

## **Depose the Tyrants**

December 16, 2004

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This message returns to bin Laden's first preoccupation: the fate of Saudi Arabia, his homeland. Posted on the website of the Global Islamic Media Front, and circulated widely in English translation, it also addresses Muslims at large, all of whom are concerned by developments in the kingdom. But now bin Laden speaks with utter clarity, abandoning the caution or ambiguity of his original letters to bin Baz and the Muslim scholars, for a blistering indictment of the House of Saud and the calamity it has historically represented for the peninsula. He states that the Saudi dynasty betrayed any covenant with its people from the outset, was a collaborator with Britain, and then became a client of America. Its rule, he continues, has brought misery, corruption, and oppression to the land—mass unemployment and grotesque palaces, a gaga king and bloated princes, inability to defend the Holy sanctuaries and treachery towards neighbors and believers.

Now finally "naming names" with a vengeance, bin Laden details the poisonous relations between Fand's heir Abdallah, and his relatives, Sultan and Nayef, Ministers of Defense and the Interior; the damaging revelations of his son Talal and of his nephew Bandar, Bush's intimate in Washington; the continual interference by the US in Saudi affairs and appointments; the depression of oil prices in the interests of America; the collaboration with the Pentagon in the invasion and occupation of Iraq. Nor, he says, are matters better elsewhere in the Arab world: the Hashemite dynasty in Jordan is fully as treacherous and subordinate as its Saudi rival, while secular tyrants like Nasser, Sadat and Qadhafi were greeted as believers in Riyadh as soon as made they peace with the Saudi regime. Elections in Egypt, Jordan, or Yemen are as much a comedy as what "passes for rule in Saudi Arabia" today. The leaders of these countries offer no hope of improvement for the people, only disaster.

In this situation, bin Laden says that there is only one solution, made clear by God's law— to depose these rulers by force of arms. There is no distinction to be drawn between Paul Bremer, head of the CPA in Iraq, and Iyad Allawi, the local premier imposed by the US; both equally simply implement American policies like all the other regimes in the region, who have themselves rejected every consensual solution for what they have done to their countries. Dialogue with them is now possible only with the sword and the gun. "How can any sane person, seeing the apostate ruler and his soldiers armed to the teeth, claim he wants a solution through peaceful reform?". If the dynasty in Riyadh refuses to restore trusteeship of the land to the people, it will meet the fate of such hated despots as the Shah of Iran or Ceausescu in Romania-- "for things are descending with extraordinary speed towards an explosion." The struggle against such tyrants within the region is, states bin Laden, a manifestation of a far wider conflict "between global unbelief with the apostates today under the leadership of America, on one side, and the Islamic umma and its brigades of mujahidin on the other". In this confrontation, the current battles in Iraq "are merely an extension of the struggle against the Zionist-Crusader alliance, who fight us everywhere, just as we fight them everywhere, including Saudi Arabia, from which we are trying to expel them, with God's will." The struggle will continue in every arena of jihad: "Lord, make the mujahidin stand firm everywhere, in Palestine, Iraq, Kashmir, Chechnya, Afghanistan, and Saudi Arabia. Lord, guide their weapons and make their hearts firm, give them support and assistance against Your enemies and theirs, for neither we nor they have anyone to help us, but You, the strong and beloved one." The battle lines between faith and unbelief which bin Laden has been defining throughout his statements, have now been fully drawn.

To Muslims in Saudi Arabia in particular and Muslims elsewhere generally: This is a letter concerning the conflict and dispute among the rulers of Riyadh, and the way to solve them.

There has been much talk in Saudi Arabia about the need for safety and security, about the sanctity of Muslim blood and those who have been granted safe *passage*, about the importance of social harmony and cohesion, and about the dangers of division and conflict. Some have claimed that the mujahidin have brought about the current predicament in Saudi Arabia, but the clear truth of the matter is that responsibility falls on the shoulders of the regime, which has neglected the necessary conditions to maintain security, life, social harmony, and cohesion. This is because it disobeyed God Almighty and committed sins that exposed the country to His warning and punishment. God has told us the stories of the disobedient and their punishment so that we could take heed.

God Almighty said: "God presents the example of a town that was secure and at ease, with provisions coming to it abundantly from all places. Then it became ungrateful for God's blessings, so He afflicted it with the garment of famine and fear for what its people had done." And He said: "All of them committed excesses in their lands, and spread corruption there: your Lord let a scourge of punishment loose on them. Your Lord is always watchful."

It is the supporters and sycophants of the regime, as well as those who refrain from denouncing evil, who are also responsible for this predicament. For God Almighty said:

Those children of Israel who defied [God] were rejected through the words of David and Jesus, son of Mary, because they disobeyed, they persistently overstepped the limits, they did not forbid each other to do wrong—how vile their deeds were!

And the Prophet is reputed to have said, as related by al-Hakim:<sup>4</sup> "Their leaders have not ruled in accordance with the book of God Almighty, nor have they paid attention to what God has revealed. May God keep the harm they intend amongst themselves." And he also said, as related by ibn Dawud: "When people see an oppressor but do nothing about it, God will let him punish them all."

A line of wisdom:

If you have a blessing then take care of it, for sins eradicate blessings.

The Saudi regime has committed very serious acts of disobedience—worse than the sins and offenses that are contrary to Islam, worse than oppressing slaves, depriving them of their rights and insulting their dignity, intelligence, and feelings, worse than squandering the general wealth of the nation. Millions of people suffer every day from poverty and deprivation, while millions of riyals flow into the bank accounts of the royals who wield executive power. At the same time, public services are being reduced, our lands are being violated, and people are imposing themselves forcibly through business, without compensation. It has got to the point where the regime has gone so far as to be clearly beyond the pale of Islam, allying itself with infidel America and aiding it against Muslims, and making itself an equal to God by legislating on what is or is not permissible without consulting God.

It is well known that these are among the ten acts contrary to Islam, and we have referred to some of the injustices committed by the regime in matters of religion and worldly life in some detail in Communique 17. Whoever wishes to go back to it will find that these are the most important reasons behind the dispute between Muslims and the rulers of Riyadh, and that the solution to

these issues is easy and well known in the religion of God Almighty, so long as the ruler is truthful and honest in his desire for reform, or even has any desire for it at all. As for us, God knows that we want the reform that we strive for; we left our country out of our desire for it, for we did not need any worldly goods, all thanks and praise to God.

I miss my country greatly, and have been long absent from it; but this is easy to endure because it is for the sake of God.

Love for the Hijaz is deep in my heart, but its rulers are wolves. In Afghanistan I have a home and friends, and God gives great provision.

And it has been said: True friends are rare, but he who is inexperienced thinks they are many.

Everyone loves beautiful things, and everywhere that pride grows is good.

Whoever relies on God will find Him sufficient, and He will reward those who are not distracted by worldly pleasures. There is no meaning to this life except to be judged obedient to God, so I ask God for steadfastness and a good outcome. The solution to this problem is reform, and commitment to the straight path at the command of God Almighty and his Prophet.

God Almighty said: "So keep to the right course as you have been commanded, together with those who have turned to God with you. Do not overstep the limits, for He sees everything you do."

And God's Prophet said: "Say, 'I believe in God' and keep to the right course."

The prosperity of this nation will be achieved in the same way as it was originally. For the Arabian peninsula was beset by crashing waves of murder and oppression, drowning in ignorance, but when God sent our Prophet Muhammad and revealed the Qur'an, and people joined him in Islam, their condition prospered and their lives were improved. God made them proud after they had been humble and made them harmonious after they had been enemies. He brought them together after they had been split, He fed them when they were hungry, and comforted them when they were afraid. God Almighty said:

If they intend to deceive you, God is enough for you: it was He who strength- end you with His help, and with the believers, and brought their hearts together in friendship. Even if you had given away everything in the earth you could not have done this, but God brought them together: God is mighty and wise.

And he said:

If the people of those towns had believed and had been mindful of God, we would have showered them with blessings from the heaven and earth, but they rejected the truth and so we punished them for their misdeeds.

The solution to the dispute between ruler and ruled is the plan proposed by the first Caliph to the second: "Be upstanding, and so will your subjects." These are the words of the rightly guided Caliphs, who shine with clear light. If a commander is upright in obeying God's law, then his subjects will be likewise, for it is their duty to obey him absolutely, as commanded by God Almighty. If however he becomes an apostate and abandons God's law, then it is also their duty to abandon him, as commanded by God Almighty. For obedience is not absolute, but conditional on the ruler's integrity, and the men of knowledge have insisted upon unity and harmony in obeying God Almighty.

The Sheikh of Islam, ibn Taymiyya, said: "If the reason for unity and harmony is religion and working for it, then the reason for division is abandonment of what God has ordered of His servant." He also said that the restrictions and limitations imposed on the umma by its scholars, sheikhs, rulers, and noblemen are what allowed the enemy to gain control over it, and that was a result of the people's abandonment of obedience to God Almighty and His Messenger. Here ended his words, prayers and peace be upon Him.

Society should be as the first community of God's Messenger and his companions, the group who are saved, who are in the right—[you should strive for this] even if you are on your own in doing so, as ibn Mas'ud showed when people abandoned some of what God had commanded and enmity and hatred rose up among them, and their enemies gained power over them." That is what has happened to us, and there is no strength or power save in God.

Can the rulers follow God's commands in the right way so that their subjects can too, and so that people will be happy in their lives, both in worldly and religious matters?

Some people say they can. They began with the National Center for Dialogue [Majlis al-Hiwar al-Watani], as well as with municipal elections, but that has not alleviated the basic disease one bit. They claim it has improved things by letting people play the game of elections, as in Yemen, Jordan, or Egypt, and spinning around for years in a vicious circle, regardless of the fact that it is forbidden to abide by polytheistic laws.

So if we want a proper solution, both theoretical and practical, to this dispute, we need to know the truth of the matter in all its different dimensions, and we need to know all its root causes. This struggle is partly an internal regional struggle, but in other respects it is a struggle between global unbelief, with the apostates today under the leadership of America on one side, and the Islamic umma and its brigades of mujahidin, on the other. These oppressive, traitorous ruling families in the region today, who persecute every reform movement and impose upon their peoples policies that are against their religion and their worldly interests, are the very same families who helped the Crusaders against the Muslims a century ago. And they are doing this in collaboration with America and its allies. This represents a continuation of the previous Crusader wars against the Islamic world. The extent to which the Zionist-Crusader alliance controls the internal policies of our countries has become all too clear to us. For when it comes to American intervention in internal affairs, where do we start?

No appointment of a king or representative can take place without the agreement of America, something which goes back to the agreements between previous kings and the American government.

The comedy that passes for rule in Saudi Arabia today is likewise a product of American agreement, in order to forestall deterioration of the situation and further disagreements among the royal family, particularly in the last few difficult years. The state of government in Saudi Arabia is unprecedented in history. After the ruler's death, the people may be ruled for some hours or days in his name, as in the case of Shajarat al-Durr. But the idea that the entire length and breadth of the land is ruled in the name of a king who for a decade has no longer known what is going on, is incredible!

His authority has diminished not just because he has committed acts that contradict Islam, but because of his general incapacity and the loss of his mental capacity to do even the smallest of tasks, let alone govern a country and people. His brothers should not make him do what he is not equipped to do. But they insist on keeping him, because of their refusal to let Abdallah become

king, since this would reduce their own power and he would exercise power without them.

And for his part, he cannot overcome them, because they control the reins of power, in particular the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of the Interior, as well as the Intelligence Services. More importantly, they control the Royal Court, which enables them to issue a royal edict in the name of the nominal ruler to remove him or appoint someone else as heir.

This acute struggle within the royal family, besides their oppression of the people, has allowed America to continue blackmailing the competing princes, especially Abdallah, into meeting its demands. He knows for sure that if he does not respond to their orders then at the very best he will be removed by his brothers, as they previously removed his brother Saud, for he is aware that his brothers have experience in such things, and that they are prepared to do more than remove him, if that is what it takes. Anyone wanting a living example of America's role in such things need look no further than Prince Hassan bin Talal of Jordan. After he had been the king's deputy for a number of decades, his brother Hussein returned from America a few days before his death and decided to remove him, which he did. Hassan submitted to the decision and became politically isolated. This is what scares Prince Abdallah if he disobeys his protector America. Therefore it is no secret that the decision makers in important matters are in America.

The proof of the depth of Crusader control over our country lies in the way these collaborators carry out the changes their superior imposes on them, even in things like educational curricula, with the aim of distorting the character of the umma and alienating its sons. This is an old project that started decades ago in the curricula of al-Azhar in Egypt.

Then America asked the rest of the collaborationist countries to change their educational curricula, to dry up what it called the sources of [religious] awakening.

For instance, it asked Yemen to close its religious institutes more than two decades ago, and asked the rulers of Riyadh to change the religious curricula, which they did in deference to its wishes. All this was more than a decade and a half before the raids on New York and Washington [9/11]. Besides that, there are also the new additional changes intended by the regime, as well as the removal of imams and preachers. This Crusader interference in changing curricula is categorically one of the most dangerous kinds of interference in our affairs, because—to put it bluntly—it amounts to changing our religion, which is an indivisible whole.

Whoever believes in some of the book and doesn't believe in other parts of it is an infidel indeed.

The polytheists are the ones whose hearts resembled each other. God Almighty said:

When Our clear revelations are recited to them, those who do not expect to meet with Us say: "Bring [us] a different Qur'an, or change it." [Prophet], say "It is not for me to change it of my own accord; I follow only what is revealed to me, for I fear the torment of an awesome day.

But the rulers of Riyadh were afraid of America and changed the curricula. It is no secret that the consequence of changing the religious curricula is the loss of religion, in both its religious and its everyday dimensions. As far as the religious dimension is concerned, as you know, this represents wilful apostasy. As far as the day-to-day issues are concerned, these curricula will produce in our country educated slaves who will be loyal to America, and who will sell the interests of the country and smile in the face of America while it occupies our land and corrupts our honor under the pretext of liberty, equality, and the laws of the United Nations. This is just one

example of American interference in our domestic politics.

As for foreign policy, the ruling families have responded to America's wishes, leading the way in treachery. King Hussein of Jordan, for example, continued the policy of betrayal started against Palestine by his grandfather Abdallah bin al-Sharif Hussein, as well as his father.

And his son Abdallah II has continued the same course, while Muhammad VI in Morocco is following the same path of treachery pursued by his father and grandfather before him. Their implementation of Crusader plots is still going on today. Since there isn't scope here to cover them completely, we will just mention some of the most significant ones.

This government in Riyadh has entered into a global alliance with Crusader unbelief, under the leadership of Bush, against Islam and its people, as happened in Afghanistan, and the conspiracies in Iraq, which have not yet ended. They opened up their bases to the American forces so that they could conquer Iraq, which helped the Americans and facilitated their occupation. Then the Saudi Minister of Defense got up one day and scorned the religion, the blood, and the minds of Muslims by admitting that his government had opened its airports to the Americans for their allegedly humanistic objectives.

And now here they are today showing us a new link in their chain of conspiracies with America. This one they have described as the initiative to send Arab and Muslim forces to maintain security in Iraq.

This is an enormous act of treachery. They weren't satisfied with helping the infidels to occupy the lands of Islam, but they also had to come up with this initiative to confer legitimacy on the American occupation. "We rely on God, for He is our protector."

What made this disaster even more offensive to people was the fact that many of them thought that when Prince Abdallah bin Abd al-Aziz [now King Abdallah of Saudi Arabia], took over management of the country he would save it from the mires of religious disobedience, and administrative, financial, and media corruption, as well as other kinds of corruption, and that he would save it from its subservience to America. But although people were expecting good to come from him, he brought them evil. For while America was sending its armies to the Gulf to invade Iraq, the Riyadh regime was deceiving the umma with its statements, saying that it refused to let America use force against Iraq.

Shortly before the invasion, Prince Abdallah presented a plan which he claimed was humanitarian. This was that Saddam should go into exile in order to spare our blood, as he put it—which was a clear statement that Iraq should surrender to America, with all the spoils and booty that it contains.

Such a person is like a criminal who ambushes you and gives you one of his slaves as a sincere peacemaker, who tells you: "I advise you to leave your family and property, and escape on your own." This is how the thief takes people's property in Iraq, attacking their land and honor without caring about the support or advice of the Bedouin Prince.

It is true that Saddam is a thief and an apostate, but the solution is not to be found in moving the government of Iraq from a local thief to a foreign one. Helping the infidel to take the land of Muslims and control them is one of the ten acts contradictory to Islam.

Before the invasion Prince Abdallah also came out in public to make the sly, deceptive statement that the American troops were not gathering for war. Those who gave him the benefit of the doubt thought that this was merely an example of his negligence and nothing more, but no more than a year, or even a few months, had passed before God Almighty shamed him in front of everyone and revealed his lies, deceit, treason, and treachery against the umma, the like of which has never before been seen, with clear and irrefutable evidence.

Prince Talal bin Abd al-Aziz also stated publicly that his father had received money from the English, thereby affirming the facts and documents that prove that his father was a collaborator with the English.

And today too you have his nephew and ambassador in America, Prince Bandar bin Sultan, admitting in public that he met with the American Vice-President and his Defense Minister and the Chief of Staff, who informed him of their secret plans to invade Iraq and everything else. This came in the midst of his comments following the publication of a book shaming Prince Abdallah, in which he pledged support for America and encouraged it to invade Iraq.

Other statements like this were issued before the invasion, including his pronouncement that he felt that the American forces that had arrived in the Gulf were not there for war. In this instance he was lying to the umma in full knowledge in order to deceive it and spread false ideas within it. As such he undertook the first part of the psychological war, acting as America's proxy, against Iraq and its people, so that they would surrender and not be hostile to the war, and so that the ideas of submissiveness and surrender to the enemy would spread amongst us, and so that the American forces would not meet with any significant resistance. Oh what shame and ignominy! What unbelief and treachery! What treason and betrayal! People still remember the presence of the Iraqi delegation at the Beirut conference and the announcement of a settlement between the two countries. Then Abdallah betrays them, going in the middle of the night to make an agreement with America over the invasion of Iraq and pledging to pay a billion dollars towards it to support this war.

Is this the extent to which the rulers of Riyadh have sunk? The hypocrites claim that they are responsible rulers. They are lying to the umma and deceiving it for a few pennies that they don't deserve.

Here, sensible people should make a stand with each other and consider the conduct of their rulers. The disorder is great indeed. No Muslim can be content to be ruled by such men. Sensible people who want to see reform achieved through these rulers should think: how could such people undertake reform when they are swimming in such a stormy sea of disgusting characteristics? It is impossible, because drowning awaits them. No sane person could be satisfied to have anyone with such characteristics as a partner in anything at all. How could he, when we are talking about such important issues as the fate of the umma, and the efforts and conversations of advisers, the results of which are evidently very far from the realms of reality. The rulers' conduct varies between procrastination and lying, enticement and temptation, or prison and exile. But the one certain aim of this ruler in his dialogue with every reformist movement is to abort that movement, even if this takes some time. I have experienced this myself, when two decades ago I offered advice to the government through senior scholars, but the situation did not change.

Then a decade and a half ago, I directed my advice straight to the deputy Minister of Defense, informing him of the great sins from which the state should desist, and of the danger of persisting with them, but to no avail. Then I met the deputy director of the ministry for security

affairs, who strongly reproached me for advising the deputy Minister of Defense and began haranguing me about exactly the same sins that I had mentioned to the minister. Then he said: "This is well known—we don't need anyone to tell us about it." And these sins that I advised you about have been going on for decades, and the rulers have been advised about them by many people before me, but these evils are still present today, the rulers are defending them and committed to them because their royal status has supposedly rendered them legitimate. The result is that people are not committed to God's law. This means that absolute sovereignty and obedience are due to the king and his laws, not to the religion of God Almighty. This is the dangerous reality, and this is the belief of the people as expressed by the deputy director with his statement "that this is well known—we don't need anyone to tell us about it". They know that the grave sins that I mentioned to them are prohibited in God's religion, but they do not want anyone to forbid them for one simple reason, which is that they are not prohibited in the religion of the king. So they wonder how we can forbid them, and they even ask us not to tell them that they are prohibited. The king issued edicts and laws permitting and protecting them. The word of religion has a say only when the king or ruler considers it legitimate. God Almighty said: "[Joseph] began by searching their bags, then his brother's, and he pulled it out from under his brother's bag."

Whoever has been given insight by God and ponders the regime's conduct will find this reality being played out in front of his eyes, both in domestic and foreign affairs: dominion and obedience apply to the order of the king and not to God Almighty—what the king declares lawful becomes lawful, what he prohibits is forbidden, for in his eyes it is his true right as king to legalize or prohibit whatever he wants.

I'll give you some examples: it is well known in religion that usury is strictly forbidden, for God Almighty has said: "God has allowed trade and forbidden usury. But the regime has issued edicts and laws making usury legal and establishing it, and punishing anyone who prevents it or avoids paying what they illegally call profit. It is well known that all usury is a grave sin, and that legislation without reference to God is one of the acts contradictory to Islam.

As for the second example, this involves taking the infidels as allies. For instance, the Jordanian regime is an infidel regime. If a preacher or writer described King Hussein as a collaborator with the Jews, he would be subjected to punishment at the hands of the Riyadh regime through laws that have been made specifically for this purpose. But when King Hussein entered into alliance with Saddam, when he invaded Kuwait, King Fand washed his hands of his former ally. The Riyadh newspapers were filled with documents and pictures proving Hussein bin Talal to be a collaborator with the Jews, which is true—he is. By contrast, the newspapers of Jordan were filled with documents and pictures proving that the rulers of Riyadh collaborated with the English and then with America, which is true—they did. So, despite the great disaster for us that the rulers of the region are collaborators, there is a greater disaster in that most of the leaders of the Islamic world insist on describing these tyrants as responsible leaders. Some people think they are a lifeboat, when in fact all they are is a sinking ship.

Honest people in these Islamic associations should ensure that Islamic works have nothing to do with such mendacious regimes, especially after these conclusive documents showed that King Fand had been received by King Hussein, forgetting about the past, and then when King Hussein died the Princes of the Saud family attended his funeral, along with the Israeli and American delegations and others, and then the prayer of the absent was performed for him in the Haram Mosque.

Devotion to God has confirmed the bonds of faith with which we ally ourselves with the allies of God and His Messenger, and that we are enemies of their enemies too. But the hypocrites are slaves to money and follow the king whatever he does. They blow with the winds, and are enemies of his enemies. Is a person still a human being even if he changes his mind in such a humiliating and insulting way? Is a Muslim supposed to rid himself of his religion and trample his own brain underfoot to become a good citizen?

The same goes for the regimes of Abdel Nasser, Sadat, Qadhafi, Saddam.

Abdel Nasser was in conflict with the Saudi regime, so they declared him an infidel from the pulpit of the Haram Mosque in Mecca. And that's what he is. But when he made peace with the Saudis, he became a Muslim again.

The same thing happened with that atheist Qadhafi. For over three decades he was an infidel when he insulted them, and then when they made peace with the Saudi government he became a Muslim and they brought him into the Noble Ka`ba.

As for Sadat, when he signed the capitulation initiative with the Jews, the rulers of Riyadh and the rest of the Arab states accused him of being a traitor and a collaborator, which he was. Their newspapers were filled with insults and abuse against him. Then when Prince Abdallah also committed the same treachery and collaboration in the Beirut initiative the hypocrites praised him and supported him. The scholars of evil and writers-for-rent said whatever the ruler wanted them to, and went wherever he went, all for money. And then they claim to have religious knowledge, guidance, and rectitude.

The above shows clearly that the ruler has another religion and that he is trading with the religion of Islam and deceiving the people in regard to it. After the general behavior we have seen from all the rulers of the region, and the rulers of Riyadh in particular, who besides their other bad characteristics, are apostate collaborators, it is clear that the dispute is one between two paths, and a profound struggle between two beliefs: a struggle between the divine, perfect belief, which has submitted to God's authority in all matters—the way of "Say, my prayer, my piety, my life and death are for God, lord of the two worlds, who has no partner. So I have been instructed and I am the first of Muslims," the way of "There is no god but God and Muhammad is His Messenger", in all its meanings and with all its requirements—and the crudely secular way, the way of "those who deceive God and those who believe, although they only deceive themselves even if they do not realise it," the way of "those who take each other as lords instead of God," they way of those about whom God said: "When they are told, 'Turn to God's revelations and the Messenger [for judgment],' you see the hypocrites turn away from you [Prophet]."

Now that this is clear, the solution to improve the situation is what has been made clear by God's law, and that is to remove the ruler. Even if he refuses to go, it is obligatory to depose him through force of arms. This is the ruling of God's law, which maintains people's religious and material interests. The regime, for its part, has proposed a similar solution in its maintenance of its own laws and worldly interests—it proposed that the [Islamic] reformers should submit unconditionally to the laws and edicts of royal power.

And if the dialogue has to be done through the sword and the gun, as the Minister of Defense put it, it is well known that every master, whether he is royal or not, needs a weapon. So how can any sane person, seeing the apostate ruler and his soldiers armed to the teeth, claim that he wants reform through a peaceful solution? This is complete nonsense. It is reducing the establishment

of the truth, for we are not talking merely of a debauched and depraved ruler, but one who is an apostate and a collaborator with the infidels.

In the same way, there is no difference between [Paul] Bremer, the former American ruler in Baghdad, and [Iyad] Allawi, the current ruler, in terms of implementing American policies in Iraq. For there is no difference between Bremer and the rest of the regimes in the region when it comes to implementing America's policies.

The scholars of Islam have agreed that authority cannot be given to an infidel, so if he becomes one his authority is thereby revoked and it is obligatory to remove him by force. Ayad Qadi said: "Scholars are agreed that leadership of the religious community cannot be given to an infidel, and that if he becomes one, he must be deposed."

He also said: "If he becomes an infidel, changes God's law or indulges in innovation, he has stepped outside of the judgment of authority and he is not due allegiance. It is then incumbent upon Muslims to rise up against him and remove him and to appoint a just imam, if they can do so—even if there is only one group of Muslims, they are obliged to depose the infidel."

Therefore, it is not we who say that the infidel leader has overstepped the bounds of his authority; it is the consensus of the imams who say so. This is the judgment of God's law in a case such as ours, so it is obligatory for all Muslims to strive for reform, taking into consideration the size and dimension of the dispute and the fact that these regimes are nothing but a part of the organization of global unbelief.

Reform should be carried out according to God's law, or else it is a deviation from it and a waste of time and effort, whether it be well-intentioned or deceitful.

Our countrymen who reject armed confrontation with the governments in order to restore their rights are engaging in a huge fraud. You can't get rights restored by a regime whose ruler is an apostate and who rejects everything except the force of arms, who knows that he has on his side these purveyors of blatant error, as well as those who have called directly for acts contradictory to Islam. They have helped the infidels to occupy the lands of Islam, as some of them have stated, under the deceitful cover of helping to get rulers to respect human rights, or the others who mix truth and falsehood and cooperate with the infidels to occupy our lands. It's true, with their refusal to remove these apostate rulers by force, their approach can only bring one outcome.

The approach of these people is extremely dangerous for two reasons:

Firstly, they are a great danger because they have let their wishes and desires compete with God's law, which as everyone knows is a grave sin. God Almighty said: "When God and his Messenger have decided on a matter that concerns them, it is not fitting for any believing man or woman to claim a freedom of choice in that matter: whoever disobeys God and his Messenger is far astray."

He also said: "By your Lord, they will not be true believers until they let you decide between them in all matters of dispute, and find no resistance in their souls to your decisions, accepting them totally."

Secondly, these people are participating in barring people from the way of God, and sowing strife in their religion, in that they are preventing them from assuming their rights in the ways that God made lawful, which is what makes hypocrites and ignorant people think of taking the course of

the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan, and others like them such as Allawi and his companions. This is in no way allowed.

Before finishing, we should respond to some of the regime's allegations, whose repetition has upset people both day and night throughout the past two years. It has accused the mujahidin of following the path of the Kharijites, but they know that we have nothing to do with such a school of thought. Our messages and conduct attest to that.

Did our own people attack us with weapons in Sudan to kill everyone except Kharijites? We believe that no sin besides that of unbelief makes a believer step outside his faith, even if it is a serious sin, like murder or drinking alcohol. Even if the culprit died without repenting of his sins, his fate is with God, whether He wishes to forgive him or to punish him. His destiny will be to go to Heaven. We do not anathematize people in general, nor do we permit the shedding of Muslim blood. If some Muslims have been killed during the operations of the mujahidin then we pray to God to take mercy on them; this is a case of accidental manslaughter, and we beg God's forgiveness for it and we take responsibility for it.

But I say to the ruler of Riyadh, I will tell you about who has been killing Muslims, for he has killed them before, whole groups of them.

I can tell you about those who declare people in general unbelievers, and who permit the shedding of Muslim blood: your father, Abd al-Aziz [ibn Saud]. He is the one who came out and helped the English against the Ottoman state and their deputy, ibn Rashid, at Ha'il. You yourselves came out with force of arms against your brother King Saud, and you would have massacred each other had it not been for God Almighty. Your scholars did not call you and your father Kharijites, and if we open the file on the horrifying massacre of Taif we learn who it was that declared everyone else infidels. That was the massacre in which your father deceived his own soldiers, telling them that the people of the Hijaz were infidels and that killing them was jihad for the sake of God. In saying this he was lying to them. If we discuss all the terrible things that happened at Taif, all the other disasters of the regime pale by comparison. Adversaries are supposed to stick to the code of conduct of conflict and fighting by not lying. It is much better to abide by such rules. And if you weren't so sure that we would not lie on your behalf, since we have been lied to for so long, then you would ask me about a Muslim man who has gone into hiding with me and whom you unjustly want to oppress or kill. To lie in such circumstances would be a duty, just as the men of knowledge have mentioned that the ruler must be a Muslim, and just as you accuse Al-Sabbab of ignorance in issues that all Muslims know about. AlNawawi said: "As for the idea that he only orders and forbids what he knows about, this is something else entirely; every Muslim knows about obvious duties like the forbidden months, praying, fasting, adultery, drinking alcohol, and the like."

Is there any Muslim alive who is unaware that it is forbidden to help the infidels against a Muslim, or to make usury legal? This is well known to be part of the religion, just as knowledge of the prohibition of wine or adultery is well known. Is anyone unaware of this, or of the fact that you want to make a priesthood in Islam! For you are making a council of elder scholars of the sultan like some Christians do. By doing so you are despising the religion and declaring legal what God prohibited, and prohibiting what He has authorized. You issue pardons to whoever you like, and describe the youth as having erroneous and corrupt ideas—but who is it that really has the erroneous ideas?

Are the ones with the corrupt and erroneous ideas those who follow the words of God's Messenger about the duty of expelling the Jews and Christians from the Arabian peninsula? As

the Prophet said, according to al-Bukhari: "Banish the polytheists from the Arabian peninsula" and "There can be no two religions in the Arabian peninsula". He also said: "Fight the Jews and Christians, take their sons' graves as places of worship—there can be no two religions on Arab land" and "I am banishing the Jews and Christians from the Arabian peninsula so that I preach only to Muslims."

Or are they the ones who scorn the sayings of the Prophet and act treacherously towards them, like the Jews? Like Prince Abdallah did when he said that our arguments were groundless, and then turned to serve foreigners. However, our arguments are simply the clear and correct sayings of the Prophet concerning the duty of banishing the polytheists, with no exception, regardless of whether they come to serve or be served.

Are we the ones with erroneous ideas? Or is it those who have betrayed the umma and allowed Muhammad's peninsula to be occupied by the Jews and Christians, letting them take control and giving them military bases. This is besides their [the Saudi regime's] betrayal of Iraq, even though betrayal is forbidden, even betrayal of infidels.

Our Prophet said, as related by Muslim: "Every traitor will have agony on the Day of Judgment in accordance with his treachery, and the greatest betrayal is that of a commander of his people."

So who are the ones with the corrupt and erroneous ideas? Is it those who enjoin what is good and forbid evil, and who believe in God? Or is it those who betray Muslims with their policies and propaganda, even in the sacred land and in the forbidden months and around the mosque of the Haram?

God Almighty said: "As you the disbelievers, who bar others from God's path and from the Sacred Mosque—which He made for all people, residents and visitors alike—and who try to violate it with wrongdoing, we shall inflict upon them a painful punishment." He also said: "She said, 'Whenever kings go into a city, they ruin it and humiliate its leaders—that is what they do—but I am going to send them a gift, and see what my envoy brings back.'"

Who are the ones with the corrupt and erroneous ideas? Is it those who defend Muslims and their honor and property in Iraq, Palestine, Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Chechnya?

Or is it those who have entered into the alliance of global unbelief against the Muslims, as well as plundering the umma's public funds?

All we need to do to clean up this issue is to point to the huge arms deal, or what you might call the huge theft—for they amount to the same thing—which is known as the al-Yamama contract, which comes to more than \$30 billion—this was a humiliation five years before the Gulf War. But when the war actually started there was no positive effect from this deal to be seen, nor from any of the hundreds of other deals that have been made. When I emigrated from my country to defend you, the unemployment rate was low. If we estimate the number of unemployed at 100,000, then we can divide the value of the deal, \$30 billion, into 100,000, which comes to 1,125,000 riyals per head. If these funds were put into publicly owned companies in a legitimate way and into generating work for the unemployed, and if they were spent on their own people, like the poor, the miserable, and those in debt, then the people's condition would improve.

As for the violation of our peoples' lands and the greed of the rulers of Riyadh in building palaces, King Fand has commissioned the building of the Salam Palace, on which he has spent 4

billion riyals.

As for the palace of Dhahban, where do we start? It is 40km down the Jeddah-Medina road on the Red Sea coast, but to get an idea of the land it has greedily used up, if the Kingdom of Bahrain were put in its back courtyard, those in the palace wouldn't even notice it. And Bahrain has nearly a million inhabitants and an area of more than a million square metres! Even if the whole world came into the palaces of these kings and presidents, or into this palace in Dhahban, they would be dwarfed. Has history ever seen such foolishness?

And then the hypocrites describe them as reliable, sensible, and wise. God Almighty said of such people: "The boat belonged to some needy people who made their living from the sea and I damaged it because I knew that coming after them was a king who was seizing every serviceable boat by force."

Who are the ones with the corrupt and erroneous ideas? Is it those who allowed the land of the Haram to be occupied and who kill Muslims in the holy city of Mecca? Is it Khaled al-Mihdar and Nawaf al-Hazimi and his brother Salem, who came from Mecca to strike America right on its own territory, in defense of Islam in and around Mecca?

Is it Fand bin Abd al-Aziz, who has defiled the honor of the Haram? He could have solved this crisis without a shot being fired, as all sensible people agreed at the time. What the situation needed was some time, especially since those present inside the Haram were only a few dozen. They had only light weapons, mostly hunting rifles, they had few provisions and they were surrounded, but the enemy of God, Fand, did what not even al-Hajjaj presumed to do: he stubbornly fought with them and put bulldozers and armored cars inside the Haram. I still remember the bulldozer's tracks on the paving stones of the Haram. There is no strength or power save in God. People still remember the minarets covered in black after they had been pounded by tanks—we are God's creation and to Him we return. Who was it who defiled the honor of the country of the Haram and the blood of Muslims? Was it the youth? Or was it the security forces who killed poor people in the Rasifa district of Mecca, who forced those who were still alive out of their houses or their tiny tin-roofed shacks to greet their prince in the Ministry of the Interior? The scholars and preachers of the Haram knew about these things but did not say a word about the illegality of shedding Muslim blood in the land of the Haram, because the people who had been attacked there were only the poor and defenseless.

Who are the ones with the corrupt and erroneous ideas? Is it the mujahidin? Or is it the ones who helped America to kill more than a million children in just a few years in the greatest slaughter of children that mankind has known, your wicked embargo on Iraq?

The Prophet said: "A women went to Hell because she had a cat whom she tied up so that it could not eat, not even the crumbs on the floor, and so it died."

Those who are allying themselves with the regime and supporting it are partners in this great crime. There is another Prophetic saying: "If the people of the heavens and earth agree to kill a Muslim man, then God will throw them into the Fire." God Almighty said: "If anyone kills deliberately, the punishment for him is Hell, and there he will remain: God is angry with him, and rejects him, and has prepared a tremendous torment for him."

The Prophet also said: "The end of the world is not as bad as the murder of a Muslim."

Ibn Abbas reports that the Prophet said: "On the Day of Judgment, the killer and the victim will

come face to face, and the victim will be holding his head in his hands, and his veins will spill forth blood. He will ask: 'Oh Lord, ask this man why he killed me.' And God will bring the victim closer to the throne."

This is just one victim talking about his murderer, so what about a million murdered children, each of them holding up his head and his hand and saying, "Oh Lord, ask these men why they have killed us, the greatest massacre of children in the history of mankind." This is a huge injustice and a great crime. Muslims have a duty to repent themselves of it and wash their hands of these oppressive, debauched, infidel governments that they have been allying themselves with and supporting. They should free themselves of those who support murder. God Almighty said: "Abraham asked forgiveness for his father because he had made a promise to him, but once he realized that his father was an enemy of God, he washed his hands of him. Abraham was tender-hearted and forbearing."

He also said: "You have a good example in Abraham and his companions, when they said to their people: 'We disown you and what you worship beside God! We renounce you! Until you believe in God alone, the enmity and hatred that has arisen between us will endure!'—except when Abraham said to his father, 'I will pray for forgiveness for you though I cannot protect you from God' [they prayed]."

Despite this terrible massacre that went on for a number of years in Iraq, we did not hear a single word or decree from your supposedly brilliant scholars, or from your preachers who talk about the illegality of spilling Muslim blood. But when the young men killed that American warmonger, these scholars finally raised their voices, and the hacks didn't stop talking night and day about the illegality of spilling the blood of those in your trust. But according to the laws of the king's religion, and that of his companions, the murder of a million Muslims and the murder of a million children is merely a matter to be looked into, whilst the killing of a single Crusader is an unforgivable crime!"

God is sufficient for me against you all.

It is unbelievable—and a lie—that the regime should accuse the youth of the very sins that it commits itself, such as its claim that the Zionists are supporting the mujahidin! What deceit, what duplicity, what utter contempt for people's basic intelligence!

Everyone, Muslims or infidels, knows that the youth of jihad are Zionism's worst enemy, yet still the regime accuses us of its own crimes.

God Almighty said: "And anyone who commits an offence or a sin, and then throws the blame on to some innocent person, has burdened himself with deceit as well as flagrant sin."

And here I ask the rulers of Riyadh: who was it that supported Arafat with hundreds of millions of dollars to suppress the first intifada of the mujahidin? Who was it that helped the Jews against the poor people in Sharm al-Sheikh in 1996?

Who opened up their military bases to help the invasion of Iraq? Who pays the costs of training the Iraqi police to fight against the mujahidin in Iraq? Is it not you, the mastermind behind the Beirut initiative which recognized the Zionists and their occupation of the land of Palestine. You are the head of the National Guard—where is your mind? Have you lost all self-respect?

How dare you make these vile, baseless accusations against the mujahidin? God's Prophet said:

"The three kinds of people whom God will not speak to, praise or even look at, on the Day of Judgment, and who will have a painful torment, are the sheikh who defames people, the king who lies, and the one who fails to support those in his charge."

So, you banned imams from preaching to the mujahidin in Chechnya, and ordered them instead to preach to the youth of jihad in Saudi Arabia, whom you dishonestly and deliberately accuse of being Zionist collaborators. And the preachers and poets who support your slanderous claims are also liars— they know you are a liar and a traitor; how similar are these years to the years that the Prophet told us about.

The Prophet said, as related by Imam Ahmad: "People will suffer years of deception in which lies will be deemed the truth and the truth lies, and in which a traitor will come and faithful people will betray, and the foolish will speak." "And who are the foolish?" the Prophet said: "The stupid man who discusses public matters."

I call on all Muslims to curse the Zionists and their collaborators, and I call on you, if you are an honest man, and those in your command, to make the following prayer in the Two Holy Sanctuaries and all other mosques in the land: "Oh Lord, abandon the Zionist-American alliance and their supporters and collaborators, oh Lord, destroy them and break their backs, take away their power and shatter their unity, make their wives widows, turn them against each other, look for their weak points just as You do to the mujahidin, shame them before the whole world, rid us of them however you wish."

And to my mujahidin brothers in particular, I say: you have made a stand to help your religion when all around you have failed, you have waged jihad when others have only talked about it, you have spoken the truth when the timid and the greedy were silent. "When the sorcerers came to Pharaoh, they said: 'Shall we be rewarded if we win?' and he said, 'Yes, and you will join my inner court.'"

As for you, who hope to be rewarded and to be close to the Merciful, you have tasted the sweetness of faith, and you have not been led astray by the sweetness of this world. This is how I consider you, but God is your reckoner. There is no one purer than you in God's eyes and He will give you the best rewards.

You have made a stand, and death brings no doubt to those who do so. You have smashed all delusions and fantasies, and they were shattered.

You have plunged into the sea of death, utterly fearless. And he who does not fear death cannot be scared of anything.

You have smashed the haloes that have been unjustly around the heads of the tyrants for decades now, and to your credit you have lit up the way with your blood to the millions in the coming generations to remain on the straight path and avoid the way of these criminal tyrants.

There is a Prophetic saying, related by al-Bukhari: "By God, for one man to be guided by God's path by you is better for you than all the blessings in the world."

God have mercy on our brothers the martyrs everywhere: in Palestine, in Iraq, in Saudi Arabia, in Morocco, in Kashmir, in Afghanistan, in Chechnya, in Nigeria, in Indonesia, in the Philippines, and in Thailand.

God have mercy on Sheikh Yusuf al-Airi, Abu Ali al-Harithi, Khaled alHajj, Abd al-Aziz al-Muqrin, Isa al-Aushin and all their brothers ...

We pray to God Almighty to have mercy on the mujahidin who attacked the American consulate in Jeddah.

How can they hope to be blessed with security while they are dishing out destruction, devastation, and murder on our people in Palestine and Iraq?

These people do not deserve security in any part of the world. As for their presence in Saudi Arabia, and indeed in all of the Arabian peninsula, that is forbidden under God's law, as we have demonstrated. And we pray to God that He will accept our brothers who have been killed as martyrs.

I say to our brothers and our people, it is God who gives and God who takes away. Nothing lasts for ever, so be patient and think of the rewards of the hereafter.

I remind you of God's words: "No misfortune can happen, either in the earth or in yourselves, that was not set down in writing before We brought it into being—that is easy for God."

How can a Muslim who believes in God's truth not be patient, for He is our Master, the Creator, who said to the leader of the path that we are on: "Wait patiently [Prophet] for your Lord's judgment: you are under Our watchful eye. Celebrate the praise of your Lord when you rise."

After the invasion of the joint forces and all its horrors, God Almighty also said:

The Messenger of God is an excellent model for those of you who put your hope in God and the Last Day and remember Him often. When the believers saw the joint forces, they said, "This is what God and His Messenger promised us; the promise of God and His Messenger is true," and this only served to increase their faith and submission to God.

And God's Messenger said: "The size of your reward will be in proportion to your bravery, and if God loves a people He puts them to the test, and whoever pleases Him will be rewarded in kind and whoever angers Him will be rewarded in kind." So do as the speaker said.

I suffer what afflicts me with patience—you should remember that God has praised patience.

I am not on the side of the wealthy, if exaltedness is on the side of the poor. So continue on the path, don't be afraid of any difficulty, and be sure to cleanse the Arabian peninsula of polytheists, atheists, and heretics.

God Almighty said: "Do not be faint-hearted in pursuing the enemy: if you are suffering hardship, so are they, but you hope to receive something from God for which they cannot hope. God is all-knowing and wise."

Don't be fooled by the number of deserters and defectors, for God's Messenger said: "There is still a group in my umma who fight at God's command, conquering their enemies. Those who differ with them can do them no harm, until their Hour comes."

So we say to the tyrants what the believers said before: "They said, 'We shall never prefer you to the clear sign that has come to us, nor to Him who has created us. So decide whatever you will:

you only can decide matters of this present life.'"

Mujahidin, be patient and think of the hereafter, for this path in life requires sacrifices, maybe with your life. You scare the enemy but they do not scare you, and you are well aware that the burning issues of the umma today are the jihads in Palestine and in Iraq. So be very sure to help them, be sure to know that there is a rare and golden opportunity today to make American bleed in Iraq, in economic, human, and psychological terms. So don't waste this opportunity and regret it afterwards. Remember too that the biggest reason for our enemies' control over our lands is to steal our oil, so give everything you can to stop the greatest theft of oil in history from the current and future generations in collusion with the agents and foreigners. They are taking this oil for a paltry price in the knowledge that the prices of all commodities have multiplied many times. But oil, which is the basis of all industry, has gone down in price many times. After it was going for \$40 a barrel two decades ago, in the last decade it went for as little as \$9, while its price today should be \$100 at the very least. So keep on struggling, do not make it easy for them, and focus your operations on it, especially in Iraq and the Gulf, for that will be the death of them.

In conclusion, I address a short message to the rulers of Riyadh, and others in power. I say to you:

Leadership is a covenant between the leader and his subjects in which both parties have rights and duties. That covenant is broken if the leader takes it upon himself to betray his community and his nation. This is what you have done. Even if this covenant of the last century was right, which it is not, you have still trampled all over the people, neither satisfying them nor consulting them, with the support of the English, in total disregard of the interests of the country and its citizens. You can hardly be unaware that the people have woken up from their apathy and realized the sheer scale of the tyranny and corruption that you recklessly commit against their rights and property, and that Muslims in Saudi Arabia are now insisting that their rights be restored, no matter what that costs.

You therefore now have a choice between two paths.

One: to restore to the people their trusteeship in a peaceful way and to let the people of the country choose a Muslim ruler who will rule according to God's book and the hadith of His Prophet.

Two: to refuse to give people their rights back, to continue oppressing them and depriving them of their rights, to exploit certain people by paying them money out of the nation's public funds so that they beat and kill their brothers and cousins who have rejected your authority. But you should know that things have gone far enough already, and that when people rise up to demand their rights no security apparatus can stop them. Don't forget what happened to the Shah of Iran despite the reputation, strength, and experience of his security apparatus, or what happened to Ceausescu in Romania and the terrible fate that he and his family met for what he did to his people. So clearly you would be better off if you restore to the people their rights.

You know that we in the al-Qaeda organization are not competing with you over worldly affairs. What offends us is that you commit acts contrary to religion, such as failing to rule in accordance with what God revealed, and making alliances with the infidels.

I also address the following statement to those righteous scholars, leaders, dignitaries, notables, and business leaders:

You must take the necessary steps before it is too late, for things are descending with extraordinary speed towards an explosion. Do whatever is in your power to defuse the crisis, in the knowledge that the mujahidin in Saudi Arabia have not yet started their fight against the regime. If they had really done so, then getting rid of the local leaders of unbelief, namely those in Riyadh, would be at the top of the list. However, current events are merely an extension of the struggle against the Crusader-American alliance who fight us everywhere, just as we fight them everywhere, including Saudi Arabia, from which we are trying to expel them, with God's will.

So, you men of influence, fear God for your sake and for the sake of your umma. Those of you who can do so should emigrate and in so doing liberate yourselves from the shackles of illusion and from all the psychological pressure the regime imposes on you, so that you can take up your duty of guiding the umma and sorting out the important priorities. If you hesitate any longer things will get even more complicated and problems will only become deeper and more entangled. This will encourage the youth to think for themselves at your expense and to take up arms against the ruler, if they think that they have prepared what is necessary in order to do so, and that they deem themselves ready to remove the apostate ruler, despite the fact that what should really happen is that we unite the efforts of the righteous people to undertake this great deed. Even if some of them have abandoned the task, the duty of standing up to the ruler still remains, as I have said many times before. Things have not been put right, so do your duty and be quick to put the situation right. The rulers of Riyadh very nearly came to blows with each other some decades ago at the time of ibn Saud, but there was mediation between them and the king was convinced to step down. That was how the conflict was resolved then, and this is your role today: to convince these tyrants who trample all over people to restore trusteeship to the people to whom it belongs. For that is their right—they have not asked for falsehood. This is their right. As they say, a penny of protection is worth a fortune of cure.

And I address my prayers to God, saying: Lord, give us good in this world and in the next, save us from the torment of the Fire. Lord, give us truth and provide for us, protect us from falsehood, Lord, spread harmony amongst the hearts of Muslims and unite their ranks, show mercy on their weakness and help them recover from setbacks.

Lord, establish true guidance for the umma in which those who obey can be proud and those who disobey can be humiliated, in which good is enjoined and evil forbidden. Lord, make faith dear to us and adorn it in our hearts, and make unbelief, depravity, and disobedience hateful to us.

Lord, lay open the hearts of our young men and women to commitment to Your religion, and provide us with guidance, piety, virtue, and wealth.

Lord, make us stand firm when we slip up, and make the mujahidin stand firm everywhere, in Palestine, Iraq, Kashmir, Chechnya, Afghanistan, and Saudi Arabia. Lord, guide their weapons and make their hearts firm, give them support and assistance against your enemies and theirs, for neither we nor they have anyone to help us but You, the strong and beloved one.

God has power over everything, although most people do not know. Praise to God and blessings on Muhammad, and all his family and companions. Our final prayer is praise be to God, lord of the worlds.