

AFGP-2002-003251

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To: The Honorable Sheikh *Abu Abdullah*

[Islamic greetings and a line of poetry citing bravery and no fear of death, and continues with a traditional prayer].

I thank God for bestowing on me His blessings for allowing me to meet you with humbleness, having the least resources, and looking for assistance from others. [This is a common opening remarks expressing humbleness].

I am trying in these few pages to recollect what took place in the two meetings that I had with you. God knows how many times I hesitated before I wrote them. You are the master that I can't reach, but our Prophet taught us that religion is in effect advice.

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But who am I to take this position before you? I hope that you will accept the content of these few pages despite their shortcomings. I remember the encounter of the hoopoe with Prophet Solomon. The bird came close to the Prophet and said, "I learned what you have not, and I brought to you sure information from Sheba." A verse from *An-Naml* Chapter in the Koran. I tried to express a point of view out of concern and thus, I hope that you would forgive any slip of the pen or misbehavior on my part that you may find between the lines of this message. I hope that you can, with your own ways, check its contents; the Koranic verse quotes Prophet Solomon responding to the hoopoe "We will find out if you are saying the truth or you are lying." [*An-Naml* verse].

I can only, in this occasion, pray to God to have these pages serve the cause of God and to purify them from all disbeliefs in God, hypocrisy and pretense. I also pray to God to protect you and guide you, and God is great and glory to Him, to His messenger and to the believers.

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For any movement to achieve its publicized goal it requires actual premises upon which it builds its strategy. Between now and then the movement needs to reevaluate its status quo accurately and to live this status quo and know in which direction it is heading. Inasmuch as the evaluation is actual and accurate, the action based on this evaluation will be sound, especially in establishing the strategy for action. Any wrong evaluation of the status quo will certainly result in equally wrong action.

The leader of an organization is either an obsolete leader who cannot live up to the present time because time has passed him to a new situation, or he may be above the understanding of the people and their level. The latter is known as the class or selective leader. Both types of leaders are bad.

The movement that endeavors to know its status quo, follows up on its developments and events, knows how to analyze these events and evaluates them via relying on a strong database for arriving at practical conclusions will be a strong movement. Such organization will be standing on a solid ground that enables it to establish a strategy capable of meeting its aspirations and achieving its goals and mottos. However, an organization, which separates itself from its status quo and shies away from the positions of its people and their inclinations, will be standing on a loose ground hanging on fragile information that will soon collapse, and with it the project will collapse as well.

Accordingly, we emphasize the importance of having a special mechanism within the movement to fill in this sensitive aspect by producing a huge database of actual data to measure the standing of the people of all classes.

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Subsequently, the leadership of the movement should be updated of these huge amount of real data that will enable it to manage struggle cleverly. This is what states endeavor to do by establishing strategic research centers to replenish this aspect and to carry on the appropriate strategies for each crisis that faces the state. We should not forget the role played by the strategic research center under the leadership of *Mamdouh Ben Abdul Aziz* in the Saudi government.

Many important developments, which took place in the progress of the *Da'wa* [mission of spreading Islam, missionary] in the Peninsula [Saudi Arabia], broke the record over there. This is considered a qualitative important progress that must be taken into consideration and kept in pace with the movement's strategic plan for benefiting from and deploying it to serve the movement's strategy.

We can summarize the most important developments as follows:

- 1- The emergence of a number of students at the prominent jihad level of our ancestors who are willing to sacrifice, fight for freedom, and boldly say the truth. Moreover, they have the capability to qualify for administrative and military duties.
- 2- Security violations produced a hundred young men capable of handling programmatic tasks and security matters. They acquired some administrative experience in managing struggle domestically and developed some appropriate tactical and strategic beliefs through years of rich and live experience. Some of these people can be justly described as (a thunderbolt of war if he has the appropriate people).

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3- A great informational and political vacuum developed especially after the stagnation of *Al-Mis'ari* and *Al-Faqeeh* [variant *An-Naqiyya*] project, and subsequently, most of the people, especially the committed, left this project.

4- *Osama Ben Ladin* emerged as a star similar to the fortress of *Saddam* and advanced to face the American enemy along with the Saudi regime. The people in that area responded favorably to his stated objectives and expressed their admiration with some comments and reservations.

5- People have great desire to know *Osama* and listen to his statements. This was obvious when *Al-Jazeera Channel* aired his interview with it.

This movement is fully capable to fill in the political vacuum in the peninsula due to its sound organization and good program. Regrettably, this movement suffered from great political and informational deficiency, which makes you sympathetic to its blessed march. In fact this deficiency is considered one of the killers of the movement.

We will go over some of the incidents that did not have adequate informational and political coverage.

1- If we go back a little (to the events in Somalia) and carefully think of this situation, we will recognize the extent at which we fell short in the informational and political efforts. We did not invest these events politically to serve the jihad program. Most of the people inside [the country] are unaware of the great effort the mujahidin made against the American forces.

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There is still an opportunity to publish the file of Somalia and the role of the men over there in the informational media and to invest it politically to serve the movement's project whose one of its objectives is to fight the Americans. Publicizing those events will motivate and encourage the nation, breaks the barrier of fear and gives it a live and actual example of the recent experiment in which the mujahidin succeeded in achieving the target and driving the enemy away.

2- Declaration of the Front:

We heard conflicting and unconfirmed news from *Al-Haya* newspaper about the joining of *Al-Jama'a Al-Islamiyyah* whereas the Movement could have published the declaration statement of the Front, the press conference, and the signed edict in the Peninsula and announce the birth of this new giant and its goals and programs on a large scale.

3- The explosions in Dar Es Salaam and in Nairobi:

It suffices to know the horrible informational and political shortfall regarding these events. Until now there are many people who are unaware of the heroes of this magnificent undertaking. At the time of the explosion, people resorted to western foreign media to quench their thirst for the true news. The question that comes to mind at this juncture: after the expiration of the period set for securing the operation, why were not the communiqué (the army for liberating the holy places) published

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in the Peninsula on a large scale in order for the nation to know its heroes? Why was the responsibility about this incident not declared in forceful terms? These communiqués exchanged hands in Afghanistan, but the people in the Peninsula were deprived from that. The apparatus of information should have invested this military undertaking politically and quickly to arouse the nation and affirm the Movement's credibility to the people. Additionally, this will help the mujahidin break the barrier of fear and hesitation.

Moreover, this endeavor entails a precedence in jihad effort; the people who carried out this operation from the Peninsula appeared in a (martyrdom operation) picture. The informational apparatus should emphasize martyrdom operations, rely always on them and invest them in the Peninsula because they carry many meanings. These operations should be utilized to rally many mujahidin to join the Movement. A martyrdom operation executed by men from the Peninsula has a great stimulating psychological effects on hundreds of mujahidin from inside to practice this experiment and acquire martyrdom. In fact, one of them opened the door for this effort. How nice it would be if in the future the executor of an operation is videotaped while he is giving an inciting speech to the nation and then his speech is published after the operation is carried out successfully similar to what HAMAS is doing. The opportunity is still there to bridge the informational and political gap via publishing the wills of these martyrs, to follow their steps and to rely on their magnificent accomplishments and their ability to break the psychological apprehension whereby they will be introducing this experiment to the people in the Peninsula.

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4- The Cruse [ship] Attack:

Also this event was not covered simultaneously or afterwards by informational media or by successful political investment, especially clarifying the truth of the battle, knowing the real enemy and exposing him at the surface of events, as well as joining the battle in his own personal approach. The people were unaware of who were the martyrs of the Cruse until we received *Al-Jazeera's* [channel] original video tape. This can also be utilized to serve jihad. The opportunity to deal with these events and publish the biographies of these martyrs is still there. However, we should know that as long as our informational media stays on the top of covering the events when they occur, this will give a better service to the Movement's political program.

5- *Taliban* Regime

The importance of this regime is that it is in charge of Afghanistan, which is the sanctuary of immigrants in the Movement's jihad project. If we take a look at the status quo of the Peninsula, we find that the legitimacy of this regime is in a state of tide and ebb in the minds of the people due to the absence of true information, on the one hand, and to the contradiction of the news conveyed by returning brothers, on the other. This is because emotions dominate their thinking in making their judgment, and as a result, they are sometimes confronted with questions that they can't answer.

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As for the newsletter (*Al-Bayan*), it ignored many of the brave men; it did not cover their news, and thus, it was limited and incomprehensive. Accordingly, the Movement needs to clear up the issue of *Taliban* to the people as well as the suspicions circulating around them. Moreover, the Movement should explain to the people the political achievements of *Taliban* to accomplish one of the jihad projects, immigration.

6- The concept of the unity of God:

This concept should be present in all statements of the Movement and the main focus for its political activities. The Movement's main purpose for its struggle is only to substantiate this concept and clear up God's eminence from association, especially that which is related to legislature. The Movement should not overlook other types of association and explain that Abraham's religion in believing in God while disbelieving in false gods such as trees, stoned, idols, or a party. We should hate, boycott, treat as enemies and fight by word and sword those who

believe in deities. What is the *Shari'a* legal obligation in case this cannot be done?

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- If you look into the situation in the Arabian Peninsula, you will find the Movement's complete absence of political and informational activities in the country. As for the bright moments that appear here and there, they are the product of volunteer work by some of the brothers. There is no doubt that when matters are organized and put in a more accurate order, the product and outcome of activities will be better and stronger. Accordingly, we suggest complete separation between political and informational activities. The Movement should have a separate and independent political section as well as a separate and independent informational section. The political section should be headed by a group of qualified knowledge students as well as a group of trained political cadres in this field. The duties of the political section are the following:

1- Developing the Movement's *Shari'a* program that explains its identity supported by *Shari'a* legal evidence, and then submitting it to trusted scholars. People are not aware of the Movement's identity and would like to know its program and ideology. The absence of a certified program is one of the shortcomings of the Movement.

2- Controlling the progress of the Movement according to *Shari'a* so that all its movements, positions, and decisions should agree with the *Shari'a* and its criteria. By doing this, the Movement will be saved from the confusion in the *Shari'a* stipulations in all of its activities.

3- Formulating a group of goals and *Shari'a* mottos that achieve the aspirations and desires of Muslims and spreading them among the people in order to have the masses rally around these goals.

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4- Drafting the stipulations concluded by *Shari'a* research provided that they are supported by evidence from the Koran and the *Sunna* [the Prophet's statements] as well as the consensus on issues related to the Movement's project such as martyrdom operations, immigration, team work, contracts and agreements, ruling by other than God's revelation, and so forth. Publishing these research papers among the people will give the Movement a *Shari'a* legitimacy and remove a great deal of confusion from their minds regarding these questions and their legality.

5- Confronting circulated rumors and suspicions about the project of the Movement or those that may affect them negatively and responding to them legally, according to the *Shari'a*, or practically or both simultaneously.

6- Propagating the *Shari'a* science and promulgating political awareness as they relate to the Movement's affairs thereby creating informed cadres to carry on the Movement's duties; recruiting mujahidin and enlisting them; resisting all attempts to demoralize, weaken, or frighten them; continuously maintaining a high degree of sensitivity and transparency with regards to the project of the Movement; establishing regular connections between the Movement's pivotal points: the command, the middle command, and the base [Al-Qaeda].

7- Dealing with the policies of the Saudi system politically, socially, economically, and so forth, especially with the new developments in the area by making independent criticism and analyses in specialized statements or studies.

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The purpose of this is to expose the regime and disgrace it while awakening the people and raising their political conscience regarding their self-determination issues.

8- Drafting military statements for the Movement and establishing a strategy to invest the military activities politically to serve the jihad project.

• I will give two examples at this juncture on political activities that the political department is responsible for and must carry out in a creative way to utilize them for the benefit of the project:

1- The recent arrangements established by the Taliban government regarding the Arabs and

their camps were criticized by a great deal of gossip, rumors and analyses, which undoubtedly left negative impressions on the Movement's project since it relates to immigration. The political section refuted these rumors, clarified this issue and corrected the misunderstanding thereby denying the opportunity for those who try to fish in murky and foiling their counter plan to hit the immigration concept.

2- Marriage parties that are performed here (congratulations) seem to be simple matters; however, in reality they will have great implications if the political section can successfully utilize and invest them in the interest of the jihad plan.

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They can do that by giving well-prepared speeches, songs, and reading poetry, etc. Then the informational section undertakes the appropriate technical production segments of the celebration, and finally this [video-taped] celebration is distributed to the people. The political application of this event is based on the fact that we live in a country of immigration where we practice our normal life including marriage and happy occasions and enjoy every blessed occasion of life despite the war declared by the international enemy. These occasions will have important implications and varying psychological effects on the minds of different people; however, all implications fall in one path and that is shaking up the conscience of the people and moving the feelings of the hesitant on the issue of immigration especially when the compares between his situation and the situation of his brothers in the country of immigration who are living happily, in a relaxed mood and with no worries or sad moments and always ready to fight. This is only one of many examples; the political section must always be alert and conscious of every case that serves the interest of the [jihad] project; he should delve into it and utilize it to serve the goals of the Movement. The political developments facing the nation are many although the people are unaware of . Thus, they need someone to clear them up such as the alleged peace efforts with the Jews, the terrorist conferences such as the conference of *Sharm al-Sheik* [Egypt], the conference of the Arab ministers of the interior, in addition to many other issues, in which the political section can do a great job in explaining them, analyzing them and using them in awakening the Muslim masses.

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As for the informational section, it is the link between the Movement and the Muslim masses whereas it transmits the voice of the Movement to the people of all walks of life.

The absence of the Movement's informational activities inside the Peninsula is cause by, as far as we know, the lack of a dedicated cell for this great task and reliance on volunteers to convey the voice of the Movement. No matter how hard a volunteer tries, he will stop his activities if he is exposed to any security pressure. Moreover, he is not willing to work under various security conditions; he may deem that some security pressures justify quitting although they may not be so. He is not willing to take a risk except if he was one of the very few. Additionally, the productivity of the volunteer is poor when compared with the that of regular cadre.

As for the regular cadre, bound by commitment and a contract, he functions by two motives, his belief in the cause and his commitment and contract. Moreover, he acts according to the projections of the Movement and its general strategy, which allows him freedom of action on the tactical level, and which guarantees that no one will try to harm the Movement, contrary to the volunteer who works on the outside framework of the Movement and away from the strategic main principles, and he has no commitment to it. Accordingly, we suggest designating a cell of internal information for this purpose. The function of this cell is to deploy an army of volunteers over there for informational purposes.

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This cell is to direct this army wisely and cleverly similar to what took place during the golden-period rule of *Al-Mis'ari* and to convey the general thinking of the people, the public opinion, as well as to stay on the top of developments and new events in the area and pass them to the command. Its main function is receiving the final product of the informational section and securely transmitting it in the country by an accurate Movement plan via using all available communication means. Personnel can be creative in

utilizing secure methods of receiving and sending. For instance the electronic mail (e-mail) which may give a memory of up to (4MB) in sending attachment files along with the original message. This is a very fast method for sending the product of the informational section. Also, large web site locations to store files on the internet are available for this purpose such as (www. Driveway.com), which ranges from (25MB) to (100MB).

I hope that the anxiety over security does not hinder progress in this field. People are thirsty for information and are impatiently waiting for your news. This was obvious through the transmission of *Al-Jazeera* [TV channel] of the interview, and they transmit every thing issued by you. Accordingly, an effort should be made to meet the desires of the people and their aspirations.

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This task is simple, with the guidance of God. It requires a bold decision, an accurate plan, and qualified people to do this task.

The importance of establishing a web site for you on the internet in which you place all your legible, audible, and visible archives and news must be emphasized. It should not escape the mind of any one of you the importance of this tool in communicating with people.

Political and informational functions are combined. Both are linked in the military function, and all which act together harmoniously to serve the ancestral jihad plan without dominance of one on the other. This is the obligation of the wise command, which administers and directs work with knowledge and charisma whereas it knows when to push politically, when to cool down the informational media, and when to kick off militarily. For each phase there is a plan and mechanism that fit its requirements and achieves the goals of the Movement's strategy.

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There are some of the mujahidin in the Peninsula who went there in the past and took a cover for their presence while looking for a jihad opportunity or a work project whereby they can worship God and carry out their jihad obligation. They evaluated the situation there, the *Shari`a* ruling in this situation as well as the obligatory duties based on this ruling. Subsequently, they developed some convictions from their experience in working in the country. Some of these convictions are:

1- It is important to promote the belief that (there is no deity but God), its attributes and fundamentals, to orient the people on these concepts as well as to explain to them the true meaning of the unity of God and the path of the believers and that of the non-believers.

2- It is important to have a scholar or a qualified student of knowledge control performance according to the laws of the *Shari`a* and prevent contractual excessiveness and deviation especially in a coup d'etat for changing the status quo (taking over power). As for defiance and causing harm [to the current regime], it is sufficient to cooperate with one of the trustworthy knowledge students to make this effort.

3- It is important to have a popular jihad, not the jihad of the elite, which can be surrounded, hit and liquidated. A strategy has to be established to include people in the battle arena; not to wait for a long time for no use.

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4- It is difficult to operate from (outside to inside) especially when the major part of the Movement is outside. This, in most cases, leads to the failure of the experiment like what happened in Libya due to the wide separation distance and being away from the status quo for years, which leads to the development of faulty convictions and psychological impressions by those who return after a long period of absence.

5- The successful movement is that which maintains the major part of its movement inside the country, and then it starts to bring the people abroad inside the country and provides them with the cover they need as what happened in the Algerian experiment. As such, jihad becomes a daily practice and a part of life that they can practice without trouble.

6- It is important that the people from the Peninsula constitute the major operational part especially at the beginning of jihad, and subsequently, the support follows as a tributary to this effort. They

[the brothers] mean by this that the world organization (multi-nationalities) is liable to fail politically as a result of the Saudi counter propaganda for well-known considerations.

7- They also suggest that there should be an executive mechanism established by you to communicate with scholars and knowledge students and show them the activities of the Movement and to secure an exit for those who desire to immigrate.

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- The brothers also have some observations and questions about your Movement. The most important of these are:

1- The absence of the *Shari`a* model which distinguishes the identity of the Movement and enables those who are outside the Movement to recognize it and make a judgment as to whether its program and ideology are sound. This model will safeguard those who belong to the Movement from erring, making faulty ideological conclusions, and it secures a unified ideology for its members.

2- The qualification of the Movement as an organizational movement capable of leading the ancestral jihad model is measured by achieving its goals on land and creating the sought change.

3- Is the Movement a tactical transitional pressure group or a substitute for the present regime via a *coup-de-tat* plan that produces a comprehensive change.

4- The absence of a political program for the Movement and the lack of informational coverage in the Peninsula weaken the Movement in these two fields.

5- The extent at which the motto (the established model) is firmly entrenched in the Movement as a living, tangible, and practiced way of life within the main joints of the movement as well as its operational peripherals.

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- Accordingly, the brothers highly respect (Abu Abdullah, Osama) and consider him one of the outstanding figures of the jihad trend although the most outstanding does not exist in this era at all. He [Osama] is their arrow against the international non-believing camp, and they appreciate his jihad efforts and his convictions, which he acquired throughout his long experience. Some of the advantages of the jihad Movement after the setbacks it suffered in some countries is that the door for self-criticism in a loud voice regarding its presented ideas, strategies, and mechanisms was wide open. This kind of criticism was considered until recently some sort of discouragement, frightening, and inspiring failure. As a result, the Movement withdrew for self evaluation and accountability and for studying the points of weakness for correcting them. In the world of tactics and strategies, which are manmade, there are no confirmed unchangeable principles or absolute facts. Every thing is subject to negotiations except (the infallible *Shari`a*), and consequently, the Movement came up with a strategy that identifies the original non-believing enemy whereas it focused in the past on renegade non-believers who they considered as more dangerous than the original non-believing enemy and thus, from the *Shari`a* point of view, fighting them is more obligatory than the original non-believing enemy. We support this trend in public thinking and discussing ideas in the open and in a healthy environment away from any psychological pressure practiced by some groups on their Movement. A person who has some knowledge in jurisprudence may be meeting somebody who is more knowledgeable in this field than he is; tossing a stone in still water makes water move keep in circles, like ideas, until they reach the edge of the pool.

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Subsequently, these ideas are inoculated with others until we all reach the truth in a healthy environment where our Muslim brothers live whereas every one of us feels that he is playing his required role without fear or hesitation. When we give full freedom for the mankind mind, we open the opportunity for it for ideological creativity within the *Shari`a* domain, we will be creating a leadership command among the members of the Movement, which will be capable of planning, executing, coordinating, and organizing. These are the fundamentals of the

administrative function.

- The brothers are completely in agreement with the goal presented by (Abu Abdullah) and that is fighting the Americans (the Jews and the Crusaders). They believe that they are fighting a battle against these, but not a war, and as such, they are not required to win the war; it is sufficient to win each battle even if that victory is limited. They can reevaluate the situation in their struggle after each battle, whether to continue, cool down, or hold up. Each battle is an independent war with its own field results. As for the struggle with the Saudi system, it is a war, and it certainly needs a certain level of political and military capabilities. In war, you are either a victorious or a loser; tactical victories against the Saudi system will be limited and ineffective if they do not lead to a decisive strategic victory by removing the system from its roots.

Based on the situation of our brothers and their capabilities, they believe that they ought to start with the crusader enemy by a strategy that can achieve the sought goals some of which are:

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1- Reinstating confidence in the hearts of the Muslim masses concerning the jihad Movement after they had almost turned away from it as a result of some setbacks, which were used by the counterinformational media to keep the people away from it. Reinstating confidence is done by hitting the enemies who do not differ in their hostilities to Islam and its peoples as well as in usurping their resources and occupying their lands.

2- Preparing the environment for fighting the Saudi system, which utilizes arbitrary measures to limit jihad efforts, by arousing the sense of dignity and valor in the hearts of the people as well as by exploiting their hatred of the system resulting from these measures.

3- Struggle is the key for fighting the Saudi system.

4- Acquiring political, military, and administrative experiences through field battles to become a stock in the assets of the mujahidin in their war against the system; war build combatants.

5- Discrediting the awesomeness image of the Saudi system and removing the leaf of mulberry tree used to cover its genitals [shortcomings].

6- Breaking the barrier of fear and hesitation from the minds of the mujahidin for participating in jihad activities.

7- Expanding the circle of jihad horizontally and vertically via assassinating some of the leaders of disbelief in the system; this is called (the oil spot).

8- After the escalation of operations against the crusader enemy in a compounding rate and at the critical point, the mujahidin command declares war against the Saudi system at the appropriate circumstance and after a long practice in carrying out item 7 [above] while taking into consideration the principles and techniques of guerilla war.

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- This is in general the summary of the views of the brothers regarding the approach [agenda, plan] for action. There is no doubt that there are many views some of which are close and some are distant from this insight depending on the persons who advocate them, their backgrounds, experiences, and convictions.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the cause is overwhelming; the march is long; obstructions, and frustrations, and disappointments surrounding jihad activities are many and persistent. What is worse is that some brothers failed to support other brothers on this road [of jihad]. You look for the right man to be your companion, but you won't find him. The Prophet said in this regard, "People are like a hundred camels; you look for one good for travel, but you do not find any". This road, with God's grace, will embolden the hearts and strengthen emotions. Additionally, the international non-believing world is conspiring against the jihad efforts. If hearts are attached to their creator; if they rise to the highest level in heaven; if they freed themselves from the constraints of the earth, and if the soul transcends clay, then bodies despite hardships, difficulties and tragedies, they will not care any longer about the hardships of the road. On the contrary, they will enjoy mishaps and tolerate torture hoping for eternal life in heaven by escaping from the limited life on earth. They will be joined by the souls of martyrs who preceded them on this road. Whenever the soul longs for a glance to life in this world, or if the road to God is tiresome, it remembers what the hearts love and what they are attached to, and consequently, it walks faster and works

harder hoping that it will catch up with the souls of the martyrs in the eternal life in heaven.

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The author commends martyrs and mujahidin in a poetic style thinking of them as a group gathering in heaven.

They were saying that death [in the cause of God] was a wish for them, and that death has chosen the best, the most beloved of what our eyes had seen, the most prominent and highest caliber figures.

To these dignified and beloved generation, we convey our regard and our salaam.

If you call upon them, you will find a thousand responding

Don't expect a lethargic person to accompany you; leave him alone; your longing [to meet God] is a sufficient motive to keep you going;

It is only an hour that will soon transpire, and who, at the moment, is sad, will live happily ever after.

Praise God; I bear witness that there is no god by You; I hereby repent to you, and salaam, and God's mercy and blessings be upon you.

From your brother

Abu Huthayfa [variant: Abu Hadhafah, Abu Huzayfah].

Kandahar

Tuesday 18 Rabeel Al Awwal 1421 AH

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