

Terror for Terror

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

In the second week of the American bombing of Afghanistan, when the Taliban were still in control of most of the country, one of al-Jazeera's most celebrated reporters, Taysir Alluni, head of the network's bureau in Kabul during the Afghanistan war, and recipient of bin Laden's communication on the outbreak of the war, interviewed bin Laden at an undisclosed location south of Kabul. The interview was conducted on October 20 2001, but aired for the first time some three months later, on January 31 2002. A Syrian-born Spanish national, Alluni caused great discomfort to the Pentagon by his televised reportage of civilian deaths under America's blitz of Afghan towns and villages. Al-Jazeera offices were bombed by US aircraft, and he was seized and beaten up by Northern Alliance forces when they entered Kabul. On returning to Spain, he was arrested by Spanish police in September 2003, on charges of supporting al-Qaeda, and imprisoned without trial, including a spell of 119 days in solitary confinement, until his release in March 2005.

Alluni is the most penetrating and informed reporter to have interviewed with bin Laden, as at once a devout Muslim and a wary professional, and his questions and objections make this the most revealing exchange with bin Laden on record. Alluni pressed bin Laden hard on his justifications of terrorism, both in particular—the attacks of 9/11—and in general. In reply, bin Laden insists that historically the United States has been the intruder and aggressor in the Middle East, and that in striking back at it, Muslims are acting in self-defense: many civilians, in Palestine, Iraq, and elsewhere have died at its hands. The Qur'an forbids the killing of women and children, or innocent civilians, but enjoins retaliation if infidels commit such crimes, as they have done. Such terror, says bin Laden, must therefore be met by terror: "America and Israel practise ill-advised terrorism, and we practice terrorism that is a good act, because it deters those from killing our children in Palestine and other places". Nevertheless, he observes, the attacks of 9/11 had targeted military and financial institutions, not schools or residences. They inflicted great economic damage on the US—bin Laden overestimates this—and have forced the West to talk suddenly of the need to do something about Palestine. Muslims everywhere, he continues, should rally to the cause of the defensive jihad, not just in the Middle East, but in Southeast Asia, the Subcontinent and as far afield as Mauritania.

With the outcome of the war over Afghanistan still undecided, bin Laden's references to Arab regimes continue to be very prudent: though condemning unspecified governments for befriending Christians and Jews, he remarks that "it is no use to name names", and expresses no more than disappointment at the stance of Pakistan in the conflict. As for America's allies, why should countries like Japan, Australia, or Germany become involved in the war? The only possible reason is that they wish to be Crusaders too, as Richard of England, Louis of France, and Barbarossa of Germany were once in the Middle Ages.

OBL: May God greet you.

TA: A question that is repeated on the tongues of a lot of people all around the world: The USA claims that it has convincing proof of your involvement in the events of New York and Washington. What is your answer to that?

OBL: Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds. May God's Peace and Blessings be upon Muhammad, his pure family and his noble Companions. To proceed: As far as concerns [America's] description of these attacks as terrorist acts, that description is wrong. These young men, for whom God has created a path, have shifted the battle to the heart of the United States, and they have destroyed its most outstanding landmarks, its economic and military landmarks,

by the grace of God. And they have done this because of our words—and we have previously incited and roused them to action—in self-defense, defense of our brothers and sons in Palestine, and in order to free our holy sanctuaries. And if inciting for these reasons is terrorism, and if killing those that kill our sons is terrorism, then let history witness that we are terrorists.

TA: Alright, but Sheikh, those who monitor your speeches and documents have noted the oath you have given recently, in which you have said, word for word: "I swear to Almighty God who raised the heavens, that neither America nor anyone who lives there will be able to dream of security until we live it as a reality in Palestine." So, it is easy for any follower of these events to make a connection between the terrorist events that happened in New York and Washington, and your previous statement. So what is your opinion on these observations?

OBL: Making connections is easy. If this implies that we have incited these attacks, then yes, we've been inciting for years, and we have released decrees and documents concerning this issue, and other incitements which were published and broadcast in the media. So if they mean, or if you mean, that there is a connection as a result of our incitement, then that is true. So we incite, and incitement is a duty—and God has asked it from the best of humans, the Prophet.

God said: "Then fight [O Muhammad] in the Cause of God, you are not held responsible except for yourself, and incite the believers [to fight along with you]—it may be that God will restrain the evil might of the disbelievers. And God is Stronger in Might and Stronger in punishing."

And what He meant is fighting and combat against the disbelievers. So this connection is indeed right. We have incited and urged the killing of Americans and Jews. That is true.

TA: Now, Sheikh Osama bin Laden, the al-Qaeda organization is today facing a state that dominates the world militarily, politically, and technologically. The material capabilities of the al-Qaeda organization don't come remotely close to the capabilities of the USA, so by what logic can an organization of this kind defeat the USA—militarily, for example?

OBL: I say that the battle isn't between the al-Qaeda organization and the global Crusaders. Rather, the battle is between Muslims—the people of Islam—and the global Crusaders. And that organization, with the grace of God, used to work with our Afghan mujahidin brothers, and people used to ask us: "How will you defeat the Soviet Empire?" And at that time, the Soviet Empire was a mighty power that scared the whole world—NATO used to shake in fear in front of the Soviet Empire. So where now is that strong force that God sent to us and our mujahidin brothers?

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

TA: How do you think it's easy? Why do you think it's easier?

OBL: We have already fought them—like our brothers who have engaged in battle with the Americans, as in Somalia. We have not yet found a significant force of note. There is a great aura

about America, which it uses to scare people before it engages in battle. So our brothers that were here in Afghanistan tried to overcome this, and God has cleared the path for them through some of the mujahidin in Somalia. So America left, dragging behind it tails of humiliation, defeat, and loss, without looking back; it retreated unexpectedly, and it forgot all that great media enthusiasm about the New World Order, and how it was the master of that order, and could do whatever it pleased. It forgot all that and picked up its armies and retreated in defeat, with God's grace. So we fought against the Russians for ten years from 1979 until 1989; we then we continued against the Communists in Afghanistan. Today we are at the end of the second week [of the bombing], and what a difference there is, like night and day, between both battles. So we implore God to sustain us with one of His helping Hands and to break America, for He is capable of that.

TA: In connection to Afghanistan, you have said that you will defeat America in this country. Don't you think that the existence of the al-Qaeda organization on the land of Afghanistan is making the Afghan people pay a high price?

OBL: Well, this view is partial and incomplete, and only from one perspective. When we first arrived in Afghanistan, and when assistance came to aid the mujahidin victory, after the Russians entered, in 1399 AH [1979], the Saudi government officially asked us to not enter Afghanistan. Due to my arrival in Afghanistan, and due to my family's closeness to the Saudi governmental system, a letter arrived commanding Osama not to enter Afghanistan, and to stay with the immigrants in Peshawar, because if the Russians were to capture or imprison him, it would be construed as proof of Saudi backing for the mujahidin against the Soviet Empire. During that time, the whole world shook in fear from the Soviet Empire—and I am not exaggerating about this prohibition [to enter Afghanistan], as it was damaging to the Saudi government, from their point of view. They were forced to issue the prohibition as a result of their policies. So when we joined the Afghans for the first time, we endured what we had to endure, in our desire to awaken the Islamic self, and to safeguard the Muslim children and offspring here, and for victory for the religion. And this is a duty incumbent on all Muslims, not just the Afghans. So if I, or some of my brothers that came to perform jihad, have acted upon this duty, [which is] to bring victory to our brothers in Palestine, it does not mean that bin Laden alone has to endure this, but that it is a duty on all of our umma to do so, because it is in the Way of God, and jihad is today obligatory for all of us, Afghans and others, and it is true that they endure, but this is an Islamic duty for them and others to support this ... [interjection by Taysir Alluni]

TA: Let's get back to the question ...

OBL: ... and in addition to the matters related to the bombing of the Afghans [and those who] say that [the bombing] is only because of us [the mujahidin], the reason for it is not down to me. America didn't start by taking my money and didn't hurt me personally at all, but it made claims about me as a result of our incitement against the Jews and the Americans, in protection of our Islamic umma. And it is a known fact that America is against the establishment of any Islamic state; the Commander of the Faithful [Mullah Omar] has declared this on more than one occasion, as have a lot of the prominent students, which shows that they are being targeted because of their religion, not just because of the presence of Osama bin Laden. And as Omar has said, the British invaded and were defeated in Afghanistan before bin Laden was to be found here, and the Russians came, before we did, and now the Americans have come, and we implore God to defeat them like He defeated their previous allies.

TA: Let us go back to the transgressions that happened in New York and Washington. What is your

analysis about what happened—its effect on America, and its effect on the Islamic world? Please note that this question is in two parts.

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

But I mention that there are also other events that took place, bigger, greater, and more dangerous than the collapse of the towers. It is that this Western civilization, which is backed by America, has lost its values and appeal. The immense materialistic towers, which preach Freedom, Human Rights, and Equality, were destroyed. These values were revealed as a total mockery, as was made clear when the US government interfered and banned the media outlets from airing our words (which don't exceed a few minutes), because they felt that the truth started to appear to the American people,' and that we aren't really terrorists in the way they want to define the term, but rather because we are being violated in Palestine, in Iraq, in Lebanon, in Sudan, in Somalia, in Kashmir, in the Philippines, and throughout the world, and that this is a reaction from the young men of our umma against the violations of the British Government.' So, they declared what they declared, and they ordered what they ordered, and they forgot everything they mentioned about free speech, and unbiased opinion and all those matters. So I say that freedom and human rights in America have been sent to the guillotine with no prospect of return, unless these values are quickly reinstated. The government will take the American people and the West in general into a choking life, into an unsupportable hell, because of the fact that it has very strong ties with and are under the payroll of, the Zionist lobby, which serves the needs of Israel, which kills our sons and our children without right so that it can keep on ruling with total control.

TA: There has been a clash of opinions regarding the effects of these actions the [9/11 attacks] on the Islamic world. There are some who have made statements that have been accepted in the Islamic world: you hear all the official statements saying that those attacks are terrorist actions and that these

people are innocent civilians, and that the attacks are unacceptable, and that they don't concord with the modern Islamic religion, and so on. So what is your opinion on what you have been able to follow of news concerning the Islamic world's reaction to the network that you own or run all around the world?

OBL: I say that the events have proved very clearly the magnitude of the terrorism America inflicts in the world. Bush admitted that there can only be two kinds of people: one kind being Bush and his followers; and any nation that doesn't follow the Bush government, or the World Crusade, is guaranteed to be included with the terrorists.' What kind of terrorism is more terrifying and evident than this? A lot of countries that can't speak for them-selves followed this powerful world terrorism, and were also forced to say at the beginning that they were with him [Bush], even though they all know without any doubt that we are fighting to protect our brothers and our holy sanctuaries. So the declarations of the leaders, both in the East and West, stated that the causes and roots of terrorism have to be removed. When they were asked to identify these causes, they mentioned the Palestine issue. We are part of a rightful cause, but in fear of America, these countries could not say that our cause is just—so they call us terrorists, and then ask us to fix the Palestine issue. In light of these recent attacks and what ensued from them, Bush and Blair quickly reacted and said that now is the time to create an independent nation for Palestine.' Amazing! And yet there was apparently no suitable time in the last 10 years to address this issue before the [9/11] attacks happened? They evidently won't wisen up without the language of beatings and killings. So, as they kill us, without a doubt we have to kill them, until we obtain a balance in terror. This is the first time, in recent years, that the balance of terror has evened out between the Muslims and the Americans; previously, the Americans did to us whatever they pleased, and the victim wasn't even allowed to complain. And then Clinton comes out and tells us that Israel has the right to defend itself, after the slaughter of Qana. They didn't even give the Israelis a warning! And when the new President Bush came [into office] with Minister Colin Powell, they said within the first months of their rule that they would move the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, and that Jerusalem would be the eternal capital of Israel, and the Congress and the Senate applauded them." That is hypocrisy beyond any hypocrisy, and a clear violation. They will not come to their senses unless the attacks fall on their heads and, with the grace of God, until the battle has moved inside America. We will strive to maintain the fight until victory is attained or until we meet God [through martyrdom].

TA: But Sheikh, from what I see from your answers, you always concentrate on Palestine and the Palestinian issue. So let me ask you this question. In your latest statements, or more precisely in a statement that appeared a few years ago that preached the killing of Jews and Crusaders (and we remember that the title had between quotes a famous hadith, "Expel the polytheists from the Arabian peninsula"), you concentrated on the expulsion of the Americans from the Arabian peninsula. But in your latest statements we see less mention of this. You have instead foregrounded the Palestinian issue—or as you like to call it the "Aqsa issue"—and have relegated, so to speak, the issue of Saudi Arabia. So what is your opinion or argument on this matter?

OBL: I say that jihad is without doubt mandatory for all Muslims, to free alAqsa, or to save the weak in Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, and all Islamic lands; there is no doubt that freeing the Arabian peninsula from the polytheists is also compulsory. And concerning this talk about Osama pushing the Palestinian issue to the forefront: that is not true. The humble servant [bin Laden] made a speech in the year 1407 AH [1986] that urged Muslims to boycott American products, and I used to say that the Americans take our money and give it to the Jews, so they can kill our children with it in Palestine. Such boycotting is mandatory for all Muslims, as is freeing the Arabian peninsula from the polytheists, and there are a lot of

mandatory things in jihad—such as Kashmir," for example, and the battlefield that was created a few years ago, the title of which was called: "The World Islamic Front for Jihad Against the Jews and Crusaders." So our mention of these two issues [Palestine and Saudi Arabia] is of the utmost importance. Some of the events of recent times might foreground a certain issue, so we move in that direction, without ignoring the other.

TA: What are the events that have pushed you towards the Palestinian issue?

OBL: In recent times, the new rise of the blessed intifada, the intifada of Rajab.¹⁵ It helped focus us on this issue, and was the biggest reason for our foregrounding it; in this we only strive to do our duty so as not to feel religiously ashamed. All the above issues affect each other. The attack on the Americans concerning the Palestine issue helps in regards to the Saudi Arabia issue, and vice versa, as does attacking the Americans because they are considered to be a protective shield for the Jews in the areas of Tabule and the eastern regions of Saudi Arabia.

TA: Alright Sheikh, now, to move on to the Jews and the Crusaders: you have as you say written legal rulings concerning the duty of jihad against the Jews and Crusaders. From what we have seen from other legal rulings written by scholars, there are some that support you, but there are also some who have argued and protested against your legal rulings. They ask what grounds we can have for killing a Jew, just because of his religion? Or the Crusader or the Nazarene [Christian], should he be killed first because of his religion? Your legal rulings have differed from and don't have any relation to the legal rulings of the other scholars.

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

TA: What about the killing of innocent civilians?

OBL: It is very strange for Americans and other educated people to talk about the killing of innocent civilians. I mean, who said that our children and civilians are not innocents, and that the shedding of their blood is permissible? Whenever we kill their civilians, the whole world yells at us from east to west, and America starts putting pressure on its allies and puppets. Who said that our blood isn't blood and that their blood is blood? What about the people that have been killed in our lands for decades? More than 1,000,000 children died in Iraq, and they are still dying, so why do we not hear people that cry or protest, or anyone who reassures or anyone who sends condolences? And it is said in truth by our Prophet in the authentic hadith: "A woman has entered hell because of a cat she tied up without giving it food or without letting it eat from the blessings of the earth." And that is just because of a cat, so what about the millions of Muslims that are getting killed? Where are the [comments of the] educated? Where are the writers? Where are the scholars? Where are the free? Where are the ones who have one atom of faith in their hearts? How is it that these people are moved when civilians die in America, and not when we are being killed everyday? Everyday in Palestine, children are killed. There is a great misconception

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

A long time ago, one of the kings that ruled ancient Arabs killed an Arab and people became inured to the idea that kings kill humans. So the brother of the deceased went to the king and killed him. After this victory, the people were astonished, and said: "You are able to kill a king just because of your brother?" So who permitted the rule of that king?" These are both equal souls, and the blood of Muslims is equal, but in those times some people's blood was more equal than others, so that gentle man replied: "My brother is my king." And today all our brothers in Palestine are our kings, so we kill the kings of disbelief and the kings of the Crusaders, and the civilians among the disbelievers, in response to the amount of our sons they kill: this is correct in both religion and logic.

TA: So you say that this is an eye for an eye? They kill our innocents, so we kill theirs?

OBL: Yes, so we kill their innocents—this is valid both religiously and logically. But some of the people who talk about this issue, discuss it from a religious point of view ...

TA: What is their proof?

OBL: They say that the killing of innocents is wrong and invalid, and for proof, they say that the Prophet forbade the killing of children and women, and that is true. It is valid and has been laid down by the Prophet in an authentic Tradition ...

TA: This is precisely what I'm talking about! This is exactly what I'm asking you about!

OBL: ... but this forbidding of killing children and innocents is not set in stone, and there are other writings that uphold it.

God's saying: "And if you punish (your enemy, O you believers in the Oneness of God), then punish them with the like of that with which you were afflicted ... "

The scholars and people of the knowledge, amongst them Sahib al-Ikhtiyarat [ibn Taymiyya] and ibn al-Qayyim, and Shawaani, and many others, and Qurtubi—may God bless him—in his Qur'an commentary, say that if the disbelievers were to kill our children and women, then we should not feel ashamed to do the same to them, mainly to deter them from trying to kill our children and women again. And that is from a religious perspective, and those who speak without any knowledge of Islamic law, saying that killing a child is not valid and whatnot, and in the full knowledge that those young men, for whom God has cleared the way, didn't set out to kill children, but rather attacked the biggest center of military power in the world, the Pentagon, which contains more than 64,000 workers, a military base which has a big concentration of army and intelligence ... [interjection by Taysir Alluni]

TA: What about the World Trade Center ...?

OBL: As for the World Trade Center, the ones who were attacked and who died in it were part of a financial power. It wasn't a children's school! Neither was it a residence. And the general consensus is that most of the people who were in the towers were men that backed the biggest

financial force in the world, which spreads mischief throughout the world. And those individuals should stand before God, and rethink and redo their calculations. We treat others like they treat us. Those who kill our women and our innocent, we kill their women and innocent, until they stop doing so.

TA: Moving on, Sheikh Osama, the media and security services say that you lead a network with a very big reach, which some say spreads over 40 or 50 countries, and that the al-Qaeda organization has substantial resources, which you use a lot to order missions. [They say] that you support many Islamic organizations or movements, which some describe as "terrorist". The question that we ask you is, what is the magnitude of the involvement of the al-Qaeda organization, and what is the type of involvement that exists between the al-Qaeda organization and Osama bin Laden?

OBL: I say in response to this what I have stated before, that this matter isn't about any specific person, and that it is not about the al-Qaeda organization. We are the children of an Islamic Nation, with the Prophet Muhammad as its leader; our Lord is one, our Prophet is one, our direction of prayer is one, we are one umma, and our Book [the Qur'an] is one. And this blessed Book, together with the hadith of our noble Prophet, has religiously commanded us with the brotherhood of faith, and all the true believers are brothers. So the situation is not as the West portrays it: that there exists an "organization" with a specific name, such as "al-Qaeda", and so on. That particular name is very old, and came about quite independently of me. Brother Abu Ubaida al-Banshiri²⁴ created a military base to train the young men to fight against the Soviet empire, which was truly vicious, arrogant, brutal, and terrorized the faithful. So this place was called "The Base", as in a training base, and the name grew from this. We aren't separated from the umma. We are the children of an umma, and an inseparable part of it, from those public demonstrations which spread from the Far East, from the Philippines, to Indonesia, to Malaysia, to India, to Pakistan, reaching Mauritania—and so we are discussing the conscience of our umma.

These young men that have sacrificed themselves in New York and Washington, these are the ones that speak the truth about the conscience of our umma, and they are its living conscience, which sees that it is imperative to take revenge against the evildoers and transgressors and criminals and terrorists, who terrorize the true believers. So, not all terrorism is restrained or ill-advised. There is terrorism that is ill-advised and there is terrorism that is a good act. So, in their definition of the word, if a criminal or a thief feels that he is terrorized by the police, do we label the police terrorists and say they terrorized the thief? No, the terrorism of the police towards the criminals is a good act, and the terrorism that is being exercised by the criminals against the true believers is wrong and ill-advised. So America and Israel practise ill- advised terrorism, and we practise good terrorism, because it deters those from killing our children in Palestine and other places.

TA: Now, Sheikh Osama, what is your strategy concerning the Arab states? We have seen that some Arab states have discussed what happened in New York and Washington and have backed the American claims against you, opposing what happened in New York and Washington. Some Arab states were very strong in their criticism. The latest speech of the Saudi Interior Minister, for example, warned against you personally, and warned against the following of your curriculum and what you say. So do you have a specific strategy for Arab nations? And what is your answer to the latest declaration by the Saudi Interior Minister?

OBL: I assure you that we are a part of this umma, that our goal is the victory of the umma, and struggle is to remove mischief, inequality, irresponsibility, and to emphasize the importance of avoiding these things, and the removal of the man-made laws that America has

forced on its collaborators in the region, so that our umma can be ruled by the Book that has been sent down by its Creator, God. So I listened to some of the words of the Interior Minister and he blamed us directly, also saying that "those people call Muslims disbelievers"—we seek God's refuge from this. We think that Muslims are Muslims, and we don't call any Muslims disbelievers unless they specifically commit one of the well-known great sins of Islam, in full knowledge that this is one of the wrongful actions in religion.

So I say that, in general, our concern is that our umma unites either under the Words of the Book of God or His Prophet, and that this nation should establish the righteous caliphate' of our umma, which has been prophesied by our Prophet in his authentic hadith : that the righteous caliph will return with the permission of God. The umma is asked to unite itself in the face of this Crusaders' campaign, the strongest, most powerful, and most ferocious Crusaders' campaign to fall on the Islamic umma since the dawn of Islamic history. There have been past Crusader wars, but there have never been campaigns like this one before.

So Bush has declared in his own words: "Crusade attack." The odd thing about this is that he has taken the words right out of our mouth [that this war is a crusade]. Some people also believe what is said about us, like the [Saudi] Minister's words, that we declare other Muslims to be unbelievers—we seek God's refuge from this. But, when Bush speaks, people make apologies for him and they say that he didn't mean to say that this war is a Crusade, even though he himself said that it was! So the world today is split in two parts, as Bush said: either you are with us, or you are with terrorism. Either you are with the Crusade, or you are with Islam. Bush's image today is of him being in the front of the line, yelling and carrying his big cross. And I swear by God Almighty, that whoever walks behind Bush or his plan has rejected the teachings of Muhammad, and this ruling is one of the clearest rulings in the Book of God and the hadith of the Prophet; and I advise, as I and many other scholars have advised before, that the proof for this is the Almighty's words while addressing to the true believers: "O you who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians as allies, they are but allies to one another. And if any amongst you takes them as allies, then surely he is one of them ..." and this is the ruling: "And if any amongst you takes them as allies, then surely he is one of them ..." "Verily, God guides not those people who are evil-doers."

The scholars of knowledge have said that whoever takes the disbelievers as allies has become a disbeliever, and the biggest sign of alliance is favoring their victory, in speaking, discussing, and writing. So whoever walks behind Bush and his campaign against the Muslims has disbelieved in God and His Prophet. God also says in the verse that follows the previous one:

Yet you [Prophet] will see the perverse at heart rushing to them for protection, saying, "We are afraid fortune may turn against us." But God may well bring about triumph or some other event of His own making: then they will rue the secrets they harbored in their hearts, and the believers will say, "Are these the men who swore by God using their strongest oaths that they were with you? All they did was in vain: they have lost everything."

Ibn Kathir has said in his commentary: Many companions of the Prophet didn't know that the spearhead of the hypocrites was the disbeliever and hypocrite, Abdallah ibn Ubayy ibn Salul. So when arguments occurred between the Muslims and the Jews, and when the Prophet decided to punish the Jews, the spearhead of hypocrisy [Abdallah ibn Salul] moved and stood with the Jews, in the way of the Prophet, so these verses were handed down for this reason. So those who the disbelievers ally themselves with have disbelieved in God and His Prophet. I add the following verse, to stress what I previously stated, because he who allies himself with the disbelievers has become an apostate, as this verse shows:

You who believe, if any of you go back on your faith, God will soon replace you with people He loves and who love Him, people who are humble towards the believers, hard on the disbelievers, and who strive in God's way without fearing anyone's reproach. Such is God's favor. He grants it to whoever He will. God has endless bounty and knowledge.

So I tell the Muslims to be very wary and careful about befriending Jews and Christians. Whoever helps them do so with one word, let him be devout to God, and to renew his faith so he can repent about what he did ...

TA: Even one word?

OBL: Even one word, whoever upholds them with one word ...

TA: Falls into this apostasy?

OBL: Falls into apostasy, a terrible apostasy, and there is no might nor power except with God...

TA: But Sheikh, a big part of our umma falls into this ...

OBL: No ... No, it is not a big part. This is the rule of God, and a clear statement in His generous Book, and it is one of the clearest of rulings.

TA: And the Arab and Islamic governments ...?

OBL: Anyone that ... there is no point naming names. If you know the truth, you will know its followers. You will not know the truth by looking at men; it is in the Book of God, which is one of the constants for us. If the world becomes full of people who want to change things in it, that won't affect us or change our convictions at all. It is either truth or it is mischief. Either it is Islam or either is it disbelief. So these verses ... [interjection by Taysir Allun]

TA: Just to make things clear, if you please. Isn't it possible to forgive those states that are considered to be impotent and weak? Let us take the state of Qatar, for example." The state of Qatar is a small state, whose Foreign Minister once said that he is surrounded by a supreme force that can wipe out his existence with ease. Therefore, he is forced to become an ally of America and others. Isn't it possible to forgive such states? Like Kuwait, for example? Or Bahrain?

OBL: Concerning these matters, the matters that concern Islam, the matters concerning the killing of true believers and Muslims ... what these aforementioned states do, who use compulsion as an excuse, is not the same compulsion that is allowed by Islamic law Their type of compulsion is not permitted by religion. Now let's say (for example), if the Emir of Qatar came and he ordered one of his men to kill your son, and we then asked that soldier why he killed the son of brother Taysir, he says: "Well brother, I have been forced to do it! And you know, brother Taysir, you mean a great deal to me, but I have been compelled to kill your son!" So the blood of the Muslims will be shed with these kind of excuses, with this kind of compulsion that isn't backed by Islamic law The soul of that soldier isn't better than the soul of your son. If he is killed, he will be killed by violation and oppression, but he [the soldier] is not allowed to obey the tyrant by killing your son. So this kind of compulsion isn't permitted by religion.

TA: What is your opinion about what is being said concerning your analogies and the "Clash of Civilizations?"Your constant use and repetition of the word "Crusade" and "Crusader" shows that you

uphold this saying, the "Clash of Civilizations".

OBL: I say that there is no doubt about this. This [Clash of Civilizations] is a very clear matter, proven in the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet, and any true believer who claims to be faithful shouldn't doubt these truths, no matter what anybody says about them. What goes for us is whatever is found in the Book of God and the hadith of the Prophet. But the Jews and America have come up with a fairytale that they transmit to the Muslims, and they've unfortunately been followed by the local rulers [of the Muslims] and a lot of people who are close to them, by using "world peace" as an excuse. That is a fairytale that has no substance whatsoever!

TA: ... Peace?

OBL: The peace that they foist on Muslims is in order to ready and prepare them to be slaughtered, and still the killing goes on. So, if we try to defend ourselves, they call us "terrorists", and the slaughter still goes on. So it is said that the Prophet observed in truth: "The Hour will not come until the Muslims fight the Jews and kill them. When a Jew hides behind a rock or a tree, it will say: 'O Muslim, O Servant of God! There is a Jew behind me, come and kill him!' All the trees will do this except the boxthorn, because it is the tree of the Jews." And whoever claims that there is permanent peace between us and the Jews has disbelieved what has been sent down through Muhammad; the battle is between us and the enemies of Islam, and it will go on until the Hour—and as for the so-called "Peace" or "Peace award", that is a gimmick that is given to the biggest bloodshedders. That man, Begin, the perpetrator of the Deir Yassin massacre, was awarded the [Nobel] Peace Prize. That traitor Anwar al-Sadat, the one that sold the land and the [Palestinian] issue and the blood of the martyrs, was awarded the Peace Prize.

So we are in a time, as is said in truth by our Prophet in this authentic tradition: "There will come upon the people years of deceit in which the liar will be believed, the truthful disbelieved, the treacherous trusted and the trustworthy held to be treacherous, and the despicable will speak out. It was said: 'Who are the despicable ones?' He said: 'The lowly, ignoble man who speaks out about public affairs.'" And unfortunately, this situation is prevailing upon the Islamic world today, with its big leaders, and its famous rulers—it is a trick; they [the rulers] trick people and lie to them, but, with the permission of God, God's liberation and release is close, and the promised victory is close—God willing.

TA: So we can deduce from the words of Sheikh Osama bin Laden that he refers to the ordeal that Afghanistan is going through right now, and the war that America is waging with its allies, that it falls within the compass of a battle between the Crusaders—or those whom you call Crusaders—and Islam. How do you see an exit from this ordeal?

OBL: As I have mentioned today, we are in a strong and brutal battle, between us and the Jews, with Israel being the spearhead, and its backers among the Zionists and Crusaders. So we have not hesitated to kill the Jews who conquered the sanctuary of our Prophet." And those who kill our children, women, and brothers night and day, and whoever stands in the aggressors' ranks, has only himself to blame. So if you mean: how can we exit from this ordeal, this is in the hands of others. It is like this: we have been violated, so our first duty is to remove this violation. So whoever violated us, let him remove the violation. It appears to us, from the writing of the Prophet, that we will have to fight the Jews under his name and on this land, in this blessed land which contains the sanctuary of our Prophet [Palestine]. And the United States has involved itself and its people again and again for more than 53 years, and recognized and supported Israel, and dispatched a general air supply line in 1393 A H [1973] during the days of

Nixon, from America to Tel Aviv, with weapons, aid, and men, which affected the outcome of the battle,' so how could we not fight it [America]? It is incumbent upon every Muslim to fight it. So if it wants to survive, we have offered some simple advice, but America has terrorized and it has erased its own values.

The Americans have made laughable claims. They said that there are hidden messages intended for terrorists in bin Laden's statements. It is as if we are living in a time of carrier-pigeons, without the existence of telephones, without travelers, without the Internet, without regular mail, without faxes, without email. This is just farcical; words which belittle people's intellects. We swore that America could never dream of safety, until safety becomes a reality for us living in Palestine. That has exposed the American government, and that it exists as an agent of Israel, and puts Israel's needs before the needs of its own people. So the situation is straightforward: America won't be able to leave this ordeal unless it pulls out of the Arabian peninsula, and it ceases its meddling in Palestine, and throughout the Islamic world. If we gave this equation to any child in any American school, he would easily solve it within a second. But, according to Bush's actions, the equation won't be solved unless our swords fall on their heads, with the permission of God.

TA: Alright, Sheikh Osama, do you have any message you want to address to the viewers?

OBI.: I say: Concerning this ordeal and this battle between Islam and the Crusaders, I want to reiterate that we will continue this jihad and the incitement of our umma to it, until we bring it about, while blessing us, and the war, as we have been promised, that is going on between us and the Jews. So any nation that joins the Jewish trenches has only itself to blame, as Sheikh Sulaiman Abu-Ghaith" has declared in some of his previous statements concerning America and Britain; he did not set this in stone, but indeed gave some of other nations a chance to review their calculations. What is Japan's concern? What is making Japan join this hard, strong, and ferocious war? It is a blatant violation of our children in Palestine, and Japan didn't predict that it would be at war with us, so it should review its position. What is the concern of Australia in the farthest south with the case of these weak Afghans? And these weak Palestinians? What is Germany's concern with this war? Besides disbelief, this is a war which, like previous wars, is reviving the Crusades. Richard the Lionheart, Barbarossa from Germany, and Louis from France—the case is similar today, when they all immediately went forward the day Bush lifted the cross. The Crusader nations went forward. What is the concern of the Arab nations in this Crusaders' War? They involved themselves with it openly, without disguise, in broad daylight. They have accepted the rule of the cross. Everyone that supports Bush with one word, even without offering help and aid, and whatever else that is described as facilities, is nothing but a traitor. They change its name, by not calling it military aid, and then join in killing our sons—and they tell us that this is not facilitation and help? How can we believe that this system is collecting aid to help the weak Afghans, all the while openly giving Saudi Arabia to the Americans and their allies? How can we believe these states, when they are one of the main reasons for the deaths of more than one million children?

I say to the people who walk behind these rulers, don't you have hearts? Don't you have faith? How can you declare faith while you are helping those fornicating disbelievers against the children of Islam. You help them against our children in Iraq and Palestine. I say to those who talk about the innocents in America, they haven't tasted yet the heat of the loss of children, and they haven't seen the look on the faces of the children in Palestine and elsewhere. By what right are our families in Palestine denied safety? The helicopters hunt them while they are in their homes, while they are amongst their women and children; everyday the bodies and wounded are removed. So these fools cry about the deaths of Americans, and they don't cry about the deaths of our sons? Don't

they fear receiving a similar punishment? And our Prophet said in truth: "He who does not supply the jihad, or well look after a warrior's family when he is away, will be smitten by God with a sudden calamity." So let them fear God, and repent, and let them remove the siege from those innocent children. So the Westerners are free to choose. Europe wants to enter the war—that is their prerogative, but our duty is to fight whoever is in the ranks of the Jews. America and the American people are free; they have entered the trench, and they will get what is coming to them.

And concerning us, we are in worship and in jihad. It is said in truth about our Prophet: "Verily a man's standing firm in the ranks for one hour (in jihad) in the Way of God, the Mighty and Majestic, is more virtuous than 60 years of worship." So what can be better than this? Under the pride of God, we ask the Almighty to accept us and you, and concerning the Muslims, I tell them to trust in the victory of God, and to answer the call of God, and the order of His Prophet, with jihad against world unbelief. And I swear by God, happy are those who are martyred today, happy are those who are honored to stand under the banner of Muhammad, under the banner of Islam, to fight the world Crusade. So let every person amongst them come forward to fight those Jews and Americans, the killing of whom is among the most important duties and most pressing things, and let them remember the teaching of the Prophet, when he said to the child ibn Abbas: "Young man, I shall teach you some words of advice: Be mindful of God, and God will protect you. Be mindful of God, and you will find Him in front of you. If you ask, ask of God; If you seek help, seek help of God. Know that if the world were to gather together to benefit you with anything, it would benefit you only with something that God had already prescribed for you, and that if they gather together to harm you with anything, they would harm you only with something God had already prescribed for you. The pens have been lifted and the pages have dried." So don't discuss the killing of Americans with anyone, trust in the divine favor of God, and remember your appointment with God in the presence of the Best of Prophets.

And in conclusion, I would like to dedicate a call to the brothers in Pakistan, to the position of the Pakistani government, with much sorrow. Pakistan is one of the biggest pillars of this unlucky alliance, this Crusaders' Alliance. So the movement of our brothers in Pakistan will lead—with the permission of God—to a big attack on this unlucky Crusader Alliance. So whoever has stood with America, by aiding them with material or immaterial things, this constitutes disbelief and the biggest rejection of the creed and teachings of Islam. And it is a duty incumbent on the brothers in Pakistan to make a strong and purposeful move, for the sake of victory of the religion of God, and the victory of the Prophet Muhammad. And the Islam of today is calling them—Oh Islam! Oh Islam! Oh Islam!