In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful

We Shall Fight You Until There Is No More Persecution

Sheikh Ayman al Zawahiri
(may Allah preserve him)
In the Name of Allah, all praise belongs to Allah. May peace and blessings be upon the Messenger of Allah, his family and Companions, and those who follow him.

My Muslim brothers everywhere,

Assalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu!

Sixteen years have passed since the blessed raids in Washington, New York and Pennsylvania. These years have proven the failure of the efforts and planning undertaken by the Crusader West, specifically America and its allies in this war- Russia, China, neo-Safavids, the tyrants from the Arabs and the non-Arabs- to stop the overwhelming tide of Jihad. All credit is due to the blessing, favor and strength of Allah alone.

America and its allies exerted every possible effort to stop this wave of Jihad. They invaded Afghanistan and Iraq; sent their forces to Somalia, West Africa, Yemen, and the Levant, subjecting these regions to bombing campaigns and the like. In spite of this, this wave of Jihad is expanding, and the Jihadi awakening in the Muslim Ummah is spreading; an awakening in which the 9/11 attacks were a watershed.

The reviver of Jihad, Shaykh Osama bin Laden (may Allah have mercy on him) intended to guide the Ummah in a direction which he considered most appropriate, so that its efforts are not squandered, and so that the era of defeat, humiliation and subjugation faced by the Ummah is reduced in its span. The Shaykh’s genius and foresight- may Allah have mercy on him- was in inviting Muslims to unite around issues of critical significance in the history of the Ummah:

First: Uniting the Jihadi organizations on a common goal on which the Ummah can be united.

Second: Making the Ummah recognize its real enemy, which must be made a target of priority in its Jihad.

Third: Bringing jihadi organizations under the banner of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, which, in his words, represented ‘The true mujahid banner of Islam’.

With this unity, the Jihadi movement was able to make giant strides in its resistance against the Crusader campaign. The Shaykh advised the Ummah with his words, deeds, his precedence in Jihad and practical leadership. He was an exemplary mentor, leader and forerunner. The Ummah thus responded favorably to his initiatives. Had the Shaykh retreated in the face of American threats and sufficed with a regional Jihad narrow in its scope- in the Arabian Peninsula alone for example- he would not have elicited such a response as a leader of the Mujahideen and an Imam among the
Imams and revivers of Muslims, and he would not have been able to set in motion such a widespread awakening in different parts of the Muslim world.

The Shaykh (may Allah have mercy on him) did not bother about the suffering which was a natural and expected consequence of what he was calling people to, exhorting and working for. He knew that the whole world would oppose him, but his stance owed itself to a firm resolve, a defiant soul and lofty values.

**Difficulties come commensurate to the resolve of the resolute**

*And vicissitudes commensurate to the magnanimity of the magnanimous*

*In the eyes of the insignificant, irritants become hardships*

*And in the eyes of the magnanimous, hardships become irritants*

*They came dragging their weapons of steel with an army*

*The clamor of which filled the air and the seas*

*This army on march occupied the space between the East and the West*

*Its thunderous uproar reaching the ears of Gemini*

*Gathered in their army were all languages and races*

*Speaking languages in need of translation*

*How can the Romans and Russians demolish your fortress?*

*When the unyielding resolute ones are its foundations and pillars*

*Not that you are a lion able to vanquish its enemies*

*But it is your monotheism which defeats polytheism*

The opportunist and hypocritical government of Sudan- may Allah punish it with what it deserves- expelled the Shaykh and his companions when they were in a difficult situation numerically and materially. When the Shaykh arrived in Jalalabad and was given refuge by the scholar and Mujahid, Shaykh Yunus Khalis (may Allah have mercy on him), he was wanted by America, Saudi Arabia was actively plotting against him, and the client regime in Kabul had placed a bounty on his head. The Congressional report on 9/11 documents an agreement between the CIA and Ahmad Shah Massoud at the time for the assassination of Shaykh Osama. While in Jalalabad, the Shaykh was informed about Saudi funding for an assassination attempt targeting him, besides Ahmad Shah Massoud’s plans to attack Jalalabad and try to capture him. None of this could shake the Shaykh’s resolve, and he went on to declare his famous call for Jihad against America from the mountains of Tora Bora.

*As if your self is not satisfied with you*

*Unless you surpass the most generous in generosity*
It doesn't consider you a guardian of your heart's lifeblood

Unless you are generous in offering it in the midst of danger

Were it not for hardships, everyone would be a leader

For generosity impoverishes and bravery kills

This then is the way of Osama bin Laden (may Allah have mercy on him), and this is the way of al-Qa’eda after him: confronting the head of global disbelief first, while working at the same time on Jihad against the local client regimes, because the war is eventually a single war, and it is not detached except in the imagination of someone who does not have a correct perception of the situation.

Certain groups of people for whom sacrifice was burdensome and reality too bitter to be confronted tried to escape from facing the enemy which was directly threatening them. We have seen the backtrackers in the Egyptian prisons who gave recognition to Hosni Mubarak as the ‘leader’ of the Muslims, we have seen the Salafiya of Sisi; the Salafiya of dirhams and riyals. We have seen those who had insisted on playing the role of a friendly opposition throughout the tenure of Hosni Mubarak. They then allied themselves with the Military Council and participated in five elections and referendums until they were finally able to install Muhammad Mursi in the Presidential Palace, albeit without any effective powers, only to be confronted in the end with the bitter truth from which they had tried to escape all along:

True it is that weakness entails humiliation for the weak

And the powerful control events on the ground

Today we once again come across those who want to escape from facing the reality and seek to repeat the same failed experiment, believing that they will reach the seat of power- whether in Cairo or Damascus- by deceiving America, which cannot be deceived as they wish to deceive it. Thus we see some grumbling: Do not give the Americans any anxiety regarding us, as if they are not aware that America has been anxious about us and enraged at us for five decades! Before the Americans, it was the British, the French and the Russians, all busy carving up the Ottoman State among themselves...

Why did the British occupy Muslim lands from Gibraltar to India? Why did Russia invade the Muslim lands of the Caucuses and Central Asia? Why did China occupy East Turkistan? Why did France occupy the Islamic Maghreb and the Levant? Why did America decide over half a century back to plant Israel in the heart of the Muslim world and establish its monopoly on the oil resources of the region?

Is it because al-Qa’eda terrorized or provoked the Americans?
Who destroys, bombs, kills, and fights with its mercenaries and armies in Syria? Who is playing its dirty game of divide and rule? Who has bombed the best of the Mujahideen there? Is it al-Qa'eda which has provoked America (in Syria)?

Al-Qa'eda, with the blessing and favor of Allah, fully supported the Jihad of our people in al-Shaam right from day one, extending a helping hand and opening its heart for all Mujahideen in al-Shaam, the land of Ribaat and Jihad.

It was al-Qa'eda which selected the honorable Shaykh, Abu Khalid al Suri (may Allah have mercy on him) as its representative to solve the biggest problem that had arisen in al-Shaam.

Is this what necessitates its expulsion? Or the demands of America and its agents dictate so?

Our people, our brothers and loved ones in al-Shaam! Our Muslim Umma in the land of the resurrection and the fortress of the believers! O’ those who are approaching the environs of the Bait al Maqdis! O’ those who have sacrificed tremendously and recorded the most heroic of feats which have stunned history! Our stance regarding you is dictated neither by politics nor by emotions; it is a principled Shari'i stance grounded in faith. You are our brothers in Islam and Jihad, you are the ones who confronted the tyrants and stood up to the international Satanic alliance.

We fear for these tremendous sacrifices you have rendered and the pure blood you have offered, lest it be wasted in political games and ruses. We have seen how sacrifices were wasted earlier when the leadership sunk into the swamp of political balancing acts and prioritized its own narrow self-interests. We have seen the fate of the Afghan Jihad after the Russian withdrawal (before the establishment of the Islamic Emirate i.e.) and the bitter end of the revolutions in Yemen, Egypt and Tunisia.

Allah has His universal laws which do not favor anyone, so unite and work in harmony with one another. Communicate, link up with each other and extend a helping hand to your Muslim brothers in all Muslim lands. This is the surest way to victory. Allah, the Glorious, says, ‘O’ you who believe! When you meet an enemy force, take a firm stand against them and remember the Name of Allah much, so that you may be successful. And obey Allah and His Messenger and do not dispute with one another lest you lose courage and your strength departs, and be patient. Surely, Allah is with those who are patient.’

The employees of the American State Department visit those who have agreed to come to terms with them, promising carrots while wielding the stick. The financiers too mobilize with their deception and traps, saying, ‘We want to help you, so do not give us any trouble.’ The fatwas and doubts follow up in quick succession. Shari'i politics becomes- in the eyes of some- mere unregulated politics. Thus Adnani exclaims, ‘The oath of allegiance was an oath of respect and appreciation; we obeyed them in external affairs and disobeyed them in our internal affairs!’ Another calls it an
‘oath of necessity’; a third one justifies, ‘an oath binding in a specific jurisdiction only’;
a fourth decrees, ‘constants and variables’. As for us, we believe that the oath of
allegiance is a Shari’i undertaking; binding in its nature, its violation forbidden. Our
Lord (swt) says, ‘O’ you who believe, fulfill your pledges.’ As for us, we shall fulfill our
oath; we shall neither wear down nor give in.

Those who wish to absolve themselves say, ‘We want to avoid bombings... we want to
flee from being designated as terrorists... the financiers have made it conditional
upon us to wash our hands of those disliked by America, lest we too are designated
as terrorists... we do not want the aid being extended to the refugees to be cut off...
we will not be able to unite if we retreat into our shells...’

And so regionalism gradually becomes a slogan which people do not hesitate to
raise, as if the West and the East, the Crusaders, Rawafidh, secularists, Russian atheists
and Chinese haven’t already united against us!

Here the worth of the Islamic Emirate and the stature of Mullah Muhammad Umar
(may Allah have mercy on him) become all the more obvious...when he declared with
the firm faith of a believer trusting in Allah, ‘The question of Osama is not a question
of an individual, it is the question of the honor of Islam’...and when he said, ‘If I
surrender Osama today, tomorrow you will surrender me’. He departed the world an
ascetic, possessing nothing from the luxuries of this world, to be succeeded by
Mullah Akhtar Muhammad Mansour (may Allah have mercy on him) who thanked al-
Qa’eda for its oath of allegiance to the Emirate. He mentioned this poor servant by
name, fully knowing the price of this decision. And so the blessed journey of the
Islamic Emirate continues, marked by loyalty to the believers and the emigrants.

O’ Muslims and Mujahideen: Shaykh Osama and Mullah Umar (may Allah have mercy
on them) were true examples for Muslims and Mujahideen. They did not deceive their
Ummah; they were not intimated by American aggression and criminality. So emulate
them and follow in their footsteps.

They are my forefathers so bring their like
When you gather everyone, O’ valiant one

My Muslim and Mujahid brothers! We are facing the fiercest attack in the history of
Muslims. The Crusaders, atheist Russia, China, Rawafidh, secularists and the
treachery rulers have all joined hands against us.

There is no way out for us except uniting our ranks to confront this aggression. Let us
mobilize our efforts, divide our roles, distribute our responsibilities and together
diffuse the efforts of the enemy. However, this fragmentation, severing of bonds with
one another, this distance and division among ourselves is only the prelude to defeat,
if not defeat itself. Allah says, ‘Do not dispute amongst yourselves, lest you fail and
lose strength.’ And He, Glory be to Him, says, ‘Verily, Allah loves those who fight in
His way as if they are a fortified wall.’ So let us all be a fortified wall, from East Turkistan to the Islamic Maghreb, and from the Caucuses to Central Africa.

May Allah bless the lions of Islam in Mali, who have raised the morale of the Mujahideen and sincere Muslims. They have solidified their ranks, like a fortified wall, and increased the robustness and cohesion of the front of the Islamic Maghreb. We ask Allah to make them steadfast, fill their hearts with patience, help them in every possible way, and open the doors of fortune for them until they are able to repeat the feat of the battle of Zalaqah for the third time in history, with the permission of Allah.

Since unity is the way to victory, therefore dismantling the Jihadi assembly has been among the principle goals of America and its client regimes in the Islamic and Arab world. They seek to unravel its bonds, break its mutual links and turn the Jihad of the Ummah into a regional Jihad and then sow discord among the Mujahideen in each region, so that they splinter into different groups, fail to achieve their shared goals and their strength eventually dissipates.

My Muslim and Mujahid brothers, backtracking in the face of American pressure will be of no avail. America will never be pleased with anything short of complete slavery. The Quran testifies to this truth, ‘The Jews and Christians shall never be pleased with you until you follow their ways.’

My Muslim Ummah: What did those who backtracked in front of America achieve? What did Mahmoud Abbas achieve? And what did Ghanoushi achieve?

We must rise to the occasion and act in accordance with what this battle demands from us. Our enemies fight this battle as a single entity against us, while we remain divided amongst ourselves so that they may easily achieve their objectives. Our Muslim Ummah, the Arab Spring has reached a point of abject failure, and the enemies of the Ummah have returned even more forcefully, more servile to America than ever before.

So who has squandered the power of public rage?

It is the feeble and yielding leadership which backtracked from everything, even from the constants of its Religion, only to lose both this world and the Hereafter. They were incapable of even stipulating in the constitution that the Shariah shall be the sole source of legislation. Ghanoushi failed to annul the laws enacted by Bourqiba- a dead body in his grave. Instead he preferred proximity to the West by way of unending compromises, until he himself became a clear-cut secularist. And so the old state returned to Egypt and Tunisia with its aides and all its corruption.

My Ummah! You will never be liberated from the clutches of humiliation, subjugation, oppression and corruption unless you engage in an enduring Jihad led by resolute
and wise leadership that does not renounce its creed, knows no bargaining in its Religion and does not sell the rights of its Ummah.

My Muslim Ummah! Al-Aqsa is wounded. It will not be liberated by bargainers or hesitant staggerers; it will be liberated by your Mujahid sons who sacrifice and embrace death without hesitation.

My Muslim Ummah, Al-Aqsa cries in pain and bleeds every single day. So prepare your sons for generosity, sacrifice, steadfastness on belief and attachment to the teachings of Islam.

Al-Aqsa will not be liberated, our lands will not be purified of invaders, and our governments will not be purged of tyrants, thieves and outright criminals except by Jihad in the way of Allah.

Our Muslim Ummah! Sixteen years after 9/11, your sons are steadfast and firm, defending the fronts from Kashghar to Timbuktu, from Dhaka to Mombasa, from Philippines to the Aures Mountains, from Grozny to Aden Abyan, offering their blood, sacrificing everything they treasure, all for the sake of the pleasure of their Lord... a humble offering for your victory, a small price for your liberation.

So trust in them. Support them. Be with them. Advise them. Guide them. Rectify them if they err. For they are the coming realm, your smiling dawn, and the harbingers of your rightly-guided Caliphate, with the permission of Allah.

And our last prayer is that all praise belongs to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds, and may peace and blessings be upon our Master, Muhammad, his Family, and Companions.

*Wassalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu.*