Open Letter from Hizb ut Tahrir Wilayah Syria to the Leaders of the Syrian Revolutionary Factions

(Translated)

Bismillah, wa alhamdulillah, wassalatu wassalam ala Rasulullah,

• Abu Musa (ra) reported Allah's Messenger (saw) saying: (جُلُ أَنَى مَثَلَ مَا يَعَثَنِي اللَّهُ اللَّهُ الْمَرْقَانَ عَلَى مَهْلَتَهُمْ، فَقَالَ: يَا قَوْمِ إِنِّي رَأَيْتُ الْجَيْشَ بِعَيْنَيَ، وَإِنِّي آَنَا النَّذِينُ الْعُرْيَانُ، فَالنَّجَاءَ، فَأَطَاعَهُ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْ قَوْمِهِ، فَأَذَلَجُوا فَانْطَلَقُوا عَلَى مُهْلَتَهُمْ، فَقَالَ: يَا قَوْمِ إِنِّي رَأَيْتُ الْجَيْشَ بِعَيْنَيَ، وَإِنِّي آَنَا النَّذِينُ الْعُرْيَانُ، فَالنَّجَاءَ، فَأَطَاعَهُ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْ قَوْمِهِ، فَأَذَلَجُوا فَانْطَلَقُوا عَلَى مُهُدًا فَوَ اللَّي وَكُذَبَتُ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْ فَقُوْمِ إِنِّي رَأَيْتُ الْجَيْشَ بِعَيْنَيَ، وَاللَّذِينُ الْعُرْيَانُ، فَالنَّجَاءَ، فَطَاعَهُ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْ قَوْمِهُ فَصَبَحُوا مَكَاتَهُمُ أَسْبَحُوا مَكَاتَهُمُ أَصَبْحُوا مَكَاتَهُمُ أَصَبْحُوا مَكَاتَهُمُ أَصَبْحُوا مَكَاتَهُمُ أَصَبْحُوا مَكَاتَهُمُ فَاصَبْحُوا مَكَاتَهُمُ فَصَبَحُهُمُ الْجَيْشُ فَعُمْ لَحُمْنِ عَمَا لَي وَكُذُبَتُ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْ أَطَاعَنِي وَاتَبَعَ مَا جِنْتُ بِهِ مِنَ الْحَقِي وَكَذَبَتُ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْ طَاعَوْ مَا مَعْتَى وَالَبُعَامِ وَعَلَى مَعْتَى وَكُذُبَتُ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْ فَقُوْمَةُ مُنْهُمُ فَاصَبُحُوا مَكَاتَهُمُ أَصَبْحُوا مَعْتَلَ فَعَالَي وَكُذُبَتُ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْ قَوْمِهُ فَصَبَعُهُمُ الْحَقَ عَلَيْ فَا طَعَنْ فَالْلَعَانَ عَلَى وَكَلُكَ مَنْ عَصَاتِي وَكُنْ عَصَاتِي وَكَذَا لَكُونَ عَلَى مُعْتَعُ مُعَتَعُهُمُ وَالتَعْتَى وَعَنْ عَنْ عَنْ عَلَيْتُ مُ أَعْتَى وَعَنْ عَنْ عَالَى وَعَالَا اللَّذِي وَاللَّعَافَ مَنْ عَنْعَا عَالَ فَاعَتُ فَائِقًا عَلَى وَقَوْمِهُ فَا الْحَقَ الْعَاقُوا مَعْنَى مَعْ عَنْ عَلَيْ عَلَى مُعْتَعُ فَائَقُوا مَعْنَى مُعَانَ وَا عَلَى مُعَانَ اللَّعْذَى وَالَتُ الْحَقَانِ عَلَى مَنْ الْعَاعَةُ مَا عَنْ عَلَيْ فَالْعَامُ مَا الْعَاعَةُ مَنْ عَنْ عَامَ الْعَاعَةُ فَا فَا اللَّعَاقُ مَا الْعَاعَةُ مَنْ عَامَ عَلَى مَالَا اللَّذَي مَا الْعَاعَتُ وَالَعَاعَانَ عَلَى مَا الْعَاعَةُ مُنْ مَا الْعَاعَةُ مَا عَائُ مَا الْعَاعَا عَائَ مَا عَائِهُ مَا مَا الْعَاعَةُ مَا عَائَ مَا الْعَاعَةُ مَنْ عَائَةُ مَا مَا الْعَاعَا عَائَ مَا الْعَاعَا عَائَ مَا الْعَاعَانَ عَلَى مَا مَا عَنْ مَا عَاعَاعَ مَالَا عَاعَا

• The origin of the bare warner (*an-Nazeer al-Urian*) is that if a man wanted to warn his people and inform them of something frightening, he would remove his clothing, waving them to the people, rushing towards them, to warn of the sudden attack that has occurred to them. But it is the vanguard of the people and their leader who does so, because it would be most extraordinary for someone like him to appear in this state and the most noticeable for the onlookers and he would be the most articulate in urging them to prepare for the enemy.

• And here they are, the leaders of our great revolution, putting the war to an end while the war is still happening and they are preparing for the night slumber, while armies are nearby ready to attack... They have become in dire need for the bare warner, waving with his clothes to them, pounding their ears with his words, alerting them to the machinations on their revolution and the dangers that it faces. So, he awakens them from their inattention, and guides them to the path of salvation, shouting at them and warning them: O my people, I am the bare warner (*an-Nazeer al-Urian*), so save yourself!

• From our grasp of the sheer magnitude of error in which most of the leaders of the revolutionary factions fall in, and of the great evil that they will pull the revolution and the entire Ummah to if they persist down this path, we in Hizb ut Tahrir send them all this open letter, a loud cry of *an-Nazeer al-Urian*, perhaps it strikes its place in their ears and finds its way in their hearts. Thus, Allah opens all the doors of His Bounty and Mercy for us, and saves our revolution from going through a serious predicament, and bring us out of the darkness of forcible rule in which we are in, to the light of what we seek to reach of victory, pride and empowerment, under the shade of Khilafah Rashidah (Righteous Caliphate) on the method of the Prophethood.

• So, O the leaders of the revolutionary factions... You see where the ship of the revolution has reached today in disarray and loss with your deeds, and what it requires to tread from a terrible fall in the abyss, in all the remaining liberated land which is fragmented and scattered across the country, and fought by war leaders, who reconcile with the enemy while their violence among themselves is severe. They literally carry out the orders issued by the American control rooms and what is agreed upon by the enemies of Islam in Astana, Geneva and Riyadh, of cease-fire with the regime, and maintaining it by partnership with it and under its shadow in one government, and approving the sale of all the sacrifices of our people in Ash-Sham over the past seven years.

• In Daraa, the feet of the revolutionaries were brought back to the shackles, and the battle of "death or humiliation" was forced to stop, after it was viewed as a prelude to the Damascus Gate. In Al-Ghouta, the regime regained its initiative and began to pressure and bombard, in the face of the constant rivalry between its two factions, Jaysh Al-Islam and Failaq Al-Rahman, who share influence and exchange "prisoners" between them every now and then! In the Northern Homs

countryside, the sincere fighters are prevented from opening up the influential fronts, and those who spread rumors play on the regional string, in light of the worsening and deterioration of the situation, both revolutionary and popularly.

• In the East, the regime, for its part, erodes the areas controlled by ISIS in turn, after ISIS expressed its distorted understanding of the Khilafah and Islam, and prepares to leave without regret from any one from the people of its region. And for its part, Syria's democratic forces, is advancing, which will be ready to return the territories under its control to the regime after the Kurdish leaders end their role in the American service, and are confident that the promised Kurdish state is but a deceiving mirage.

• As for the areas of the Euphrates Shield, the Turks massacred the revolutionaries and killed the revolution and they are preparing to kill them as well in the western Aleppo countryside and Idlib, which became a haven for the revolutionaries and the last fortress of the revolution, which the Kafir West wants to discolor it with terrorism, and you do not know the orientation of its people, nor you are clear of their objective.

• We saw how Hayat Tahrir al-Sham was deceitfully entrapped where it was no longer able to get out, after being lured into fighting Ahrar al-Sham and dominated most of the liberated northwest, and began to manoeuvre between the two wrong choices which it thinks there is no third choice.... That is, either to follow the approach of ISIS in the sinful erroneous understanding and application of the provisions of Islam, which would alienate the people from the great project of Islam and prepare them to receive any future secular project, and any force occupying them by showering them with accolades, after the land was transformed into hills of rubble and devastation... Or to subject to the dictates as the others did, and uncover all the concealment, and leave the land and the honour to the secularists and the mercenaries from the tails of the West first, and to the regime next, alleging to preserve Idlib from the fate of Al-Raqqa and Mosul.

• The idea of civil administration that it has put forward in recent times is only an attempt to make the West believe that we have become a safe haven and are no longer terrorists. In fact, it is only a new step in bringing the revolutionaries back to the regime prisons after occupying them with this idea, distracting them from their fundamental objective which has crystallized during the first two years of the revolution, namely the overthrow of the regime and the establishment of the rule of Islam. This is based on the generality of the idea of civil administration at hand, the meaning of which ranges between being just an administrative style to unify service work in a single institution, and being a secular miniature government, politically affiliated to the coalition mercenaries.

• And the latest call by the Syrian Islamic Council to unify the factions under the Ministry of Defence formed by the transitional government, which is politically affiliated to the secular traitorous coalition, which is preparing to unite with the enemies of the revolution in the Moscow and Cairo platforms in one political body that falls under the criminal regime and declares the death of the revolution and then declaring the acceptance of this call by most of the leaders of the operative factions successively... We say: this call is but a new attempt - by the defeated insiders and the smitten by the West and those who are afraid that a misfortune may strike them - to circumvent the Islamic project of the revolution to prevent its establishment, and the Islamic soul that still exists in the revolution to end it. And to awaken the fitnah (the sedition) of the lining-up and the infighting between the factions again, in order to return the feet of the sincere revolutionaries in Ash-Sham to the shackles of the unjust international order, through deluding them that we cannot gather and unite as Muslims and Mujahideen factions except on the basis of a disgraced secular national project, and that getting out of the international order is impossible, and that the West order is a decreed destiny!

• So, is that what you came out for, O leaders of the factions?! Is that after thousands of martyrs, hundreds of thousands of wounded, disabled and detained, more than 10 million displaced people, and tens of thousands of destroyed buildings, schools, hospitals and markets? Is that after all these sacrifices you return submissively and humiliated to the criminal regime, to slash the backs of the free men with his whips, and to drag our honorable women to his detention again?! And so you unravel your spun thread after it was strong!

• As a reminder of the causes of the disease that everyone is aware of, it is necessary to mention the biggest menace in the revolution, which led you to all the subsequent problems and the

fatal mistakes, namely, your association. O leaders of the factions – with the enemies of the revolution from the Western countries or their subordinate regimes, which falsely claim the friendship of the revolution, such as the Turkish, Saudi, Qatari and Jordanian regimes, through the poisoned political money, which the intelligence services of these countries have struggled from the very beginning to tie the symbols and movers of the revolution with it, and subsequently, the leaders of its factions and the dissident officers.

And based on Allah's (swt) saying: ﴿إِنَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا يُنْفِقُونَ أَمْوَالَهُمْ لِيَصُدُوا عَنْ سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ (Indeed, those %) who disbelieve spend their wealth to avert [people] from the way of Allah." [Al-Anfal: 36].

We can be sure that this support was never for the sake of Allah, but to bring that day when they can thwart the course of the revolution and discourage it from achieving its goal by overthrowing the American puppet regime and establishing the Khilafah system in its place. A system that if it established, all those states and regimes will fall apart upon its establishment.

• We have seen what the world's cunning chiefs could achieve through this dirty money, which we have long warned you. Starting with, the distraction of the factions from the goal of toppling the regime in his hometown of Damascus, and occupying them with side battles here or there, after being robbed of their initiative and preventing them from uniting on the right project, rather, pushing them to fight among themselves and to accept the agents and the secularists as political representatives of the revolution. And dragging the revolution into a vicious circle of truces with the regime, and a maze of deadly negotiations with it in Astana and Geneva, handing over of entire cities, emptying regions of the revolutionaries of its people, and justifying the reconciliation with the regime by the weak souls... All of that and others would not have happened if it was not for the sinful link that pledged the revolution and the revolutionaries to the decisions of the enemies in the Kafir West countries.

• However, if we take another step back, we will find that the real reason that led the revolution to its deterioration and disorder is the thoughts that allowed the revolutionaries to accept this forbidden money. The first of which is the capitalist idea: the end justifies the means; forgetting that Allah (swt) does not accept prayer without purity, nor charity from Ghulul (goods acquired by embezzlement)! The second is the delusion of the intersection of interests with the super powers, which has filled the minds of many of the Islamists, and failed them to notice the fact that you as a faction is not counterpart to countries, and will not be, but the relationship between you. If you accept their support, it will be a relationship of domination, control, employment and exploitation! The third is the idea that we are ready to ally ourselves with the devil (Shaytan) to get rid of the regime, forgetting that the alliance with the Shaytan will take us to destructions by enshrining the hegemony of the regime. Because, the regime is a hired agent of the Shaytan, and that the devils are not charitable organizations; rather they are fierce beasts with claws and fangs, and whoever dally with them will only suffer grief and regret. ﴿يَعِدُهُمُ وَيَمَنِّيهِمْ وَمَا يَعِدُهُمُ الشَّيْطَانُ إلّ promises them and arouses desire in them. But Satan does not promise them except delusion." [An-Nisa: 120]. The fourth is the idea that it is permissible to surrender the legitimate constants under the pretext of bringing in an interest or preventing an evil, until interest became God, to some of the propagandists of knowledge, worshiped other than Allah! The fifth is the poor understanding of As-Siyasa Ash-Shar'iya (the legitimate politics), which its meaning to them became no more than making concessions in the Deen of Allah to the Kufar, rather, it became the complete abandonment of Allah's Deen and its establishment as a political law!

• O the leaders of the revolutionary factions... This is what we see from the reading of the bitter reality and its causes. We have presented it to you here sincerely, as we have presented to you repeatedly several times before, but it was only met with rejection and disregard from you.

As for what we see as an effective solution to all the problems of the revolution and a remedy for all its diseases, and we call upon you immediately to take it before it is too late, as we have called you many times before, and was only met with rejection and disregard from you. It is to think seriously and responsibly about the fate of this great revolution, and to rise to the level of its sacrifices and the magnitude of the danger of its enemies. And to embark on the first steps in the right path; namely, redefining the principles of the revolution with precision and clarity, and determining that these principles are the toppling of the regime entirely, the liberation from the influence of the colonial West, and the establishment of the state of the Ummah; the Khilafah Rashidah (Righteous Caliphate) state on the method of the Prophethood. And then to hasten to dismantle all the existing ties with the enemies of the revolution, by renouncing the political money coming from them, and determine the renunciation of division, differences and fighting between you all. Then to meet and to all unite on the basis of the clear political project derived from the Book and the Sunnah which we, your brothers in Hizb ut Tahrir, offer to you. And to walk ahead with the Hizb and its political leadership towards pleasing Allah (swt), achieving the goals of the revolution and the interest of the Ummah and its happiness in the two worlds, and restoring to the Ummah its former pride and glory...

• O Leaders ... We know that the difference between what you are now in and what we call you to is immense, and that the gap between them is vast, but the transition between them is a must for whoever wants to survive, and to protect himself and his family from the coming widespread evil, that leaves nothing remain and leaves nothing unburned. And by Allah, it is easy for the one who Allah (swt) makes it easy for him, and follows its only condition, which is the sincerity of his intention to Allah Almighty, and full trust in Him, after the certainty that if we support Him, He (swt) will provide us with victory over our enemies, even if the Jinn and mankind collaborate over us. أَذَا مَنُوا إِنْ تَتُصُرُوا اللَّهُ يَتُصُرُكُمُ وَيُثَبَّتُ أَقُدَامَكُمُ

• O leaders of the revolutionary factions... This is the wrong reality that you are in, and that is the dark fate that you are going through with the revolution and its people. And that was the glimmer of hope that we explained to you, and which we invite you to follow, so that you will be salvaged, and those behind you from the Ummah will be salvaged too, by Allah's permission, by restoring things to their position and giving the leadership of the revolution to its people. So, save yourself! Save yourself... Take it from a loving mentor to you, compassionate and keen on you, who saw the army with his eyes, and came to you waving with his clothes, warning, cautioning and alarming you. So, save yourself! Save yourself!

Finally, know O the leaders of the factions, that your Ummah, which has given to you its sons, and sacrificed with you the precious and the dear, is ready to follow the path, and to pursue the sacrifice, until victory and empowerment, but only if there is a glimmer of hope waiving even from a distance. And know as well that the Ummah is ready to change on you, as it changed on those who were before you, if you stay on what you are. For the authority is in its hand, and it will restore it from every usurper, soon or later. So, beware of the wrath of Allah, and then the wrath of this Ummah, which is eager to establish the law of its Lord under the banner of its Prophet, and a Khaleefah who will restore its lost glory and dignity.

َالْبِحَهُ"So let those beware who dissent from the Prophet's order, lest fitnah strike them or a painful punishment." [An-Nur: 63]

• O leaders of the revolutionary factions... this is our call to you, will anyone respond?

1st Muharram 1439 AH 21/09/2017 CE

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