

Excerpts from “Though the Unbelievers Be Averse”<sup>1</sup>

By Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi

November 13, 2014

*In this speech, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the leader of the Islamic State, announces that five new “provinces” have been established in the jihadist group’s self-proclaimed “caliphate.” He celebrates fellow jihadist organizations in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Egypt, Libya, and Algeria that have pledged allegiance to him and the Islamic State. Al-Baghdadi’s words highlight the expansionist ambitions of the Islamic State, which aims to spread the borders of its “caliphate,” and its interpretation of Islam, around the world.*

O Muslims, be assured, for your state is well and in the best of conditions. Its advance will not cease, and it will continue expanding, God willing, “though the unbelievers be averse” (Q. 9:32, 40:14, 61:8).

O Muslims, rejoice, for we bring you good news of the announcement of the Islamic State’s expansion to new lands: to the Land of the Two Holy Places [i.e., Mecca and Medina] and Yemen, and to Egypt, Libya, and Algeria. We announce the acceptance of the *bay‘a*<sup>2</sup> [oath of allegiance] of those who gave us *bay‘a* from among our brothers in those lands, the voiding of the names of the organizations in them, their declaration as new provinces of the Islamic State, and the appointment of governors (*wulat*, sing. *wali*) over them. Likewise we announce the acceptance of the *bay‘as* of those who gave us *bay‘a* from among the organizations and individuals in all those named provinces and elsewhere, and we ask every individual from among them to join with the nearest province about him and to hear and obey its governor appointed by us.

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<sup>1</sup> Source excerpted from Cole Bunzel, “From Paper State to Caliphate: The Ideology of the Islamic State,” *The Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World - Analysis Paper* no. 19 (March 2015): 42, <https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/the-ideology-of-the-islamic-state.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> This explanatory footnote comes from Dr. Bunzel’s “From Paper State to Caliphate”: The five new “provinces” of the Islamic State had given *bay‘a* to Abū Bakr al-Baghdādī simultaneously on November 10, 2014. Each issued an identical *bay‘a* pledge that reads as follows: “In obedience to the command of God—Who is all-powerful and all-glorious—and in obedience to His Messenger—may God bless and save him—to be not divided and to cling to community, we announce our giving of *bay‘a* to the Caliph Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Awwād ibn Ibrāhīm al-Husaynī al-Qurashī: hearing and obeying, in what is agreeable and what is disagreeable, and in what is difficult and what is easy, observing [his] prerogative [to appoint commanders], and not disputing the command of those in authority, except in the event that we see an act of flagrant unbelief and we have proof thereof from God. We call on the Muslims in all places to give *bay‘a* to the caliph and to support him, in obedience to God and in order to carry out the forsaken duty of the age.” For the Arabic text, see the transcript of one of the five statements, “Bayān min mujāhidī ‘l-Yaman bi-bay‘at khalīfat al-muslimīn,” Mu’assasat al-Bunyān, November 10, 2014, at <http://www.jihadica.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Yemen-baya.pdf>.