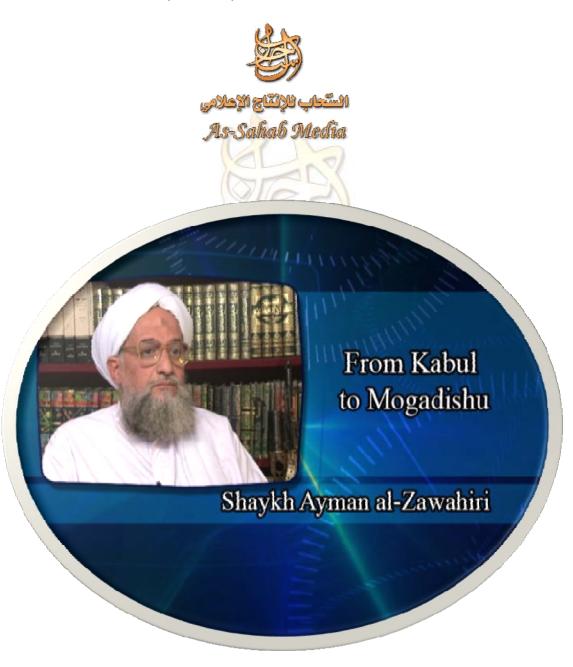
## From Kabul to Mogadishu

Shaykh Ayman al-Zawahiri



Safr 1430 H February 2009 CE

In the name of Allah, and all praise is due to Allah, and peace and prayers be upon the Messenger of Allah and his family, companions and allies.

Muslim brothers everywhere: peace be upon you and the mercy of Allah and His blessings.

As for what comes after:

In recent days, numerous fast-moving events have come one after the other in a number of lands of Islam, all of which deserve pause for reflection, prognosis, and comment.

I begin my talk with you by commenting on what is going on in Somalia. Two important developments have taken place there recently, one of which is a step on the path of victory of Islam, the empowerment of the Muslims and the expulsion of the invaders from their land: i.e. the widening of the Mujahideen's influence in Somalia and their spreading of the authority of Shari'ah and expulsion of the invaders, the enemies of Islam and their agents, from wide regions of Somalia, among the most important of which is the city of Baidoa, which the parliament of the Americans' transitional government had made its headquarters.

#### News Report on Empowerment of Muslims in Baidoa



Journalist: Reassurances are being offered by the al-Shabab al-Mujahideen movement to the residents of Baidoa, in a step some see as dispelling the fears and doubts which are thrown up around the movement. Intensive meetings are under way with the city's intelligentsia and notables, in order to lay down new arrangements for the city. The meetings haven't been lacking in frankness, as those assembled pose their inquiries concerning the movement's plans for running the city and the future of those who were in the ranks of the transitional government.



Resident of Baidoa: Our priorities are preservation of security and stability in the city and allowing our institutions to go about their work in a normal fashion. This was our message to both the previous administration and to the al-Shabab al-Mujahideen movement today.

And we have reached a convincing understanding.

Journalist: On another front, the movement appears to be in a race against time to put matters in order and spoil any chances for the former administration in the city. Here is the headquarters of the Somali parliament, emptied of its furniture and those who sat on it.





From this pulpit, President Abdullahi Yousef gave his final speech, and announced his intention to step down from the seat of presidency. And he left, and after him, the Somali parliament left for Djibouti to elect his successor. But who would have thought that the city of Baidoa, with everyone and everything in it, would fall at the hands of the al-Shabab al-

Mujahideen movement, or that the meeting hall of the Somali parliament would look like this?

And on its lot lie piles of weapons and live ammunition the movement says it took possession of after the flight of elements of the Somali army from the





city and the handover by some of them of their weapons. The lot is also packed with cars which they say used to belong to members of the government and parliament.

But the other development is an act of collusion with the Crusader invaders in making war on Jihad and creating a government which submits to American demands and doesn't abide by Shari'ah.

## Shaykh Shareef Returns to Mogadishu Under the Protection of Ethiopian and International Crusader Forces





This is why the Americans took part – along with the United Nations – in setting it up and forming it, and rushed to declare support for it, in the same way they before aided the treasonous government of Abdullahi Yousef.

But the Mujahideen in Somalia, by the grace of Allah, realized the dimensions of this conspiracy, and declared with frankness and clarity that they reject these ruses, and that they – with Allah's help – won't lay down their weapons until the State of Islam is set up, and that they will perform Jihad against the American-made government in the same way they performed Jihad against the Ethiopians and – prior to them – the warlords…





Is anyone among you happy to have the nations of the Cross occupy our lands and pervert our faith and violate our honor? If you are happy with this, then why did you bear arms against the Abyssinian rabble and the others, like the Ugandans and Burundians? Don't you know that the United Nations is the one who backs them with money and weapons and gives legitimacy to their occupation? By the One with whose permission the sky and earth stands, there will be no peace in Somalia without Islam.

...and that for them, there is no difference between the Ethiopian invaders and the Kenyan or Ugandan or Burundian invaders or the African Union forces or other such names. All of them are infidel invader forces which have invaded the Muslims' lands, and it's the individual duty of every Muslim to expel them from there.

# His Eminence Shaykh Hasan Turki One of the Commanders and 'Ulama of the Mujahideen



As far as we are concerned, there is no difference between the previous puppet government and those who participate with it in governing. And we will fight them just like we fought the government of Abdullahi Yousef. What distinguishes Shareef Shaykh Ahmed is the cloak of religion under which he hides.

And I call on my Muslim brothers in beloved Somalia, Somalia of patience and Ribat and Jihad, to not be deceived by those who agree to the secularist constitutions which vie with the Shari'ah in its right to rule. And I tell them: why have you sacrificed thousands of martyrs for the Shari'ah, then someone comes to you today wishing to deceive you with a constitution which doesn't rule by Shari'ah and with his participation in a single government with those who have been combating Shari'ah?

And I tell them: why have you sacrificed thousands of martyrs to purify Muslim Somalia from the American Crusader invasion, then someone comes to you today to attempt to deceive you by saying that America has a positive role in Somalia?

Have we forgotten who America is?

America is the enemy of Islam and Muslims, and is the one who killed tens of thousands in Somalia at the hands of its troops and agents.

Have we forgotten why America entered Somalia the first time, then sent its aircraft and agents the second time?

Didn't America enter Somalia to eliminate Islam in it, and turn it into a colony spinning in the orbit of the Crusader coalition in its war against Islam which they call the war on terrorism?

Isn't America the one who pulverizes the Muslims' villages and houses in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the one who provides Israel with all sorts of deadly equipment and weaponry to tear apart our women, children and elders in Palestine and resolute Gaza, whose wound continues to bleed?

And isn't America the one who besieged the Muslims in Iraq, until a million of their children were killed, and is the one who is today besieging the Muslims in Gaza?

So how can we expect from America any good? We only expect from it every evil and corruption.

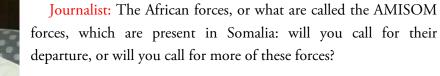




I'm not a terrorist. The terrorists are the Americans and Bush and his army who annihilate the people of Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Lebanon and Palestine. The terrorists are the infidels who are led by Bush. We are reformers, not terrorists. I am a Mujahid Shaykh among the Shaykhs of the Mujahideen, and my membership in and affiliation with al-Qaida is like my affiliation with HAMAS, al-Jihad, and the Mujahideen of Iraq, Afghanistan and Kashmir. The Mujahideen are part of each other, and the infidels and those who disbelieve are friends of each other. The Mujahideen are our brothers. Allah the Most High says, "Surely, all believers are brothers." (49:10) From this perspective, I am a member of al-Qaida and it is a member of me. So to sum up, I am not affiliated with al-Qaida as an organization, but we are united by a common goal, which is Jihad against the enemies.

How can we believe someone who claims that America has a positive role in Somalia? America's positive role is in filling the pockets of the traitors with bribes.

And why, O Muslims in Somalia, did you sacrifice thousands of martyrs in order to purify Muslim Somalia from the infidel invaders, then someone comes to you today wanting to deceive you by changing the names and forms of the invaders, but the invasion is the invasion and the occupation is the occupation.



Shareef Shaykh Ahmed: We have a strategy for dealing with these forces. As you know, in Somalia there is a lack of security, and we believe that to impose security, there must be major efforts made by us and by the international community. And these efforts must be centered on the creation of Somali forces

which preserve security and stability. And from another perspective, we as leader of the Somali people believe that the Somali people have suffered problems and wars, so we don't want clashes with those forces.

And why did you sacrifice thousands of martyrs to expel the American invasion hiding behind the cloak of the United Nations, then someone comes to you today wishing to deceive you by telling you that you must respect the principles of the United Nations?

Respect for the principles of the United Nations basically means ruling by other than Shari'ah, and also means recognition of Israel's control of Palestine and Russia's control of Chechnya and indeed, all of the Muslim Caucasus, and it means recognition of Spain's control over Ceuta and Melilla and China's control over East Turkistan, because all these states are members of the United Nations, whose charter calls for respecting the unity and integrity of their territories.

And I remind every Muslim in Somalia of the Statement of the Truth (Blessed and Exalted is He), "And fight them until there is no persecution, and religion is professed only for Allah. And if they desist, then remember that no aggression is allowed except against the wrongdoers" (2:193), and of the statement of the Prophet (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him), "He who fights for Allah's Word to be supreme is in Allah's Path." (Bukhari) So

don't lay down arms until religion in its entirety is for Allah and until Allah's Word is supreme.

As for the second thing which I would to talk about, it is the growing Jihadi awakening on the Arabian Peninsula in general and in the Yemen in particular...

## Abu Sufyan al-Azdi Sa'eed al-Shihri Deputy Amir, Qaida al-Jihad on the Arabian Peninsula



We address our beloved Ummah to clarify to it the reality of what these treasonous rulers did in Cuba, where they cooperated with the Americans by sending personnel of the investigation bureaus to Cuba to interrogate us and extract confessions from us and make accusations against us which led to increased torturing of us, and Allah suffices and He is the best of Guardians.

And we emphasize to our commanders and Shaykhs, Shaykh Usama bin Ladin (may Allah protect him) and the Shaykh Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri, that we – by Allah – are true to our covenant and carrying out Jihad, and by Allah, captivity has only increased our determination and firmness in our principles for which we went out and performed Jihad and were captured. And here we are today, O our Shaykh, and Allah has favored us to mobilize to the land of aid and Jihad, the land of Yemen and faith, and pledge allegiance to our brother Abu Baseer Nasir al-Wuhayshi (may Allah preserve him and direct him in the truth), for us to be aid for the Jihad, from the Peninsula to Palestine, Somalia, Iraq, Afghanistan and all Muslim countries, in defense of our lands and sacred things and for the religion in its entirety to be for Allah.

## Abu Baseer Nasir al-Wuhayshi Amir, Qaida al-Jihad on the Arabian Peninsula



There is no meaning to life when you see the Jews do all sorts of things to your brothers, women and children. We fast a day or two, and shout in the demonstrations until our throats are in tatters, then go back home as if we have averted harm from the children and lifted the blockade from Gaza and stopped the killing of the people of Palestine. No, demonstrations must be followed by explosions and civil disobedience by military anger, and we must cut aid to the Zionist Crusade and kill those of the Crusaders whom we find on our land, and destroy the Western interests until Europe and America stop their support of the Jews and stop the killing there and order their agents, the treasonous rulers, to open the crossings to Gaza and Palestine. And the people must continue to apply pressure without pause until all of Palestine is conquered, and mustn't be distracted by the imaginary solutions which stop the massacres today only for them to begin tomorrow stronger and deadlier and for us to sell the blood of today for the peace of tomorrow. The vendetta is great, so don't abandon it. O Allah, conquer through us Bayt al-Maqdis and the land of the Two Sanctuaries. O Allah, establish through us the state of Islam and honor us with that.

This awakening which aims to liberate the Arabian Peninsula from the Crusader invaders and their treasonous agents, and which is growing and prospering - with Allah's help and guidance – despite all the campaigns of repression, misdirection and charlatanism, and despite all the obstacles, difficulties and hindrances.

This is why I call on the noble and defiant tribes of the Yemen and tell them: don't be less than your brothers in the defiant Pushtun and Baluch tribes who aided Allah and His Messenger and made America and the Crusaders dizzy in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

O tribes of Yemen of faith and wisdom, Yemen of honor and defiance, Yemen of Ribat and Jihad: your brothers from the defiant Pushtun and Baluch tribes are making the Crusaders taste woe after woe, and are sending thousands of their lions to Jihad in Afghanistan under the banner of Amir-ul-Mumineen Mulla Muhammad Umar Mujahid (may Allah preserve him), and are disciplining the treasonous Pakistan Army, making it taste defeat after defeat and forcing it to make pacts with them in order to save itself from their violence, and they are severing the supply route of the Crusaders from Pakistan to Afghanistan.

How, O noble and defiant tribes of the Yemen, can you agree to let the Yemen be a supply center for the Crusade against the Muslim countries? How can you agree to let the ruling authority in Yemen be the CIA? As for Abdullah Salih and his gang, they're nothing but servants and slaves to it.

How can you accept this treasonous traitor as your president and ruler, when he begs the pleasure of the Americans and their dollars by spilling the blood of the free, noble and honest men of the Yemen?

O free ones of the Yemen and its nobility; O people of jealousy, fervor and honor in it: I ask of you what the Truth (Blessed and Exalted is He) asked of His believing slaves, when He (the Most Honorable) said, "O ye who believe! Be helpers of Allah, as Jesus, son of Mary, said to his disciples, 'Who are my helpers in the cause of Allah?' The disciples said, 'We are helpers of Allah.' So a party of the Children of Israel believed while a party disbelieved. Then We aided those who believed against their enemy, and they became predominant." (61:14)

So be helpers of Allah, and don't be helpers of America. Be helpers of Allah, and don't be helpers of Ali Abdullah Salih, the agent of the Crusaders, and be a help and support to your brothers the Mujahideen and don't be a support to the Crusaders and their campaign which kills the Muslims in Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine.

I ask Allah to grant resolve to our brothers the Mujahideen on the Arabian Peninsula and in beloved Yemen, and to protect them from the Crusaders and their agents, and to send down upon them His strong help and illuminating conquest and near release, and to make them a thorn in the throats of the Crusaders and their agents like the House of Saud and Ali Abdullah Salih, who sold their religion, honor and countries so Crusader America would be pleased with them.

As for the third subject on which I would like to comment, it is the bargains and pressures which are being perpetrated against the people of Gaza for the Arab aides of Israel to achieve for it through plots and conspiracies what it was unable to achieve through aircraft and artillery.

Israel's Arab aides are attempting to impose on the people of Gaza a "calming" which will stop their Jihad in exchange for the lifting of the embargo.

But I affirm to our brothers and kinsfolk in Gaza that the Jihad to liberate Palestine and all homelands of Islam mustn't cease, and if the field tightens in one place, it widens in other places, and Crusader and Jewish targets are spread all over the world, and it is not for the enemy to impose on us the field, place, time and way in which we fight him.

And I repeat to my brothers the Mujahideen in Gaza and everywhere that the Mujahideen in the various fronts of Jihad against the Crusaders are fully prepared to provide to their brothers the Mujahideen in Gaza and everywhere all the training and preparation they possibly can, and they will spare no effort in that regard, Allah permitting.

So our brothers the Mujahideen in Gaza mustn't despair if they are constrained, for the entire world is our field against the targets of the Zionist Crusade, with Allah's help and power.

And I remind myself and my brothers the Mujahideen in Gaza that victory is from Allah alone. The Truth (the Blessed and Exalted) says, "And help comes from Allah alone, the Mighty, the Wise." (3:126) And He says (Exalted is He), "If Allah helps you none can overcome you; but if He forsakes you, then who is there that can help you beside Him? In Allah, then, let the believers put their trust." (3:160) And [I remind them] that Allah (the Glorious and Exalted) helps he who helps Him. "O you who believe! If you help Allah, He will help you, and plant your feet firmly." (47:7) And to help Allah (the Glorious and Exalted) is by obeying Him in His commands, and Tawhid is the head of all acts of obedience, without which deeds aren't acceptable. The Truth (Glorious is He) says, "And verily it has been revealed to you as unto those before you, 'If you associate partners with Allah, your work shall come to naught and you shall certainly be of the losers." (39:65) And ruling by Allah's revealed law is one of the most important pillars of Tawhid. The Truth (the Glorious and Most High) says, "But no, by your Lord [O Muhammad], they are not believers until they make you judge in all disputes between them, and find in their souls no resistance to your decisions, but accept them with the fullest conviction." (4:65)

And I remind our brothers and kinsfolk in Gaza and all of Palestine that talk of reforming the Palestine Liberation Organization is futile and pointless. The Palestine Liberation Organization is a secularist organization which doesn't rule by Islamic Shari'ah, and it is the organization which dropped Jihad from its charter, and the one which agreed to crumbs of Palestine, and pretended to forget pre-1967 Palestine, and it is the organization which recognized the legitimacy of Israel and its takeover of most of Palestine, and the organization which drowned in the swamp of Oslo, and has yet to emerge from it to this very day.

Were we to hypothesize that the PLO opened its doors to all the organizations which don't participate in it, and the majority had the final say, and then the majority voted to accept the two-state solution and abandon the part of Palestine occupied before June 1967, what then would be the stance of those who asked to reform the organization on democratic foundations? Would they accept what the majority decided, whether in a ballot or referendum, in which case they must forget Haifa, 'Akko, Jaffa, 'Ashqelon, the Negev, and the rest of pre-1967 Occupied Palestine, which is something no Muslim who appreciates the fundamentals of Tawhid and creed can possibly accept, because the rules of Shari'ah are not subject to referendum, and Jihad in Palestine is an individual duty to expel the invaders from every hand span of it and from every occupied Muslim land, whether the majority agrees or disagrees.

I ask Allah to guide our Muslim Ummah in Gaza to obey Him, and to send down on them His victory and conquest and hasten their release.

As for the fourth thing I would like to talk about, it is recent developments in Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Americans are in a dark predicament, and their agents are nervous and unsettled, and so we saw Hamid Karzai in Munich inviting those Taliban residing outside Afghanistan who are not tied to al-Qaida to return to Afghanistan to participate in political life. It's an invitation which elicits ridicule, similar to what America and Saudi Arabia tried to promote before regarding negotiations with the Taliban through Saudi intermediation, which was a farce which began out of failure and ended in it.

And I call out to the strong and defiant Muslim Afghan people, and I tell them: it has now become crystal-clear and obvious who it is who is fighting the invading infidels in Afghanistan, and who it is who works as their servants and slaves.

Those who yesterday accused the Taliban of being agents of Pakistan, and claimed to be fighting them in order that Afghanistan not fall under Pakistani influence, are today the ones

who accept the presence of more than 20 Crusader banners in Kabul, and moreover, fill their pockets with the Crusaders' money.

O defiant Muslim Afghan people: your brothers the Taliban aren't just fighting to liberate Afghanistan; in fact, your brothers the Taliban in Pakistan are performing Jihad to cleanse it of America and its agents in the Pakistani government and army, so tell anyone who accuses them of being agents of Pakistan: "You're a liar who has neither jealousy, dignity nor fervor. You want the Crusader occupation of Afghanistan to continue so that you can fill your pockets with bribes."

O defiant Muslim Afghan people: it is your right to take pride in your sons the Taliban, and take pride in Amir-ul-Mumineen Mulla Muhammad Umar Mujahid (may Allah protect him), who told the Taghuts, tyrants and major criminals, "No, we will not hand over a Muslim to a Kafir," then continued to wage Jihad against the Crusaders and their aides, and here are the good omens of victory beginning to appear on the horizon with Allah's strength and power.

So O defiant Muslim Afghan people: take part with your brothers and sons the Taliban in Jihad against the American Crusader occupation, which insulted the Prophet (peace be upon him) and violated the sanctity of the Quran and desecrated the soil of Afghanistan, and don't agree to the flying of over 20 Crusader banners in the Kabul sky.

O Muslims in Afghanistan, if the Crusader occupation of Afghanistan continues, it will corrupt your sons and daughters, and they will turn their backs on the values of Islam, honor, chastity and piety. So who among you is happy with that, other than one who has lost his religion, jealousy and honor?

O defiant Muslim Afghan people, I call out to you with the statement of the Truth (the Blessed and Exalted), "O you who believe! Shall I point out to you a commerce which will deliver you from a painful punishment? That you believe in Allah and His Messenger, and strive in the cause of Allah with your wealth and your persons. That is better for you, if you did but know. He will forgive you your sins, and admit you to Gardens through which streams flow, and to pure and pleasant dwellings in Gardens of Eternity. That is the supreme triumph. And He will bestow upon you another favor which you love: help from Allah and a near victory. So give glad tidings to the believers." (61:10-13)

And our final prayer is that all praise is due to Allah, Lord of the worlds, and may peace and prayers be upon our master Muhammad and his family and companions. And may peace be upon you and Allah's mercy and blessings.

