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..Except that I would like to point out how important it is for us to keep in mind the views of the Muslim Ummah (TN: Muslim population) on getting involved in a comprehensive war against the enemy. The Ummah is fighting an internal enemy, which are the leaders of the Arab World. The Ummah is also fighting an external enemy, which is America. Although the former is far more blasphemous, the latter is clearly the unbeliever.

At this stage of our war with our enemies, America poses a greater threat to the Ummah than any other enemy.

America is the head of the infidels. If God wills it, America's head can be cut off. Once the head has been removed, then it would be easier to cut off America's wings. This is exactly what Omar, may God be pleased with him, said about the Persians.

When the Muslims were at war with the Persians, Omar consulted with Hurmazan, who was supposedly the expert on Persian affairs. Omar asked Hurmazan about the best way to attack Persia. Hurmazan replied, "Persia's power today can be described as a power with a body, head, and wings." Omar asked, "Where was the head?" Hurmazan replied, "Nahavund." Hurmazan also told Omar about the two powers which represented the wings. Hurmazan then told Omar, "Oh, Emir of all believers, I have the answer to your question on how to defeat Persia: Cut off the wings, then the head becomes easier to remove." Omar immediately replied, "You tell a lie! You are the enemy of God. I must cut off the head, first, then the wings will be easier to remove."

I have come up with my own scenario on the situation. I have probably mentioned this before. The enemy can also be described as a wicked tree. The trunk of that tree is 50cm wide. The tree has many branches, which vary in length and size.

The trunk of the tree represents America. The branches of the tree represent countries, like NATO members, and countries in the Arab World. We, on the other hand, represent a person who wants to cut down that tree. Our abilities and resources, however, are limited, thus we cannot do the job quickly enough. The only option we are left with is to slowly cut that tree down by using a saw. Our intention is to saw the trunk of that tree, and never to stop until that tree falls down.

Assume that we have cut up 30cm of the trunk of that tree. We, then, see an opportunity to use our saw to cut into one of the

branches. Say a branch that represents the United Kingdom. We should ignore that opportunity, and to go back to sawing the trunk of the tree.

If we are to allow ourselves to be distracted by sawing this or that branch, we could never finish the job at hand. We will also lose momentum and, most importantly, waste our jihad efforts.

We want to saw the trunk until the wicked tree is down. God willing, once the tree is down, its branches will die thereof.

You saw what happened to the Russians in Afghanistan, when the Mujahidin focused on sawing the trunk of their wicked tree. Their tree fell down, then its branches died out, from South Yemen to Eastern Europe. Mind you, the Mujahidin had done very little to help kill those branches.

We must then aim every bow and arrow and every landmine at the Americans. Only the Americans, but no one else, be it NATO members, or other countries.

Assume that we are on an ambush mission between Qandahar and Helmand, and we have just spotted enemy forces. The enemy forces consisted of three separate convoys. One convoy belonged to the Americans. One convoy belonged to the Afghan army. One convoy belonged to a NATO-member. Also, assume that the Afghan and the NATO-member convoys carried far more troops than the American convoy.

What should we do? The rule is that we must only attack the American convoy, but no one else.

Of course, there are exceptions to this rule. Not to state the obvious, if the Mujahidin knows that a non-American force was on its way to attack their positions, and that force was not on a regular patrol mission, the Mujahidin must intercept it.

Accordingly, the Mujahidin in every country will use force against the local authorities only if they come under direct attack. The Mujahidin need to preserve their strength, so they could use it in their fundamental mission. That is to attack Americans and their interests.

One must leave room for the possibility that Americans, or their interests, may not be present in some countries or regions. Also, when Americans exist in fewer numbers in a given country, they tend to be under heavy protection. So each country or

region has its own variables as far as targeting Americans and/or their interests.

When Americans or their interests are not found in a given country, the Mujahidin group in that country must look for American targets in neighboring countries or regions. The Mujahidin group in that country should not opt to attack NATO members and/or NATO interests, because they happen to be vulnerable targets in their country.

Also, to avoid targeting conflicts between the al-Qaida branches, each Mujahidin group must be certain that it is the only al-Qaida group operating in a country where it intends to target Americans.

You may find it suitable to target Americans in South Africa, because it is located outside the Islamic Maghreb. Also, South Africa is not covered by the brothers who are located outside that region. The same can be said about other African countries.

The Muslim land has been spoiled by America's hegemony, and the leaders who rule that land. The leaders of that Muslim land had totally given in to America's hegemony, in exchange for favors which only serve their interests. Those are the same leaders who also abandoned the Law of Islam.

The road is open for us to resurrect the religion, and to restore dignity to the Muslim people. To restore dignity to the Muslim people, the Muslim land must break away from that American hegemony.

It is that same hegemony which had forbidden any government in its sphere to rule with God's law.

To break away from America's hegemony, we need to involve America in a war of attrition. The war must be enduring, however. The goal is to weaken America until it can no longer interfere in Muslims affairs.

Once the American enemy has been defeated, our next step would be targeting the region's leaders who had been the pillars of support for that American hegemony. These are the same leaders who not only abandoned the Islamic Law, but also helped America extend its hegemony all over the Muslim land.

Once those leaders have been defeated, God willing our next step will be building our Muslim state.

Going back to the earlier question about fighting the apostates. I say: You know that throughout history, many resistance movements in the Muslim world had fought and won against many foreign enemies. The last of those fights was in Afghanistan. The reason the resistance movement in Afghanistan had won was because it had the support from the Afghan public. The Afghan public was highly charged, and it supported the mujahidin with every possible means, to expel the Russian infidels who had occupied Afghanistan.

The public support to any resistance movement is extremely vital. A resistance movement cannot last without the support of the public, just like a fish cannot live without water. Also, when the movement's public support is diminished, the standing of that movement is diminished, too.

Most people in Gaza rallied behind the Islamic resistance banner, because they had a common foreign enemy. Although at the time, the Gazans had known little about the shortcomings of their leaders.

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In Iraq, the enemy entered the country and then occupied it. The enemy, however, made a very big mistake when it ignored the Iraqi tribes. The enemy was also ignorant about the region and its people.

The enemy, in one way or another, had stirred up the Iraqi tribes, which led them to declare unification. As a result of that unification, the Iraqi public became united against a common enemy. Then, the Iraqi public became supportive of the Mujahidin, who were also fighting that same enemy. The Iraqi public had sacrificed tens of thousands of men who fought side by side with the Mujahidin. (Translator note: Here, the author is making reference to the Sunni tribes and Sunni public.)

The Mujahidin made a few mistakes in Iraq. The mistakes were committed because of hasty and poor decisions by some of the brothers. Those mistakes involved a number of military operations. If the Mujahidin had closely examined those military operations beforehand, the situation would have been better. Those who were in charge of those military operations had totally ignored anticipating the benefits or drawbacks those operations might generate.

The biggest mistake was made when the Mujahidin targeted and then killed members of the Anbar tribes near a police recruitment station. The Mujahidin could have easily chosen not to carry out that operation. The Mujahidin were not under direct attack by those members of the Anbar tribes. Also, the members of the Anbar tribes were not on their way to attack the Mujahidin in their hideouts. That attack had caused the tribes to withdraw their support for the Mujahidin. The attack also stirred up very bad feelings.

As you know, a killing of a tribesman is taken very seriously by any tribe and it often becomes a leading cause for all sorts of vengeful wars.

Imagine the general Iraqi political climate at the time. Also, imagine what was the tribes' reaction when they first heard about the Mujahidin killing hundreds of their tribesmen.

It is extremely important to pay close attention to timing. Timing is everything. This saying has been proven to be true now and then.

We must fully understand that now is the time to begin the work toward building our Muslim state. To do that, we first need to tackle the guardian of the universal hypocrisy, America. We need to deplete America of its power.

The body of the international hypocrisy has always been highly unreceptive to the creation of any Muslim state, and no matter how small or big that state was. There are many examples which can attest to that.

When Shaykh Khitabi created a Muslim state in Morocco, the crusaders quickly reacted, then reorganized their forces and besieged that state. The Khitabi state was defeated soon after that siege. That took place well before the crusaders had a foothold in the Muslim world.

Despite our deep disagreement with the Algerian Salvation Front (FIS), to make a point, the Front was also harmed by that body of universal hypocrisy. When the Front overwhelmingly won the first round of elections in Algeria, which meant that it was going to win the general elections, the top French officials drafted a plan to move in against the Front, if the Algerian government wished it to. The United Kingdom and all of Europe were standing by to help the Algerian government defeat the Front and, if necessary, by force.

The West greatly worries about a resurfacing of a Muslim state. The West understands what sorts of potential the Muslims have; potential that has been implanted by Islam in its followers. Such potential is not present among followers of other faiths.

Because of this Islamic potential, the Muslims were able, in a very short period of time, to spread Islam throughout the world. That short period of time was between the time of the Prophet, Mohamed, may peace be upon him, and the time of the first four Wise Caliphates.

The maps which had been drawn by the Sykes-Picot Agreement and other more recent maps have been acknowledged by all world leaders. However, if a new Islamic state is to emerge, these maps will become something of the past. The Islamic state will be seen as a threat, and the West will deal with that state as if it had taken over some of its own territories. So, the West and other continental and regional countries will likely band together to defeat any new Islamic state.

Today, America, the guardian of the West, is by far the most influential country in the region. America is the lifeblood of that region. America is also the biggest supporter of that region's status quo. America is strong enough to have toppled the Iraqi regime, and the Islamic government in Afghanistan. Since then, America may have been weakened, perhaps, tremendously, but it is still powerful enough to topple any state and anywhere, particularly any newly founded Muslim state. Our work, hence, must go on until we exhaust and weaken America to the point where it could not threaten or defeat any state which we create.

So, it is rather urgent to work hard at organizing the Muslim people, to unify their efforts and resources. Some of the Muslim people may have not experienced a call to Jihad because of one excuse or another. Nonetheless, the Muslim people must be united first before the preparation for building a Muslim state begins, God willing; even if we have to put off the creation of that state for a few years.

There is another important issue which must be fully understood. That is the intent for applying Islamic Law is to create an environment in which God's codes are supreme to any other codes in a given land. Our duty is to ensure that such a condition exists. We also have to evaluate, and very carefully, our

decisions, which had taken into consideration the common good perspective within the domain of the Islamic Law.

It is common among ordinary people to enlist in the armed forces for monetary incentives. Once enlisted, if these people are ordered to step forward to a battlefield and fight, they would likely do so. These people, however, would not fight on behalf of America, even if they had been ordered to do so. These people would not have the motivation to kill their own cousins whom America wishes to destroy!

Assume that some of those enlisted people, who often would belong to this or that tribe, would be willing to fight us. Also, assume that during one of their offensives, we kill one of them. The reaction of the tribe, to which the deceased belonged to, would likely be insignificant in this case, because the incident only involved one person and, after all, it happened during an offensive operation. Imagine, however, that same tribe's reaction if we were to initiate an attack against a group of tribesmen, then kill many of them as they were trying to enlist with some unit of the armed forces. That tribe's reaction would be undoubtedly severe. That tribe would press hard against us.

The killing of a greater number of tribesmen often boosts tribes' vengeful attitudes. The Mujahidin, hence, must be extremely careful about initiating operations to which they know little about the consequences. The Mujahidin should also study past mistakes so they may learn from them.

Tribal wars have often undermined the stability of many communities. Tribal vengeful attitudes at times could be intense and uncontrollable. Many tribal wars throughout history can attest to that. Even some of our Mujahidin brothers had been sucked into tribal wars. When some of the Mujahidin left us to go back to their homeland, they found their tribes at war, and so, they joined in. They put their faith to the side, then joined an ignorant bunch. Those Mujahidin had always been true to their faith, to say the least, but they could not abandon the tribesmen's ignorant and vengeful attitudes.

Many governments in the region also made big mistakes when they ignored tribal attitudes. Those governments, and because of outside demands, would often kill their own countrymen without given enough thought to the consequences of their actions. As outside pressure increased on those governments, those governments, in return, intensified their actions against their

own tribes. That led many tribes in those countries to turn against the governments.

If the Mujahidin treat the tribes well, the tribes will likely be on the Mujahidin's side. The tribal communities take the spilling of blood within its community very seriously. You know the story about Abu Huthaifa, may God have mercy on his soul. Remember what Abu Huthaifa said during the Badir battle. When Abu Huthaifa learned the Prophet's instructions about not to kill al-Abbas Bin Abid al-Mutalib, Abu Huthaifa said, "We are to kill our fathers, our sons, our brothers, and members of our tribes, but ignore Abbas! By God, if I am to face Abbas, I would kill him!" Abu Huthaifa then regretted having said that.

You also know the story about Abidallah Ibn Abidallah Ibn Abi Salul. Abi Salul, who was a companion, may God have mercy on his soul, had this dialogue with the Prophet, peace be upon him. Abi Salul: "I heard that you were planning to kill my father, Abidallah Ibn Abi Salul. If you are still determined to do it, then let me do it. I would bring his head to you. Oh, by God! The Khazraj had never known a man to be more loving to his father than me. I am afraid that if you let another Muslim kill him, I would avenge my father's killing, because I would not be able to stand seeing a killer of my father walking freely among the people. So, if I decide to kill the killer of my father, that puts me in line with the sinners, because I killed a Muslim man, because he had killed an infidel."

The Prophet said to Abi Salul, "Instead of all of that, we need to treat your father well and we can also have a good relationship with him, but as long as he stays with us."

The Prophet then instructed the tribe of Ibn Abi, the tribe of Abi Salul, to be in charge of Abi Salul senior, and to punish him if he did wrong. The Prophet, peace be upon him, then turned to Omar, may God be pleased with him, and asked, "what do you think, Omar? If I had killed Abi Salul senior, as you had suggested, I would have started a vengeful tribal war. Look at the situation now! If I ask the Abi Salul's own tribe to kill him, they would do it."

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You know that any Muslim who fights against other Muslims on behalf of America, NATO countries, or the apostate states, must be fought back. This, however, should be done at the right time.

The timing issue can be understood if we look at an incident during the battle of the Trenches. That incident involved Huthaifa Bin al-Yaman, may God be pleased with him, and Abu Sufian. The Prophet, peace be upon him, said to Huthaifa, "Go to those people, then live amongst them. Learn as much as you can about those people, and what they are doing. Do not talk to anyone about this, however, until you come back to us." Huthaifa said, "May God be pleased with him." While there, Abu Sufian said, "Oh, Qurish people! Your prestige is at stake, and you are living in a land where your livestock has disappeared. Banu Quridhah tribe has held back, and today we have just learned about their unpleasant stance. We are confronted with a storm (the Muslim people forces), as you see, which appears unwilling to die down. We cannot start our fires or protect our homes from the strong wind. So, get ready to move, because I am." Abu Sufian then jumped on his camel while it was still at rest. He struck the camel hard, then the camel stressfully stood up. Whenever Abu Sufian's camel stopped, Abu Sufian would not wait for his camel to sit, instead, he would jump off, and quickly. Abu Sufian was always in a rattled mood. If it was not for the Prophet's instructions 'not to talk to anyone about this until you come back to us.' I could have easily killed Abu Sufian with an arrow."

Abu Sufian was the head of the infidels. Also, it appears that there is no doubt that killing the head of the infidels at the time would be in the interest of Islam. However, killing Abu Sufian had proven to be not in the interest of Islam, especially during that period of history. There were so many reasons not to kill Abu Sufian. One of reasons was that killing Abu Sufian would have given his tribe, Qurish, an incentive to avenge him, then launch a war on the Prophet, and his followers. That was mainly why the Prophet instructed his followers not to target Abu Sufian, to spare the Muslims any additional burdens.

The same can be said about fighting the infidels, or holding peace agreements with them. When the Muslims are strong, they fight the infidels until they either become Muslims or pay a penalty (the jizyah). When the Muslims are weak, our Prophet, peace be upon him, taught us to do what is in the best interest of the Muslim people.

The Prophet, who never uttered nonsense, taught us the following. During the battle of the Clans (Ahzab), the Prophet, peace be upon him, offered the Ghatfan clan one third of the city of Medina's harvest, in exchange for the clan not to fight the Muslims, and to go back to their territories.

Instead of the Muslims taking the wealth of the Ghatfanis, the Muslims gave them one third of their economy's output! The city of Medina where the Muslims were living at the time enjoyed a strong economy, and its harvest was counted among the best. So, a Muslim leader must do what the Prophet did, to compromise in difficult time. The duty of the Muslim leader is to ensure implementation of God's commands, and to defend God's religion.

Also, we need to learn about what the Prophet, may peace and blessings be upon him, did during the Hudaibiyah peace agreement with Qurish. Qurish at the time was the head of the infidels in the Arabian Peninsula. The Hudaibiyah peace agreement produced great and positive results for the Muslims.

As we are on the Jihad path, we need to do what the Prophet had done and to put God's religion above everything else. Our desire is to do just that -- to create a Muslim state, which would rule by the Almighty God's commands. This is feasible, God's willing.

Creating a Muslim state, however, cannot happen overnight. We need to be realistic about so many factors. Some of the factors include having to build the proper foundations for the state.

God did not send the entire holy Quran to the Prophet at once, although the Quran had been complete in Heaven. The Sword verse, for example, had existed in Heaven, as the Muslims were instructed by another verse "to hold back their hands (from fighting)." There is no doubt that God indented that "hold back" verse to serve certain goals which were to be for the benefits of the Muslim people.

I believe that another of God's goals was that the Muslims at the time did not possess the proper resources to create and be able to defend a Muslim state in Medina. Then, when God willed it, the Muslim state was created in Medina with the help of the Ansar supporters. Despite the fact that the state was considered too vulnerable and perhaps subject to what could be devastating wars. It was the Ansar supporters, may God be pleased with them all, who stood firm with the Prophet, and his state in Medina. This shows how important it is to ensure having the necessary support and loyalty of the people before building a state, be it ordinary, or influential tribesmen.

Note that when the Ansar, may God be pleased with them, decided to support the Call to Islam (Da'wa), they were told that all other non-Muslim Arabs would unify against them. Note that the

Ansar had not been told that "the whole world would unify against them!"

We must gain the support of the tribes who enjoy strength and influence before building our Muslim state. When God sent his prophets, may peace and blessings be upon them all, it was their tribes who were the first to reject them. Those were the prophets who enjoyed the support of God and His miracles!

This is part of God's worldly reality in which His own prophets had to experience. If God wishes to change that reality, He would have done it for His prophets! We, on the other hand, must understand this reality and plan our work accordingly.

If it is unfeasible to gain the trust of an influential tribe in a certain area, we should create a new Mujahidin group within that tribe. The basis for the tribal Mujahidin group is faith and not financial compensation. The tribal group must be based on similar foundations which had been used to create the Mujahidin groups. We think it is the best option. God knows best!

The group should consist of as many members as possible. We must urge members of this group to unify, and to trust one another. Members of the tribal group should agree to pledge allegiance to jihad, to assist in the creation of a Caliphate-based Muslim state. If some members of the group do not wish to pledge, however, this should not be an issue.

You must have an open mind with members of the tribes. You must also accept the members as part of your work. With time, and as long as the members find you inspirational and forgiving, they will come to your side.

You must give special consideration to members who have special status among their tribesmen. Also, you should make use of the members' skills and qualifications.

Creating a new tribal group, based on faith and brotherhood, God willing, will help us establish better relationships with the tribes. This will eventually help us build strong ties with the tribes, similar to what tribesmen have which are, for the most part, based on natural instinct.

It is important to study every issue that is involved in our work. Also, every aspect of a foundation which we want to use to build our state must be thoroughly examined. The work we want to

undertake is a just cause, but we must be realistic every step of the way.

God has ordered us to be clever about planning for our future, as we depend on Him for assistance. I would like to support this point with an example.

Assume that the Mujahidin are on a Da'wa mission to spread the word of God but they had to stop because of a river in their path. The Mujahidin must build a bridge if they are to cross the river. The engineers decided that, to build the bridge, they needed the following material and labor: Two tons of iron ore, one thousand ton of cement, one thousand square meters of wood, two thousand tons of crude iron, two thousand tons of sand, and two hundred workers.

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The Mujahidin, however, did not have all the materials ready, but they decided to build the bridge anyway. The bridge then collapsed as they were building it, due to the insufficient and missing building materials.

What the Mujahidin has done was a double failure, because they wasted material, as little as they were, and time. If the Mujahidin, however, waited until they had all of the material ready, then built their bridge, they would have succeeded.

Also, having a great number of Mujahidin laborers who are very eager to build the bridge is not enough to do the job. Having a good cause and the willingness to endure hardship for the sake of God's religion is not enough to do the job either. God is the Almighty, most powerful!

I have to point out that one of the things the local and foreign enemies are good at is the ability to destroy Muslim movements. They are experts in this area. The enemies know how to weaken a Muslim movement by provoking it to step into a fight which is beyond its strength. The enemies understand when to lure a Muslim movement into a fight, especially during the time when a movement is in the process of building itself up.

When a movement gives in to enemies' provocation, while knowing it does not have the resources to fight, the enemies will quickly have the upper hand in deciding the time and place for that movement's destruction.

Having a highly motivated force is an important factor in wars, but it is not the only factor. The leadership should not, thus, be driven by its force's high motivation while ignoring other equally important factors.

(Translator note: a poem)

"Making a decision must be made before heroes' enthusiasm,

Making a decision is a priority, and it is

Second!"

(Translator note: The word "second" in the poem was possibly in reference to the decision being second to God's, and to the Prophet's guidance.)

We must find Islamic alternatives that will help us avoid falling into enemies' provocations, and so not to waste our efforts and resources. The alternatives should include plans to help us build the future Muslim state. Also, the alternatives should include plans to help us topple the apostate leaders and stop them from returning to power.

That was one issue. The other issue, far more important, is to accumulate enough resources to help defend the future Muslim state.

A future Muslim state can defend itself only if it has the public support and has been meeting the demands and needs of its people. That is an important factor in sustaining and defending any future Islamic state.

The enemies will fight any future Muslim state that we create. In addition, the enemies, to say the least, will impose all sorts of sanctions against our state.

You know that most Arab populations have been living under so-called modern states. Such states have long abandoned the Muslim traditions of early history. Some of the Muslim state's functions in early history included applying the Islamic Law as the law of the land, providing internal security, and defending the state from foreign powers. The society, on the other hand, provided for itself.

In a modern state, the public expects the state to provide it with jobs and financial assistance. Indeed, this has become a

tradition in many modern state societies. Modern states intentionally make their populations dependent on them, so as to control them. But when the state is unable, or refuses, to provide what is expected of it, the people in that society revolt, and the state becomes unstable. Also, note that many of the things that were considered complimentary in the early days are now part of the essentials.

A revolutionary movement today needs more than just the military might to topple a government or control a country.

While putting aside the external enemy, a movement needs to have the resources in place to meet the needs and demands of the society, as it makes its way to controlling a city or a country.

A movement cannot expect, however, a society to live without for a long time. Even if that society happens to be a great supporter of that movement. People often change when they see persistence in a shortage of food and medicine, and the last thing they want to see is having their children die for lack of food or medicine.

Also, a Mujahidin movement must remember that it needs to provide the basics for its mujahidin fighters or so-called logistics support.

Economic factors are very important. The Mujahidin may win a war against the enemies, but they may lose what they gained in that war due to economic sanctions. Imposing economic sanctions are one of the enemy's favorite nonconventional weapons.

As for Afghanistan and Somalia, they are the exception to the rule. Somalis, for two decades, have been providing for themselves. Somalis have not asked any government to step in to provide basic necessities. Somalis live their daily lives the same way their ancestors did, and before the creation of the modern state. They farm, raise livestock, and trade. In Afghanistan, 20% of its population raises livestock, which is among the highest percentages in the world. The total expenditure for the Muslim Emirate in Afghanistan was little compared to what other modern and poor countries had.

The Afghan population is considered to be outside the modern-state system, and unlike Arab populations.

When the Islamic group in Egypt (the Muslim Brotherhood) killed Sadat, they had a plan to topple the government and then

establish a Muslim state. Their plan was to have their members throughout the country, control government buildings, the mass media, and so on and so forth.

If God had willed for the Islamic state to be born in Egypt, it would have not probably lasted more than a few weeks. The Egyptians, who were about sixty million at the time, needed about 150 million loaves of bread, per day. That was just bread alone! Assume that the Muslim state in Egypt had come under international sanctions. So, what would happen when Egypt could no longer import wheat from its major supplier, the United States? Egypt has been dependent on American wheat for many decades, especially after it had abandoned helping the Egyptian farmers plant more wheat, or coming up with alternatives. Egypt has made its citizens so vulnerable to world's wheat producers, mainly the United States. Egypt's wheat reserve was good for two weeks during that time. So, how could a newly Muslim state meet the wheat demands of the Egyptian population while it was under international sanctions? How long would the public tolerate having to go without? That has nothing to do with whether the Egyptian public liked or disliked the Islamic state. A dangerous shortage of food causes death and people do not want to see their children die of hunger.

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Before building a Muslim state, the Brotherhood could have thought about food security for the Egyptian people. Sudan, for example, would have been an ideal supplier of wheat, considering that Sudan was controlled by a Muslim government. The Brotherhood could have worked with the Sudanese to help it grow more wheat well before it thought about toppling the government. The Brotherhood could have also maintained a two-week reserve system for wheat.

The same can be said about the rest of the Arab countries. Most Arab countries are totally dependent on world's wheat suppliers.

I would like to point out that it is rather important not to expect people, and tribes in particular, to endure more what they can handle. For example, we cannot expect the public to endure constant enemy's air bombardments. We are not talking about a war in which men can show off their prowess, but a war in which air bombardments do not differentiate between a man, a woman, or a child.

Our Waziristani brothers, for example, said that they were frankly exhausted from the enemy's air bombardments. The enemy has been given almost a worldwide approval to violate the air space of other countries and to attack anyone whom it views as its enemy. The enemy does all of that under the pretense of chasing al-Qa'ida. The time will come, and soon, when the enemy will not be allowed to violate other countries' airspace.

It is known that they teach in military and war science that if a war breaks out between two countries, the two countries do not send all of their forces to the front line. Instead, they hold back some forces, especially forces with special training.

Today, the Muslim Ummah as a whole can be viewed as an army with several regiments. The Ummah uses these regiments in a wise manner. So, if an opponent attacks the Ummah with tanks, the Ummah then advances its artillery regiment, to counter the opponent's tanks. If an opponent begins an air strike campaign, the Ummah then advances its anti-aircraft regiment. The anti-aircraft regiment must also deceive the enemy about the location of the other regiments since they would be most vulnerable to the air strikes.

Praise be to God, the jihad war is ongoing, and on several fronts. The Mujahidin work, and may God give them the strength to endure on the jihad path, will continue to target the guardian of universal apostates, America, until it becomes weak. Once America is weak, we can build our Muslim state.

The more operations are carried out against America, God willing, the closer the time will be to organize the resources, and unify the efforts to establish the state of Islam. Only then, the Ummah will be able to change its status quo of weakness, degradation, and disgrace.

The Ummah should put forward some, but enough, forces to fight America. The Ummah must keep some of its forces on reserve. This will be in the Ummah's best interests. The Ummah will use the reserve in the future, but during the appropriate time.

In the meanwhile, we do not want to send the reserves to the front line, especially in areas where the enemy only uses air strikes to attack our forces. So, the reserves will not, for the most part, be effective in such conflicts. Basically, we could lose the reserves to enemy's air strikes. We cannot fight air strikes with explosives!

We have plenty of time to view and examine the appropriate time to begin our jihad work against the apostate regimes in the region. God says, "Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into the hearts of the enemies, of God and your enemies, and others besides, whom ye may not know, but whom God doth know. Whatever ye shall spend in the cause of God, shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly." (60).

We still have a powerful force which we can organize and prepare for deployment. The organization process and the preparation for deployment will need time.

Let us assume that the ideal time to build a Muslim state in the region will be three years from now. So, it would be unwise to begin fighting the apostate regimes in the region now when the pre-requisites and conditions for the Muslim state have not been met.

Our main goal, and yours, is to resurrect the religion of Islam, and to build a Caliphate-based state in every Muslim country. So, for now, we do not need to be diverted from our goal by going to war with the apostate regimes in the region. This is not the time for it.

Our goal is to build our state, then spread God's Call to the rest of the world. We can, God willing, accomplish this goal, as long as we stay put on the path of jihad.

We need to concentrate our jihad efforts in areas where the conditions are ideal for us to fight. Iraq and Afghanistan are two good examples. We do not have to rush to other areas of conflict, especially in areas which appear to have unfavorable jihad conditions.

We just do not want to see our jihad become fruitless. We need to fight in areas where we can gain points toward the creation of the Caliphate-based state. A state which has the essential foundations to function and defend itself. If our state is not supported by the proper foundations, the enemy will easily destroy it.

Building a state without proper foundations is like building a house in the middle of a torrential stream. Every time the water destroys the house, we rebuild, then we rebuild until those who help us with the rebuilding give up on us. So, our state must be

built on strong and proper foundations. Otherwise, the trust the mujahidin put in us to build a state will disappear.

The impact of losing a state can be devastating, especially if that state is at its infancy. The devastation would be even harder on those who had been directly involved in the building of that state.

The public often has all sorts of interpretations for the word failure. Nonetheless, the public does not like losers. The public is only interested in the results and it often ignores the details and conditions which led to one's success or failure. If the public stigmatizes a group, the group will likely fail to rally that public for support, be it to build or defend a state.

In Yemen, they often read a poem which says:

"If Ali Bin Salim wins, they say: He is a marvel!  
And if Ali Bin Salim loses, they say: He is ignorant!"

The point is that people tend to be in favor of a winner rather than a loser. Accordingly, in the poem, people described Salim as a "marvel" because he had won and as "ignorant" because he had lost. Salim's characteristics in both situations, however, were the same. Salim cannot be both marvel and ignorant at the same time.

One must look closely at all requirements and suitable conditions. This is a very important and necessary step.

Accordingly, it appears to me that the requirements and suitable conditions for building a strong Muslim state have not been met in many of the Muslim countries.

Those requirements and suitable conditions will fall into place, however, only if America becomes weak. In other words, a weaker America means a weaker apostate regime in every Muslim country. The Mujahidin, then and only then, will be able to build a Muslim state and defend it. A state in which Muslims can live under the umbrella of a Caliphate-based authority.

Keep in mind that what the enemy fears the most is to see the Mujahidin succeed in creating a strong Caliphate-based state, in which God's code is being enforced.

The Muslim populations throughout the Muslim world will likely support the Mujahidin when they declare their intent about creating a new Caliphate-based state. The Muslim populations will see the Mujahidin as part of them. Some of the Muslim populations, however, may become subject to hostilities, due to their support for the Mujahidin. The worst part of those hostilities may include indiscriminate and persistent air strikes against their communities.

Again, the Mujahidin must have all the requirements and suitable conditions in place before attempting to declare their intent about building a new Muslim state anywhere. The Mujahidin cannot begin a new war in a country just because they hope that the population in that country will support them. If the Mujahidin only rely on that hope, they will likely fail in that country. This happened, for example, in Syria, Egypt, and Yemen.

In Yemen, the communist group failed there, because when they declared their new state in South Yemen they had not sought the support or approval of the local Yemeni tribes and communities. The communists had all the necessary institutions to run a government. The communists had the military, security forces, and major financial institutions on their side. The communists even had the political as well as the economic support from the

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West (headed by America), and from the Arab world (headed by Riyadh). One of the reasons the communists rushed into declaring a new state was because their leaders were being assassinated, and fast. Some of those assassinations were carried out by the Mujahidin. Another reason was that the communists were paying too much money to the President, to buy his support.

We must not get involved in conflicts, especially conflicts which may drag us in deeper. If a few of our brothers happen to get killed in a given place by a given opponent (may God have mercy on the souls of all of our brothers), we are not to rush in and declare an all-out war in that area.

Again, the requirements and suitable conditions must be met before we get involved in any conflict and in any country.

Remember what Khalid had done during the Mu'ta battle, may God be pleased with him. Khalid withdrew his troops during the Mu'ta battle when the Muslims needed him most. Khalid even took with him a few of the Prophet's companions, may God be pleased with

them all. Also, Khalid left behind Zaid (the Prophet's favorite), Jaafir (the Prophet's cousin), and among others, may God be pleased with them all.

The reason Khalid withdrew his troops from Mu'ta was to assist another Muslim army, the Companions Army, which was fighting the Romans. When Khalid got to the Companions Army, he helped them safely withdraw from the battle with the Romans.

Khalid's decision to withdraw from Mu'ta led to the rescue of the Companions Army. The Companions Army was too small compared to the army which the Romans had put forward on that battlefield. Indeed, without the help of Khalid, the Romans could have crushed the Companions Army.

The Prophet, peace be upon him, had instructed Khalid to go to Mu'ta. The Prophet never instructed Khalid to withdraw from Mu'ta or to help the Companions Army. The Companions Army, on the other hand, was unaware that Khalid was on his way to help them.

Based on the above, it appears that Khalid had defied the Prophet's instructions, but this was not the case. Khalid had made the right decision. This was what the Prophet, peace be upon him, said after everything was over and done with.

The Prophet, peace be upon him, said this about Khalid: "He won when he withdrew his army." Khalid had made the right decision, despite the possibility that the Muslims could have lost Mu'ta, and conditions worsened thereof.

Khalid saw a priority in rescuing the Companions Army, and that Mu'ta was important; but it was not a battle, if lost, which could bring devastating results upon the Muslims. Also, when he helped the Companions Army withdraw from that battlefield, he knew that the Romans were not dangerously close to vital Muslim positions. In the end, the Prophet praised Khalid and his troops for what they did. The Prophet said, "They withdrew, but they did not run away."

Khalid then participated in many battles which led to the defeat of the Romans in the Fertile Crescent region.

On the Day of Hudaybyah, when the Prophet heard that Othman, may God be pleased with him, had been killed, he said, "We will not rest until we punish the killers." The Prophet decided to go to war right there and then. When the Prophet came to Hudaybyah, he

had no intention in going to war. On that day, the Muslims only had their swords, but no other fighting gear.

I say that this incident resembles an analogy with difference (TN: An "analogy with difference" is a jurist's term which means deduction by analogy based on two similar but different events. The second event being the incident with Khalid). The minimum requirement for the battle existed, which was the availability of fighters. On the day of Hudaybyah, the Prophet had a total of one-thousand four-hundred people. The unbelievers' army (who had been accused of killing Othman) had twice as many men as that of the Prophet's army. The Muslims were allowed to fight the unbelievers, and whoever agreed to fight the unbelievers had to take on ten men. Also, the Muslims had their swords, which were considered the fighter's main weapon.

I would like to say that the time to resurrect the Muslim state is getting closer. Also, the spread of our Jihad thought, especially among the younger generation, in comparison to other Islamic groups and movements, has been to our advantage. Other Muslim groups and movements have been unable to satisfy the demands of many of the Ummah's youth. Our Salafi jihad thought, on the other hand, has been appealing to the youth, simply because it tackles the Ummah's causes.

Many American reports, aside from stating the obvious, are talking about a decline in America's economic, military, and political powers. The decline of the United States, and the advance of the Mujahidin, God willing, will lead us to reach an equilibrium point with the enemy, during which time we could build and defend our state.

Based on the above, it is clear that the time to build the Muslim state is not here yet, because we still have other greater duties to complete, which include making suitable preparations for that future state. God willing, the state will be the nucleus for the Caliphate ruler-ship model.

It is also clear that the goal of the Islamic Maghreb's freedom-fighter Mujahidin, who are spread throughout the Islamic Maghreb, is to build the foundations for the Islamic state. The Maghreb Mujahidin should not, however, jump any of the stages. Also, the Maghreb Mujahidin should not get distracted by indulging in any conflict with the apostate governments.

The most important objective at this stage is:

To spread our ideas, especially important ideas on teaching fellow Muslims about Islam. People should understand what their religion says about the meaning of, for example, "there is no God, but one God." This should be the backbone to all of our appeals to the public. People should learn about how to avoid falling victim in the hands of the unbelievers. People should learn about what other Muslim groups think, and how they had given in to apostate leaders. People should learn about some of other Muslims groups' perspective on authority, which is in contradiction to the Islamic codes, as well as to the scholars' views on judgeship-and-jurisdiction (Hakimaya).

You should exercise caution, and calmly approach the public. You do not want to turn people off, especially people who may already think highly of other Muslim groups. We need to build wide public support, and as much as possible.

What we want is to resurrect a state which rules with the Almighty God's codes. You know how important it is to have public support if we are to accomplish this goal.

There has to be a wider and greater call for public support. For the most part, the call should be directed at people who appear to be far more accepting of our ideas.

We should not just seek the support of people who live in difficult terrains, which would be hard on the enemy to penetrate, but other areas as well.

You may want to find someone who enjoys doing call-to-Islam work (Da'wa). Ask this person to help you reach out to the public. You should use books, video, and audio material, and as needed, publish them in different languages, so you could reach all the populations of the countries in your region. The written material must be clear and in concise language, so the public can understand it. We must pay close attention to the Da'wa work, which is to explain to people the need to understand the Unity of God and other Muslim concepts.

This, for now, is our strategy for the area. Our work must focus on the long-term objective. A quick work might be fruitful in the short run, but it is not what we need to do. The outcome of any work must be viewed within the overall long-term plan. That plan is to create a Muslim state. So, the Da'wa work is a start toward that end, God willing.

For every country where the materials are to be disseminated, you should pay close attention to the overall public taste and opinions. The considerations to public taste and opinion must be weighed within the Islamic Law, however.

The Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, had done the same thing. The Prophet said, "If it was not for the fact that your people have just emerged from the age of ignorance, I would have renovated the Ka'aba, and gave it two doors." (Narrated by al-Tarmathi).

All public announcements must be carefully evaluated. When issuing a public announcement, ask the question of what sort of positive or negative impact this announcement will generate for us? Being careful and considerate in our public announcements will also widen our appeal and boost our image among the Muslim populations. We want to ask the Muslim people to stop living in the shadow of the oppressive leaders.

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The brothers must understand that their job is to educate the public, but not to incite it to a general call to arms. As you know, the situation in the mountains, particularly now, cannot take in more people, especially in greater numbers.

Having to bring in more people to the mountains, and now, will be a burden, rather than a help to the Mujahidin. So, those who sympathize with our views must be told that "we want what is best for you. Our most important message to you is to live a Muslim life, similar to the life which our most favorite generation had lived (the Prophet's companion generation.) You must stay put, and if we need you, we will call on you. For now, you should call upon God to help us, God willing."

View the list of countries which had deployed troops to Afghanistan, to help the Americans there. Then, kidnap citizens of those countries, especially diplomats. The kidnapping of diplomats of a country is far more embarrassing to that country than the kidnapping of ordinary citizens. The pressure on that country to free its diplomats is far greater than to free ordinary citizens.

The negotiation must be based on the demand: Withdraw your troops from Afghanistan, then we release the hostages. The intent is to leave America with as little support as possible, and, God willing, will push it to depart Afghanistan for good.

The announcements containing the terms of negotiations must be clear and concise, so that impartial and independent spectators judge for themselves. The announcements should also include the unjust acts which had been committed by those countries whose citizens are being held hostages, and that the hostages are servants of those countries. The announcements should also point out that a war is a joint responsibility, and that Muslims are not interested in harming anyone whose country was never involved in hostile activities against the Muslim people.

Other public announcements on operations which involve targeting Western interests should point out the unjust acts of Western countries in Afghanistan, too.

It is absolutely vital to study and analyze the Arab revolutions against the apostate governments in the region. The analysis should focus on the reasons behind the successes, as well as the failures of Arab revolutions. The majority of the revolutions that had succeeded in the area were secular. The secular revolutions succeeded because they had, for the most part, the support of the military. In any country, the military is considered to be a power breaker. The secular revolutions crept out of the military, then turned the military power to their advantage. The Islamic revolutions, on the other hand, mostly failed, because they had far fewer resources than their opponents. The Muslim Brotherhood in Sudan, for example, had the support of the army, and it was able to topple the government in a *quo d'état*. It soon became apparent, however, that only the army personnel had taken charge of the country, but not the Muslim Brotherhood.

Other examples of failed Islamic revolutions include the attempt made by Shaykh Marwan Hadid, may God have mercy on his soul, to topple the Syrian regime.

Hadid began his jihad life when he went to Jordan to train at one of the Palestinian Fida'in's camps. Hadid wanted to use his training to fight a jihad war against the Jews in Palestine. During his training, the September Event took place and the ruler of Jordan attacked the Fida'in camps, then killed a big number of them. The majority of the Fida'in left Jordan after most of their training camps had been destroyed. Hadid, may God have mercy on his soul, decided to go back to Syria.

Whatever military experience Hadid had learned in Jordan made him feel confident about himself. Hadid wanted to use his

training to do something for his religion. Hadid decided that he could no longer live under the Syrian apostate regime. His little experience and his age did not help him make the right decision, however. Hadid was able to recruit a number of people, so he could begin his work against the Syrian regime. Hadid did not want to wait for the right time. Also, Hadid did not have the essential resources to topple the regime. A few more people joined his group, and among them were members from the Muslim Brotherhood.

The Hadid group was able to assassinate a number of Syrian officials. When the Muslim Brotherhood leadership found out that some of its members had been involved with Hadid, they decided to terminate their membership.

As Hadid succeeded in launching more operations against the regime, the fear factor among his followers began to dissipate. Even the Muslim Brotherhood started to take Hadid seriously, and it thought of ways to turn his work into its advantage. The Brotherhood felt that it, too, could help topple the Syrian regime. The Syrian government, on the other hand, saw this as an opportunity to demolish the Muslim Brotherhood, and forever. That was what one of the Syrian officials said at the time. Indeed, the Syrian government began a national campaign to demolish the Brotherhood. The Syrian regime treated the Brotherhood as if it was the one who assassinated its officials. The regime knew though that it was not the case. The regime also knew that the Brotherhood members who had joined Hadid had been terminated by the Brotherhood's leadership.

The conflict then entered a new phase. The Brotherhood became serious, and it called for the removal of the regime, and to create an Islamic government. The Brotherhood never bothered to calculate, however, what it needed to accomplish all of that. The Brotherhood had not been realistic about its own resources, and capabilities, in comparison to what the opponent Syrian regime had. Even by looking at the number of people the Brotherhood had compared to what the Syrian regime had, there was a huge difference between the two.

The Almighty God says, "O Apostle! Rouse the Believers to the fight. If there are twenty amongst you, patient and persevering, they will vanquish two hundred: if a hundred, they will vanquish a thousand of the Unbelievers: for these are a people without understanding. For the present, God hath lightened your (task), for He knoweth that there is a weak spot in you: But (even so), if there are a hundred of you, patient and persevering, they

will vanquish two hundred, and if a thousand, they will vanquish two thousand, with the leave of God. for God is with those who patiently persevere." (65-66, al-Infal.)

The Brotherhood's calculations were unrealistic. The Brotherhood even thought that after it was able to topple the regime, it would take on Israel. Also, the Brotherhood did not have enough personnel who had the expertise or prudence to lead their military operations.

The Brotherhood went to war and it lost big. The Syrian regime used missile launchers to destroy the Brotherhood's threshold in Hama. The regime killed about twenty thousand people in Hama alone. Many people were arrested, including women and children. The regime had also used all sorts of torture methods against the Brotherhood. There is no might, nor power, except with God.

After that awful experience, many members of the Brotherhood went into shock, and jihad became their last resort. Many thought that they had to make the best of it while living under the regime.

The Brotherhood in Syria had lost an entire generation, which it could have wisely deployed for jihad work under better conditions and times. After the Hama experience, the Jihad work had totally stopped, and for twenty years. With the birth of a new generation, which had not lived that awful experience of Hama, a new light of hope emerged. We saw that most of the Syrians who joined the Mujahidin in Afghanistan and Iraq were young. Most of them had not experienced the Hama shock. Other older Syrians, who probably wanted to join the Mujahidin, could not do it because the Hama experience was still on their minds, even thirty years later.

One cannot ask people to bear more than what they can handle. Otherwise, the results might be devastating, and more people would fear going to jihad.

A Muslim movement, in particular, should not ask people to bear more than what they can handle, especially in areas where the movement is anticipated to be met with unrestrained violence from its opponents, just like what happened in Hama. Any movement must keep this in mind, either during the process of building a new Islamic state or afterwards.

The failure of the Brotherhood in Syria was not surprising, and that was the view of many experts. For example, experts like

Shaykh Abid al-Aziz Ali Abi Usama. Usama thought that the Brotherhood would fail to topple the regime. The Brotherhood, on the other hand, was in a dream world. The Brotherhood thought it could build a Muslim state which would become a model in the Fertile Crescent region.

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There was also the Libyan experience. The brothers in Libya failed because, firstly, they did not listen to any of the advice they were offered. The al-Qa'ida advised them to wait, so did the Jihad Group and the Islamic Group. All the brothers advised the Libyan Mujahidin that they did not have the basic resources to topple the Libyan regime. Not to mention, the timing did not add up.

As you know, jihad is a duty, but it does not require Muslims to launch jihad battles everywhere and anytime. Also, jihad does not require Muslims to fight in areas where the conditions are obviously not in their favor.

Jihad is a means by which the sustainability of the religion is ensured. Jihad can be put aside as an option, due to lack of resources. Muslims, however, must continue to accumulate necessary resources until the conditions for jihad are improved.

The Shaykh of Islam -- Ibn Taymayah -- may God have mercy on his soul, agreed with the above view on jihad. Ibn Taymayah wrote, "... that is so, if the jihad experts agree that the conditions for jihad had not been met. Experts often analyze the jihad variables against these conditions, then draw conclusion to whether the outcome is positive or negative."

The excessive enthusiasm among the Libyan brothers about creating a Muslim state in Libya made them lose focus. Then, the Libyan brothers suffered tremendously as they entered into a conflict with the Libyan regime. Thousands of our Libyan brothers went to jail. Many of them were tortured and persecuted. May God grant our Libyan brothers a speedy release from prison.

(TN: End full translation)