeats Vietnam, Beirut, Aden, and Somalia, then let its troops go back to those who are awaiting its return.
(American withdrawal)	
(American Pressures)	(56) The U.S. pressures are no secret to you. The Saudi pressures are also in response to American pressures. There were several attempts to arrest me or to assassinate me. This has been going on for more than seven years. With God's grace, none of these attempts succeeded.
(Clinton, Bush, Am. Govt.)	(56) Mentioning the name of Clinton or that of the American government provokes disgust and revulsion. This is because the name of the American government and the name of Clinton and George HW Bush directly reflect in our minds the picture of children with their heads cut off before even reaching one year of age. It reflects the picture of children with their hands cut off, the picture of the children who died in Iraq, the picture of the hands of the Israelis with weapons destroying our children. The hearts of Muslims are filled with hatred towards the United States of America and the American president. The President has a heart that knows no words. A heart that kills hundreds of children definitely knows no words. Our people in the Arabian peninsula will send him messages with no words because he does not know any words.
(Children)	
(Israelis)	
(Muslims)	
Saudi regime	(49-50) ...Saudi regime imposed on the people a life that does not appeal to the free believer. They wanted people to eat and drink and sing the praise of God, but if the people wanted to encourage what is right and forbid what is wrong, they could not. Rather, the regime dismisses them from their jobs and in the event the people continue to do so they are detained in prisons. I have refused to live this submissive life, which is not befitting of man let alone a believer.
	(50) ...Saudi government transgressed in oppressing all voices of the scholars and the voices of those who call for Islam...government prevented Sheikh Salman al-Auda and Sheikh Safer al-Hawali and some other scholars from doing so.
(OBL Family, Saudi Family)	(55) They (OBL family) have done a lot (ask OBL to stop his activities). They have pressured us greatly, especially since a lot of our money is still in the hands of the Saudi ruling family due to the activities of our family and company. They sent my mother, my uncle, and my brothers on almost nine visits to me in Khartoum, asking me to stop and

return to Arabia to apologize to King Fahd, I apologized to my family kindly because I know that they were driven by force to come to talk to me. This regime wants to create a problem between me and my family in order to take some measures against them. But with God's grace this regime did not get its wish fulfilled. I refused to go back. They conveyed the Saudi government's message that if I did not go back, they'll freeze all my assets, deprive me of my citizenship, my passport, and my Saudi ID, and distort my picture in the Saudi and foreign media. They think that a Muslim may bargain on his religion.

Statement # 5 Agency

Date of Statement: 03/1997

Actors

Forms of Agency

Islamic Movement/Muslims

(God/Muhammad)

(p45) We are confident with the permission of God, praise and glory be to Him, that Muslims will be victorious in the Arabian peninsula and that God's religion, praise and glory be to Him, will prevail in this peninsula. It is a great pride and a big hope that the revelation unto Muhammad will be restored to for ruling. When we used to follow Muhammad's revelation, peace be upon him, we were in great happiness and in great dignity. To God belong credit and praise.

(Umma)

(45-6) We are an umma and have a long history with the grace of God. We are now in the 15th century of this great religion, whose complete and comprehensive methodology has clarified the dealing between one individual and another, the duties of the believer towards God, and the relationship between the Muslim country and other countries in times of peace and war. If we look back at our history, we will find there were many types of dealings between the Muslim nation and other nations in peacetime and wartime, including the treaties and matters to do with commerce. So it is not a new thing that we need to create. Rather, it already exists. As for oil, it is a commodity that will be subject to the price of the market according to supply and demand.

(Jihadists)

(46) We declared jihad against the U.S. government, because the U.S. government is unjust, criminal, and tyrannical.

(US soldiers, Saudi civilians)

(US civilians, Saudi soldiers)

(47) For this and other acts of aggression and injustice we have declared jihad against the U.S., because in our religion it is our duty to make jihad so that God's word is the one exalted to the heights and so that we drive the Americans away from all Muslim countries. As for what you asked whether jihad is directed against US soldiers, the civilians in Saudi Arabia, or against the civilians in America, we have focused our declaration on striking at the soldiers in Saudi Arabia. This country has our religion and significance of its own over other Muslim countries. In our religion it is not permissible for any non-Muslim to stay in our country. Therefore, even though American civilians are not targeted in our plan they must leave. We do not guarantee their safety, because we are in a society of more than a billion Muslims. A reaction might take place as a result of U.S. government's targeting of Muslim(s)...So the U.S. is responsible for any reaction...the American people are not exonerated (extended on in injustice).

(effects of jihad)

(49) ...the effect of the jihad has been great not only at the level of the Islamic movement but also at the level of the Muslim nation in the whole world. The spirit of power, dignity, and confidence has grown in our sons and brothers

(Muslims)

for this religion and the power of God. And it has become apparent even to the Islamic movement that there is no choice but to return to the original source, to this religion to God's Book, and to the sunna of His Prophet, as understood by our predecessors, may God be pleased with them. Of this, the peak of this religion is jihad. The nation has had a strong conviction that there is no way to obtain faithful strength but by returning to this jihad. The influence of the Afghan jihad on the Islamic World was great; it necessitated that people should rise above many of their differences and unite their efforts against the enemy. Today, the nation is interacting well by uniting its

(Afghan Jihad)

(Islamic world/movement)

	efforts through jihad against the U.S.
(OBL)	(50) (after Saudi govt. prevented Sheikhs from speaking OBL did something) ...enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong. So I collaborated with some brothers and established the Advice and Reformation Committee and we started to publish some declarations.
Advice and Reformation Committee	
(Ramzi Yousef)	(53) I do not know Ramzi Yousef. What the American government and Pakistani intelligence has been reporting is not true at all. But I say if the American government is serious about avoiding the explosions inside the U.S., then let it stop provoking the feelings of 1.25 billion Muslims. Those hundreds of thousands have been killed or displaced in Iraq, Palestine, and Lebanon, do have brothers and relatives, will make of Ramzi Yousef a symbol and a teacher. The U.S. will drive them to transfer the battle into the United States. Everything is made possible to protect the blood of the American citizen while the bloodshed of Muslims is permitted everywhere. With this kind of behavior, the U.S. government is hurting itself, hurting Muslims and hurting the American people.
(US Government)	
(Muslim Nations)	(54) Resistance, started against the American invasion because Muslims do not believe the U.S. allegations that they came to save the Somalis. A man with human feelings in his heart does not distinguish between a child killed in Palestine or in Lebanon, in Iraq or in Bosnia. So how can we believe your claims that you came to save our children in Somalia while you kill our children in all of those places?
(Resisting America)	
(Somalis)	
(Muslim Children)	
(OBL message to America)	(57) If there is a message that I may send through you then it is a message I address to the mothers of the American troops who came here with their military uniform walking proudly up and down our land while the scholars of our country are thrown in prisons. I say that this represents blatant provocation to 1.25 billion Muslims. To these mothers I say that if they are concerned for their sons, then let them object to the American government's policy and to the American president. Do not let themselves be cheated by his standing before bodies of the killed soldiers describing the freedom of fighters in Saudi Arabia as terrorists. It is he who is a terrorist who pushed their sons into this for the sake of the Israeli interest. We believe that the American army in Saudi Arabia came to separate the Muslims and the people for not ruling in accordance with God's wish. They came to support the Israeli forces in occupied Palestine, the land of the night journey of our prophet.
(Mothers of American Troops)	
(American President)	(47-8) The cause of the reaction must be sought and the act that triggered this reaction must be eliminated. The reaction came as a result of the aggressive US policy towards the entire Muslim world and not just towards the Arabian peninsula. So if the cause that has called for this act comes to an end, this act, in turn, will come to an end. So, the defensive jihad against the US does not stop with its withdrawal from the Arabian peninsula; rather, it must desist from aggressive intervention against Muslims throughout the whole world.
(Israel support)	(52) We ask the main reason behind the explosion. This explosion was a reaction to U.S. provocation of the Muslim peoples, in which the US transgressed in its aggression until it reached the qibla of the Muslims in the whole world. So the purpose of the two explosions is to end the American occupation. So if the U.S. does not want to kill its own sons who are in the army, it has to get out.
Defensive Jihad/US Regime	
(Explosions Riyadh and Khobar)	

(OBL)	(52) ...the explosion of Riyadh and the one in Khobar, it is no secret that during the two explosions, I was not in Saudi Arabia, but I have great respect for the people who did this action...they are heroes. We look upon them as men who wanted to raise the flag of "There is no god but God", and to put an end to the non-believers and the state of injustice that the U.S. brought. I also say that they did a great job; theirs was a big honor that I missed participating in.
(Reaction: US policies)	
(American presence Saudi Arabia)	(52) It is known that every action has its reaction. If the American presence continues, and that is an action then it is natural for reactions to continue against this presence. In other words, explosions, and killings of American soldiers will continue. These are the troops who left their country and their families and came here with all arrogance to steal our oil and disgrace us, and attack our religion. As for what was mentioned about the ruling Saudi family, those in charge bear the full responsibility for everything that may happen. They are the shadow of American presence. The people and the young men are concentrating their efforts on the sponsor and not on the sponsored. The concentration at this point of jihad is against the American occupiers.
OBL/Mujahidin Afghanistan	(48) Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds, that He made it possible for us to aid the Mujahidin in Afghanistan without any declaration of jihad, the news that was broadcast by radio stations that the Soviet Union invaded a Muslim country. This was a sufficient motivation for me to start to aid our brothers in Afghanistan. I have benefited so greatly from the jihad in Afghanistan that would have been impossible for me to gain such benefit from any other opportunity, and this cannot be measured by tens of years but from any other opportunity, and this cannot be measured by tens of years but rather more than that. In spite of the Soviet power, we used to move with confidence and God conferred favors on us so that we transported heavy equipment from Saudi Arabia
(Soviet Union)	estimated at hundreds of tons altogether that included bulldozers, loaders, dump trucks, and equipment for digging trenches. When we saw the brutality of the Russians bombing mujahidin positions we dug a good number of huge tunnels and built in them some storage places and in some others we built a hospital. We also dug some roads, one of which you came by us tonight. So our experience in this jihad was great by the grace of God, praise and glory be to Him, and what we benefited from most was that the myth of the superpower was destroyed not only in my mind but also in the minds of all Muslims. Slumber and fatigue vanished and so did the terror which the U.S. would use in its media by attributing to itself superpower status or which the Soviet Union used by labeling itself as a superpower. Today, the entire Muslim world has imbibed the faithful spirit of strength and started to interact in a good manner in order to bring an end to occupation and the Western and American influence on our countries.
(Muslims)	(49) As for the young men who participated in jihad here, their number was quite big, praise and gratitude be to Him and they spread in every place in which non-believers' injustice is perpetuated against Muslims. Their going to Bosnia, Chechnya, Tajikistan, and other countries is but a fulfillment of a duty, because we believe that these states are part of the Islamic world. Therefore, any act of aggression against even a hand's span on this land makes it a duty for Muslims to a sufficient number of their sons to fight off that aggression.
(Western/American)	
(Muslims/Islamic World)	

(OBL/Comm. Govt.)

(50) I went to Sudan and stayed there for about five years during which I visited Afghanistan and Pakistan to work against the Communist government in Kabul.

(50) After the collapse of the Soviet Union in which the U.S. has no mentionable role, but rather the credit goes to God and the mujahidin in Afghanistan.

(51) ...we are fulfilling a duty which God decreed for us. We look upon those heroes those men who undertook to kill the American occupiers in Riyadh and Khobar. We describe them as heroes and as men. They have wiped disgrace and submissiveness off the forehead of their nation.

God/Islamic Movement

(51) So, there is no basis for what the U.S. says and these words do not affect us, because we by the grace of God are dependant on Him, getting help from Him against the US.

(Believer)

(56) A believer must rest assured that life is only in the hands of God, and sustenance is also in the hands of God. As for fearing for one's life, it is difficult to explain to you how we think of ourselves unless you have full belief.

We believe that no one could take out one breath of our written life as ordained by God. We see that getting killed in the cause of God is a great honor wished for by our Prophet...Being killed for God's cause is a great honor achieved by only those who are the elite of the nation. We love this kind of death for God's cause as much as you like to live. We have nothing to fear for. It is something we wish to for.

(martyr)

OBL/Islamic Movement

(55) In response to Saudi's threats: "do whatever you may wish." It is with God's bounty that we refused to go back. We are living in dignity and honor for which we thank God. It is much better for us to live under a tree here on these mountains than to live in palaces in the land most sacred to God, subjected to the disgrace of not worshipping God even in the most sacred land on earth, where injustice is so widespread.

(56) (since US did not succeed at stopping or assassinating OBL) This is in itself proof to Muslims to the world that the US is incapable and weaker than the picture it wants to paint in people's minds.

Muhammad

(56) "I swear to God, I wish to fight for God's cause and be killed, I'll do it again and be killed, and I'll do it again and be killed."

Statement # 6 Injustice**Date of Statement: 02/23/1998****Actors****Forms of Injustice****Crusader Hordes**

(p59) Ever since God made the Arabian peninsula flat, created desert in it and surrounded it with seas, it has never suffered such a calamity as these Crusader hordes that have spread through it like locusts, consuming its wealth and destroying its fertility...nations have joined forces against the Muslims as if fighting over a bowl of food.

America(icans)**Judeo-Crusader alliance**

(59-60) Over seven years America has occupied the holiest parts of the Islamic lands, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its wealth, dictating to its leaders, humiliating its people, terrorizing its neighbors, and turning its bases there into a spearhead with which to fight neighboring Muslim peoples...America's excessive aggression against the people of Iraq, using the peninsula as a base. It is true that all its leaders have rejected such use of their lands but they are powerless.

(60) ...despite the great devastation inflicted upon Iraqi people at the hands of the Judeo-Crusader alliance, despite the terrible number of deaths over one million despite all this, the Americans are trying to repeat these horrific massacres again...as if they are not satisfied with the long period of sanctions after the vicious war, or with all the fragmentation and destruction...Today they come to annihilate what is left of this people and humiliate their Muslim neighbors.

American cont.(/Jewish state)

(60) ...wars are being waged by the Americans for religion and economic purposes...also serve the interests of the petty Jewish state

(60) There is no better proof of this than their eagerness to destroy Iraq, the strongest neighboring Arab state...their efforts to fragment all the states in the region like Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Sudan, into paper mini-states whose weakness and disunity will guarantee Israel's survival and the continuation of the brutal Crusader occupation of the Peninsula.

(60) All these American crimes and sins are a clear proclamation of war against God, his messenger, and the Muslims.

Jewish state

(60) (Americans diverting attention) ...from the Jews occupation of Jerusalem and its murder of Muslims there.

Statement # 6 Agency**Date of Statement: 02/23/1998****Actors****Forms of Agency**

God	<p>(p59) ...revealer of the book, controller of the clouds, defeater of factionalism..."When the forbidden months are over wherever you find polytheists, kill them, seize them, besiege them, ambush them."</p> <p>(61) ...fight the idolaters at any time, if they first fight you...fight them until there is no more persecution and until worship is devoted to God...why should you not fight in Gods cause and for those oppressed men, women, and children who call out; Lord rescue us from this town whose people are oppressors</p> <p>(62) ...referring to believers: believers respond to God and his messenger when he calls us to that which gives you life. Know that God comes between a mind and his heart and that you will be gathered to Him...Believers why when it is said to you, Go and fight in Gods way do you dig your heels into the earth? Do you prefer this world to the life to come? How small the enjoyment of this world is compared with the life to come...If you do not go out and fight God will punish you severely and put others in your place but you cannot harm him in any way: God has power over all things...Do not lose heart or despair...if you are true believers you will have the upper hand.</p>
Muhammad	<p>(59) "I have been sent with a sword in my hands so that only God may be worshipped, God who placed my livelihood under the shadow of my spear and who condemns those who disobey my orders to servility and humiliation."</p>
OBL/Muslims/Scholars	<p>(59) (following injustice statement) ...When the matter is this grave and support is scarce we must discuss current events and agree collectively on how best to settle the issue.</p>
Religious Scholars	<p>(60) Religious scholars throughout Islamic history have agreed that jihad is an individual duty when an enemy attacks Muslim countries.</p> <p>(61) OBL/religious scholars: We also call on the religious scholars, their leaders, their youth, and their soldiers to launch the raid on the soldiers of Satan, the Americans, and whichever devil's supporters are allied with them to rout those behind them so that they will not forget it.</p>
Revered Scholars	<p>(60-61) As for fighting to repeal an enemy which is the strongest way to defend freedom and religion, it is agreed that this is a duty. After faith, there is no greater duty than fighting an enemy who is corrupting religion and the world.</p>
Religious Scholars/OBL	<p>(61) (accordance to the injustices and rational of participating in jihad pronounce Muslims the following judgment): To kill the American and their allies-civilians and military is an individual duty incumbent upon every Muslim in all countries in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque and the Holy Mosque from their grip so that their armies leave all the territory of Islam, defeated, broken, and unable to threaten any Muslim.</p> <p>(61) With Gods permission we call everyone who believes in God and wants reward to comply with His will to kill the Americans and seize their money wherever and whenever they find them...</p>

Statement # 7 Injustice**Date of Statement: 12/1998****Actors****Forms of Injustice****America**

(America/British attack)

(Iraq)

(Israelis)

(Iraq)

(Japan)

(Jewish Authority is America)

(Arab/Islamic World)

(Iraqi people, Libya, Sudan)

(Media sphere, Clinton, Iraq)

(Pentagon/Pakistani Intelligence)

(p66-7) ...The recent American and British attack on Iraq a few days ago told us many serious and important things. We are not talking about the material and human losses of our Muslim brothers who have been killed in Iraq. We are talking about what this attack has revealed. America accuses Iraq of using poison gas against the Kurds, against its own people. It also accuses Iraq of using lethal weapons against Iran; however, what people should realize is that America was not accusing Iraq at that time, but rather was supporting it through various means and agents in the region. But from the point when Iraq became a notable regional power, and even became the biggest Arab power in the region, threatening the security of Jews and Israelis who are occupying Jerusalem, America started to dig all these issues up again and to claim that it would have to hold Iraq to account, saying that "its' true that there are weapons of mass destruction, as in Israel, but Israel is not using them Iraq has." America is the country that owns this weapon, and it is the one that has bombed people in the Far East, in Nagasaki and Hiroshima, after Japan had surrendered and World War Two had begun to end.

(67) Despite this America insisted on attacking entire people, including their children, their women, and their elderly...America claims that it is bringing Iraq to account and to justice but the fact is that the Israeli authority and the Jewish authority, which has become powerful inside the White House, as everyone can see, the Defense Minister is Jewish, the Secretary of State is Jewish, the CIA and National Security officials are Jewish, all the biggest officials are Jews led the Christians to clip the wings of the Islamic world.

(67) Their real target is not Saddam Hussein but the growing power of the Arab and Islamic world, even if they struck the Iraqi people or as they previously alleged in the sanctions against Libya because they had a chemical weapons factory or when they bombed the al-Shifa factory in Sudan, which was a pharmaceutical factory.

(70) ...America has taken over the media sphere, manipulating in different measures these enormous powers as it sees fit. Every American is our enemy, whether he fights directly or whether he pays taxes. Perhaps you have heard the recent news that three-quarters of the American people support Clinton in attacking Iraq. This is a people whose votes are won when innocents die, whose leader commits adultery and great sins and then sees his popularity rise...a vile people who have never understood the meaning of values.

(71) (report that OBL is suffering from a incurable disease and OBL's response:) These are biased and tendentious rumors, the purpose of which might be an attempt to sow caution among the feelings of the Muslims and sympathize with us, or calm the fears of the Americans that bin Laden might do something.

(76) (concerning the OBL involvement in the explosions of Riyadh, Khobar, and East Africa) As for the idea that I commissioned this explosion to be carried out, I really think that this is an illusion and a fallacy put about by the American government, for which it has no evidence.

(78) (Concerning American Bombing of Afghanistan) America applied severe pressures against our activities

- early on, and this has had an effect on us. Some countries who are on our side and have possessions and funds have responded and ordered us to stop attacking America.
- (Arab brothers/Martyrs) (78) There has been American pressure on us for some years now-it did not start with the recent bombing. (83)...some of our brothers have been killed, six of our Arab brothers and one Turk we pray God will accept them all as martyrs. Among them was our brother Siddiq from Egypt, our brother Hamdi also from Egypt, and three of our brothers from Yemen, including Bashar, who is also known as Saraqa, and our brother Abu Jihad, as well as our brothers from the Illumined Medina, Sa'd Salah Mutbiqani...But America, because it worships money, thinks that the people here are of the same persuasion.
- (Afghanistan) (85) And aggression by America today against Afghanistan is not just against Afghanistan itself, but against Afghanistan in its capacity as the raiser of the banner of Islam in the Islamic world, the true Islam of jihad for the sake of God.
- (Americans, Jews, Christians) (86-7) (concerns the allegations by international media about America's support of Afghan jihad against Soviet Union; which OBL took part in..linked to CIA) It's an attempt to distort by the Americans and praise to God that He has thwarted their conspiracy. Every Muslim, from the moment they realize the distinction in their hearts, hates Americas, hates Jews, and hates Christians. This is part of our belief and our religion. For as long as I can remember, I have felt tormented and at war, and have felt hatred and animosity for Americans. What they say did not in fact take place. And as for their claim that they supported the jihad and struggle against the Soviets, well, this support came from Arab countries, especially from the Gulf. They supported this war not for the sake of God, as they claim but for fear of losing their positions of power and privilege from the Russian advance. Carter, the American president at the time was unable to utter anything of any value whatsoever for over twenty days. On the 20th of January he made a statement that any Russian interference in the Gulf region would be considered as a direct act of aggression against America. This is because they had already occupied this area and appropriated its oil. He also said that they would use military force if such an invasion took place. The Americans are lying when the claim they helped us at any point, and we challenge them to present a single shred of evidence to prove it. In fact they were a burden on us and the Mujahidin in Afghanistan and there was no agreement between us.
- (Arab Countries) (90) (concerning American invasion, defending, and not leaving) The months passed, the first year passed, then the second, and we are now in the ninth year, and the Americans are all lying, saying "We have interests in the region, and we will not move before we can guarantee them." So basically an enemy comes and steals what is yours, and you ask him why he is stealing? He tells you: "No, these are my interests, my interests." They are tricking us with sophistry. So perhaps the virility of the rulers in the region has been stolen, and they think people are women.
- (Carter, Russians)
- (Mujahidin Afghanistan)
- (rulers of the region)
- (bargaining with/Islamic Front) (91) To all those brothers who are still waiting for their situation to improve, without actually getting up and doing

(agents in the region)

(Islamic world)

Israel/Jews

(Islamic World)

(Collaborator Regimes)

(British/America)

United Nations

(North Korea)

(America)

(Umma)

America/Britain/Israel/Enemy

(Iraq)

(Other regimes)

(Infidels, Muslims, OBL)

(Civilians, Palestine, Children)

(global crusader alli/Zionist Jew)

(Muslims)

Pakistan

something about it I tell you that the Americans are bargaining with us in silence. America and some of its agents in the region have bargained with us discreetly more than ten times, I tell you: (they say) shut up and we'll give you back your passport and possessions, we'll give you back your ID card, but shut up.

(93) I say that the world has agreed to devour the Islamic world. The Crusader world has agreed to devour us.

(67) It is now clear that it is Israel that is behind all the attacks on the states in the Islamic World. However, for fear that great popular movements will rise up and topple them these collaborator regimes have conspired to save their own skin regardless of their duties to Islam and Muslims. The feelings of these people were desensitized as much as America wanted, so the Jews were able to employ American and British Christians to do the job attacking Iraq.

(68) ...brothers in Palestine, even though the Palestinian people were famous for their activity and agriculture which they exported together with their citrus fruits, their textiles, and soap, these people became homeless, chased all over the world. In the end they became low-wage workers for this colonialist Jew, who lets them enter when it wants, and then prevents them from entering when it does not want them.

(67) So that we should be very aware of this issue which is again goes to show no sane Muslim should take his grievances to the United Nations. As for Muslims, according to God's law, they are not allowed to seek the help of these infidel, man-made organizations. And we should also point out that wise non-Muslims also do not go to the UN. North Korea for example would any sane man even if he is an infidel take his case to a court in which the judge decided to give a painful decisive blow under the deceitful pretext of so-called "international legitimacy"?

In any case America can also use its right to veto at the United Nations. So no Muslim goes there at all, because this contradicts faith, and no sensible person goes there even if he is an infidel. Those who talk so much about the UN and its resolutions either do not understand their religion, or want to abandon our umma by placing their hopes in a mirage and an illusion.

(93) ...and nations have rallied together against us.

(68) For our enemies are disporting themselves in our seas on our lands and in our airspace striking without anyone's permission. In this particular case, this barefaced, shameful plot to attack Iraq. America and Britain could not get anyone else on board. But these other regimes no longer have any real power. They are either colluding with America and Britain or have lost the power to do anything against this barefaced occupation.

(70) They preach one thing and do another. The infidels tell Muslims that bin Laden is threatening to kill civilians, yet what are they doing in Palestine? They are not only killing innocents, but children as well.

(73) ...there are two sides in the struggle: one side is the global Crusader alliance with the Zionist Jews, led by America, Britain, and Israel, and the other side is the Islamic world. It is not acceptable in such a struggle as this that he the Crusader should attack and enter my land and holy sanctuaries, and plunder Muslims' oil, and then when he encounters any resistance from Muslims, to label them terrorists. This is stupidity or considering others stupid.

(72) (Though there are groups sympathetic to Islam): There are also a few groups that are unfortunately still

(Groups cooperating w/America)

America/Taliban

Global Unbelief/Arab Rulers

(Collaborators, Umma)

(Palestinian Mujahidin)

Pakistan/East Africa

Israel/Arab agents

America/Jews

Arab States/Abdallah Ubay Sulul

Taliban Movement/Afghan Govt.

(Russia, America, Mujahidin)

(Afghanistan)

(Muslims)

cooperating with the enemies of our umma, the Americans...(Further says:) I mean the government, there are elements within the government (which may pertain to agency groups of Pakistan as well).

(73-4) (concerning OBL and GIF going on trial) ...if the accuser in the United States of America, we too accuse it of many things, all the terrible things it has committed in the lands of Muslims. But America may God fight it when it asked for me from the Taliban, refused to abide by Islamic law, and said: "We are only asking for one thing, that you give us Osama bin Laden." In its arrogance, it treats people as if they were slaves.

(74-5) (concerning attacks by Palestinian brothers and GIF) But unfortunately after these courageous attacks in Palestine, global unbelief has crystallized in the land of Canaan, in Egypt, with their collaborators from among the rulers of the region, the rulers of the Arabs, who have laughed at our umma for more than half a century. Every time a king meets a president they say they have "discussed the Palestinian issue", but over half a century a clear picture has emerged: they have abandoned the mujahidin in Palestine. In fact they have given a guilty verdict on those lions whose fathers and brothers have been killed, imprisoned, tortured, and persecuted in the defense of their religion and their attempts to drive the infidels away.

(76) (response to the claim that Howayda was trained in one of the Afghan camps and he was close to OBL) Even if brother Howayda did confess to these things he would have done so under torture..the types of torture in Pakistan and East Africa are no secret.

(77) (Concerning the death of Sheikh Abdallah Azzam) The Jews were the ones who were complaining most about the Sheikh's movement, and who were constantly targeting him. It is therefore believed that Israel in collusion with some of its Arab agents killed the Sheikh.

(77) (Concerning allegations OBL had Sheikh Abdallah killed) As for this accusation against me, it was fabricated by the Americans, the Jews, and some of their agents. It doesn't even merit a response.

(78-9) (placing pressure on OBL/GIF/Jihad for Umma) But some Arab states also applied economic pressure on us, depriving us of our rights, and making life difficult for us. Our own people were even prevented from paying our money to us, and in this they were guided by Abdallah bin Ubay bin Sulul leader of the hypocrites and the hypocrites themselves.

(83-4) ...they did not continue along the path after (the defeat of Russia) and there were some disagreements into which America, and some of the Arab states who have a strong connection to America, intervened and set about sowing strife between the mujahidin.

(84) To everyone's regret fighting took place which only increased the suffering of the Muslim people of Afghanistan. What is unfortunate here is that many good people discontinued their support for Afghanistan because of this internal fighting. And in truth this was conduct that it should not have condoned, for it only heaped more misery on the widows and orphans whose husbands and fathers had been killed. What good Muslims should have done is come here to look after these orphans and widows but the devil led them to believe they should stop

(Devil, Islamic world)

helping the Muslims who had defended Islam here, just as they had defended all the Islamic world, especially the Gulf states.

Soviet Union

(Russians)

(West)

(84) One look at a map would tell you that Afghanistan was not so much a target in itself, but rather a passage for the Soviet forces, after they had achieved large gains in the world at that time. For the Russians thought that they could strike a decisive blow to the West by occupying the Straits of Hormuz and all the Gulf states, thereby taking possession of the biggest petroleum reserves in the world.

Arab/Gulf States

(84) (concerning war with Russia) After the Russians were defeated these states turned their backs completely and began to my regret to publicly denounce the jihad and the mujahidin. Some of them also colluded in sowing discord within the mujahidin themselves.

Gulf States/Arab Rulers/Scholars

(Young Men, Scholars)

(Gulf States)

(91-2) (Concerning the demographics of jihad) So when the Americans came in during Muharram (July 1990), these young men were not really aware of this event, and fatwa's were unfortunately issued. One country, and the Gulf states took part in pressuring these scholars to issue such fatwa's, which they claim were temporary and we spoke to those who issued the fatwa's such as Sheikh Muhammad bin Salih al-Uthaimain in his council and his house. He said: "We did not issue a fatwa, but when the Americans entered the country they got us together and said: "You have to issue a fatwa or otherwise the youth will fight the American soldiers." I spoke to the Sheikh for a long time about the duty of issuing a fatwa expelling them from the Higher Council of Scholars, but he told me in no uncertain terms as God is my witness, he said: "Bin Laden, we in the Higher Council did not have the right to issue fatwa's ourselves, but if those in power give us the permission to issue a fatwa, the we will do so. I'm sorry to say this is our predicament."

(Higher Council of Scholars)

Hypocrites/Enemies of Islam

(93) Ibn Kathir shows that Muslims discovered the hypocrites on the day when they defended and befriended the Jewish Bani Qainuqa. And today Arab rulers are all befriending the Jews and Christians too, and people are still praising the enemies of Islam and Muslims. There is no strength or power save in God.

Statement # 7 Agency

Date of Statement: 12/1998

Actors

Forms of Agency

Muslims

(Scholars, Businessmen)
(Tribal leaders, Jihad, Umma)

(p68) ...the time has come for Muslim people to realize after these attacks (on Iraq and Arab region) that the states of the region do not have their own sovereignty.

(68) What Muslims should do, especially the resourceful ones and the righteous scholars and faithful businessmen and tribal leaders who have opinions, is to emigrate for the sake of God and find for themselves a place to raise the banner of jihad and to enlist in our umma to maintain their religion and their world, otherwise they will lose everything...If they do not consider what happened to their brothers in Palestine (refer to injustice by Israel).

(68) (concerning the oppressive/attacking enemy) ...The matter is serious and if we don't move and the Noble Sanctuary is attacked, and the direction of prayer of 1200 million Muslims is attacked, when will people begin to stir? This is a momentous matter which requires much effort.

(The enemy: America, Brit, Israel)

(68) For those of you who think that this air strike will terrify the Islamic movements, they are fooling themselves. For we Muslims believe that death is predestined and decided; it will come before or after its appointed time, from the time we were in our mothers' wombs. Provision is in the hands of God and these souls are His creation. Money is His provision, and it is He who "purchases" their souls for Heaven. So way do Muslims hold back from helping their religion?

(Jihad, Jihadi Movements)
(Jews, Crusaders)

(79) For by the one God, we feel that the world is giving us plenty, and money is merely transitory. But we say to Muslims to give their money to the jihad and jihadi movements who apply themselves specifically to fighting Jews and Crusaders.

(Afghanistan)

(85) So we advise Muslims both within and outside Afghanistan to help these students, and we advise Muslims outside (Afgh) that much of the effect that is being made is doing hardly anything to promote the existence of a state of Islam...we call on Muslims to help this state with all their might, their ideas, their charitable donations, and funds for with God's will it represents the banner of Islam today.

(88) We call Muslims to transcend all less important problems (further discussed under GIF/88-9)

(Umma, People)

(92) (referring to the discussion on demographics of jihad for injustice) You go forward ten years and gradually the original zeal dissipates. It's a serious matter-people have to do whatever they can, with their voices, their pens, and their souls, to motivate our umma.

(92) I direct some advice to all Muslims to contemplate God's Book. He is the Creator and He is the one who rescued us from the stinking depths of paganism in those dark ages. Our remedy is in the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet, and when people read the Qur'an they will be amazed at the slackness of many people. Are they not reading the Qur'an or are they reading it and not thinking about it?

(Muslim brothers, ibn Kathir)
(Sheikh Muhammad Nasim)

(93) So I urge my Muslim brothers to read the Qur'an and to read the exegesis of these verses. God's book contains many warnings about befriending the infidels. They should read the exegesis of ibn Kathir and the short

Islamic Movement/Jihadist/GIF

(God)

(America, Israel, and allies)

(Muslims and Muslim countries)

(Global Islamic Front (GIF)

(Umma)

(Biggest enemy in the world)

(Resurgence of Umma)

(Infidels, Americans)

(OBL, Umma, Muslims)

(Jews, Christians, God, America)

(Arab/foreign newspapers)

(Israel, Christian)

exegesis of ibn Kathir for Sheikh Muhammad Nasim al-Rif'ai. And all we have left to cope with them (enemies of Islam) besides God, is the young men who have not been weighed down by the filth of the world. God...has taught us how to respond to those who argue falsely that jihad should be postponed.

(93) So whoever has realized that the rewards of this world are few and that the next world is better and more permanent, he is the one who responds to the command of God.

(69) Our duty...which we have undertaken is to motivate our umma to jihad for the sake of God against America and Israel and their allies. And we are still doing this, motivating people; the popular mobilization that happened in these last months is moving in the right direction to remove the Americans from Muslim countries.

(69) In light of all the circumstances around us, and not being able to move out of Afghanistan to devote ourselves to work more closely whenever we can, we have formed with a large number of our brothers, the "Global Islamic Front for Jihad against Jews and Crusaders." So I believe that the work of many of those brothers is going well and that they have a broad campaign. We pray to God that He will open the way for them to help the religion and to wreak revenge on the Jews and the Americans...Its members are from very many nationalities and they have a wide range of movement, and they do not necessarily advertise everything they do. Moreover, these months cannot be considered a long time in the renaissance of our umma and resistance against the biggest enemy in the world.

(70) (concerning operations reported on the radio of operations to take place against America) I heard this news a few days ago on the radio and happiness entered my heart. For it tells of the resurgence of our umma, by the grace of God. But as for the extent to which this threat can be taken seriously, if I knew who was behind it the I would say so. Unfortunately I still do not know who did this blessed deed. But we pray to God to make them successful, and open the way for them to defeat the infidels and Americans and others. As for the previous fatwa it discussed the fact that we make a different distinction in our faith than the infidels call for in theirs...We differentiate between men and women and between children and old people. Men are fighters; whether they carry arms or merely help our struggle by paying taxes, they are fighters.

(71) (In response to OBL possibility of suffering from an incurable disease noting the big picture) But the fact is that these deeds have nothing to do with bin Laden (concerning the allegations of a coming operation). This is an umma of 1200 million Muslims, and there is no way that will allow these dirty pestering Jews and Christians into the Noble Ka'ba of God. For our umma is continuing on its path, and we are sure that it will continue the jihad and give America and its allies a painful beating.

(72) (newspapers detail the attempts of OBL and GIF of wanting to acquire a nuclear, chemical, or biological weapon) ...At a time when Israel is stocking up on hundreds of nuclear warheads and atomic bombs, and when the Christian controls a vast proportion of these weapons, this is not an accusation but a fact. We cannot accept that anyone should accuse us of this. How can it be claimed that a man is a brave warrior when the claimant is

(Pakistani people, God)
 (Muslims, America)
 (Muslims, America)

backward and stupid? We supported and congratulated the Pakistani people when God blessed them with possession of a nuclear weapon, because we consider it the Muslims' right to have it, and we will not pay any attention to these shabby American accusations... There is a duty on Muslims to acquire them (nuclear weapons) and America knows today that Muslims are in possession of such a weapon.
 (73) We believe that it is our legal duty to resist this occupation with all our might, and punish it in the same way as it pushes us.

(God)
 (Dissenters)

(73) We came out of our country to wage jihad for the sake of God. He blessed us with this gift of emigration, wishing us to strive to implement His law and be judged by it. This is our demand and this is what we set out to do. What legitimate court is applying Islamic law away from the pressures imposed by dissenters? This is our goal and our demand. We are prepared at any time for any legitimate court that has an accuser and an accused.

(Islamic World)

(74) By the grace of God, I have brought happiness to Muslims in the Islamic world, and anyone who follows the global media will see the extent of the sympathy in the Islamic world for strikes against Americans, even if people are sorry to see the killing of innocents in these countries. But what is clear is the enormous wave of joy and happiness that is spreading across the Islamic world, because they believe the Jews and America have gone too far in their tyranny and their contempt for Muslims. And People were unable to move the Islamic states to defend them or avenge them, so these acts are nothing but popular response from young men who have put themselves forward and are striving to please God.

(Umma)
 (Brothers in Palestine)

(74) I look at these men with much admiration and respect for they carried out the explosions in Riyadh or Khobar or East Africa or the like. I also admire our brothers the lions in Palestine, who are teaching the Jews great lessons about faith and about the pride of the believer.

(Arab Rulers, Jews/America)

(75) (concerning the injustice experienced by Palestinian Mujahidin) "From mysteries come the clearest things." I don't know what people are waiting for after this clearest of betrayals, and after the shameful way in which the Arab rulers have acted in the interests of the Jews or America.

(Resisters of Global Unbelief)
 (America)

(75-6) (concerning the allegation that OBL is involved in Riyadh, Khobar, East Africa attacks) America makes many allegations, but even supposing they're true they don't mean a thing. These people are resisting global unbelief that has occupied our lands. How angry America gets when it attacks people and those people resist! But in any case the allegations are false, except for the fact that I have a link to motivating people. That is clearly true, and I admit to it every time, when I was one of the ones who signed the fatwa inciting our umma to jihad; I have been doing just that for some years. And this decree was responded to by many people, by the grace of God, among whom those brothers we consider martyrs, brother Abd al-Aziz al-Mu'zim, who was killed in Riyadh...there is no strength or power save in God..and brother Maslah al-Shamrani, brother Riyadh al-Hajiri, and we ask God to accept them all as martyrs, and brother Khaled al-Sa'id. These men confessed during the investigation that they were influenced by some of our statements that we have made to people in which we discussed the fatwa of the men of

(Umma; Jihad)

(Brothers/Martyrs)

(Men of Knowledge, America)

(Religious Communities)	knowledge concerning the duty of jihad against these occupying Americans....what is wrong with resisting those who attack you? All religious communities have such a principle, for example these Buddhists, both the North
(Buddhists, N. Korea, Vietnamese)	Koreans and Vietnamese who fought America. This is a legal right, so by any right the Arab or Islamic media should
(Arab Media, Mujahidin, Muhammad)	be able to follow the mujahidin who have followed the example of the master of mankind, Muhammad, and have been guided by him." This is reassurance for us that we are fighting for the sake of God. I previously told some
(Western Media, Americans)	Western media outlets that a great honor passed us by that it was not us who participated in the killing of
(Umma, Brothers, Muslim Scholars)	Americans in Riyadh. These accusations are utterly false, except that it is true I am linked to inciting: I have incited our umma to jihad with all my brothers and Muslim scholars.
(Jihad Camps Afghanistan)	(76) What I do know is that in the jihad camps in Afghanistan, which we helped to open in the days of the jihad
(Soviet Union, Arab Brothers)	against the Soviet Union more than 15,000 young men were trained in those camps, by the grace of God. Most of
(America)	them were from Arab countries, and some were brothers from Islamic countries.
(Umma)	(78) (concerns attacking America in Afghanistan) We believe that these attacks are a duty incumbent upon us as
(Arab States)	in motivating our umma. So we have continued to motivate our umma, and by the grace of God...we have carried on.
(Afghanistan)	(78-9) (concerning Arab states placing pressure on OBL and GIF) God will be their punisher. And now, because
(America)	they made us live in dire straits, they are also doing so.
(Somalia, American Soldier)	(82) It could fall short, but we believe those who fought in Afghanistan did more than their share of duty. They
(Young Men/Helpers: Jihad)	knew that they were fighting with spare supplies very few RPGs, very few anti-tank mines, a and very few
(Taliban Movement/Afghan Govt.)	Kalashnikovs yet they managed to destroy the myth of the largest military machine ever known to mankind and
(Soviet Union)	utterly annihilated the idea of a so called superpowers. We believe America is much weaker than Russia, and we
	have learned from our brothers who fought in the jihad in Somalia of the incredible weakness and cowardice of
	the American soldier. Not even eighty of them had been killed and they fled in total darkness in the middle of the
	night, unable to see a thing. After this, great commotion filled the globe about the new world order.
	(83) These young men I pray that God will accept them and those of them who have died throughout this blessed
	jihad as martyrs have left the material world and come to these mountains and his land; they have left their fathers
	and mothers, they have left their universities, and they have come here to face bombardment by American cruise
	missiles (continued in injustice America/83)...These men left the material world and came for jihad. (Concerning
	the propaganda from America offering an award for OBL) But by God we have not sent away a single man
	following this propaganda, because we do not doubt our brothers. We consider them the best, and they are. God is
	their only reckoner.
	(83) God...blessed us with the Taliban movement fourteen years after the jihad that the former mujahidin undertook,
	in which the students also played a role. God brought them the success of defeating the Soviet Union at that
	early time, and He opened the way for those who raised the banner of jihad at that early time to defeat the biggest
	state in the world, the biggest military state.

(Gulf States)	(84) So the real reason why some indeed all of the Gulf states supported the Afghan jihad was that they saw it as self-defense. For they were themselves participants in the battle.
(Taliban)	(85) ...our relationship with the Taliban is very strong and firm, and it is a doctrinal relationship based on us sharing the same belief, not a political or business relationship. Many states have participated and attempted to put pressure on the Taliban, trying to tempt it or scare it, but God has made them firm.
(Commander of Faith)	(86) (concerning Afghanistan) ...but are here in a stat that includes the Commander of Faith. We are committed under God's law to obey him, there is no dispute about that, and we are committed to this state. We call others to help it, and we warn as I mentioned of the confusion that America is making. It wants to strike the State of Islam in Afghanistan, but it does so under the slogan of striking OBL. That will not help it. As for us, by the will of God we have come out here and we know our path from the outset; America's rockets do not scare us. But we warn it that any strike against this people is a strike against the State of Islam, and for various reasons pertaining to the circumstances in Afghanistan there is an opinion amongst the Taliban that we should not move from within Afghanistan against any other state. This was the decision of the Commander of the Faithful, as is known. But the success of our efforts to motivate the umma, by God's help is not constrained by our limited abilities at this point. By the grace of God we are certain that our umma is on rapid course towards the work of jihad against America, which is a duty for all Muslims, as I mentioned.
(Afghanistan)	
(America)	
(Umma)	
(Afghanistan, America)	(87-8) We were doing our duty which is supporting Islam in Afghanistan, even if this did coincide with American interests. When the Muslims were fighting the Byzantines, during the fierce war between the Byzantines and the Persians, no one in their right mind could say that the Muslims were fighting agents of the Persians against the Byzantines. There was merely a common interest between the Muslims and Persians. Fighting the Byzantines was a duty, but after their victories over the Byzantines, by the grace of God, they set about fighting the Persians. Unintended confluence of interests does not mean there is any kind of link of tacit agreement. We have been advancing since those days and with the grace of God, have been spreading our message in Hijaz and Najd for more than twelve years on the duty of boycotting American goods, attacking its military forces and its economy.
(Muslims)	
(Byzantines, Persians)	
(Umma, Islamic World)	(88)...we are linked to all the Islamic world, whether that be Yemen, Pakistan, or whatever. We are part of one unified umma, and by the grace of God the numbers of those who have conviction and have set out to wage jihad are increasing every day. Their numbers are good news for us both in Yemen and elsewhere. In Yemen we have strong and old links by the grace of God, besides the fact that my roots and my father's roots go back there.
	(88) By the grace of God, our relationship with Islamic organizations in the Islamic world, overall are very good. We collaborate with them piously and devoutly to help this religion, all in the sphere that God opened up for us.
(Muslims; working for Islam)	(88-9) We call Muslims, and especially those working for Islam, to transcend all the less important problems although unfortunately the devils and demons among mankind, and especially the Crusaders, have been able to divert the states, apart from the smaller organizations in them, towards regional issues. So you find Egypt has
(Crusaders)	

(Arab Nations)

(Crusader-American alliance)

(Muslims)

(Egyptian Islamic Group)

(Soviet Union)

(America, Jewish)

problems with Libya, and Yemen with Saudi Arabia, and likewise the organizations except those on whom God has taken mercy generally experience severe problems, while the greatest unbelief, the Crusader-American alliance remains unchallenged, tearing the Islamic world apart and plundering the wealth of Muslims in an unprecedented manner.

(89) They have links to us (ElG)...Yes we have very strong links with them, by the grace of God, since the days of jihad, when we were fighting in the same trenches against the Soviet Union. They played the supportive, supervisory role in signing of the juridical ruling calling for America and Jewish blood to be shed. They signed the juridical ruling, but there was some confusion with an administrative issue when it came to issuing of the juridical ruling. Since the issuing of the juridical ruling coincided with the founding of the Front, people became uncertain as to whether the Islamic Group was part of the Front, so it was forced to clarify its position. It did sign the juridical ruling, but it is not part of the World Islamic Front.

(Regimes, Media)

(89-90) ...I say this in light of the severity with which the regimes and the media deal with us, in their desire to strip us of our virility we believe that we are men, Muslim men who have a duty to defend the greatest house in the world, the Noble Ka'ba and to be honored in doing so, not so that Christian and Jewish American recruits can come to defend the descendants of Sa'd, Muthanna, Abu Bakr, and Umar-and if God had not blessed us with Islam then our ancestors in the pagan age would not have let these people come either-not so that these infidel asses can come using as their excuse this invitation that wouldn't even fool a child (followed in the section of Muhammad)
(90) Our goal is to work under the law of God..and to defend the Noble Ka'ba, this great Ka'ba and this ancient house.

(Christian/Jewish Americans)

(Traditional Caliph leaders)

(90-1) This is our goal, to liberate the lands of Islam from unbelief and to apply the law of God Almighty in it until we meet Him and he is pleased with us.

(America)

(91) (America and its agents) These people think that people live in this world for its own sake, but they have forgotten that our existence has no meaning if we do not strive for the pleasure of God. So I tell you: (a graph in a
(92) ...and we, by the grace of God, have taken up this duty in our belief that we are obliged to do so. We are continuing on this path until we meet God.

Pakistan

(American)

(Groups for jihad)

Sheikh Abdallah Azzam

(Umma)

(Mujahidin, Afghanistan)

(71-2) (referring to question that said OBL received a letter from Pakistan to leave Afghanistan immediately because of the possibility that it may be bombed; what relations do you have with Pakistan?) The people of Pakistan gave a clear measure of the extent for their hatred at American arrogance toward the Islamic world. As for what we said with regard to Pakistan, there are groups that are sympathetic to Islam and to the jihad against the Americans.
(77) Sheikh Abdallah Azzam, may God rest his soul, is a man of our umma. He is someone who has demonstrated very clearly after his murder the extent of the barrenness that has afflicted Muslim women in failing to conceive another man like himself. Mujahidin who were in the theatre of war and lived through that era know that no one benefited the Islamic jihad in Afghanistan more than Sheikh Abdallah Azzam, God bless his soul, who motivated

(Palestine, Jews)
(Islamists, Sheikhs)

our umma throughout the world. Since that time, Sheikh increased his activity with the mujahidin in Palestine, and specifically with Hamas. His books especially "Signs of the Merciful", circulated around Palestine, motivating the population to jihad against the Jews. When the Sheikh started out, the atmosphere among the Islamists and sheikhs was limited, location-specific, and regional, each dealing with their own particular locale, but he inspired the Islamic movement and motivated Muslims to the broader jihad. At this point we were both in the same boat, and you are all aware of the numerous conspiracies there were to murder us all. I used to ask Sheikh Azzam to keep a safe distance from Peshawar because of the increasing number of plots against us, particularly when a week or two before his death we found a bomb in the middle of the night at the same mosque where he was eventually killed.

(Muhammad, Ibrahim, Umma)

(77-8) "Those who witnessed events know of the close relationship between Sheikh Azzam and myself. Alleged disagreements that some people have mentioned have no basis in truth, and there was no competition between us whatsoever. Sheikh Abdallah Azzam's mission was motivation and calling people to their duty. When we were inside the Paktia mountains, he sent young men to us to fight, and we took instructions and directions from him. We ask God to accept him and his sons, Muhammad and Ibrahim, as martyrs and for our umma to be compensated for his loss by another who can take up his duty like he did.

God

(78) "They are the ones who say, 'Give nothing to those who follow God's Messenger, until they abandon him.' but to God belong the treasures of heaven and earth, though the hypocrites do not understand this."

(80-81) God addresses His Prophet and the men of Badr, who are the best men: "For it was your Lord who made you venture from your home for a true purpose-though a group of believers disliked it and argued with you about the truth, after it had been made clear, as if they were being driven towards a death they could see with their own eyes."

(Believers, Christians, Jews)

(90) God Almighty does not accept any written prayer from us (GIF) unless it is directed towards the Ka'Ba. He has chosen the best of men for himself: Abraham, father of the Prophets after our Prophet, to build it, and Ismail.

(92) "You who believe, do not take the Jews and Christians as allies: they are allies only to each other. Anyone who takes them as an ally becomes one of them-God does not guide such wrongdoers."

(92-3) "...yet you (Prophet) well see the perverse at heart rushing to them for protection, saying, 'We are afraid fortune may turn against us.' But God may well bring about a triumph or some other event of His own making: then they will rue the secrets they harbored in their hearts."

(Believers, Jews, Christians)

(93) "When fighting was ordained for them, some of them feared men as much as or even more than they feared God, saying, 'Lord, why have you ordained fighting for us? If only you would give us a little more time.'"

(93) "You who believe, do not take the Jews and Christians as friends."

(93-4) We need to make a serious and honest stand by which we can seek the pleasure of God, showing that this life, this world, is an illusory pleasure. Every Muslim can make haste, so he must do so, and he must look for the

(Muslims, Young Men)

right places for jihad and for preparation to meet God-who will be placed with him. He must motivate himself and the believers with the words of the one who, after these great disasters said (poem): He prepared himself for battle, For the matter was very grave, I will donate my armor and defend her, With teeth and stones, Would you leave us besieged by, The infidel wolves, eating my wing?, They have not ceased harrying us, These sons of evil, from all sides, So where is the nobleman among the sons of my religion, Who will defend his noble brothers with the sword?, Death is better than a life of humiliation, And some shame none can erase.

Muhammad/The Hadith

(Ka'bin Malik)

(94) I ask great God on high to bless the Muslims with a return to His noble religion and to help the young men who have come out to wage jihad for His sake, to seek His pleasure. Lord, give us patience and make us stand firm and help us against the infidels. God is the one who reveals the book and directs the clouds. It is He who defeats factionalism and helps us against the different parties. Lord bring us surely into this world and into the next world. Spare us the torment of the fire, and help us against the Americans and Israel and their supporters. You are capable of all things. Our final prayer is praise be to God, lord of the worlds. Pray to God and blessings upon Muhammad, his family, and his companions.

(79) "Whoever remains a true believer in his heart, remains healthy of body and has enough food for the day, will inherit the entire world."

(God)

(81-2) ...on the day of Tabuk, Ka'b bin Malik said: "I did not remain behind God's Prophet in any battle that he fought except the battle of Tabuk...I never had two she-camels before, but I did have at the time of this battle...I said, 'I will prepare myself one or two days after (the Prophet) and then join them.' In the morning after their departure, I went out to get myself ready but returned having done nothing. And he said, "God's Prophet fought that battle at the time when the fruits had ripened and their shade looked pleasant."...For man is pulled back and forth by the burdens of the earth. He was one of the ones who took the blessed greater oath of allegiance at al-Aqaba, from which resulted the sate of Islam in Medina, the City of Light. He held back without apology, and in his long discussion of this it becomes clear that there were three of them, just as when it says in God's book: "And to the three men who stayed behind...". The stories in the Prophetic biography that those who went out to Tabuk were thirty thousand. What is three compared to thirty thousand? An utterly inconsequential number, if we asked any military commander if three out of thirty thousand of your men stayed behind, a tiny number? But to show what a great misdeed this is God...sent down seven heavens a Qur'an which will be recited until the Day of Judgment calling these men to account. Of it Ka'b bin Malik says: "When the earth closed in around me I climbed a wall to my cousin Abu Qatada, the dearest person to me and said to him: 'Abu Qatada, I appeal to you by God, do you know that I love God and His Messenger?' This was a very serious matter he wanted to be assured of the greatest thing in existence, the love of God and His Messenger, for there was no meaning to our existence other than loving them. But he did not answer me. So I appealed to him a second time. But again he did not answer me. So I appealed to him a third time. But Abu Qatada could not testify that he loved God and His Messenger-how could he when he was sitting with

(State of Medina)

Discussion on Jihad
Muslims/Umma (Jihad)

(Scholars)

(Taymiyya)

(Students)

(America's Media Imperialism)

(Saudi Arabia)

those who stayed behind? This is the religion of God. News had come that the Byzantines wanted to attack him in Tabuk, and so the Messenger of God got up in the midst of the tumult and hot wind, wanting to help his religion, and you are sitting and doing the opposite, how can he testify that you love God and His Messenger? So he did not testify for him but he did not deny it either. Instead he said: 'God and His Messenger know best.' So I was overcome and my eyes flooded over." And you see, the dearest of his friends could not testify on his behalf over this great matter.

(85) For our Prophet Muhammad spent thirteen years preaching in Mecca, the result being a few hundred emigrants but when the state of Medina was founded despite its tiny size, its location in the middle of the Persian and Byzantine states and in the middle of the Abs, Thabyan, and Ghatfan and neighboring Arab tribes, all ready to tear this little state to pieces-despite all this good prevailed.

(90) (concerning the American/Jewish Infidels coming into Islamic world) As far as this region is concerned, the ruling said: "...the coming of the Americans for a few months..." but they lied from the beginning to end. "And three of them God will not look at on the Day of Judgment." as the Prophet said, "For they were said to be liars."

(90) God Almighty, in his Unity, put men in servitude on this earth, the greatest servitude, greater than those after faith and prayers, as the Prophet said: "Islam is the camel's head, prayer is his body, and jihad is the tip of his hump."

(79-80) We believe that jihad is now an individual duty on our umma, but we have to distinguish between the judgment itself and the ability to carry it out. In any country containing the necessary conditions for jihad to be successfully implemented, Muslims are obliged to perform their legal duty of jihad against what is clearly the biggest unbelief. However, in some countries it might have been shown to some people that the necessary conditions are in place, but after a while they gain experience and know-how and relies that this is in fact not the case; in this instance they are charged with pardon and forgiveness. But the question remains: who defines what the right conditions are? Should it be those who have relied on the world, or those who have taken no share in legal knowledge? If circumstances prevent them from taking any share in military knowledge, then in this case it is true that jihad, as long as it is an individual duty, is sometimes impossible, but real preparation requires good numbers and equipment. As for this widespread idea among Muslims today that now is not time for jihad, then this idea-if it is not an obligation is wrong. And if jihad is decreed to be an individual duty today, then we are obliged to strive with all our might to complete the preparation and the necessary conditions for it. For these words are true. The Sheikh of Islam ibn Taymiyya makes it clear in this regard that he who issues a fatwa regarding jihad is he who has knowledge of jihad and when it should be waged. In other words, he should wage jihad himself. But after jihad had been absent from our umma for a long period there rose up a new generation of students of knowledge who had not embarked on the battles of jihad. They were infuriated by America's media imperialism, by which it conquered Saudi Arabia without a fight. This psychological blow made them say: "It is true that jihad is obligatory,

(Umma, enemies of Islam)
(Crusader-Jewish alliance)
(Youth)
(Famous/Important People)

(Pious, Righteous Men)
(Best Men)

(God, People)

Taliban government
(Crusader-Western media)

(Scholars, Hikmetyar)

(Afghanistan, Afghan parties)

Demographic of Jihad;Umma

(Saudi Arabia)

but we cannot fight." Know, on the contrary, that it is right that whoever those whom God has blessed with jihad (should fight) as happened in Afghanistan, Bosnia, and Chechnya-and God blessed us with that, for we are certain that our umma today is able to wage jihad against the enemies of Islam, and especially against the greatest external enemy the Crusader-Jewish alliance.

(80) I'm referring here to the issue whereby some of the youth...have noticed the unwillingness of some important people, and concluded that these important and famous people have only been unwilling because they knew what was in their interest. On further investigation it wasn't that at all, it wasn't necessarily the hesitation of famous people as a result of his knowing what was in his interest. When we contemplate God's book we find that the best men were reprimanded by God for holding back, for these pious, righteous men were afflicted by disease, the disease of holding back from jihad. How can we claim that our best men today are holding back in order to safeguard their own interests?

(82) It is clear then that this jihad today is an obligation on the umma (see Muhammad/The hadith).

(82) (referring to GIF) People can, if they fear God-who knows that it is His power-wage jihad, and who knows that the situation now still needs the right conditions.

(84) (in response to enemy Russia and Arab states that turned their back on afghan mujahidin) ...until God blessed the Muslims with the coming of the Taliban government, which is not a force influenced from the outside, as the Crusader Western media would have it, but a force that has come from within.

(84-5) People had become weary of ambushes and of the stealing of taxes and dues, so any tribe that had in it scholars of Islamic studies and had a link with the Taliban went and asked them to go to this or that province. This explains why we saw Gulbuddin Hikmetyar getting to the edge even within a few meters of Kabul with the public support of Pakistan, but he wasn't able to take it. It is well known that the Islamic party, under Hikmetyar's was the best of the Afghan parties in terms of power, organization, and area covered within Afghanistan. Conversely, the Taliban were the youngest of all parties and most of them had not even participated in the fighting, but because of the great numbers of people in Afghanistan who had reached such a degree of despair with former events, God opened the way for the Taliban.

(85) (concerning the reports that the Taliban my turn over OBL and GIF) From what I have heard, the Taliban have denied these reports, and as we know they are not true in any case. God knows best.

(91)"So I tell you: (a graph in a video) this graph shows the proportions of the population (of Saudi Arabia) according "to their ages. For these last ten years people have been living in the thin section, from the moment they video) this graph shows the proportions of the population (of Saudi Arabia) according to their ages. For these last ten years people have been living in the thin section, from the moment they are born they are the biggest sector of any normal society, then those who follow them, then the ones after that, and our umma for sixty to seventy years has been restricted to this section that is devoted to the service of religion and to jihad in particular. As is

(Afghanistan Mujahidin)

known, from birth to fifteen years of age people do not look after themselves, nor are they really aware of great events, and from the age of 25 and above people enter into family commitments, they go out and have working commitments. A man will have a wife and children, so his mind becomes more mature, but the ability to give becomes weaker. He tells you: "Who can I leave the children to? If I leave, who will look after them?," and so on. And if we're really honest we find that this section, between the ages of 15 to 25, is when people are able to wage jihad. In Afghanistan most of the mujahidin are of this age (refer to Gulf States/Arab Rulers/Scholars 91-2 this then follows) So when people are silent this section of the demographic from 15-25 do not know the truth of the matter. We are now nine years after the invasion, and all of this section, except those who are 16 and all of the people in this section (graph) who have now reached age 34, have become intellectually mature, and can no longer give anything. As for the small section that can now give, people are now stopping from showing them what the situation is.

Noble Women: Muslims
Revered Scholars

(90) By God, the noble women of the Muslims would not let these American and Jewish whores defend them.

(92) The men of knowledge said: "Whichever of them is in unbelief, becomes like them an infidel."

Statement # 8 Injustice**Date of Statement: 04/9/2001****Actors****Forms of Injustice**

Global forces of unbelief

(concern Scholars)

(Injustice of Global forces)

(p96) concerning scholars: By gathering here you are enraging all the global forces of unbelief who are taking every account of you meeting, and who are using every ploy to divide you and preoccupy you from the issues of your umma.

(96) ...injustice and oppression has flooded the world.

(96) referring to scholars: God has tested you by sending you at a time when tyranny prevails, when sanctity has been violated, and when holy sanctuaries have been occupied. He is asking you: what you have done about it?

(96) ...scholars I write these lines to you at a time when every single inch of our umma's body is being stabbed by a spear, struck by a sword, or pierced by an arrow.

New world order/UN

(96) ...even the blood of children and innocents has been deemed fair game, when the holy places of Islam have been violated in more than one place, under the supervision of the new world order and under the auspices of the United Nations, which has clearly become a tool with which the plans of global unbelief against Muslims are implemented. This is an organization that is overseeing with all its capabilities the annihilation and blockade of millions of Muslims under the sanctions, and yet still is not ashamed to talk about human rights.

(Muhammad related by al-Buhkari)

(back to present day)

(96) "A women entered the fire in Hira and didn't invite her to eat insects until she died."...what about someone who has imprisoned a Muslim woman and imposed sanctions upon her until the death.
of...how many people...Oh Lord you should not be blamed for what these people have done.

Muslims

(97) (OBL apologizes for): the slackers among the Muslims who do not help their brothers that are suffering under sanctions.

Actors

Forms of Agency

God

(p95) "You who believe, be mindful of God and make sure you devote yourselves to him, to your dying moment. hold fast to God's rope all together; do not split into factions."

(99) To those who deliver God's messages and fear only Him and no other: God's reckoning is enough...God took a pledge from those who were given the scripture..make it known to people; do not conceal it.

(99) God will soon replace you with people He loves and who love Him, people who are humble towards the believers, hard on the disbelievers, and who strive in God's way without fearing anyone's reproach. Such in God's favor. He grants it to whoever He will. God has endless bounty and knowledge.

Honorable Scholars

(96) You are gathered here from many different places and regions, representing a wide spectrum of the unity of Islam, which neither recognizes race nor color; nor does it pay heed to borders and walls.

(96) ...it is no secret to you that a great duty has been thrown upon your shoulders, for you are the inheritors of the Prophets legacy, you are the leaders among men, who publish your judicial decrees (fatwa) and work in the light of guidance.

(97) ...it is a duty as you well know to stand up for the truth and show the way to the waiting throngs who crane their necks to see you.

(97) Teach them that there is no pride or victory except in jihad for the sake of God, by which the first generation of Muslims overcame this sense of estrangement and exile in the world by becoming Muslims and by which the latter generations are victorious and are able to overcome their own estrangement.

(97) Teach them that jihad for the sake of God can only be done by a group that listens to and obeys a single commander, through which God unites them from their differences and disarray.

(98) Teach them that there is no Islam without a spirit of kinship, no kinship without authority, and no authority without listening and obeying.

(Scholars/Emirate Af/Mullah Omar)

(98) You yourselves know that God has ordained for this umma in these difficult times to establish an Islamic state that abides by Gods laws and raises the banner of His unity, and that is the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan under the leadership of the commander of the faithful Mullah Muhammad Omar.

(98) ...your duty to call the people to commit to this Emirate and to help it anyway they possibly can and to stand with it in the confrontations of this torrential current of global unbelief.

(98) Spiritually: that is by motivating the youth to prepare themselves for jihad in Afghanistan. For with the current state of the umma, jihad has been affirmed as an individual duty.

(98) Financially: that is, by calling on wealthy Muslims to donate money to the Emirate, to pay their alms to it, and to invest their business in it.

(98) Verbally: that is by issuing judicial decrees (fatwa) on the legitimacy of the Emirate and how it is a duty to

	help it.
Muhammad	(99) ...the umma is expecting you to do what God has made your duty: to speak the truth and not to fear any blame. (97) (said to al-Ash'ari related by al-Tirmidhi) I command you to do five things that God has commanded me to do: to gather, to listen, to obey, to emigrate, and to perform jihad for His sake. For whoever splits the group even a little has removed the noose of Islam from his neck, unless he repents, and whoever calls for paganism is but one of the corpses of hell, even if he fasts and claims that he is Muslim. So make the call for God, by which you have been raised up high as Muslim believers and servants of God. (97) (said Hadhi related by al-Bukhari) Commit to the community of Muslims and their leader. (98) (related by Muslims) Whoever dies without the pledge around his neck has died a pagan death.
(Story of the Group of Companions)	(97-98) (related by al-Tirmidhi) Three women cannot overcome the heart of a Muslim man who is sincere in his work for God and in his counsel to the leaders of the Muslims and the obligation of their community. For their prayer gives them good protection. (98) Commit to the community of Muslims and their leader..Whoever dies without the pledge around his neck has died a pagan death.
OBL	(98) ...assure you Muslims across the world that I submit to God on the duty of allegiance to Mullah Muhammad Omar and that I have taken my oath of allegiance to him.
Mullah Omar	(98-9) (OBL) Mullah Omar is the ruler and rightful commander who rules by God's law in this age...his great Islamic decisions include the destruction of idols, the prohibition of growing opium, and the proud stance against the campaign of global unbelief are but some of his historic Islamic positions that affirm his honesty and steadfastness on the path for which we admire him. God is his only reckoner.
Islam Scholars/Mujahidin	(97) ...however deep this wound is, however terrible these crises there is great trust in God, for He has promised the victory of his religion and has said that there still remains a group in the Prophet's Nation (Mujahidin) that knows the truth and fight for it. The traitors and turncoats cannot harm them until God's command comes at their hands.

Statement # 9 Injustice**Date of Statement: 09/24/2001****Actors****Forms of Injustice**

American Crusad Forces/Allies

(p101) ...great sorrow that I learned the news of our Muslim brothers who were killed in Karachi while expressing their opposition to the hostility of the American Crusader forces and their allies against the Muslim lands of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

(neo-crusader-Jewish)

(101) ...neo-Crusader-Jewish campaign led by Bush, the biggest Crusader, under the banner of the cross.

Statement # 9 Agency**Date of Statement: 09/24/2001****Actors****Forms of Agency**

God	(p100) Those who believe in God and His messengers are the truthful ones who will bear witness before their lord: they will have their reward and their light." (OBL uses this passage to relate to Muslim Brothers in Pakistan)
Muhammad	(102) If God helps you, no one can overcome you; if He forsakes you who else can help you? (101) (Obi referring to pak bros using quote related by Abu Dawud) Before the day of Resurrection God will punish with calamity whoever did not fight, was not prepared to fight, or was not successful in fighting.
OBL	(101) (referring to Muslim brothers of Pakistan who lost their lives in war with America; reinforcing their deeds and appreciation) We ask God to accept them among the martyrs, and place them among the prophets, martyrs, and the pious, true, and good men. We ask him to provide for their families with endurance and solace, to bless them, along with their sons and property, and to give them the greatest reward. The children they left behind are my children and with the permission of God I will provide for them. (102) ...ask God to help us defeat the forces of unbelief and tyranny and to smash the neo-Crusader-Jewish alliance in the lands of Pakistan and Afghanistan.
(Muslim Nation in Pakistan)	(101) ...no surprise the Muslim nation in Pakistan will rise up to defend its Islam for it is considered Islam's first line of defense in this region, just as Afghanistan was considered the first line of defense for itself and Pakistan against the Russian Invasion more than twenty years ago.
Muslim Pakistan Brothers	(101) ...we urge these brothers to be considered the first martyrs in the battle of Islam against the neo-Crusader Jewish campaign led by Bush, the biggest crusader, under the banner of the cross. This battle can be seen as merely one of the battles of eternal Islam. (101) We exhort our Muslim brothers in Pakistan to fight with all their might to prevent the American Crusader forces from conquering Pakistan and Afghanistan.
(Afghan people/Mullah Omar)	(101) Dear brothers I bring you the good news that we are established on the path of jihad for God, following God's prophet, with the Afghan people who are heroes and believers, and under the command of our Emir the proud mujahid Commander of the Faithful Mullah Muhammad Omar.

Actors

Forms of Injustice

America

(p104) What America is facing today is but a fraction of what we have tasted for decades. For over eighty years our umma has endured this humiliation and contempt. Its sons have been killed, its blood has been shed, its holy sanctuaries have been violated, all in a manner contrary to that revealed by God, without anyone listening or responding.

(104) Until this point a million innocent children have been killed in Iraq although they had done nothing wrong.

(104) ...when after eighty years the sword comes down on America, the hypocrites rise up to lament these killers who have scorned the blood, honor, and holy places of Muslims.

(104) ...they are immoral, dissolute, apostates, who help the butcher slaughter his victim and help the oppressor against the innocent child.

(105) ...They have come with their men and their horses, conspiring against us until even the countries that belong to Islam joined their side against the 9/11 attackers who came with their religion to God, refusing to abandon their religion.

(105) They came to fight Islam and its people on the pretext of fighting terrorism. Hundreds of thousands, young and old, were killed in Japan, the most distant land..but this is not a war crime just an issue to be looked into. And today in Iraq the same applies. But when a few of them were killed in Nairobi and Dar es-Salaam they bombed Afghanistan and Iraq and the hypocrites all stood behind the head of global unbelief, behind the Hubal of the modern age, America and its supporters. I tell you that these events have split the world into two camps: one of faith, with no hypocrites, and one of unbelief may God protect us from it.

Religious Scholars

(104) (referring to Iraq toll) ...we do not hear anyone condemning this, nor do we hear any jud decree (fatwa) from the official scholars.

Israel

(104) As I speak Israeli tanks and bulldozers are going in and wreaking havoc and sin in Palestine- in Jenin in Ramallah, in Rafah, in Beit Jala, and other parts of the domain of Islam, and we do not hear anyone protesting or even lifting a finger to stop it.

Statement # 10 Agency**Date of Statement: 10/7/2001****Actors****Forms of Agency****God**

(p104) (according to OBL) God has struck America at its Achilles heel and destroyed its greatest buildings praise and blessings to Him. America has been filled with terror from north to south and from east to west, praise and blessings to God.

(104) ...when God granted success to one of the vanguard groups of Islam, he opened a way for them to destroy America utterly...which relates back to a quote by OBL on page 103 that "He whom God guides will not go astray and he whom He leads astray can have no guide.

OBL (9/11 jihadists)

(104) When these men retaliated on behalf of their poor, oppressed sons, their brothers and sisters in Palestine and in many other lands of Islam, the whole world cried out. The infidels cried out in protest at 9/11 and the hypocrites followed them.

(104) May God protect me against them (America) and may He give them what they deserve.

(threat to America)

(105) ...swear by God..who raised the heavens without effort that neither America nor anyone who lives there will enjoy safety until safety becomes a reality for us living in Palestine and before all the infidel armies leave the land of Muhammad.

Muslims

(104-5) Now that senior officials in the United States of America...starting with the head of global unbelief, Bush and those with him, have spoken, every Muslim should rise up and defend his religion.

(105) Every Muslim must give what he can to help his religion. The winds of faith and change have blown to remove falsehood from the peninsula of Muhammad.

Statement # 11 Injustice**Date of Statement: 10/21/2001****Actors****Forms of Injustice****America**

(Jews, Americans)

(Commander of the Faithful)

(Students)

(Bush, World Crusade)

(Nation, Countries)

(Clinton)

(Bush, Powell)

(US Embassy, Israel)

(Congress/Senate)

(Palestine, Jews)

(Innocents)

(Iraq)

(Muslims)

(Palestine)

(WTC Employees)

(p107) As far as concerns (America's) description of these attacks (9/11) as terrorist acts, that description is wrong.

(110) ...but it made claims about (OBL) me as a result of our incitement against the Jews and the Americans, in protection of our Islamic umma. And it is a known fact that America is against the establishment of any Islamic state; the Commander of the Faithful (Mullah Omar) has declared this on more than one occasion, as have a lot of the prominent students, which shows that they are being targeted because of their religion, not just because of the presence of Osama bin Laden.

(113-4) I say that the events have proved very clearly the magnitude of the terrorism America inflicts in the world. Bush admitted that there can only be two kinds of people: one kind being Bush and his followers; and any nation that doesn't follow the Bush government, or the World Crusade, is guaranteed to be included with the terrorists. What kind of terrorism is more terrifying and evident than this? A lot of countries that can't speak for themselves followed this powerful world terrorism, and were also forced to say at the beginning that they were with him, even though they all know without any doubt that we are fighting to protect our brothers and our holy sanctuaries.

(114) ...previously, the Americans did to us whatever they pleased, and the victim wasn't even allowed to complain. And then Clinton comes out and tells us that Israel has the right to defend itself, after the slaughter of Qana. They didn't even give the Israelis a warning! And when the new President Bush came with Minister Colin Powell, they said within the first months of their rule that they would move the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, and that Jerusalem would be the eternal capital of Israel, and the Congress and the Senate applauded to them. That is hypocrisy beyond any hypocrisy and a clear violation.

(115) I used to say that the Americans take our money and give it to the Jews, so they can kill our children with it in Palestine.

(117) It is very strange for Americans and other educated people to talk about the killing of innocent civilians. I mean who said that our children and civilians are not innocents, and that the shedding of their blood is permissible? Whenever we kill their civilians the whole world yells at us from east to west, and America starts putting pressure on its allies and puppets. Who said that our blood isn't blood and that their blood is blood? What about people that have been killed in our lands for decades? More than 1,000,000 children died in Iraq, and they are still dying, so why do we not hear people that cry or protest, or anyone who reassures or anyone who sends condolences?

(117) ...what about the millions of Muslims that are getting killed? Where are the educated? Where are the writers? Where are the scholars? Where are the free? Where are the ones who have one atom of faith in their hearts? How is it that these people are moved when civilians die in America, and not when we are being killed everyday? Everyday in Palestine, children are killed.

(119) ...most of the people who were in the towers were men that backed the biggest financial force in the world,

	which spreads mischief throughout the world.
(Bush)	(121) ...man-made laws that America has forced on its collaborators in the region. (121-2) So Bush has declared in his own words: "Crusade attack." The odd thing about this is that he has taken the words right out of our mouth. But when Bush speaks people make apologies for him and say he didn't mean to say that this war is a Crusade, even though he himself said that it was! So the world today is split in two parts, as Bush said: either you are with us or you are with terrorism. Either you are with the Crusade or you are with Islam. Bush's image today is of him being in the front of the line, yelling and carrying his big cross. (126-7) The Americans have made laughable claims. They said that there are hidden messages intended for terrorists in bin Laden's statements. It is as if we are living in a time of carrier-pigeons, without the existence of telephones, without travelers, without the Internet, without regular mail, without faxes, without email. This is just farcial: words which belittle people's intellects.
(OBL, Terrorists)	
America/Britain/France/Jews (Islamic World/Countries) Israel/Jews/Zionist Lobby	(112-3) (further discussed in agency under 9/11 attackers) ...we are being violated in Palestine, in Iraq, in Lebanon in Sudan, in Somalia, in Kashmir, in the Philippines, and throughout the world. (113) ...the Zionist lobby, which serves the needs of Israel, which kills our sons and our children without right so that it can keep on ruling with total control.
(Prophet, Innocents) (Aggressors) Soviet Union Crusaders: Campaign	(126) ...Jews who conquered the sanctuary of our Prophet. And those who kill our children, women, and brothers night and day, and whoever stands in the aggressors' ranks, has only himself to blame. (120) ...Soviet Empire which was truly vicious, arrogant, brutal, and terrorized the faithful. (121) ...Crusaders' campaign, the strongest, most powerful, and most ferocious Crusaders' campaign to fall on the Islamic umma since the dawn of Islamic history...there have never been campaigns like this one before.
Saudi Interior Minister	(121) So I listened to some the words of the Interior Minister and he blamed us directly, also saying that "those people call Muslims disbelievers." ...Some people also believe what is said about us, like the Minister's words, that we declare other Muslims to be unbelievers.
America, Kuwait, Bahrian, Qatar	(124) Concerning these matters, the matters that concern Islam, the matters concerning the killing of true believers and Muslims...what these aforementioned states do, who use compulsion as an excuse, is not the same compulsion that is allowed by Islamic law. Their type of compulsion is not permitted by religion. Now lets say, if the Emir of Qatar came and he ordered one of his men to kill your son, and we then asked that soldier why he killed the son of brother Taysir, he says: "Well brother, I have been forced to do it! And you know, brother Taysir, you mean a great deal to me, but I have been compelled to kill your son!" So the blood of the Muslims will shed with these kinds of excuses, with this kind of compulsion that isn't backed by Islamic law. The soul of that soldier isn't better than the soul of your son. If he is killed, he will be killed by violation and oppression, but he is not allowed to obey the tyrant by killing your son. So this kind of compulsion isn't permitted by religion.
(Emir, Taysir, Muslims)	
Jews/Americans/Arab Leaders	(125) But the Jews and America have come up with a fairytale that they transmit to the Muslims, and they've

(Muslims)

Anwar al-Sadat

(Deir Yassin)

(Martyrs)

Arab Rulers/Nations

(Crusaders, Bush)

(Sons, Afghans)

(Saudi Arabia, America)

(Children)

America/Jews

Nations Jewish Allii/Crusaders

(America, Britain)

(Japan, Innocents)

(Afghans, Palestinians)

(Australia, Germany)

(Richard Barbarossa, Bush)

Followers of Rulers/Crusaders

(Children Iraq and Palestine)

(Disbelievers, Innocents)

unfortunately been followed by the local rulers and a lot of people who are close to them, by using "world peace" as an excuse. That is a fairytale that has no substance whatsoever!...The peace that they foist on Muslims is in order to ready and prepare them to be slaughtered, and still the killing goes on. So, if we try to defend ourselves, they call us "terrorists", and the slaughter still goes on.

(125) ...as for the so-called "Peace" or "Peace award", that is a gimmick that is given to the biggest blood shedders. That man, Begin, the perpetrator of the Deir Yassin massacre, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The traitor Anwar al-Sadat, the one that sold the land and the Palestinian issue and the blood of the martyrs, was awarded a Peace Prize.

(126) (concerning Muhammad saying the truthful will be disbelieved and the despicable believed) ...prevailing upon the Islamic world today, with its big leaders, and its famous rulers-it is a trick; they trick people and lie to them.

(128) What is the concern of the Arab nations in this Crusaders' War? They involved themselves with it openly, without disguise, in broad day light. They have accepted the rule of the cross. Everyone that supports Bush with one word, even without offering help and aid, and whatever else that is described as facilities is nothing but a traitor. They change its name by not calling it military aid, and then join in killing our sons-and they tell us that this is not facilitation and help? How can we believe that this system is collecting aid to help the weak Afghans, all the while openly giving Saudi Arabia to the Americans and their allies? How can we believe these states when they are one of the main reasons for the deaths of more than one million children?

(126) And the United States has involved itself and its people again and again for more than 53 years, and recognized and supported Israel, and dispatched a general air supply line in 1973 during the days of Nixon from America to Tel Aviv, with weapons, aid, and men, which affected the outcome of the battle, so how could we not fight it (America)? It is incumbent upon on every Muslim to fight it.

(127-8) So any nation that joins the Jewish trenches has only itself to blame as Sheikh Sulaiman Abu-Ghaith has declared in some of his previous statements concerning America and Britain; he did not set this in stone, but indeed gave some of other nations a chance to review their calculations. What is Japan's concern? What is making Japan join this hard, strong, and ferocious war? It is a blatant violation of our children in Palestine, and Japan didn't predict that it would be at war with us, so it should review its position. What is the concern of Australia in the farthest south with the case of these weak Afghans? And these weak Palestinians? What is Germany's concern with this war? Besides Richard the Lion heart Barbarossa from Germany, and Louis from France-the case is similar today, when they all immediately went forward the day Bush lifted the cross. The Crusader nations went forward.

(128) How can you declare faith while you are helping those fornicating disbelievers against the children of Islam. You help them against our children in Iraq and Palestine. I say to those who talk about the innocents in America, they haven't tasted yet the heat of the loss of children, and they haven't seen the look on faces of the children in Palestine and elsewhere. By what right are our families in Palestine denied safety? The helicopters hunt them while

(Americans, Sons)

Pakistan Government

(Crusaders' Alliance)

(America)

they are in their homes, while they are amongst their women and children; everyday the bodies and wounded are removed. So these fools cry about the deaths of Americans, and they don't cry about the deaths of our sons? Don't they fear receiving a similar punishment?

(129) Pakistan is one of the biggest pillars of this unlucky alliance, the Crusaders' Alliance...So whoever has stood with America by aiding them with material or immaterial things, this constitutes disbelief and the biggest rejection of the creed and teachings of Islam.

9/11 Attackers: The Attacks

(107) These young men, for whom God has created a path, have shifted the battle to the heart of the United States, and they have destroyed its most outstanding landmarks, its economic and military landmarks, by the grace of God.

(111-2) I was that the events that happened on Tuesday Sept. 11 in New York and Washington are truly great events by any measure, and their repercussions are not yet over. And if the fall of the twin towers was a huge event, then consider the events that followed it...let us talk about the economic effects, which are still continuing. According to their own admission, the share of the losses on the Wall Street Market reached 16 per cent. They said that this number is a record, which has never happened since the market opened more than 230 years ago. A collapse of this scale has never happened before. The gross amount that is traded in the market reaches \$4 trillion. So if we multiply 16 percent by \$4 trillion to find out the loss that affected the stocks, it reaches \$640 billion of losses from stocks, with God's grace, an amount equivalent to the budget of Sudan for 640 years. They have lost this through an attack that happened with the permission of God, lasting one hour only. The daily income of the American nation is \$20 billion. The first week (after the attack) the didn't work at all as a result of the psychological shock of the attack and even today some still don't work because of it. So if you multiply \$20 billion by 1 week, it comes to \$140 billion-and the actual amount is even bigger than this. If you add it to the \$640 billion, we've reached how much? Approximately \$800 billion. The cost of building and construction losses? Let us say more than \$30 billion. So far, they have fired or liquidated more than 170,000 employees from airline companies, including airfreight companies and commercial airlines. American studies and analysis have mentioned that 70 percent of the American people are still suffering from depression and psychological trauma as a result of the incident of the two towers and the attack on the Defense Ministry, the Pentagon. One of the well-known American hotel companies, Intercontinental, has fired 20,000 employees, thanks to God's grace. These repercussions cannot be calculated by anyone, due to their very large and increasing scale multitude and complexity, so watch as the amount reaches no less than \$1 trillion by the lowest estimate, due to these successful blessed attacks. We implore God to accept those brothers within the ranks of the martyrs, and to admit them to the highest levels of Paradise.

(Brothers, Martyrs)

(112-3) But I mention that there are also other events that took place, bigger, greater, and more dangerous than the collapse of the towers. It is this Western civilization, which is backed by America has lost its values and appeal. The immense materialistic towers, which preach Freedom, Human Rights, and Equality, were destroyed. These values were revealed as a total mockery as was made clear when the US government interfered and banned the media outlets from airing our words, because they felt that the truth started to appear to the American people, and we aren't really terrorists in the way they want to define the term, but rather because we are being violated in Palestine, in Iraq, in Lebanon, in Sudan, in Somalia, in Kashmir, in the Philippines, and throughout the world, and that this is a reaction from the young men of our umma against the violations of the British Government. So they

(Western Civilization)

(Islamic World/Countries)

(British Government)

(America, Zionist Lobby, Israel)

declared what they declared and they ordered what they ordered, and they forgot everything they mentioned about free speech, and unbiased opinion and all those matters. So I say that freedom and human rights in America have been sent to the guillotine with no prospect of return, unless these values are quickly reinstated. The government will take the American people and the West in general into a choking life into an unsupportable hell, because of the fact that it has very strong ties with and are under the payroll of the Zionist lobby, which serves the needs of Israel.

(Bush, Blair)

(114) In light of these recent attacks and what ensued from them, Bush and Blair quickly reacted and said that now is the time to create an independent nation for Palestine. Amazing! And yet there was apparently no suitable time in the last 10 years to address the issue before the attacks happened? They evidently won't wisen up without the language of beatings and killings.

(Innocents, Young Men)

(119) ...And that is from a religious perspective and those who speak without any knowledge of Islamic law, saying that killing a child is not valid and whatnot, and in full knowledge that those young men, for whom God has cleared the way, didn't set out to kill children, but rather attacked the biggest center of military power in the world the Pentagon, which contains more than 64,000 workers, a military base which has a big concentration of army and intelligence.

(WTC Employees)

(119) As for the World Trade Center, the ones who were attacked and who died in it were part of a financial power. It wasn't a children's school! Neither was it a residence. And the general consensus is that most of the people who were in the towers were men that backed the biggest financial force in the world, which spreads mischief throughout the world. And those individuals should stand before God, and rethink and redo their calculations.

Islamic Movt./(GIF)/Mujahidin
(Palestine, Brothers, Sons)

(107) And they (9/11 attackers) had done this because of our words-and we have previously incited and roused them to action-in self-defense, defense of our brothers and sons in Palestine, and in order to free our holy sanctuaries. And if inciting for these reasons is terrorism, and if killing those that kill our sons is terrorism, then let history witness that we are terrorists.

(107-8) (concerning the connection between "America nor anyone who lives there will be able to dream of security until we live it as a reality in Palestine." to 9/11 attacks) Making connections is easy. If this implies that we have incited these attacks, then yes, we've been inciting for years, and we have released decrees and documents concerning this issue, and other incitements which were published and broadcast in the media. So if they mean or you mean, that there is a connection as a result of our incitement, than that is true. So we incite, and incitement is a duty-and God has asked it from the best of humans, the Prophet...And what He (God) meant is fighting and combat against the disbelievers. So this connection is indeed right. We have incited and urged the killing of Americans and Jews. That is true.

(Americans and Jews)
(Soviet Union)

(108-9) ...and people used to ask us: "How will you defeat the Soviet Empire?" And at that time, the Soviet Empire

(NATO)
(Mujahidin Brothers)

was a mighty power that scared the whole world-NATO used to shake in fear in front of the Soviet Empire. So where now is that strong force that God sent to us and our mujahidin brothers?

(America)

(109) The Soviet Empire has become with God's grace a figment of the imagination. Today, there is no more Soviet Empire; it split into smaller states and only Russia is left. So the One God, who sustained us with one of His helping Hands and stabilized us again and of allowing us to defeat America on the same land, and with the same sayings. So we believe that the defeat of America is something achievable with the permission of God and it is easier for us with the permission of God than the defeat of the Soviet Empire previously.

(Russians)
(Communists in Afghanistan)

(109) (why think will be easy?) We have already fought them like our brothers who have engaged in battle with the Americans, as in Somalia. We have not yet found a significant force of note. There is a great aura about America which it uses to scare people before it engages in battle.

(America)

(109) So we fought against the Russians for ten years from 1979 until 1989; then we continued against the Communists in Afghanistan. Today we are at the end of the second week (of the bombing) and what a difference there is, like night and day, between both battles. So we implore God to sustain us with one of His helping Hands and to break America, for He is capable of that.

(Russians)
(Mujahidin, OBL Family)
(Saudi Government)

(110) When we first arrived in Afghanistan and when assistance came to aid the mujahidin victory, after the Russians entered in 1979, the Saudi government officially asked us to not enter Afghanistan. Due to my arrival in Afghanistan, and due to my family's closeness to the Saudi governmental system, a letter arrived commanding Osama not to enter Afghanistan, and to stay with the immigrants in Peshwar, because the Russians were to capture or imprison him, it would be construed as proof of Saudi backing for the mujahidin against the Soviet Empire-and I am not exaggerating about this prohibition as it was damaging to the Saudi government from their point of view. They were forced to issue the prohibition as a result of their policies. So when we joined the Afghans for the first time, we endured what we had to endure, in our desire to awaken the Islamic self, and to safeguard the Muslim children and offspring here and for victory for the religion. And this duty incumbent on all Muslims not just Afghans. So if I or some of my brothers that came to perform jihad, have acted upon this duty, to bring victory to our brothers in Palestine, it does no mean that bin Laden alone has to endure this.

(Muslims, Afghans)
(Palestine)

(110) ...and in addition to the matters related to the bombing of the Afghans say that is only because of us...the reason for it is not down to me. America didn't start by taking my money and didn't hurt me personally at all.

(America)

(114) So, as they kill us, without a doubt we have to kill them, until we obtain a balance in terror. This is the first time in recent years, (after 9/11) that the balance of terror has evened out between Muslims and the Americans.

(Muslims)

(114) They (America) will not come to their sense unless the attacks fall on their heads and, with the grace of God, until the battle has moved inside America. We will strive to maintain the fight until victory is attained or until we meet God (through martyrdom).

(America)

(Muslims, American)

(115) The humble servant made a speech in the year 1986 that urged Muslims to boycott American products.

(Muslims, Polytheists)
(WIF, Jews, Crusaders)

Such boycotting is mandatory for all Muslims, as is freeing the Arabian peninsula from the polytheists, and there are a lot of mandatory things in jihad-such as Kashmir, for example, and the battlefield that was created a few years ago, the title of which is called: "The World Islamic Front for Jihad Against the Jews and Crusaders." So our mention of these two issues (Palestine and Saudi Arabia) is of the utmost importance. Some of the events of recent times might foreground a certain issue, so we move in that direction, without ignoring the other.

(Americans, Palestine)
(Saudi Arabia, Jews)

(115) (concerning what are the events that have pushed OBL towards the Palestinian issue?) In recent times, the new rise of the blessed intifada, the intifada or Rajab. It helps focus us on this issue, and was the biggest reason for our foregrounding it; in this we only strive to do our duty so as not to feel religiously ashamed. All the above issues affect each other. The attack on the Americans concerning the Palestine issue helps in regards to the Saudi Arabia issue, and vice versa, as does attacking Americans because they are considered to be a protective shield for the Jews in the areas of Tabuk and the eastern regions of Saudi Arabia.

(America, Governments)

(117) There is a great misconception in people today, which needs to be corrected by every means possible, and the numbers need to be recalculated. There is a strong instinct in humans to lean towards the powerful without knowing it, so when they talk about us, they know we will not answer them, and if they stand in the ranks of the governments and the Americans, they will think that they will feel something that we don't.

(Palestine, Crusaders, Civilians)

(118) ...And today all our "brothers in Palestine are our kings, so we kill the kings of disbelief and the kings of the Crusaders and the civilians" among the disbelievers, in response to the amount of our sons they kill: this is correct in both religion and logic.

(Innocents)

(118) (in reference to eye for an eye) ...Yes, so we kill their innocents-this is valid both religiously and logically. But some of the people who talk about this issue, discuss it from a religious point of view...They say that the killing of innocents is wrong and invalid, and for proof they say that the Prophet forbade the killing of children and women and that is true. It is valid and has been laid down by the Prophet in an authentic Tradition...but this forbidding of killing children and innocents is not set in stone, and there are other writings that uphold it.

(Prophet)

(119) ...We treat others like they treat us. Those who kill our women and our innocent, we kill their women and innocent, until they stop doing so.

(Police, True Believers)

(120) So, not all terrorism is restrained or ill-advised. There is terrorism that is ill-advised and there is terrorism that is a good act. So, in their definition of the word, if a criminal or a thief feels that he is terrorized by the police, do we label the police terrorists and say they terrorized the thief? No, the terrorism of the police towards the criminals is a good act, and the terrorism that is being exercised by the criminals against the true believers is wrong and ill-advised terrorism, and we practice good terrorism, because it deters those from killing our children in Palestine and other places.

(123) Anyone that...there is no point naming names. If you know the truth, you will know its followers. You will not know the truth by looking at men; it is in the Book of God, which is one of the constants for us. If the world

- becomes full of people who want to change things in it, that won't affect us or change our convictions at all. It is either truth or it is mischief. Either it is Islam or either is it disbelief.
- (Zionist, Crusaders, Jews, Violator) (126) As I have mentioned today, we are in a strong and brutal battle, between us and the Jews, with Israel being the spearhead, and its backers among the Zionists and Crusaders. So we have not hesitated to kill the Jews (due to several injustices discussed further). So if you mean: how can we exit from this ordeal, this is in the hands of others. It is like this: we have been violated, so our first duty is to remove this violation. So whoever violated us let him remove the violation.
- (Crusaders, Umma, Jews) (127) I say: Concerning this ordeal and this battle between Islam and the Crusaders, I want to reiterate that we will continue this jihad and the incitement of our umma to it, until we bring it about, while blessing us and the war, as we have been promised, that is going on between us and the Jews.
- (Innocent Children, Europe) (128) So let them fear God and repent, and let them remove the siege from those innocent children. So the
(Jews, Americans) Westerners are free to choose. Europe wants to enter the war-that is their prerogative, but our duty is to fight whoever is in the ranks of the Jews. America and the American people are free; they have entered the trench and they will get what is coming to them.
- al-Qaeda Organization**
(Global Crusaders, Muslims) (108) I say that the battle isn't between the al-Qaeda organization and the global Crusaders. Rather, the battle is between Muslims-the people of Islam and the global Crusaders. And that organization with the grace of God, used to work with our Afghan mujahidin brothers.
- (Afghan Mujahidin) (108) "Then fight (O Muhammad) in the Cause of God, you are not held responsible except for yourself, and incite the believers (to fight along with you) it may be that God will remain the evil might of the disbelievers. And God is Stronger in Might and Stronger in punishing."
- God**
(Disbelievers) (118) "And if you punish, then punish them with the like of that with which you were afflicted..."
- (Bush, Disbelievers, Muslims) (122) So whoever walks behind Bush and his campaign against the Muslims has disbelieved in God and His
(Muhammad) Prophet. God also says in the verse that follows the previous one: "Yet you will see the perverse at heart rushing to them for protection, saying, "We are afraid fortune may turn against us." But God may well bring about triumph or some other event of His own making: then they will rue the secrets they harbored in their hearts and the believers will say, "Are these the men who swore by God using their strongest oaths that they were with you? All they did was in vain: they have lost everything."
- (Ibn Kathir) (123) I add the following verse, to stress what I (Ibn Kathir) previously stated, because he who allies himself with
(Disbelievers, Apostates) the disbelievers has become an apostate, as this verse shows: "You who believe, if any of you go back on your faith, God will soon replace you with people He loves and who love Him, people who are humble towards the believers, hard on the disbelievers, and who strive in God's way without fearing anyone's reproach. Such is God's favor. He grants it to whoever He will. God has endless bounty and knowledge."
- Afghanistan/Somalia Mujahidin** (109) So our brothers that were here in Afghanistan tried to overcome this, and God has cleared the path for them

(America, New World Order)	through some of the mujahidin in Somalia. So American left dragging behind it trails of humiliation, defeat, and loss, without looking back; it retreated unexpectedly, and it forgot all the great media enthusiasm about the New World Order, and how it was the master of order, and could do whatever it pleased. It forgot all that and picked up its armies and retreated in defeat, with God's grace.
Mullah Omar; Comm. of Faithful	(110-1) And as Omar has said, the British invaded and were defeated in Afghanistan before bin Laden was to be found, here, and the Russians came, before we did, and now the Americans have come and we implore God to defeat them like He defeated their previous allies.
Muslims/Umma (Palestine, Afghans)	(110) ...to bring victory to our brothers in Palestine...it is a duty on all our umma to do so, because it is in the Way of God, and jihad is today obligatory for all of us, Afghans and others, and it is true that they endure, but this is an Islamic duty for them and others to support this. (115) I say that jihad is without doubt mandatory for all Muslims, to free al-Aqsa, or to save the weak in Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, and all Islamic lands; there is no doubt that freeing the Arabian peninsula from the polytheists is also compulsory.
(Muslims, Arabs, King)	(117-8) A long time ago, one of the kings that ruled ancient Arabs killed an Arab, and people became inured to the idea that kings kill humans. So the brother of the deceased went to the king and killed him. After this victory, the people were astonished, and said: "You are able to kill a king just because of your brother?" So who permitted the rule of that king?" These are both equal souls and the blood of Muslims is equal but in those times some people's blood was more equal than others, so that gentle man replied: "My brother is my king." (elaborated on further under Islamic movement)
(Jews, Christians)	(123) So I tell the Muslims to be very wary and careful about befriending Jews and Christians. Whoever helps them to do so with one word, let him be devout to God and to renew his faith so he can repent about what he did... ...Even one word, whoever upholds them with one word...Falls into apostasy, a terrible apostasy, and there is no might nor power except with God...(concerning the statement...a big part of our umma falls into this)...No...No, it is not a big part. This is the rule of God, and clear statement in His generous Book, and it is one of the clearest of rulings.
(God, Muslims)	(128-9) So what can be better than this (referring to Muhammad statement under 128) Under the pride of God, we ask the Almighty to accept us and you, and concerning the Muslims I tell them to trust in the victory of God and to answer the call of God and the order of his Prophet, with jihad against world unbelief. And I swear by God happy are those who are martyred today, happy are those who are honored to stand under the banner of Muhammad,
(Prophet, Martyrs)	under the banner of Islam to fight the world Crusade. So let every person amongst them come forward to fight those Jews and Americans, the killing of whom is amongst the most pressing things, and let them remember the teachings of the Prophet.
(Crusade, Jews, Americans)	(129) ...don't discuss the killing of Americans with anyone, trust in the divine favor of God, and remember your
(God, Americans)	

Arab Countries/Nations

(World Leaders)

Scholars

(Muslims, Pakistan)

(Arabs, Saudi Arabia)

(Sheikh Hamud bin Abdallah)

(Israelis, Palestine)

(Students)

Muhammad

(God, Bush)

(True Believers)

(Evildoers)

(Jews, Muslims)

(Enemies of Islam)

(Ignorable man)

appointment with God in the presence of the Best of Prophets.

(114) ...even though they all know without any doubt that we are fighting to protect our brothers and our holy sanctuaries (nations that joined world crusade following Bush after the attacks). So the declarations of the leaders, both in the East and West, stated that the causes and roots of terrorism have to be removed. When they were asked to identify these causes, they mentioned the Palestine issue. We are part of a rightful cause is just-so they call us terrorists, and the ask us to fix the Palestine issue.

(116-7) I will say that these issues (jihad against Jews and Crusaders: supporters and protesters of OBL) have resulted in a lot of legal rulings from the Muslims. In Pakistan, there are a lot of the legal rulings issued by scholars, and in the land of the Arabs, more precisely Saudi Arabia, a lot of approved and legal rulings appeared. One of the best of them is that of Sheikh Hamud bin Adballah bin Uqla al-Shu'aybi, may God bless his life, who is one of the greatest scholars in Saudi Arabia; he urges the duty of fighting the Americans and fighting the Israelis in Palestine, making their blood and wealth permissible. There also appeared a fatwa from Sheikh Sulayman al-Ulwan, and a book written by one of the students of knowledge, The Truth About the Modern Crusader Wars, in which he denounced those who say that this fighting is invalid, and those who disagree with true Islamic law, and spoke against other wrongdoings. Yes, he wrote well, and we implore God to bless him.

(117) "A woman has entered hell because of a cat she tied up without giving it food or without letting it eat from the blessings of the earth."

(122) I swear by God, that whoever walks behind Bush or his plan has rejected the teachings of Muhammad, and this ruling is one of the clearest rulings in the Book of God and the hadith of the Prophet; and I advise as I and other scholars have advised before, that the proof for this is that Almighty's words while addressing to the true believers "O you who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians as allies they are but allies to one another. And if any amongst you takes them as allies then surely he is one of them..." "Verily, God guides not those people who are evildoers."

(125) So it is said that the Prophet observed in truth: "The Hour will not come until the Muslims fight the Jews and kill them. When a Jew hides behind a rock or a tree, it will say: 'O Muslim, O Servant of God! There is a Jew behind me, come and kill him! All the trees will do this except the boxthorn because it is the tree of the Jews.'" And whoever claims that there is permanent peace between us and the Jews has disbelieved what has been sent down through Muhammad: the battle is between us and the enemies of Islam, and it will go on until the Hour...

(125-6) So we are in a time, as is said in truth by our Prophet in this authentic tradition: "There will come upon the people years of deceit in which the liar will be believed, the truthful disbelieved, the treacherous trusted and the trustworthy held to be treacherous, and the despicable will speak out. It was said: 'Who are the despicable ones?' He said: 'The lowly, ignorable man who speaks out about public affairs.'" And unfortunately this situation is prevailing upon the Islamic world today (further referred under injustice) ...but, with the permission of God, God's

(Warrior's Family, God)

(ibn Abbas, God)

Revered Scholars

(ibn Taymiyya, al-Qayyim)

(Shawanni, Qurtubi)

(Disbelievers, Innocents)

(Ibn Kathir)

(Abdallah Salul)

(Prophet, Muslims, Jews)

(Hypocrite, Disbelievers)

Islamic Umma

(God, al-Qaeda, believers)

(Prophet, Islamic Nation)

(Brotherhood of Faithful)

(West, Abu al-Banshiri)

(Young Men, Soviet Empire)

(9/11 Attackers, Evildoers)

liberation and release is close, and the promised victory is close-God willing.

(126) It appears to us from the writing of the Prophet, that we will have to fight the Jews under his name and on this land, in this blessed land which contains the sanctuary of our Prophet.

(128) And our Prophet said in truth: "He who does not supply the jihad, or well look after a warrior's family when he is away, will be smitten by God with a sudden calamity."...And concerning us, we are in worship and in jihad. It is said in truth about our Prophet: "Verily a man's standing firm in the ranks for one hour in the Way of God, the Mighty and Majestic, is more virtuous than 60 years of worship."

(129) Prophet...said to ibn Abbas; "Young man I shall teach you some words of advice: Be mindful of God, and God will protect you. Be mindful of God, and you will find Him in front of you. If you ask, ask of God: If you seek help, seek help of God. Know that if the world were to gather together to benefit you with anything, it would benefit you only with something that God had already prescribed for you. The pens have been lifted and the pages have dried."

(118-9) The scholars and people of knowledge, amongst them Sahib al-Ikhtiyarat (ibn Taymiyya) and ibn al-Qayyim, and Shawanni, and many others, and Qurtubi-may God bless him-in his Qur'an commentary, say that if the disbelievers were to kill our children and women then we should not feel ashamed to do the same to them, mainly to deter them from trying to kill our children and women again.

(122-3) Ibn Kathir has said in his commentary: Many companions of the Prophet didn't know that the spearhead of the hypocrites was the disbeliever and hypocrite, Abdallah ibn Ubayy ibn Salul. So when arguments occurred between the Muslims and Jews, and when the Prophet decided to punish the Jews, the spearhead of hypocrisy moved and stood with the Jews, in the way of the Prophet, so these verses were handed down for this reason. So those who the disbelievers ally themselves with have disbelieved God and his Prophet.

(119-20) I say in response to this what I have stated before, that this matter isn't about any specific person, and that it is not about the al-Qaeda organization. We are the children of an Islamic Nation, with the Prophet Muhammad as its leader; our Lord is one, our Prophet is one, our direction of prayer is one, we are one umma, and our Book is one. And this blessed Book, together with the hadith of our noble Prophet, has religiously commanded us with brotherhood of faith, and all the true believers are brothers. So the situation is not as the West portrays it: that there exists an "organization" with a specific name, such as "al-Qaeda" and so on. That particular name is very old and came about quite independently of me. Brother Abu Ubaida al-Banshiri created a military base to train the young men to fight against the Soviet Empire, which was truly vicious, arrogant and terrorized the faithful. So this place was called "The Base", as in a training base, and the name grew from this. We aren't separated from the umma. We are the children of an umma, and an inseparable part of it, from those public demonstrations which spread from Far East from Philippines, to Indonesia, to Malaysia, to India, to Pakistan, reaching Mauritania and so we are discussing the conscience of our umma.

(120) These young men that have sacrificed themselves in New York and Washington, these are the ones that

(Transgressors, Terrorists)
(True believers)

speak the truth about the conscience of our umma, and they are its living conscience, which sees that it is imperative to take revenge against the evildoers and transgressors and criminals and terrorists who terrorize the true believers.

(Muslims, Prophet, Crusaders)

(121) I assure you that we are part of this umma, that our goal is the victory of the umma, and struggle is to remove mischief, inequality, irresponsibility, and to emphasize the importance of avoiding these things and the removal of the man-made laws that America has forced on its collaborators in the region, so that our umma can be ruled by the Book that has been sent down by its Creator, God...We think that Muslims are Muslims, and we don't call any Muslims disbelievers unless they specifically commit one of the well-known great sins of Islam, in full knowledge that this is one of the wrongful actions in religion. So I say that, in general our concern is that our umma unites either under the Words of the Book of God or His Prophet, and that this nation should establish the righteous caliphate of our umma, which has been prophesized by our Prophet in his authentic hadith: that the righteous caliph will return with the permission of God. The umma is asked to unite itself in the face of this Crusaders' campaign, the strongest most powerful, and ferocious Crusaders' campaign to fall on the Islamic umma since the dawn of Islamic history. There have been past Crusader wars, but there have never been campaigns like this one before.

God/Muhammad
(Believer)

(122) The scholars of knowledge have said that whoever takes the disbelievers as allies has become a disbeliever and the biggest sign of alliance is favoring their victory, in speaking, discussing, and writing.

America

(124-5) The Clash of Civilizations is a very clear matter, proven in the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet, and any true believer who claims to be faithful shouldn't doubt these truths, no matter what anybody says about them. What goes for us is whatever is found in the Book of God and the hadith of the Prophet.

(Palestine, Islamic World)
(American School Child)
(Bush)
Nations Jewish Alliance/Crusaders
(America, Britain)

(126) So if it wants to survive, we have offered some simple advice, but America has terrorized and it has erased its own values.

(Japan, Innocents)

(127) We swore that America could never dream of safety, until safety becomes a reality for us living in Palestine. That has exposed the American government, and that it exists as an agent of Israel, and puts Israel's needs before the needs of its own people. So the situation is straightforward: America won't be able to leave this ordeal unless it pulls out of the Arabian peninsula, and it ceases its meddling in Palestine, and throughout the Islamic world. If we gave this equation to any child in any American school, he would easily solve it within a second. But, according to Bush's actions the equation won't be solved unless our swords fall on their heads, with the permission of God.

(Afghans, Palestinians)

(127-8) So any nation that joins the Jewish trenches has only itself to blame as Sheikh Sulaiman Abu-Ghaith has declared in some of his previous statements concerning America and Britain; he did not set this in stone, but indeed gave some of other nations a chance to review their calculations. What is Japan's concern? What is making Japan join this hard, strong, and ferocious war? It is a blatant violation of our children in Palestine, and Japan didn't predict that it would be at war with us, so it should review its position. What is the concern of Australia in the farthest south with the case of these weak Afghans? And these weak Palestinians? What is Germany's concern with this

(Australia, Germany)
(Richard Barbarossa, Bush)

Followers of Rulers/Crusaders

Brothers in Pakistan

(Pakistani Government)
(Crusader Alliance)

war? Besides Richard the Lion heart Barbarossa from Germany, and Louis from France-the case is similar today, when they all immediately went forward the day Bush lifted the cross. The Crusader nations went forward.

(128) I say to the people who walk behind these rulers, don't you have hearts? Don't you have faith?

(129) And in conclusion I would like to dedicate a call to the brothers in Pakistan, to the position of the Pakistani government with much sorrow...So the movement of our brothers in Pakistan will lead with the permission of God to a big attack on this unlucky Crusader Alliance...And it is a duty incumbent on the brothers in Pakistan to make a strong and powerful move, for the sake of victory of the religion of God, and the victory of the Prophet Muhammad. And the Islam of today is calling them-Oh Islam! Oh Islam! Oh Islam!

Statement # 12 Injustice

Date of Statement: 11/3/2001

Actors

Forms of Injustice

Media: The Camps

(p134) (following 9/11 attacks) ...unprecedented media coverage, which has conveyed people's views on events. People have been divided into two camps: those who support the attacks against American arrogance and tyranny and those who condemn them.

America

(Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan)

(134) Shortly afterwards, when the United States launched this unjust campaign against the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, people were again divided: one section supported these unjust campaigns, and the other condemned and rejected them.

(Humanitarian Agencies)

(136-7) The humanitarian agencies, even the American ones, have called on President Clinton to stop supporting Russia, but Clinton says that this will not serve American interests.

(Clinton, Russia)

Crusaders/Bush/Jews

(Bush, Blair, Muhammad)

(135) ...the issue is one of faith not of a "war on terror," as Bush and Blair depict it...strongest, fiercest, most dangerous and violent Crusader campaign against Islam since Muhammad was sent.

(American politicians, media)

(135) After American politicians had spoken and American newspapers and television channels overflowed with evident Crusader hatred in this campaign against Islam and its people, Bush left no room for the doubts or media opinion. He stated clearly that this war is a Crusader war. He said this in front of the whole world so as to emphasize this fact. Those who maintain that this war is against terrorism, what is this terrorism that they talk about at a time when people of the umma have been slaughtered for decades, in response to which we do not hear a single voice or action of resistance?

(Bush)

(135) For the truth is that Bush has fought a Crusade and raised his banner high, and stood at the front of the procession. All those who have stood behind him in this campaign have committed one of the ten contraventions of Islam. The people of knowledge have agreed that allegiance to the infidels and their supporters against the believers is among the biggest contraventions of Islam.

(Afghanistan, Islamic World)

(135-6) Look at this war that began some days ago against Afghanistan. Is it a single unrelated event or is it part of a long series of Crusader wars against the Islamic World? Since World War One, which ended over 83 years ago, the entire Islamic world has fallen under the Crusader banners, under the British, French, and Italian governments. They divided up the whole world between them and Palestine fell into hands of the British. From that day to this more than 83 years later, our brothers and sons have been tortured in Palestine. Hundreds of thousands of them have been killed, hundreds of thousands detained.

(British, French, Italian Govts.)

(Palestine)

(Brothers and Sons)

(137) We should therefore see events not as isolated incidents but as part of a long chain of conspiracies, a war of annihilation in all senses of the word. On the pretext of reconstruction, 13,000 of our brothers were killed in Somalia. In southern Sudan hundreds of thousands were killed. and as for events in Palestine and Iraq, words cannot do them justice. More than a million children have been killed in Iraq, and the killing continues. As for what is happening these days in Palestine, may God help us. No one, not even animals would put up with what is going

(Palestine Innocents, Mothers)
 ("America/Jews")
Rulers' Jurists/Hypocrites
 (Children, Islamic World)
 (Infidels, Islamic Nation, God)

Soviet Union/Russia
 (Chechnya, Muslim nation)

(Putin, Crusaders, Jews)

United Nations
 (Bosnia, Europe, Innocents)
 (Hypocrites, God, Muhammad)
 (Palestine)
 (Arab Leaders)

(Kashmir Brothers)

(America, Soviet Union)

(Indonesia)
 (Criminal Kofi Annan)

on there. One of my confidants told me that he saw a butcher slaughtering a camel in front of another camel. When it saw the blood coming out of its brother it got so agitated and enraged that it bit the man's hand and tore it right off.

(138) How can the poor mothers in Palestine bear the murder of their children at the hands of the oppressive Jewish policemen, with American support, American aero planes and tanks?

(135) When the victim starts to avenge the innocent children in Palestine, Iraq, southern Sudan, Somalia, Kashmir, and the Philippines, the hypocrites and ruler's jurists stand up and defend this blatant unbelief. The masses have understood the issue but some still flatter those who have conspired with the infidels to prevent the Islamic nation from undertaking the duty of jihad to reassert the authority of God's word.

(136) Then look at recent events, for example in Chechnya. This Muslim nation has been attacked by the Russian predator, which believes in the Orthodox Christian creed. The Russians have exterminated an entire people and forced them into the mountains, where they have been devoured by disease and freezing winter, and yet no one has done anything about it.

(136) Look at the second Chechen war that is still going on today. An entire people is once again being subjected to war by this Russian predator.

(137) A year ago Putin called on the Crusaders and Jews to stand by him, telling them they should support him and thank him for waging war against Islam.

(136) Then there is the genocidal war in Bosnia that took place in front of the whole world's eyes and ears. For several years, even in the heart of Europe, our brothers were murdered, our women raped, and our children slaughtered in the safe havens of the United Nations, and with its knowledge and cooperation. Those who refer our tragedies today to the United Nations, and want us to resolve them through it, are hypocrites who are trying to deceive God and His Prophet and those who believe. Aren't our tragedies actually a result of the United Nations' actions? Who issued the decision to partition Palestine in 1947 and gave Islamic lands to the Jews? It was the United Nations. Those who maintain that they are the leaders of the Arabs and are still part of the United Nations are contravening what was revealed to Muhammad. Those who refer to international legitimacy have contravened the legitimacy of the Qur'an and the teachings of the Prophet. For it is at the hands of the same United Nations that we have suffered so much.

(136) It is merely an agent of this crime by which we are massacred daily, and which it does nothing to stop. For more than fifty years, our brothers in Kashmir have been tortured, slaughtered, killed, and raped. Their blood has been shed and their houses broken into, and yet still the United Nations has done nothing. And today, without any evidence, the United Nations passes resolutions in support of tyrannical, oppressive America, against the poor people who have emerged from the ruinous war at the hands of the Soviet Union.

(137) Look at the position of the West and the United Nations with regard to events in Indonesia. They moved to partition the most populous nation in the Islamic world. That criminal Kofi Annan publicly put pressure on the

(Indonesian Government)
(Crusader Armies of Australia)

Arab Leaders

(Enemies, Brothers, Muslims)

Distinguishers: America/Israel

(Enemies of Umma)

(God, Prophet, Umma)

(Crusader)

Indonesian government, telling it that it had 24 hours to partition and separate East Timor from Indonesia, otherwise he would have to introduce military forces to do it. The Crusader armies of Australia were on the shores of Indonesia and they did in fact intervene and separate East Timor, which is part of the Islamic world.

(137) The enemies are speaking very clearly and yet the leaders of the region hide and are ashamed to support their brothers. And what is worse, they even prevent Muslims from helping their own brothers.

(138) Those who distinguish between America and Israel are true enemies of the umma. They are traitors who have betrayed God, His Prophet, and their umma, who have betrayed its trust and who numb its senses. These battles cannot be seen in isolation from each other, but must be seen as part of the great series of fierce and ugly Crusader wars against Islam.

Statement # 12 Agency

Date of Statement: 11/3/2001

Actors

Forms of Agency

God	(p134) Praise be to God. We beseech Him for help and forgiveness. We seek refuge in God from the evil of our souls and our bad deeds. He whom God guides will not go astray, and he whom He leads astray can have no guide. I testify that there is no god but God alone, who has not equal.
(Jews and Christians)	(135) God Almighty said "And the Jews and Christians will not be satisfied with you until you follow their faith. (135) I seek God's help against them all (hypocrites/ruler's jurist who defend blatant unbelief).
Media	(134) In the midst of these tumultuous events after these great attacks that struck America at its heart in New York and in Washington, there was enormous and unprecedented media coverage..
Muslims	(134) These major events that have divided people into two camps are of great concern to Muslims, since many of the rulings pertain to them, and they are of significant relevance as concerns Islam and acts contrary to it. It is therefore necessary for Muslims to understand the nature and reality of this struggle, in order to decide which side it takes. (135) (given the dangerous Crusader campaign) In light of this clear and evident fact Muslims must know where they stand in relation to this war. (136) No Muslim, nor anyone in his right mind should appeal to it (United Nations) under any circumstances. (138) Every Muslim must stand under the banner that says: "There is no god but God and Muhammad is His Prophet." (refer to Muhammad 138). (138) I tell the Muslims who have given everything in these last weeks to continue along your path. For your stand with us gives strength to us and to your brothers in Afghanistan. Give more efforts in the struggle against this unprecedented global crime..O Muslims, fear God and help your religion, for Islam is calling you. May God bear witness that I have conveyed the message. Peace, and all God's mercy and blessings, be upon you.
Muslims/Islamic World/Umma	(134) The mass demonstrations from the easternmost point in the Islamic world to its westernmost point, from Indonesia, the Philippines, Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan to the Arab world and finally to Nigeria and Mauritania, show that this war is fundamentally religious in nature. The Muslims of the East have responded to and sympathized with other Muslims against the Crusader people of the West. Those who try to hide this clear and evident reality, which the entire world knows to be true, are deceiving the Islamic nation and trying to deflect their attention from the real nature of the struggle. This reality is established in the book of God Almighty and in the teachings of our Prophet. We cannot ignore this enmity between us and the infidels, since it is a doctrinal one. We must show loyalty to the believers and those who profess that there is no god but God and we must renounce the idolaters, infidels, and heretics.
(Crusader people of the West)	
(God, Muhammad)	
(Believers, Idolaters, Infidels)	
(Bush, Blair, Thieves)	(135) So the issue is one of faith and doctrine, not of a "war on terror", as Bush and Blair depict it. Many thieves belonging to this nation were captured, and no one moved. However, these masses from the furthest east to the

(Crusader)

Scholars

(Infidels, Against Believers)

Muhammad

(ibn Abbas, God)

furthest west do not move for bin Laden's sake but for the sake of their religion, because they know that they are in the right and that they are resisting the strongest, fiercest, most dangerous and violent Crusader campaign against Islam since Muhammad was sent.

(135) The people of knowledge have agreed that allegiance to the infidels and their supporters against the believers is among the biggest contraventions of Islam.

(138) (concerning Muslims) I would remind you of what our Prophet told ibn Abbas, may God be pleased with him. He said: "Boy, I am going to teach you something. Remember God, and He will protect you. Remember God, and you will find him on your side. If you ask for something, ask God. If you seek help, seek God's help. You should know that if the umma comes together to help you in some way, it can only do so with something that God has already decided for you. If it comes together to harm you, the same applies. God decides man's fate."

Statement # 13 Injustice**Date of Statement: 11/12/2001****Actors****Forms of Injustice**

America	(p140) (concerning the 9/11 attackers) But the United States is saying that they were hijackers. (140) The United States and their allies are killing us in Palestine, Chechnya, Kashmir, Palestine, and Iraq. (140) Their government (America) makes weapons and provides them to Israel, which they use to kill Palestinian Muslims.
(Bush)	(142) ...President Bush's speech, November 7. He was trying to frighten the Europeans countries into thinking that Osama bin Laden is going to attack the whole of Europe with lethal weapons...The United States is using chemical weapons against us, and has decided to use nuclear weapons too..
(Media)	(142) (concerning American People) ...The American media are inciting them against Muslims.
(pro-Jewish lobby)	(143) ...the pro-Jewish lobby has taken the United States and the West hostage. (143) The US does not have solid evidence against us, just some threads and indications. To begin bombing on the basis of such guesswork is injustice.
(Bush)	(143-4) President Bush has used the word "Crusade", and the reality is that the Crusader war is still going on. President Bush was the one who started the war.
(Great powers)	(144) What is unfolding in Afghanistan is one of the great wars of Islamic history. The great powers are united against Muslims.
Official Scholar's: Fatwa	(141) No official scholar's fatwa's have any value as far as I'm concerned. History is replete with such scholars who described their own vested interests are just. People like this also describe the Jewish occupation of Palestine and the presence of American forces around the houses in Saudi Arabia, whose sanctity should not be violated as fair. These people are supporting the infidels for their own personal benefit.
UN	(142) In Bosnia Muslims were slaughtered on the United Nations' watch.
Pakistani and Saudi Govt.	(143) Afghanistan is the only Islamic country in the world. In Pakistan they use English laws and I don't recognize the Saudi government as Islamic. In any case if the Americans have charges against us, we have a long list of charges against them...The Pakistani government should have respected its people's views. It should not merely have deferred to the unjust position taken by the U.S.
General Musharraf	(143) General Musharraf has disappointed us. He says that the majority supports him; I say that they oppose him. He is standing in the enemy ranks. (144) There is no logic in offering Afghan blood to save Pakistan. General Musharraf wants to improve the Pakistani economy by selling Afghanis.

Actors

Forms of Agency

OBL: 911 Attackers

(p140) After September 11, the United States government itself released a list of people who were involved in the attacks. All those on the list were Muslims. Fifteen of the them were from Saudi Arabia, two from the Emirates, one from Lebanon and one from Egypt. According to my information, all of them were passengers on the airplanes. They have been prayed for in their countries.

Muslims

(140) This is a significant issue in Islamic jurisprudence. According to my information if the enemy occupies an Islamic land and uses its people as human shields, a person has the right to attack the enemy. In the same way, if some thieves broke into a house and took a child hostage to protect themselves, the father has the right to attack the thieves even if the child gets hurt.

(140) (due to the massacres by U.S.) ...Muslims have the right to carry out revenge attacks on the U.S.

(140) Islamic law says that the Muslims should not stay long in the land on infidels. The targets of September 11 were not women and children. The main targets were the symbol of the United States: their economic and military power. Our Prophet Muhammad was against killing of women and children. When he saw the body of a non-Muslim women during a war, he asked what the reason for killing her was. If a child is older than thirteen and bears arms against Muslims, killing his is permissible.

American People

(140) The American people should remember that they pay taxes to their government and that they voted for their president.

(140-1) Given that the American Congress is a committee that represents the people, the fact that it agrees with the actions of the American government proves that America in its entirety is responsible for their atrocities that it is committing against Muslims. I demand the American people to take note of their government's policy against Muslims. They described the government's policy against Vietnam was wrong. They should now take the same stand that they did previously. The onus is on Americans to prevent Muslims from being killed at the hands on their government.

(142) ...some of these good people are demonstrating against the American attacks because human nature is against cruelty and injustice.

(American Foreign Ministry)

(142) (concerning Bosnia Muslims slaughter) ...some officials in the American foreign ministry resigned in protest at this behavior by the United Nations.

(American Ambassador Egypt)

(142-3) Some years earlier the American ambassador to Egypt resigned in protest at President Jimmy Carter's policies. So good people are everywhere.

OBL/Mujahidin/Jihad/Muslims

(141) ...we are following our Prophet's mission. That mission is spreading the message of God, not killing people. We ourselves are the victims of murder and massacres. We are only defending ourselves against the United States. This is a defensive jihad to protect our land and people. That's why I have said that if we don't have security,

neither will the Americans. It's a very simple equation that any American child could understand: live and let others live.

(141) You, tell me how you would react if Indian forces entered Pakistan? The Israeli forces are occupying our land and the American forces are sitting on our territory. We no longer have any choice but jihad.

(142) ...if U.S. uses chemical or nuclear weapons against us, we will not perish...The U.S. is...using chemical weapons against us and has decided to use nuclear weapons too but our war will continue.

(143) What damage has the U.S. done to Afghanistan in the end? We will not let Pakistan and its people stand alone. We will protect Pakistan.

(144) ...taking part in this war (Afghanistan) is something that deserves a reward from God.

(144) He will receive his punishment from God and the Pakistani people.

General Musharraf

Statement # 14 Injustice

Date of Statement: 12/26/2001

Actors

Forms of Injustice

America/Crusader

(p146) Three months after the blessed strikes against global unbelief and its leader America and approximately two months after the bombing of this vicious Crusader campaign against Islam, we should discuss the meaning of these events, which have revealed things of the greatest importance to Muslims. It has become all too clear that the West in general, with America at its head, carries an unspeakable Crusader hatred for Islam. Those who have endured the continuous bombing from American aero planes these last months know this only too well.

(146) How many innocent villages have been destroyed how many millions forced out into the freezing cold, these poor innocent men, women, and children who are now taking refugee camps in Pakistan, while America launches a vicious campaign based on mere suspicion? If America had evidence that could prove with a degree of certainty who did this deed on 9/11 then it would attribute it to Europe, to the IRA, for example. There were many ways in which it could have dealt with the problem, but even though it was merely a matter of suspicion, the real ugly face of Crusader hatred for the Islamic world immediately manifested itself in all its clarity.

(Arab Mujahidin)

(147) It is inconceivable that those who came to help the poor people today came to kill innocents, as is being alleged. History recounts that America supported everyone who waged jihad and fought against Russia, but when God blessed the Arab mujahidin with going to help those poor innocent women and children in Palestine, America became angry and turned its back, betraying all those who had fought in Afghanistan.

(148) People across the entire world, both in East and West are contravening their faiths by denying these deeds but America goes on supporting those oppressors and enemies of our sons in Palestine.

(Bush Sr.)

(148) The matter is extremely serious. This disgraceful terrorism is practiced by America in its most abhorrent form in Palestine and in Iraq. This terrible man, Bush Sr, was the reason for the murder of over a million children in Iraq, besides all the other men and women (who have been killed).

(149) America has continued this policy with the coming of George Bush Jr, who began his term with violent air strikes on Iraq to emphasize the policy of oppression and hostility, and to show that the blood of Muslims has no value.

(150) ...destructive, usurious global economy that America uses together with its military force to impose unbelief and humiliation on poor peoples (expanded on in Agency).

(150) ...American military power, as demonstrated recently in Afghanistan were it poured down all its anger on these poor people (expanded on in Agency).

(Military Power)

(151) Just a tiny quantity of explosives 7 grams worth is more than enough to account for anyone. But America in hatred for the Taliban and for Muslims drops bombs weighing 7 tons on our brothers in the front lines. That is the equivalent to seven thousand kilograms or seven million grams even though 7 grams is more than enough for one person.

(Defense Minister)

(151) When the young men we beg God to accept them exploded less than two tons in Nairobi, America said that this was a terrorist strike, and that this is a weapon of mass destruction. But they have no qualms about using two bombs weighing seven million grams each.

(151) After the Americans bombed entire villages for no reason other than to terrify people and make them afraid of hosting Arabs or going near them, their minister of defense got up and said that that was their right, meaning effectively that they had the right to annihilate people so long as they were Muslims and not American. This is the clearest and most blatant crime. Everyone who hears them saying that they did such things by mistake knows that this is the clearest and most brazen lie.

(151-2) Some days ago, the Americans announced that they had hit al-Qaeda positions in Khost and had dropped a bomb on a mosque, which they said was a mistake. After investigation it became clear that scientists in Khost were saying their Ramadan evening prayers and had a meeting afterwards with the hero mujahid sheikh Jalal al-Din Haqqani of the foremost leaders of the jihad against the Soviets, who has resisted this American occupation of Afghan land. So they bombed the mosque and the Muslims while they were at prayers, killing 105 of them. God save Sheikh Jalal, we hope He blesses his life.

(153) Every day from east to west, our umma of 1200 million Muslims is being slaughtered, in Palestine, in Iraq, Somalia, Western Sudan, Kashmir, the Philippines, Bosnia, Chechnya, and Assam.

Actors

Forms of Agency

God

(146) We beseech Him for help and forgiveness. We seek refuge in God from the evil of our souls and our bad deeds. He whom God guides will not go astray, and he whom He leads astray have no guide. I testify that there is no god but God alone, Who has no partners, and I testify that Muhammad is His servant and Messenger.

(147) (concerning sons of Israel) "Remember when We saved you from Pharaoh's people, who subjected you to terrible torment, slaughtering your sons and sparing only your women."

(148) God has decreed that if someone reaches such an excessive degree of hostility that he kills another unlawfully, this the most abhorrent deed, but it is yet more abhorrent to kill innocent children..."On account of (his deed), We decreed to the Children of Israel that if anyone kills a person unless in retribution for murder or spreading corruption in the land it is as if he kills all mankind, while if anyone saves a life it is as if he saves the lives of all mankind."

(150) "God has purchased the persons and possessions of the believers in return for the Garden."

(152) With God's will America's end will not be far off. This will be nothing to do with the poor slave bin Laden, whether dead or alive. With God's grace the awakening has begun, which is one of the benefits of these operations.

Muslims/World

(Emigrants)

(146) At this point I would like to emphasize the fact that the struggle between us and America is of the utmost gravity and importance, not only to Muslims but to the entire world. On what basis does America accuse this group of emigrants who wage jihad for God's sake, against whom there is no evidence other than that of injustice, oppression, and hostility?

(rational people)

(148) Rational people must wake up, or what befell Muhammad al-Durreh and his brothers will happen tomorrow to their sons and women. There is no strength or power save in God.

(152) Every possible analysis clearly shows all sensible Muslims should stand in the trenches because this is the most dangerous, aggressive, violent, and fierce Crusader war against Islam.

Mujahidin

(147) The history of the Arab mujahidin who waged jihad for the grace of God..is as clear as can be (against Soviet Union)...Arab mujahidin rose up and left their jobs, universities, families, and tribes to earn the pleasure of God, to help God's religion and to help these poor Muslims (in Afghanistan).

(150) I say that American military power, as demonstrated recently in Afghanistan, where it poured down all its anger on these poor people, has taught us great and important lessons in how to resist this arrogant force, by the grace of God.

(150) By way of example, if the front line with the enemy is 100km long, this line should also be deep. In other words, it is not enough for us to have defense line 100, 200, or 300 meters deep. It should be a few kilometers deep, with trenches dug all the way along and through it, so that the intensity of the American bombing

is exhausted before it destroys these lines, and so that light, quick forces can move from one line to another and from one defense position to another...We made use of this tactic after the intense American bombardment on the northern and Kabul lines, and in this way the years pass and with the will of God, America will not break the mujahadin lines...Furthermore, it is well known that there are two elements to fighting; there is the fighting itself and then there is the financial element, such as buying weapons.

(151) So the struggle is both financial and physical. Even if the distance between us and the American military base is very great, and our weapons do not match up to their planes, we are able to soak up the pressure of these strikes with our broad defense lines. And in another way it is possible to strike the economic base that is the foundation of the military base, so when their economy is depleted they will be too busy with each other to be able to enslave poor peoples.

(151) So I say that it is very important to focus on attacking the American economy by any means available. Here we have seen the real crime of those who claim to call for humanity and freedom.

(Condemners of Terrorism)

(152) This is Crusader hatred. So those who speak out and say that they condemn terrorism, but do not pay attention to the consequences, should take note. Our terrorism against America is praiseworthy terrorism in defense against the oppressor, in order that America will stop supporting Israel, who kills our sons. Can you not understand this? It is very clear.

(Hammas/Islamic Jihad)

(152) America and the western leaders always say that Hammas and Islamic Jihad in Palestine, and other militias are terrorist organizations. If self-defense is terrorism, what is legitimate? Our defense and our fight is no different to that of our brothers in Palestine like Hammas. We fight for "There is no God but God." The word of God is the highest and that of God's enemies is the lowest. So let us relieve the oppression of the people in Palestine and elsewhere.

(Arab mujahidin/Taliban)

(American government)

(155-6) ...I would like to stress one point, which is that these battles going on round the clock today in Afghanistan against the Arab mujahidin, and particularly the Taliban, have clearly shown just how powerless the American government and its soldiers really are. Despite the great developments in military technology, they can't do anything without relying on apostates and hypocrites (govt. of Pakistan). So what is the difference today between Babrak Karmal, who brought in the Russians to occupy his country, and the deposed president Burhan al-Din. What difference is there between the two? One brought Russians to occupy the land of Islam and the other brought Americans. As I said, this clearly shows the weakness of the American soldier, by the grace of God. So you should seize this chance and the youth should continue the jihad and work against the Americans.

(Youth of Islam)

Sons of Israel

Jihadists: 9/11 Attacks

(umma)

(147) God favored the sons of Israel when He helped them escape from Pharaoh.

(148-9) The events of (September 11) are merely a response to the continuous injustice inflicted upon our sons in Palestine, Iraq, Somalia, southern Sudan, and other places, like Kashmir. The matter concerns the entire umma. People need to wake up from their sleep and try to find a solution to this catastrophe that is threatening all of

humanity.

(149) These blessed successful strikes are merely a reaction to events in our land in Palestine, in Iraq, and in other places.

(America: Economy)

(149) This blessed reaction came by the grace of God...showing very clearly that this haughty, domineering power, America, the Hubal of the age is based on great economic power, but it is soft. How quickly it fell from the sky, by the grace of God...It was not nineteen Arab states that did this deed. It was not Arab armies or ministries who humbled the oppressor who harms us in Palestine and elsewhere. It was nineteen post-secondary students I beg God to accept them who shook America's throne, struck its economy right in the heart, and dealt the biggest military power a mighty blow by the grace of God.

(150) Here we have clear proof that this destructive, usurious global economy that America uses together with its military force, to impose unbelief and humiliation on poor peoples, can easily collapse. Those blessed strikes in New York and the other places forced it to acknowledge the loss of more than a trillion dollars, by the grace of God...And they used simple means, the enemy's aero planes and schools, without even the need of training camps. God gave them the chance to teach a harsh lesson to these arrogant people who think that freedom only has meaning for the white race, and that other peoples should be humiliated and subservient, not even rising up when they strike us, as they did previously in Iraq.

(Martyrs)

(152) I hope that God...will take those young men to martyrdom and bring them together with the Prophet, the martyrs, and the righteous.

(153) Those young men did a very great deed, a glorious deed, God rewarded them and we pray that their parents will be proud of them, because they raised Muslims' heads high and taught America a lesson it won't forget, with God's will.

(153) As I warned previously in a interview on the ABC channel by involving itself in a struggle with the sons of Saudi Arabia, America will forget the Vietnam crisis with the grace of God. What is yet to come will be even greater...From Saudi Arabia fifteen young men set out we pray to God to accept them as martyrs. They set out from the land of faith, where lies the Muslims' greatest treasure, where faith returns as our Prophet said to Medina, just as the snake returns to its hole. Another two came from the Eastern Peninsula, from the Emirates another from the Levant, Ziad al-Jarrah, and another from the land of Egypt, Mohammed Atta, may God accept all of them as martyrs...With their actions they provided a very great sign, showing that it was this faith in their hearts urged them to do these things, to give their soul to "There is no god but God." By these deeds they opened a great door for good and truth. Those we hear in the media saying that martyrdom operations should not be carried out are merely repeating the desires of the tyrants, America and its collaborators.

(153) ...as soon as the victim rises up and offers himself on behalf of his religion, people are outraged. 1200 million Muslims are being slaughtered without anyone even knowing, but if anyone comes to their defense, those people

(Story king, magician, monk)

just repeat whatever the tyrants want them to say. They have neither common sense nor authority.

(153-4) There is a clear moral in the story of the boy, the king, the magician, and the monk, of people offering themselves for "There is no god but God". There is also another meaning which is that victory is not only a question of winning, which is how most people see it, but of sticking to your principles. God mentioned the people of the trench and immortalized their memory by praising them for being resolute in their faith. They were given a choice between faith and being thrown into the fire. They refused not to believe in God, and so they were thrown in hell. At the end of the story the boy, when the tyrant king ordered that the believers should be thrown in the pit, a poor mother came carrying her son. When she saw the fire she was afraid that harm would befall her son. When she saw the fire she was afraid that harm would befall her son, so she went back. But as the Prophet relates, her son told her: "be patient, mother, for you are in the right." No Muslim would ever ask: what did they benefit? The fact is that they were killed but this is total ignorance. They were victorious with the blessings of God, and with the immortal heavens that God promised them. Victory is not material gain; it is about sticking to your principles.

(Believers)

(154-5) This is the truth. The measure of virtue in this religion is as the saying of our Prophet goes the measure of faith not only collecting knowledge but using it. According to this yardstick whoever fights the unbelievers physically is a believer, whoever fights them verbally is a believer, and whoever fights them with his heart is a believer. Nothing can be more essentially faithful than this. These people fought the great unbelief with their hands and their souls, and we pray to God to accept them as martyrs.

(155) God opened up the way for these young men to tell America, the head of global unbelief, and its allies, that they are living in falsehood. They sacrificed themselves for "There is no god but God."

(155) We have spoken much about these great events, but I will sum things up by emphasizing the importance of continuing jihadi action against action against America, both militarily and economically. America has been set back with the help of God and the economic bleeding still goes on today. Yet still we need more strikes. The youth should strive to find the weak points of the American economy and strike the enemy there...Before I finish I should mention these heroes, these true men, these great giants who erased the shame from the forehead of our umma. I should like to recite some poetry in praise of them and all those who follow the same path of Muhammad.

(156) I'll finish with some lines of poetry in memory of those heroes from the land of Hijaz, and land of faith, from Ghamid and Zahran, from Bani Shahr, from Harb, from Najb, and we pray to God to accept them all, and in memory of those who came from Holy Mecca, Salem and Nawaf al-Hazmi, Khaled al-Mihdhar, or those who came from Medina, the radiant, who left life and its comforts for the sake of "There is no god but God."

(Poem: Yusuf Abu Hilala)

(156-7) (Poem in honor of the attackers) I testify that these men as sharp as a sword, Have perverted through all trials, How special they are who sold their souls to God, Who smiled at Death when his sword gazed ominously at them, Who willingly bared their chests as shields, Though the clothes of darkness enveloped us and the poisoned tooth bit us, Though our homes overflowed with blood and the assailant desecrated our land, Though from the

Muhammad

(Youth of Islam)
(Scholars)

Hamza bin Abd al-Muttalib

(emphasized by Muhammad)

squares the shining of swords and horses vanished, And sound of drums was growing, The fighters' winds blew striking their towers and telling them: We will not cease our raids until you leave our fields.

(154) And in the sayings of our Prophet, there is the story about the uneducated boy, the magician and the monk. One day an animal was blocking the road and the boy said, "Today I'll find out who is better the monk or the magician." Because he was lacking in knowledge, he did not yet understand which one was better, so he asked God to show him. If the monk was more beloved to God...then he would be able to kill the animal. So the boy picked up the rock and threw it at the animal, and it dropped dead. The monk turned to him and said: "My son, today you are better than me." even though he was far more knowledgeable than this ignorant young boy. Nevertheless, God lit up this boy's heart with the light of faith, and he began to make sacrifices for the sake of "There is no god but God". This is a unique and valuable story which the youth of Islam are waiting for their scholars to tell them, which would show the youth that these (attackers) are the people who have risen up everything for the sake of "There is no god but God.", and would tell them what the scholar told the boy: "Today you are better than us."

(155) The lord of martyrs Hamza bin Abd al-Muttalib, said that God illuminated a unknown man's heart with faith, and stood up against an unjust imam, who rebuked him and killed him, as is written in the al-Jami al-Sahih...He won a great victory that not one of these noble followers or companions could achieve. God raised him up to the status of lord of the martyrs. This is something that our Prophet emphasized. So how could any sane Muslim say, "What did he benefit from it?" This is clear error and we ask God for good health.

Statement # 15 Injustice

Date of Statement: 08/25/2002

Actors

Forms of Injustice

Unbelievers States/America

(p159) ...Unbelievers' states, at whose forefront is America, the tyrant, which has destroyed all human values and transgressed all limits and which only understands the logic of power and war.

Statement # 15 Agency**Date of Statement: 08/25/2002****Actors****Forms of Agency****Imam of Mujahidin/Muhammad**

(p158) Prayers and peace upon the imam of the mujahidin, our leader and master Muhammad, upon all his family and followers and upon those who follow them in righteousness until the day of judgment.

Jihadist

(158) I send this letter to the steadfast resilient people who wage jihad with the sword in one hand and the holy Qur'an in the other. You lions of the holy law, your guardians of the religion.

God

(158) God has made a promise to those among you who believe and do good deeds: He will make them successors to the land, as He did those before them.

(159) There is no god but God and Muhammad is his messenger.

Unbelievers' States

(159) ...by the will of God..we will soon see the fall of the unbelievers' states at whose forefront is America.

People of Afghanistan/Mujahid

(159) Oh people of Afghanistan you know that jihad is of the utmost value in Islam, and that with it we can gain pride and eminence in this world and the next. You know that it saves our lands, protects our sanctity, spreads justice, security, and prosperity, and plants fear in the enemies' heart. Through it kingdoms are built and the banner of truth flies high above all others. Oh people of Afghanistan I am convinced that you understand these words of mine more than anyone else since throughout the ages no invader ever settled in your lands since you are distinguished for your strength, defiance, and fortitude in the fight, and since your doors are open only to Islam. That is because Muslims never came as colonizers or out of worldly self-interest, but as missionaries bringing us back to God.

(Muslims)

(159) Oh people of Afghanistan, God has given you the blessing of sacrificing yourselves for Him, and you have sacrificed what is dear and precious in order to make the great words (of God) a reality in your land. You didn't let global unbelief that is Britain, Russia, and America penetrate your land and challenge the Muslims pride in east and west. From my position I can say that the great spheres being drawn around these big countries amount to not even a mosquito's wing. Indeed, they are worthless when compared to God's power and support for the faithful mujahidin. Whoever doubts this should learn from the Russians how the blessed jihad destroyed their myth. And before them, neither the Tartars nor the English could defy the holy warriors, because the peaks of this blessed lands mountains resisted every stubborn infidel.

(Global unbelief)

(Mujahidin)

Muslims/Islam

(159) Power to Islam and victory to the Muslims.

Actors

Forms of Injustice

America

(Jews/British)

OBL/al-Qaeda/Jihadists pose the 1st question for America: Why are we (Jihadist) fighting and opposing you?

(p162) Because you attack us and continue to attack us...

(162) You attacked Palestine; which has foundered under military occupations for more than 80yrs. The British handed over Palestine, with your help and your support to the Jews, who have occupied it for more than 50 years overflowing with oppression, tyranny, crimes, killing, expulsion, destruction and devastation. The creation and continuation of Israel is one of the greatest crimes, and you are the leaders of its criminals.

(162) ...you have not yet tired of repeating your fabricated lies that the Jews have a historical right to Palestine, as it was promised to them in the Torah. Anyone who disputes with them on this alleged fact is accused of anti-Semitism. This is one of the most fallacious, widely-circulated fabrications in history. The people of Palestine are pure Arabs and original Semites. It is the Muslims who are the inheritors of Moses and the inheritors of the real Torah that has not been changed...When the Muslims conquered Palestine and drove out the Romans, Palestine and Jerusalem returned to Islam, the religion of all the Prophets. Therefore, the call to a historical right to Palestine cannot be raised against the Islamic umma that believes in all the Prophets of God- and we make no distinction between them.

(163) The blood pouring out of Palestine...

(163) You attacked us in Somalia; you supported the Russian atrocities against us in Chechnya, the Indian oppression against us in Kashmir, and the Jewish aggression against us in Lebanon.

(Governments Arab countries)

(163) Under your supervision, consent, and orders, the governments of our countries which act as your collaborators attack us on a daily basis; these governments prevent our people from establishing the Islamic sharia using violence and lies to do so...give us a taste of humiliation and place us in a great prison of fear and subjugation...steal our umma's wealth and sell it to you at a paltry price...have surrendered to the Jews, and handed them most of Palestine, acknowledging the existence of their state over the dismembered limbs of their own people.

(163) You steal our wealth and oil at paltry prices because of your international influence and military threats. This theft is indeed the biggest theft ever witnessed by mankind in the history of the world.

(163-4) Your forces occupy our countries; you spread your military bases throughout them; you corrupt our lands, and you besiege our sanctuaries, to protect the security of the Jews and to ensure the continuity of your pillage of our treasures.

(164) ...starved the Muslims of Iraq, where children die every day. It is a wonder that more than 1.5 million Iraqi children have died as a result of your sanctions, and that you have not shown concern. Yet when 3,000 of your people died, the entire world rises up and has not yet sat down.

(American People)

(164) ...supported the Jews in their idea that Jerusalem is their eternal capital, and have agreed to move your embassy there. With your help and under your protection, the Israelis are planning to destroy the al-Aqsa mosque. Under the protection of your weapons, Sharon entered the al-Aqsa mosque, to pollute it as a preparation to capture and destroy it.

(164) These tragedies and calamities are only a few examples of your oppression and aggression against us.

(165) ...the American people have chosen, consented to, and affirmed their support for Israel's oppression of the Palestinians, the occupation and usurpation of their land, and its continuous killing, torture, punishment, and expulsion, of the Palestinians. The American people have the ability and choice to refuse the policies of their government, and even change it if they want.

(165) The American people are the ones who pay taxes which fund the planes that bomb us in Afghanistan, the tanks that strike and destroy our homes in Palestine, the armies which occupy our lands in the Arabian Gulf, and the fleets which ensure the blockade of Iraq. These tax dollars are given to Israel for it to continue attacking us and invade our lands. So the American people are the ones who fund the attacks against us, and they are the ones who oversee the expenditure of these monies in the way they wish, through their elected candidates.

(165) ...the American army is part of the American people. It is this very same people who are shamelessly helping the Jews fight against us...This is why the American people cannot be innocent of all the crimes committed by the Americans and Jews against us.

Injustice of American Nation

(You are a nation)

(166) ...you are the worst civilization witnessed in the history of mankind

(167) ...rather than ruling by the Sharia of God in its Constitution and Laws, choose to invent your own laws as you will and desire. You separate religion from your policies, contradicting the pure nature which affirms Absolute Authority to the Lord and your Creator. You flee from the embarrassing question posed to you: How is it possible for God the Almighty to fashion His creation, grant men power over all creatures and land, grant them all amenities of life, and then deny them that which they are most in need of: knowledge of the laws which govern their lives?

(167) ...permits usury which has been forbidden by all the religions. Yet you build your economy and investments on usury. As a result of this, in all their different forms and guises, the Jews have taken control of your economy, through which they have then taken control of your media, and now control all aspects of your life making you their servants and achieving their aims at your expense; precisely what Benjamin Franklin warned you against.

(167) ...permits the production, trading, usage of intoxicants...drugs, and only forbid the trade of them, even though your nation is the largest consumer of them.

(167) ...permits acts of immorality, and you consider these acts to be pillars of personal freedom...continued to sink down this abyss from level to level until incest has spread amongst you, in the face of which neither your sense of honor nor your laws object...President Clinton's immoral acts committed in the official Oval office...After that you did not even bring him to account, other than that he made a mistake after which everything passed with no

punishment. Is there any worse event for which your name will go down in history and be remembered by nations?

(167) ...permits gambling in its all forms. The companies practice this as well, resulting in investments becoming active and the criminals becoming rich.

(167-8) ...exploits women like consumer products or advertising tools, calling upon customers to purchase them... you use women to serve passengers, visitors, and strangers, to increase your profit margins..then rant that you support the liberation of women.

(168) ...nation that practices the trade of sex in all its forms, directly and indirectly. Giant corporations and establishments are established on this, under the name of art, entertainment, tourism, and freedom, and other deceptive names that you attribute to it.

(168) ...described in history as a nation that spreads diseases that were unknown to man in the past. Go ahead and boast to the nations of man, that you brought them AIDS as a Satanic American Invention.

(168) ...destroyed nature with your industrial waste and gases, more than any other nation in history. Despite this, you refuse to sign the Kyoto agreement so that you can secure the profit of your greedy companies and industries.

(168) ...law of the rich and wealthy, who hold sway in their political parties, and fund their election campaigns with their gifts. Behind them stand the Jews, who control your policies, media, and economy.

(168) ...you have used your force to destroy mankind, more than any other nation in history; not to defend principles and values, but to hasten to secure your interests and profits. You dropped a nuclear bomb on Japan, even though Japan was ready to negotiate an end to war. How many acts of oppression, tyranny, and injustice have you carried out, O callers to freedom?

(168-9) ...your duality in both manners and values; your hypocrisy in manners and principles. All manners, principles, and values have two scales; one for you and one for everybody else.

(169) The freedom and democracy that you call for is for yourselves and for the white race only; as for the rest of the world, you impose upon them your monstrous, destructive policies and governments, which you call friends of America. Yet you prevent them from establishing democracies. When the Islamic party in Algeria wanted to practice democracy ant they won the election, you unleashed your collaborators in the Algerian army on them, and attacked them with tanks and guns, imprisoned them and tortured them a new lesson from the American book of democracy.

(169) Your policy on prohibiting and forcibly removing weapons of mass destruction to ensure world peace only applies to those countries which you don not permit to possess such weapons. As for the countries to which you gave consent, such as Israel, they are allowed to keep and use such weapons to defend their security. Anyone else who you suspect might be manufacturing or keeping these kinds of weapons, you call criminals and you take military action against them.

(169) ...the last ones to respect the resolutions and policies of International Law, yet you claim to want to selectively punish anyone else who does the same. Israel has for more than 50 yrs been pushing UN resolutions and rules to

the wall with the full support of America.

(169-70) As for the war criminals whom you censure and from criminal courts for you shamelessly ask that your own are granted immunity. However, history will not forget the war crimes that you committed against the Muslims and" the rest of the world; those you have killed in Japan, Afghanistan, Somalia, Lebanon, and Iraq will remain a disgrace that you will never be able to escape. It will surface to remind you of your latest war crimes in Afghanis. in which densely populated innocent civilian villages were destroyed, bombs were dropped on mosques causing the roof of the mosque to collapse on the heads of the Muslims praying inside. You are the ones who broke the agreement with the mujahidin when they left Qunduz, bombing them in Jangi fort, and killing more than 1,000 of your prisoners through suffocation and thirst. God alone knows how many people have died by torture at the hands of you and your collaborators. Your planes remain in the Afghan skies, looking for anyone remotely suspicious.

(170) ...claimed to be the vanguards of Human Rights, and your Ministry of Foreign affairs issues annual reports containing statistics of those countries that violate any Human Rights. However, all these values vanished when the mujahidin hit you on 9/11, and you then implemented the methods of the same documented governments that you used to curse. In America, you arrested thousands of Muslims and Arabs, took them into custody with no reason, court trial, nor did you disclose their names. You issued newer harsher laws...What happens in Guantanamo is a historical embarrassment to America and its values, and it screams into your hypocritical faces: What is the value of your signature on any agreement or treaty?

Statement # 16 Agency

Date of Statement: 10/6/2002

Actors**Forms of Agency****God**

(referring to believers)

(p161) Those who have been attacked are permitted to take up arms because they have been wronged...God has the power to help them victory

(permission of the Jihadists)

(161) The believers fight for God's cause, while those who reject faith fight for an unjust cause. Fight for the allies of Satan: Satan's plays are truly weak.

(believers)

(165) God...legislated the permission and the option to avenge this oppression. Thus, if we are attacked then we have the right to strike back. If people destroy our villages and towns then we have the right to destroy their economy. And whoever kills our civilians, then we have the right to kill theirs.

(Nation: honor/respect)

(171) ...God you should fear if you are true believers. Fight them: God will punish them at your hands, He will disgrace them, He will help you conquer them, He will heal the believers' feelings and remove the rage from their hearts. God turns to whoever He will in His mercy; God is all knowing and wise.

(Nation: Martyrdom)

(171) ...power belongs to God, to His Messenger and to the believers. Do not lose heart or despair if you are the true believers you have the upper hand.

(Nation: victory)

(172) Prophet; do not think of those who have been killed in God's way as dead. They are alive with their Lord, well provided for, happy with what God has given them of His favor; rejoicing that for those they have left behind who have yet to join them there is no fear, nor will they grieve; in God's blessing and favor, and that God will not let the reward of the believers be lost.

OBL/Jihadist (to America)

(172) It is He who has sent his Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth to show that it is above all religions, even though the idolaters hate it. I shall most certainly win, I and My messengers.

(162) The creation of Israel is a crime which must be erased. Each and every person whose hands have become polluted in the contribution towards this crime must pay its price, and pay for it heavily.

(163) The blood pouring out of Palestine must be equally avenged. You must know that the Palestinians do not cry alone; their women are not widowed alone; their sons are not orphaned alone.

(163) The removal of these (Arab) governments is an obligation upon us and necessary step to free the umma, to make the sharia the supreme law and to regain Palestine. And our fight against these governments is not separate from our fight against you.

(164) It is commanded by our religion and intellect that the oppressed have a right to respond to aggression. Do not expect anything from us but jihad, resistance, and revenge. Is it in any way rational to expect that after America has attacked us for more than half a century, that we will then leave her to live in security and peace?

(164-5) You may then dispute that all the above does not justify aggression against civilians, for crimes they did not commit and offenses in which they did not participate..This argument contradicts your continuous repetition that America is the land of freedom, and freedom's leaders in this world. If this is so, the American people are the ones

punishment. Is there any worse event for which your name will go down in history and be remembered by nations?

(167) ...permits gambling in its all forms. The companies practice this as well, resulting in investments becoming active and the criminals becoming rich.

(167-8) ...exploits women like consumer products or advertising tools, calling upon customers to purchase them... you use women to serve passengers, visitors, and strangers, to increase your profit margins..then rant that you support the liberation of women.

(168) ...nation that practices the trade of sex in all its forms, directly and indirectly. Giant corporations and establishments are established on this, under the name of art, entertainment, tourism, and freedom, and other deceptive names that you attribute to it.

(168) ...described in history as a nation that spreads diseases that were unknown to man in the past. Go ahead and boast to the nations of man, that you brought them AIDS as a Satanic American Invention.

(168) ...destroyed nature with your industrial waste and gases, more than any other nation in history. Despite this, you refuse to sign the Kyoto agreement so that you can secure the profit of your greedy companies and industries.

(168) ...law of the rich and wealthy, who hold sway in their political parties, and fund their election campaigns with their gifts. Behind them stand the Jews, who control your policies, media, and economy.

(168) ...you have used your force to destroy mankind, more than any other nation in history; not to defend principles and values, but to hasten to secure your interests and profits. You dropped a nuclear bomb on Japan, even though Japan was ready to negotiate an end to war. How many acts of oppression, tyranny, and injustice have you carried out, O callers to freedom?

(168-9) ...your duality in both manners and values; your hypocrisy in manners and principles. All manners, principles, and values have two scales; one for you and one for everybody else.

(169) The freedom and democracy that you call for is for yourselves and for the white race only; as for the rest of the world, you impose upon them your monstrous, destructive policies and governments, which you call friends of America. Yet you prevent them from establishing democracies. When the Islamic party in Algeria wanted to practice democracy and they won the election, you unleashed your collaborators in the Algerian army on them, and attacked them with tanks and guns, imprisoned them and tortured them a new lesson from the American book of democracy.

(169) Your policy on prohibiting and forcibly removing weapons of mass destruction to ensure world peace only applies to those countries which you do not permit to possess such weapons. As for the countries to which you gave consent, such as Israel, they are allowed to keep and use such weapons to defend their security. Anyone else who you suspect might be manufacturing or keeping these kinds of weapons, you call criminals and you take military action against them.

(169) ...the last ones to respect the resolutions and policies of International Law, yet you claim to want to selectively punish anyone else who does the same. Israel has for more than 50 yrs been pushing UN resolutions and rules to

(Jihadist threat directed)

subjugation, theft, and occupation, and not to continue your policy of supporting the Jews because this will result in more disasters for you.

(172) The Islamic Nation that was able to dismiss and destroy the previous evil Empires like yourself; the Nation that rejects your attacks, wishes to remove your evils, and is prepared to fight you. You are well aware that the Islamic Nation, from the very core of its soul, despises your haughtiness and arrogance...If you Americans refuse to listen to our advice and the goodness, guidance, and righteousness that we call them to, then be aware that you will lose this Crusade Bush began, just like the other previous Crusades, in which you were humiliated at the hands of the mujahidin, fleeing to your home in great silence and disgrace. If you Americans do not respond then your fate will be that of the Soviets who fled from Afghanistan to deal with their military defeat, political breakup, ideological downfall, and economic bankruptcy.

This is our message to the Americans, as an answer to theirs. Do they now know why we fight them and over which from of ignorance; by the permission of God, we shall be victorious?

Statement # 17 Injustice**Date of Statement: 11/12/2002****Actors****Forms of Injustice****Bush/America/Israel**

(p174) What Bush, the pharaoh of the age is doing, killing our sons in Iraq, and what America's ally Israel is doing, using American aero planes to bomb houses in Palestine with old men, women, and children in them, was enough for the sane leaders among you to distance themselves from this criminal gang. Our people have suffered murder and torture in Palestine for nearly a century. But as soon as we defend them the world gets agitated and joins forces against the Muslims under the false and unjust pretext of fighting terrorism.

America/Allies

(174) Why are your governments, especially those of Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Germany, and Australia, allying themselves with America in its attacks on us in Afghanistan?

Governments (of the world)
(allying with Americans)

(174) Why are your governments allying themselves against the Muslims with the criminal gang in the White House? Don't they know that this gang is the biggest murderer of our age?

(175) If it pains you to see your victims and your allies' victims in Tunisia, Karachi, Failaka, and Oman, then remember that our children are murdered daily in Palestine and Iraq. Remember our victims in the mosques of Khost and the deliberate murder of our people at weddings in Afghanistan. If it pains you to see your victims in Moscow, then remember ours in Chechnya.

(175) How long will fear, killing, destruction, displacement, orphaning, and widowing be our sole destiny, while security, stability and happiness is yours? This is injustice.

Rumsfield

(174) ...the butcher of Vietnam, is responsible for the deaths of two million as well as the injuries to many others.

Cheney and Powell

(174) They have reaped more murder and destruction in Baghdad than Hulagu and Tatar.

Actors

Forms of Agency

Zealous sons of Islam

(p173-4) The road to safety begin with the cessation of hostilities, and reciprocal treatment is a part of justice. The events that have taken place since the attacks on Washington and New York, like the killing of the Germans in Tunisia, the French in Karachi, the bombing of the giant French tanker in Yemen, the killing of marines in Failaka and of the British and Australians in the Bali explosions, the recent operation in Moscow and various other operations here and there: these are all reactions in kind perpetrated by the zealous sons of Islam in defense of their religion and in response to the order of their Lord and their Prophet.

(Islamic movement)

(175) We warned Australia beforehand not to take part in the war in Afghanistan, as well as about its disgraceful attempts to separate East Timor, but it ignored the warning until it woke up to the sound of explosions in Bali. Its government then falsely contended that Australians had not been targeted.

(God's will)

(175) With God's will, the Islamic umma has started to strike back with its own sons, who have given their pledge to God that they will continue the jihad with sword and deed so long as they have eyes to see or blood in their veins, in order to establish truth and eradicate falsehood.

(A call to God)

(175) ...to help us achieve the victory of His religion and to continue jihad for Him until we meet Him and He is content with us. For He is the guarantor of that and well capable of it.

(Jihadist response)

(175) The time has come to settle accounts. Just as you kill, so you shall be killed; just as you bomb, so you shall be bombed. And there will be more to come.

Statement # 18 Injustice

Date of Statement: 02/11/2003

Actors**Forms of Injustice****Crusaders'(America/Israel)**

(p180) We are following with intense interest and concern the Crusaders' preparations for war to occupy one of Islam's former capitals, loot Muslims' riches, and install a stooge government to follow its masters in Washington and Tel Aviv, like the other treacherous puppet Arab governments, to pave the way for the establishment of Greater Israel.

(180) In the midst of this corrupt, unjust war that the infidels of America are waging with their agents and allies.

(181) It has become clear to us during our defensive jihad against the American enemy and its enormous propaganda machine, that it depends for the most part on psychological warfare. It also depends on intense air strikes, which hide its most conspicuous weak points: fear, cowardice, and lack of fighting spirit among its troops.

These troops are utterly convinced of their government's tyranny and lies, and they know the cause they are defending is not just. They merely fight for capitalists, takers of usury, and arms and oil merchants, including the criminal gang in the White House. Add to that Bush Senior's personal grudges and Crusader hatred.

(Bush/White House)

(181-2) From the first hour of the American campaign on 20th Rajab 1422 AH (October 7 2001) our positions came under intensive bombardment. This continued on and off until the middle of Ramadan and on the morning of Ramadan 17th (Dec. 2, 2001) very heavy bombing began, especially after the American command had confirmed that some of the al-Qaeda command, such as the humble servant and the brother and mujahid Dr Anyman al-Zawahiri were still in Tora Bora. The bombing continued around the clock not a second went by without warplanes flying over our heads, day and night. The American defense ministry command room, with all its allies, put everything they had into blowing up and destroying this small area. They tried to eradicate it altogether. The planes poured down their fire on us, especially after they had completed their standard missions in Afghanistan. The American forces barraged us with smart bombs, bombs weighing a thousand pounds, cluster bombs, and bunker busters. Bombers like the B-52 circled above us, one of them for more than two hours, dropping twenty to thirty bombs at a time. Modified C-130 planes attacked us all night with carpet bombs and other kinds of modern firepower. Despite the unprecedented scale of this bombardment and the terrible propaganda, all focusing on one small, besieged spot as well as the hypocrites' forces which they got to fight against us for over two weeks, non-stop, and whose daily attacks we resisted by the will of God.

(Al-Qaeda/Mujahidin)

(Arab rulers allies to America)

(183) Arab rulers who have helped America in their murder of Muslims in Iraq (continued in Agency as a decree)

(183) It is also no secret that this Crusader war is directed primarily against the people of Islam, regardless of whether the socialist party, or Saddam remains in power or not.

Socialist rulers

(184) The socialists are infidels, wherever they may be, whether in Bagdad or Aden.

Actors

Forms of Agency

God

(p180) "You who believe, be mindful of God, as is His due, and make sure you devote yourselves to Him, to your dying moment."

(180) "God is enough for us; He is the best protector."

(180) "The believers fight for God's cause, while those who reject faith fight for an unjust cause. Fight the allies of Satan: Satan's strategies are truly weak."

(181) "You who believe! If you help God, He will help you and make you stand firm."

(183) "You who believe, do not take the Jews and the Christians as allies: they are allies only to each other. Anyone who takes them as an ally becomes one of them...God does not guide wrongdoers."

(184) "Let them be on their guard and armed with their weapons: the disbelievers would dearly like you to be heedless of your weapons and baggage, so that they can take you in a single assault."

(185) "A prophet should not take prisoners until he has ensured his dominance in the land." And "When you meet disbelievers in battle, strike them in the necks."

(185) "Believers when you meet a force in battle stand firm and keep God firmly in mind, so that you may prosper."

(Prayer for Believers)

(185) Oh God revealer of the book, director of the clouds, defeater of factions, defeat them and give us victory over them (repeated three times).

(OBL additive prayer)

(Verse from the Qur'an)

Our Lord give us good in this world and in the Hereafter, and protect us from the torment of the Fire."

Jihadists/Muslims/Mujahidin

(180) Sincerity of will, and fighting for the one God, who has no equal rather than for any particular ethnic group or any of the pagan regimes so common in the Arab countries, including Iraq.

(181) We remind you that victory comes only with God. All we need to do is prepare and motivate jihad...We must be quick to seek repentance from God for our sins, especially the grave one's.

(181) In general, we must always be quick to obey God, and remember especially to repeat His name when joining battle. Abu al-Darda said: "Do a good deed before battle, for you fight with your deeds."

(Forces of faith)

(181) It has...become clear to us that one of the most effective and readily available means of neutralizing the Crusader's enemy's air force is to dig large numbers of roofed and disguised trenches, something I point out in a previous statement last year during the battle of Tora Bora. In that great battle, the forces of faith triumphed over all the evil forces of materialism by remaining true to their principles. I will recount a part of it to you to prove how cowardly they are and how effective trenches are at wearing the enemy down. Our number was something approaching three hundred mujahidin. We dug one hundred trenches, spread across an area no more than one square mile, one trench for every three brothers so as to avoid heavy human casualties from the bombing.

(Evil forces of materialism)

(Mujahidin)

(182) (concerning the hypocrites' forces) ...daily attacks we resisted by the will of God...we pushed them back in defeat every time, carrying their dead and injured.

(Brother Mujahidin in Iraq)

(182) The American forces dared not storm our positions. What clearer evidence could there be on their cowardice of their fear and lies, of the myths about their alleged power? The battle culminated with the resounding, devastating failure of the global alliance of evil, with all its supposed power, to overcome a small group of mujahidin, numbering no more than three hundred, in their trenches within one square mile, at temperatures as low as ten degrees below zero. We suffered only about 6 per cent casualties in the battle, and we ask God to accept them as martyrs. As for those in the trenches, we lost only about 2 per cent, thank God. If all the forces of global evil could not even achieve their objective over one square mile against a small number of mujahidin which such modest capabilities, how could they expect to triumph over the entire Islamic world? This is impossible with God's will as long as people stay true to their religion and insist on waging jihad for it. So, brother mujahidin in Iraq, do not be frightened by the lies propagated by America about its power, and about its smart or laser guided bombs.

(Caliph Umar)

(182-3) These have not significant effect in hills, trenches, plains, or forests, as they require clear targets. Neither smart nor stupid bombs can penetrate well-disguised trenches in anything better than a random way that wastes the enemy's ammunition and resources. So use trenches as much as you can. Caliph Umar said: "Use the ground as a shield."...take the earth as a shield, for with God's grace and will it ensures the total exhaustion of the enemy's bomb supply within a few months. Their daily production is small enough to be easily endured, with God's will. We also underline the importance of dragging the enemy forces into a protracted, exhausting, close combat, making the most of camouflaged defense positions in plains, farms, hills, and cities. What the enemy fears most is urban and street warfare, in which heavy and costly human losses can be expected. Further, we emphasize the importance of martyrdom operations which have inflicted unprecedented harm on America and Israel, thanks to God.

(Arabs/Rulers: Apostates)

(183) We also decree that any of the hypocrites in Iraq, or Arab rulers who have helped America in their murder of Muslims in Iraq, anyone who approved of their actions and followed them into this Crusader war by fighting with them or providing bases or administrative support, or any other kind of backing, should be aware that they are apostates who are outside the community of Islam; it is therefore permitted to take their money and their blood.

(Umma)

(Oppressive regimes)

(183) We also stress to true Muslims that amid such momentous events and such heated atmosphere, they must motivate and mobilize the umma to liberate themselves from their enslavement to these oppressive, tyrannical apostate ruling regimes who are supported by America, and to establish God's rule on earth. The areas most in need of liberation are Jordan, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen.

(Muslims: Iraq; Jihad)

(183-4) So, Muslims in general and in Iraq in particular must prepare themselves for jihad against this unjust campaign and make sure to acquire ammunition and weapons. This is their prescribed duty.

(184) It is well known that fighting under pagan banners is not allowed and that Muslim's belief and banner must be clear when fighting for God.

(184) There is no harm in such circumstances if the Muslim's interests coincide with those of the socialists in fighting the Crusaders, despite our firm conviction that they are infidels. The time of these socialist rulers is long

past...The current fighting and the fighting that will take place in the coming days can be very much compared to the Muslim's previous battles. There is nothing wrong with a convergence of interests here, just as the Muslims' struggle against Byzantium suited the Persians but did not harm the Prophet's companions, may God be blessed with them.

(184) ...we should also emphasize the importance of good morale and of guarding against false rumors, defeatism, uncertainty, and discouragement.

(Poet)

(185) "All there is between you and me is the piercing of kidneys and smiting of necks." (OBL uses in the form of a reprimand to the Crusaders).

(185) I enjoin us all to fear God both covertly and overtly, and to be patient in the jihad, for victory requires patience. I enjoin us all to pray and to repeat God's name.

Muhammad

(181) "Avoid the seven deadly sins: associating others with God, sorcery, killing others, which God has forbidden unless it is just, usury, taking money from orphans, desertion, defaming innocent women believers." (OBL adds: drinking alcohol, adultery, disobeying parents, and committing perjury."

(184) "Only he whose aim in fighting is to keep God's word supreme fights in God's cause."

(184) "Bring good news and do not discourage others."..."Abu Talha's voice in the army is better than a thousand men."

Khaled ibn Walid

(184-5) At the battle of Yarmuk, a man said to Khaled ibn Walid: "How many the Byzantines are, and how few the Muslims." Khaled replied: "Nonsense. Armies do not triumph by having large numbers. They are only conquered by their own defeatism."

Statement # 19 Injustice**Date of Statement: 02/14/2003****Actors****Forms of Injustice****Crusaders**

(Arab Nations, Muslims)

(Islamic World, France, Britain)

(Bush, Blair, Prophet's Umma)

(Bush-Blair Axis)

(Israel, Arab Nations)

Karzai

(Karzai's of the Arab Region)

(Ottoman State, ibn Rashid)

America

(Children of Iraq)

(Arab Nations)

(Saudi Arabia)

(Britain)

(President Nixon)

(p187) As I speak the blood of Muslims continues to be shed in vain in Palestine, Chechnya, Philippines, Kashmir, and Sudan.

(187) As I speak our wounds have yet to heal from the Crusader wars of the last century against the Islamic world or from the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 between France and Britain, with brought about the dissection of the Islamic world into fragments. The Crusaders' agents are still in power to this day, in light of a new Sykes-Picot agreement, the Bush-Blair axis, which has the same banner and objective, namely the banner of the Cross and the objective of destroying and looting of our beloved Prophet's umma.

(188) The Bush-Blair axis claims that it wants to annihilate terrorism, but it is no longer a secret even to the masses that it really wants to annihilate Islam.

(189) One of the most important objectives of this new Crusader campaign, after dividing up the region, is to prepare it for the establishment of what is called the state of Greater Israel, which would incorporate large parts of Iraq and Egypt within its borders as well as Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan, the whole of Palestine, and a large part of Saudi Arabia.

(197) Who was it that installed the rulers of the Gulf States? It was the Crusaders, the same people who installed the Karzai of Pakistan, who installed the Karzai of Kuwait, the Karzai of Bahrn, Qatar, and others. Who was it that installed the Karzai of Kuwait, the Karzai of Riyadh and brought him in, even though he had been a refugee from Kuwait a century earlier, to fight on their side against the Ottoman state and its governor, ibn Rashid? It was the Crusaders, and they are still holding us prisoner today. There is no difference between the Karzai of Riyadh and Karzai of Kabul.

(187) ...and our children are dying because of the American sanctions in Iraq.

(188) Nor can there be any doubt that the current preparation for an attack on Iraq is anything other than the latest in a continuous series of aggressions on the countries of the region, including Syria, Iran, Egypt, and Sudan. However, the focus on dividing up Saudi Arabia takes up the lion's share of their plan. It is well known that this is an old strategic aim of theirs, ever since Saudi Arabia's client status was transferred from Britain to the United States sixty years ago. America tried to fulfill this aim three decades ago in the aftermath of the war of Ramadan 10th, when President Nixon threatened to invade Saudi Arabia in its entirety although by the grace of God he wasn't able to do so at the time. However, with the onset of the second Gulf War America has established seriously important military bases all over Saudi Arabia, and near the capital in particular. Their only remaining task was to divide the country up, and it seems as if the time for that has now arrived.

(188-9) The conclusion is that America's objective of general control over the region, and of division of Saudi Arabia in particular is no passing summer cloud but a strategic goal of America's cunning policy that cannot be

(Somalia, Muslims)
 (Gang of Criminals in White House)
 (Pharaoh of the Age)
 (Palestine, Iraq, Saudi Arabia)
 (Jews)

Rulers/Govts. Arab Region

(Muslims, Bush, Umma)
 (Umma, Govt.-backed scholars)
 (Arab interior ministers, Mujahidin)
 (Honorable Preachers, Scholars)
 (Umma)
 (America, Yemeni Government)
 (Region's Governments)
 (False Witness of Scholars of Evil)
 (Corrupt Court Ministers)
 (Writers-for-hire)
 (Muslims)

(God, Muhammad)
 (Infidels)

(United Nations)

(United Nations)

ignored.

(192) Then after the Second Gulf War, America put her armies into Somalia and killed 13,000 Muslims.

(193) Then when they saw the gang of criminals in the White House misrepresenting the truth, whose idiotic leader claims that we despise their way of life although the truth that the Pharaoh of the age is hiding is that we strike them because of their injustice...Palestine and Iraq..their occupation of Saudi Arabia...on September 11 2001 the Zionist-American alliance was mowing down our sons and our people in the blessed land of al-Aqsa at the hands of Jews but with American planes and tanks, and our sons in Iraq were dying as a result of the oppressive sanctions of America and its agents while the Islamic world was a very long way from properly establishing Islam.
 (194) ...while "Uncle Sam" was committing these reckless transgressions and terrible oppression in contempt of everyone, going through the world without paying attention to anyone else and thinking that nothing could attack it, disaster struck it. What will explain to you what disaster is?

(188) Furthermore, in their speeches and statements, the rulers of the region affirm their support for Bush in his war on terror", i.e. his war on Islam and Muslims. This is clear treachery against our religious community and our umma, relying on the blessings of the government-backed scholars and corrupt ministers.

(189) And what have the governments of the region done to resist this hostile strategic goal? Nothing except to increase their client status towards the Crusaders, in addition to regular meetings of Arab interior ministers to fight against the mujahidin and to make life difficult for the honorable preachers and scholars who are trying to alert our umma to the need to defend itself.

(193) ...demolishing the American destroyer USS Cole in Aden...exposed the fact that Yemeni government was a collaborator, like the rest of their region's governments.

(196) The most significant of these shackles and obstacles in our present time are the rulers, the false witnesses among the scholars of evil, the corrupt court ministers, the writers-for-hire and others like them. As for the rulers, everyone is already agreed on their impotence and their treachery. But as for those who ask people to put themselves in the hands of these rulers, despite everything, we say to them: when did the peoples of these countries actually remove their support? The fact is that it never happened, and the result, as you can see, is the hegemony of the infidels over us. For it has been said: Those who betray when the going is good, will be unable to manage when the going is bad.

(196-7) Our dispute with these rulers is not one that can be resolved piecemeal. No, we are talking about the central point of Islam, the testimony that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is His Prophet. These rulers have contravened this testimony from its very root through their client status towards the infidels, through their imposition of man-made legislation, as well as through their acceptance of, and appeals to the heretical United Nations. Their authority has fallen foul of Islamic law for some time, and there is no way we should remain under it.

(198) These rulers who want to solve our issues-the most important of which is Palestine through the United

(United States)
 (Prince Abdallah, Palestine)
 (Arabs, Muslims, God, Muhammad)
 (Religious Community)
 (Followers of the Rulers)
 (Weak/Treacherous Leaders)
Evil Scholars/Corrupt Statesmen

(Treacherous Rulers)

(King of Saudi Arabia)
 (Muslims, Americans)

Scholars
 (God)

(Arab States)

(Divided Groups)

Nations or by the orders of the United States, as happened with Prince Abdallah's initiative in Beirut, on which all Arabs agreed, which sold the blood of martyrs and the land of Palestine to please the Jews and Americans and support them against the Muslims-these rulers have betrayed God and His Prophet, and they have gone beyond the pale of the religious community and betrayed our umma. I also say that those who want to solve our issues through these weak and treacherous leaders are guilty of self-deception and have also deceived our umma. They have come to rely on those who are unjust and in clear error.

(198-9) As for scholars of evil, corrupt court ministers, writers-for-hire and the like it has been said: in every era there is a state and there will be men-and these are the followers of the state-who distort the truth and make false testimony, even in the sacred land, in the sacred house, and in the sacred month. They claim that the treacherous rulers are our righteous guardians and they say this in order to strengthen the pillars of the state. ...Indeed the state focuses on its own scholars and gives them coverage on religious programs where they give fatwa's on minor issues which the state requires to increase its legitimacy. This is what happened on the day when the King of Saudi Arabia allowed the Americans into the country. He ordered his scholars to give their calamitous fatwa's that contravened Islam and insulted the intelligence of Muslims while supporting his treacherous deed in that great disaster. They duly issued them. Our umma is still suffering today from that disastrous decision and those deceitful, sycophantic rulings.

(199) As for the second obstacle, this constitutes the scholars and preachers who love the truth and hate falsehood and hate falsehood, yet refrain from jihad. So they chose to prevent the youth from jihad, and there is no strength or power save in God. They saw falsehood spreading and increasing, so they summoned each other to undertake their duty of helping the truth, enjoining good and forbidding. Many were guided by them, and they have become knowledgeable...but falsehood never thrives in the presence of truth and those who represent it. So it was made legal for them to be persecuted, terrorized, and prevented from speaking in public or giving lessons. They were fired from their jobs and then those who insisted on continuing to enjoin good and forbid evil were imprisoned. The strong pressure gradually led to a deviation from the path except among those upon God was merciful.

(199-200) The intimidation practiced by Arab states on their peoples has destroyed life in all its dimensions, including religious affairs. Religion is advice, but there can be no advice without security. This fear has divided people into groups, some of whom we will discuss here. One group relapsed and joined the side of the state, becoming its client. Another group thought it would not be able to continue preaching and teaching, or that it would no longer be safe and nor would their persons, their honor, and their property, if they did not praise and extol the tyrant. So they made a corrupt choice, going into manifest error and leading many others the same way.

(200) (concerning the vague group OBL refers to as protected by God) ...the costs of emigration and jihad. The opportunity was available to them more than two decades ago but they didn't take it, thus reducing their ability to

Israel/Jews

(People in Palestine)

(Zionist-American alliance)

(Men, Women, Children)

(God)

(Fighting Men, Mothers, Children)

(Countries of the Region)

(Creator, Prophets)

(Crusader)

(Sons of Israel, Lebanon)

Zionist-American Alliance

(Sons, People, Jews, America)

Muslims**Evil Scholars/Statesmen**

(Treacherous Rulers)

(King of Saudi Arabia)

(Muslims, Americans)

take the right decisions...That is why, even now we see some of them still refraining from taking up jihad and resistance.

(189) Do you know what harm and suffering Greater Israel will bring down upon the region? What is happening to our people in Palestine is just a small example of what they want to repeat in the rest of the region courtesy of the Zionist-American alliance: murder of men, women, and children, incarceration, terrorism, destruction of houses, bulldozing of fields and razing of factories. People are living in constant fear and alarm, expecting death to come at any moment from a missile or a bomb destroying their house and killing their womenfolk. How will we respond to our Lord o the Day of Judgment?

(189) Not even valiant fighting men could put up with what is happening there, so how can poor mothers stand by watching their children killed in front of them?....

(189) The creation of Greater Israel will entail Jewish domination over the countries of the region. What will explain to you who the Jews are? The Jews are those who slandered the Creator, so how do you think they deal with God's creation? They killed the Prophets and broke their promises.

(190) These Jews are masters of usury and leaders of treachery. They will leave nothing, either in this world or the next...These Jews believe as part of their religion that people are their slaves, and whoever denies their religion deserves to be killed.

(190) These are some of the characteristics of the Jews, so beware of them. These, too are some of the features of the Crusader plan, so resist it.

(192) ...in 1982...when the sons of Israel destroyed Lebanon.

(193) ...Sept. 11 2001, the Zionist-American alliance was mowing down our sons and our people in the blessed land of al-Aqsa at the hands of Jews but with American planes and tanks.

(194) ...amidst all this injustice, arrogance, and aggression on the part of the Zionist American alliance...

(193-4) ...the Islamic world was a long way from properly establishing Islam. Amidst all this frustration, despair, and procrastination among Muslims except for those upon whom God had been merciful...

(198-9) As for scholars of evil, corrupt court ministers, writers-for-hire and the like it has been said: in every era there is a state and there will be men-and these are the followers of the state-who distort the truth and make false testimony, even in the sacred land, in the sacred house, and in the sacred month. They claim that the treacherous rulers are our righteous guardians and they say this in order to strengthen the pillars of the state.

...Indeed the state focuses on its own scholars and gives them coverage on religious programs where they give fatwa's on minor issues which the state requires to increase its legitimacy. This is what happened on the day when the King of Saudi Arabia allowed the Americans into the country. He ordered his scholars to give their calamitous fatwa's that contravened Islam and insulted the intelligence of Muslims while supporting his treacherous deed in that great disaster. They duly issued them. Our umma is still suffering today from that disastrous decision

and those deceitful, sycophantic rulings.

Scholars

(199) As for the second obstacle, this constitutes the scholars and preachers who love the truth and hate falsehood and hate falsehood, yet refrain from jihad. So they chose to prevent the youth from jihad, and there is no strength or power save in God. They saw falsehood spreading and increasing, so they summoned each other to undertake their duty of helping the truth, enjoining good and forbidding.

Actors

Forms of Agency

God

(Muhammad, Polytheists)

(p187) Praise be to God, who revealed the Verse of the Sword to His servant and Messenger in order to establish Truth and eradicate falsehood. Praise be to God who said: "When the forbidden months are over, wherever you find the polytheists, kill them, seize them, besiege them, ambush them-but if they turn (to God), maintain the prayer and pay the prescribed alms, let them go on their way, for God is most forgiving and merciful." Praise be to God, who said: "Fight them: God will punish them at your hands, He will disgrace them, He will help you to conquer them He will heal the believers feelings."

(188) "God is sufficient for us and He is a great guardian."

(189) "We belong to God, and to Him we shall return."... "He is sufficient for us and He is a great guardian."

(Jews, Christians)

(189) Oh Lord, I declare You innocent of the actions these Jews, Christians, treacherous rulers, and those under their rule, and I apologize to You for these men who are failing to support our religion.

(Treacherous Rulers)

(189-90) (concerning the Jews) Of them God has said: "How is it that whenever they made a covenant or a pledge some of them throw it away? In fact, most of them do not believe."... Of them God said: "Do they have any share of what He possesses? If they did they would not give away such as the groove of a date stone."... Of them God said: "That is because they say 'We are under no obligation toward the gentiles'-they tell a lie against God and they know it."

(Shu'aib)

(190) Now how can we stop the infidels' evil and save the Muslim lands? To answer this question I say and success is with God-what righteous servant and Prophet of God Shu'aib said: "I only want to put things right as far as I can. I cannot succeed without God's help: I trust in Him, and always turn to Him." And so the way to stop the infidels' evil is jihad for the sake of God. As He said: So (Prophet) fight in God's way. You are accountable only to yourself. Urge the believers on. God may well curb the power of the disbelievers, for He is stronger in might and more terrible in punishment."

(Believers, Disbelievers)

(Believers)

(190) (concerning the umma) As God said: "You who believe! If you help God, He will help you, and make you stand firm.

(Disbelievers)

(194) ... "inscribed faith into their hearts,"... "did not fear anyone's reproach."

(197) "Learn from this, all you with insight." God Almighty said: "Are your disbelievers any better than these? Were you given an exemption in the Scripture?"

(198) For God said: "Whoever rejects false gods and believes in God has grasped the firmest handhold, one that will never break. God is all hearing and all knowing."

(Believers, Infidels)

(200) Helping to establish our religion incurs great costs, as is clearly illustrated in God's Book and in the life of His Messenger and his noble companions. Whoever cannot live up to this will not be able to help Islam, as was mentioned by God in His Book: "You who believe, if any of you renounce your faith God will soon replace you with

(Believers, Disbelievers)	<p>people He loves and who love Him, people who are humble towards the believers, and hard on the infidels, people who strive for the sake of God without fearing reproach from anyone."</p> <p>(202) God Almighty said: "So (Prophet) fight in God's way. You are accountable only for yourself. Urge the believers on. God may well curb the power of the disbelievers, for He is stronger in might and more terrible in punishment."</p>
(Brothers)	<p>(202-3) He must also be wary not to end up among those about whom God said: "They are miserly, and they order others to be the same."...or those whom He said: "God knows exactly who among you hinder others, who say to their brothers 'Come and join us', who hardly ever come out to fight." for he should not combine the sin of refraining from jihad with that of betrayal.</p>
<p>(Sheikhs: Rahman, Zu'air)</p> <p>(Americans, Their Collaborators)</p> <p>(Palestine Mujahidin)</p> <p>(Muslim Lands, Enemy)</p> <p>(Believers)</p>	<p>(206) "Lord, give us good in this world and in the Hereafter, and protect us from the torment of the Fire."</p> <p>We ask God to free our prisoners, especially the two Sheikhs Omar Abdul Rahman and Sai'id bin Zu'air, from the hands of the Americans and their collaborators and to free our brothers from Guantanamo Bay. We ask Him to help the mujahidin in Palestine stand firm and give them victory. We ask him to help them and all other Muslim lands against our enemy..God said: "People, a teaching from your Lord has come to you, a healing for what is in your hearts, and guidance and mercy for the believers." God always prevails in His purpose, though most people do not realize it." Our final prayer is praise be to God, Lord of the worlds.</p>
<p>Muhammad</p> <p>(God)</p>	<p>(187) And prayers and peace and blessings be upon our Prophet Muhammad, who said, "I was sent with a sword in my hands so that only God Almighty is worshipped without equal. He put my sustenance in the shadow of my spear, and disgraced and humiliated those who oppose my order. He who imitates another is no better than them." He also said: "Banish the polytheists from the Arabian peninsula."</p>
<p>(Arabian Peninsula)</p> <p>(Jews, Muslims, God)</p>	<p>(190-1) (concerning umma's victory over the Jews) ...as our Prophet told us: "The Day of Judgment will not come until the Muslims fight and kill the Jews. They will hide behind rocks and trees, and the rocks and trees will say: Oh Muslim, oh servant of God, there is a Jew behind me, so come and kill him. This is except for the boxthorn tree which is the tree of the Jews."</p>
(Enemy)	<p>(191) The hadith of the Prophet also contains a warning that the struggle against the enemy will be decided by fighting and killing, not by paralysis of the powers of our umma for decades through other means, like the deceptive idea of democracy.</p>
(God, Khalid ibn Walid)	<p>(196) The Prophet said: "Those who came before you perished because when one their nobles stole, they let him go, and when one of their weak men stole they punished him. So think about it, people of insight, for this is one of reasons for our predicament, and there is no strength or power save in God. I should also mention the story of how Khalid ibn Walid converted to Islam so that minds can be freed from following the blind. After he had converted later in life, Khalid was asked : "Where was your mind, that you did not see the light of Prophecy right before you for twenty years?" And he replied: "There were men in front of us whose dreams were like mountains." Imam</p>
(Imam Ahmad)	

	Ahmad said: "It is only from a lack of understanding that a man would blindly follow other men and their religion." (199) God's Prophet said: "A judge cannot make a judgment between two people when he is angry."
Waraqa bin Nawfal	(202) In the incident that occurred between the Prophet and Waraqa bin Nawfal, Waraqa said: "How I hope that I will be alive when your people banish you." The Prophet said: "Would they really do that?" and Waraqa said: "Yes, since no one like you has appeared without facing hostility. If I see the day when that happens, I will give you full support." So one who wants to embrace his religion fully ends up criticizing the people of falsehood, rather than coexisting as we can see with them, while he who wants to support his religion ends up striving to help himself and others, as Waraqa said: "If I see the day when that happens, I will give you full support." This was the case on the day of the pledge of Aqaba, for the victory of religion cannot be covered by lessons alone, but through time and money, as God's commodity is expensive.
(God)	
Revered Scholars/Helpers	(200-1) There is a world of difference between sitting and giving lessons on the one hand, and giving our souls and heads for the victory of God. That is why al-Abbas bin Abd al-Muttalib, who still followed the religion of his people wanted to be sure of his nephew Muhammad's position with the Helpers. So he said to them: "If you really are people of power, endurance, vision in war, and independence with hostility toward the Arabs, one and all, then they will unite against you." So I tell you: these characteristics were required for people of faith to protect the Messenger of God just as they are required today to protect his religion. When al-Abbas had finished speaking al-Bara bin Ma'rur who was one of the Helpers said: "We have heard what you said, and by God if there was anything in our hearts other than what we say, we would have said it, but we want to be faithful and true and to give our lives to protect the Messenger of God." So I tell you that this is how religion should be. It is based on loyalty truthfulness, and giving up you life to follow a certain path. When the people got up to pledge their allegiance, As' bin Zarara said: "Just a minute people of Yathrib. We should not pledge our lives in obedience before we know that he is the Messenger of God. If we do not expel him today, it would mean a parting of ways with all Arabs: it would mean that you and some of your best men would be killed. If you are ready to do this, then take him, and may your reward be with God. If you are afraid for yourselves, then expel him, for he has more excuse than you before God." So they said: "Stretch out your hand, for by God we will never break or forsake this pledge."
(al-Muttalib)	
(Helpers)	
(Arabs, People)	
(al-Bara)	
(As'ad bin Zarara)	
(Men, Arabs, People of Yathrib)	
(God)	
(Muslims)	(202) God's Messenger said in the Sahih of Muslims: "Whoever fights them with his hand is a believer, whoever does so with his tongue is not so much a mustard seed's worth of faith."
Sheikh of Islam	(Discussed under umma/jihad pg 204-5 for the purpose of better agency understanding concerning a particular passage: some of which contains writing from the hadith).
Umma/Jihad/Mujahidi/Muslims	(190) To begin with I bring you the good news that today, by the grace of God, our umma possesses enormous powers, sufficient to rescue Palestine and the rest of the Muslim lands. However, these powers have been fettered and we must work to release them. For our umma has been promised victory. If it has been delayed that is only because of our sins and our failure to help God...Our umma has also been promised victory over the Jews
(Palestine, Muslim Lands)	
(God)	

(Jews, Prophet)	as our Prophet told us.
(God, Muslims)	(191) Along with this good news, I should tell you about something to help us in our jihad for sake of God. Among them are stories of the battles and wars during the last two decades in which the Muslims were victorious, raising the self-confidence of the sons of our umma. This is because it is very important to mobilize our umma to defend itself against the Zionist-Crusader alliance. In fact the Islamic umma is the greatest human power, if only the religion were properly established. History has shown in recent centuries that it is able to fight and resist the so-called superpowers.
(Zionist-Crusader alliance)	
(Superpowers)	
(God, People, America)	(191-2) And I say, like these noble men (discussed under Caliph Umar) O you people, don't let America and its army frighten you, for by God we have struck them and defeated them time and again. They are the most cowardly people in battle. We have seen while fighting to defend ourselves against the American enemy that it depends mainly on psychological warfare, in light of the huge propaganda machine that it possesses, as well as on intense bombardment, which hides its most conspicuous Achilles heel, namely the fear, cowardice, and lack of fighting spirit of the American soldiers. If I had longer, I would tell you some almost unbelievable things that happened when we fought them in Tora Bora in Afghanistan, and I pray to God that He will give us time to discuss them in detail.
(Muslims, God, Caliphate)	(194-5) (as a response to 9/11 attacks) ...and the Muslims realized the importance of the doctrine of friendship and enmity in God. The spirit of brotherhood in faith amongst Muslims was strengthened, which can be considered a great step towards unification of the Muslims under the word of God and establishing the rightly guided Caliphate with the permission of God.
(Abu Hilala)	(195) (referring to 9/11 attackers) For they took the path of jihad to help their religion, as Abu Hilala said: "For victory there are reasons, and also for defeat, And all who inherit eternity have profited. The paths of nobility are many, but the shortest is one that sheds blood far and wide." ...There are many examples like these young heroes in our umma today, by the grace of God, but they are restrained and we must all pull together to unfetter them so they can become true mujahidin for the sake of God, because jihad is they way to honor our umma and preserve its security.
(Young Heroes, Umma, God)	
(Mujahidin)	
(Umma)	(195-6) There are many shackles and obstacles preventing the youth of our umma from setting off on the jihad, but we will only discuss the most important ones. Let me mention the authentic Prophetic hadith that benefits whoever is guided by it and destroys whoever strays from it (refer to Muhammad:196).
(Rulers, Corrupt Court Ministers)	(196) The most significant of these shackles and obstacles in our present time are the rulers, false witnesses among the scholars of evil, that corrupt court ministers, the writers for hire and others like them (refer to rulers injustice: 196-7) ...Our dispute with these rulers is not one that can be resolved piecemeal.
(False Witness of Scholars of Evil)	
(Writers-for-hire)	(197) Their authority has fallen foul of Islamic law for some time, and there is no way we should remain under it.
(Muslims)	(198) (Concerning the weak/treacherous leaders in error and those that follow them) The best you can say to them is that they are weak and profligate. All Muslims should try to advise them but if this advise is not accepted,

(Tyrants)	then they should warn them and beware of them. Muslims also have a duty to dissociate themselves from these tyrants, for it is no secret that to do so is not just a gratuitous action but one of the pillars of monotheism without which there can be no faith.
(Scholars Evil/Corrupt Statesmen)	(198) These people have erred from the path so we must reject them and warn them.
(Muslims, Zionist-Crusader, Umma)	(202) We will now discuss what are the duties of Muslims in the face of this Zionist Crusader war against our Islamic umma...Today the most important duty after faith is to repel and fight the enemy aggressor...So jihad is obligatory today on our entire umma, for our umma will stand in sin until her sons, her money, and her energies provide what it takes to establish a jihad that repels evil of the infidels from (harming) all the Muslims in Palestine and elsewhere. So it is a duty for Muslims to wage jihad to the best of their abilities, to confirm the truth and to lay bare falsehood...This great tradition of the Prophet applies to all believers, for inasmuch as we are believers then we are also mujahidin for the sake of God and our religion. The believer who cannot wage jihad with his hand or his tongue, must do so with his heart, which entails continuing to hate the enemies of God and calling for jihad against them, continuing to be friends with the believers and the mujahidin and praying for them, and helping them to feel the brotherhood of faith that joins Muslims everywhere from east to west. He must help them to feel that faith lies in one single tent and that the infidels are another tent so that God blesses our umma with a state that includes all Muslims under its authority, with His permission. He should give himself for the sake of God with both his hand and his tongue, although this is only the weakest part of faith. He should boycott the goods of America and her allies, and he should be very wary that he does not support falsehood, for helping the infidels over Muslims-even with a single word-is clear unbelief as the religious scholars have decreed.
(Enemy Aggressor)	
(Umma)	
(Infidels, Palestine Muslims)	
(Muhammad, Believers)	
(Friends, Muslims)	
(God, America, Infidels)	
(Muslims, Religious Scholars)	
(Youth)	(203) If individual jihad is an obligation upon our entire umma today, then it is even more so for the youth than it is for the old. Financial jihad, likewise, is an obligation today, particularly for those who have the resources, rather than those who don't. It is part of God's grace to our umma today that He has opened the hearts of many of the youth to pursue jihad for His sake, and to provide for His religion and His servants. So our umma has a duty to assist and encourage them, and to facilitate their affairs so that they can defend it from injustice, shame, and sin. It also has a duty to maintain the jihad that exists today and to help it with all its might, for this jihad is very dear to us in Palestine, Chechnya, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Indonesia, the Philippines, and other lands of Islam. The banner of jihad will only remain aloft in these states, despite the enemies fierce attacks, by the grace of God and by the indescribable dedication of the mujahidin, giving their blood, sweat, and tears. We pray to God to accept them as martyrs.
(God)	
(Muslim States)	
(Enemies)	
(Muslims, Infidels)	(204) The umma today is at a crucial point, and it must not show weakness or transgress. The ranks of Muslims in it should unite against the ranks of infidels, and it should also forsake the life of frivolity and decadence, and stand up and prepare for the real life of killing, fighting, striking, and injuring. You have the words of the Sheikh of Islam at a time of strife similar to that which we are in now: "You should know, may God reform you, that the
(Sheikh of Islam)	

(Muhammad, God)	Prophet is widely reputed to have said: 'Until the Day of Judgment there will always be a group among my umma that manifests the truth, unharmed by those who have abandoned or quarreled with them.' This dispute divides people into three groups: the victorious party, who are the mujahidin against these corrupt people; the opposing party, and those biased towards them, who show contempt for Muslims; and the disloyal party, who refrain from jihad, even if they otherwise follow Islam correctly. So every man should decide whether he is with the victorious party or with either of the other two, since there is no fourth party."
(Muslims, Victorious Party)	
(God, Emigrants, Helpers)	(204-5) The Sheikh went on to say: "By God even if the first generation of Emigrants and Helpers, like Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, Ali, and others, were here at this time, their greatest deed would be jihad against this criminal people. Such a raid as this only missed by those whose trade has lost out and who have been humiliated and deprived of great fortune in this life and the next." And here he ended his speech.
(Youth, al-Shatbi)	(205) So, then I urge the youth to think for themselves about jihad, for they are the first of those obliged to pursue it today, as al-Shatbi has pointed out. And know that targeting Americans and Jews the length and breadth of the earth is one of the greatest duties and one of the best ways to be close to God. I also urge the youth to pay attention to the truthful scholars and dedicated preachers, and to make use of their need for secrecy, especially in the military operations of jihad. I bring you all and those in Palestine particularly the good news that your mujahidin brothers are sticking to the path of jihad to target the Jews and Americans, and that with the permission of God, the Mombasa operation was just the beginning of the deluge. We will not forsake you, so keep fighting for the blessing of God. We are with you, fighting with God's permission.
(Jews, Americans)	
(Scholars, Preachers)	
(Mujahidin Brothers)	
(Palestine, God)	
(Brothers in Faith)	(205) Before I finish I will urge myself and my brothers in faith to jihad for the sake of God with these words: I shall lead my stead and hurl us both at the target. Oh Lord, if my end is nigh, may my tomb not be draped in green mantles. No, let it be the belly of an eagle perched up on high with his kin. So let me be a martyr, dwelling in a high mountain pass among the band of knights who, united in devotion to God, descend to face armies. When they leave this world, they leave trouble behind, and near their Day of Judgment, as told in Scriptures.
(God)	
(Martyr, Band of Knights)	
(Armies)	
(Muslim Brothers, God)	(206) In conclusion I urge my Muslim brothers and myself to be devoted to God both outwardly and inwardly, to be humble before Him....and I urge both you and myself to have God in our minds and to read and reflect upon the Qur'an for it contains moral lessons, cures, guidance, and mercy.
Caliph Umar/al-Muthanna	(191) Historians tell us that al-Muthanna al-Shaibani came to Medina seeking the Caliph Umar's support in fighting the Persians. For three days Umar petitioned people's help, but not a single person came forward. Realizing the fear in people's hearts at the difficulty of fighting a superpower, Umar told al-Muthanna to describe how God had granted him victory against the Persians in order to rid them of their fear. So al-Muthanna began to tell them what had happened and to motivate the, saying: "O you people, don't let them frighten you, for we have defeated and humiliated the Persians, capturing the best parts of the agricultural region of Iraq. We outwitted them and gained ascendancy over them. So the people were inspired. Abu Ubeid al-Thaqafi stood up and was given the banner by
(God, Persians)	
(People, Iraq)	
(Abu Ubeid al-Thaqafi)	

Mujahidin/Jihad Operations

Sons of Afghanistan

(Soviet Union, God)

(Muslim Supporters, Russians)

(Arab Brothers/Helpers)

(America)

Lebanese Resistance

(Sons of Israel, Lebanon, America)

Afghan Arabs/Brothers

(America, God)

(Youth of Jihad)

Sons of the Region

(America, Jews, Saudi Arabia)

(Americans)

Mujahidin

(Enemy, God, America)

(Yemeni Government)

(Collaborator, Regions Govts.)

Afghanistan Mujahidin

Umar and the people followed him into battle.

(192) To begin with, I could remind you of the defeat of some of the superpowers at the hands of the mujahidin, in particular the defeat of the former Soviet Union, which took place, by the grace of God, after ten years of fierce fighting at the hands of the sons of Afghanistan and their Muslim supporters. Likewise the defeat of the Russians in Chechnya, where the mujahidin provided the most amazing examples of self-sacrifice and with their Arab brothers and helpers, smashed the arrogance of the Russians and inflicted upon them defeat after defeat. The Russians withdrew in disarray after the first war and then came back with American support. But still they are suffering crushing defeats at the hands of a small group of believers, and we pray to God to help them stand firm and be victorious.

(192) I could also remind you of the defeat of the American forces in the year 1982, when the sons of Israel destroyed Lebanon, and the Lebanese resisted. They sent a truck loaded with explosives into a US marine base in Beirut, sending more than 240 of them to Hell, the worst possible fate.

(192-3) Then after the Second Gulf War, America put her armies into Somalia and killed 13,000 Muslims there is no strength or power save in God. But then the lions of Islam, the Afghan Arabs and their brothers leapt on them and rubbed their arrogance in the mud, killing many of them, destroying their tanks and downing their planes. So America and her allies fled in the dark of night, without disturbing anyone, praise and glory be to God. During that time, the youth of jihad prepared explosives against the Americans in Aden, and when they went off all the coward Americans could do was run away in less than 24 hours.

(193) Then in the year 1995 there was an explosion in Riyadh that killed four Americans, the clear message of which was that the sons of the region objected to the American policy of supporting the Jews and occupying Saudi Arabia. Then in the following year, another explosion in Khobar killed 19 Americans and wounded more than 400, and the Americans were forced to move their biggest bases from the cities to the desert.

(193) Then after that, in 1998, the mujahidin gave America a clear warning to stop supporting the Jews and to leave Saudi Arabia, but the enemy rejected it and the mujahidin were able, by the grace of God to deal them two mighty blows in East Africa. After that, America was warned once again and failed to respond, so God helped the mujahidin to successfully implement a great martyrdom operation, demolishing the American destroyer USS Cole in Aden. This operation was a solid blow in the face of the American military and also exposed the fact that Yemeni government was a collaborator, like the rest of the regions governments.

(193)...we strike them (America) because of their injustice toward us in the Islamic World...the mujahidin decided to overcome this obfuscation (further explained in injustice: America) and to bring the battle right into their heartland. And on September 11 2001...(goes on to discuss Zionist-Alliance injustice).

(203-4) I bring you the good news that the jihad in Afghanistan is going well today, and that things are improving for the mujahidin, by the grace of God. Here we are in the third year of fighting, and America has not been able to

(America)	achieve its goals. Instead it has become embroiled in an Afghan quagmire. And as for what America considered
(Afghanistan)	to be victories in the first months of the war, after they captured some cities as a result of withdrawal of the
(Afghans, USSR)	mujahidin, it is no secret to military experts generally, and to those who know Afghanistan particularly, that this
(Taliban)	was a tactical withdrawal in line with the nature of the Taliban state and the Afghans generally throughout their
	long history of guerrilla warfare. For the Taliban had no official army with which it could defend these cities, and
	that is why the Afghans resorted to their hidden powers of guerrilla warfare from the depths of their rugged
	mountains. This is the same tactic by which they previously conquered, by the grace of God, the army of the USSR
(Americans, God)	which was ensured after they began to use guerrilla warfare and increased the rate of operations to two a day.
	(204) So the Americans are in a sorry plight today, unable either to protect their forces or to form a government
	that can protect its own leader, let alone others. And by the grace of God, all the mujahidin have been organized
	together this past year, all of them eager for the jihad and recognizing it as their duty. If it were not for the lack
	of resources, it would have been easy for them to increase the amount of daily operations to the previous level in
(Russians, Palestine, Afghanistan)	the jihad against the Russians, which would be unbearable for the Americans. So the umma has a duty today to
	support the jihad generally, while Palestine and Afghanistan are the most important axes that should be focused on,
(Jews, Allies of Jews/Americans)	to bleed the Jews, the allies of America, and to bleed the Americans, the allies of the Jews. America's defeat in
	Afghanistan, with God's permission will be the beginning of the end for it. With God's will, you will not suffer any
	harm from us, nor from our brothers the Afghan mujahidin, and we hope we will not suffer any harm from you.
9/11 Attackers: U.S. Awakens	(194) There came a group of young believers with disheveled hair and dusty feet, who had been chased all over
(Young Believers, God)	the world. But God had guided them, firmed up their belief, and "inscribed faith in their hearts," so they "did not fear
	anyone's reproach." They sought to be with God, and deprived themselves of sleep while injustice was being
	done. They poured out the water of life, not the water of shame. So they attacked the enemy with their own
	planes in a brave and beautiful operation, the like of which humanity has never seen before, destroying the idols of
(America, Ministry of Defense)	America. They struck at the very heart of the Ministry of Defense, and they hit the American economy right at its
	heart too. They rubbed America's nose in the dirt and wiped its arrogance in the mud. As the twin towers of New
	York collapsed, something even greater and more enormous collapsed with them: the myth of the great America
	and the myth of democracy. It became clear to all that America's values are the lowest, and the myth of the "land
(CIA)	of the free" was destroyed, as was the myth of American national security and the CIA, all praise and glory to
	God.
	(194-5) One of the most important positive effects of our attacks on New York and Washington was to expose the
(Crusaders, Muslims, America)	reality of the struggle between the Crusaders and the Muslims and to demonstrate the enormous hostility that the
	Crusaders feel towards us. The attacks revealed the American wolf in its true ugliness. The entire world woke up
	from its slumber...It also became clear to people that America, this unjust power, can be struck down and
(American Population, Govt.)	humiliated. And for the first time, most of the American population is aware of the reality of the Palestinian issue,

(America, Superpower)	and that what happened to them in Manhattan was a result of the unjust policies of their government.
(Unjust Leadership, Young Muslims)	(195) We can conclude that America is a superpower, with enormous military strength and vast economic power but that all this is built on foundations of straw. So it is possible to target those foundations and focus on their weakest points which, even if you strike only one-tenth of them, then the whole edifice will totter and sway and relinquish its unjust leadership of the world. This group of young Muslims, despite the fact that the international alliance stands against them were able to prove to the world that it is possible to resist and to fight the so-called superpowers. They were able to defend their religion and to promote the causes of their umma more than the governments and peoples of fifty countries in the Islamic world has done.
(Umma, Governments, Peoples, (Islamic World) R Scholars/Karzai/Arab Rulers	(197) There isn't enough time to discuss this issue properly here, but in any case we have mentioned what religious scholars have said in Communique 17 of the Committee for Advice and Reform. Following this we say: can a Muslim tell other Muslims to pledge themselves to Karzai and cooperate with him to establish Islam, to remove injustice and to foil America in its design? Impossible and inconceivable, since Karzai is a quisling brought in by America, and supporting him against Muslims is one of the ten acts contradictory to Islam that puts the perpetrator beyond the pale of his religious community. And here we should ask ourselves: what is the difference between a Persian Karzai and an Arab Karzai?
(America, Muslims)	(199) Whoever has read about the righteous imams in previous times of strife, like Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal and others, would know the difference between genuine scholars and sycophants, as can be read in the Biographies of the Distinguished Righteous Men and elsewhere. As the poet said: If we stitch together this life by tearing apart the next, Then neither the next life nor this will be ours.
(Religious Community)	(200) And another organization was protected by God from conforming with and praising the traitorous leaders. They made sure to stay under the banner of enjoining good and forbidding evil, and made laudable efforts in calling people to God. But they were not fully prepared for the aforementioned pressures, which were very great indeed, particularly the costs of emigration and jihad...except for those on whom God was merciful in those tense times.
(Persian Karzai, Arab Karzai)	(201) (Concerning the things discussed under Muhammad 200-1) These are the traits of those who want to protect and establish the religion of Islam. And today this is what the mujahidin say to the scholars and preachers who love the truth and do not appease falsehood. You have raised the banner of Islam, and you know that it is truth the religion of God's Messenger. Your doing so means opposition to all Arab and non-Arab governments on earth; it means that your best men will be killed and that you will constantly be at war. If you can bear this patiently, then protect the banner and may your reward be with God. But if you fear for yourselves at all, then leave the banner of defense and resistance, but you will be more forgivable before God if you do not come between the youth of our umma and their jihad for the sake of God.
(Group Divided)	(202) The Sheikh of Islam ibn Taymiyya said: "As for repelling the enemy aggressor who corrupts religion and the world, there is no greater duty after faith than uncompromising struggle against him."
(Traitorous Leaders)	
(God)	
(Mujahidin, Scholars/Preachers)	
(Muhammad)	
(Arab/non-Arab Governments)	
(God, Youth of Umma)	
Sheikh ibn Taymiyya	

Statement # 20 Injustice**Date of Statement: 10/19/2003****Actors****Forms of Injustice**

Crusader campaign

(p208) You should know that this war is a new Crusader campaign against the Islamic world, and it is a war of destiny for the entire umma. God only knows what serious ramifications it might have for Islam and its people.

Legislative councils of repres.

(208) Voices have been raised in Iraq as previously in Palestine, Egypt, Jordan, Yemen, and others calling for a peaceful democratic solution in cooperation with apostate governments, or with the Jewish and Crusader invaders in stead of fighting for God.

(208) These are the people who sapped the energies of the umma from the righteous men and followed human desires instead; these are the ones who followed democracy, the religion of ignorance. By entering the legislative councils these men have strayed from truth as well as leading many others astray.

(208) How can these men enter the council of polytheism the legislative council of representatives, which Islam has destroyed? Such an action destroys the head of faith, and what else do they have? And then they claim that they are in the right.

(209) Islam is the religion of God, and the legislative councils of representatives are the religion of ignorance. Those who have obeyed the commanders and scholars in making permissible what is forbidden like entering the legislative councils or making forbidden what is permissible has taken gods other than God, and there is no strength or power save in God.

America

(209) It is no secret that any government formed by America is a traitorous, puppet government, like the rest of the governments in the region, like those of Karzai and Mahmoud Abbas which have been established in order to put a stop to jihad...The Road Map is merely the latest in a series of conspiracies to end the blessed intifada.

Actors

Forms of Agency

Iraq: Muslim Brothers

(p207) ...to our Muslim brothers in Iraq...Descendants of Sa'd and Muthanna, Khaled and Ma'na, descendants of Salah al-Din!

(207-8) I salute you and your blessed jihad, for by God you have massacred the enemy and brought joy to the hearts of Muslims everywhere, especially in Palestine. God has given you the best reward and your jihad is appreciated. God has made you stand firm and guided your fire.

(208) It is little wonder that you have managed to do what you have done to America, bring this shame down upon it, for you are the descendants of the great knights who brought Islam as far east as China.

Muslims/Iraqi People

(209) I direct my call to Muslims generally and to the people of Iraq specifically, and I say to them: Make sure you do not collaborate with the Crusader forces of America and their supporters. Whoever cooperates with America under whatever name or title is an apostate and an infidel...The same goes for those who collaborate with infidel parties, like the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party and the Kurdish democratic parties and others like them.

(209) Jihad must go on until an Islamic government is formed that rules according to the law of God...Muslims this is no joke; it is a serious matter. Anyone who can muster any effort, anyone who has an opinion who has principals strength, or money: now is the time for it. In situations like these, you find out people's true nature. The righteous man learns who is a liar, and the zealot learns who is lazy. And the free, noble, strong Muslim women are expected to play their role too.

(Rabi'a, Mudirr, Kurds)

(210) Muslims, people of Rabi'a and Mudirr, and Kurds: raise your banner, and may God raise you up high. Those those infidels will not scare you with their weapons for God has weakened their schemes and stopped their progress. Don't let their numbers frighten you, for their hearts are empty and they are falling into military disarray, especially after the blessed day in New York, by the grace of God.

God

(Bush and America)

(208) I am rejoicing in the fact that America has become embroiled in the quagmires of the Tigris and Euphrates. Bush thought that Iraq and its oil would be easy prey, and now here he is stuck in dire straits, by the grace of God. Here in America today, screaming at the top of its voice as it falls apart in front of the whole world. Praise to God, who has resisted America's deceitful strategies to the point where it is begging for help from mercenaries and scum from east to west.

(Legislat council of representatives)

(208-9) They are making a big mistake and God knows that Islam has nothing to do with them.

(211) Lord, this is one of your days so take the hearts of the youth of Islam and commit them to jihad for Your sake. Lord keep them to their belief and make them stand firm. Guide their fire and unite their hearts in harmony. Lord bring victory to Your servants, the holy warriors, wherever they may be in Palestine, Iraq, Chechnya, Kashmir, the Philippines, and Afghanistan. Lord give comfort to our brothers who are imprisoned in tyrants' jails, in America Guantanamo, in Occupied Palestine, in Riyadh, everywhere. You have power over everything. Lord give us

	patience, make us stand firm and help us struggle against the infidels. "God is victorious, although most people do not know it."
Youth of Islam	(208) ...youth of Islam wherever you are, and especially in the neighboring countries and Yemen: You must roll up your sleeves, prepare for jihad, and follow the truth. Be sure not to follow those who are victims of their own desires and are a burden on the land or those who submit to the oppressors, spread lies about you, and hold you back from the blessed jihad.
Jihadists/Muslims	(208) We should therefore make note briefly, of the danger of this wrong-headed, errand. idea which contravenes God's law and stands in the way of fighting for Him. (208) How can you obey those who never fought for God, while remaining true to the duty of jihad? Are you not thinking?
(Brother holy warriors: Iraq)	(209) And I say to my brother holy warriors in Iraq: I swear by God that I share your concerns; I feel the same as you do and I am glad that you are engaged in jihad. God knows if I could find a way to get to your battlefields, I would not hesitate.
(9/11 attacks)	(210) After the attack and its repercussions their losses reached over a trillion dollars that is a thousand million dollars and they have recorded a budget deficit for the third year running, breaking the record this year with more than 450 thousand million dollars in deficit, thanks and blessings to God.
(OBL sends a multi-message)	(210) To my brother holy warriors in Iraq, to the heroes in Baghdad, the house of the caliphate and all around: Ansar al-Islam, the descendants of Salah al-Din: free men of Ba'quouba, Monsul, al-Anbar, those who emigrated for the sake of God to fight for the victory of their religion, leaving their fathers and sons, leaving their family and homeland: You are the soldiers of God, you are the arrows of Islam, and you are the first line of defense of this umma today. (210-1) The Romans have gathered under the banner of the cross to fight the nation of beloved Muhammad, prayers and peace be upon him, so think of the rewards of your jihad. I hope that the Muslims will not be harmed by you, for you have asked for God's protection, and placed great hope in Him. So do not shame the Muslims today but act as Sa'd, may God be pleased with him, did at the Battle of the Trench, where he said: "He lingered awhile the lamb follows the camel. Death is no matter, if my time has come." Yes death is no matter if the time has come. (209-10) "This is the path of our Prophet Muhammad; it is the path of victory for our religion, and the path to the establishment of the state of Muslims. Stick to it, for only the righteous do so."
Muhammad	

Statement # 21 Injustice**Date of Statement: 01/4/2004****Actors****Forms of Injustice****Zionist-Crusaders/America**

(Apostates, Caliphate)

(Mujahidin, Palestine)

(Crusader Media Campaigns)

(Islamic Nation, Saudi Arabia)

(Muslims, Believers, God)

(America, Gulf States)

(Whole World, Big Powers)

(United States)

(Occupiers, West)

(Ancestors Bilad al Sham)

(West, Hypocrites)

(United States)

Arab States/Contributors

(p214) ...grand plots that have been hatched against our nations...such as the occupation of the Crusaders, with the help of the apostates, of Baghdad, the house of the caliphate under the pretext weapons of mass destruction.

There is also the savage attempt to destroy the al-Aqsa Mosque and destroy jihad and the mujahidin in beloved Palestine, by employing the pretext of the road map and the Geneva peace initiative.

(214) This is in addition to the crusader media campaigns against the Islamic nation. These campaigns show how malicious are the evils they harbor against the nation in general and against the people of Saudi Arabia in particular.

The Americans' intentions have also become clear in their statements about the need to change the beliefs, curricula, and morals of Muslims in order to become more tolerant, as they put it. In clearer terms, it is a religious-economic war. They want the believers to desist from worshipping God so that they can enslave them, occupy their countries, and loot their wealth. It is strange that they want to dictate democracy and Americanize our culture through their jet bombers. Therefore, what is yet to come is even more malicious and devilish. The occupation of Iraq is a link in the Zionist-Crusader chain of evil. Then comes the full occupation of the rest of the Gulf states to set the stage for controlling and dominating the whole world. For the big powers believe that the Gulf and the Gulf States are the key to controlling the world, due to the presence of the largest oil reserves there.

(215) The occupation of Baghdad is only one practical stage in what the United States has already thought through and planned. The entire region was targeted in the past, it is being targeted now, and will remain targeted in the future.

(217) I say that the West's occupation of our country is old, yet new, and that the confrontation and conflict between us and them started centuries ago. This confrontation and conflict will go on because the conflict between right and falsehood will continue until Judgment Day.

(217) There can be no dialogue with the occupiers except with weapons. If we look at the nature of the conflict between us and the West, we find that when they invaded our countries more than 2,500 years ago they did not have a sound religion or ethics. Their motive was to steal and plunder. Our ancestors in Bilad al-Sham remained under occupation for more than ten decades.

(218) ...the West today is doing its utmost to tarnish jihad and kill anyone seeking jihad. The West is supported in this endeavor by hypocrites.

(231) ...fighting comes about through the big powers' need for survival. Just read history if you want-including history of America, which has ignited dozens of wars throughout only six decades. This is because this was one of its most pressing needs. When the United States makes a sincere decision to stop wars in the world, it knows before anyone else that that day will mark the beginning of its collapse and the disintegration of its states.

(216) (concerning the deviation of umma from the straight path) ...active forces that caused this deviation. We will

(Princes, Ulema, Preachers of Evil)
(Media Persons, Followers)

find without much effort that these reasons are the princes, ulema, and preachers of evil, and those who have done injustice to the Islamic action, as well as the media persons of these states and those who followed them. The bitter truth is that the princes have managed to seduce many of the individuals in these groups, and have muffled the voices of those who refused to join them.

(Ruler, God, Infidels, UN, Islam)
(Muslims, Tyrant Supporters)
(Leaders, Media People)

(216) ...ruler does not follow God's revelations and path and champions the infidels by extending military facilities to them, or implements United Nations resolutions against Islam and Muslims...Those forces that consciously support tyrants through their own free will are partners in the injustice being done to Muslims...leaders who supported those tyrants...The media people who belittle religious duties such as jihad and other rituals are atheists and renegades. This is as far as concerns those forces that have diverted the course of our march within.

(Umma, Zionist-Crusader)
(Material Forces)

(218) (referring to the Umma resisting the Zionist-Crusader in the past) The republics and kingdoms embraced several earthly religions in the region, like pan-Arabism, socialism, communism, democracy, and other doctrines. The material forces have proved beyond any shadow of doubt that they surrendered to the US-led Zionist-Crusader alliance. The people followed these forces for a long time, only to find they are still where they were at the start.

Arab Rulers/Roman Crusaders

(217) When our adherence to our religion weakened and our rulers became corrupt, we became weak and the Romans returned, waging their infamous Crusader wars. They occupied the al-Aqsa Mosque (for 90 years).

Arab Governments/Regimes
(Crusader, Islamic World)
(Ottoman State)
(King Abd-al-Aziz al Saud)
(Al-Sharif Hussain/His Sons)
(Palestine, British)

(219) Their (the Arab governments') position on the Crusader aggression in World War One was as follows: When they attacked the Islamic world and sought to topple the Ottoman state, these rulers rose up against the Ottoman state, divided the Muslims, and made an effective contribution in terms of fighting this state, thus leading to its fall under the Crusader occupation and division into more than 50 countries. The prominent role in this treason was played by King Abd-al-Aziz al Saud and Al-Sharif Hussain and his sons.

(King Abd al Saud, Zionist Org.)

(219-20) The Palestine Question: The position of these rulers on this pivotal issue has for nine decades been based on pledging to the British to allow the Jews to establish a state on the land of Palestine, letting down the people of Palestine, and misleading them on several occasions into laying down their weapons. The most prominent of these attempts was made by King Abd-al-Aziz al-Saud. When the Zionist organization, or the so-called United Nations, issued its resolution on dividing Palestine and establishing a Jewish state in it, the Arab rulers stood idly by. Even today, the members of this organization remain. They have done nothing, except for shameful actions, to prevent this from happening. A fabricated war erupted after the Jewish state was established one year after the resolution was passed to partition (Palestine). Then the Arab rulers agreed to sign a temporary truce in response to the request of the United States, which asked them to sign a permanent truce after one year. Thus they almost buried Palestine and its people alive, but God protected them.

(Jewish State, Arab Rulers)

(United States, God)

(220) The conspiracies continued, including the Madrid conference and what came after it. The efforts continued to abort the first intifada. In the Sharm al-Sheikh conference in 1419 Hegira, they supported the Jews and Christians

(Sharm al-Sheikh)

(Palestine)
(Jews, Christians)

against our oppressed people in Palestine. In addition, the Beirut initiative recognized the Jews and a large part of the land they occupied in Palestine. The most recent conspiracy is the road map. In the course of these conspiracies, they gave some money to people of Palestine to throw dust in their eyes. History attests that they have restored nothing of Palestine during the past nine decades.

(Families Mujahidin, Martyrs)
(Rulers, Palestinian Families)

(220) What is surprising and disgusting as well is the position of those rulers toward the families of the mujahidin who carried out martyrdom operations. While these families were expecting good deeds from them, the rulers responded with evil. Not only did they condemn the martyrdom operations but they also came up with something that is more annoying and distressing. Look at the conditions of these families in Palestine as well as the conditions of our sisters the widows, whose husbands were killed by the Jews. Some of them sacrificed their sons for the sake of Islam and Islamic sanctuaries. After the possessors of thrones and armies abandoned them, the Jewish soldiers came to corrupt the land of Jerusalem (further discussed under Jews/Israel 220).

(Abdallah bin-Abd-al-Aziz)
(Well-doers, Widow, Families)

(221) Unfortunately, the conceited, arrogant prince, Abdallah bin-Abd-al-Aziz, ordered that these well-doers be prevented from sending money to these families so that the martyrdom operations would stop. What kind of heart is that to issue such an order? Is it a heart of a human being, or is it a heart made of stone? What kind of meanness is it to prevent small amounts of money from reaching a widow, an orphan, or a poor person? Can such cruel-hearted people bring us good or defend our countries and peoples? Those hypocrites, worshippers of money, claim that they are our leaders and will defend us.

(Gulf States, Iraqi Forces)
(Crusaders, United States)

(221) The Gulf states proved their total inability to resist the Iraqi forces. As is well known, they sought help from the Crusaders, led by the United States. How can these states stand up to the United States and the Iraqi forces which are being formed these days under American command?

(Jair al-Sabah, His Comrades)
(Iraqi, Kuwait, Gulf Rulers)
(America, People)
(Iraqi Governing Council)
(IGC Members, America)
(Arab State, Arab League, Umma)

(221-2) The decision made by Jair al-Sabah and his comrades following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait when they fled the country-is the same decision that will be made by all Gulf rulers, unless they reach an agreement with the United States to leave their thrones and be given other jobs to deceive the people and protect US interests, pledging not to ask about oil revenues as happened with their agents in the transitional Iraqi Governing Council. What proves their defeatism and submission to the occupier is their acceptance to receive IGC members and cooperate with them. In short these states came to America's help and backed it in its attack against an Arab state which is bound to them by covenants of joint defense agreements. They reiterated these covenants at the Arab League just a few days before the US attack, only to violate them utterly. This shows their position on the umma's basic causes.

(Regimes, Iraq, UN)

(222-3) These regimes wavered too much before taking a stand on using force and attacking Iraq. At times they totally rejected participation and at other times they fell into line with the UN. Then they went back to their first option and in fact, the lack of participation in the invasion of Iraq was in line with domestic opinion in these states.

(US, Umma)

However, they finally submitted and succumbed to US pressure, opening up air, land, and sea bases to contribute

(Treacherous, Apostate Regimes)	toward the US campaign, despite the immense repercussions of this move. The most important of these repercussions is that this is a sin against one of the Islamic tenets and high treason against the umma. Such a move must also stir up popular anger and pave the way for bringing down these treacherous, apostate, and powerless regimes. The most significant danger in their view was the prospect that the door would be opened for armed forces from abroad to bring down dictatorial regimes especially after they had seen the arrest of their former confederate in treason and collaboration with the United States, which ordered him to ignite the first Gulf war against Iran, which fought back. The war consumed everything, plunging the region into a chaos from which is has not emerged to this day. The wars that followed were repercussions of this war. These states are aware that their turn will come. They do not have the will to make the difficult decision to confront US aggression, in addition to their belief that they do not possess the material resources for that. Indeed, they were prevented from establishing a large military force when they were forced to sign secret pledges and documents long ago.
(Dictatorial Regimes)	
(Iran, Arab Region)	
(Umma, America, Crusader)	(223) What shows their position toward the umma's causes is the support they provided to the United States by opening their bases for its crusader campaign against Afghanistan; this is obvious support for the infidels against an Islamic country, and a cardinal sin that renders one an infidel.
(Afghanistan, Infidels)	
(Islamic Country)	(223) One of the obvious facts that showed what kind of position the Gulf rulers were ready to take when they came under US pressure to hand over oilfields to the United States was their collective support for Zayid's Initiative, which called on Saddam Hussein to hand over Iraq, its people, and its oil to the United States; to leave power; and to accept political asylum under the pretext of sparing Iraqi people bloodshed. Saud al-Faisal repeatedly and shamelessly underlined this principle. Ostensibly, and based on what has been said this apparently shows that if they come under US pressure and face a US desire to occupy the oil regions the Gulf rulers including the ruler of Riyadh will take the same stand.
(Gulf Rulers, US, Zayid)	
(Saddam Hussein, Iraq)	
(Saud al-Faisal)	
(Ruler of Riyadh)	
(Rulers', US, Arabian Peninsula)	(224) The most obvious reflection of the rulers' attitude towards resistance to this aggression is the stance adopted by their leader when US tanks entered the Arabian peninsula and its waters were disturbed by the Crusader aircraft carriers that came carrying the most sophisticated ammunitions and weapons, to occupy the region. Their leader who taught them submission, came out to address the public in order to instill into the nation submission, humiliation, and subjugation, and said: "these troop concentrations are not for war". How shameful is this?
(Crusader, Their Leader)	
(Arab Region, Public, Nation)	
(Riyadh Ruler, Americans)	(224) For example, the Riyadh ruler is capable of abandoning the eastern, central, and other provinces to the Americans. Likewise he is capable of abandoning the northern province and part of the western province to the Jews, in exchange for keeping Jazan, Samitah, and Abu Arish. Those who read and understand the histories of kings know that they are capable of committing more than these concessions, except those who enjoyed the mercy of God. Indeed the rulers have practically started to sell out the sons of the land by pursuing and imprisoning them, and by unjustly and wrongly accusing them of becoming like the Al-Khawarij sect, who held Muslims to be
(Jews, Arab Lands)	
(Kings, God, Rulers)	
(Sons, Al-Kharij Sect, Infidels)	
(Martyrs)	

(Rabi al-Awwal, US)
 (Saudi Arabia, Crusaders)
 (Muslims)

(Regime)
 (Saudi Arabia, Nation)

(Atheistic Rulers)
 (Islamic Groups)
 (Dr Yusuf Abu Hilala)

(Muslims, Caliphate)

(Enemies, Unbelievers)
 (Servants, Imams, Muslims)
 (Crusaders' Army, Pious Men)

(Arabian Peninsula)
 (Gulf Rulers)
 (Muslims, Enemies)
 (Umma, Countries)
 (Rulers, Crusader)

infidels and went to excess in killing them. We hold them to be martyrs. Sufficient unto them is God.

(225) (referring to misdeeds of the rulers of Riyadh) All this happened before the Riyadh explosions in Rabi al-Awwal of this year (May 2003) which the regime cites as a pretext for its actions. This campaign came as apart of a drive to implement the US orders in the hope that they will win its approval, even though Saudi Arabia was the regime which provoked the youths by opening up the country to the Crusaders in violation of religion, in disregard for the Muslims sentiments, and in defiance of the manliness of the men of Saudi Arabia.

(225-6) Consequently, it was the regime which really disturbed security. Because this statement cannot accommodate all my thoughts in this regard, I discussed the issue in a special message addressed to Saudi Arabia, which I hope will reach you soon. What sums up the situation of the nation, the furious attacks of the enemies against it, the treason of the atheistic rulers, their betrayal of religion, their tyrannical treatment of their peoples, and the failure of Islamic groups to wage jihad are the following lines of poetry which are mostly written by Dr. Yusuf Abu Hilala, who says:..The great nation has become a plaything in the hands of the priest and the rabbi. It is like a nation that, in terms of standing (on its own two feet) it makes no difference regardless of whether it remains idle or stands up. Now that calamities are eliminating it, its leaders are sitting on their thrones like dusty skeletons. Jerusalem, woe unto Jerusalem, its chastity has been desecrated, and Muslims have chosen not to engage in jihad. Baghdad, O house of the caliphate, woe unto you, why has your chastity been defiled by rabble? Why did those who betrayed their religion yesterday choose to turn a blind eye to the raids on your sanctuaries? Are you ferocious lions when dealing with the people, and rabbits and ostriches when it comes to dealing with Jews? I no longer have a home whose shelter I can seek, for my homeland has been desecrated and set on fire. O my nation, I am a bird who has seen a thicket, may I sing? Will I be blamed if I do? Am I to blame if I present you with a fact; namely, that the rulers are our mortal enemies? They're unbelievers; yet they are called the servants and imams of Muslims. They pretend to be our support when in point of fact they are our disease and death. The Crusaders' army has enveloped the universe; where are the pious, magnanimous and audacious men?

(226) Based on the above, the extent of the real danger, which the region in general and the Arabian peninsula in particular is being exposed to is evident. It has become clear that the Gulf rulers are not qualified to apply religion and defend Muslims. In fact, they have provided evidence that they are implementing the schemes of the enemies of our umma and religion and that they are qualified to abandon its countries and peoples. Now, after we have become aware of the rulers' approach, we should examine the policy they have been pursuing. Anyone who examines the policy of those rulers will easily see that they follow their whims and desires and their personal interests and Crusader loyalties. Commitment to Islam is not one of the constants in their policies and religious practices. They believe in a part of the Book and reject the rest in conformity with their whims to keep their thrones, a grievous act of infidelity.

(227) To these rulers, the only major objective is remaining in power. Therefore, the flaw does not involve a

(Rulers, God)	secondary issue, such as personal corruption, which is confined to the palace of the ruler. The flaw is in their fundamental approach. This (approach) came about when a malicious belief and destructive principle spread in most walks of life, so that absolute supremacy and obedience became due to the ruler, and not to the religion of God. This means that slavery is imposed by the ruler and not by Almighty God. This is the important reality that the rulers manipulate, even if they use Islam as a cover, particularly in some countries, where they assigned an army of ulema, preachers, writers, and the entire mass media for about a century to exaggerate the meaning of obedience to the ruler, deviating from the restrictions to this concept as stipulated in God's religion. Therefore, the ruler became an idol to be worshipped instead of God-this is the current situation in Saudi Arabia. If any of the ulema refuses to flatter the rulers, his fate will be prison until he is forced to flatter them. In other countries they use parliaments and democracy as a cover for this. Thus, all Arab countries currently suffer from great deterioration in all walks of life, in both religious and worldly matters. It is enough to know that the economy of all Arab countries is weaker than the economy of one country that had once been part of our Islamic world when we used to truly adhere to Islam. That country is the lost al-Andalus. Spain is an infidel country, but its economy is stronger than ours because the ruler there is accountable. In our countries, there is no accountability or punishment but only obedience to the rulers and prayers of long life for them.
(Countries, Ulema Army)	
(Preachers, Writers, Mass Media)	
(Idol, Saudi Arabia)	
(Arab Countries, Islamic World)	
(Spain; Infidel Country)	
Jews/Israel	(220) After the possessors of thrones and armies abandoned them, the Jewish soldiers came to corrupt the land of Jerusalem, destroy the agricultural lands, and kill the people. They forced the Palestinian widow to leave her home and destroyed its contents, not allowing her to take her precious possessions. She became homeless on roadsides and tears filled her eyes, not knowing where to take her children and those of her son whom we consider a martyr but God knows best-as a result of her suffering and dire distress.
(Possessors of Thrones/Armies)	
(Jewish Soldiers)	
(Palestinian Widow; Her Children)	
(Martyr, God)	
Reformers	(221) I am surprised how those calling for reform say that the way to righteousness and defending our countries and peoples comes through these apostate leaders (OBL response: Agency 221).
(Our Countries, Apostate Leaders)	

Statement # 21 Agency

Date of Statement: 01/4/2004

Actors

Forms of Agency

God	(p213) Thanksgiving and praise are due to God alone, we seek aid from Him alone; and we beseech forgiveness of our sins from Him only; and consign ourselves to the protection of God against the evil of our souls and against all offenses. Truly, whomsoever God guides on the straight path and He puts him only on the straight path who sincerely desires to walk along that way-no one can lead him astray. And whoever God deflects and He deflects only him who yearns to be deflected-no one can put him on the straight path. And I bear witness that there is no god except God and I testify that Muhammad is the bondman of God and His Messenger. "You who believe, be mindful of God, as is His due, and make sure you devote yourselves to Him, to your dying moment."
(Muhammad)	
(Shu'ayb)	(215) Talk about that, let me tell you what God's messenger (from the Qur'an) Shu'ayb may God's peace and prayers be upon him-told his people: "I only want to put things right as far as I can. I cannot succeed without God's help: I trust Him, and always turn to Him."
(People)	(215) In so doing, I seek God's assistance and trust to enforce His will, no matter what the consequences are. I seek the truth and fear nobody in championing rightfulness. I seek the approval of God, even it this angers some people.
(Muhammad)	(216) Since telling the truth and differentiating between right and falsehood are part of the teachings of the Qur'an and the Prophet's hadith, in order that people would not confuse falsehood and truth and thus stray from the right path, God said: "Do not mix truth with falsehood, or hide the truth when you know it."
(Countries, Peoples)	(217) (Concerning the Crusades right and falsehood battle) Such a confrontation is good for both the countries and peoples. God says: "If God did not drive some back by means of others, the earth would be completely corrupt."
(Believers, Infidels)	Those who interpret the Qur'an say that this verse means that had the believers not fought the infidels, the latter would have defeated the believers and the earth would have been corrupted by their ill deeds. So pay attention to the importance of conflict.
	(221) God said: "So do not yield to those who deny the truth-they want to compromise with them and then they will compromise with you."
	(226) (OBL states a verse from the Qur'an concerning Arab Rulers) "So do you believe in some parts of scripture and not others? The punishment for those of you who do this will be nothing but disgrace in this life and on the Day of Resurrection they will be condemned to the harshest torment: God is not unaware of what you do."
(Rabbis, Monks, Lords)	(228) "They take their rabbis and their monks as lords."
	(228) "Praise and glory to Him: He is far above whatever they set up as partners with Him;" "But they were commanded to server only One God: There is no god but Him."
(Mujahidin, Arab Nations)	(231-2) "God always prevails in His purpose, though most people do not realize it." "Our Lord, give us good in this world and in the Hereafter, and protect us from the torment of the Fire!" O God, I beseech you to strengthen the

(Prophets, Messengers)	<p>mujahidin everywhere, particularly in Palestine, Iraq, Kashmir, Chechnya, and Afghanistan. We beseech God to grant them success, to strengthen them, to unite their ranks, and to grant them victory over their enemies, especially since no one grants them victory except Almighty God. O God, we beseech you to put this nation's feet firmly on the right path in order to strengthen those who obey you and humiliate those who disobey you. Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds. May God's prayer and peace be on the last of the Prophets and messengers.</p>
Umma/Jihad/Mujahid/Muslims (Brothers/Sisters Islam Nation)	<p>(214) From OBL to his brothers and sisters in the Islamic nation, God's peace, prayers, and blessing be upon you. My message to you concerns inciting and continuing to urge for jihad to repulse the grand plots that have been hatched against our nation, some of which has been made particularly evident (refer injustice/214)...</p>
(Zionist-Crusaders, Umma)	<p>(215) What have we prepared for that? The current Zionist-Crusader campaign against the umma is the most dangerous and rabid ever since it threatens the entire umma, its religion and presence. Did Bush not say that it is a Crusader war? Did he not say that the war will continue for many years and target 60 states? Is the Islamic world not around 60 states? Do you not realize this? Did they not say that they want to change the region's ideology, which vents hatred against the Americans? What they mean by this is Islam and its peak. They know full well that they will not enjoy wealth and land as long as we remain mujahid Muslims. So, learn this and keep it in your mind.</p>
(Crusaders, Islamic World) (Bush) (Mujahid Muslims, Americans)	<p>(215) O Muslims: The situation is serious, and the misfortune is momentous. By God, my highest wish is to safeguard your religion and your worldly life. You are my brothers in religion and my family in kinship. An honest person would not cheat his people. So lend me your ears and open up your hearts to me in order that we may examine these pitch-black misfortunes, and so that we may consider how we can find a way out of these adversities and calamities.</p>
(God, Brothers in Religion) (Family in Kinship)	<p>(215-6) (following discussion about God) Our life's term will come to an end and our sustenance is predestined by God. So, why should one fear telling the truth and championing rightfulness? No one should desist from championing jihad when it becomes obligatory, except those who have lost their direction, humiliated themselves, and deprived themselves of unmatched reward. Therefore, the first step to emerge from this dilemma is to return to God, pray for His forgiveness, turn in repentance to Him and follow the path of his great Qur'an and the tradition of his faithful messenger, may God's peace and prayers be upon him.</p>
(God, Muhammad)	<p>(216) We should also look for the main reasons that diverted from within the march along the straight path, and identify the active forces that caused this deviation (Injustice: 216).</p>
(Active Forces)	<p>(216) To remove any ambiguity, things have to be called by their true names and described by their religious terms, especially when we talk about the forces that impact upon the umma's progress. This helps us gain a clear image of these forces and their actions, and makes it easier for us to deal with them, since judging things comes after knowing about them. Therefore, religious terms should be used when describing the ruler who does not follow God's revelations and path, and champions the infidels by extending military facilities to them, or implements United</p>
(Forces, Ruler, Infidels)	
(Islam, Muslims, Tyrants)	

(Leaders)
(Islamic Action, Leaders)

(Enemy Forces, Crusader)
(Nation's of Islam)

(Muhammad, Arabs)

(Crusader Nations, Pioneers)
(God)

(God)
(Wise Leader)

(Salah-al-Din, God,
Islamic Nation)
(Crusaders)

(Crusaders, God, Palestine)

(Honest People, Dignitaries)
(Notables, Merchants)
(Oppressive Regimes)
(al-Aqd, People)

Nations resolutions against Islam and Muslims. Those should be called infidels and renegades. Those forces that consciously support tyrants through their own free will are partners in the injustice being done to Muslims. I appeal to the people of the Islamic action to oust their leaders who supported those tyrants, and select strong and honest leaders who can shoulder their duties under the current difficult circumstances and defend the Islamic nation.

(216-7) As to how to resist these enemy forces from outside, we must look back at the previous Crusader wars against our countries to learn lessons that will help us confront this onslaught, understand the most important causes of these attacks, and learn how they were repulsed and resisted.

(217) We defeated them only after the mission of our Prophet Muhammad. It was the true commitment to Islam that reshaped the Arab character, liberated it from pre-Islamic concepts, enlightened hearts and minds, and released energies. At that time neither the Arabs nor anybody else could stand in the way of the battalions of faith.

The Persians, Tartars, Turks, Romans, and Berbers collapsed in front of the shouts of "God is great". We were the pioneers of the world. We rescued the people from the worship of human beings, for the worship of the God of people.

(217-8) (Concerning the Roman Crusaders occupying al-Aqsa) ...but after 90 years we regained our strength when we returned to our religion. Thus with the help of God, we regained the al-Aqsa Mosque at the hands of a wise leader who pursued a sound approach.

(218) The leader was Salah-al-Din, may God bestow his mercy on him and the approach was Islam, whose pinnacle is jihad in the cause of God. This is what we need today, and should seek to do so. Islamic countries in the past century were not liberated from the Crusaders' military occupation except through jihad in the cause of God...(the West trying to tarnish jihad) ...This is because they all know that jihad is effective power to foil all their conspiracies. Jihad is the path to seek it. This is because if we seek to deter them by any means other than Islam we would be like the one who goes round in circles.

(218) Muslims, if you do not punish the Crusaders for their sins in Jerusalem and Iraq, they shall defeat you because of your failure. They will also rob you of the land of the Two Holy Sanctuaries. Today of Baghdad and tomorrow they will rob you of Riyadh and so forth unless God deems otherwise. Sufficient unto us is God. What then is the way to stop this tremendous onslaught? As you may recall, the umma made several attempts in recent decades to resist the Zionist-Crusader alliance to liberate Palestine...We have had enough of chasing mirages. Cease manipulating the minds of the people.

(229-30) The honest people who are concerned about this situation such as the ulema, leaders who are obeyed among their people dignitaries, notables, and merchants should get together and meet in a safe place away from the shadow of these oppressive regimes and form a council for Ahl al-Hall wa al-Aqd to fill the vacuum caused by these religiously invalid regimes and their mental deficiency. The people have the right to appoint an imam. The people also have the right to make him correct his course if he deviates from it and to remove him if he does

(Brothers of Faith)	something that warrants this, such as apostasy and treason.
(Muhammad)	(230) My brothers in faith we should be certain that our success and happiness in this world and in the hereafter lies in implementing Islam and carrying out jihad. Our pride and happiness lie in these things, based on the true Prophet's saying that was related by Abu Dawud citing ibn Umar. The Prophet says: "If you practice Tabaiya al-Ainiya, followed the tails of cows, satisfied yourselves with agriculture and abandoned jihad, God will cover you with humiliation and will not remove it until you return to your religion."
(Abu Dawud, ibn Umar)	
(Tabaiya al-Ainiya)	
(Caliph Umar, Abu-Ubaydah, God)	(230-1) Caliph Umar told Abu-Ubaydah: "We are a people whom God made powerful through Islam and if we seek strength from other sources God will humiliate us." ...uniting the nation under Islam...through a practical plan involving the entire nation, each according to his own capabilities, beginning with prayer to God and ending with fighting in the cause of God, for fighting in the cause of God is an indivisible part of our religion. In fact, it is the pinnacle of religion. So, how can religion survive without its apex? It is a pressing need for our nation's life, glory, and survival. Although our enemy lies, our religion tells the truth when it stipulates: You fight so you exist. This is what they teach their children but they tell us the contrary.
(God, Iraq, Palestine)	(231) (concerning the disintegration of United States) ...This day is coming, God willing. So beware of any call for laying down arms on the pretext of achieving peace. This is because this will be a call to humiliate us. Only a hypocrite and ignorant person can promote such calls. Before concluding I urge the Muslim youths to carry out jihad particularly in Palestine and Iraq. I also call them to be patient and pious, and to weaken the enemy by inflicting wounds on it, along with protecting Muslims during these actions. They also should be careful not to expand on applying the law regarding the use of human shields for this should be left to their honest ulema on a case-by-case basis. We beseech God to grant us victory through patience and piety. May God make us patient and pious.
(Muslims, Muslim Youth)	
(Enemy)	
(Muslim Youths, Grandfathers)	(231) Concluding, I would like to say a few words to Muslim youths which we heard from your grandfathers who had been tested by events throughout many years in Palestine, and who had been witness to many initiatives, conspiracies, calamities, and calls for peace. I just want to remind you of these words which, are: My son, they will talk to you about peace; do not listen to such calls, because although I once believed them I am still living in a tent (OBL refers and has request for God using the Qur'an and further elaborating on the Muslim Youth and Mujahidin God: 231-2).
(Palestine, Son)	
Revered Scholars/Forefathers	(218) We would also be like our forefathers, the Al-Ghasasinah. The concern of their elders was to be appointed officers for the Byzantines and to be named kings in order to safeguard the interests of the Byzantines by killing their brothers of the peninsula's Arabs. Such is the case of the new Al-Ghasasinah; namely, Arab rulers.
(Byzantines, Arab Rulers)	
Arab States/Regimes/Support	(218-9) In such hard times, some reformers maintain that all popular and official forces should unite, and that all government forces should unite with all their peoples. Everyone would do what is needed from him in order to ward off this Zionist-Crusader onslaught. The question strongly raised is: Are the governments in the Islamic world capable of pursuing this duty of defending the faith and umma and renouncing allegiance to the USA? Let us
(Umma, Zionist-Crusader)	

	<p>have an objective look at these governments' history with regard to the umma's crucial issues, in order to understand their policies, so that we will not be led into a dead end and so that we will not experience what we have endured for many decades. (Much of which will be reviewed under Injustice).</p> <p>(224) If you do not know, that is a calamity. If you do, the calamity is greater. In short, the ruler who believes in some of the aforementioned (injustice) deeds cannot defend the country. How can he do so if he believes in all of them and has done these things time and again? Those who believe in the principle of supporting the infidels against Muslims, leaving the blood and honor, and property of their brothers to be easy prey for their enemy in order to remain safe, claiming that they love their brothers but are being compelled to take such a path-this compulsion cannot of course be regarded as legitimate from the perspective of sharia-are in fact qualified to take the same course against one another in the Gulf states. Indeed this principle is liable to be embraced in the internal affairs of a state (returning to injustice 224).</p>
(Muslims, Enemy)	
(Gulf States, Infidels)	
(State)	
People of Saudi Arabia	(221) Thanks to God, some kindhearted people from Saudi Arabia and other countries were sending alms to the families of those widows and orphans to ease their suffering and distress.
(Widowed Families)	
Reformers	(221) I say to these people: If you have an excuse preventing you from Jihad, is should not give you the right to stand beside those unjust leaders and thus be responsible for your sins and the sins of those whom you misled. Fear God for your sake and your nation's sake. God does not need your flattery and praise for the tyrants for the sake of His religion...It is better for a person to be at the bottom of right than to be at the peak of wrong.
(God, Nation, Tyrants)	
(Advocates of Reform, Nation)	(230)...the advocates of reform should know that reforming and uniting the nation under Islam cannot be achieved through lectures and books only, but through a practical plan involving the entire nation (further examined under umma/mujahidin above).
Riyadh Attackers/Attacks	(225) (referring to misdeeds of the rulers of Riyadh) All this happened before the Riyadh explosions in Rabi al-Awwal of this year (May 2003) which the regime cites as a pretext for its actions...Saudi Arabia was the regime which provoked the youths by opening up the country to the Crusaders in violation of religion, in disregard for the Muslims sentiments, and in defiance of the manliness of the men of Saudi Arabia.
(Rabi al-Awwal, Regime)	
(Saudi Arabia, Youths)	
(Crusaders, Muslims)	
Arab Rulers/Muslims	(227-8) We have reached this miserable situation (Arab Governments Injustice) because many of us lack the correct and comprehensive understanding of the religion of Islam. Many of us understand Islam to mean performing some acts of worship, such as prayer and fasting. Despite the great importance of these rituals, the religion of Islam encompasses all the affairs of life, including the religious and the worldly, such as economic, military, and political affairs, as well as the scales by which we weigh the actions of men-rulers, ulema, and others-and how to deal with the ruler in line with the rules set by God for him, which the ruler should not violate. These rules also proscribe the enacting of legislation contrary to God's will, allegiance to infidels and supporting them against Muslims, or tampering with or embezzling huge amounts of the nation's money. Many people think that this is part of the ruler's authority, and do not know that these actions by the ruler are in fact some of the cardinal sins in our

God/Muhamm./Rulers/Muslims

(Uday bin-Hatim)

(Ruler, Scholar)

(Nation, God, People)

(Honest People, Ulama)

(Notables, Merchants)

(Oppressive Regimes)

(Ahl al-Hall wa al-Aqd, Imam)

sharia that should not be tolerated. Furthermore, a ruler's enacting legislation contrary to God's will, and his allegiance to the infidels, constitute a greater atheism, which drives him away from faith, and necessitates a considered and planned uprising against him.

(228) Had these rulers read the Qur'an and Prophet Muhammad's traditions and had learned lessons from them which is what we should do this would have become very clear to them in several texts. Among these texts is a tradition by Uday bin-Hatim, who converted to Christianity before Islam. He thought as do many people that following the leaders and ulama in allowing what has been forbidden by God, and banning what has been allowed by God is not worship of these leaders and ulama and is not atheism, because it does not mean praying or fasting for them. However, when bin-Hatim came to the Messenger of God while he was reading the Qur'anic verse: They take their rabbis and their monks as lords," he said that he told the Prophet: "They did not worship them." The Prophet answered: "Yes but they forbade what is allowed and allowed what has been forbidden, and followed them. Therefore, this is what they worship."

(228) Be attentive to this verse, because both this verse and tradition clearly show that obedience to the ruler, a scholar, or anyone else is allowing what has been forbidden by God, and banning what God has allowed, in tantamount to worshipping them rather than God. This is a greater polytheism and drives the person away from faith: may God protect us and you from this.

(228-9) This is what Almighty God disassociates himself from when he says: "Praise and glory to Him: He is far above whatever they set u as partners with Him;" he then says "But they were commanded to serve only One God There is no god but Him." This shows that issuing legislation concerning what is allowed and what is banned is a type of worship. This is one of the most important traits of God and one of the most important prerequisites for testifying that there is no god but God, the first and most important pillar of Islam. This is a serious warning to those who think that Islam consists of mere words uttered, in which one testifies that there is no god but God, but who do not know that these words have requirements that, if they do not heed them, they would not be properly committed to the testimony that there is no god but God. The gist here is that the absence of a comprehensive understanding of God's religion as a system for all walks of life, including Islam's way of holding the rulers accountable because if they follow God's religion things become good for the country and its people is one of the greatest flaws in the nation at present. We should be fully aware of this issue and start the march of reform today in order to follow the right path. We should not continue in this deviant path for yet another century.

(229-30) The honest people who are concerned about this situation such as the ulama, leaders who are obeyed among their people dignitaries, notables, and merchants should get together and meet in a safe place away from the shadow of these oppressive regimes and form a council for Ahl al-Hall wa al-Aqd to fill the vacuum caused by these religiously invalid regimes and their mental deficiency. The people have the right to appoint an imam. The people also have the right to make him correct his course if he deviates from it and to remove him if he does

Muhammad

(Tabaiya al-Ainiya)

Sheikh/Arab Rulers

(ibn Taymiyya)

(Hasan al-Shaykh)

(Muhammad Qutb)

Temp Council/Jihad/Muslims

(God, Nation, Countries)

something that warrants this, such as apostasy and treason.

(228) "Yes, but they forbade what is allowed and allowed what has been forbidden and followed them. Therefore, this is what they worship."

(230) "If you practice Tabaiya al-Ainiya, followed the tails of cows, satisfied yourselves with agriculture, and abandoned jihad, God will cover you with humiliation and will not remove it until you return to your religion."

(229) One of the beneficial books that explained the previous Qur'anic verse is The Book of Faith by Sheikh ibn Taymiyya may God have mercy on his soul; and also the book titled Fath al-Mujid by Sheikh Abd-al-Rahman bin-Hasan al-Shaykh, may God have mercy on his soul; and the book entitled Concepts that Should be Corrected, by Sheikh Muhammad Qutb. These showed that the rulers are incapable and treacherous and they that they have not followed the right path to Islam but followed their wishes and lusts-this is the reason for the setbacks in the nation's march during the past decades. Therefore, it is clear to us that the solution to these problems lies in adhering to the religion of God, by which God granted us pride in the past centuries, and installing a strong and faithful leadership that applies the Qur'an among us and raises the true banner of jihad.

(230) This temporary council should be made up of the minimum number of available personnel, who should be tough on the rest of the nation, except what the religion permits in case of necessity, until the situation improves and the number is increased, God willing. The council's policy should be based on the book of God and the tradition of the Prophet. It should start by directing Muslims to the important priorities at this critical stage, and lead them to a safe haven, provided that their top priority is uniting opinions under the word of monotheism and defending Islam, its people and countries, and urging Muslims to prepare for and carry out jihad. The people should be given easy access to arms, particularly light weapons; anti-armored rockets such as RPGs; and tank mines; as well as the declaration of a general mobilization in the nation to prepare for repulsing the raid of the Romans, which started in Iraq; no one knows where it will end. God suffices us and He is our best support.

Statement # 22 Injustice**Date of Statement: 04/15/2004****Actors****Forms of Injustice**

America

(p234) ...your destruction and murder of our people, whether in Afghanistan, Iraq, or Palestine...the event that terrorized the world, the murder of the wheel-chair-bound Sheikh Ahmed Yassin.

(Leaders)

(234) ...your leaders and their followers, who persistently ignore the real problem, which is the occupation of Palestine, and indulge in lies and deceit about our right to self-defense. They show contempt for peoples' blood and minds through such deceit...If one looks at the murders that are still going on in our countries and yours an important truth becomes clear, which is that we are both suffering injustice a the hands of your leaders , who send your sons to our countries, despite their objections, to kill and be killed...This war is making billions of dollars for the big corporations, whether it be those who manufacture weapons or reconstruction firms like Halliburton and its offshoots and sister companies.

(Merchants of war, UN, Bush)

(235) ...who benefits most from stirring up this war and bloodshed: merchants of war, the bloodsuckers who direct world policy form behind the scenes. President Bush and other leaders like him, the big media institutions, the United Nations, which legislates between army leaders and the mighty General Assembly all these are merely agents of deception and exploitation. These and others are groups who are a mortal danger to the entire world, the most dangerous and difficult of these being the Zionist lobby.

(236) If Bush's call for peace was honest, why hasn't he spoken out about the one who split open the bellies of pregnant women in Sabra and Shatila or the planner of the surrender process, the man of peace (Ariel Sharon): why did he not just come out and say we hate freedom and we kill for the sake of it?

Actors

Forms of Agency

Jihadist

(toward the U.S.)

(p234) Evil Kills its perpetrators and oppression's pastures are fatal. There is a lesson in what is happening in occupied Palestine, and what happened on September 11 and March 11 are your goods returned to you. It is well known that security is a vital necessity for every human being. We will not let you monopolize it for yourselves, just as sensible people would not let their leaders compromise their security. On this basis we warn you: Since we have reacted in kind your description of us as terrorists and of our actions as terrorism necessarily means that you and your actions must be defined likewise. Our actions are but reactions to yours...We give God our pledge that we will take revenge on America for his death, with God's will.

(both sides interests)

(p234) In what creed are your dead considered innocent but ours worthless? By what logic does your blood count as real and ours as no more than water? Reciprocal treatment is part of justice, and he who commences hostilities is the unjust one.

(p234) ...(referring to America as a result of their contempt for peoples' blood and minds)...your blood will continue to be shed...It is in the interests of both sides to stop those who shed their own peoples' blood, both on behalf of narrow personal benefits and on behalf of the White House gang.

(peace proposal to Europe)

(235) ...We are determined with God's will to continue our struggle and to build on what we have already done in order to stop the merchants of war. In response to positive initiatives that have been reflected in recent events and opinion polls showing most people in Europe want peace, I call upon just men, especially scholars, media, and businessmen to form a permanent commission to raise awareness among Europeans of the justice of our causes, primarily Palestine, making up the enormous potential of the media.

(235) ...I present to them this peace proposal which is essentially a commitment to cease operations against any state that pledges not to attack Muslims or intervene in their affairs, including American conspiracy against the great Islamic world. This peace can be renewed at the end of a government's term and the beginning of a new one, with the consent of both sides. It will come into effect on the departure of its last soldier from our lands, and it is available for a period of three months from the day this statement is broadcast.

(235-6) Whoever chooses war over peace will find us ready for the fight...Whoever chooses peace can see that we have responded positively...Stop spilling our blood in order to save your own. The solution to this equation, both easy and difficult, lies in your own hands. You know that things will only get worse the longer you take, but you will only have yourselves to blame. No sensible person would compromise his property, his security, or his family, just to please the liar in the White House.

(236) ...Reality confirms we are right, and reveals him a liar. For we only killed Russians after they invade Afghanistan and Chechnya, we only killed Europeans after they invaded Afghanistan and Iraq, and we only killed Americans in New York after they supported the Jews in Palestine and invaded the Arabian peninsula, and we

only killed them in Somalia after they invaded it in Operation Restore Hope. We restored them to hopelessness.
(236) It has been said that a penny spent on prevention is better than a fortune on a cure...Happy is he who has
warned others. Returning to truth is better than continuing the lie.

Statement # 23 Injustice

Date of Statement: 10/29/2004

Actors

Forms of Injustice

America

(p238) ...as you violate our security, so we violate yours.

(American/Israeli Alliance)

(239) God knows that the plan of striking the towers had not occurred to us, but the idea came to me when things went just too far with the American-Israeli alliance's oppression and atrocities against our people in Palestine and Lebanon.

(239) ...during and after 1982 when America allowed the Israelis to invade Lebanon with the help of its third fleet. They started bombing, killing, and wounding many, while others fled in terror. I still remember those distressing scenes; blood, torn limbs, women and children massacred. All over the place, houses were being destroyed and tower blocks were collapsing, crushing their residents, while bombs rained down mercilessly on our homes. It was like a crocodile devouring a child who could do nothing but scream. Does a crocodile understand anything other than weapons? The whole world heard and saw what happened, but did nothing. In those crucial moments, many ideas raged inside me, ideas difficult to describe, but they unleashed a powerful urge to reject injustice and a strong determination to punish the oppressors.

(Bush aminst./arab regimes)

(239-40) As I looked at those destroyed towers in Lebanon, it occurred to me to punish the oppressor in kind by destroying towers in America, so that it would have a taste of its own medicine and would be prevented from killing our women and children. On that day I became sure that the oppression and intentional murder of innocent women and children is a deliberate American policy...freedom and democracy...are actually just terror, just as resistance is labeled terrorism and reaction. Imposing lethal sanctions on millions of people, as Bush Sr did, and carrying out the mass butchering of children, is the worst thing that humanity has ever known. So is dropping millions of pounds of bombs and explosives on millions of children in Iraq, as Bush Junior did, to remove a former collaborator, and install a new one who will help steal Iraq's oil, as well as commit other atrocities.

(241) Bush and his administration...the similarity between them and the regimes of our countries, half of whom we would describe as being ruled by military, and the other by sons of kings and presidents. We have long experience of them. There are many of both types who are well know for their arrogance, conceit, and illegal theft of funds.

(241)(referring to Bush Sr visit to the Arab world) he was impressed by these monarchic and military regimes. He envied the fact that they could remain in power for decades, embezzling the nations funds with neither account nor regulation. So he brought tyranny and the suppression of liberties to his own country and called it the Patriot Act, implemented under the pretext of fighting terrorism.

(Injustice: America's losing)

(241) Bush Sr saw the benefits of making his sons state governors. Nor did he forget to import into Florida from our region's leaders the idea of falsifying elections, so that he could use this plan at tricky moments.

(242) the Bush administration has...profited...the enormity of contracts won by dubious large corporations, like Halliburton and others connected to Bush, and his administration, can be certain of that. But the reality is that it is

you, the American people and your economy, who are losing.

(242) (concerning Bush's lack of response time to the attacks) It seems that a little girl's story about a goat and its butting was more important than dealing with aero planes and their butting into skyscrapers. This gave us three times the amount or required time to carry out the operations.

(243) (concerning the destruction of wmd:) ...the black gold blinded him and he put his own private interests ahead of the American public interest. The war went ahead and many were killed. The American economy bled and Bush became embroiled in the quagmires of Iraq, which now threaten his future. He is like the grumpy goat who dug out of the ground the very knife with which he would be killed.

(Bush hands covered in blood)

(Afgh and Iraq people)

(and American people)

(blame on the nation)

(243) ...fifteen thousand of our people have been killed and tens of thousands injured, while you have had over a thousand killed and more than ten thousand wounded. Bush's hands are covered with the blood of all these casualties from both sides, all in the name of oil and more business for his private companies.

(243) ...you act like the nation that punishes the weak man who has profited from the death of one of its sons, but absolves someone from a more privileged background who has profited from the deaths of a thousand of its sons

(U.S. allies in Palestine)

...just like your allies in Palestine who terrorize women and children, and kill and imprison men.

American People

(p238) I speak to you today about the best way to avoid another Manhattan, about the war, its causes, and its consequences. First of all I tell you that security is one of the pillars of human life. Free men do not underestimate the value of their security, despite Bush's claim that we hate freedom. Perhaps he can tell us why we did not attack Sweden for example.

(238) ...those who despise freedom do not possess proud souls, unlike the nineteen 9/11 hijackers. We have been fighting you because we are free men who can not acquiesce in injustice. We want to restore security to our umma. Just as you violate our security so we violate yours. Whoever encroaches upon the security of others and imagines that he will himself remain safe is but a foolish criminal.

(239) ...we are now into the fourth year since the events of September 11, Bush is still practicing his deception, misleading you about the real reason behind it. As a result there are still motives for a repeat attack.

(240) 9/11 came as a response to these great injustices. Can you blame someone for protecting his own? Self-defense and punishing the oppressor in kind: is this shameful terrorism? Even if it is we have no other option. This is the message that we have repeatedly tried to convey to you in words and deeds, years before September 11. (discusses several interviews).

(240) Would those in the White House and the TV channels who answer to those who claim to stand for freedom dare to interview Frisk so that he could explain to the American people everything he has learned from us about the reasons for our struggle? For if you could avoid perpetrating these injustices, you Americans would be on the right path towards the security you enjoyed before September 11. This is what I can say about war and its reasons. As for the consequences of 9/11 they are thanks to God, very positive. They surpassed all expectations and measures.

(241-2) ...it was easy for us to provoke the (Bush) administration and lure it into perdition. All we had to do was send two mujahidin to the Far East to raise up a rag on which al-Qaeda was written, and the generals came running. "This inflicted human, financial, and political losses on America without them even achieving anything worth mentioning, apart from providing business for their private corporations...we gained expertise in guerrilla and attritional warfare in our struggle against the great oppressive superpower, Russia, in which we and the muhahidin ground it down for ten years until it went bankrupt, and decided to withdraw in defeat. We are continuing to make America bleed to the point of bankruptcy by God's will. It would not be accurate to say that al-Qaeda has defeated the White House administration, or that the White House administration has lost this war, for on closer inspection it cannot be said that al-Qaeda is the sole reason for these amazing gains. The White House leadership which is so keen to open up war fronts for its various corporations whether in the field of arms, oil, or construction has also contributed to these remarkable results for al-Qaeda.

(242) ...al-Qaeda spent \$500,000 on the September 11 attacks, while American lost more than \$500 billion...lost an enormous number of jobs and as for the federal deficit, it made record losses, estimated at over a trillion dollars.

...the mujahidin forced Bush to resort to an emergency budget in order to continue fighting in Afghanistan and Iraq. This shows the success of our plan to bleed America to the point of bankruptcy, with God's will.

(242) We agreed with the general commander Muhammad Atta, to carry out all operations within twenty minutes, before Bush and his administration could be aware of them, and it did not occur to us that the Commander-in-Chief of American armed forces would leave fifty thousand of his citizens in the two towers to face this great horror on their own, just when they needed him most.

(243) ...every action has a reaction...you would do well to consider the wills of thousands who left you on September 11, waving desperately for help. These are inspiring testaments, worthy of being published and studied. One of the most significant things I have read about their torments before falling was that they said: We were wrong when we let the White House inflict unchecked its aggressive foreign policy on the poor people. People of America call those who caused our murder to account. Happy is he who learns from the experiences of others. Their desperate signals also remind me of a verse of poetry: Evil kills its perpetrators and oppression's pastures are fatal.

(244) ...any sensible person would never underestimate the value of his security, his property, or his home for sake of the liar in the White House...I say to you in truth that your security lies not in the hands of Kerry, Bush, or al-Qaeda. It lies in your own hands and whichever state do not encroach upon our security thereby ensures its own.

Actors

Forms of Injustice

Saudi Regime

(p246)...much talk in Saudi Arabia about the need for safety and security, about the sanctity of Muslim blood and those who have been granted safe passage, about the importance of social harmony and cohesion, granted safe passage, about the importance of social harmony and cohesion and about the dangers of division and conflict. Some have claimed that the mujahidin have brought about the current predicament in Saudi Arabia, but the clear truth of the matter is that responsibility falls on the shoulders of the regime, which has neglected the necessary conditions to maintain security, life, social harmony, and cohesion. This is because it disobeyed God and committed sins that exposed the country to His warning and punishment.

(247-8) Saudi regime has committed very serious acts of disobedience worse than the sins and offenses that are contrary to Islam, worse than oppressing slaves, depriving them of their rights and insulting their dignity, intelligence, and feelings, worse than squandering the general wealth of the nation. Millions of people suffer every day from poverty and deprivation, while millions of riyals flow into the bank accounts of the royals who wield executive power. At the same time, public services are being reduced our lands are being violated, and people are imposing themselves forcibly through business, without compensation. It has got to the point where the regime has gone so far as to be clearly beyond the pale of Islam, allying with Infidel America and aiding it against Muslims, and making itself equal to God by legislating on what is or not permissible without consulting God.

(Infidel America)

(Government in Riyadh)

(Crusader alliance w/America)

(254) government in Riyadh has entered into a global alliance with Crusader unbelief under the leadership of Bush, against Islam and its people, as happened in Afghanistan, and the conspiracies in Iraq, which have not yet ended. They opened up their bases to the American forces so that they could conquer Iraq, which helped the Americans and facilitated their occupation. Then the Saudi Minister of Defense got up one day and scorned the religion, the blood, and the minds of Muslims by admitting that his government had opened its airports to the Americans for their legally humanistic objectives.

(Saudi Minister of Defense)

(Conspiracies w/America)

(Iraqi Occupation)

(254) And now here they are today showing us a new link in their chain of conspiracies with America. This one they have described as the initiative to send Arab and Muslim forces to maintain security in Iraq... This is an enormous act of treachery. They weren't satisfied with helping the infidels to occupy lands of Islam, but they also had to come up with this initiative to confer legitimacy on the American occupation.

(256) Is this the extent to which the rulers of Riyadh have sunk? The hypocrites claim that they are responsible rulers. They are lying to the umma and deceiving it for a few pennies that they don't deserve.

(Deputy Minister of Defense)

(257) Then a decade and a half ago I directed my advice straight to the deputy Minister of Defense, informing him of the great sins from which the state should desist, and of the danger of persisting with them, but to no avail. The

(Ministry security affairs)

(257) I met the deputy director of the ministry for security affairs, who strongly reproached me for advising the deputy Minister of Defense and began haranguing me about exactly the same sins that I had mentioned to the

	minister..."This is well known we don't need anyone to tell us about it."
(Rulers')	(257) And these sins that I advised you about have been going on for decades, and rulers have been advised about them by many people before me, but these evils are still present today, the rulers are defending them and committed to them because their royal status had supposedly rendered them legitimate. The result is that people are not committed to God's law. This means that absolute sovereignty and obedience are due to the king and his laws not the religion of God. This is the dangerous reality and this is the belief of the people as expressed by the deputy director with his statement. They know that the grave sins that I mentioned to them are prohibited in God's religion but they do not want anyone to forbid them for one simple reason, which is that they are not prohibited in the religion of the king. So they wonder how we can forbid them and they even ask us not to tell them that they are prohibited. The king issued edicts and laws permitting and protecting them. The word of religion has only a say when the king or ruler considers it legitimate.
(King)	(257-8) Whoever has been given insight by God and ponders the regime's conduct will find this reality being played out in front of their eyes, both in domestic and foreign affairs: dominion and obedience apply to the order of the king and not to God...what the king declares lawful becomes lawful what he prohibits is forbidden, for in his eyes it is his true right as king to legalize or prohibit whatever he wants.
(usury)	(258) The regime has issued edicts and laws making usury legal and establishing it and punishing anyone who prevents it or avoids paying what they illegally call profit. It is well known that all usury is a grave sin, and that legislation without reference to God is one of the acts of contradictory to Islam.
(Infidels: allies)	(258) ...involves taking the infidels as allies. For instance, the Jordanian regime is an infidel regime. If a preacher or writer described King Hussein as a collaborator with the Jews, he would be subjected to punishment at the hands of the Riyadh regime through laws that been made specifically for this purpose. But when King Hussein entered into alliance with Saddam, when he invaded Kuwait, King Fahd washed his hands of his former ally.
(Jordanian Regime: Hussein)	The Riyadh newspapers were filled with documents and pictures proving Hussein bin Talal to be a collaborator with the Jews, which is true. By contrast, the newspapers of Jordan were filled with documents and pictures proving that that rulers of Riyadh collaborated with English and then with America, which is true...despite the great disaster for us the rulers of the region are collaborators there is a great disaster in that most of the leaders of the Islamic world insist on describing these tyrants as responsible leaders. Some people think they are a lifeboat, when in fact all they are is a sinking ship.
(Collaborators)	(258) King Fahd had been received by King Hussein, forgetting about the past, and when King Hussein died the Princes of the Saud family attended his funeral, along with the Israeli and American delegations and others, and then the prayer of the absent was performed for him in the Haram Mosque.
(Jews)	(259) ...hypocrites are slaves to money and follow the king whatever he does. They blow with the winds and are enemies of his enemies. Is a person still a human being if he changes his mind in such a humiliating and insulting
(English, America)	
(King Fahd/King Hussein)	
(Princes Saud Family)	
(Israel/American delegations)	

way? Is a Muslim supposed to rid himself of his religion and trample his own brain underfoot to become a good citizen?

(Minister of Defense)

(260) And if the dialogue has to be done through the sword and the gun, as the Minister of Defense put it is well known that every master whether he is royal or not, needs a weapon. So how can any person, seeing the apostate ruler and his soldiers armed to the teeth claim that he wants reform through a peaceful solution? This is complete non-sense. Is reducing the establishment of truth for we are not talking merely of a debauched and depraved ruler, but one who is an apostate and a collaborator with the infidels.

(Apostate ruler)

(Infidel helpers)

(261) They have helped the infidels to occupy the lands of Islam, as some of them have stated, under the deceitful cover of helping to get rulers to respect human rights, or the others who mix truth and falsehood and cooperate with the infidels to occupy our lands. It's true with their refusal to remove these apostate rulers by force, their approach can only bring one outcome.

(dangers of these people)

(261) The approach of these people is extremely dangerous for two reasons: Firstly, they are a great danger because they have let their wishes and desires compete with God's law, which as everyone knows is a grave sin. (262) Secondly, these people are participating in barring people from the way of God, and sowing strife in their religion, in that they are preventing them from assuming their rights in the ways of God made lawful, which is what makes hypocrites and ignorant people think of taking the course of the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan, and others like them such as Allawi and his companions. This is in no way allowed.

(Regimes Allegations)

(Kharijites)

(Mujahidin)

(262) Before finishing, we should respond to some of the regime's allegations whose repetition has upset people both day and night throughout the past two years. It has accused the mujahidin of following the path of the Kharijites but they know that we have nothing to do with such a school of thought. Our messages and conduct attest to that.

(265) All we need to do to clean up this issue is to point to the huge arms deal, or what you might call the huge theft for they amount to the same thing which is known as the al-Yamama contract, which comes to more than \$30 billion this was a humiliation five years before the Gulf War. But when the war actually started there was no positive effect from this deal to be seen, nor from any country to defend you, the unemployment rate was low. If we estimate the number of unemployed at 100,000 which comes to 1,125,000 riyals per head. If these funds were put into publicly owned companies in a legitimate way and into generating work for the unemployed, and if they were spent on their own people, like the poor, the miserable, and those in debt, then the people's condition would improve.

(King Fahd)

(265) As for the violation of our people's lands and the greed of the rulers of Riyadh in building palaces, King Fahd has commissioned the building of the Salam Palace, on which he has spent 4 billion riyals.

(265-6) As for the palace of Dhahbham where do we start? It is 40km down the Jeddah-Medina road on the Red Sea coast, but to get an idea of the land it has greedily used up, if the Kingdom of Bahrain were put in its back

(Hypocrites)

courtyard, those in the palace wouldn't even notice it. And Bahrain has nearly a million inhabitants and an area of more than a million square meters! Even if the whole world came into the palaces of these kings and presidents, or into this palace in Dhahban, they would be dwarfed. Has history ever seen such foolishness?

(266) And then the hypocrites describe them as reliable, sensible, and wise.

(266) Who are the ones with the corrupt and erroneous ideas? Is it those who allowed the land of the Haram to be occupied and who kill Muslims in the holy city of Mecca? Is it Khaled al-Mihdar and Nawaf al-Hazimi and his brother Salem, who came from Mecca to strike America right on its own territory, in defense of Islam in and around Mecca?

(Fahd Abd al-Aziz)

(266) Is it Fahd bin Abd al-Aziz who has defiled the honor of the Haram? He could have solved this crisis without a shot being fired, as all sensible people agreed at the time. What the situation needed was some time, especially since those present inside the Haram were only a few dozen. They had only light weapons, mostly hunting rifles, they had few provisions and they were surrounded but the enemy of God, Fahd, did what not even al-Hajjaj presumed to do: he stubbornly fought with them and put bulldozers and armored cars inside the Haram. There is no strength or power save in God. People still remember the minarets covered in black after they had been pounded by tanks we are God's creation and to Him we return. Who was it who defiled the honor of the country of the Haram and the blood of Muslims? Was it the youth? Or was it the security forces who killed poor people in the Rasifa district of Mecca, who forced those who were still alive out of their houses or their tiny tin-roofed shacks to greet their prince in the Ministry of the Interior? The scholars and preachers of the Haram knew about these things but did not say a word about the illegality of shedding Muslim blood in the land of Haram, because the people who had been attacked there were only the poor and defenseless.

(Security Forces)

(Ministry of Interior)

(266-7) Who are the ones with the corrupt and erroneous ideas? Is it the mujahidin? Or is it the ones who helped America to kill more than a million children in just a few years in the greatest slaughter of children that mankind has known, your wicked embargo on Iraq?

(Helped America)

(Embargo on Iraq)

(267) ...what about a million murdered children, each of them holding up his head and his hand and saying, 'Oh Lord, ask these men why they have killed us, the greatest massacre of children in the history of mankind.' This is a huge injustice and a great crime.

(268) It is unbelievable and a lie that the regime should accuse the youth of the very sins that it commits itself, such as its claim that the Zionists are supporting the mujahidin! What deceit, what duplicity, what utter contempt for people's basic intelligence!...Everyone, Muslims or infidels, knows that the youth of jihad are Zionism's worst enemy yet still the regime accuses us of its own crimes.

(Iraq)

(Muhahidin)

(Zionist/National Guard)

(268-9) And here I ask the rulers of Riyadh: who was it that supported Arafat with hundreds of millions of dollars to suppress the first intifada of the mujahidin? Who was it that helped Jews against the poor people in Sharm al-Sheikh in 1996?...Who opened up their military bases to help the invasion of Iraq? Who pays the costs of

Regime supporters

training the Iraqi police to fight against the mujahidin in Iraq? Is it not you, the mastermind behind the Beirut initiative which recognized the Zionists and their occupation of the land of Palestine.

(247) ...supporters and sycophants of the regime, as well as those who refrain from denouncing evil, who are also responsible for this predicament.

Scholars, Sheikh, Rulers

(267) Those who are allying themselves with the regime and supporting it are partners in this great crime.

(250) related by ibn Taymiyya: ...restrictions and limitations imposed on the umma by its scholars, sheikhs, rulers, and noblemen are what allowed the enemy to gain control over it, and that was a result of the people's abandonment of obedience to God and His Messenger.

Multiple Actors: Dynamics

(global unbelief)

(leadership of America)

(Ruling families)

(Crusaders)

(America and allies)

(Zionist-Crusader alliance)

(250-1) The struggle is partly an internal regional struggle but in other respects it is a struggle between global unbelief, with the apostates today under the leadership of America on one side, and the Islamic umma and its brigades of mujahidin, on the other. These oppressive, traitorous ruling families in the region today, who persecute every reform movement and impose upon their peoples policies that are against their religion and their worldly interests, are the very same families who helped the Crusaders against the Muslims a century ago. And they are doing this in collaboration with America and its allies. This represents a continuation of the previous Crusader wars against the Islamic world. The extent to which the Zionist-Crusader alliance controls the internal policies of our countries has become all too clear to us. For when it comes to American intervention in internal affairs, where do we start?

Saudi/U.S./King/Royal Family

(251) The comedy that passes for rule in Saudi Arabia today is likewise a product of American agreement in order to forestall deterioration of the situation and further disagreements among the royal family particularly in the last few difficult years. The state of government in Saudi Arabia is unprecedented in history. After the rulers death the people may be ruled for some hours or days in his name as in the case of Shajarat al-Durr. But the idea that the entire length and breadth of the land is ruled in the name of a king who for a decade has no longer known what is going on, is incredible.

**America/Crusader
/Collaborators**

(251) No appointment of a king or representative can take place without the agreement of America, something which goes back to the agreements between kings and the American government.

(King)

(251) His authority has diminished not just because he has committed acts that contradict Islam, but because of his general incapacity and the loss of his mental capacity to do even the smallest of tasks, let alone govern a country and people. His brothers should not make him do what he is not equipped to do. But they insist on keeping him, because of their refusal to let Abdallah become king, since this would reduce their own power and he would exercise power without them.

(Ministry Defense/Interior)

(Intelligence Services)

(Royal Court)

(252) And for his part, he cannot overcome them, because they control the reins of power, in particular the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of the Interior as well as the Intelligence Services. More, importantly they control the Royal Court, which enables them to issue a royal edict in the name the nominal ruler to remove him or

appoint someone else as heir.

(competing princes)

(252) This acute struggle within the royal family, besides their oppression of the people, has allowed America to continue blackmailing the competing princes especially Abadallah into meeting its demands. He knows for sure that if he does not respond to their orders then at the very best he will be removed by his brothers as they previously removed his brother Saud, for he is aware that his brothers have experience in such things and that they are prepared to do more than remove him if that is what it takes. Anyone wanting a living example of America's role in such things need look no further than Prince Hassin bin Talal of Jordan. After he had been the king's deputy for a number of decades his brother Hussein returned from America a few days before his death and decided to remove him, which he did. Hassan submitted to the decision and became politically isolated. This is what scares Prince Abdallah if he disobeys his protector America. Therefore it is no secret that the decision makers in important matters are in America.

(Hussein)

(Crusader)

(Collaborators)

(252) The proof of the depth of Crusader control over our country lies in the way these collaborators carry out the changes their superior imposes on them, even in things like educational curricula, with the aim of distorting the character of the umma and alienating its sons. This is an old project that started decades ago in the curricula of al-Azhar in Egypt.

(al-Azhar)

(Collaborationist countries)

(252) Then America asked the rest of the collaborationist countries to change their educational curricula to dry up what is called the sources of awakening.

(Religious Institutes: Yemen)

(Rulers of Riyadh)

(253) For, instance it asked Yemen to close its religious institutes more than two decades ago and asked the rulers of Riyadh to change the religious curricula, which they did in deference to its wishes. All this was more than a decade and a half before the raids on New York and Washington. Besides that there are also the new additional changes intended by the regime, as well as the removal of imams and preachers. The Crusader interference in changing curricula is categorically one of the most dangerous kinds of interference in our affairs because to put it bluntly it amounts to changing our religion, which is an indivisible whole.

(Regime: removal imams)

(Crusader Interference)

(Rulers of Riyadh)

(Change of Curricula)

(253) ...the rulers of Riyadh were afraid of America and changed the curricula. It is no secret that the consequence of changing the religious curricula is the loss of religion, in both its religious and everyday dimensions. As far as the religious dimension is concerned, as you know, this represents willful apostasy. As far as the day to day issues are concerned these curricula will produce in our country educated slaves who will be loyal to America, and who will sell the interests of the country and smile in the face of America while it occupies our land and corrupts our honor under the pretext of liberty, equality, and the laws of the United Nations. This is just one example of American interference in our domestic politics.

(United Nations)

Ruling Families: Crusader

(King Hussein of Jordan)

(253) ...foreign policy, the ruling families have responded to America's wishes, leading the way in treachery. King Hussein of Jordan, for example continued the policy of betrayal started against Palestine, by his grandfather Abdallah bin al-Sharif Hussein, as well as his father.

(Abdallah II)
(Muhammad IV)

Prince Abdallah: Saudi King

(Corruption)
(America)

(Deceiving the Umma)

(Saddam)

(OBL opinion on Abdallah)

(OBL: Saddam & Abdallah)

("Deception: American Troops)

(The Shame of God)
(Umma)
(Prince Talal bin Abd al-Aziz)

(Prince Bandar Sultan)
(Vice President/Defense Min)

(American Troops)

(254) ...his son Abdallah II has continued the same course while Muhammad VI is following the same path of treachery pursued by his father and grandfather before him. Their implementation of Crusader plots is still going on today.

(254-5) What made this disaster even more offensive to people was the fact that many of them thought that when Prince Abdallah bin Abd al-Aziz took over management of the country he would save it from the mires of religious disobedience and administrative, financial, and media corruption, as well as other kinds of corruption, and that he would save it from subservience to America. But although people were expecting good to come from him, he brought them evil. For while America was sending its armies to the Gulf to invade Iraq, the Riyadh regime was deceiving the umma with its statements, saying that it refused to let America use force against Iraq.

(255) Shortly before the invasion, Prince Abdallah presented a plan which he claimed was humanitarian. This was that Saddam should go into exile in order to spare our blood as he put it which was a clear statement that Iraq should surrender to America, with all the spoils and booty that it contains.

(255) Such a person is like a criminal who ambushes you and gives you one of his slaves as a sincere peace-maker who tells you: "I advise you to leave your family and property, and escape on your own." This is how the thief takes people's property in Iraq, attacking their land and honor without caring about the support or advise of the Bedouin Prince.

(255) It is true that Saddam is a thief and an apostate, but the solution is not to be found in moving the government of Iraq from a local thief to a foreign one. Helping the infidel to take the land of Muslims and control them is one of the ten acts contradictory to Islam.

(255) Before the invasion Prince Abdallah also came out in public to make the sly, deceptive statement that the American troops were not gathering for war. Those who gave him the benefit of the doubt thought that this was merely an example of his negligence and nothing more, but no more than a year, or even a few months, had passed before God...shamed him in front of everyone and revealed his lies, deceit, treason, and treachery against the umma, the like of which has never before been seen, with clear and irrefutable evidence.

(255) ...stated publicly that his father had received money from the English, thereby affirming the facts and documents that prove that his father was a collaborator with the English.

(255-6) And today too you have his nephew and ambassador in America, Prince Bandar bin Sultan, admitting in public that he met with American Vice President and his Defense Minister and the Chief of Staff, who informed him of their secret plans to invade Iraq and everything else. This came in the midst of his comments following the publication of a book shaming Prince Abdallah in which he pledged support for America and encouraged it to invade Iraq.

(256) Other statements like this were issued before the invasion including his pronouncement that he felt that the American forces that had arrived in the Gulf were not there for war. In this instance he was lying to the umma in

(Lying/Deceiving Umma)

full knowledge in order to deceive it and spread false ideas within it. As such he undertook the first part of the psychological war acting as America's proxy against Iraq and its people, so that they would surrender and not to be hostile to the war and so that the ideas of submissiveness and surrender to the enemy would spread amongst us and so that the American forces would not meet with any significant resistance. Oh what shame and ignominy. What unbelief and treachery. What treason and betrayal. People still remember the presence of the Iraqi delegation at the Beirut conference and the announcement of settlement between the two countries. Then Abdallah betrays them, going in the middle of the night to make an agreement with America over the invasion of Iraq and pledging to pay a billion dollars towards it to support this war.

(Betrayal to Iraq)

(257) The rulers' conduct varies between procrastination and lying, enticement and temptation, or prison and exile. But the one certain aim of this ruler in his dialogue with every reformist movement is to abort that movement, even if it takes some time. I have experienced this myself, when two decades ago I offered advice to the government through senior scholars but the situation did not change.

(Government)

(259) ...also committed the same treachery and collaboration in the Beirut initiative the hypocrites praised him and supported him. The scholars of evil and writers for rent said whatever the ruler wanted them to and went wherever he went, all for money. And then they claim to have religious knowledge, guidance, and rectitude. ...the ruler has another religion and that he is trading with the religion of Islam and deceiving the people in regard to it.

(Ruler of Riyadh)

(262) ...ruler of Riyadh, I will tell you about who has been killing Muslims, for he has killed them before, whole groups of them.

(Abd al-Aziz)

(English)

(King Saud)

(262-3) I can tell you about those who declare people in general unbelievers, and who permit the shedding of Muslim blood: your father Abd al-Aziz. He is the one who came out and helped the English against the Ottoman state and their deputy, ibn Rashid, at Hail. You yourselves came out with force of arms against your brother King Saud and you would have massacred each other had it not been for God. Your scholars did not call you and your fathers Kharijites and if we open the file on the horrifying massacre of Taif we learn who it was that declared everyone else infidels. That was the massacre which your father deceived his own soldiers, them that people of the Hijaz were infidels and that killing them was jihad for the sake of God. In saying this he was lying to them. If we discuss all the terrible things that happened at Taif, all the other disasters of the regime pale by comparison. Adversaries are supposed to stick to the code of conduct of conflict and fighting by not lying. It is much better to abide by such rules. And if you weren't so sure that we would not lie on your behalf, since we have been lied to for so long, then you would ask me about a Muslim man who has gone into hiding with me and whom you unjustly want to oppress or kill. To lie in such circumstances would be a duty, just as the men of knowledge have mentioned that the ruler must be a Muslim, and just as you accuse Al-Sabbab of ignorance in issues that all Muslims know about.

	(263) ...you want to make a priesthood of Islam! For you are making a council of elder scholars of the sultan like some Christians do. By doing so you are despising the religion and declaring legal what God prohibited, and prohibiting what He has authorized. You issue pardons to whoever you like, and describe the youth as having erroneous and corrupt ideas but who is it that really has the erroneous ideas?
	(264) Or are they the ones who scorn the sayings of the Prophet and act treacherously towards them, like the Jews? Like Prince Abdallah did when he said that our arguments were groundless, and then turned to serve foreigners.
	(269) "You are the head of the National Guard where is your mind? Have you lost all self-respect?" How dare you make these vile baseless accusations against the mujahidin?
(Imams/Mujahidin) (Zionist Collaborators)	(269) So, you banned imams from preaching to the mujahidin in Chechnya, and ordered them instead to preach to the youth of jihad in Saudi Arabia, whom you dishonestly and deliberately accuse of being Zionist collaborators. And the preachers and poets who support your slanderous claims are also liars they know you are a liar and a traitor; how similar are these years to the years that the Prophet told us about.
Other Arab Regimes/Rulers (Abdel Nasser)	(259) The same goes for the regimes of Abdel Nasser, Sadat, Qadhafi, Saddam.
	(259) Abdel Nasser was in conflict with the Saudi regime, so they declared him an infidel from the pulpit of the Haram Mosque in Mecca. And that's what he is. But when he made peace with the Saudis, he became a Muslim again.
(Qadhafi)	(259) The same thing happened with that atheist Qadhafi. For over three decades he was an infidel when he insulted them and then when they made peace with the Saudi government he became a Muslim and they brought him into the Noble Ka'ba.
(Sadat)	(259) Sadat, when he signed the capitulation initiative with the Jews, the rulers of Riyadh and rest of the Arab states accused him of being a traitor and collaborator, which he was. Their newspapers were filled with insults and abuse against him.
	(259) After the general behavior we have seen from all the rulers of the region, and the rulers of Riyadh in particular, who besides their other bad characteristics, are apostate collaborators, it is clear that the dispute is one between two paths and a profound struggle between two beliefs: a struggle between the divine perfect belief which has submitted to God's authority in all matters
American rulers in Baghdad (Bremer and Allawi)	(260) In the same way there is no difference between Bremer the former American ruler in Baghdad and Allawi the current ruler in terms of implementing American policies in Iraq. For there is no difference between Bremer and the rest of the regimes in the region when it comes to implementing America's policies.
(Scholars/Regime)	(268) Despite the terrible massacre that went on for a number of years in Iraq, we did not hear a single word or decree from you supposedly brilliant scholars, or from your preachers who talk about the illegality of spilling Muslim blood. But when the young men killed that American warmonger, the scholars finally raised their voices, and

America

the hacks didn't stop talking night and day about the illegality of spilling the blood of those in our trust. But according to the laws of the king's religion, and that of his companions, the murder of a million Muslims and the murder of a million children is merely a matter to be looked into, whilst the killing of a single Crusader is an unforgivable crime! (270-1) How can they hope to be blessed with security while they are dishing out destruction, devastation, and murder on our people in Palestine and Iraq?...These people do not deserve security in any part of the world. As for their presence in Saudi Arabia, and indeed in all of the Arabian peninsula, that is forbidden under God's law, as we have demonstrated. And we pray to God that He will accept our brothers who have been killed as martyrs.

Actors

Forms of Agency

Muslims	(p246) OBL Letter: To Muslims in Saudi Arabia in particular and Muslims elsewhere generally; This is a letter concerning the conflict and dispute among the rulers of Riyadh, and the way to solve them.
(Rulers)	(256-7) Here, sensible people should make a stand with each other and consider the conduct of their rulers. The disorder is great indeed. No Muslim can be content to be ruled by such men. Sensible people who want to see reform achieved through these rulers should think: how could such people undertake reform when the are swimming in such a stormy sea of disgusting characteristics? It is impossible because drowning awaits them. No sane person could be satisfied to have anyone with such characteristics as a partner in anything at all. How
(Umma)	could he, when we are talking about such issues as the fate of the umma, and the efforts and conversations of advisers, the result of which are evidently very far from the realms of reality. (258) Honest people in these Islamic associations should ensure that Islamic works have nothing to do with such menacing regimes.
(Countrymen)	(261) Our countrymen who reject armed confrontation with the governments in order to restore their rights are engaging in a huge fraud. You can't get rights restored by a regime whose ruler is an apostate and who rejects everything except the force of arms who knows that he has on his side these purveyors of blatant error as well as those who have called directly for acts contradictory to Islam. They have helped the infidels. (263) Is there any Muslim alive who is unaware that it is forbidden to help the infidels against a Muslim, or make usury legal? This is well known to be part of the religion, just as knowledge of the prohibition of wine or adultery is well known. Is anyone unaware of this? (267) Muslims have a duty to repent themselves of it and wash their hands of these oppressive, debauched, infidel governments that they have been allying themselves with and supporting. They should free themselves of those who support murder.
(OBL prayer request)	(269) I call on all Muslims to curse the Zionists and their collaborators, and I call on you, if you are an honest man, and those in your command, to make the following prayer in the Two Holy Sanctuaries and all other mosques in the land: "Oh Lord, abandon the Zionist-American alliance and their supporters and collaborators, oh Lord, destroy them and break their backs, take away their power and shatter their unity, make their wives widows, turn them against each other, look for their weak points just as You do the mujahidin, shame them before the whole world, rid us of them however you wish." (271) I say to our brothers and our people, it is God who gives and God who takes away. Nothing lasts for ever, so be patient and think of the rewards of the hereafter.
(OBL speaks to Muslims)	(271) I suffer what afflicts me with patience you should remember that God has praised patience...I am not on the side of the wealthy, if exaltedness is on the side of the poor. So continue on the path, don't be afraid of any

God

difficulty, and be sure to cleanse the Arabian peninsula of polytheists, atheists, and heretics.

(246) God has told us the stories of the disobedient and their punishment so that we could take heed.

(246-7) God presents the example of a town that was secure and at ease with provisions coming to it abundantly from all places. Then it became ungrateful for God's blessings, so He afflicted it with the garment of famine and fear for what its people had done. "All of them committed excesses in their lands, and spread corruption there: your Lord let a scourge of punishment loose on them. Your Lord is always watchful."

(247) Those children of Israel who defied God were rejected through the words of David and Jesus, son of Mary, because they disobeyed, they persistently overstepped the limits, they did not forbid each other to do wrong...how vile their deeds were!.

(248) Whoever relies on God will find Him sufficient, and He will reward those who are not distracted by worldly pleasures. There is no meaning to this life except to be judged obedient to God, so I ask God for steadfastness and a good outcome. The solution to this problem is reform, and commitment to the straight path at the command of God and his Prophet..."So keep to the right course as you have been commanded, together with those who have turned to God with you. Do not overstep the limits, for He sees everything you do.

(Prosperity of this Nation)

(249) The prosperity of this nation will be achieved in the same way as it was originally. For the Arabian Peninsula was beset by crashing waves of murder and oppression, drowning in ignorance, but when God sent our Prophet Muhammad and revealed the Qur'an and people joined him in Islam, their condition prospered and their lives were improved. God made them proud after they had been humble and made them harmonious after they had been enemies. He brought them together after they had been split, He fed them when they were hungry, and comforted them when they were afraid. God said "If they intend to deceive you, God is enough for you: it was He who strengthened you with His help, and with the believers, and brought their hearts together in friendship. Even if you had given away everything in the earth you could not have done this but God brought them together: God is mighty and wise..." If the people of those towns had believed and had been mindful of God, we would have showered them with blessings from the heaven and earth, but they rejected the truth and so we punished them for their misdeeds.

(Society: first community)

(250) Society should be as the first community of God's Messenger and his companions, the group who are saved who are in the right even if you are on your own in doing so, as ibn Mas'ud showed when people abandoned some of what God had commanded and enmity and hatred rose among them, and their enemies gained power over them. That is what has happened to us, and there is no strength or power save in God.

(Polytheists)

(253) When Our clear revelations are recited to them, those who do not expect to meet with Us say: "Bring a different Qur'an or change it." (Prophet): say, "It is not for me to change it of my own accord; I follow only what is revealed to me, for I fear the torment of an awesome day.

(258) "God has allowed trade and forbidden usury."

(Rulers/Muslims)	(258-9) Devotion to God has confirmed their bonds of faith with which we ally ourselves with the allies of God and his Messenger, and that war enemies of their enemies too.
(Believers)	(259-60) "Say, my prayer my piety my life and death are for God, lord of the two worlds who has no partner. So I have been instructed and I am the first of Muslims." (from the Shahada:) "There is no god but God and Muhammad is His Messenger."...in all its meanings and with its requirements and the crudely secular wary, the way "those who deceive God and those who believe, although they only deceive themselves even if they do not realize it." the way of "those who take each other as lords instead of God," they way of those about whom God said: When they are told. 'Turn to God's revelations and the Messenger, 'you see the hypocrites turn away from you.
(Disbelievers)	(261) "When God and his Messenger have decided on a matter that concerns them, it is not fitting for any believing man or woman to claim a freedom of choice in that matter: whoever disobeys God and his Messenger is far astray." (262) "By your lord, they will not be true believers until they let you decide between them and all matters of dispute and find no resistance in their souls to your decisions accepting them totally.
	(264-5) "As you the disbelievers who bar others from God's path and from the Sacred Mosque which He made for all people, residents and visitors alike and who try to violate it with wrongdoing, we shall inflict upon them a painful punishment."..."She said, 'Whenever kings go into a city they ruin it and humiliate its leaders that is what they do but I am going to send them a gift, and see what my envoy brings back.' (266) "The boat belonged to some needy people who made their living from the sea and I damaged it because I knew that coming after them was a king who was seizing every serviceable boat by force." (267) "If anyone kills deliberately, the punishment for him is Hell, and there he will remain: God is angry with him, and rejects him, and has prepared a tremendous torment for him." (267) "Abraham asked forgiveness for his father because he had made a promise to him, but once he realized that his father was an enemy of God, he washed his hands of him. Abraham was tender-hearted and forbearing." (267-8) "You have a good example in Abraham and his companions, when they said to their people: 'We disown you and what you worship beside God! We renounce you! Until you believe in God alone, the enmity and hatred that has arisen between us will endure!'...Abraham said to his father, 'I will pray for forgiveness for you though I cannot protect you from God.' (268) "And anyone who commits an offence or a sin, and then throws the blame on to some innocent person, has burdened himself with deceit as well as flagrant sin." (269) "When the sorcerers came to Pharaoh, they said: 'Shall we be rewarded if we win?' and he said, 'Yes, and you will join my inner court.' (271) "No misfortune can happen, either in the earth or in yourselves, that was not set down in writing before We brought it into being that is easy for God."...How can a Muslim who believes in God's truth not be patient, for He is

our Master, the Creator, who said to the leader of the path that we are on: "Wait patiently for your Lord's judgment: you are under Our watchful eye. Celebrate the praise of your Lord when you rise."

(271) The Messenger of God is an excellent model for those of you who put your hope in God and the Last Day and remember Him often. When the believers saw the joint forces, they said, "This is what God and His Messenger promised us; the promise of God and His Messenger is true," and this only served to increase their faith and submission to God.

(272) "Do not be faint-hearted in pursuing the enemy: if you are suffering hardship, so are they, but you hope to receive something from God for which they cannot hope. God is all-knowing and wise."

(272) "They said, 'We shall never prefer you to the clear sign that has come to us, nor to Him who has created us. So decide whatever you will: you only can decide matters of this present life.'"

(274) Lord give us good in this world and the next, save us from the torment of the Fire. Lord give us truth and provide us, protect us from falsehood, Lord spread harmony amongst the hearts of Muslims and unite their ranks show mercy on their weakness and help them recover from setbacks.

(274-5) Lord, establish true guidance for the umma in which those who obey can be proud and those who disobey can be humiliated, in which good is enjoined and evil forbidden. Lord make faith dear to us and adorn it in our hearts and make unbelief, depravity, and disobedience hateful to us. Lord lay open the hearts of our young men and women to commitment to Your religion, and provide us with guidance, piety, virtue, and wealth. Lord make us stand firm when we slip up, and make the mujahidin stand firm everywhere in Palestine, Iraq, Kashmir, Chechnya, Afghanistan, and Saudi Arabia. Lord guide their weapons and make their hearts firm, give them support and assistance against your enemies and theirs, for neither we nor they have anyone to help us but You, the strong and beloved one...God has power over everything although most people do not know. Praise to God and blessings on Muhammad, and all his family and companions.

(248) It is well known that there are among the ten acts contrary to Islam that we have referred to some of the injustices committed by the regime in matters of religion and worldly life in some detail in Communiqué 17. Whoever wishes to go back to it will find that these are important reasons behind the dispute between Muslims and the Rulers of Riyadh, and that solution to these issues is easy and well known in the religion of God, so long as the ruler is truthful and honest in his desire for reform, or even has any desire for it at all. All for us, God knows that we want the reform that we strive for; we left our country out of desire for it, for we did not need any worldly goods, all thanks and praise to God.

(249) The solution to the dispute between ruler and ruled is the plan proposed by the first Caliph to the second: "Be upstanding and so will your subjects." These are the words of the rightly guided Caliphs, who shine with clear light. If a commander is upright in obeying God's law, then his subjects will be likewise, for it is their duty to obey him absolutely, as commanded by God. For obedience is not absolute but conditional on the ruler's integrity, and

OBL: Request to God

Muslim/Rulers Riyadh/Regime

Caliph(s): solution ruled/rule

(Commander)

Sheikh of Islam: ibn Taymiyya

National Center for Dialogue

OBL

(Infidel)

(Polytheists)

Scholars/Revered Scholars

(Revered Scholar: Qadi)

(Muslims)

(Consensus of Imams)

(Muslims)

(Al-Nawawi)

Muslims/Reformers

the men of knowledge has insisted upon unity and harmony in obeying God.

(249-50) If the reason for unity and harmony is religion and working for it, then the reason for division is abandonment of what God has ordered of His servant.

(250) the National Center for Dialogue as well as with municipal elections, but that has not alleviated the basic disease one bit. They claim it improved things by letting people play the game of elections as in Yemen, Jordan, or Egypt, and spinning around for years in a vicious circle, regardless of the fact that it is forbidden to abide by polytheistic laws.

(250) Proper solution both theoretical and practical to this dispute, we need to know the truth of the matter in all its different dimensions and we need to know all its root causes.

(253) Whoever believes in some of the book and doesn't believe in other parts of it is an infidel indeed.

(253) The polytheists are the ones whose hearts resembled each other.

(260) The scholars of Islam have agreed that authority cannot be given to an infidel, so if he becomes one his authority is thereby revoked and it is obligatory to remove him by force. Ayad Qadi said: Scholars are agreed that leadership of the religious community cannot be given to an infidel and that if he becomes one, he must be deposed.

(261) He also said: "If he becomes an infidel, changes God's law or indulges in innovation, he has stepped outside of the judgment of authority and he is not due allegiance. It is then incumbent upon Muslims to rise up against him and remove him and to appoint a just imam, if they can do so even if there is only one group of Muslims, they are obliged to depose the infidel."

(261) Therefore, it is not we who say that the infidel leader has overstepped the bounds of his authority; it is the consensus of the imams who say so. This is the judgment of God's law in a case such as ours, so it is obligatory for all Muslims to strive for reform, taking into consideration the size and dimension of the dispute and the fact that these regimes are nothing but part of the organization of unbelief.

(263) Al-Nawawi said: "As for the idea that the only orders and forbids what he knows about this is something else entirely; every Muslim knows about obvious duties like the forbidden months, praying, fasting, adultery, drinking alcohol, and the like."

(260) Now that this is clear the solution to improve the situation is what has been made clear by God's law and that is to remove the ruler. Even if he refuses to go, it is obligatory to depose him through force of arms. This is the ruling of God's law which maintains people's religious and material interests. The regime for its part has proposed a similar solution in its maintenance of its own laws and worldly interests it proposed that the reformers should submit unconditionally to the laws and edicts of royal power.

(261) Reform should be carried out according to God's law or else it is a deviation from it and a waste of time and effort, whether it be well-intentioned or deceitful.

Mujahidin

(262) Did our people attack us with weapons in Sudan to kill everyone except Kharijites? We believe that no sin besides that of unbelief makes a believer step outside of faith, even if it is a serious sin, like murder or drinking alcohol. Even if the culprit died without repenting of his sins, his fate is with God, whether He wishes to forgive him or to punish him. His destiny will be to go to Heaven. We do not anathematize people in general nor do we permit the shedding of Muslim blood. If some Muslims have been killed during the operations of the mujahidin then we pray to God to take mercy on them; this is a case of accidental manslaughter, and we beg God's forgiveness for it and we take responsibility for it.

(264) ...our arguments are simply the clear and correct sayings of the Prophet concerning the duty of banishing the polytheists, with no exception regardless of whether they come to serve or be served.

(264) Are we the ones with erroneous ideas? Or is it those who have betrayed the umma and allowed Muhammad's peninsula to be occupied by the Jews and Christians, letting them take control and giving them military bases. This is besides their betrayal of Iraq, even though betrayal is forbidden even betrayal of infidels.

(264) So who are the ones with the corrupt and erroneous ideas? Is it those who enjoin what is good and forbid evil and who believe in God? Or is it those who betray Muslims with their policies and propaganda, even in the sacred land and in the forbidden months and around the mosque of the Haram?

(Alliance of global unbelief)

(265) Who are the ones with the corrupt and erroneous ideas? Is it those who defend Muslims and their honor and property in Iraq, Palestine, Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Chechnya?...Or is it those who have entered into the alliance of global unbelief against the Muslims, as well as plundering the umma's public funds?

(OBL to the Mujahidin)

(268) God is sufficient for me against you all.

(269) And to my mujahidin brothers in particular, I say: you have made a stand to help your religion when all around you have failed, you have waged jihad when others have only talked about it, you have spoken the truth when the timid and greedy were silent.

(OBL: those in hope of reward)

(270) As for you, who hope to be rewarded and to be close to the Merciful, you have tasted the sweetness of faith, and you have not been led astray by the sweetness of this world. This is how I consider you, but God is your reckoner. There is no one purer than you in God's eyes and He will give you the best rewards. You have made a stand and death brings no doubt to those who do so. You have smashed all delusions and fantasies, and they are shattered. You have plunged into the sea of death, utterly fearless. And he who does not fear death cannot be scared of anything. You have smashed the haloes that have been unjustly around the heads of the tyrants for decades now, and to your credit you have lit up the way with your blood to the millions in the coming generations to remain on the straight path and avoid the way of these criminal tyrants.

(Martyrs in middle east)

(270) God have mercy on our brothers the martyrs everywhere: in Palestine, in Iraq, in Saudi Arabia, in Morocco, in Kashmir, in Afghanistan, in Chechnya, in Nigeria, in Indonesia, in the Philippines, and in Thailand...God have mercy on Sheikh Yusuf al-Airi, Abu Ali al-Harithi, Khaled al-Hajj, Abd al-Aziz al Muqrin, Isa al-Aushin and all their

(Sheikhs)

(Mujahidin)

brothers...We pray to God almighty to have mercy on the mujahidin who attacked the American consulate in Jeddah (272) Mujahidin, be patient and think of the hereafter, for this path in life requires sacrifices, maybe your life. You scare the enemy but they do not scare you, and you are well aware that the burning issues for the umma today are the jihads in Palestine and in Iraq. So be very sure to help them be sure to know that there is a rare and golden opportunity today to make American bleed in Iraq, in economic, human, and psychological terms. So don't waste this opportunity and regret it afterwards. Remember too that the biggest reason for our enemies control over our lands is to steal our oil, so give everything you can to stop the greatest theft of oil in history from the current and future generations in collusion with the agents and foreigners. They are taking this oil for a paltry price in the knowledge that the prices of all commodities have multiplied many times. But, oil which is the basis of all industry, has gone down in price many times. After it was going for \$40 a barrel two decades go, in the last decade it went for as little as \$9 while its price today should be \$100 at the very least. So keep on struggling, do not make it easy for them, and focus your operations on it, especially in Iraq and the Gulf, for that will be the death of them.

Muhammad

(267) "If the people of the heavens and earth agree to kill a Muslim man, then God will throw them into the fire."

(267) "The end of the world is not as bad as the murder of a Muslim."

(267) (related by Ibn Abbas:) "On the Day of Judgment the killer and the victim will come face to face and the victim will be holding his head in his hands, and his veins will spill forth blood. He will ask: 'Oh Lord ask this man why he killed me.' And God will bring the victim closer to the throne."

(269) "The three kinds of people whom God will not speak to, praise or even look at, on the Day of Judgment and who will have a painful torment, are the sheikh who defames people, the king who lies, and the one who fails to support those in his charge."

(269) (related by Imam Ahmad) "People will suffer years of deception in which lies will be deemed the truth and the truth lies, and in which a traitor will come and faithful people will betray, and the foolish will speak."..."And who are the foolish?"..."The stupid man who discusses public matters."

(270) (related by al-Bukhari) "By God, for one man to be guided by God's path by you is better for you than all the blessings in the world."

(271) "The size of your reward will be in proportion to your bravery, and if God loves a people He puts them to the test, and whoever pleases Him will be rewarded in kind and whoever angers Him will be rewarded in kind."

(272) Don't be fooled by the number of deserters and defectors, for God's Messenger said: "There is still a group in my umma who fight at God's command, conquering their enemies. Those who differ with them can do them no harm, until their Hour comes."

Rulers of Riyadh

(272-3) Leadership is a covenant between the leader and his subjects in which both parties have rights and duties. That covenant is broken if the leader takes it upon himself to betray his community and his nation. This is what you done. Even if this covenant of the last century was right, which it is not, you have still trampled al over the people,

neither satisfying them nor consulting them, with the support of the English, in total disregard of the interests of the country and its citizens. You can hardly be unaware that the people have woken up from their apathy and realized the sheer scale of the tyranny and corruption that you recklessly commit against their rights and property, and that Muslims in Saudi Arabia are now insisting that their rights be restored no matter what that costs...You therefore now have a choice between two paths:

(273) One: to restore to the people their trusteeship in a peaceful way and to let the people of the country choose a Muslim ruler who will rule according to God's book and the hadith of His Prophet...Two: to refuse to give their rights back to continue oppressing them and depriving them of their rights to exploit certain people by paying them money out of the nation's public funds so that they beat and kill their brothers and cousins who have rejected your authority. But you should know that things have gone far enough already, and that when people rise up to demand their rights no security apparatus can stop them. Don't forget what happened to the Shah of Iran despite the reputation, strength, and experience of his security apparatus, or what happened to Ceausescu in Romania and the terrible fate that he and his family met for what he did to his people. So clearly you would be better off if you restore to the people their rights. You know that we in the al-Qaeda organization are not competing with you over worldly affairs. What offends us is that you commit acts contrary to religion, such as failing to rule in accordance with what God revealed and making alliances with the infidels.

Scholars/Leaders

(273-4) ...righteous scholars, leaders, dignitaries, notables, and business leaders: You must take the necessary step before it is too late for things are descending with extraordinary speed towards an explosion. Do whatever is in your power to defuse the crisis, in the knowledge that the mujahidin in Saudi Arabia have not yet started their fight against the regime. If they had really done so, then getting rid of the local leaders of unbelief namely those in Riyadh, would be at the top of the list. However, current events are merely an extension of the struggle against the Crusader-American alliance who fight us everywhere, just as we fight them everywhere, including Saudi Arabia from which we are trying to expel them with God's will.

(274) So you men of influence fear God for your sake and for the sake of your umma. Those of you who can do so should emigrate and in so doing liberate yourselves from the shackles of illusion and from all the psychological pressure the regime imposes on you so that you can take up your duty of guiding the umma and sorting out the important priorities. If you hesitate any longer things will get even more complicated and problems will only become deeper and more entangled. This will encourage the youth to think for themselves at your expense and to take up arms against the ruler, if they think that they have prepared what is necessary in order to do so, and that they deem themselves ready to remove the apostate ruler, despite the fact that what should really happen is that we unite the efforts of the righteous people to undertake this great deed. Even if some of them have abandoned the task, the duty of standing up to the ruler still remains as I have said many times before. Things have not been put right, so do your duty and be quick to put the situation right. The rulers of Riyadh very nearly came to blows with

each other some decades ago at the time of ibn Saud, but there was mediation between them and the king was convinced to step down. That was how the conflict was resolved then and this is your role today: to convince these tyrants who trample all over people to restore trusteeship to the people to whom it belongs. For that is their right they have not asked for falsehood. This is their right. As they say, a penny of protection is worth a fortune of cure.

Appendix B

Frequency Counts of Political Actors Differentiated by Identity in the Statements of Osama bin Laden

Appendix B
Frequency Counts of Political Actors Differentiated by Identity in the
Statements of Osama bin Laden

Identity/Actors	Statements																									
"Us"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Tot.	
9/11 Hijackers										2			2	1									1			6
Advice and Reform Committee				2	1																					3
Afghanistan (us in/status of)				1			7					1	5		3	1			2		2	1				23
Afghanistan Brothers/People				1	1		2		1		7	1							4							17
Afghan Jihad							1																			1
Afghan parties							1																			1
Allies God/Muhammad																								1		1
al-Qaeda											3			1				1					8	1		14
Ancestors							1																			1
Arabs											2			1		2			4		1					10
Arab/Islamic/Muslim World				6	14		15				2	5		1				1	5		3	1		1		54
Arabian Penn/Gulf Brothers/People			1			1																				2
Arab Tribes							1																			1
Arab Wives															1											1
Batalions of Faith																					1					1
Beloved ones							1															1				1
Believers/Followers	2	1	2	3	4	3	5		1		11	2		3	1	7		4	13		5	1		8		76
Bosnia Muslims													1													1
Brotherhood of Faith											1								2							3
Brothers/Cous/Fath/Sons Islam	1		2	1	1		14		1	1	13	4		9	1			1	6	2	4			4		65
Brothers/Martyrs Middle East																								1		1
Brother Muslims (Saudi Arabia)			2																							2
Brothers Kashmir												3														3
Brothers Somalia					1						1															2
Caliph(ate)											2								1	1	2			2		8
Caliph (s) guiders							4																			4
Caliph Umar																		1	4							5

Berbers																		1				1
Biggest state in the world						1																1
Bilad al-Sham																		1				1
bin-Hatim																		2				2
Both Countries																		1				1
Brother Abu Ubaida al-Banshiri										1												1
Brother Howayda						1																1
Brother Tasir										2												2
Buddhists						1																1
Byzantines						6								2				1				9
Byzantine/Persian States						1																1
Ceausescu (Romania)																				1		1
Chechnya/Chechens										1								1				2
Citizen/Residents				1															1	3		5
Client Regimes						1																1
Coming generations																				1		1
Commanders																	1					1
Community						6								1						2		9
Confederate																		1				1
Confidants										1												1
Coop council gulf countries						2																2
Council elder schol of sultan																				1		1
Countries										2								10				12
Countries bombed by U.S.						1																1
Covenant																				3		3
Deputy Director																				1		1
Deputy Minister of Defense																				2		2
Deputy Min for security affairs																				1		1
Different Parties						1																1
Dignatories																		1		1		2
Disseminators						1																1
Educated People										1												1
Educated Slaves																				1		1

[illegible]

Leaders																		3	1			4			5	2			7	22
Lebanon																						3								3
Legeslat Councils Representatives																								4						4
Libya																														1
Low wage workers																														1
Mahmoud Abbas																									1					1
Ma'na																									1					1
Mankind																														3
Masses																														2
Master																														1
Men/Man																														34
Military Commander																														1
Militias																														1
Miserable																														1
Missionaries																														1
Monks																														1
Mosul																														1
Mothers of American Troops																														1
Mudirr																														1
Muhammad IV																														1
Muhammad al-Durreh																														2
Muslim Countries/Arab State																														2
Muslim Ruler																														2
Muthanna																														1
Nation (s)																														17
Natl. Ceter for Dialogue																														1
Nawaf al-Hazimi/brother Salem																														1
Neighboring Countries																														1
Nobility																														2
Nobody																														1
Non-Arab Govts.																														1
North Korea																														2
Notables																														2

[illegible]

Princes of Saud Family																			1	1
Prophet Shu'ayb																		1		1
Purveyors																			1	1
Qadhaf (Regime)																			2	2
Rabbi																		2		2
Rabi al-Awwal																		1		1
Ramzi				2																2
Religious comm/leadership				1		1							3						1	6
Religious institutes																			1	1
Richard lionheart Barbarossa									1											1
Ruler(s)									1		2				6		25		11	45
Sa'd																	1			1
Sadat (Regime)																			2	2
Salah al-Din																	2	2		4
Sane Person																			1	1
Saud al-Faisal																		1		1
Saudi Army/Forces				2																2
Saudi Arabia Scholars			1																	1
Security apparatus																			1	1
Servants																		1		1
Shah of Iran																			1	1
Sharm al-Sheikh																		1		1
Sheikh Abdallah Azzam						9														9
Sheikh Hamud bin Abdallah									2											2
Sheikh Julal al-Din Haqqani											2									2
Sheikh Sulaiman Abu-Ghaith									1											1
Sheikh Sulyaman al-Ulwan									1											1
State																			1	1
Society				1															1	2
Somalis				1																1
Some Countries						2														2
Someone											1							1		2
Sorcerers																			1	1

Total	15	7	4	23	45	7	107	1	0	3	73	15	6	48	4	13	4	22	106	34	173	5	8	133	856
	Statements																								
"Them"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
Abdallah (Prince)																			1		2			11	14
Adversaries																								1	1
Afghan Communists	1																								1
Agents of deception																						1			1
Agents							3																		3
Agent of Crime												1													1
Agent of U.S./Jews					2		1											1	1						5
Aggressors											1														1
American Administration					1																				1
American Allies			1			1			1		7			1			1	2	4					1	19
American Economy														1											1
American/Israel Allies							1																		1
American (America):People, Milit.		1	11	39	71	7	74			10	55	8	28	41	2	27	2	9	46	7	30	3	21	36	528
American Ambassador Egypt													1												1
American Crusader Forc/All			2				1		2							2								2	9
American Chief of Staff																								1	1
American Consulate																								1	1
American Defense Minister(y)							1											1						1	3
American Delegations																								1	1
American Foreign Ministry													1												1
American Natl Security																			1						1
American Politicians												1													1
American Secretary of State							1																		1
American Warmonger																								1	1
American Vice President																								1	1
Apostate (Opportunists)	4	1								1	1			1				1						6	15
Apostate Govts./Regimes																				1	2				3
Apostate ruler (s)/leaders																					2			3	5
Apostate Soldiers																								1	1
Arab Tyrants (ies)	5																							2	7

Arab Countries Regimes																		2	2
Arab Socialist Party																	1		1
Ariel Sharon										1							1		2
Arms/Oil Merchants												1							1
Arrogant People										1									1
Atheists														1				1	2
Atheistic Rulers																1			1
Australia/Australians								1					2						3
Biggest Enemy World					1														1
Biggest Military Power										1									1
Biggest Officials U.S.					1														1
Blair								1	1						1				3
Bloodshedders								1											1
Bloodsuckers																	1		1
Britain/British/English				1		4		6	2			2	1	1		2		5	24
British Diplomat																	1		1
British (newspaper) Media										1									1
Buisnessmen/leaders					1												1	1	3
Canada													1						1
Capitalist														1					1
CIA/Natl. Sec. Officials					1										1				2
Cheney													1						1
Christians			1		9			2	2					1	1		1	5	22
Christian Serbians				1															1
Collaborators				1	1			1		1		3			2		1	8	18
Collaborationist Count/Regim					1													1	2
Colonist Jew					1														1
Colonizer(s)												1							1
Comm Afgh								1											1
Comm Govt. Kabul					1														1
Comm Socialist (Yemen)		4																	4
Companies/Industries/Corp.												3					2	3	8
Condemmers 911									1										1

	Statements																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Page length	12	5	8	13	14	5	30	5	3	3	24	6	6	13	2	13	3	7	21	5	21	4	8	31
(# lines per statement)	254	104	166	257	320	80	689	113	34	56	552	144	45	207	40	327	47	156	565	118	532	75	169	862
Note: Most frequently mentioned actors that are analyzed in Chapter 5 are shown in bold type.																								