

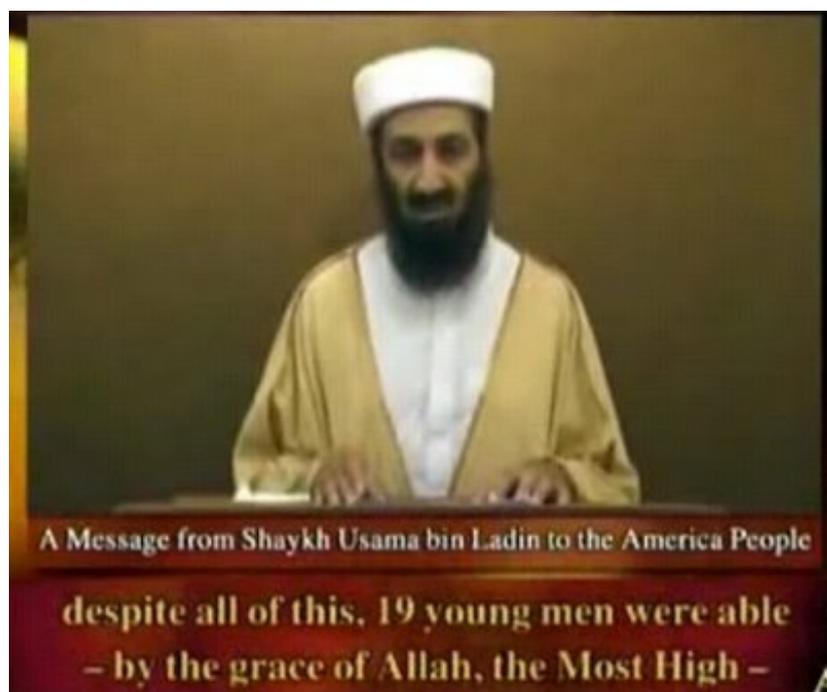


Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center  
at the Israel Intelligence Heritage  
& Commemoration Center (IICC)

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**During the past year Osama Bin Laden, Al-Qaeda leader, waged an intensive media campaign after a long silence. Its primary objective was to inspire global jihad operatives to increase terrorist activities worldwide, to create internal pressure in the United States, Europe and Arab- Muslim regimes, and to promote "the liberation of Palestine" through jihad.**

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Osama bin Laden appeals to the American people in the video issued on September 8, 2007 which opened his media campaign. It was the first video issued by bin Laden in three years (From <http://u2r2h-documents.blogspot.com/2007/09/2007-osama-bin-laden-video-watch-it.html>.)

## Introduction

1. On September 8 and 11, 2007, close to the date of the sixth anniversary of the September 11 attacks, Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden issued a video and an audio tape. It was his first video in three years, and a year had passed since his last audio tape. They signaled the start of a nine-month media campaign (September 2007 to May 2008) during which bin Laden reiterated Al-Qaeda's ideology and strategy before various Arab and Muslim target audiences. In addition, he used the tapes to extend the themes spread via the Internet by other Al-Qaeda spokesmen.

2. The 27-minute **video** was issued on September 8, 2007, through websites affiliated with the global jihad. Its objective was to convince the American public to exert pressure on the administration to stop the war in Iraq, using a direct appeal, and not for the first time, in view of the large number of American losses. The **audio tape** was issued on September 11, 2007. It was aimed at Muslims around the world to promote global jihad activity by turning **Abu Musab Walid al-Shehri** (a prominent Saudi Al-Qaeda terrorist in one of the planes that hit the World Trade Center) into a role model. Exceptionally, about two thirds of the tape consisted of al-Shehri's last statement, which has so far not been made public.<sup>1</sup>

3. Before the two tapes were issued, most of Al-Qaeda's propaganda dealt with specifics of the organization's ideology and strategy, expressed mainly by Ayman al-Zawahiri, bin Laden's deputy.<sup>2</sup> Bin Laden's tapes (and others issued later) contained a broad, methodical exposition of Al-Qaeda's ideology as interpreted by its leader. The tapes show a relatively good (but not always accurate) familiarity with events in American and international politics. They also show a good command of literary Arabic and knowledge of Islamic sources, which make him extremely admired by his Muslim target audiences, in addition to his charismatic personality. Eight more audio tapes followed, which may indicate new life being infused into **Al-Qaeda's war for hearts and minds** (since May 2008 no more bin Laden videos or audio tapes have appeared. The reason is unclear.)

4. Introducing the **video**, bin Laden states his deep belief in the Islam which supports the rule of "an eye for an eye." He also says that only all those who worship Allah will reach paradise. Introducing the **audio** tape, an anonymous voice dramatically praises those who sacrifice their lives for the sake of Allah, and explains that they do not die in vain because they are justly rewarded. Despite what might possibly be imagined as a measure of consideration for the American people, bin Laden's primary objective was and still is promoting his ideology and his own perception of global jihad.

5. The analysis of bin Laden's media campaign is based on the audio and video tapes issued since September 2007 and eight additional audio tapes which appeared later. They target a

variety of audiences: Americans, Europeans, Muslims in Pakistan and Iraq and jihad operatives all over the world, specifically “Palestine.” In an unprecedented fashion they focus on “the liberation of Palestine” through Al-Qaeda’s ideology and strategy of global jihad, although neither has been particularly evident in the jihad against Israel so far.

6. All the tapes were produced by Al-Sahab and issued through Arab-language websites affiliated with the global jihad. Some of them had English subtitles and some were produced in other languages. As noted, most of them were partly aired on Al-Jazeera TV, which often gives media coverage to bin Laden’s propaganda, aiding Al-Qaeda in its battle for hearts and minds, including among the Palestinians (the Palestinian survey service Alpha recently noted that Al-Jazeera is the most-watched channel in the Palestinian Authority). In addition, airing Al-Qaeda propaganda increases the number of Al-Jazeera TV viewers, among Muslim communities in Israel and Western countries. Al-Jazeera TV also supports Hamas’s battle for hearts and minds, despite the fact by doing so it weakens Mahmoud Abbas and the PA.



Al-Qaeda picture posted on the forum site of Al-Jazeera TV, accompanied by an expression of support for Al-Qaeda (posted September 15, 2007). The text reads, “[Awaiting] your orders, Abu Omar al-Baghdadi [leader of “the Islamic State of Iraq, i.e., Al-Qaeda leader in Iraq], [awaiting] your orders, Islamic country of Iraq” (From <http://www.aljazeeraatalk.net/forum/showthread.php?t=71139>) (See below).

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7. This study analyzes the nature and significance of the bin Laden media campaign which began in September 2007. It contains the following sections:

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## Overview

**Osama bin Laden, from a video appealing to the European nations (April 15, 2004):**

"...I call upon just men, especially scholars, **media** [personnel] and businessmen, to form a permanent commission to raise awareness among Europeans of the justice of our causes, **primarily Palestine, making use of the enormous potential of the media.**"<sup>1</sup>

**Ayman al-Zawahiri, bin Laden's deputy, writing to Abu Musab al-Zaraqawi, who was the Al-Qaeda commander in Iraq:** "We are in a battle, and more than half of this battle is taking place in the battlefield of the media... **We are in a media battle in a race for the hearts and minds of our people.**" (From the American Senate report analyzing the extensive use made of the Internet by Al-Qaeda, p. 6.<sup>2</sup>)

8. The United States and the world recently marked the seventh anniversary of the Al-Qaeda attack on the World Trade Center. The past year has witnessed a resurgence of the war for hearts and minds waged by the organization (known as "Qaedat al-Jihad" since 2001). The resurgence was manifested by a media campaign waged by bin Laden after a long silence.

9. The campaign began with an **audio tape** and a **video**, both issued in 2007 close to the date of the sixth anniversary of the September 11 attack. The video, the first in three years, was aimed at the American public, while the audio was aimed at Muslims worldwide. Eight more audio tapes were distributed through the Internet, targeting Muslims (particularly jihad operatives) in Afghanistan, Iraq, "Palestine," and other arenas, as well as at Americans and Europeans whose soldiers participate in the war in Afghanistan.

10. **Why did bin Laden choose September 2007 to begin a media campaign?** Possibly because of operational circumstances caused by the loss of his main territorial base in Afghanistan, which occurred with the fall of the Taliban at the end of 2001; at the time there were rumors that he had been killed. It was also claimed that the tapes issued then had been recorded a long time previously. In our assessment, bin Laden's current media campaign is primarily intended to show global jihad operatives that **he is alive and well and that he has a**

<sup>1</sup> Osama Bin Laden "To the People of Europe" (April 15, 2004), in *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama Bin Laden* (edited and introduced by Bruce Laurence, translated by James Howarth), London and New York: Verso, 2005, p.235.

<sup>2</sup> For further information see our July 14, 2008 Bulletin entitled "Terrorism and Internet: a US Senate report analyzes the extensive use made by Al-Qaeda of the Internet in its war for hearts and minds" at [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/pdf/int\\_140708e.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/int_140708e.pdf).

**territorial base from which he can direct the battle for hearts and minds in an orderly, methodical way.** Thus the campaign may indicate that this past year Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan's sense of security and its operational capabilities have increased over the past year, since its organization and hierarchy were severely affected after 2001.

11. In addition, it is possible that the campaign's objective is to encourage bin Laden's supporters in the other arenas of confrontation outside Afghanistan, mainly in Iraq (of which bin Laden makes special note in the tapes). In that case, the campaign would be aimed primarily at encouraging jihad operatives in general, both operationally and with regard to morale, and to spur them on, especially to carry out mass-casualty suicide bombing attacks. (From that point of view, the inauguration of a new administration in the United States is likely to be a convenient time for a new wave of terrorist attacks.) In retrospect, bin Laden's appeals during the past year may have already influenced global terrorism: There is more terrorist activity in **Pakistan** (which led to the resignation of Pakistani president Musharraf), **India, Afghanistan, North Africa**, and possibly **Yemen**. Global jihad supporters are also making an effort to establish themselves in **Lebanon, Syria** and the **Gaza Strip**, so far without much success.

12. Bin Laden's campaign is also marked by a deep loathing for and the ideological contradictions between the Sunni Al-Qaeda and the Shi'ite militias in Iraq and Shi'ite Hezbollah in Lebanon. **In Iraq**, he accuses his Shi'ite opponents of "treason" and "crimes" and calls upon his Sunni supporters to join ranks against them and against Sunnis collaborating with the Iraqi regime. He even cites Islamic law to support his claim, challenging the criticism leveled at Al-Qaeda's leaders for the responsibility they bear for the deaths of innocent Muslim civilians. **In Lebanon**, Hezbollah and its leader, Hassan Nasrallah, are represented as having aided the American "plot," i.e., UN Security Council resolution 1701, which ended the second Lebanon war. Bin Laden calls Nasrallah "helpless" (in that he was incapable of preventing the resolution from being passed), and considers him a traitor whose treason is no less than that of the late, murdered Egyptian president Sadat and the late King Hussein of Jordan (both of whom signed peace agreements with Israel). Deep hatred for the United States, Israel and Western culture is common to both bin Laden and Khomeini's radical Shi'ite ideology. Bin Laden's statements also illustrate that the age-old Sunni-Shia rift is still a dominant factor in both Iraq and Lebanon, as well as in Al-Qaeda's relations with Iran.<sup>3</sup> In our assessment, bin Laden's threats against the Shi'ites are liable to lead to internal confrontations in the future in Iraq and Lebanon, between

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<sup>3</sup> Bin Laden does not specifically mention **Iran** because Al-Qaeda operatives found a haven there after the Americans destroyed their bases in Afghanistan in 2001. However his deputy, Ayman al-Zawahiri, was more forthcoming and recently viciously attacked Iran. In a tape shown on Al-Jazeera TV on September 8, 2008, just before the seventh anniversary of the September 11 attacks, he lashed out at the **Islamic regime in Tehran**, calling it an American collaborator in Iraq and Afghanistan. He also attacked Hassan Nasrallah because at the end of the second Lebanon war he moved his forces back 30 kilometers from the border with Israel and allowed the stationing of 15,000 "Crusaders" (i.e., the UNIFIL soldiers) to provide a buffer between Israel and the "jihad fighters."

radical Sunni Islamic global jihad operatives and representatives of radical Shi'ite Islamic ideology.

13. In our assessment, another objective of bin Laden's media campaign is **to motivate the public in the United States and Europe to exert pressure on their respective governments to end their involvement in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan**. However, rather than using eloquent language, the video targeting the American people was accompanied by rebukes, a negation of the principles of American culture and government (democracy and capitalism), a threat to kill American citizens and even **a call to Americans to convert to Islam**. At first glance, the alternatives he presented, i.e., conversion to Islam and abandoning of democracy, might seem delusional and unrealistic. However, the various themes were absorbed by supporters in the West and even Israel, who assimilated them and in some instances became **home-grown terrorists**, inspired by radical Islam's violent ideology. Although their numbers are small, **the potential danger they present is great**, and they are capable of carrying out terrorist attacks, including unconventional terrorism, in the United States and other Western countries.

14. **Promoting the idea of "the liberation of Palestine" through jihad**: Osama bin Laden grants an unprecedented emphasis in his tapes to the use of jihad violence to achieve "the liberation of Palestine," on the grounds that not one inch of Palestinian soil is to be ceded. However, in reality, there is a great gap between the importance of the terrorist campaign against Israel in Al-Qaeda's ideology and the situation on the ground (during the past year not one significant Al-Qaeda attack targeted Israel, and the organization racked up a number of failures, the most conspicuous of which was the blow suffered by Fatah al-Islam, its Lebanese branch). Bin Laden's explanation for the gap is that before the "liberation of Palestine" Iraq must be "liberated," the pro-Western Arab regimes must be overthrown and "treacherous" elements such as the Shi'ites must be confronted. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that before such missions are carried out, bin Laden will try to show his supporters his "worry and care" for Palestine and to prove that he not just paying lip service **by carrying out showcase attacks against Israel or Jewish targets abroad**. That is demonstrated by unsuccessful attempts recently exposed to recruit young Israeli Arabs to carry out such attacks.<sup>4</sup>

15. An analysis of the tapes issued by bin Laden over the past year reveals not only an emphasis on his leadership, but on his ability as an Islamic preacher attempting to give an Islamic seal of approval to his political preaching, portraying him as a charismatic leader of all Muslims. It is clear from the tapes that his themes are based on the current historical Muslim perception of the

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<sup>4</sup> In recent months the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center issued bulletins dealing with the use of the Internet in recruiting Israeli Arabs as part of the process of Islamic radicalization, which motivated them to identify with Al-Qaeda's ideology and jihad strategy.

continuing inferiority of Islam compared with the “infidel” superiority of the West, and that there is a necessity to restore Islam’s superiority by the intensive recruitment of souls. Such an ideology, which bin Laden intends to implement by global jihad, is at the heart of Al-Qaeda’s effort to recruit sympathizers and supporters in Muslim communities around the world.

16. With that end in mind, bin Laden’s media campaign has made extensive use of authentic Islamic texts to justify his Islamic themes. Without a doubt, his message falls on willing ears, especially among many younger Muslims, to whom he appeals over the heads of the older clerics, most of whom serve the regimes and oppose the participation of the younger generation in the global jihad. Many younger people in Arab, Muslim and Western countries **suffer from identity crises** resulting from exposure to modern culture, one of whose manifestations is the information revolution, mainly the Internet. Thus bin Laden’s intensive use of the Internet to spread his doctrines is productive and influences young Muslims, who adopt them and enlist in the global jihad in the various arenas in which it is taking place.

17. The tapes disseminated by bin Laden over the past year were manufactured by **Al-Sahab**, the propaganda wing of Al-Qaeda’s leadership, and are advertised on Al-Qaeda-affiliated Arabic jihadist websites. Some have English subtitles and some are issued in other languages. Al-Qaeda makes extensive use of the Internet as its main weapon in the battle for hearts and minds and to promote its operational capabilities (the uses made by Al-Qaeda of the Internet were documented in the May 2008 Senate report). The Internet allows Al-Qaeda and other global jihad networks, many of which are affiliated with it, to overcome geographical barriers, avoid dependence on other media and circumvent the increasing difficulties raised by various governments. Thus, they exploit the principle of freedom of speech and the general Western approach that the Internet should not be censored.

18. Bin Laden’s media campaign has been widely broadcast by the popular Arab television station, **Al-Jazeera**, which frequently quotes Al-Qaeda tapes, thereby increasing the dissemination organization’s ideology and its own popularity. Al-Jazeera TV (which operates with the authorization, funding and support of the Qatari regime) has become **Al-Qaeda’s favorite channel**, which does not shrink from sometimes expressing support for and identification with Al-Qaeda and its radical Islamic ideology. The reasons for that are opportunism, interests, and quite possibly politics and ideology (some of its correspondents have been detained on suspicion of collaborating with Al-Qaeda).

## An Appeal to the American People



Left: From a video appealing to the American public (September 2007). Bin Laden's beard is black, possibly dyed to make him look younger. Right: Bin Laden in a 2004 video, with a gray beard (Both from <http://u2r2h-documents.blogspot.com/2007/09/2007-osama-bin-laden-video-watch-it.html>)

19. The first tape (the video) was presented as “A message from Sheikh Osama bin Laden to the American people.” Bin Laden is described in it as “the sword of Allah” and “a lion,” perhaps because his beard seems blacker and fuller than in previous videos, improving his image. However, he seems tired, or possibly ill. His message is an attempt to influence American public opinion to stop the “terrorist war” in Iraq and to end the bloodshed of American soldiers there and in Afghanistan. Although the theme of his speech is “the war between you and us,” he appeals to the American people and asks them to “listen.”

20. At the beginning of his speech he admits that the United States is the strongest country on earth, economically, militarily and politically. However, he notes, despite its power, on September 11, 2001, 19 young men “threw it out of orbit,” and consequently, according to bin Laden, after September 11 American policy has been dictated by the “jihad fighters” (*mujahideen*). He also claims that the jihad fighters have damaged the American economy, its image and its international prestige. He attacks the American media which, he claims, are waging a propaganda war against Islam, and have become a tool in the hands of the neocons, worse than media controlled by a dictatorship.

21. Relating to the war in Iraq he says that President Bush is wrong to think that collaboration with Nouri al-Maliki's Iraqi administration will bring about democracy. Rather, al-Maliki's policies fan the fires of sectarian war and in the final analysis will fail. President Bush's readiness to expand the authority of the UN in Iraq, after previously having refused to do so, is seen by bin Laden as an indication of al-Maliki's failure. According to bin Laden, it shows that Bush feels there is no alternative to continuing the war, as do his neocon supporters, who claim that if the war does not continued, the United States will face a “catastrophe.”

22. For the first time, Bin Laden mentions the "Jewish Holocaust," especially of the suffering of Jews at the hands of representative of Western civilization. "Holocaust" in Arabic is *mahraqa*, which means both crematorium and burning animals or humans while still alive. It referred to the Jewish Holocaust carried out by the Nazis until the escalation in the Gaza Strip at the beginning of 2008. He notes that "the culture of the Holocaust is theirs, not ours," adding that burning living beings "whether tiny ants or people" is forbidden by Islam. It was not Muslims who burned the Jews, he says, but rather "their brothers in Central Europe."<sup>3</sup> Bin Laden claims that had the Holocaust taken place near Muslim territory, most of the Jews would have found a haven. To prove his point he notes that during the Spanish Inquisition, when the Jews and Muslims were forced to convert (to Christianity), the Jews found refuge within the Ottoman Empire.

23. Bin Laden boasts that such Jews have continued living among Muslims, who cannot live in an atmosphere of oppression and that they "reject humiliation and aggression." He adds that even Christians lived among Muslims for 1400 years, giving the Copts in Egypt as an example.<sup>4</sup> All of the above notwithstanding, he complains, American politicians and media people, especially in Hollywood, have been waging a propaganda campaign to distort the true image of Islam and Muslims. And they have done so even though they destroyed the native Indian population and dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. "You burned people alive," he accuses the United States. **Bin Laden's statements about the happy conditions of the Christians living in Muslim countries are untrue.** The Christian minorities have been persecuted by Muslims and suffer greatly in the modern world, among them the Copts in Egypt, the Assyrians in Iraq, the Maronites in Lebanon and the Christians in the Palestinian Authority (especially in the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip) and in southern Sudan.

24. In addition, **bin Laden manipulates the Jewish Holocaust in an attempt to exploit it for propaganda purposes.** For his own purposes he recognizes the Holocaust and does not deny it, but he and his deputy, Ayman al-Zawahiri, often make clearly anti-Semitic remarks. They often quote Qur'an verses and the traditions of the prophet Muhammad which slander the Jews, describe them as "the murderers of prophets" and call for them to be killed and the State of Israel to be destroyed.<sup>5</sup>

25. America's "unjust war" in Iraq reflects, he says, the failure of democratic rule in the United States (and other Western nations). Slogans about justice, freedom, equality and humanity used to justify the invasion of Iraq have not been realized, and have been replaced by firepower, fear, destruction, killing, hunger, disease, and the uprooting of populations in both Iraq and Afghanistan. The Americans have caused a million people to be orphaned and have left

hundreds of thousands of widows in Iraq and, he claims without evidence, killed more than 650,000 in Iraq, directly or indirectly.

26. Bin Laden then reminds the American people that most of them would like to see the war end. To that end, he continues, appealing to them directly and reminding them that they have a Democratic Congress; however, the Democrats are not doing their job. Instead of trying to stop the war they are collaborating with the Republican administration and contributing to its continuation. The result is disappointing, because it has become clear that there is no difference between the various American administrations.<sup>6</sup> He claims that whoever sits in the White House exploits his position to provoke wars, like the one currently being fought in Iraq.

27. To illustrate the claim, bin Laden recalls the American involvement in Vietnam. He says that despite the claim made by various American presidents that the war was unnecessary, both Republicans and Democrats contributed to creating it. When Kennedy was elected, he said, all his efforts to end the war failed, and the people who benefitted from his death were the "large corporations" on which the Capitalist regime rested (See below). Thus the Vietnam war was an unnecessary and misguided war which lasted ten years after the Kennedy assassination. However, those who were responsible for it, headed by "the most violent murderer, Rumsfeld," were not punished.<sup>7</sup>

28. Bin Laden also claims that previous mistaken American strategy was adopted by President George W. Bush. Bush's administration seeks to carry out acts of slaughter similar to those of Vietnam. That, he says, is the fault of the American people, who, despite their awareness of the situation, elected Bush for a second term, and thus they cannot call themselves "innocent," in that they gave him a mandate "to kill our people in Iraq and Afghanistan." For that reason, "your innocence is like my innocence regarding the killing of your sons on the 11<sup>th</sup> [of September], should I demand such a thing." By claiming that the American public is responsible for the killing in Iraq and Afghanistan, bin Laden in fact justifies the killing of every American citizen. (Using similar logic, prominent Sunni Muslim Dr. Yussuf al-Qardawi issued a *fatwa* for the Palestinian terrorist organizations according to which every Israeli civilian is a potential IDF soldier and bears the guilt [sic] of the State of Israel, and therefore may be indiscriminately killed.)

29. Bin Laden notes that not punishing the Vietnam warmongers caused America to "repeat its war crimes" by invading Iraq. He says that the war was unnecessary and that there were many people who criticized it, among them Professor Noam Chomsky, a world-famous American linguist who for decades has criticized American administrations and their foreign policies. However, the "governor of Texas" (i.e., President Bush), does not like advice and pays no attention to the mass demonstrations held throughout the world to protest American

involvement in Iraq. Therefore, the time has come for “humanity to know that speeches about human rights and freedom were lies fabricated by the White House and its allies in Europe to fool people and to takeover [the world’s] resources and enslave them [to their own needs].”

30. Bin Laden’s conclusion is that during the Kennedy administration as now, the Democratic Party was unable to end an unnecessary war, since true power in America is in the hands of the wealthy. Thus there are two ways to end the war in Iraq. One is Al-Qaeda’s way, escalating the fighting and killing Americans, “our duty,” he proclaims. The other can be carried out by the Americans by rejecting democracy and capitalism, which have failed. That is because many civilians and soldiers are paying with their lives “for the interests of the large corporations,” who are “the real terrorists.”

31. Bin Laden then calls to account the basic premises of American politics and society, as he understands them. He claims that many people are dying in the name of the global democracy the United States pretends to promote, and not only in unnecessary wars. For example, the United States refuses to sign the Kyoto Protocol, thereby preventing international activity to stop global warming, because of which tens of thousands of people die or are forced from their homes, especially in Africa.<sup>8</sup> Despite Western leaders’ rhetoric about freedom and human rights, what they say is “an insult to intelligence.” Bin Laden offers his own way to “fight terrorism:” “As you freed yourselves in the past from enslavement to monks, kings and feudalism, you must now free yourselves from the deception, the chains and the attrition of the Capitalist system.”

32. Bin Laden continues by criticizing Capitalism, claiming it seeks to turn the world into “estates” to serve the large corporations in the name of globalization, which will supposedly “protect democracy.” But globalization has an ugly side as well: it caused the “tragedies” in Iraq and Afghanistan and led to economic distress in the United States and the rest of the world, manifested by the “interest-bearing debts, illogical taxes and mortgage rates, global warming with all its ramifications, terrible poverty and tragic famine in Africa.” Therefore, “you must liberate yourselves from all that and look for an alternative,...where a specific sector of the population cannot determine laws at its own convenience and at the expense of other sectors, which is what is happening to you.” In his opinion, man-made laws serve the wealthy and widen social gaps.<sup>9</sup>

33. According to bin Laden, the preferred mode of life is “the path of Islam, the path of Allah.” That is because it is immune to mistakes and Allah knows what the faithful are thinking and listens to them. However, he jeers, “you are so convinced that you believe in God that you put your belief on the dollar bill.”<sup>10</sup> However, in his view, the Americans are wrong: true faith in Allah demands total submission to all His commands in all areas of life [according to Islam, needless

to say]. Such faith cannot countenance the separation of church and state, which he sees as polytheism. Even legislation is passed as an implementation of that perception, which contradicts the life of faith in one God.

34. With that in mind bin Laden appeals to the American public as follows: "Your actions are an expression of polytheism and disobedience to God, which turns the believer into a non-believer." He adds that the Torah and New Testament were divinely inspired and it was God's will that people believe in them and act according to their precepts to pave the road to paradise. However, when men of religion changed the word of God ("The rabbis with regard to the Torah and the priests with regard to the New Testament") Allah sent them the last book, the glorious Qur'an." Allah also decreed that the wording of the Qur'an would not be changed by anyone, so that it would be "the perfect guide to life for all people."

35. Bin Laden says that adherence to the Qur'an is the source of Muslim strength and what will enable them to be victorious over the United States in an all-out war, despite Muslim's inferior manpower and weapons. To understand America's failure to overcome Al-Qaeda, he advises Americans to read the books by Michael Scheuer (who headed the CIA's Osama bin Laden unit until he walked out in disgust).<sup>11</sup> Bin Laden notes that America should not be impressed by the terrible situation of Muslims today, because their leaders have long since abandoned Islam. Therefore, attention should be focused on the founders of Islam (*al-salaf*), who were "the pioneer world leaders for hundreds of years because they adhered to Islam."

36. He notes that more and more circles prophecy the collapse of the United States. He recalls the collapse of the Soviet Union, caused, he claims, by the arrogance of its leader, Brezhnev, who refused to come to terms with reality. Thus despite the reports he received during the first year of the war in Afghanistan (which lasted from 1979 to 1989) about the defeats of the Soviet army, he refused to admit his mistake. However, his denial of the true situation did not prevent the leaders who came after him from failing as well. The current situation in Iraq, according to bin Laden, is similar to the situation in Afghanistan under Brezhnev because President Bush has repeated Brezhnev's mistakes and has also stated that the American military will not withdraw from Iraq while he is president.

37. Bin Laden says that President Bush ignores all the criticism publicly and emotionally voiced by American soldiers fighting in Iraq and paying for the president's irresponsible policies with their lives. There are 150,000 of them fighting under hard conditions, essentially in a trap: "If they leave their barracks, they will be killed by mines. If they refuse to leave their barracks, they will be court-martialed. Thus they have no choice, they can either commit suicide or break down and cry." They do both, he said, in view of "the horror attacking them, the humiliation and the

terrorism they suffer. It is suffering far worse than that of your slaves hundreds of years ago." Therefore he takes the American people to task: "Do you [really] feel the extent of their suffering?"<sup>12</sup>

38. To ease the suffering of the American troops and the American public, bin Laden has what he feels is the ultimate solution: **to convert to Islam**. Accepting Islam will bring Americans peace and tranquility if they follow its precepts in this world. It will protect them from all evil, improve their conduct and ensure them a place in paradise. In addition, **conversion to Islam will lead to the end of the war in Iraq**: "As soon as the owners of the large corporations understand that the American people have lost their faith in democracy and are looking for an alternative, i.e., Islam, they will make every effort to satisfy your desires...[to] divert your thoughts from Islam." Accepting Islam will also make the owners of the large corporations stop cheating people by robbing them of their money. In fact, he says, "there are no taxes in Islam" with the exception of a "2.5% charity tax."

39. At the end of the video bin Laden warns the American people against the "plots of the Capitalists." In studying the sources of Islam they have to understand that all the prophets, including Jesus and Mary, are often mentioned in the Qur'an. Moreover, there is even a chapter (*Surahh*) called Maryam, daughter of Amram and mother of Jesus, which recounts Jesus' birth (the Qur'an considers Jesus ("Issa") a Muslim prophet, and it is therefore forbidden for Muslims to insult him), and Mary's innocence and purity, "as opposed to the lies told about her by the Jews." "The source of the Torah and the Qur'an is divine," and the more intelligent Americans who look into the Qur'an may see that it is so. In addition, they will understand that Allah "preserved the Qur'an from human distortion," and those who are willing to devote the time necessary to understanding true Islam will tread the right path and be rewarded with peace and tranquility.

40. In summation: Although the video was intended to motivate the American people to act to end the war in Iraq, Osama bin Laden does not try to convince them with tact and diplomacy. Quite the opposite, he is direct and denies the foundations and principles on which American society and government have been based since their inception: democracy, Capitalism, the separation of church and state. He does not even hesitate to threaten them and to justify killing Americans, and not just soldiers. He proposes an alternative: converting to Islam, adherence to the Qur'an and a basic change in lifestyle and worldview. It seems delusional and impractical, but nevertheless it fell on fertile soil among his supporters in the United States, who were inspired by his ideology of violence and radical Israel, and some of them became terrorists who acted against the United States (as verified by a Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee report on May 8, 2008, entitled "Violent Islamist Extremism, The Internet, and the Homegrown Terrorist Threat;" the issue will be dealt with below). In addition, the events since the September 11 attacks, especially the economic crisis in the United States, may lead some Muslim Americans to regard him as a kind of prophet and follow his advice.

## An Appeal to the Muslim Target Audience



**Appeal to the Muslim target audience (Issued September 11, 2007).**

41. Bin Laden's audio tape, broadcast on the sixth anniversary of the September 11 attacks, targets Muslims, and is different in content from the video aimed at Americans. Its objective is to emphasize how important bin Laden thinks the September 11 attacks were, as an excellent working model which illustrates the correctness of radical Islam's world view, and of jihad as the ultimate way to implement it.

42. As the tape was played, the screen showed a picture of bin Laden with Al-Aqsa mosque in the background. In addition, pictures of the destruction of the World Trade Center appear on the various Internet sites which broadcast the tape, subtitled "The shaheeds' last statements regarding the two raids [i.e., raid, *ghazwah*, in Arabic, has had positive connotations since the dawn of Islam in the context of the Muslims' successful struggle against their enemies] on New York and Washington, the last statement of shaheed Abu Mussab Walid al-Shehri, [given on the Muslim month of] Shabaan 1428 [August 14 – September 12, 2007]." Before bin Laden speaks, a verse is read from the Qur'an, used extensively to justify suicide bombing attacks (on Palestinian posters, for example): "And those who have been slain in the way of Allah never think of them as dead; but they are alive with their Lord, [and] get their subsistence" (Surahh 3 [Aal Imran], Verse 169).

43. Although in recent years Al-Qaeda has issued videos of the last statements of shaheeds who took part in the September 11 attacks,<sup>13</sup> as far as is known this is the first tape which does not only send a personal message, but serves as an introduction to the last statement of one of the terrorists involved (at least 6 years after it was recorded). In our assessment, the objective of such a presentation is to show that bin Laden's worldview is the right one and that there are Muslim youths who will follow his path.

## Background Information about Walid al-Shehri

44. **Walid al-Shehri** was one of the lead hijackers of American Airlines flight 11 from Boston to Los Angeles. Apparently he was one of the pilots (of the group headed by Muhammad Atta) who crashed the plane into the North Tower of the World Trade Center. That would explain why bin Laden wants to turn him into a role model. Information about al-Shehri is still only partial. As far as is known, he came from a well-established Saudi Arabian family (which belonged to the military establishment), and studied at a teachers' seminary but never graduated. He was a prominent Al-Qaeda operative and was either given or gave himself the nickname Abu Mussab, the name of one of Muhammad's companions (the same nickname also taken by al-Zarqawi, who headed Al-Qaeda in Iraq until his death). He trained at Al-Qaeda's Al-Farouq camp in Afghanistan before the Americans destroyed it in 2001. His family's prominence helped him prepare for the September 11 attacks by enabling him to obtain a visa for the United States, entered on a genuine American passport which was doctored with a new name and picture. He is also said to have had a civilian pilot license, issued in Florida in 1996.



**Abu Musab Walid al-Shehri as he appeared in a bin Laden video  
(From the IntelCenter website, see below)**

45. On the tape bin Laden's voice is authoritative,<sup>14</sup> "pensive," as he himself has said, vis-à-vis the greatness of the sacrifice carried out by al-Shehri on September 11, 2001. He says that in the current era of "divine inspiration," the same as that which characterized the "unique generation" of the dawn of Islam, there are still "great, wonderful examples" like al-Shehri. Al-Shehri, he says, was the perfect example of a young, contemporary Muslim, whom "the divine verses of inspiration influenced, as they influenced the righteous first generation," who serve to this day as a symbol for Muslims. Al-Shehri not only demonstrated devotion to Allah and carried out the precepts of Islam, but he "sought to protect his community of believers and lead it along the correct path," in both this world and the next.

46. The greatness of al-Shehri's actions, says bin Laden, stems from their timing. "His fate was to live at a time when Jews and Christians are in the ascendant, as opposed to the lowly status

of Muslims, who were brought to a state of confusion." That is, he acted at a time when "the infidel armies imposed prohibitions and orders [on them]." It is a time when Muslims are humiliated because their leaders lost their way and became enslaved to the infidels, whether at the Kaaba (the holy black stone Mecca) in Mecca (ruled by the Saudi Arabian regime) or on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, where Al-Aqsa mosque is located (i.e., in the Palestinian Authority, which is under Israeli control), the third most important site for Islam.<sup>15</sup>

47. Bin Laden attacks contemporary Arab-Muslim regimes which, he says, are paralyzed and do nothing to relieve the humiliation forced upon the Muslims. He gives the ancient example of a Muslim woman who came from a far country to lament before the Abbasid Caliph of the humiliation of Muslims at the hands of the Byzantines, who had conquered territories in what is today northern Syria. The Caliph heard her woes and himself led a Muslim army which in 838 AD conquered Ankara and the walled Al-'Amuriyyah (considered the Ankara of today), which was then Byzantium's most important city. The event was heralded as a great victory of Muslims over infidels.<sup>16</sup>

48. Today, however, deploring bin Laden, "how can we sit by idly at a time when free [Muslim] women are imprisoned in the jails of the Jews and Christians in Iraq, Palestine and Afghanistan?...We must extend a hand to Muslims and liberate them, as the Caliph did...to repel the Muslims' their enemies, to ease their sufferings and bring happiness to their hearts."

49. Al-Shehri's greatness, bin Laden explains, was that he understood that in the current era, the power of enemy infidels was stronger than that of the Muslims. Therefore, he saw that "our rulers are enslaved to the Christian rulers." He also knew that "the media and many [Muslim] clerics praise and admire [the Christian rulers], and say 'amen' to their every wish...." In addition, he understood that "[the media and Muslim clerics] have changed their minds" and compete with one another "not because they fear Allah, but because of money and ego: when they have much of both, their status rises, and when they do not, it falls." Therefore, "the lie became the faith to which many men adhere."

50. For bin Laden, al-Shehri's greatness lies in the fact that although he was young, he was not tempted to follow the vanities of the world, as many other Muslims did, older and more experienced than he. He refused to run after the lie in the modern faith [i.e., secular political culture], which bin Laden regards as moral deterioration and a subversion of Muslim morality. Quite the opposite, he was a "free" Muslim, faithful to "the moral values of the righteous." Therefore, he "chose eternal life over the transitory life [in this world]."

51. Al-Shehri, bin Laden explains, decided to turn his back on the pleasures of this world, "knowing them to be...ephemeral," and chose "to support the [Islamic] faith and carry out the jihad with the mujihadeen." In effect, he went out to wage war against the infidels "to bring the truth [i.e., Islam] and to end the lie [i.e., the other religions, including the monotheistic ones]." Thus, even though he was "young in years," his virtues and contributions were greater than those of clerics older than he. He was not led astray as they were, those who "think it is very important to obey the ruler even though he is an infidel, to unjustly enslave the people to him."

52. Al-Shehri is represented as a genuine Muslim, one following the right path of the founders of Islam. Like them he chose to devote his life to Allah, giving up the worthless life of this world, in which Muslims live a life of humiliation. Bin Laden adds that in the eyes of Allah, "[this world] cannot even be compared to the wing of a mosquito."<sup>17</sup> Al-Shehri understood, he says, that "no precept coming from a man, regardless of who he may be, is preferable to the precepts of Allah, may he be glorified, and of his prophet, may Allah's blessing and a prayer of peace be upon him, in every facet of life." Thus, while "the hypocritical [Muslim] kings, presidents and clerics...[are] thoroughly corrupt...and are eager to serve the infidels," the young [Muslims] are "noble," [and] "are eager to serve the strong and merciful [Allah]."

53. Bin Laden notes that al-Shehri and his jihad fighter companions (*mujahideen*) "entered into a covenant with Allah to defend the faith. In fact, they honored it and died without changing their stance."<sup>18</sup> (17) One of the jihad fighters mentioned by bin Laden is "the brave fighter Ahmed Fadheel Nazzal al-Khalayleh [the real name of **Abu Musab al-Zarqawi**, leader of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, who was killed by the United States in June 2006]."<sup>19</sup> Finishing his introduction, bin Laden appeals to young Muslims to regard both al-Shehri and al-Zarqawi as **role models**. He says that every young Muslim "is obligated to join the convoy [i.e., to become a jihad fighter] until their numbers are large enough to promote the global jihad, each contributing to the spread of Islam to serve Allah.

54. Having briefly explained his political ideology, bin Laden gives the floor to al-Shehri, whose last statement makes up two thirds of the tape. Bin Laden chose as a symbol an individual who clearly represented Al-Qaeda's younger generation (even though he has been dead for six years), to convince young Muslims to sacrifice their lives in jihad for the sake of Allah. From that point of view, issuing al-Shehri's last statement is another weapon in the Islamic-jihad battle for hearts and minds waged by bin Laden, and to strengthen Al-Qaeda operatives on various fronts throughout the world.

55. In his last statement Abu Mussab Walid al-Shehri repeats most of what bin Laden says, adding negative comments about Jews and Christians:<sup>20</sup>

a. **He bemoans the inferior position and humiliation suffered by Muslims** in modern times, quoting an Arab poem of unknown origin which includes a harsh description of the desecration of Islam's holy places by the Jews: "The daughter of Zion plays in the mosques, strips herself and shows her thighs and breasts," and the Jews encourage her to dance "on all parts of [our] bodies."

b. **He stresses the importance of devotion to Allah** and preaches morality to Muslims who abandoned their religion and jihad. He does so by quoting the Qur'an and Muslim traditions and classical sources, such as Ibn Taimiyyah (See below), used by supporters of radical Islam<sup>21</sup>, which oblige Muslims to fight and kill infidels unless they convert to Islam. He also accuses older Muslim clerics of encouraging the young to shirk their responsibility to join the global jihad.<sup>22</sup>

c. **He savagely accuses the rulers of Saudi Arabia** of desecrating Islam's holiest places. He says, "they brought the Jewish and Christian armies with their camp followers to Mecca and al-Madina." He also accuses the Saudi Arabian regime of oppressing local clerics such as Safar al-Hawali and Salman al-Awdah, who had supported jihad.<sup>23</sup> He also accuses it of aiding Russia to the tune of billions of dollars, even though Russia killed Muslims in Afghanistan, of aiding the secular Syrian regime which slaughtered Muslims in Hamat in 1982, of aiding the Maronites operating against Palestinian Muslims living in Lebanon, and of aiding the anti-Islamic regimes of Egypt, Algeria, the Christian rebels in southern Sudan and the Communists in the former South Yemen, all of which have operated against local Muslims.

d. **He hopes that "Allah will destroy" the United States** and threatens vengeance. He also scorns the Americans' fear of death and hell, as opposed to the Muslim jihad fighters, who are not afraid of death as they know they will reach paradise if they fall in battle.

e. **He distinguishes between committing suicide for personal reasons (*intihar*), which is forbidden by Islam, and the "holy death of self-sacrifice for the sake of Allah in fighting the infidels (*istishhad*).**" He praises the jihad tactic of suicide bombing attacks, which enable the lone jihad fighter "to throw his enemies off balance," even though they are greater in number and better equipped. He also praises the use of car bombs [a favorite tactic of bin Laden and Al-Qaeda, and often used to attack the American forces in Iraq].

f. **He attacks "the dictatorial Arab regimes,"** accusing them of not following the precepts of Islam [as set down by bin Laden].<sup>24</sup> He also states that "the treacherous Arab states" which have trouble uniting, have only agreed on one thing: the war on terrorism [Al-Shehri is most likely referring to the First Pan-Arab Agreement to Fight Terrorism,

signed on April 22, 1998 at a special session of Arab interior and justice ministers, at the Arab League headquarters in Cairo.]<sup>25</sup>

**g. He ends his statement by asking Allah for, among other things, the annihilation of the Jews and Christians.**

## An Appeal to the Pakistani People



Appeal to the Pakistani people  
(from [http://ginacobb.typepad.com/gina\\_cobb/pakistan/index.html](http://ginacobb.typepad.com/gina_cobb/pakistan/index.html))

### Background Information

56. On September 20, 2007, bin Laden issued his third tape, the second audio tape in the series. It was 23 minutes long and entitled "**Join the jihad: a speech for the Pakistani people from Osama bin Laden, Ramadan 1428, September 2007.**") The picture on the screen shows bin Laden surrounded by four Islamic leaders, among them **Abd al-Rashid Ghazi**, a Pakistani Islamist, who was killed in a Pakistani army attack on the Red Mosque (See below). In addition to Arabic and English, the tape was issued in Urdu and Pashtu, the languages of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Bin Laden attacks **General Pervez Musharraf, president of Pakistan** (who resigned in August 2008) **calling for his defeat and the defeat of his supporters through jihad.**

57. Bin Laden deals extensively with the Pakistani army attack on the Red Mosque, the main mosque in Islamabad. Within its precinct were two *madrasas*, religious schools, one for men and the other for women. The attack was carried out on July 10, 2007, and killed more than 100 radical Islamic supporters who had barricaded themselves in the mosque, including their leader, Abd al-Rashid Ghazi, the deputy imam. It came as a reprisal against previous mass-casualty attacks, some of them suicide bombing attacks, carried out by Ghazi's supporters. They were the result of his April announcement that the *shari'a* (Islamic religious law) would be enforced in areas under his control, and the establishment of Islamic courts which had issued decrees subverting the laws of the country. In addition, he had sent out *madrasa* students as "morality police" to enforce the *shari'a*. On July 3 his students attacked a police barricade and nearby government offices, and set fire to cars; the incidents resulted in 16 deaths.

58. His July 7 statement regarding an Islamic revolution prompted the Pakistani army to attack those who had barricaded themselves in the Red Mosque, and Ghazi himself was killed. Various weapons were found inside the mosque, as were letters with instructions sent by the Al-Qaeda leadership. Both Ghazi and his father, Mulana Abdallah, who founded the mosque (and was killed in 1998), were Al-Qaeda supporters and were in direct contact with the Taliban. Terrorist attacks continued in Pakistan, some of them suicide bombing attacks. Most were carried out in Waziristan in Pakistan's rural northwest. They followed a ten-month cease fire between tribal heads who supported the Taliban and the Pakistani army.<sup>26</sup> Some of the attacks may have been carried out following bin Laden's appeal to the Pakistani people, so **that issuing the tape may have been of practical importance in Pakistan.**

## Bin Laden's Appeal to the Pakistan People and its Significance

59. The appeal is directed to the Pakistanis, especially the younger generation. As in the past, his speech contains many references to classical Islamic sources (the Qur'an and the *hadith*) to convince his listeners of the legitimacy of his claims. Bin Laden describes the attack on the Red Mosque as "a tragic event...with critical implications." He states that it illustrates more than ever that President Musharraf, in his "loyalty, submission and support" of the United States, operates against the Muslims. Therefore, rebelling against and ousting him are obligatory, since by his actions he has shown he is an infidel and no longer belongs to the Muslim community of believers.

60. Bin Laden's authority for the claim was based on a *fatwa* issued by a former Mufti of Pakistan, Nizamuddin Shamzai, according to which Musharraf betrayed Islam and the Muslims and should be overthrown. Bin Laden claimed that the *fatwa* was behind Shamzai's murder, because it angered Musharraf and his "American overlords."<sup>27</sup> Bin Laden links Musharraf and the Americans using a verse from the Qur'an which allows for the killing of Jews and Christians, the enemies of Muslims, and states that any Muslim who joins forces with them becomes one of them, that is, an infidel (Surahh 5 [Al-Maeda], Verse 51).

61. Bin Laden notes that the Pakistani government publicly represented Ghazi as having worn women's clothing, embarrassing him (there was a rumor prevalent in Pakistan that he wore women's clothing to evade capture). That shows, he claims, the hatred Musharraf and his supporters feel for Islam and its sages. It is a serious act of heresy, excluding those who carry it out from the Muslim community of believers, according to bin Laden. He regards the **Pakistani intelligence service** as a pack of liars, who defame the Pakistani jihad fighters opposing the regime of the tyrant Musharraf, and calls them "the comrades of Satan."

62. Bin Laden claims that among those who helped Ghazi were some who said that fighting him and his followers was “a struggle against terrorism,” and that their opposition to Musharraf should have been manifested by “non-violent demonstrations and democratic means.” He, however, regards such an approach as invalid, indicating their hypocrisy and lack of genuine belief in Islam. He adds that 20 years after the soil of Pakistan soaked up the blood of one of the greatest jihad fighters, the imam **Abdallah Azzam**, today Pakistan is witness to the death of another great Muslim, imam Abd al-Rashid Ghazi...” (Note: Abdallah Azzam, a Palestinian-born Arab, was Al-Qaeda’s most prominent ideologue and bin Laden’s mentor, and was turned into a role model by Hamas).

63. Bin Laden affirms that Ghazi, his supporters and students were killed because they demanded the institution of Muslim law. They “sacrificed their lives for the sake of their religion,” and should therefore be regarded as shaheeds who were “treacherously” killed by “infidels who had abandoned their religion,” Pervez Musharraf and his supporters. The result was that although the role of the army is to “protect Muslims from infidels, we now see the army turned into a tool and weapon in the hands of anti-Muslim infidels.” Therefore, not only Musharraf abandoned his support of the mujahadeen who fought in Kashmir, he even allowed the American army to use his bases and airfields to attack Muslims in Afghanistan. **By so doing, “Musharraf, his government, his soldiers and supporters became accomplices in the crime of shedding Muslim blood. Thus anyone who helps him, knowingly or unknowingly, is an infidel like them,”** according to bin Laden.

64. Bin Laden calls upon Musharraf’s soldiers to desert and rid themselves of his polytheism. The truth is, he says, Musharraf’s government and army have become the “enemies of the [Muslim] community of believers...and they refuse to rule all areas of life according to Islam (i.e., the *shari’a*)...” They instigate “civil war,” which must be fought against, according to the Qur’an. **Therefore, Pakistani jihad fighters should oppose them just as the jihad fighters in Afghanistan opposed the regime which had become a tool in Soviet hands and had collaborated with them.** He notes that a few years after the war ended in Afghanistan, Pakistani Muslim clerics supported the Taliban’s campaign against the “northern alliance,” those collaborating with the Americans (the “Crusaders”) and oppose the local jihad fighters.

65. Bin Laden claims that “the great slaughter in the Red Mosque” exposed Musharraf’s collaboration with the American army, which uses Pakistan’s military installations to attack Muslims in Afghanistan including Waziristan. **Therefore, anyone who opposes removing Musharraf from office is acting contrary to the *shari’a*, which commands him to oust him** in view of his treason and the fact that he is an infidel who, according to Muslim law, may be killed. Every Pakistani convinced that the time has come to rebel against Musharraf must join

the armed campaign “without delay” and make his contribution to it. In bin Laden’s view, overthrowing the regime and ousting Musharraf is possible only through “the struggle for the sake of Allah,” in which “only [a fist of] iron can deal with [a fist of] iron.” He mentions the self-sacrifice of the Islam’s first jihad fighters, the companions of the prophet Muhammad: Hamzah, Mussab, Zaid and Jaffar,<sup>28</sup> whose blood was spilled (and **who have become role models for suicide bombers**).

66. Bin Laden makes it clear how important the Pakistani arena is as a base for his prolonged armed campaign, in both Afghanistan and neighboring Pakistan. Following the America attacks in Afghanistan at the end of 2001, he blames Musharraf as having turned Pakistan into a collaborator in the “war on terrorism,” which targets mostly Al-Qaeda and its various branches worldwide. In the past, however, Pakistan was the country whose *madrasas* gave birth to the Taliban, which took over Afghanistan in the fall of 1996. Bin Laden’s tone is definitely angry in view of what seems like a blow to his supporters in a country where they should feel secure. **That is why his attack on Musharraf is not only ideological but personal, and he has declared jihad against him and his entire regime.**

67. Ending his appeal to the Pakistani people, he says that “it is the duty of every Muslim in Pakistan to carry out jihad and fight for the removal of Pervez [Musharraf] and his government, army and helpers.” In addition, “it is [Muslims’] duty to declare their allegiance to a Muslim ruler who respects Muslim law and not Musharraf’s infidel constitution.” In addition, they must “liberate themselves” from Muslim clerics who might seem to belong to Islam but who in reality support Musharraf’s regime [and are therefore considered infidels, like him]. Bin Laden is clearly angry at the personal level when he reminds his listeners that “you saw with your own eyes” how instead of “lifting the siege imposed on Muslims in Afghanistan,” Musharraf’s government “lifted the siege imposed on [Pakistan’s] bases and airfields,” from which American planes took off to bomb Al-Qaeda’s [training] bases. Musharraf is therefore accused of “breaking the back of the ‘Islam emirate’[of the Taliban] in Afghanistan.”<sup>29</sup>

68. **Bin Laden tries to convince the Pakistanis, especially the younger generation** hesitating to answer his call (influenced by the Muslim clerics who obey the regime) that they must act according to the precedents of early Islam. That is, as the prophet Muhammad did not take into account his status or that of his family and ordered them judged equally and punished to the extent of Islam, should they disobey the precepts of Allah, they should judge Musharraf the same way, despite his status. He therefore calls upon them to disregard the advice of their own clerics, who collaborate with the infidel government and prevent it from being punished, which is not only wrong but is prevalent throughout the Muslim community of believers, not just Pakistan. He states that jihad is the “personal commitment” of all Muslims, and that they must

choose between joining the jihad path [of Muhammad] and sitting idly by, i.e., "the path of those rebelling [against Allah] and of hypocrites."

69. **Bin Laden notes that Al-Qaeda committed itself "before Allah" to avenge the death of Abd al-Rashid Ghazi.** He praises the tribes in Waziristan, which stand firm against "the international heresy of the United States, its allies and collaborators," who continue their resistance despite the high price they paid in blood and property.<sup>30</sup> Unusual for bin Laden, he ends by requesting that Allah "break the back [of Musharraf and his ministers], divide them, destroy their unity, kill their loved ones as they killed ours...turn their plots against them... kill them and not leave anything behind..."

70. **In summation, in our assessment, this tape is different from the others in that it does not consist entirely of ideological preaching but also expresses his personal feelings.** That may reflect his anger at the attack on the Red Mosque, and especially the death of Ghazi, one of his most fervent supporters. It is also possible that bin Laden is expressing his frustration of recent years at his not being able to enlist a sufficient number of jihad fighters from the younger generation, the result of the opposition of most of the clerics serving the established regimes in the Muslim countries.<sup>31</sup> It may express his frustration at Al-Qaeda's lack of significant success, at least in **Pakistan** and **Iraq** (See below). It is also possible that his distress, which may be temporary, is one of the reasons he decided to personally intervene in Al-Qaeda's battle for hearts and minds, to encourage his followers to continue the global jihad on the fronts where it is currently being waged.

## An Appeal to the Iraqi People



Appeal to the Iraqi people (Al-Jazeera TV, October 23, 2007).

71. On October 23, 2007, bin Laden's issued a 33-minute audio tape, with an picture (possibly an old one) of him on the monitor. It was released through Al-Qaeda-affiliated websites and parts of it were broadcast by Al-Jazeera TV. The tape was entitled "**To the people of Iraq, a message from sheikh Osama bin Laden, may Allah protect him.**" He begins by quoting verses from the Qur'an encouraging Muslims to fight their enemies. Allah will present them with a series of trials, he says, but whoever proves himself will receive fitting recompense. He also quotes from the *hadiths* collected by Ahmed bin Hanbal (who founded an extremely conservative school of Sunni Islam) stating that whoever sacrifices his life for the sake of his family and fellow [Muslim] man will be considered a shaheed.<sup>32</sup>

72. Bin Laden lists the global jihad fronts in the following order: Palestine [sic], Iraq, Afghanistan, the Arabian peninsula, North Africa, Pakistan, Somalia and Chechnya. On all fronts, he says, present and former jihad fighters "**slaughtered the enemy, broke his bones, humiliated him, stained his honor, undermined his steps and foiled his plots.**" Therefore, bin Laden prays to Allah to receive the shaheeds and to compensate their families for their loss. Those *mujahadeen* chose to leave their wives and those dear to them and "emigrated" to the various jihad fronts, as did the prophet Muhammad and his companions at the dawn of Islam (from Mecca to Al-Madina). Bin Laden gives particular prominence to "Palestine," placing it at the head of the global jihad list. He does so despite the fact that in reality, Al-Qaeda's terrorist campaign against Israel is in its infancy (See below).

73. Bin Laden reminds the jihad fighters in Iraq that "[President] Bush, along with the hypocrites and apostates [a term he uses to describe Iraqi Muslims, both Sunni and Shi'ite, the later being the strongest term used to describe Muslims who have left Islam] who accept his authority and lit the [fires of] the unjust war in Iraq. They sowed fear and destruction, interfere with your security, run your country and kill the best of your sons." As a result, many Iraqis have left the country, "your unity was destroyed, heresy is prevalent and hypocrisy has raised its head high."

In such a situation, the only thing left for jihad fighters to do is to use **“the points of their swords:”** “If they win, they will be happy, and if they are killed, they will become shaheeds.” **He praises those who “charge ahead with their car bombs, straight into the armored vehicles” of the Americans and their allies, and says that “their self sacrifice” sends them to paradise as shaheeds.**

74. Bin Laden tells the jihad fighters in Iraq that the battles is not yet over and that there are important implications for the local, regional and international arenas. “The whole world follows your glorious victories and knows that a new page has been turned in its history, and the map of the region will be redrawn [by you]...and that the borders of the kingdoms determined by the Crusaders will be erased and replaced to create a [new] era of truth and justice. It will be the great state of Islam, from the [Indian] Ocean to the [Pacific] ocean.<sup>33</sup> He also reminds them that they are a link in the chain of the campaign against the enemy and his collaborators, whether in **Afghanistan or Sudan**, adding that today another attempt is being made by the Saudi regime and the UN “to allow the **Crusader forces** to enter Darfur...and only an infidel apostate who had converted from Islam would agree to that.” (Bin Laden does not mention the janjaweed, the Sudanese Muslims who slaughter the Muslims in Darfur. For his selectivity, see below).

75. With that in mind, bin Laden explains to jihad leaders in Iraq that the Muslims expect them to **“unite under one flag.”** When that happens, “the [Islamic] nation will celebrate its birthday” [a reference to 661 AD, when the Muslims united under the leadership of Mu’awiya, founder of the Umayyad dynasty]. Internal Iraqi factionalism, he says, makes it **important for [Sunni] Muslims fighters in Iraq to unite**, and instead of lecturing, he asks to advise them on how to correct the “mistakes [made] between brothers.” “It is in the nature of man,” he says moderately, “to make mistakes.” He quotes Muslim sources relating to the importance of strict adherence to performing the tenets of Islam and their priority over “family relations and pedigree or organizational affiliation.”

76. He also explains the importance of **obedience**, whether **religious or military**. The punishments meted out by Islamic law must be fully imposed on whoever disobeys, regardless of his social status. “Those who harbor evil in their hearts” and search for “mistakes among jihad fighters and tend to claim that they are the result of strict adherence to Allah, which they brand as ‘violence and terrorism.’” However, he says, jihad fighters are faithful Muslims, and it is the duty of the “[Muslim] clerics, leaders of the jihad fighters and tribal heads [in Iraq] to make every effort to reconcile the two sides and judge them according to the commandments of Allah.”

77. Bin Laden also attacks the Saudi regime's stance regarding the war in Iraq, and **accuses it of having provoked the United States into invading it**. He scornfully complains that "the worst thing is that the [Saudi] clerics regard the crown bearer, the adored kingship in Riyadh [i.e., a negative description of King Abdallah] as a patron for Muslims...when he is [really] the main patron of the American-Zionist project [i.e., the State of Israel] in the region, and one of those who incited it [i.e., Israel –instead of the United States -- apparently a slip of the tongue] to invade Iraq." He advises Al-Qaeda followers to judge everyone according to the Qur'an and the Sunnah, and the interests of Islam in the following order: "the interests of the [Muslim] collective take precedence over those of the [Muslim] individual, the interests of the [Muslim] state over those of the [Muslim] collective, and the interests of the [Muslim] community of believers over those of the [Muslim] state." He advises the clerics, the jihad fighters and the Muslims supporting Al-Qaeda's ideology "to repeat to their brothers [the motto of the first Caliph] Abu Bakr *al-Siddiq* 'the most faithful and trustworthy,' '...obey me as long as I obey Allah and his prophet. If I do not obey them, you do not have to obey me.'"<sup>34</sup>

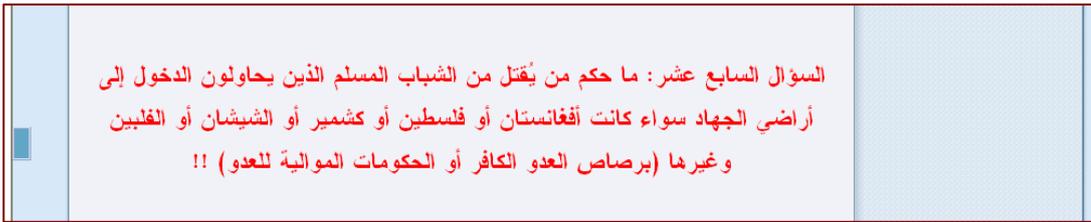
78. Bin Laden advises all his follower "to be faithful and patient, since that is the most effective recipe and [the surest] weapon for anyone seeking victory." He says they should "beware your enemies, especially the hypocrites who have infiltrated your ranks to create confusion among groups of jihad fighters." Jihad fighters' failures make the enemy rejoice, and are an indication of "inattention to all the stages of preparation for an operation: collecting intelligence about the target, training, having the correct ammunition, the quality of the explosives, etc." Therefore, "when you lay a mine do it properly, and do not see one wounded American soldier as an achievement...Moreover, be aware of treason. It is a sin, a disgrace, since a free man is not a traitor."

79. Bin Laden encourages the jihad fighters in Iraq and fortifies their morale by saying that "the [Muslim] nation guarded you during [its] darkest night because you are its fearless lions...your valor is a challenge [for your enemies] like the valor of Khaled [bin al-Walid, noted for his military prowess; he commanded the forces of Muhammad] and Ali [bin Abi Taleb, the fourth Caliph, Muhammad's son-in-law]...your morality and good ways remind us of the first generation [of righteous Muslims, *al-salaf*]: honesty and generosity, courage and determination, meeting commitments and keeping promises, fighting against those who would oppress you and protecting the oppressed, even if it is a question of certain death...Your faith does not allow you to permit the Byzantine infidels [i.e., the American troops] to put one foot into Iraq...You decided to fight them to the death, and whoever desires death in his soul will be blessed with life [in paradise]."

80. However, bin Laden also chastises the jihad fighters in Iraq. That may possibly be because he was frustrated by the American army's success in 2006 against Al-Qaeda in Iraq in collaboration with Iraqi Sunnis, especially as part of the "Awakening Councils [*majalis al-Sahwah*]." He asks Iraqi Sunnis "where are those who prefer [devotion to the Islamic] religion to their lives and the lives of their children? Where are the men of the *tawahid* [Muslims who strictly adhere to their monotheistic belief and make it a cornerstone of their fundamentalist ideology] and those who cast down the flag of infidel polytheism? Where are those who consider torture a pleasure and are not afraid of defeat? Where are those who go out to fight the Byzantines, as in the battle of Tabouk [630 AD]? Where are those who committed themselves to fighting to the death, as in the battle of Yarmouk [636 AD]? Come quickly to help your brothers in Mesopotamia [Iraq], and consult and cooperate with them to ease their burden..."<sup>35</sup>

81. After his emotional appeal for potential volunteers for the jihad in Iraq, he appeals in the same tone to the "Iraqi people" as a [Sunni] Muslim collective. He warns them that "the bearer of the cross increased the numbers of his soldiers [i.e., the American surge in the Spring of 2007] and claimed he would conquer the soldiers of the faith...Therefore, fight with faith...do not compromise and do not embarrass Muslims today...Be serious, because death is unavoidable: may my father and I be your atonement."

82. **He ends by again pleading with Allah.** He asks for Allah's help in the global jihad, especially for the younger generation, in Iraq and elsewhere, with "Palestine" again his top priority. "Oh Allah," he says, "give us patience, make our legs strong and give us a victory over the infidels...defeat them and make us victorious...turn the hearts and heads of Muslim youth to your path of jihad...strengthen their hearts, make their steps firm, direct their fire and unite them...bring solace to the [Muslim] prisoners and those in distress everywhere, in Palestine, Iraq, in the land of the two holy places [i.e., Mecca and Madina, both in Saudi Arabia], Afghanistan, Kashmir, the Philippines, Somalia, Chechnya, North Africa, the United States, India and Pakistan..."



Clarifying an Islamic religious issue on the Al-Hisbah website (See below). The question regards an Islamic operative killed trying to infiltrate “the jihad lands of Afghanistan, Palestine, Kashmir, Chechnya, the Philippines, and others” (Site updated July 14, 2008).



A screen shot from the Al-Buraq website (See below): Example of a message sent by an individual claiming participation in an attack against American forces in Iraq (site updated July 14, 2008). The message reads, “Allah, bring victory to those [*mujahadeen*] following your path; Allah, give them the throats [of their enemies]; use them to bring down the throats of the enemies; may Allah bless you, lions of the two rivers [Tigris and Euphrates]; may Allah bless the army of the *mujahadeen*.” The site includes a number of instances of claiming responsibility for attacks against American soldiers in Iraq.

## An Appeal to the European Countries Whose Soldiers Are Fighting in Afghanistan<sup>36</sup>



An appeal to European countries whose soldiers are fighting in Afghanistan (Al-Sahab website, December 29, 2007).

83. On November 29, 2007, bin Laden issued a five-minute audio tape, the fifth tape in the series, aimed at the European countries whose soldiers had been fighting in Afghanistan alongside the Americans and the Afghan allies (“the Northern Alliance”) since October 2001. Part of the tape was broadcast by Al-Jazeera TV and the Islamic Internet forums affiliated with Al-Qaeda issued the entire tape. The tape was in Arabic, subtitled in English, French, Italian, German and Pashtu. On the screen is a picture of bin Laden next to a map of Europe.<sup>37</sup>

84. Bin Laden begins by saying that the Afghans “suffered bitterly at the hands of the Russians and their agents [i.e., the pro-Soviet Afghanistan regime] for two decades,” but “their determination and fighting spirit helped them be victorious, thanks to the mercy of Allah.” However, while they are still licking the wounds of their losses, there was a new attack, this time from the “governments of oppression” in Europe which collaborated with the United States’ president, George W. Bush. He convinced them that the “invasion” of Afghanistan was the result of the events of September 11. Bin Laden makes the claim in contradiction of previous statements that “the events in Manhattan came in response to the murders committed by the American-Israeli coalition against [Muslims] in Palestine and Lebanon.”<sup>38</sup>

85. On this tape bin Laden **publicly admits for the first time** that “I was responsible for September 11.” He claims that the Afghanistan people and its government did not know the attack would take place and admits that his responsibility for the attacks became known to the Americans following their interrogation of Taliban ministers who had been taken prisoner. Therefore, he says, there is no point in hiding it. He claims that the Taliban administration asked the American government to provide proof for their ministers’ involvement in the attacks, but

that the United States did not, preferring instead to attack Afghanistan. As a result, Europe “had no choice but to be dragged after the United States, since it is an American vassal.” Therefore, he appeals directly to Europe, “and not to your politicians,” because Europe’s leaders [past and present], “Blair, Brown, Berlusconi, Aznar, Sarkozy” and others like “being in the White House’s shadow.”

86. Bin Laden claims that the European soldiers fighting in Afghanistan are carrying out **two injustices**:

i) **First**, they fight the Afghans with no proof that they were involved in the September 11 attacks. He says that in the war “you destroyed Al-Qaeda bases, killed some of its members and took other prisoner, most of them from Pakistan.” However, he asks angrily, “what sin the Afghans commit that you continue waging war against them?” His answer is that “their only sin was being Muslims, and that shows the extent of the hatred of the [new] Crusaders for Islam and Muslims.”

ii) **Second**, in this war European soldiers did not behave according to the accepted rules of war. Therefore, he claims, most of those killed were women and children, and it was “done deliberately” to “destroy the morale of the jihad fighters.” He also claims that he himself watched the attacks resulting in “hospitals full of [wounded] innocents.” However, he continues, none of it did any good, because “we are determined...to continue to take our revenge on those who are unjust and to expel the invaders.” On the other hand, the Afghans are a “brave...honorable and religious” people who will not surrender to the invaders. They have two glorious leaders, the Mullah Omar [head of the Taliban] and “**the knight of the battlefield, Haji Mansour Dadullah**” [Taliban army commander].<sup>39</sup> As they were victorious over the British and the Soviets, he says, they will be victorious over the Americans and their “collaborators.”



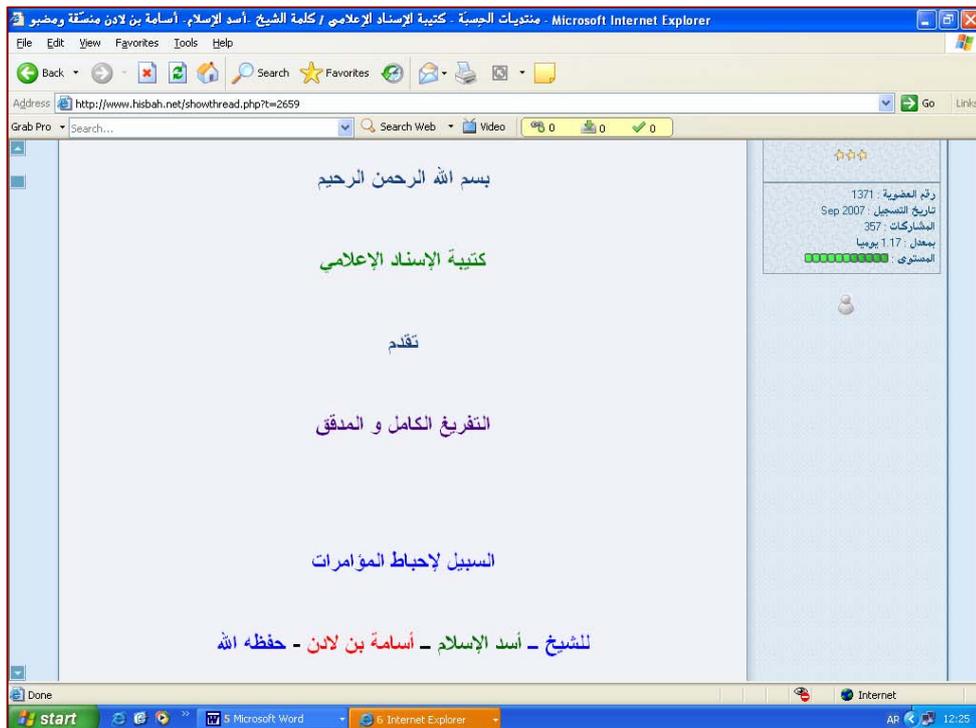
Haji Mansour Dadullah, Taliban military commander (Al-Sahab website, October 31, 2007).

87. Bin Laden ends by warning the Europeans that “the American tide is running out” and that American soldiers will soon return to their own country. They “will leave the rival sides behind to settle accounts with one another.” He therefore suggests that the Europeans “rein in the politicians who gather around the White House” and “work actively to relieve the oppressed of their oppression.” Therefore, “justice is the correct thing [to do] and injustice [causes] terrible suffering...[and] the return to truth is the sign of reasonable people (See below, his appeal to “the rational people of the European Union”).

## “The way to foil the plots” of Osama bin Laden’s opponents



The way to foil the plots (Al-Hisbah website, December 29, 2007).



The Al-Hisbah website (See below): the text of a Bin Laden audio tape called “The way to foil the plots,” December [29,] 2007.

88. The sixth audio tape, seventh in the series, appeared on jihad Internet sites on December 29, 2007. The screen showed an old picture of bin Laden and a map of Iraq, on which is inscribed “There is no God but Allah,” the first half of the Muslim creed (*shahada*); the tape is 56 minutes long.

89. The tape is aimed primarily at “the genuine jihad fighters” in Iraq and other places, those deployed in the *ribat* (frontier positions for the purpose of participating in a future jihad against

enemies and/or invaders). The theme of the tape is **the complete rejection of the rulers and clerics both inside and outside the Middle East who cooperate with their “infidel masters” against the jihad fighters of the entire Muslim community of believers.** His remarks are aimed primarily at the Muslim governments in Iraq, Afghanistan Saudi Arabia and Palestine, which, he claims (mostly incorrectly), collaborate with the local “national unity government” (Since Hamas won the Palestinian Legislative Council elections in January 2006, Al-Qaeda has accused it of deviating from the principles of Islam).

90. Bin Laden claims that the objective of the global “Zionist-Crusader alliance” is to take over the Muslim world by establishing regimes which will collaborate with it. That is the plot the jihad fighters are working against in their attempt to collapse those regimes and institute genuine Muslim regimes in their stead, which will rule in accordance with the spirit of the first righteous generation of Islam. A considerable part of the tape is devoted to the jihad fighters in Iraq, whom he understands to be in distress. He is aware that the chief cause of their distress is the attacks on them carried out by the Sunni tribes’ (the “Awakening Council” [*majalis al-sahwah*]) “in the name of the homeland and nationalism,” in violation of the rule of mutual Muslim responsibility. Thus he encourages the jihad fighters, reminding them that their successful operations are now led by **Abu Omar al-Baghdadi**, replacing Abu Musab al Zarqawi and his short-lived successor Abu Hamzah al-Muhajir, who were killed. Al-Baghdadi also established the “Islamic State of Iraq” (a virtual state which does not actually exist, but serves as an umbrella organization for Al-Qaeda fighters in Iraq).

91. At great length, bin Laden describes the development of the regimes collaborating with the United States, both in Iraq and Afghanistan. He explains that the objective of their jihad is to establish a genuine Muslim state instead of the infidel Muslim regimes created by the “Crusaders” (i.e., the United States and its allies). It will be the role of that state to unite the Muslim ranks in the global jihad and to establish a united Muslim regime, not one that will split into various factions. Bin Laden claims that America managed to attract Muslim collaborators, mostly by bribery, including the intelligence services of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. Therefore, those Muslim traitors, who contributed to the [possibly temporary] victory of infidels over Muslims, will be severely punished.

92. Bin Laden praises Mullah Omar, the former ruler of Afghanistan, long-time leader of the Taliban (who has survived the American attacks on his regime which began on October 7, 2001), and Abu Omar al-Baghdadi, leader, as noted, of the Islamic State of Iraq. He represents them as two symbols of the jihad being waged in their countries. He reminds his supporters that they both behave like genuine leaders following the path of the heirs of prophet Muhammad at the dawn of Islam, and of the event (known in the Muslim tradition as the *saqifat bani sa'idah* [the

booth of the Sa'idah clan]) at which the leaders of the Muslim community established by the prophet met and chose Abu Bakr as his heir. That was done to preserve the unity of the then-young community after Muhammad's death, since he did not name a successor, to institute "collective responsibility." According to bin Laden, that should be the model for the real Islamic Emirate (*imarah islamiyyah*), which will be able to vanquish any hostile country.<sup>40</sup> (37) Therefore, the overthrow of an Islamic rule such as that of the Taliban in Afghanistan is not "the end of the story." Rather, says bin Laden, the jihad must continue in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as in Somalia and Palestine (the reason it is called "global jihad").

93. Bin Laden calls upon Muslims to unite under the banner of jihad against the Americans and their allies, because that is the only way the "Crusaders'" plots can be foiled. He says that the war in Iraq is an "American plot," as the invasion of Kuwait in 1991 was a "plot" of the Iraqi Baath Party, led by Saddam Hussein. **Bin Laden also exploits the opportunity to attack Hezbollah and its leader, Hassan Nasrallah**, an example of the depth of the ideological loathing between Sunni Al-Qaeda and Shi'ite Hezbollah. He also calls UN Security Resolution 1701, which in August 2006 ended the second Lebanon war, a regional and international "American plot." According to bin Laden, American pressure resulted in the Resolution's being passed and in the deployment of "Crusader" forces in Lebanon, and that Hezbollah, led by Hassan Nasrallah, did nothing to prevent it. As far as bin Laden is concerned, there is no difference between Hassan Nasrallah's "helplessness" [i.e., treason] and that of Egypt's President Sadat and of Jordan's King Hussein, who "closed their borders to the holy Muslim fighters [in their campaign] against the Jews [after they signed peace treaties with Israel]."

94. Bin Laden claims that the current rulers in Iraq, the Saudi Arabian royal house and other Muslim regimes are being led astray by the Hamas leaders (who forced the movement to sign the Mecca Agreement with Fatah at the beginning of 2007). They are now trying to do the same to the jihad fighters in Iraq, who continue operating against the coalition forces. Bin Laden claims that dividing the Muslim ranks is part of their enemies' plot. He mentions the Islamic *fatwa* used by Al-Qaeda which justifies killing Muslims by mistake as part of the jihad against infidels or if infidels use Muslims as human shields. Thus in effect bin Laden, relying on Islamic an Islamic legal edict, justifies the killing of Muslims who in his opinion collaborated with the infidels.<sup>41</sup>

95. Bin Laden relates to the Shi'ite forces in Iraq operating against the Sunni jihad fighters, referring to "**the Al-Sadr army** [i.e., the Iranian-oriented "Army of the Mahdi," commanded by Muqtada al-Sadr]. He describes it as the "**armies of treason**" (*jaysh ghadr*, a play on words in Arabic with the original term, *jaysh badr*, which means "the Badr army," the military arm of the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, headed by Abd al-Aziz al-Hakim). He claims

that “their crimes have crossed the red line” and is certain that they can be stopped by united Sunni jihad fighters. He attacks the Iraqi Sunnis who refuse to collaborate with Al-Qaeda, claiming that their battle against the Shi’ite militias and the Iraqi army is not legitimate, as opposed to their battle against the Americans. He reminds them that the prophet Muhammad “fought against his own family members of the Quraysh tribe. Therefore, it is the religion [i.e., Islam] that preserves blood brotherhood and not place of birth or country.”

96. Bin Laden calls upon the Sunni factions in Iraq fighting against Al-Qaeda to reject their leaders, who are working to establish a “country of idol worshippers (a play on words between *watani* – either national or patriotic – and *wathani*, idolatry). It is their duty to join the jihad fighters struggling to foil the plot to found an Islamic state in Iraq. He notes that the situation in Iraq today is similar to that previously prevalent in Afghanistan. There the “plots” to establish a Communist regime were foiled in the end, as were the establishment of a national unity government supported by the Saudi Arabian and Pakistani governments.

97. In this tape as well bin Laden tries to present himself as a Muslim preacher, in an attempt to give **religious** authority to his political ideas. Thus, to bring moral and Islamic legal authority to bear on his worldview, he quotes events and sayings from Muslim history, stressing that sacrificing ownership for the sake of religion teaches that “there is a difference between faith and heresy;” that the need to punish all Muslims, including the family of the prophet Muhammad (even women), who committed crimes, is essential to Islam to purify Muslim society; and that the “most respected Islamic sheikh” Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 1349 AD, and whose works serve as a basis for Al-Qaeda’s ideology, the reason he received the title “the dean of Islam;” see below) said that “when [Muslims] ignore [even] part of what Allah commanded them [to do], hate and loathing are generated among them. Therefore, if a rift occurs among them, they will be destroyed and lost. However, if they unite, they will return to the right path and rule.” Therefore, says bin Laden, true Muslims must reject their personal interests, join ranks and tread the path of righteousness.

98. Bin Laden then discusses the issue of “Palestine” and stresses its importance for him. Once again the gap between the centrality of “Palestine” in his ideology and the situation on the ground is evident [i.e., the lack of a showcase terrorist attack carried out against an Israeli target or within Israel itself, during the past year, as opposed to the occasional, marginal attacks carried out against Israel from Jordan, Egypt and Lebanon, and excepting the lethal terrorist attacks against Jewish targets in Turkey, Morocco, and the Tunisian island of Jerba]. Despite his reference to the importance of “Palestine,” he notes that “the path to the widest front for the liberation of Palestine runs through the lands under enemy control [i.e., the Arab regimes which cooperate with the West].” In other words, the Palestinian issue, one of the high points of his

global jihad, will be resolved after the fall of the pro-Western Arab-Muslim regimes. Their collapse is still his top strategic priority. (Palestine will be discussed further in the last three tapes, below.)

99. However, he reminds the Palestinians of his claim that the events of September 11 were carried out for their sake, as are the other jihad operations taking place in Afghanistan, Iraq and Somalia. He says that "the blessed raids" against the United States and the Arab and Islamic regimes collaborating with it, "especially in Iraq, Afghanistan, North Africa and Somalia," will in the final analysis lead to the "liberation of Palestine." When that happens, "convoys of holy fighters will go out, brigade after brigade...to restore [i.e., to reconquer]...Hittin [a site in the Galilee, today Karnei Hittin, taken from the Crusaders by Saladin in 1187, whose conquest paved the road for the withdrawal of the Crusaders and led to the liberation of Jerusalem].

100. Bin Laden links the Palestinian issue to the November 2007 Annapolis meeting. He harshly criticizes the official Muslim-Arab representatives who participated in it, claiming that they "sell Jerusalem and Al-Aqsa mosque and trade in the blood of the shaheeds." He states that Allah will punish them for their treachery, as he punished their predecessors. He also says that his organization will not recognize "one inch of Jewish land in Palestine, as have all the Arab rulers who adopted the initiative of the ruler of Riyadh [i.e., the Saudi Arabian peace plan, adopted at a summit meeting by the Arab League in 2002 and again in 2006]. That is because [Al-Qaeda] does not recognize international covenants which recognize the "Zionist entity," as do, he claims, both the Hamas leadership and some of the Muslim Brotherhood.

101. Bin Laden says that he encourages "the genuine jihad fighters" operating in the Palestinian arena, those belonging to Hamas and the other [Palestinian] organizations, who rejected their leadership, which "changed its mind about the truth" [he does not mention the radical Islamic Palestinian networks in the Gaza Strip affiliated with Al-Qaeda; for details see the Conclusions below]. He says that "a jihad must be waged to liberate all Palestine, from the [Jordan] river to the [Mediterranean] sea." He notes that this jihad will be waged according to the principle of "blood is blood and destruction is destruction" [the Islamic version of "an eye for an eye," it signifies a treaty signed in blood with the commitment to provide aid]. The commitment means providing aid to the Palestinian jihad fighters "to the extent of crawling on your knees," even if it means self-sacrifice on the model of Hamzah ibn Abd Muttalib, one of Muhammad's uncles, a champion in battle.

102. Bin Laden ends by again calling on Muslims to enlist in the jihad against the infidels in the hour of the Muslim community of believers' need, asking "how long will you fear the United States and its collaborators?" and again notes that the jihad is being waged in "Palestine, Iraq,

Afghanistan, North Africa and Somalia.” He calls on those who cannot join the jihad to give financial support to the jihad fighters, and says that all Muslims must understand that the jihad is a “project of the Muslim community of believers and its first line of defense against its greedy enemies.” In fact, he is convinced that only that sort of jihad “will ensure [the Muslims’] military, social, dietary [sic] and economic welfare,” if they want to prevent the enemy from taking over “your oil and financial resources.” He reiterates the need for “jihad fighters to support [another] project of the community of believers: **the liberation of Palestine, including the release of the [Palestinian] prisoners [held by Israel] and Al-Aqsa mosque.**”

## An Appeal to “the Rational People of the European Union”



An appeal to “the reasonable people of the European Union” (Issued March 20, 2008).

103. On March 20, 2008 the seventh audio tape, eighth in the series, targeted “the reasonable people of the European Union” (the previous appeal to them was made four years earlier.)<sup>42</sup> This tape was also posted on Islamic jihadist sites. Bin Laden uses it to admit to the bitter war between his Afghani supporters and the European Union’s soldiers. He is angry that in the media war between the two sides the Europeans crossed what he calls “the red line” by reprinting [in February 2008] the Danish Muhammad cartoons. He says that the Muslims never did the same thing with Jesus, whom they consider a Muslim prophet.

104. Therefore, he claims, the publication of the “embarrassing illustrations” was a repellant act and there was no justification for it, not even in the name of freedom of speech, so dear to European hearts. Freedom of speech was created by men, an idea Islam thoroughly rejects, since Islam is based on religious law, whose source is Allah. He suggests they appeal to the “uncrowned king in Riyadh” (a derogatory reference to Saudi Arabian King Abdallah), who successfully convinced former British Prime Minister Tony Blair (who today represents the International Quartet in the Middle East) to stop his investigation into embezzlement in the Al-Yamama deal [which involved the sale of British weapons to Saudi Arabia in return for oil], but assumes his suggestion will be rejected. He threatens the Europeans with a showcase revenge attack, saying it will be “what you see, not what you hear,” and that it will show them that respect for Allah is more important to Muslims than their lives and property, for that is Muslim tradition. Bin Laden, in an unprecedented vow of self-sacrifice, says “may our mothers be bereaved if we fail to give Allah’s messenger [Muhammad] our full support.”<sup>43</sup> **The way to**

## "rescue Palestine" from the Israelis



The way to "Palestine's rescue" (Issued March 20, 2008).

105. On March 20 the eighth audio tape was released, ninth in the series, directed at the entire Muslim community of believers. It dealt with "the way to save Palestine" from the long-term "Israeli siege" of the Gaza Strip. Although he related to the Palestinian issue several times in the past, sometimes noting its importance and centrality to his global jihad, this is the first tape devoted entirely to the issue, the result of the deterioration of the situation in the Gaza Strip at the time.

106. He (falsely) describes the results of the "brutal Israeli siege" of the Gaza Strip. He untruthfully claims that the lack of food and medicine is causing Palestinians children "to die a slow death" (his method of selectively presenting facts is discussed in the Conclusions). He quotes a well-known *hadith* according to which a Muslim woman is condemned to hell for starving a cat. He claims that the *hadith* illustrates the need to punish those who imposed the siege on the Gaza Strip. In addition, he claims, the siege was also the result of the support of Israel given by the Arab rulers whose representatives participated in the Annapolis meeting. Israel is described as "the Zionist entity," the usual Arab description of the State of Israel, which denies its right to exist. Therefore he calls on the citizens of those countries "to hate, curse, and try to oust" their corrupt rulers. He thus reinforces a claim made in the previous tape, that the way to rescue "Palestine" is through the collapse of the pro-Western Arab-Muslim rulers (especially Iraq, as he notes later).

107. In addition, he claims that in fact, "Palestine and its people have suffered greatly at the hands of the Christians and Jews for more than a hundred years." He appoints himself spokesman of the Palestinians and says that "neither of the two enemies [i.e., the Christians and the Jews] took Palestinian from us through negotiations and dialogue, only through iron and fire." It is another example of the "enormous number of restrictions imposed by the Crusader-Zionist alliance...on the regional rulers," who fawn upon them. The restrictions are in addition to

those imposed by the Muslim clerics who have joined forces with local rulers, using the media to prevent the liberation of Palestine through jihad.

108. Therefore, he says, “[we have] no choice but to liberate [ourselves] from the chains” and to do only Allah’s work. “Only if a [believing Muslim] man [like himself] is liberated can he devote himself to...the liberation of Palestine and Al-Aqsa [mosque].” Iraq, as far as he is concerned, is the jihad arena closest to Palestine, and he urges his Palestinian supporters to join it [i.e., to join the other Muslim jihad fighters who went to Iraq]. In his opinion, their victory in Iraq will pave the way for the greater mission, the liberation of Palestine and Al-Aqsa mosque from the “Zionist enemy.” He says that “Palestine will never return to us through negotiations...or protests...or elections...Palestine will return to us...only if we awake, remain true to our religion and sacrifice [for its sake] our possessions and lives.”



Posting on a Hamas forum website: support for Al-Qaeda (site updated May 29, 2007). It shows Osama bin Laden, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and an Al-Qaeda operative holding an RPG launcher and a Qur’an. The text (in rhymed Arabic prose) reads, “ The root of humiliation will only be totally destroyed by a rain of lead. A free [Muslim] man will not place [the responsibility of] leadership on infidels and the undisciplined. Without bloodshed the mark of shame will never be removed from his forehead” (<http://www.paldf.net/forum/showthread.php?t=139650>).

109. He ends by reciting an anonymous poem written in florid language. He then repeats his various requests of Allah, again to deal with “our enemies, the Jews and Christians, and, as noted above, “to support the jihad fighters in Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, Somalia, Chechnya and every other place.”<sup>44</sup>

## **An Appeal to the West: The Historical Background of the Struggle Against Israel on the 60th Anniversary of its Founding**



**To the West: A message from sheikh Osama bin Laden, may Allah preserve him, the reasons for the [Arab-Israeli] conflict on the anniversary of the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Israeli occupation country ( Issued May 16, 2008).**

110. On May 16, 2008, the ninth audio tape, tenth in the series, was issued on the eve of the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel. It was directed at the West.<sup>45</sup> It was ten minutes long and posted on jihadist websites (but not on Al-Jazeera TV). He begins by noting that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the heart of the global Islamic campaign against Israel. As he has already mentioned in the past, it was the inspiration for the 19 “raiders” of September 11, 2001.<sup>46</sup> He is angry that Western leaders stood side by side with Jews at Israel’s 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations, an expression, in his opinion, of their support of “the oppressive Jewish occupation of our country.” He accuses the Western media of distorting the nature of the conflict between Islam and the West, creating the public opinion which led the Western countries to wage an unjust war against Islam.

111. Bin Laden claims that as a result of the biased news coverage in the Western media, Israel has projected its image as the “victim,” while the Palestinians, who “were expelled from their land” and are the victims of “Israeli terrorism,” are themselves presented as “terrorists.” He says (falsely) that today the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip are being “slaughtered,” while the West ignores the situation. The Western rulers, he says, even forced Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak to tighten the “deadly blockade” of the Palestinians.<sup>47</sup> He notes that his Western target audience, whose leaders support Israel’s “brutal occupation” of “Palestine,” should understand that “jihad is necessary for the liberation of all of Palestine” (i.e., the destruction of the State of Israel.) He says, “We will not give up one centimeter of Palestine as long as there is one genuine Muslim left in the world.”

## The “Deliverance of Palestine” Only Through Jihad



The “deliverance of Palestine” only through jihad  
(Al-Jazeera, May 18, 2008).

112. On May 18, 2008, bin Laden released his ninth audio tape (tenth tape in the series). Twenty-two minutes long, it was more than double the duration of the previous tape, its release coinciding with escalating tensions in the Gaza Strip and with Israel's 60th anniversary.<sup>48</sup> Unlike the previous tape, however, bin Laden used this one to provide a **complete, elaborate description of his strategic Islamic worldview**, according to which the current Islamic leaders, and most Arabs, are morally bankrupt, which is why only the younger generation may be entrusted with the mission of liberating Jerusalem and Al-Aqsa mosque. Thus, he compares the proper and successful (in his view) Islamic course of action chosen by Saladin in his campaign against the Crusaders to the unsuccessful, defeatist attitude of present-day Arab and Muslim leaders in their dealings with the modern Crusaders (i.e., the West, especially the United States) since the fall of the Ottoman empire.

113. Bin Laden claims that the “Jewish celebrations” on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the “establishment of the Zionist entity on the stolen land of Palestine” are possible because that entity exists under “the law of the jungle, where the strong [Israel] preys on the weak [the Palestinians].” He blames the situation on the Muslim rulers and clerics, who “sacrificed the entire Palestinian issue” to gain favor and position. Those high-placed individuals have turned into the proxies of the modern “Crusaders,” who fashioned the realpolitik which emerged in the Middle East following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, most Muslims are not aware of the situation in the region, and the Islamic community of believers acts like a flock without a shepherd, occasionally “preyed upon by the wolves.” Bin Laden says that is the situation of the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, oppressed and persecuted by the Israeli siege.

114. Articulating the radical Islamic worldview which has become particularly widespread since the 1970s (and differs from the secular worldview of Arab nationalism), bin Laden is willing to forgive the Ottoman Empire, claiming that “despite its major shortcomings, it defended the Muslim community of believers from the wolves and the Crusaders of the West.” He also accuses Britain of plotting the downfall of the Ottoman Empire with Sharif Hussein bin Ali and King Abd al-Aziz bin Saud. He claims Britain is responsible for the situation that arose afterwards: “It set its representatives to carry out its policies and guard its interests at our expense.” There are also “the representatives of the Crusader-Zionist alliance,” who keep “robbing [Islamic] treasures” like “wolves that keep preying on the sheep.” In that situation, says bin Laden, the Islamic community of believers does not fulfill its duty, namely: “To confront the Crusader representatives and eliminate the danger they pose.” He cites that as the reason many Muslims decide to take responsibility into their own hands and join “Islamic organizations which espouse the rule of Islam, the restoration of the Caliphate and the return of Palestine.”

115. Bin Laden also claims, however, that the leaders of those Islamic organizations met resistance from their rulers, who presented them with an ultimatum: to abandon the “jihad for the sake of Allah” or “to be tortured and killed.” Bin Laden regrets that those leaders succumbed to the pressure and chose the first option: “They abandoned the jihad for Allah’s sake, referred to the war waged by the holy warriors (*mujahideen*) against the tyrants as ‘violence’, and disparaged both.” The result, according to bin Laden, was the creation of a “vicious circle,” in which “submission and obedience to the ruler increases” and Islam is preached “in a false, twisted manner,” taking the Muslim community of believers back “ninety years” (i.e., to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the abolishment of the Caliphate).

116. **Bin Laden therefore makes an emotional plea to the Islamic community of believers:** “Is it not time to leave that wrong path behind?” That is, “Is it not time to declare that the Arab and foreign [i.e., non-Arab Muslims] tyrants from Indonesia to Mauritania are infidels?” In his view, such a declaration is necessary before they can conclude that their way must be abandoned for Saladin’s. He does so by contrasting those “mistaken” tyrants with Saladin, who conquered the Crusaders in the Middle Ages: **first**, the “Arab rulers” follow in the footsteps of the United States, which espouses “capitulation under the pretext of [establishing] peace,” by completely denying them the option of jihad. Those Arab rulers have made the “strategic choice” of allying themselves with the “Zionist entity,” says bin Laden, adding that Saladin followed the guidelines of Islam, “understanding that the way to end the suffering brought about by the infidels is [only] by fighting for the sake of Allah.”

117. **Second**, bin Laden points out that Saladin cooperated with the Muslim clerics and “even helped them to lead the community of Muslim believers to jihad against the Crusaders.” In

contrast, modern Arab rulers prevented the clerics from doing so and “put the media at the disposal of the clerics of [the forces of] evil to prevent the younger generation [of Muslims] from launching a jihad against the US and its collaborators.” **Third**, bin Laden adds, Saladin fought those **Muslim rulers** who “allied with the Crusaders against the Muslims.” Unlike Saladin, the Arab rulers united under the banner of the cross and fought Muslims at George W. Bush’s side [at the time, the 43<sup>rd</sup> president of the United States] “under the cover of the war on terrorism,” which he considers heresy against Islam (*riddah*, i.e., apostasy from Islam, which is considered the most severe level of heresy, punishable by death). Furthermore, as part of the “war on terrorism” waged against Muslims, they [the Arab rulers] derogatorily referred to them [the Muslim holy warriors] as *khawarij* (a Muslim group which abandoned Islam early in its history and rebelled against the regime, an act punishable by death) and *takfiriyyun* (Muslims who accuse other Muslims of heresy, thus making them vulnerable to violence).

118. **Fourth**, bin Laden cynically claims, Saladin “accepted the [Muslim] youngsters who volunteered for jihad without first seeking the approval of [the enemy], Richard the Lionhearted of England, or his representative, to launch a jihad against them.” In contrast, senior Muslim clerics nowadays, such as the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia and his supporters, or the Supreme Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, seek the approval of America’s henchmen (that is, the present rulers of Saudi Arabia and Egypt) to send jihad fighters against their enemies. Furthermore, bin Laden ridicules Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah for allegedly saying that he does not need money or people (to fight Israel) because he has enough. “Then why doesn’t he continue fighting to liberate Palestine and save our people from the Jews?” wonders bin Laden. “Was it not he who welcomed the Crusader forces [i.e., the extended UNIFIL force established under UN Security Council resolution 1701 following the second Lebanon war] to protect the Jews?”

119. Having propounded his worldview, separating the jihad path of Saladin from what he perceives to be the complete surrender of modern Muslim rulers and clerics, bin Laden asserts that the path of those Muslim rulers and clerics is “clearly erroneous.” He compares their “erring ways” to the motto of the Muslim Brotherhood (“Islam is the solution”) which, he believes, is rendered meaningless, since the Brotherhood bows down to a tyrannical (i.e., secular) regime. In addition, he gives an example from the early days of Islam by mentioning Abu Jahl (one of Muhammad’s most adamant opponents from the Prophet’s own tribe, the Quraysh), who without justification declared himself a member of the ruling class.

120. Bin Laden details the justification for his plan to fight the enemies of Islam. This time, he does not limit himself to lifting the Gaza Strip blockade, **intimating once again that he is not just an ideologist but a man who considers himself the educator of radical Islam’s**

**new generation, and also something of a street preacher.** The tape is addressed to the **entire Muslim community of believers**, which he talks to in the first and third person. He explains that he thinks of himself as an “advisor” to the Muslim community of believers, but also as someone who seeks its advice. “The integrity of the **path** [of righteous Islam] is above the integrity of the countries, the groups and the individuals,” he says.

121. Further elaborating on his ideology, bin Laden says that when the integrity of the Muslim collective “clashes with the integrity of the path, then it is just an ostensible integrity.” According to bin Laden, the integrity of Allah’s message of Islam stems from the fact that it was divinely given to the prophet Muhammad. He claims that “engaging in doubletalk” (which he does not describe) is not just a rebellion against Allah, but also leads other Muslims astray, because in addition to rebelling against Allah (*ma’siyah*), Islamic clerics are also engaged in creating “unwelcome changes in Islam” (*bida*). Therefore, in bin Laden’s view, reflecting the strict Islamic interpretation of modern Salafism and Wahhabism, those responsible for the erroneous modifications (which he does not explain) [of true Islam] “will never release Al-Aqsa and will never return Jerusalem.” Those who will do so are the younger generation, “who abide by the fundamental principle of ‘loyalty to the original path laid out by Allah and renouncing the acts of the infidels’ [*al-walaa’ wal-baraa*,’ one of the key principles in global jihad ideology] and not by the principle of loyalty to kings and rulers.”

122. According to bin Laden, those are “youngsters who do not [wait to hear what the leaders have to say] if the latter have chosen not to launch a jihad, and they do not ask the rulers for advice if those leaders are corrupt.” He says that “they are not guided by UN laws, or what is referred to as ‘international legitimacy,’ nor are they guided by the tyrants of the East and West or the leaders of [Islamic] organizations under their patronage...[Their guideline] is not the political analysis of biased propaganda, which is not subject to Allah’s laws... and which spreads atheism in the guise of ‘freedom of expression,’ striving to defame the jihad fighters and bring about their defeat.” On the contrary, says bin Laden, the consciousness of those youngsters has been shaped by the Book of Allah (the Qur’an), may he be glorified, and the way (Sunnah) of our Prophet, may Allah’s blessing and peace be upon Him. [Accordingly], if **the tree or the rock call upon them: ‘Oh Muslim, oh slave of Allah! There is a Jew behind me, come and kill him!’** they will depart as a beheading comet (*shihab*).<sup>49</sup> **Bin Laden’s call to kill Jews contradicts his moderate rhetoric regarding the suffering of the Jewish people in the Holocaust, when he addresses the American target audience, as noted above).**

123. Before he ends, bin Laden stresses once again that if the Muslim and Arab rulers in the Middle Ages had acted similarly to contemporary rulers, that is, preventing concrete measures (such as launching a jihad) from being taken for the liberation of Jerusalem, then “the Al-Aqsa

Mosque would have remained in foreign hands [for] ten generations.” Moreover, he claims that those Muslim rulers do not follow the commandments of Allah but rather rise to power by means of a “military coup or armed assistance from without” and rule by man-made laws. They even ally with Christians and fight Muslims. In contrast, the young jihad warriors fulfill Allah’s will by realizing the following verse from the Quran: “Among the believers there are people who fulfill their pledges with Allah. Some of them died, while others stand ready [to die], never wavering” (Surah 33, Al-Ahzab, Verse 23). The verse is one of the most popular and is found on posters of Palestinian terrorist organizations which justify and provide legitimacy to the suicide attacks they perpetrate.<sup>50</sup>

124. Therefore, bin Laden addresses the epilogue to **his favorite target audience (the young generation of Muslims)** calling upon them to follow in the footsteps of Saladin “to liberate Palestine, to liberate Al-Aqsa, and to restore the righteous Caliphate... through jihad, Allah willing.” He notes that **“the Zionist entity in the land of Palestine” is very fragile**, lacking “the necessary foundations to exist inside a wide Islamic ocean, without the lifeline and assistance of the West and its collaborators, the rulers of the region.” He goes on to claim that the Zionist entity “has never even once faced a real war for the liberation of Palestine,” explaining that in the “War of ‘48” it was “Britain that gave Palestine to the Jews,” and that for the Arab leaders it was “just a pretense of war, an example of betrayal [on their part]. For immediately afterwards, they agreed to a temporary truce (*hudna*), which then became permanent.” He also claims that Egypt’s President Sadat initiated the Yom Kippur War to “win back Sinai... not to liberate Palestine.” Bin Laden further adds that the second Lebanon war, “in which the Jews suffered heavy casualties,” was in fact “a war for self-defense and not for the release of Palestine.”

125. Bin Laden concludes that **“the Zionist entity exists not because of its power but rather because the [Arab] governments have ceased their jihad against it.** Moreover, they have guarded its borders, since it was too weak to guard them itself.” He says that “the Zionist entity will not be able to stand [even] one hundredth of the efforts formerly exerted by the jihad fighters to subdue the Russians in Afghanistan, and it will not be able to stand [even] one hundredth of the efforts now undertaken by jihad fighters to attack the United States and its collaborators in Iraq.” **Thus, bin Laden makes a clear connection between the jihad for the “liberation of Palestine” and the jihad it wages elsewhere in the world, each dependent on the other. That is, he reaffirms his view that the “liberation of Palestine” is an integral and highly important part of the global jihad.**<sup>51</sup>

126. However, bin Laden also addresses the Muslim community of believers, noting that “the weakness of the Zionist entity alone will not cause its downfall, because it takes force to bring down even a rotten tree, weak as it may be.” At the end of the tape, he addresses the younger generation once again, reading a poem (possibly of his own creation) according to which the various attempts to weaken the Islamic ideology he espouses will not succeed as long as those youngsters understand that **jihad is their test, death is their paradise, and Islam will rule only by the power of the sword.**

## Conclusions and Evaluation of bin Laden's Media Campaign

127. On the 6<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the September 11 terrorist attacks bin Laden broke his long public silence and launched a media campaign, **another significant link in the battle for the hearts and minds** waged by Al-Qaeda (or **Qaedat al-Jihad**, as it has been known since 2001). **During that prolonged campaign, he admitted he was responsible for the September 11 terrorist attacks. The admission began** slowly and came in response to the "war on terrorism" declared against him by President Bush and his coalition of supporters following the realization of the attacks' scale and their unprecedented worldwide media coverage.<sup>52</sup> (49) Following the declaration and the American attack on Al-Qaeda bases in Afghanistan (which began on October 7, 2001), **Al-Qaeda's organizational and hierarchal structure was considerably damaged (even though its supporters continued carrying out terrorist attacks around the world).**

128. In addition, toppling the Taliban regime in Afghanistan **has deprived bin Laden of his most important territorial base for orchestrating Al-Qaeda's terrorist acts around the globe**, and a considerable number of Al-Qaeda's operatives and leading figures have been killed or captured in the ongoing worldwide manhunt for them. Even bin Laden and his deputy, Al-Zawahiri, were forced into hiding to avoid capture or death at the hands of American troops or their allies (the Afghan Northern Alliance and NATO forces). Their present whereabouts remain unknown, but the Afghan-Pakistani border is a likely location.

129. **Consequently, Al-Qaeda's leadership had to adapt itself to the situation** that emerged after September 11, 2001. Following the American offensive in Afghanistan, the organization gradually moved into action,<sup>53</sup> (50) reflected mostly by **local terrorist attacks** (including in Afghanistan) and inspired by the **ideology of global jihad** preached by the organization. In addition, the training bases in Afghanistan were replaced by **an extensive audio-visual instruction system** which makes extensive use of the **Internet**. Not only does it disseminate bin Laden's ideology, but it also provides **the Muslim target audience with operative instructions and technical know-how**. The destruction of the organization's physical infrastructure in Afghanistan therefore forced it to change its method of operation and harness the modern communications revolution, focusing on the **Internet**. Using the Internet gives Al-Qaeda and its leadership an unprecedented opportunity to overcome the physical distance separating Al-Qaeda's leaders from jihad operatives across the globe.



The homepage of Al-Ekhlās, one of Al-Qaeda's major online forums. At the bottom is a photograph of Ayman Al-Zawahiri, bin Laden's deputy, and a link to a video. The website also provides information about and manufacturing instructions for explosive charges. (As noted in the indictment of the suspected Tel Sheva terrorist; see below).

130. Al-Qaeda's Internet-based communications system also allows it to address **new** target audiences. With it, it can "instantly relay its messages from its hiding place to any other website in the world," reaching both its loyalists and other target audiences. Modern-day terrorist organizations understand that broadcast and online media compete for news, especially scoops on mass terrorist attacks. Thus, "the media competed for the chance to be bin Laden's mouthpiece, free of charge." Therefore, "[the terrorist mastermind] could count on the Western media to deliver his defiant challenge to his allies' far-reaching networks."<sup>54</sup>

131. Thus Al-Qaeda wiped out hierarchal, organizational media structure, and it was replaced by virtual media bodies sending messages around the world. They include **Al-Sahab** (The Clouds), Al-Qaeda's media production center; its online publications **Mu'askar al-Battar** (Army Camp of Al-Battar, i.e., the Prophets' Sword), **Sawt al-Jihad** (Voice of Jihad, its online newspaper in the Arabian Peninsula), and **Sawt al-Malahem** (Voice of the Heroic Wars, its online newspaper in Yemen and in the southern Arabian Peninsula, first published in early 2008). There are also publications dealing with operative instruction, such as the **Global Islamic Media Front**; the **Al-Fajar Media Center**; **Al-Furqan** (The Separation [between the lie and the truth], one of the names of the Quran), Al-Qaeda's propaganda wing in Iraq; **Al-Lajnah al-I'lamiyyah** (The Information Committee, the propaganda wing of the Al-Qaeda

Organization in the Muslim Maghreb); **Qism al-I'lam li-Jaysh al-Islam fi-Ard al-Ribat** (The Information Division of the Army of Islam in the Land of Ribat [ "Palestine"]), and many other websites and online forums affiliated with Al-Qaeda's jihadist ideology (such as **Al-Ekhlaas**, **Al-Hesbah**, **Al-Boraq**, **Al-Firdaws**, **Ana al-Muslim**). Al-Qaeda's online network resembles that of other prominent radical Islamic organizations.<sup>55</sup>



From a video produced by Al-Furqan (Al-Qaeda's propaganda wing in Iraq), documenting a terrorist attack against the American forces in Iraq (Al-Jazeera's online forums, September 15, 2007, <http://www.aljazeera.com/forum/showthread.php?t=71139>).



Al-Boraq, a well-known, central online forum affiliated with Al-Qaeda in Iraq. The website contains a wealth of information on Al-Qaeda in Iraq, radical Islamic ideology, as well as video and audio clips praising jihad. The website's ISP is probably located in South East Asia (Singapore or Malaysia).



The homepage of Al-Hesbah, one of the key Al-Qaeda-affiliated websites. The website provides technical data pertaining to the Internet (including information published by hackers working for Al-Qaeda), much information on Al-Qaeda's ideology (including radical Islamic literature), news and updates. The ISP is probably located in Singapore. The website management is probably located in Pakistan.

132. **Al-Qaeda's extensive media network allowed it to continue operating even after its infrastructure in Afghanistan was hit. That is done through local terrorist cells across the globe whose connection with their leadership is tenuous at best.** Such cells have been responsible for terrorist attacks **perpetrated** or **thwarted** in many locations, including **Europe** (Spain, Italy, Britain, Denmark, Chechnya, Russia, South Ossetia), **Asia** (Indonesia, India, Pakistan, the Philippines, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, China, Uzbekistan), **Middle East and North Africa** (Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Egypt, Yemen, Jordan, Lebanon, Israel, Turkey, Algeria, Morocco, the Tunisian island of Jerba, Mauritania), **Sub-Saharan Africa** (Nigeria, Somalia), and **North America** (the United States and Canada). **Of particular note is an organization called "Al-Qaeda in the Land of the Two Rivers [i.e., Mesopotamia, today Iraq],"** which has become the chief operative wing of the global jihad in Iraq, a country that **has actually become the main theater of operations** for Al-Qaeda, replacing the pre-September 11 Afghan theater.

133. Al-Qaeda also issues a wide variety of video and audio tapes. Until September 2007, most of the tapes were recorded by Ayman al-Zawahiri, bin Laden's deputy, and by other Al-Qaeda leading figures.<sup>56</sup> (53) **During that time, rumors began circulating that bin Laden was no longer alive, and that the tapes in question had been pre-recorded a long time previously.** Therefore, they **proved that bin Laden was alive and well, and his statements were up to date** as of May 2008.<sup>57</sup> Those tapes should be viewed not only as an effective, popular means of disseminating ideological messages, but **also as a means of showing signs of life after a long media absence.** The topics he discusses prove he continues spreading his ideology and linking the September 11 terrorist attacks to the continuing activity of Al-Qaeda and global jihad operatives. Moreover, bin Laden uses his tapes to dictate the subjects and the tone of the messages distributed through the Internet by other key Al-Qaeda spokesmen (a topic beyond the scope of this study).



A tape by Ayman al-Zawahiri

134. **Bin Laden is well aware of the great importance of the media and uses it for his own purposes in the battle for the hearts and minds he has been waging for the last decade.**<sup>58</sup> (54) The extensive media coverage of terrorist attacks is a badge of honor for their perpetrators, proving the success of their operations, manifested in the form of new recruits for Al-Qaeda. An extended absence from the media could have been taken as a sign that bin Laden was no longer alive, lowering the morale of those global jihad operatives inspired by bin Laden or acting on his behalf.

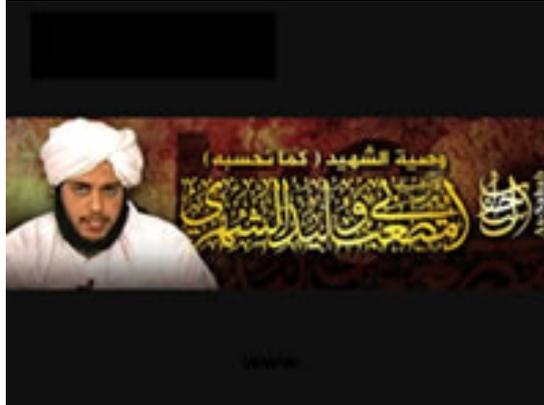
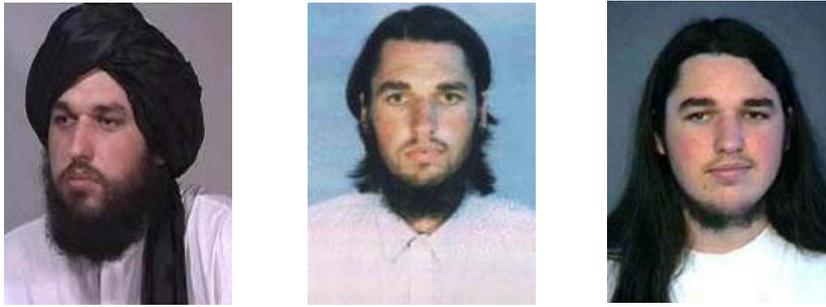
135. Bin Laden knows that he is the world's most wanted terrorist, with a \$50 million bounty put on his head by the United States. In his media campaign, therefore, **he attempts to pass himself for a religious scholar or a respectable Muslim religious leader.** In the guise of a religious scholar, he tries to persuade his viewers and listeners that he can promote an Islamic awareness that would not rely on clerics who refuse to cooperate with him and do not encourage Muslim youngsters to join the jihad, considered by bin Laden to be a personal duty (*fardh 'ayn*) rather than just a collective duty (*fardh kifaya*). **Accordingly, he uses authentic Islamic sources, mainly the Quran and the *hadiths*, to create an Islamic worldview that can be described as transcending state borders.** That is, to make it easier for (Sunni) Muslims to join his jihad, he has created an Islamic ideology and strategy which combine the various schools of Sunni Islamic thought into **a single collective Muslim school**, using the authoritative collected texts of the *hadiths*, respected throughout the Sunni Muslim world. **In that regard, he actually creates an alternative Sunni Islamic ideological worldview which parallels and justifies the acts of global jihad.**<sup>59</sup>

136. **Osama bin Laden is fundamentally hostile towards the United States and the Jews**, and uses his media campaign to incite his supporters to an all-out war against them. His statements are interwoven with blatant anti-Semitic themes, using an Islamic tradition which advocates killing Jews.<sup>60</sup> At the same time, driven by tactical considerations, he tones down his stance when addressing the American target audience. He tries to convince the Americans to influence President Bush into changing his policy, and expresses some sympathy for the grieving families who lost their loved ones in Iraq. He claims that the families' suffering will be over if

Americans convert to Islam. As for the Jews, he mentions the Holocaust inflicted upon them by Christian Europe, the brothers of Christian America, claiming that burning them alive in crematoriums is an act unthinkable and opposed by Islam. He also made several statements which indirectly show some sympathy with the biblical Children of Israel (according to the Qur'anic version).

137. **Bin Laden lashes out at Muslim rulers, accusing them of betraying Islam and the Muslims.** He says they ingratiate themselves with the Christians and Jews, obey their commands and do not help their persecuted Muslim brothers across the globe. Bin Laden also finds fault with **Muslim clerics**, whom he regards as lackeys of the regimes, since by turning Muslim youth away from joining the global jihad, they become infidels themselves. It is therefore bin Laden's view that only the young can act for the good of all Muslims and free them from the burden of their traitorous rulers, by joining the worldwide jihad waged by Al-Qaeda. The youth, he says, should consider Al-Shehri (who took part in the September 11 terrorist attacks and was featured in the second tape released on their sixth anniversary) and Al-Zarqawi (the former Al-Qaeda leader in Iraq eliminated by the Americans) as model operatives who risked their lives for the glory of Islam, Muslims and Allah.

138. For reasons still not quite clear, bin Laden has apparently decided to resume his media appearances precisely on the sixth anniversary of the terrorist attacks in the United States. There is no definite answer as to **why he did not appear on the media earlier, on the previous anniversaries of the September 11 attacks**. One thing is clear, however: the subject matter of the tapes proves that as of the date the tape was issued, not only was he alive and well, but he had not changed his outlook, and **he also has a "next generation."** Bin Laden has therefore chosen to feature his obvious representative, an American Jew named Adam Gadahn (formerly Pearlman) who converted to Islam and is considered Al-Qaeda's key spokesman for the American target audience. In our assessment, bin Laden may have felt that the tape he addressed to the American public did not produce the desired effect, hence his decision to incorporate Gadahn into his propaganda campaign.<sup>61</sup>



Adam Gadahn, an American Jew who converted to Islam. He is now wanted by the American authorities, having been charged with treason *in absentia*.

([http://www.fbi.gov/wanted/terrorists/gadahn\\_a.htm](http://www.fbi.gov/wanted/terrorists/gadahn_a.htm),  
<http://www.nationalterroralert.com/updates/2007/09/10/as-sahab-another-osama-bin-laden-tape-to-be-released-soon>).

139. In our assessment, bin Laden's absence from the media may have been caused by his attempts to elude his pursuers, or he may have been busy planning an elaborate mega-terrorist attack. Another option is bin Laden's feeling that the number of his global jihad supporters has declined, perhaps temporarily, due to the success of the international war on terrorism. It is therefore possible that he needed to use the sixth anniversary to encourage and recruit new supporters, and also to influence American public opinion to bring about a significant change in President Bush's policy on the war in Iraq. In our assessment, there may also be disagreements within the Al-Qaeda leadership, prompting bin Laden to reclaim control of his organization's propaganda machine, if only temporarily. Perhaps he had more practical reasons, as he explained in the various tapes, such as destabilizing Musharraf's regime in Pakistan by declaring jihad on him, or influencing public opinion in those European countries that sent soldiers to fight in Afghanistan to stop their fighting (if only temporarily), or promoting the jihad against Israel.<sup>62</sup>

140. In our assessment, the main reasons for bin Laden's propaganda campaign are the temporary weakness of Al-Qaeda operatives in the key theaters of operations (Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan) and the possibility of getting extensive media coverage.<sup>63</sup> In that context, the propaganda campaign is meant to boost the global jihad operatives' morale and encourage them to launch new operations, mainly mass-casualty suicide bombing

attacks.<sup>64</sup> The ongoing terrorist activity in Iraq and Afghanistan and the escalating activity in Pakistan (and possibly in Yemen as well) may have already been influenced by the messages spread by his propaganda campaign.<sup>65</sup> **The increase** in suicide bombing attacks in North Africa (Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania) perpetrated by the organization's North African wing (Al-Qaeda Organization in the Muslim Maghreb), founded in January 2007, may also be affected by bin Laden's speeches.<sup>66</sup>

141. Israeli and American scholars and officials disagree on the implications of bin Laden's media campaign, and some have attempted to downplay its significance. For example, **Frances Fragos Townsend**, President Bush's former homeland security advisor, called bin Laden, in terms of operative ability, "virtually impotent."<sup>67</sup> **Bruce Hoffman**, a top expert on Al-Qaeda, asserted that the tapes were not really important because "the man to watch is not Osama bin Laden" (but his deputy, Ayman al-Zawahiri).<sup>68</sup>

142. On the other hand, during the early stages of the current media campaign, Israeli researcher **Jonathan Dahoah-Halevi** published an article titled "Al-Qaeda: next goal is to liberate Spain from the infidels." According to Dahoah-Halevi, "Israel is a small link in the greater confrontation between radical Islam and the West." He further notes that "'liberating' Palestine from Israeli rule will not be the last stop in the radical Islamic journey of spreading Islam all over the world."<sup>69</sup> **Yoram Schweitzer**, another Israeli researcher of Al-Qaeda, published an article following the release of bin Laden's **video** tape, stating that "It appears that in September 2007, six years after the disaster in the United States, the hope that a concerted effort against the perpetrators of global jihad would diminish the threat it poses was shattered, **and it is quite clear that the subject will keep playing a key role on the international scene for a long time to come.**" Furthermore, warning against the assertion (voiced by American army leaders in Iraq) that "Al-Qaeda has been defeated" (in Iraq), he noted that "it would be best to focus on the expected future activity of Al-Qaeda," that is, **"the risk...of 'Iraq alumni' who are sent to execute terrorist attacks all over the world."**<sup>70</sup>

143. **Ilana Freedman**, an American researcher, criticized the "unfounded opinion" voiced by Townsend, noting that "the tape [addressed to the American public] is meant to alarm us," and therefore "we should take it seriously." She said that "[bin Laden] has warned us, he has invited us to convert to Islam to avoid disaster, and he has received religious authority to kill Americans in retribution for the killing of Muslims." Accordingly, she notes that "If he is indeed a dying man [as his appearance on the tape suggests], this may be his final statement to the world." However, the other tapes had not yet been issued at the time. Freedman reiterated her warning that "though they [i.e., Al-Qaeda] may not be ready to strike again, terrorizing us with the threat of an unknown attack may be considered sufficient for now."<sup>71</sup>

144. **The issue of Israel plays a key role in bin Laden's tapes. Bin Laden** puts the Palestinian-Israeli confrontation and Islam's holy sites in Jerusalem **high on his organization's list of priorities**, which is in accordance with his past statements. In a message allegedly released five years ago, he said the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was the main reason behind Al-Qaeda's attacks in the United States. He said that "the establishment of Israel is a crime that needs to be erased," a crime for which the United States is responsible, since it is Israel's staunchest supporter. The 1982 events in Lebanon are also attributed to Israel.<sup>72</sup> What is more, a book published three years ago exposed Al-Qaeda's seven-stage program to subdue the West and establish a new Islamic Caliphate. The program's third stage (scheduled for 2007-2010) includes an attack on the Jews in "Palestine" (i.e., Israel) and in other Middle Eastern countries where, according to Al-Qaeda, they ostensibly wield considerable influence, such as Turkey.<sup>73</sup>

145. In the tape released by bin Laden in late December 2007 (and even more so in those released afterwards), **he repeatedly stressed the importance of "liberating all of Palestine" through jihad, since he does not recognize any of it as Jewish.** He uncompromisingly stated that Israel and the Jews living there must be destroyed by a war facilitated by Al-Qaeda's activities in the Middle East and elsewhere. Bin Laden claimed once again that the September 11 attacks were driven by sympathy with the suffering of the Palestinian people, and swore he would take action to help them release their prisoners. Even though most of the tape was devoted to jihad in Iraq and Afghanistan, in the end he focused on the issue of Palestine to express the importance he ascribes to jihad against Israel.

146. In the past year, beside the three tapes in which bin Laden discussed "the issue of Palestine," numerous reports on the activity of Palestinian terrorist organizations affiliated with Al-Qaeda appeared, such as Army of Islam and Army of the Nation in the Gaza Strip. However, it is worth mentioning that **there is still a substantial difference between the significance of the struggle against Israel in bin Laden's media campaign (joined by Islamic terrorist organizations affiliated with Al-Qaeda outside of "Palestine") and the situation on the ground.** In the year that has passed since the beginning of the campaign, no significant Al-Qaeda activity has been noted in Israel or in Lebanon -- on the contrary, Al-Qaeda has even experienced some failures. **In Israel**, the security services thwarted some of Al-Qaeda's attempts to employ Israeli Arabs for the perpetration of terrorist attacks using the Internet. **In Lebanon**, the Lebanese army managed to defeat Fath al-Islam, the Al-Qaeda branch in Lebanon, by taking over its key stronghold in Nahr al-Bared, northern Lebanon (even though Fath al-Islam leader Shaker al-Absi managed to escape).<sup>74</sup>



Abu Hafs al-Maqdisi, leader of Army of the Nation, in an interview on Al-Arabiya TV (Al-Arabiya TV, September 2, 2008).



The symbol of Army of the Nation

147. **The explanation for the discrepancy** between ideology and reality is that as far as bin Laden is concerned, the liberation of Palestine **should start with Iraq and the other jihad fronts**, and those Arab regimes which cooperate with the West must be toppled first. That obviously prevents making the “liberation of Palestine” Al-Qaeda’s top priority, at least in the **immediate** operative sense. In any case, it is our assessment that bin Laden’s threats against Israel should be viewed as more than mere lip service, and the possibility that he will attempt to show his “concern” for “Palestine” and its “liberation” **with a showcase terrorist attack against an Israeli or Jewish target** should be considered.<sup>75</sup> The escalation of the threats posed by global jihad elements against Israel is also reflected by Israel’s highest political echelon.<sup>76</sup> The recently-exposed recruitment attempts of young Israeli Arabs from Rahat, Tel Sheva and East Jerusalem (even though they did not ultimately result in actual terrorist attacks) might be an indication of Al-Qaeda’s interest to act against Israel in the present and in the foreseeable future (and perhaps beyond).<sup>77</sup>



From the homepage of Al-Ekhlaas, one of Al-Qaeda’s most important websites. Left: information on terrorist attacks in Iraq. Right: a photograph of Ayman al-Zawahiri, Osama bin Laden’s deputy. Entering the forums on the website requires registration. One of the two Israeli Bedouin suspects from Rahat used to access that website as well as other websites affiliated with Al-Qaeda.

148. **Bin Laden's media campaign is notable for its use of the Internet.** A possible reason is bin Laden's desire to create a comprehensive online network of Islamic awareness that will be able to serve Al-Qaeda's needs in the future, even after his death. According to Israeli researcher Reuven Paz, that awareness reflects "soft power," that is, the ability to achieve the goal (embracing jihadist ideology for carrying out showcase terrorist attacks) by persuasion and through the use of modern media, unlike "hard power," which refers to the ability to achieve the goal through the use of financial and military means.<sup>78</sup> In addition, the Internet is used as an effective means of handling global jihad operatives everywhere in the world. That is why, as part of the global struggle against terrorism, **collaborative efforts must be made to make it more difficult for Al-Qaeda to use the Internet (and other media).** At the same time, the moderate Islamic school of thought, which Al-Qaeda fiercely antagonizes, has to be represented by the media, and Al-Qaeda's lies (through the selective representation of the facts) have to be exposed for what they really are (which have created antagonism and criticism even among former Al-Qaeda supporters).<sup>79</sup>

149. In early 2008 a concise forecast on the "Threat of Terrorism in 2008" was published by Prof. **Rohan Gunaratna**, one of the world's top experts on Al-Qaeda, head of the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies in Singapore. He noted that **"to generate more recruits and support [for Al-Qaeda],** the head of Al-Qaeda's Media Committee [i.e., Al-Sahab] Abu Abdel Rahman al-Maghrebi, who is the son-in-law of Al-Qaeda's number two Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri, will invest more in propaganda...Al Shahab, the video production arm of Al-Qaeda's Media Office, will invest in propaganda [in 2008] to indoctrinate Muslims both in the Muslim world and beyond. **By instilling the belief that 'it is the duty of every Muslim to wage jihad,' Al-Qaeda seeks to radicalize the [international] Muslim community.** The mainstream Muslim leaders have failed to match the gigantic investment Al-Qaeda has made to politicize and mobilize the Muslim masses."<sup>80</sup>

150. Several days after the publication of the assessment, **Al-Qaeda was reported to have made again used popular modern technology** to spread its messages. A jihadist website said that the Al-Sahab media center **had presented the first collection of video clips that could be downloaded to cell phones.** Also according to the website, such files could be exchanged **between cell phones.** It was also reported that Ayman al-Zawahiri asked his supporters to transmit the organization's messages in that fashion. According to an earlier report (November 2007), Al-Qaeda invited the public, including the media, to address questions to Dr. Al-Zawahiri through Islamic websites often used by Al-Sahab to deliver its messages.<sup>81</sup> Also worth mentioning are the various reports about using children and women (some with mental disabilities) to perpetrate suicide bombing attacks in the name of Al-Qaeda.<sup>82</sup>

151. In our assessment, the media campaign waged by bin Laden in the course of the past year is a sign of Al-Qaeda's attempt to **expand** its media and propaganda activity to boost its popularity with existing supporters and recruit new supporters, perhaps because the leadership of the organization feels that its popularity is slipping. That calls for careful monitoring of Al-Qaeda's media activity to understand its meaning and implications. However, most terrorism experts in Western countries still seem to be having difficulties deciphering the true meaning of bin Laden's polished Arabic statements, which draw heavily upon Islamic sources.<sup>83</sup> To that end, there should be full professional cooperation between intelligence experts from around the world, including Internet experts, and such cooperation should also focus on defense, with special emphasis on the battle for hearts and minds with counter propaganda in the media. The intelligence fields would be collection, analysis, research, operations and production. The purpose would be to improve and streamline the existing and accumulating data, and the counter-terrorism effort which is part of it. Since Al-Qaeda continues carrying out terrorist attacks (the majority of which are in fact prevented) in the Middle East and elsewhere, that would include hitting its leading figures.<sup>84</sup> We hope that the present study will contribute to the ongoing global war on terrorism.<sup>85</sup>

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> This study does not deal with all statements made by Osama bin Laden before September 2007, but it does relate to many of them. For an orderly, referenced translation of bin Laden statements between 1994 and 2004, see *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama bin Laden* (edited and introduced by Bruce Lawrence, translated by James Howarth), London and New York: Verso, 2005. A study similar to this one was recently published by the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (See below) and analyzes 80 tapes issued by Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri as part of its psycho-strategic analysis, but in reality it focuses on the technical and personal aspects of the tapes rather than on their contents. See Elad Popovich, Esq. "Psycho-strategic analysis of the Qaeda al-Jihad leadership: past, present and near future," July 18, 2008, <http://www.ict.org.il/Articles/454/currentpage/1/Default.aspx>. This study is based primarily on bin Laden's statements in Arabic, and much use was made of the various tapes, including the proficient English translations of Laura Mansfield (Lauramansfield.com). Also noteworthy are the SITE Institute site, directed by Rita Katz, and the IntelCenter site founded by Ben Venzke. Also see Joby Warrick, "Bin Laden, brought to you by..." in the September 12, 2007 edition of *The Washington Post*. A short summary of the video can be found at the MEMRI site: "Osama bin Laden's video message to the American People," MEMRI, Special Dispatch Series No. 1709, September 10, 2007, <http://www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP170907>. In addition to the above sources, we used the Arabic for some of the statements, generously provided by Terrogence (formerly HTA), for which we thank them.

<sup>2</sup> The aforementioned websites and others contain reliable, detailed reports about the various tapes issued, especially by Osama bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri and Musab al-Zarqawi (until his death in June 2006), issued in recent years by Al-Qaeda: MEMRI, the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, the International Institute for Counterterrorism site of the Interdisciplinary Center at Herzliya, Reuven Paz (<http://www.prism.org>) and Haganah on the Internet (<http://www.haganah.org.il>), as well as material on YouTube and other sites. In our assessment, a study should be made of Ayman al-Zawahiri's tapes as well. His writings have been translated and collected: Laura Mansfield, *His Own Words: A Translation of the Writings of Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri* (TLG Publications, USA, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> The fact that bin Laden relates to the Holocaust and does not deny it is in strict opposition to the position taken by other Muslim extremists (such as Iranian president Ahmadinejad), unprecedented, and so far, unique. It is also a deviation from the hostility to Jews evidenced in his other tapes, at least since October 2001, for example, his February 14, 2003 statement (see *Messages to the World*, pp. 189-190) and in the tape devoted to al-Shehri (see below). It is fairly

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certain that he is trying to soften his message to the American people by blaming the Holocaust on Europeans, similar to statements made by Ahmadinejad. For Palestinian and Arab responses to the issue, see the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center March 2008 Bulletin entitled "Throughout the recent escalation, the Palestinian propaganda campaign has frequently employed the term "holocaust" to provide a false description of IDF activity in the Gaza Strip" at [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/pdf/hi\\_090308e.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/hi_090308e.pdf).

<sup>4</sup> Bin Laden's examples are not entirely accurate when relating to the great suffering of Christians during the modern era, including the Copts in Egypt (and during the past decade among the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, especially since the Hamas takeover in June 2007). See Katherine Ormstead, "Murder in a bookstore," (Hebrew), *Haaretz*, November 5, 2007. An in-depth study was published by Lela Gilbert in the *Jerusalem Post* called "Natural allies in a dangerous world," October 2, 2007. See various Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center bulletins dealing with or mentioning the issue of the situation of Christians in the Palestinian Authority at [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/pdf/gj\\_200208e.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/gj_200208e.pdf), [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/pdf/gaza\\_020608e.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/gaza_020608e.pdf), [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/pdf/may27\\_030608e.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/may27_030608e.pdf), [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/pdf/feb19\\_26\\_08e.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/feb19_26_08e.pdf), and [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/pdf/feb12\\_19\\_08e.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/feb12_19_08e.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> For further information see the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center June 2008 comprehensive study entitled "Contemporary Arab-Muslim anti-Semitism, its Significance and Implications (Updated to March 2008)" at [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/pdf/a\\_s\\_170408e.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/a_s_170408e.pdf).

<sup>6</sup> An echo of bin Laden's remarks to the Democrats about not doing their job to change the administration's policies was published shortly after the tape was issued by Frank Rich, "Will the Democrats betray us?" in *The New York Times* on October 16, 2007. A few weeks after the tape was issued there were mass protest demonstrations throughout the United States representing the entire political spectrum. See Jason Dearen, "Iraq war protests draw thousands of demonstrators across United States," *The Jerusalem Post*, October 29, 2007.

<sup>7</sup> It is unclear why bin Laden attacks Donald Rumsfeld, although he was Bush's Secretary of Defense and supported the war in Iraq until he resigned in 2006. He did not see active service in the Vietnam war.

<sup>8</sup> The Kyoto Protocol is an international agreement linked to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. The major feature of the Kyoto Protocol is that it sets binding targets for 37 industrialized countries and the European community for reducing greenhouse gas

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(GHG) emissions. These amount to an average of five per cent against 1990 levels over the five-year period 2008-2012. The major distinction between the Protocol and the Convention is that while the Convention **encouraged** industrialized countries to stabilize GHG emissions, the Protocol **commits** them to do so ([http://unfccc.int/kyoto\\_protocol/items/2830.php](http://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol/items/2830.php).) America is not the only country which did not sign it.

<sup>9</sup> In other tapes as well bin Laden relates to economics, especially the economic implications of the September 11 attacks. For example the Al-Jazeera TV interview with Taysir Allouni (arrested by the Americans on suspicion of involvement in the terrorist attack in Spain in 2004), <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c5vmNCRerXc>, accessed October 15, 2007. According to *Messages to the World* (p. 106), the interview was taped in October 2002 but broadcast in January 2002; it appears on pp. 107-109. According to the latest information, the war in Iraq has cost the United States three trillion dollars: see *The Three Trillion Dollar War* by Joseph Stiglitz and Linda Bilmes, Norton Publishers, New York, 2008. According to the Israeli press, the American deficit will be \$482 billion: See the Haaretz supplement "The Marker," (Hebrew), July 30, 2008.

<sup>10</sup> "In God We Trust" is America's national motto and appears on the dollar bill and other currency. It was officially adopted in 1956 under Eisenhower, although it had appeared on the two-cent coin as early as 1862. See the Introduction, "The Sacralization of Politics – the Dollar as a Religious Symbol," in a book by Emilio Gentile written in 2001, translated from the Italian by George Stanton and published by the Princeton University Press as *Politics as Religion* in 2006; <http://www.amazon.com/politics-as-Religion-Emilio-Gentile/dp/0691113939>

<sup>11</sup> Michael Scheuer headed the CIA's Osama bin Laden unit from the end of the 1990s until November 2004. He wrote two books, the first published anonymously because he was still working for the CIA. In them he criticizes the neocon heads of the Bush administration and the Clinton administration for their failure to prevent the September 11 attacks and capture bin Laden. See his interview with Boaz Gaon, "Automatic support of Israel threatens America's security interests," (Hebrew), *Ma'ariv* Saturday supplement, December 3, 2004, pp. 16-24. Also see "The State of the Jihad, As He Might See It," by Michael Scheuer, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/02/15/AR2008021502899.html>.

<sup>12</sup> Bin Laden might be referring to critical remarks made by soldiers regarding their low morale and the factors leading to cases of suicide. See Buddhika Jayamaha, Wesley D. Smith, Jeremy Roebuck, Omar Mora, Edward Sandmeier, Yance T. Gray and Jeremy A. Murphy, "The War as We Saw It," in *The New York Times*, August 19, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/08/19/opinion/19jayamaha.html?scp=1&sq=The%20War%20as%20We%20Saw%20It&st=cse>. According to American media reports, based on American military data and the VA, the rate of servicemen's suicides has steadily increased since the

beginning of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Bin Laden refers to the case of "Joshua," Joshua Omgig, 22, a soldier in Iraq who committed suicide. His family persuaded the Congress to pass a law compelling the VA to provide treatment for soldiers suffering from PTSD. See Ynet, "More suicides in the American army since Iraq," (Hebrew), March 25, 2004; August 16, 2007; Kimberly Helfing, AP, "Hundreds of US Iraq and Afghanistan war veterans commit suicide," Yahoo News, Canada, November 1, 2007. In addition, the rate of desertion in the American army rose by 80% since the invasion of Iraq. See "Iraqi deserters," (Hebrew), The Business Post, November 21, 2007. According to the *New York Times*, more than 100 recently discharged soldiers who had fought in Iraq and Afghanistan were involved in murder. See "The war in Iraq pursues its fighters – 121 committed murder after returning from the front" in Haaretz, (Hebrew), January 25, 2008.

<sup>13</sup> See the article by Warrick (Note 1), and Lee Keath, "Bin Laden in new 9/11 video, urges more martyrdom," *The Jerusalem Post*, 12.9.2007. See <http://jihadwatch.org/archives/018108.php> .

<sup>14</sup> See the Hebrew article by Dr. Guy Bechor on his website about bin Laden's appearance, which notes that this is the first time he appeared dressed as a religious leader and not a fighter, "About the new tape of Bin Laden, and the secret of making money,"

[http://www.gplanet.co.il/prodetailsamewin.asp?pro\\_id=558](http://www.gplanet.co.il/prodetailsamewin.asp?pro_id=558). However, several years ago bin Laden presented his Islamic understanding according to which he views himself as the prophet Muhammad in modern dress. See Dr. Yoram Kahati and Yoni Fighel, "Osama bin Laden as the new prophet of Islam," July 15, 2003,

<http://212.150.54.123/articles/articledet.cfm?articleid=489>. Bin Laden made another video in which he acts like a Muslim cleric, explaining that the first generation of righteous Muslims (*al-salaf*) should be emulated, because there are many modern Muslim clerics who do not support jihad. He mentions Ka'ab bin Malik, one of the first people to convert to Islam, a poet and a companion of the prophet Muhammad, who did not take part in the battle of Tabuk in 629 AD, when the Muslims were in difficult straits. Rather, he composed poems against the prophet. However, Muhammad sent messengers to threaten him, after which he asked for Muhammad's forgiveness and even wrote poems praising him, some of which can be found in Muhammad's biography. After he forgave him, bin Malik fought in many jihad battles until his death in the 50<sup>th</sup> year of the hegira, 677 AD, and became a figure of admiration for Islam. See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=APmbkpnAQ&mode=related&search>.

<sup>15</sup> In Part 4 (of 10) in his interview with the Al-Jazeera TV journalist Taysir Allouni (See Note 9, above), he continued the ideological line of his Palestinian mentor, Abdallah Azzam, who stated that jihad to rescue "the wretched of the earth" (*al-mustadh'afin*) and to liberate the holy sites of Mecca and Jerusalem is the "personal obligation" (*fardh 'ayn*) of every Muslim.

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<sup>16</sup> See [http://www.islam21c.com/component/option,com\\_mojo/Itemid,70/p,50/](http://www.islam21c.com/component/option,com_mojo/Itemid,70/p,50/). See the Arab view of the issue <http://www.nos7.com/vb/archive/index.php/t-19124.html>.

<sup>17</sup> Bin Laden is here quoting one of the *hadiths* (the oral traditions of the prophet Muhammad), as he often does. Using the *hadiths* is prestigious and makes him more popular among Muslim audiences. Like his mentor, Abdallah Azzam, he cleverly uses Muslim sources and usually avoids Western terminology when describing the vanities of this world.

<sup>18</sup> The "treaty" to fight for the sake of Allah even if they were killed in battle is a motif often repeated in posters and announcements with Muslim communities (the Palestinians, for example), which glorify the actions of the *shaheed*. Two verses from the Qur'an are often cited: Surahh 33 (Al-Ahzab, Verse 23, "Of the believers are men who are true to the covenant which they made with Allah: so of them is he who accomplished his vow, and of them is he who yet waits, and they have not changed in the least;" and Surahh 9 (Al-Tawbah), Verse 111, "Surely Allah has bought of the believers their persons and their property for this, that they shall have the garden; they fight in Allah's way, so they slay and are slain; a promise which is binding on Him in the Taurat and the Injeel and the Quran; and who is more faithful to his covenant than Allah? Rejoice therefore in the pledge which you have made; and that is the mighty achievement."

<sup>19</sup> For information on al-Zarqawi see, for example, the ITIC Bulletin "Abu Musab al-Zarqawi: his biography, world-view and contribution to the ongoing jihad in Iraq," by Dr. Yoram Kahati, at [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/pdf/zarkawi.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/zarkawi.pdf).

<sup>20</sup> Al-Shehri repeated a well-known Qur'an verse several times, encouraging Muslims to fight their infidel enemies, assuring them that Allah will support them: Surahh 9 (Al-Tawbah), Verse 14, "Fight them! Allah will chastise them at your hands, and He will lay them low and give you victory over them, and He will heal the breasts of folk who are believers."

<sup>21</sup> For the widespread use of Ibn Taymiyyah's book in Arabic, *Public Policy in Islamic Jurisprudence*, by Islamists see Emmanuel Sivan, *Radical Islam, Medieval Theology and Modern Politics*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1985, pp. 94-107. For bin Laden's reliance on Ibn Taymiyyah, see Kahati and Fighel, <http://212.150.54.123/articles/articledet.cfm?articleid=489>. For bin Laden's reference to his reliance on Ibn Taymiyyah, see *Messages to the World*, p. 229.

<sup>22</sup> In the past bin Laden also condemned Muslim clerics for not encouraging the younger generation to fight the jihad. See Kahati and Fighel, <http://212.150.54.123/articles/articledet.cfm?articleid=489>. He also mentioned the issue of clerical negligence in his interview with Taysir Allouni (part 2 of 10), noted above.

<sup>23</sup> Safar al-Hawali and Salman al-Awdah were among the leaders of the Saudi opposition which sprang up after the Saudis allowed the Americans to use their country to prepare for the invasion of Iraq in 1991. Al-Hawali and al-Awdah (and others) regarded the act as irreligious, because Saudi Arabia is responsible for the protection of the holiest sites of Islam, which non-Muslims may not enter. Their opposition activities resulted in their being arrested and imprisoned for five years. They also supported the global jihad and bin Laden, but the heavy pressure from the regime and their time in jail led them to change their views and reject jihad in Iraq and renounce bin Laden. They still have their own Arabic website which they use to express their anti-Semitic sentiments. See the following (in Hebrew): Yehoshua Teitelbaum, *A Country Struggling to Survive: the Islamic Opposition in Saudi Arabia*, Ramat Aviv, Tel Aviv University, the Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, 2005; Jonathan Dahoah-Halevi, "Religious preparation for genocide in the new radical Islam," Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, December 2003,

[http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/html/final/sp/var\\_h/genocide.htm](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/html/final/sp/var_h/genocide.htm);

"Terrorism in America (#47): The importance of *fatwas* in incitement to murder," MEMRI, January 15, 2002,

<http://www.memri.org.il/memri/LoadArticlePage.asp?language=Hebrew&enttype=4&entid=494>;

Miki Segal, "The Arab agenda – Osama my brother, stop killing innocent Muslims," September 23, 2007,

[http://www.amedia.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=9042&MenuID=831&ThreadID=1014020](http://www.amedia.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=9042&MenuID=831&ThreadID=1014020);

Yuval Sofer, "The Arab agenda – Religious discourse in the Saudi Arabian media," October 23, 2007, [http://www.amedia.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=10922&MenuID=831&ThreadID=1014020](http://www.amedia.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=10922&MenuID=831&ThreadID=1014020);

"The hate industry: Syria as a distributor of anti-Semitic literature," Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, March 2, 2006, [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/Hebrew/heb\\_n/pdf/as\\_syria0306.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/Hebrew/heb_n/pdf/as_syria0306.pdf).

<sup>24</sup> For further information, see the following articles in Hebrew by Dr. Matti Steinberg: "The theology and strategy of Al-Qaeda and the global jihad," *Keshet Hahadasha*, 12, (Summer 2005), pp.65-81; "Radicalizing the radicals," *Keshet Hahadasha*, 13, (Fall 2005), pp. 56-71; "Al-Qaeda's chaos program," *Keshet Hahadasha*, 14, (Winter 2005), pp. 73-90.

<sup>25</sup> See the Arab League's website (in Arabic), <http://www.arableagueonline.org/las/index.jsp>.

<sup>26</sup> For further information about the attack on the Red Mosque, see the following articles (in Hebrew) on the Ynet site:

<http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3430667,00.html>,

<http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3427590,00.html>. For background to the attack, including the Chinese pressure on Musharraf to act against the extremist Muslims in Pakistan (to prevent trouble before the summer 2008 Olympic games), the part played by the radical Islamic leaders

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in Pakistan in promoting Islamic terrorism in the country and the role played by the Red Mosque and Abd Al-Rashid Ghazi as part of radical Islamic support in Pakistan for global jihad, Al-Qaeda and bin Laden, see Isaac Kfir, "Pakistan through Musharraf's eyes," *The Jerusalem Post*, November 5, 2007, and "Democracy and Talibanization in Pakistan," *The Jerusalem Post*, November 10, 2007. See Daniel Pipes, "Red Mosque in Rebellion," <http://www.danielpipes.org/article/4770>; Manan Ahmed, "The significance of Musharraf's crackdown on the [Red] Mosque," <http://hnn.us/roundup/comments/40745.html>, and in Hebrew, Tzvi Barel, "One against all," *Haaretz*, November 9, 2007. Following the attacks and attempted assassinations carried against Musharraf and the opposition leader Benazir Bhutto, who had returned from exile (and was killed in the second assassination attempt on December 27, 2007) after the attack on the Red Mosque and the appearance of bin Laden's tapes -- which were considered subversive to the country's security -- Musharraf declared state of emergency which lasted a month (November-December 2007).

<sup>27</sup> Nizamuddin Shamzai, a staunch supporter of radical Islam in Pakistan, was a source of inspiration for Al-Qaeda and the Taliban. He supported Musharraf's rise to power in 1999 but became a fierce opponent of his regime after it joined the war on global terrorism (i.e., Al-Qaeda) instituted by the United States. He was murdered on May 30, 2004, apparently by local Shi'ites or elements close to the government. See Arman Sabir, "Religious scholar Shamzai shot dead," *Dawn*, the Internet edition, <http://www.dawn.com/2004/05/31/top3.htm>; B. Raman, "Al-Qaeda kills its mentor & godfather?" South Asia Analysis Group, Paper No. 1018, June 7, 2004, <http://www.southasiaanalysis.org/%5Cpapers11%5Cpaper1018.html>. As early as October 2001 Bin Laden referred to Shamzai as one of Pakistan's greatest *fatwa* issuers. See *Messages to the World*, p. 116, Note 17.

<sup>28</sup> The four were famous figures from the early days of Islam, companions of the prophet Muhammad and considered among the most important shaheeds: **Hamzah bin Abd al-Muttalib**, Muhammad's uncle, killed in battle in 624 AD and one of whose nicknames is "the doyen of the shaheeds;" **Mussab bin 'Umayr**, killed in the same battle; **Zayid bin Harithah**, Muhammad's slave, killed in the Mu'tah battle in 629 AD; and **Jafar bin Abi Taleb**, Muhammad's cousin, killed in the same battle in 629 AD. Information about the four is easily obtained from Arab-Muslim sources.

<sup>29</sup> Bin Laden and his followers relate with extreme favor to "Islamic emirates" and regard them as an achievement. For the negative connotation of the expression in the eyes of those who see them in the context of the spread of radical Islam in the Middle East and beyond, see the ITIC bulletin entitled "The meaning of the term "Islamic emirate", used by Abu Mazen and official Palestinian and Egyptian media to refer to the political entity formed in the Gaza Strip following the Hamas takeover," July 8, 2007, at

[http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/pdf/isalmic\\_emirate\\_e.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/isalmic_emirate_e.pdf).

<sup>30</sup> See B. Raman, "Tribal anger mounts against Musharraf and Benazir," International Terrorism Monitor, South Asia Analysis Group, Paper No. 293 [2428], October 26, 2007, <http://www.southasiaanalysis.org/%5Cpapers25%5Cpaper2428.html>.

<sup>31</sup> See Notes 22 and 23 above, and the following (in Hebrew): Yuval Sofer, "Religious discourse in the Saudi media," October 23, 2007, at

[http://www.amedia.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=10922&MenuID=831&ThreadID=1014020](http://www.amedia.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=10922&MenuID=831&ThreadID=1014020); and "The Saudi Mufti: it is forbidding to leave Saudi Arabia for jihad," October 9, 2007,

at

[http://www.amedia.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=10012&MenuID=833&ThreadID=1014020](http://www.amedia.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=10012&MenuID=833&ThreadID=1014020). For Salman Alawda's call to bin Laden to stop the killing of innocent Muslims, see Miki Segal, "The terrorist Emir in Iraq killed," September 30, 2007, at

[http://www.amedia.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=9449&MenuID=821&ThreadID=1014010](http://www.amedia.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=9449&MenuID=821&ThreadID=1014010); and "Brother Osama, stop killing innocent Muslims," September 23, 2007, at

[http://www.amedia.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=9042&MenuID=831&ThreadID=1014020](http://www.amedia.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=9042&MenuID=831&ThreadID=1014020).

<sup>32</sup> A short summary of this tape (with selections translated) was issued by MEMRI. See "Bin Laden calls on all jihad groups to unite under one banner," MEMRI, Special Dispatch Series No. 1751, October 2, 2007, at

<http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP175107>.

<sup>33</sup> The "[Indian] ocean to [Pacific] ocean" description was used in the past to define the borders of the "**Arab** homeland" in secular Arab nationalist ideology, rejected by bin Laden's radical **Islamic** ideology.

<sup>34</sup> A well-known Muslim *hadith*.

<sup>35</sup> Bin Laden seems to be both frustrated and distressed, apparently because of American successes in Iraq, aided by local Sunni Muslims. For further information see the following (Hebrew) articles: Rafi Buchnik, "Al-Qaeda in Iraq broadcasts distress," October 30, 2007, at

[http://www.amedia.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=11432&MenuID=603&ThreadID=1014010#](http://www.amedia.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=11432&MenuID=603&ThreadID=1014010#). For information about how Al-Qaeda kills some of the Sunni Muslim Iraqis collaborating with the Americans, including tribal chiefs, see M. Segal and R. Porat, "Al-Qaeda attacks Sunni tribal chiefs," November 11, 2007, at

[http://www.amedia.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=12070&MenuID=821&ThreadID=1014010](http://www.amedia.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=12070&MenuID=821&ThreadID=1014010). His anguished cries are reminiscent of the cries of the Palestinians, "Where are the millions [of Arabs expected to come to their aid]" when the second intifada began in late September 2000 (*Wein al-malayeen?*).

<sup>36</sup> The original title of the tape is "An appeal to the European people."

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<sup>37</sup> The full translation appeared the following day on Laura Mansfield's website.

<sup>38</sup> Previous tapes issued by bin Laden referred to the September 11 attacks as "self defense," as part of the campaign "to liberate the holy places in Palestine," and as a response to the Israeli bombing of Beirut during the first Lebanon war. See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-APmbKpnaQQ&mode=related&search>, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bp3Fb4yVy88&mode=related&search>, bin Laden's interview with Taysir Alouni (part nine of ten), and *Messages to the World*, pp. 104, 107, 192 and 239.

<sup>39</sup> In June 2007 **Haji Mansour Dadullah** appeared at the "graduation ceremony of suicide bombers," broadcast by ABC. In August 2007 he told Al-Jazeera TV and the world that "bin Laden is alive and well," and that he sent "a letter of condolence" on the occasion of the death of his brother, the shaheed Mullah Dadullah [the former commander of the Taliban army, killed in battle in Afghanistan], advising him to continue his brother's path. See <http://www.afgha.com/?q=node/3567> and [http://hk.youtube.com/view\\_play\\_list?p=898874335186045D](http://hk.youtube.com/view_play_list?p=898874335186045D). During the first half of 2008 it was predicted that the battles in Afghanistan would worsen, and bin Laden's preaching may have influenced that. See the Hebrew article by Tsvi Barel, "It will be hot," Haaretz, July 25, 2008.

<sup>40</sup> For further information regarding the significance of the term "Islamic emirate," see our July 8, 2007 Bulletin entitled "The meaning of the term 'Islamic emirate,' used by Abu Mazen and official Palestinian and Egyptian media to refer to the political entity formed in the Gaza Strip following the Hamas takeover at

[http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/pdf/isalamic\\_emirate\\_e.pdf](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/pdf/isalamic_emirate_e.pdf).

<sup>41</sup> Al-Qaeda's perception of this is known as *tatarrus*. See the Arabic discussion at <http://www.asharqalawsat.com/details.asp?section=4&issue=9670&article=300383>, May 30, 2005. The depth of the hatred felt by Sunni Al-Qaeda supporters for the Shi'ites could be seen in the first positive reactions to the assassination of Imad Moughnieh, responsible for Hezbollah's terrorist attacks, on February 12, 2008, and in their desire to see Hassan Nasrallah assassinated as well. See the Hebrew article "Al-Qaeda, take Nasrallah too: positive reactions to the assassination of Moughnieh on Sunni jihad websites. Nasrallah called Satan and some surfers regard Moughnieh as a criminal," (HTA, also known as Terrogence) at [http://www.amedia.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=15728&MenuID=833&ThreadID=1014020#](http://www.amedia.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=15728&MenuID=833&ThreadID=1014020#), February 13, 2008. In the same vein see the Sunni websites dealing with the IDF's targeted killing assassination of Muhammad Shahadeh, a Shi'ite Muslim from Bethlehem, considered the terrorist who planned the mass-casualty attack at the Mercaz Harav Yeshiva in Jerusalem, March 6, 2008. See "The Sunni jihad rejoices at the assassination of Shi'ite Shahadeh,"

HTA,

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[http://www.omeia.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=16433&MenuID=833&ThreadID=1014020](http://www.omeia.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=16433&MenuID=833&ThreadID=1014020), March 13, 2008.

<sup>42</sup> See "To the people of Europe," *Messages to the World*, pp. 233-236. The tape was issued on April 15, 2004, after the March 2004 terrorist attacks in Spain and the targeted killing of Ahmed Yassin, founder of Hamas, on March 22, 2004. Bin Laden called on intellectuals, media figures and European businessmen to appoint a permanent committee which would exploit the "tremendous potential of the media" to raise European awareness of the Muslims' just struggle, "especially in Palestine." To that end he even suggested a three-month cease fire (which was never implemented).

<sup>43</sup> The Arabic version of the tape was five minutes long and posted a short time later, accompanied by an English translation, on Laura Mansfield's website. According to Muslim tradition, the Byzantine king Nakfur sent a letter to Caliph Haroun al-Rashid telling him that he was going to stop paying the tax al-Rashid demanded to preserve the truce between them. Al-Rashid angrily answered that "[my] answer will be what you see and not what [you expect to] hear." It is entirely possible that bin Laden is echoing al-Rashid. In addition, the terms of bin Laden's vow are exceptional. According to tradition, a Muslim may not wish for his own death, because the son is more important to his mother than any other family member. Aware of that, bin Laden relies on the Muslim consensus that any attack on the prophet, the figure considered more important to Muslims than their families and property, even a verbal attack, justifies a counter-attack on the life of the aggressor, even if it results in self-sacrifice. Therefore, bin Laden circumvented the caveat by relying, in all probability, on the most reliable *hadith* of the prophet, according to which "words can kill." Thus a spoken word against the prophet Muhammad (and by extension, a cartoon), commits Muslims to perform a counter-attack, an act of self-sacrifice if necessary, against whoever attacked the prophet. In June 2008 a suicide bomber attacked the Danish Embassy in Afghanistan, implementing bin Laden's exhortation. A few days later jihadist websites issued a statement from Al-Qaeda about the attack (in which only the suicide bomber died).

<sup>44</sup> This tape is 11 ½ minutes long and was posted on jihadist websites but the version used here did not have English subtitles. The picture shown on the screen is of bin Laden and Al-Aqsa mosque, as well as the Muslim year 1429, 2008 AD. A shorter version (5 ½ minutes) was broadcast by Al-Jazeera TV.

<sup>45</sup> The title of the tape is part of a Qur'an verse from Surahh 20, Ta Humanitarian aid "...peace to all who follow guidance." It is a Muslim blessing for a non-Muslim, and who is therefore not considered as an equal in the same level of faith as a Muslim. There are other blessings said in

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one way for Muslims and in another for non-Muslims, who, until they convert, are not worthy of the same blessings.

<sup>46</sup> See "The Lebanese skyscrapers," *Messages to the World*, pp. 237-244. Bin Laden claims (pp. 239-240) that Israel's bombing of the skyscrapers in Beirut during the first Lebanon war in 1982 deeply hurt his feelings. He therefore decided to "punish the oppressors" by destroying the World Trade Center in New York, because the Americans, in his opinion, allowed Israel to destroy vast areas of Beirut.

<sup>47</sup> Bin Laden scorns contemporary Western leaders and claims that there is no difference between their modern *jahiliyyah* (the polytheistic pre-Islamic period) values and those of Haman in the Qur'an (Surahh 28 Verse 38). According to the Qur'an, he was Pharaoh's deputy and tried to convince the masses that Moses was liar and to kill the children of Israel during the first *jahiliyyah*. His simile is fairly strange, because he indirectly tends to support Israel. However, according to the Egyptian Sayyid Qutb, one of the fathers of radical Islamic ideology, executed in 1966, whose viewpoint bin Laden seems to adopt, modern Western society seems "polytheistic," that is, infidel.

<sup>48</sup> Entitled "Message to the Islamic nation from the Lion of Islam, Sheikh Osama bin Laden," the tape was distributed on jihadist websites affiliated with Al-Qaeda. The screen shows a picture of the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the text has English subtitles.

<sup>49</sup> Here bin Laden draws upon a well-known, commonly accepted Islamic tradition, according to which Jews must be killed on Judgment Day to hasten its coming. He is expressing an anti-Semitic Islamic view, like other modern radical Islamic preachers and activists, both Sunni and Shi'ite.

<sup>50</sup> As noted, it is one of the most popular verses, found on many posters commemorating Palestinian suicide bombers (both men and women), justifying acts of terrorism (or "self sacrifice," as they call them) carried out against Israeli targets. Those posters are displayed at the Palestinian terrorism exhibition at the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage and Commemoration Center in Gilot, north of Tel-Aviv, as well as in the materials published by the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center in recent years, which appear on its website in several languages ([www.terrorism-info.org.il](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il)).

<sup>51</sup> That view was reflected in many of his previous statements and tapes, but was not considered as such by various researchers, since there have been no showcase terrorist attacks in Israel and because his stance was viewed as lip service, appealing to the lowest common denominator of Muslims (see below for a more detailed analysis of that issue). For a discussion of Palestine as a key issue in bin Laden's view since the beginning of his global jihad (late 1994), see *Messages to*

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*the World*, pp. 9-10. The book contains numerous references to the issue (for the possibility that the issue of Palestine became deeply rooted in bin Laden's mind when he was still a teenager, see below).

<sup>52</sup> The fact that bin Laden's jihad fighters perpetrated the attacks was first mentioned three months later, in a video aired on Al-Jazeera on December 26, 2001. In that tape, bin Laden stresses the need (which he repeats again and again in other tapes) for the younger generation of Muslims to continue his jihad against the United States, which is fighting in Afghanistan assisted by Muslim heretics (*murtaddin*, the worst heretics in Islam, because they deliberately left the faith). He also mentions the Saudi Arabian families of the terrorists who perpetrated the September 11 terrorist attacks (including Al-Shehri) and, in a voice choked with tears (which happens rarely in bin Laden's tapes), recites a rhymed poem dedicated to them. See <http://video.aol.com/video-detail/december-26-2001-osama-bin-laden-part-4-of-4/1133113628>. For a complete English translation of the tape, see *Messages to the World*, pp. 145-157.

<sup>53</sup> For bin Laden's dramatic and defiant (yet reserved, given the circumstances) response against the United States on the day of the American attack on his bases in Afghanistan (October 7, 2001), see <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-APmbKpnaQQ&mode=related&search>, as well as *Messages to the World*, pp. 103-106.

<sup>54</sup> See Evyatar Ben-Tsedef, "What a nice enemy" (Hebrew), (posted on the Anochi website for followers of Objectivism (Ayn Rand's philosophy) in Israel, originally published on the author's personal website, Global-Report, on January 28, 2008), [http://www.anochi.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=414&Itemid=32](http://www.anochi.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=414&Itemid=32).

<sup>55</sup> For the extensive use made in the past decade by radical Islamic terrorist organizations (mainly Al-Qaeda) of the Internet, see "Terrorism and Internet: a US Senate report analyzes the extensive use made by Al-Qaeda of the Internet in its war for hearts and minds. The report voices concerns over the exposure of American citizens to the websites of Al-Qaeda and other radical Islamic organizations" (the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center, July 14, 2008). It should be noted that that publication also addresses the use made by Hamas and Hezbollah as part of the war for hearts and minds. It also includes a list of Information Bulletins published in recent years by the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center on "Terrorism and Internet." [http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/html/int\\_140708e.htm](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/html/int_140708e.htm). Also see "Jihad Online: Islamic Terrorists and the Internet," Bnai Brith Anti-Defamation League, 2002, [http://www.adl.org/internet/jihad\\_online.pdf](http://www.adl.org/internet/jihad_online.pdf); Bruce Hoffman, *The Use of the Internet by Islamic Extremists: Testimony Presented to the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence*, May 4, 2006, Rand Corporation, May 2006, at

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[http://www.rand.org/pubs/testimonies/2006/RAND\\_CT262-1.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/testimonies/2006/RAND_CT262-1.pdf); Gabriel Weimann (foreword by Bruce Hoffman), *Terror on the Internet: the New Arena, the New Challenges*, Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2006. For an inside look at the massive influence of Islamic online propaganda on the recruitment of operatives to Islamic terrorist organizations (specifically Hizb ul-Tahrir, the Islamic Liberation Party in Britain), see Ed Husain, *The Islamist, Why I Joined Radical Islam in Britain, What I Saw Inside and Why I Left*, London: Penguin Books, 2007 pp. 74-75. It should be noted that in recent years, several television programs aired in Israel and elsewhere showed the extensive use made by Islamic terrorist organizations, chiefly Al-Qaeda, to spread propaganda in order to recruit potential supporters. Also, see relevant articles by Dr. Ronen Bergman addressing also the operative aspect.

<sup>56</sup> A detailed list of the various tapes released in the past decade was recently published by the IntelCenter website. See <http://www.intelcenter.com/qaeda-timeline-v6-4.pdf>. A more detailed list (in Arabic) of bin Laden's speeches (as well as speeches by Al-Zawahiri and Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi) can be found on Reuven Paz's website:

[http://www.e-prism.org/images/Osama\\_speeches\\_-\\_Ver2\\_-\\_3-7-06.pdf](http://www.e-prism.org/images/Osama_speeches_-_Ver2_-_3-7-06.pdf). As already mentioned, a complete, annotated translation of bin Laden's speeches in the years 1994-2004 can be found in *Messages to the World*.

<sup>57</sup> Another tape was issued in January 2009.

<sup>58</sup> See a brief but important (Hebrew) summary emphasizing that assessment (citing a letter sent by bin Laden to the Taliban leader before the September 11 terrorist attacks) by Rafi Buchnik, "Al-Qaeda's Well-Oiled Media Machine." The sub-title of the article begins with the sentence: "Bin Laden is highly aware of the media scene, making skillful use of it" (September 24, 2007) at [http://www.amedia.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=9160&MenuID=681&ThreadID=101400](http://www.amedia.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=9160&MenuID=681&ThreadID=101400). For an obvious example of bin Laden's awareness of using international media to distribute his messages to various target audiences through interviews granted to foreign (mostly American) and Arab press as early as the 1990s, as he himself admits, see *Messages to the World*, pp. 240-241. Also see bin Laden's and Ayman al-Zawahiri quotations which appear at the beginning of this study.

<sup>59</sup> This paragraph is based on a lecture given by Prof. Joseph Kostiner from the Department of Middle Eastern and African History (Tel Aviv University), entitled: "Al-Qaeda: Its Factions and Competitors," given (in Hebrew) on November 13, 2007 at the Tel-Aviv branch of the Peretz Bernstein Liberal School in Israel -- The Civilian Center for Culture, Society, and Economics (attended by Dr. Yoram Kahati, see below). In that lecture, Prof. Kostiner noted that bin Laden was brought up in the Shafi'i school of thought, one of the four denominations of Sunni Islam. However, in the above-mentioned tapes, bin Laden makes use of some of the six reliable *hadith* compilations (Muslim, Al-Tirmidhi), and in the reliable compilations of Al-Bayhaqi and Ibn Kathir

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(appended to them), specifically mentioning the schools of Ahmed [Bin Hanbal] and Malek [Bin Anas]. In that context, Reuven Paz (see p. 5 in the source mentioned in Note 78 below) notes that “the Internet has turned, in fact, into one global *madrassa* [an Islamic educational institution, now part of the infrastructure of global radical Islam].”

<sup>60</sup> The name of Al-Qaeda’s military wing, established by bin Laden in February 1998, is “The Global Islamic Front of Jihad against **Jews** and Crusaders” (according to another version, “Jews and their Allies”). Also, in the sixth part of the interview granted by bin Laden to Taysir Alouni (noted earlier), he cites a well-known verse from the Quran (Surahh 5, Al-Maeda, verse 51), prohibiting Muslims from seeking protection with Jews and Christians, since they protect each other, and any (Muslim) who does so is considered a heretic. In addition, in a speech given in late 2004, bin Laden asks Allah to “abandon the Zionist-American alliance and its supporters...destroy them and break their backs...turn their wives into widows... rid us of them in any way you choose.” See *Messages to the World*, pp. 160-172, 269. In some of the tapes bin Laden mentions a well-known Islamic tradition which says that Jews must be killed as part of the preparations for Judgment Day. See *ibid.*, pp. 190-191, as well as the tenth tape (“Message to the Islamic Community of Believers,” analyzed below). Abu Mus’ab al-Zarqawi also expressed ambivalence towards the Jews, despite his hatred of them. For more details, see article on Al-Zarqawi written by Dr. Yoram Kahati (Note 19 above). Conversely, in an audio tape released on Islamic websites, Ayman al-Zawahiri called upon Muslims to strike Jews around the world. See “Ayman al-Zawahiri, Osama bin Laden’s right-hand man, again called upon Muslims to strike Jews in Israel and around the world” (Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, April 6, 2008. Other reports about the topic were published on the Israeli and foreign press.)

<sup>61</sup> Adam Yahiyeh Gadahn is an American Jew originally named Adam Perlman, who converted to Islam and became Al-Qaeda’s main spokesman to the American target audience. He is also known as “Azzam the American,” and is wanted by the FBI for treason and for providing assistance to Al-Qaeda. See [http://www.fbi.gov/wanted/terrorists/gadahn\\_a.htm](http://www.fbi.gov/wanted/terrorists/gadahn_a.htm). More information can be found on the English edition of Wikipedia (as of November 19, 2007) and in video clips posted on YouTube, for example: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X-EtfuOKcJ0&NR=1>. Gadahn’s 50-minute video tape posted on jihadist websites on January 6, 2008, under the title: “An Invitation to Reflection and Repentance.” A brief summary of his detailed statements on various issues, including the link where selections of that tape can be seen, was published by MEMRI: “In spite of the Trials and Tribulations...” MEMRI Inquiry and Analysis No. 415, January 7, 2008, at <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=archives&Area=sd&ID=SP180208>. Gadahn is called Azzam the American because he says, according to Abdallah Azzam, jihad is a “personal duty” (*fardh ‘ayn*) of every Muslim, rather than a collective duty (*fardh kifayah*, which may allow for

exemptions). The concept is also expounded by bin Laden in the fourth part of the interview with Taysir Alouni, noted above, in which he said that "Jihad is a personal duty to save the oppressed"-- in this context, including Jerusalem [sic] and Saudi Arabia

<sup>62</sup> See also: Yoram Schweitzer, "Bin Laden Talking Again: Al-Qaeda Leader's Propaganda Effort Can't Mask Group's Radical Murderous Nature." Ynet news.com opinion, December 23, 2007, at <http://www.ynetnews.com/Ext/Comp/ArticleLayout/CdaArticlePrintPreview/1,2506,L-3485562,00.html>. In an audio tape released in April 2004, bin Laden offered the Europeans a ceasefire in exchange for the cessation of attacks on Muslim targets, but received no response. He made a similar offer to the Americans in January 2006, in exchange for a withdrawal of American troops from Iraq, but that offer was turned down as well. Finally, perhaps Al-Qaeda's involvement in Pakistan (the assassination of Benazir Bhutto in late 2007, see below), following the release of bin Laden's tape dealing with the matter, contributed to the political crisis which overtook the country, in the wake of which Musharraf resigned (August 18, 2008).

<sup>63</sup> See Micky Segal, "Bin Laden is in distress: the desperate call of Al-Qaeda's leader for Muslim solidarity and his lip service to 'Palestine' emphasize his organization's difficulties in Iraq and elsewhere," (Hebrew), (January 4, 2008), at

[http://www.amedia.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=14774&MenuID=821&ThreadID=1014010](http://www.amedia.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=14774&MenuID=821&ThreadID=1014010). Also see "Al-Qaida Invites Press To Question No. 2," *The Jerusalem Post*, November 11, 2007. The article states that "Al-Sahab [Media Center] has significantly increased the number of announcements it has published this year." By late 2007 information started appearing on the media (based on American sources) that the American army, with the assistance of Iraqi security forces, was able to kill a significant number of Al-Qaeda operatives in Iraq, while harming innocent civilians. For example see Orli Azulai and Smadar Peri, "Iraq: the number of [American] casualties drops" (Hebrew), *Yedioth Ahronoth*, October 25, 2007. Sinan Salaheddin, "11 Iraqis Died in Airstrikes..." *The Jerusalem Post*, October 24, 2007. Although official statistics show a drop in the number of casualties in Iraq since August 2007, it does not indicate an unambiguous decrease in the number of US military casualties, both in Iraq, where the number of soldiers killed in 2007 (901) was the highest since the war started in spring 2003, and in Afghanistan (where NATO troops suffer losses as well) since 2001. See <http://icasualties.org/oif/ByYearGraph.aspx>, <http://icasualties.org/oif/default.aspx>, and <http://www.icasualties.org/oef>. It appears that encouraged by their success in recruiting tribal leaders in Iraq against Al-Qaeda, the Americans are going to use the same tactics in Afghanistan. See "US to recruit Pakistani tribes against Al-Qaeda" (Hebrew), (Omedia News, November 19, 2007, 10:15), at [http://www.amedia.co.il/Show\\_News.asp?MenuID=819&DynamicContentID=12496](http://www.amedia.co.il/Show_News.asp?MenuID=819&DynamicContentID=12496). As of the first half of 2008, senior American government, defense and intelligence officials have publicly expressed their (occasionally assertive) assessment that the United States clearly has the upper

hand in its struggle against Al-Qaeda operatives in Iraq, as widely reported on the American media. Conversely, there have been reports of the Taliban restoring its power in Afghanistan and having operative successes, despite the presence of American and NATO troops. It is therefore emphasized that Al-Qaeda is still a highly significant threat to the United States. An important, exhaustive summary of that state of affairs was published in April 2008 in the 2007 Terrorism Report by the US State Department (available on its website and reviewed by the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, as noted).

<sup>64</sup> Suicide bombing attacks are Al-Qaeda's preferred course of action on the international scene. See Yoram Schweitzer and Sari Goldstein Ferber, "Al-Qaeda and the Globalization of Suicide Terrorism," Tel-Aviv University, Jaffe Center for Strategic Studies, June 2005 (Memorandum 76). Shortly after the release of the tape about Pakistan, several suicide bombings took place there, the most severe of which was the assassination (December 27, 2007) of opposition leader and former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. An unsuccessful attempt on her life was made two months earlier. At the time of her assassination, Bhutto had just returned from exile. Other suicide bombing attacks were perpetrated against important military targets in Pakistan.

<sup>65</sup> See Tzvi Barel, "Third Generation Terrorists" (Hebrew), *Haaretz*, April 20, 2007.

<sup>66</sup> For Morocco, see "Click, click, boom: two terrorists wanted to access an Al-Qaeda portal at an Internet café in Morocco. The owner refused, so they exploded." (Hebrew), News, NRG *Ma'ariv*, March 13, 2007, at <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART1/555/614.html>; "Morocco: Al-Qaeda Cell Caught" (Hebrew), December 20, 2007, at <http://www.nfc.co.il/Archive/001-D-130269-00.html?tag=13-59-47>. For Algeria, see "Algeria: Terrorism Attack in the Capital" (Hebrew), News, NRG *Ma'ariv*, April 11, 2007, <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART1/567/550.html>; "Algeria: at least 33 killed in two terrorist attacks in the capital," Ynet, *Yedioth Ahronoth*, News, April 11, 2007, at <http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/1,7340,L-3386728,00.html>; "The Al-Qaeda Organization in the Islamic Maghreb claims responsibility for the attempted assassination of President Bouteflika and the attack on the Dallys Barracks." MEMRI Special Dispatch Series – No.1711: Islamic Websites Monitor Project No.135, September 11, 2007, at <http://memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=subjects&Area=iwmp&ID=SP171107>; Hassan Meftahi, "Car bomb at barracks in Algeria kills at least 28." *The Jerusalem Post*, September 9, 2007; "Algeria: Al-Qaeda responsible for the terrorist attack" (Hebrew), Walla News (by Reuters), December 12, 2007, <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/17/1208051>; "Terrorism Back to Algeria" (Hebrew), *Haolam Hayom*, December 12, 2007. For Mauritania, on February 1, 2008, Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb carried out a terrorist attack against the Israeli embassy there, and in early January 2008 caused the cancellation of the rally race through the country. See <http://www.debka.co.il/headline.php?hid=2888>.

<sup>67</sup> See the reference to Townsend's statement in the article mentioned above by Lee Keath (Note 13, above), as well as "Bush adviser: video is best that bin Laden can do," *The Jerusalem Post*, September 10, 2007. Two months after making the statement (but not necessarily because of it), Townsend announced she was resigning her position, which she had held for four and a half years. See "Bush homeland security adviser quits," *The Jerusalem Post*, November 20, 2007, and *Haaretz/TheMarker*, (Hebrew), November 29, 2007.

<sup>68</sup> See Bruce Hoffman, "The man to watch is not Osama bin Laden," *The Jerusalem Post*, September 11, 2007, originally published in from *The Washington Post*.

<sup>69</sup> See Lt. Col. (Res.) Jonathan Dahoah-Halevi, "Al-Qaeda: the next goal is to liberate Spain from the infidels." Jerusalem Issue Brief – Institute for Contemporary Affairs, Vol.7, No.16 (October 11, 2007) at <http://www.jcpa.org/JCPA/Templates/ShowPage.asp?DBID=1&LNGID=1&TMID=111&FID=379&PID=0&IID=1885>.

<sup>70</sup> See articles by Yoram Schweitzer, "Global Jihad is Alive and Kicking" (Hebrew), *Yedioth Ahronoth*, Ynet (Opinions), September 11, 2007, at <http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3448540,00.html>; and "Warning signs from Baghdad: the danger of Iraq alumni exported to perpetrate showcase terrorist attacks worldwide puts into question the claim that Al-Qaeda in Iraq has been defeated" (Hebrew), *Ma'ariv* (Opinions, editor: Ben-Dror Yemini), October 28, 2007; and "An ominous victory: prospect of 'Iraq alumni' terror attacks worldwide could undermine US victory in Iraq." Ynet News.com Opinion, October 25, 2007, at <http://www.ynetnews.com/Ext/Comp/ArticleLayout/CdaArticlePrintPreview/1,2506,L-3463901,00.html>. A similarly critical opinion from a different point of view was voiced at that time by Lieutenant General Riccardo Sanchez, the former commander of the US forces in Iraq who was forced to resign in the wake of the Abu Ghraib prisoner abuse scandal, and was given significant media attention. See "American General: Iraq is an endless nightmare" (AP, October 13, 2007, <http://ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3459325,00.htm>); "The Bush administration in the war in Iraq is a nightmare," October 13, 2007, at <http://www.global-report.co.il/yahav/?=he&a=30161>; "Lt. Gen. Sanchez criticizes Bush administration on Iraq war." *International Reporter*, Vol. XXXII (No. 10), October 2007 at <http://internationalreporter.com/News-2717/Lt.-Gen.-Sanchez-criticizes-Bush-Administration-on-Iraq-War.html>; Sig Christenson (Agence France Presse), "US can forget about winning the war: top retired general." June 3, 2007, at [http://www.truthout.org/docs\\_2006/printer\\_060407L.shtml](http://www.truthout.org/docs_2006/printer_060407L.shtml). A similar article on the subject was published in the *New York Times* (and appears on the above-mentioned website) several months earlier. See Davis S. Cloud and Damien Cave, "Commanders say push in Baghdad is short of goal." *The New York Times*, June 4, 2007. For a similar British criticism on the same subject, see

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"Ex-British general says US Iraq policy 'fatally flawed.'" *The Jerusalem Post*, September 3, 2007. In June 2008 a subsidiary of the Israeli company Elbit received "an order for the immediate supply" of unmanned aerial vehicles, including their operating systems, for the British army stationed in southern Iraq. See Yoram Gabizon, "Elbit Systems -- supplying UAVs to the British army provides enough business for the entire quarter" (Hebrew), *Haaretz*, TheMarker, August 13, 2008.

<sup>71</sup> "The Bin Laden Video: A Warning or a Place Holder?" by Ilana Freedman, Editor and CEO, Gerard Group International. Issue: # IA-11 September 11, 2007, <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/osint/message/96960>. What must be taken into consideration is the possibility that the numerous reports in the American and international media about the financial crisis in the US and its international repercussions may make Al-Qaeda's leadership (mainly bin Laden) believe that his sermons (as reflected in the tapes) will lead him and his supporters to victory over the US. That may increase their motivation to continue the global jihad, both virtually and operatively, and perhaps even to extend its scope, assuming that what happens to the US is similar to what happened to the USSR following the war in Afghanistan.

<sup>72</sup> See Ze'ev Schiff, "Bin Laden in a letter to America: avenge the blood of the Palestinians," *Haaretz*, December 1, 2002. A complete English translation of the letter was published in the British weekly *Observer* on November 24, 2002. However, it was first published in Israel only one week later by the late Ze'ev Schiff, after Dr. Yoram Kahati, Deputy Director and Senior Researcher at the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center and Research Fellow at the International Policy Institute for Counterterrorism at the Herzliya Interdisciplinary Center, of which Mr. Schiff was also a board member, brought it to his attention; Dr. Kahati was described in the article as an "expert on Islamic movements at the Counterterrorism Policy Institute of the Herzliya Interdisciplinary Center, in which he works as an associate researcher." It should be noted that in a long book published in the United States in April 2008 (Steve Coll, *The Bin Ladens: an Arabian Family in the American Century*), the author claims that during the Six Day War, bin Laden's family had to escape as refugees from East Jerusalem, where the family's father (Muhammad, Saudi Arabia's most notable contractor) was staying to oversee the restoration of Al-Aqsa Mosque. According to the author, a traumatic event (not mentioned by bin Laden) made the 10-year old Osama bin Laden sympathize with the Palestinians (and probably develop anti-Israeli feelings). See Tzah Yoked, New York, "Saudi America" (Hebrew), (exclusive). *Ma'ariv/Magazine*, July 30, 2008, pp. 4-5 (interview with the author).

<sup>73</sup> See Fouad Hussein, *Al-Zarqawi: Al-Jil al-Thani lil-Qaeda* [Al-Zarqawi: The Second Generation of Al-Qaeda]. Beirut: Dar al-Khayal lil-Tiba'ah wal-Nashr wal-Tawzi', Summer of 2005, Chapter 6 (pp. 200-213, Israel is mentioned on pp. 205-207). Several articles have been published on that subject. See "This is how Al-Qaeda will take over the world" (Hebrew), Walla News, August 24, 2005. <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/768199@@/item/printer>; Allan Hall, "Al-Qaeda Chiefs Reveal

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World Domination Design." *Age* Correspondent, Berlin, August 24, 2005. The issue was addressed by Dr. Yoram Kahati in an interview to the Omedia website. See Ziv Maor, "The defense agenda: worldwide terrorism --Israel is the solution" (Hebrew), December 7, 2006, [http://www.omeida.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=2341&MenuID=603&ThreadID=1014010](http://www.omeida.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=2341&MenuID=603&ThreadID=1014010).

<sup>74</sup> Regarding the activity of the Army of Islam (and similar groups which identify with Al-Qaeda's worldview in the Gaza Strip), see Information Bulletins published in 2007 and early 2008 on the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center website ([www.terrorism-info.org.il](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il)); Khaled Abu Toameh, "Fatah Cops in Gaza 'defect to Al-Qaida.'" *The Jerusalem Post*, 2.11.2007; as well as Toameh, "PA claims Fatah al-Islam militants at work in Gaza, blames Hamas," *The Jerusalem Post*, December 26, 2007. See also article by Yaniv Berman (with the ITIC staff, first published on the Media Line website on December 17, 2007, and republished on February 27, 2008, [http://themedialine.org/news/news\\_brief.asp?NewsID=20601](http://themedialine.org/news/news_brief.asp?NewsID=20601)). See also video clip distributed at that time by the Media Line company, featuring an exclusive interview with the commander of the Mujahedeen Brigades (a radical Islamic group associated with Fatah) in the Gaza Strip. The article and video clip were courtesy of the directors of Media Line, Felice and Michael Friedson. A brief summary of the issue also appears in the 2007 report of the Israel Security Agency. See Summary of 2007: Information and Trends in Palestinian Terrorism (p. 21: "Global Jihad and the Army of Islam"), [www.shabak.gov.il](http://www.shabak.gov.il). On the arrest of the two Israeli Arabs, see "Publication ban lifted: two Israeli Arabs were arrested for allegedly planning terrorist attacks in the Sharon area" (Hebrew), *Haaretz*, December 7, 2007. For the arrest of the Bedouin from Tel Sheva (Khaled Abu Ruqaiq), see Michal Greenberg and Yuval Azulai, "Tel Sheva resident accused of contacting Al-Qaeda" (Hebrew), *Haaretz*, August 24, 2008. On the arrest of the two Bedouins from Rahat and the Arab teenagers, see below. On the activity of Fath al-Islam in Lebanon, see Information Bulletins published by the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center in 2007 on its website, as well as: Shaul Shay, "The Threat of Al Qaeda and Its Allies in Lebanon." BESA Perspectives, Paper No.34, September 19, 2007, <http://www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besa/docs/perspectives34.pdf>. For the use made by Shakir Al-Absi of the Internet to distribute his messages after escaping from Lebanon, see Bassem Mroue, "Fugitive Palestinian Group's Head Slams Lebanon's Hizbullah Chief." *The Jerusalem Post*, June 11, 2008. Several radical Islamic organizations that fight the Americans in Iraq also expressed sympathy with the struggle of the Palestinians in the spirit of bin Laden's statements, as part of the "Gaza Revenge Week." See [http://www.omeida.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=15376&MenuID=821&ThreadID=1014010](http://www.omeida.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=15376&MenuID=821&ThreadID=1014010). On February 2, 2008, Abu Mus'ab Abd al-Wadud, the leader of the "Al-Qaeda Organization in the Muslim North Africa," published a similar statement, claiming responsibility for the attempt to perpetrate a terrorist attack on the Israeli embassy in Nouakchott, the capital of Mauritania (which took place on February 1, 2008, as already mentioned), which was

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supposed to be a show of support with the suffering of the Palestinian people in Gaza at Israel's hands. The original Arabic text of the statement and its translation were given to us courtesy of HTA (now known as Terrogence).

<sup>75</sup> There is a similar assessment made in July 2007: "The movement [i.e., Al-Qaeda] is flourishing. It is better off than ever before, and it prepares for the new age in the history of the Middle East: from the age of military coups of the 1950s, to the Islamic revolutions of the new century." See Dr. Guy Bechor (Head of Middle Eastern Studies Department at the Herzliya Interdisciplinary Center), "Terrorism, July 19, 2007,"

[http://www.gplanet.co.il/prodetailsamewin.asp?pro\\_id=428](http://www.gplanet.co.il/prodetailsamewin.asp?pro_id=428).

<sup>76</sup> In July 2008, the Israeli Security Defense cabinet held a special, unprecedented meeting to discuss the possibility of radical Islamic elements influenced by Al-Qaeda's jihadist propaganda attempting to infiltrate into Israel in order to perpetrate showcase terrorist attacks. See Yaacov Katz and Herb Keinon, "Israel wary of Al-Qaida Westerners entering to stage attacks." *The Jerusalem Post*, July 24, 2007. For a critical view (which we do not share) of the "urgency" of calling that meeting, see Emmanuel Sivan, "Tall Tales for Summer" (Hebrew), *Haaretz*, July 29, 2008. A similar claim (with which we do not agree) was made from a different point of view, according to which bin Laden diverted attention to Israel against the background of Al-Qaeda's failures in Iraq, the criticism the organization gets for killing innocent Muslims by its operatives (or former operatives, including such senior operatives as the Egyptian Sayyid Imam) and competition with similar organizations, rather than a real focus on jihad for the liberation of Palestine (therefore, implying that Al-Qaeda does not pose an immediate threat to Israel). See Ian Black (Middle East editor), "Bin Laden turns his mind to Israel: Al-Qaida is focusing its rhetoric on fighting Israel as it competes with more successful militant groups for legitimacy and popularity." *The Guardian* (UK), May 30, 2008.

<sup>77</sup> See the Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center bulletins entitled "Terrorism and Internet: charges have recently been filed against two Israeli Bedouins, members of the Islamic Movement. They are suspected of acting on behalf of Al-Qaeda. They formed and maintained contact with Al-Qaeda through the Internet, based on their ideological affinity with radical Islam" (July 20, 2008,

[http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/html/ct\\_e001.htm](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/html/ct_e001.htm)); and

"The Israel security forces recently detained six Israeli and East Jerusalem Arabs, some of them students. They planned to set up an Al-Qaeda network and planned to carry out terrorist attacks in Israel, including downing the helicopter of the American president during his visit to Jerusalem" (July 21, 2008,

[http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam\\_multimedia/English/eng\\_n/html/ct\\_e002.htm](http://www.terrorism-info.org.il/malam_multimedia/English/eng_n/html/ct_e002.htm)); and Roni

Shaked (et al.), "Students of Terrorism (Special: The messages the Israeli student sent to the Al-

Qaeda website); and Ronen Bergman, "Dude, how do you down a helicopter?" (Hebrew), *Yedioth Ahronoth*, July 20, 2008; Amir Rapaport and Amit Cohen, "They were just surfing the web" (Hebrew), *Maariv/Saturday Supplement*, July 25, 2008. The latter article features a photograph (pp. 18-19) of the bookshelf in the room of the students responsible for establishing the above-mentioned student cell, with books whose authors (such as Muhammad bin Saleh al-Othaimen and Abu Basir al-Tartusi) are known to be global jihad ideologists. Even though the reasons which drove two Palestinians from East Jerusalem to perpetrate two "tractor terrorist attacks" (July 2 and 22, 2008) have yet to be disclosed, it should not be ruled out that one (or both) of them were influenced by bin Laden's latest tapes on the "liberation of Palestine" (mainly the liberation of Al-Aqsa) through "personal jihad" (*fardh 'ayn*).

<sup>78</sup> See Reuven Paz, "Reading their lips: the credibility of jihadi web sites as 'soft power' in the war of the minds." Occasional Papers, Vol.5 (2007), No.5 (December 2007), p. 1, Global Research In International Affairs (GLORIA) Center – The project for the research of Islamist movements (PRISM); Micky Segal, "Al-Qaeda announces 'electronic jihad:' the organization's leadership forms a dialogue with its supporters to show vitality, recruit volunteers, and inquire about its enemies in the West" (Hebrew) (December 25, 2007), [http://www.amedia.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=14379&MenuID=603&ThreadID=1014010](http://www.amedia.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=14379&MenuID=603&ThreadID=1014010).

<sup>79</sup> See Yoram Schweitzer, "Bin Laden talking again: Al-Qaeda leader's propaganda effort can't mask group's radical murderous nature." Ynetnews.Com Opinion, December 23, 2007; <http://www.ynetnews.com/Ext/Comp/ArticleLayout/CdaArticlePrintPreview/1,2506,L-3485562,00.html>. In addition to the establishment of the "Awakening Councils" (*Majalis al-Sahwa*), Sunni Muslim groups in Iraq which oppose Al-Qaeda, and to Sayyid Imam's criticism of Al-Qaeda, dissatisfaction with Al-Qaeda also comes from abroad, such as Al-Qaeda's former supporters in Britain. See Simon Round, "How Al Qaeda is imploding," *The Jewish Chronicle*, August 15, 2008 (however, it appears that its extent is still limited).

<sup>80</sup> Rohan Gunaratna, "Terrorism Threat in 2008." RSIS Commentaries, January 3, 2008, <http://www.pvtr.org/pdf/commentaries/RSIS0022008.pdf>. An up-to-date version of that summary was published on another website on January 21, 2008. See <http://globalgeopolitics.net/art/0121-Gunaratna-Terrorism-Threat-2008.htm>. For a different assessment published towards the end of 2008, see Peter Pergin-Comment, "Safe at home: how worried should we be about Al-Qaida?" *The Jerusalem Post*, December 17, 2008, originally published in *The New York Times*. Despite Pergin's vast knowledge of Al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden, we do not share his assessment.

<sup>81</sup> See Paul Schemm, "Al-Qaida looks to extend influence with cell phone video." *The Jerusalem Post*, January 7, 2008 and "Al-Qaida invites press to question No. 2," *The Jerusalem Post*,

November 20, 2007. Several months later, Al-Zawahiri did provide detailed answers to the questions he was asked, and his answers were distributed on jihadist websites. In his answers, he also addressed the harsh criticism voiced against Al-Qaeda by Sayyid Imam al-Sharif, a radical Egyptian ideologist who was one of Al-Zawahiri's closest friends and took part in codifying Al-Qaeda's jihadist ideology (the debate between the two of them exceeds the scope of this paper and deserves a separate discussion). On August 16, an audio tape on Al-Zawahiri's behalf was released on jihadist websites. It was addressed to the "Pakistani people and army." In that audio tape Al-Zawahiri spoke for the first time in English, due to his lack of knowledge of Urdu (accordingly, another version was released at the same time and was accompanied by Urdu subtitles), so that his message -- helping jihad fighters who seek to topple Musharraf -- would be assimilated more easily. Musharraf announced his resignation two days later. Even though the resignation did not take place as a result of the tape, its timing, in retrospect, was perfect.

<sup>82</sup> See Alissa J. Rubin, "Al-Qaeda's secret company: child soldiers filmed for propaganda movies," *Haaretz*, February 8, 2008 (the original article could not be found); Lauren Frayer, "Video shows Al-Qaida in Iraq training children to kidnap, kill," *The Jerusalem Post*, February 7, 2008. In the months of May-June 2008, several articles were published (such as the article of Jawdat Kazem in *Al-Hayat* on April 24, 2008) on the "Children of Paradise" (*Fityan al-Jannah*)—teenage boys and girls (some of them mentally retarded), recruited to perpetrate terrorist attacks (some of which were perpetrated in practice) for Al-Qaeda in Iraq. Likewise, it was reported that in 2007, seven suicide bombing attacks were perpetrated by women, in the first half of 2008, 20 such attacks were perpetrated in Iraq. As a result, in July 2008 a special unit of between 130 and 625 (the numbers vary according to different reports) Iraqi women called "Daughters of Iraq" was established, whose purpose was to prevent suicide bombing attacks by women. See "Iraq: Three female suicide bombers kill 29..." (Hebrew), Walla! News, July 28, 2008, <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=/2/1320353>; "Iraq: the policewomen will attempt to stop female suicide bombers" (Hebrew), Ynet/World, *Yedioth Ahronoth*, <http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3560418,00.html>; "U.S.: 'Demonic' militants sent women to bomb markets in Iraq," CNN.com/world, February 2, 2008, <http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/meast/02/01/Iraq.main/index.html>; "Women, Children and Mentally Disabled are New 'Martyrs' for Al Qaeda" by Col. Oliver North, Foxnews.com, Home Opinion, February 7, 2008, <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,329507,00.html>; "The Al-Qaeda organization in Iraq establishes the 'Paradise Children' units for suicide bombing attacks..." MEMRI (Middle East Media Research Institute): What's new? Daily summary May 30, 2008 (a cartoon pertaining to the subject taken from the Saudi daily *Al-Watan*, May 29, 2008), and "Iraq: Al-Qaeda's suicide children expand their activities," MEMRI: What's new? Daily summary, May 28, 2008 (also see articles in *Al-Hayat*, July 21, 2008, and *Al-Quds al-Arabi*, July 17, 2008). In this context, see also: Smadar Peri, "Know the terrorist" (Hebrew), *Yedioth*

*Ahronoth*, January 23, 2008 (the article deals with new documents which shed light on foreign recruits to Al-Qaeda in Iraq, who joined its ranks between August 2006 and August 2007). Despite what has been said above, Ayman al-Zawahiri, bin Laden's deputy, objected to the incorporation of women into Al-Qaeda's suicide bombing attacks, to the displeasure of women who support that. See Smadar Peri, "They deserve it too" (Hebrew), *Yedioth Ahronoth/24 Hours*, June 10, 2008.

<sup>83</sup> Paz, "Reading their lips," p. 2. We share the assessment. An interesting attempt to describe bin Laden's present mood was carried out by Michael Scheuer, in a sort of interim summary allegedly written on his behalf. See Michael Scheuer, "The State of the jihad as Bin-laden might see it," *The Jerusalem Post*, February 26, 2008 (quoted from the *Washington Post*). On the significance of modern psychological warfare, see Dr. Ron Schleifer, *Psychological Warfare* (Hebrew), Tel-Aviv, Ma'arachot, 2008. For an interview with Dr. Schleifer, see Michal Danieli, "Combat Psychology" (Hebrew), *Bamahane*, January 25, 2008. On the online war against terrorism, in which the Israeli company Terrogeance is active, see detailed article by Ronen Bergman, "Jihad Dot Com (Exposure)" (Hebrew), *Yedioth Ahronoth's "7 Days"* supplement, March 21, 2008, pp. 16-22 (the title on the first page of the supplement was "Terrorist Hunters"). For an English summary of the article, see Eric Silver, "Meet the cyberspies living among the world's deadliest terrorists," *The Jewish Chronicle*, June 20 2008, p. 20 (at the end of the article there is a brief note noting the international and Israeli bodies dealing with the subject and urging the need for more experts. See Anshel Pfeffer, "Wanted: online espionage experts").

<sup>84</sup> See "Egypt: the enemy within -- the arrest of Egyptian officers linked to Al-Qaeda on terrorism charges shows the main threat to the Cairo government..." (Hebrew), HTA, January 15, 2008, [http://www.amedia.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=15008&MenuID=831&ThreadID=1014020](http://www.amedia.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=15008&MenuID=831&ThreadID=1014020); "Al-Qaeda responsible for terrorist attacks on tourists in Yemen" (Hebrew), HTA, February 29, 2008, [http://www.amedia.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=16075&MenuID=821&ThreadID=1014010](http://www.amedia.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=16075&MenuID=821&ThreadID=1014010); "Australia: terrorist cell wanted to blow up soccer stadium," Ynet, *Yedioth Ahronoth*, April 15, 2008, <http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3531968,00.html>; "Afghanistan: Al-Qaeda threatens revenge" (for the killing of senior member Abu Laith al-Libi) (Hebrew), *Israel Post*, February 7, 2008; and also "Top Al-Qaida leader said killed in Pakistan," *The Jerusalem Post*, February 1, 2008; "Eating China for breakfast" (Hebrew) (short summary on a forum of global jihad operatives, describing "ten goals Muslims must achieve by taking over China"), HTA, March 18, 2008, [http://www.amedia.co.il/Show\\_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=16471&MenuID=833&ThreadID=1014020](http://www.amedia.co.il/Show_Article.asp?DynamicContentID=16471&MenuID=833&ThreadID=1014020).

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<sup>85</sup> In addition to the important contribution of the above-mentioned bodies and researchers, another important contribution is also the 2007 annual terrorism report by the US State Department and the US Senate report, also mentioned above. Another important contribution was articles recently published in the weekend supplement of *Yedioth Ahronoth* by the same investigative reporter. See (Dr.) Ronen Bergman, "Explosive hands" ("7 Days Exposes"), (Hebrew), *Yedioth Ahronoth*, 7 Days, August 1, 2008 (issue 2323), pp. 18-24 (it should be noted that the name "Harb ad-Din," mentioned in the article as "one of the world's most wanted terrorists," is probably a pseudonym); Bergman, "Al-Qaeda's new branch," *Yedioth Ahronoth*, 7 Days, August 15, 2008 (issue 2325), pp. 26-32; as well as the article by Bergman mentioned earlier (Note 77). Those articles also contain explicit references to the influence of the Internet on terrorist attacks perpetrated by Al-Qaeda's supporters. However, the above-mentioned US Senate report -- as well as other publications (as noted by Paz) -- does not go into great detail about the meaning of Al-Qaeda's messages in general and those of bin Laden in particular. Also, the report does not explain why Muslim (and other) citizens find themselves in an identity crisis so severe that it may potentially drive them to Islamic radicalization, in a way that causes them to be swayed by Al-Qaeda's messages on the Internet. In this context, Prof. Yochai Benkler, one of the world's top researchers of human cooperation on the Internet, points out that "we have much to learn" from the way such "hostile networks" as that of Al-Qaeda are run. See Omer Tenneh, "Accountability: money is not everything in business" (Hebrew) (interview with Prof. Benkler), *Haaretz*, TheMarker, June 24, 2008, pp. 38-39. Worth mentioning in this context is the ongoing effort (mostly since the September 11 terrorist attacks) of the UN and the European Union to expand international defense and intelligence cooperation as part of the struggle against terrorism, including online incitement (which has yet to make the transition from words to action, particularly as far as the UN is concerned). See the various discussions and summaries (some of which as recent as August 2008) of those two international bodies, which appear on their websites, about their strategies in the struggle against international terrorism following the September 11 attacks.