

(Fully translated)

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In the name of God, The Most Merciful, The Most Compassionate.

Thanks be to God, and peace and prayers on our Prophet Muhammad, his kinsmen, and followers.

To my dear brother 'Uthman, may God protect you.

I hope my letter finds you, your family, and all the brothers in good health and may you be more pious and closer to God.

I start my letter by stressing that it is imperative that our main objective in our war with America has to be clear.

What do we want?

Our objective is: What was summarized in the chapter after the 11th [September].

America has to stop its evil, such as its support to the Jews, and leave the Muslims alone so they (the Muslims) can establish an Islamic state where Islam will prevail. You all know that fighting for Muslims has many goals. The greatest one is to ensure that God's faith prevails. God Almighty says, "And fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevails justice and faith in Allah altogether and everywhere; But if they cease, verily Allah Doth see all that they do." (Surat al-Anfal, Verse 39) One of the goals is for the infidels to stop their aggression against Islam and its adherents. God Almighty says, "Fight ye the chiefs of unfaith for their oaths are nothing to them: That thus they may be restrained." (Surat al-Tawbah, Verse 12)

We want to fight to force the enemy to stop its aggression against us, which can happen, God willing, by fighting the United States, the leader of infidels. It is a known fact that the American people, who are represented by the Congress and the White House, are the holders of the supreme power in the US and

they are the ultimate decision makers. Thus, we have to focus on killing and fighting the American people.

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Fighting Americans and their allies in Afghanistan is an obligation and a compulsory religious duty to defeat them and eject them, God willing. This will require a great deal of time and effort. It is within our right to stop this war [against us] from its main source, which is the American people, who are the power that can stop it as soon as possible. Therefore, we have to put the administration of the White House and the Congress - where the command post for the operations against us is located - under direct pressure by using the equation of fear. That can only happen by directly affecting the American people through conducting operations inside America and affecting the American economy by targeting oil abroad, particularly in the countries that export oil to the US. Consequently, the American citizen will certainly feel the impact in his oil bill.

This needs to be accompanied by a large media campaign, part of which we could air in the US media, if possible, indicating that these operations are the result of the lack of security in our land, particularly in Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Somalia, and that is what was summarized in the chapter after the September 11 attacks. America will not dream of security until security becomes a reality in Palestine.

You are all aware of one of the most important matters when there is a conflict between two sides: Each side needs to be informed about its enemy's culture, history, his way of thinking, his strengths, and his weakest points. This will help in making the best decisions, with God's help.

By following the development of the struggle between us and the statements made by the American politicians, as well as studying the reality of the war between us and examining [the Americans'] previous wars, it became clear to us that attacking the US from within is of extreme importance. It is the number one objective and the main way to lead us to what we want. The impact of attacking the US - from the inside - against the Americans cannot be compared with attacking the US from the outside, besides attacking [the Americans'] allies and agents.

If we reflect on the history of the US, it has fought about 60 wars. The common denominator of most of those wars was that they did not end with the use of the military from outside but ended when public dissatisfaction increased and because of internal opposition. For example, in their Vietnam War, 57,000 soldiers were killed. The war did not end because of losing this large number of soldiers but because they were forced to withdraw when their President Nixon made a mistake by ordering a military draft to continue fighting the war, which impacted every American person. As a result, the people revolted in large anti-war protests, and they withdrew. As you are aware, their current policy to deal with their shortage of soldiers is [by offering] large monetary incentives so as to avoid the mistake made by Nixon.

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In summary, our war with the US will not end by fighting its allies. Even fighting the Americans themselves outside America may or may not end it. It all depends on their financial ability to bear the costs of the war.

The population of the US is 300 million. One thousand soldiers were killed in Afghanistan and 4000 in Iraq. This means that only a small number of them were impacted, which is not enough to make [the American people] revolt and force the politicians to stop the war.

Statistics show that the percentage of thieves and criminals in American prisons is seven per thousand. This is the highest percentage in the world, a fact that [the American] people are living with, even though it is putting lots of pressure on its security nerves.

You all know that the number of people who die in the US as a result of civilian behaviors is very high. For example, the number of people who die from smoking is 400,000, which is a large number compared with the number of people killed in the war in Iraq and Afghanistan. However, [the American people] did not come out in large demonstrations calling for shutting down the tobacco companies.

Using a very simple calculation, if we divide the number of the Americans killed in Afghanistan, which is about 1000, by 300 million, assuming that each soldier has a set of two parents

still alive and a sister or a brother, the percentage of the American people killed in their war in Afghanistan is 3.3 per million. However, to reach the proportion of Americans killed in Vietnam, we need more than a 100 times that in Afghanistan. Yet, the war did not end because of the large number [of casualties]. The population of the US then was 150 million.

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It is becoming more obvious that the small percentages of the nations' disasters, which are numerous, do not usually impact peoples' causes, their anger, and their revolt. They usually learn to deal with them. If we are relying on the number of enemy deaths, then the road ahead of us to win the battle in Afghanistan is very long.

The number of unemployed in the US has increased since September 11 and after the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and reached ten percent of the work force. This is a very large number when compared with the number of people killed in Afghanistan, which is one percent of 1000. These unemployed people know that the reason for their unemployment has to do, in part, with the large spending to support the two wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and in part, to do with greed and financial and administrative corruption in New York and Washington. This large number of people has not been able to stop the source of the damage afflicted on them, but rather they contributed with others to topple the Republican administration that caused them this damage, and they voted for the Democrats in Congress and the presidency, which did not change much.

If the ten million unemployed were not able to end what caused the damage afflicted upon them in a radical way, 3000 Americans who are the fathers, mothers, and brothers of the 1000 people killed in Afghanistan will not be able to end the war.

Consequently, this highlights the importance of external work, particularly inside America, to put pressure on 300 million Americans, so that all the American people react to stop the unjust war that has put pressure on Muslims, particularly in Palestine, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. To support my point, the impact of the fear that hit them after Omar Farouk (Var.: 'Umar al-Faruq [sic], may God grant him release, even if the airplane did not explode, made them incur direct and indirect expenses, about 40 billion dollars, which is double what the

[US] administration has spent on the war each year for the last eight years.

Nations and people can deal with disasters in the percentage of three per thousand, and just imagine how much more 3.3 per one million is. Of course, they will deal with it for long decades.

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There is another factor that is part of the equation in their war in Iraq and Afghanistan, which is of greater dimension for the people: Their economic conditions are bad. If this were not the case, they would continue their war for decades without the American people feeling the impact of these grueling wars that are taking place away from its land.

I have previously mentioned that there are 10 million unemployed people as a result of the deterioration of economic conditions; however, their attempts were not sufficient to end the issues (TN: meaning the war against Muslims).

If we find out our enemy's weakest point, as long as we want to achieve our main objective, we have to conduct our operations inside the US. Dealing with this enemy requires that you attack its security, and particularly, its economy.

One large operation inside the US will affect the security and the nerves of 300 million Americans, while killing 1000 Americans in eight years has very little impact on their nerves. Thus, our main war should be directed to put pressure on the American people inside the US by attacking oil from outside the US, which will be followed by gathering the best capabilities for this great work.

If we have sufficient human and financial capabilities to carry out the previous plan, and we have some left, there is no harm in attacking the Americans from outside.

It is known that the Organization will have a large number of mujahidin to work against the US at the open fronts.[This is] due to the very particular qualifications required for those working in the external operations division. Those whose security conditions do not allow them to travel through airports are qualified to work in the external operations division, and

they can be in charge of planning or training the brothers who will work in this division (the external operations division).

(TN: Begin bold font) As previously mentioned, it seems to me that the operations inside the US are the most important works of the [al-Qa'ida] Organization, as long as they are possible, because they impact the security and the economy of the American people as a whole. (TN: End bold font)

The fight of the Islamic world against the US is like a big dam. In front of the dam are several clay villages on both sides of the river. Some of the tyrants went to the dam and opened some of its gates that should not have been opened and the dam's water flooded the villages. As a result, people were hurt and terrified, and some of the brave men hurried to save the elderly, women, and children, working hard and putting their lives in danger to save them.

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But what they needed was a crucial and important idea that requires less effort than what they exerted to take away their significant suffering and save their energy. They needed to send some of their knights to those who opened the dam and caused all kinds of suffering, to punish them, and to drive them away from the dam, and then to close the gates to put an end to the great suffering of the people.

This is our situation. Our first priorities should be to conduct operations that will impact the largest number of the American people. It is the people's anger against the decision makers in the White House, the Congress, and the Pentagon that will shut the doors of the dam, God willing.

As a result, we will have saved the time and the effort of the 'Ummah (TN: Muslim community) so that we achieve the objective, which is to stop the US from supporting Israel, and it will withdraw its army from the Muslim land and leave the Muslims alone to deal with their enemies.

-- Security should be provided to the brother in charge of external operations, and that should be done in two phases:

First: Select an appropriate and safe place in Pakistan for him. He needs to give a training course to prepare the leaders and

the trainers for external operations. I think that the number of the trainees in the first class should not exceed ten brothers.

Second: Carefully select the trainees for this round. They have to be qualified to become leaders in external operations and trainers for the rest of the members. The most important qualifications they should have:

-- A person has to be pious and patient. During training in training camps, any person we notice who displays boredom, does not finish the tasks assigned to him, and gets mad quickly, we have to remove from the external work, which requires precision and patience. In Kenya, the brothers stayed f inside the house or nine months. In such an abnormal environment, arguments between the group of people sent to the land of the enemy to carry out the mission may have detrimental results. One of the brothers may lose his composure and disobey the emir. This is from experience and not just a possibility.

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-- They need to apply proficiency at all times, as the Prophet says, "Allah loves when one of you engages in any work, he should carry it out with proficiency." There are many sad events and stories caused mainly by negligence and lack of proficiency.

-- They need to have a strong conviction about the importance of external work, and that it is the main avenue to weaken the US so that it will relinquish Israel and stop its wars against Muslims and leave them alone, God willing.

-- Intelligence, astuteness, acuteness, and possession of knowledge.

-- The capability of taking the training for the length of the period that is agreed upon. The training will be taken in the house that will be arranged for them to stay in, and , for everyone's safety, they will not leave it until they complete the training. To guarantee this, they need to make a pledge before entering the house and registering for the training.

I think Shaykh Mahmud should be with them in this training to enrich the lectures with discussions and educated conversation. After completing the external operations course, Shaykh Mahmud can give the qualified brothers the leadership training. I think

of Shaykh Younis (Var.: Yunis) as a very distinguished person who we need to pay attention to and provide him with the opportunity to work with Shaykh Mahmud in the training to prepare leaders.

Suggestions:

After completing the two training sessions, I see Shaykh Younis moving with some brothers out of Afghanistan and Pakistan, and they can start their work from there, on the condition that Shaykh Mahmud is in charge of facilitating the external work before you.

Important remark: You are aware of the importance of secrecy in [our] work. I tried so hard to comply with secrecy to the point that I avoided learning about the plans of the external work. But when the external work was delayed, I found myself forced to contribute to the matter. The secrecy of the [external work] needs to be protected, and only those in the external operations division with the need to know should know about it. Work is directed from me to Shaykh Mahmud to Shaykh Younis, who is in charge of the external operations in Africa, except from the Islamic Maghreb from Libya to Mauritania, since it is under the emirate of brother Abu Mus'ab 'Abd-al-Wudud, and the horn of Africa is under the emirate of the al-Shabaab al-Mujahidin Movement.

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-- It is necessary that we have a development and planning department.

This is even if the prevalent idea in our nation is that development happens as life goes on. Mistakes are made and we learn from them and evolve. This often takes long years. However, establishing a development center will save us decades. A person may think at first that he does not have the ability to develop, but work will develop with time in the manner I previously mentioned.

Even though it will cost us an enormous amount of money to exclusively dedicate ourselves capabilities to think of ways to develop any specific field, God willing, instead of continuing in our traditional ways, it is one of the most important matters as it is the first step in this field. The researchers in the

development center, God willing, will present us with research and studies that will contain very crucial ideas that will save us lots of effort, time, energy, and money. The development center will have to develop itself using whatever is available, particularly to increase reading and studying in general, and studying the fields we need in particular. I think the person in charge of this [development] center should be one of the brothers who likes this kind of work and has the ability to do it, particularly a passion for reading and deducing the benefits.

Attention needs to be paid to our Western brothers in this [development] center and in the external operation center. Our brother Abu Talha al-Almani (TN: Abu Talha, the German) should be in this [development] center as an instructor and trainer. He will be useful providing you with ideas on working inside the US. We should also take advantage of our brother 'Azzam al-Amriki (TN: 'Azzam, the American) who can look for research on the Internet that was published by Western centers, Americans in particular, and translate what the brothers would find of use in this field. He ('Azzam) can also write his views on working inside the US, and it will be beneficial if he provides a training class to teach English to the members of the center.

The supervisors in the center can refer back to Shaykh Mahmud, with a caveat that all the members of the center have to be in a safe place, away from the battlefield.

-- What will be useful is to determine the specialties that we need, prioritize them, and then assign some young people to exclusively study and become proficient in those sciences and specialties, such as computer engineering and chemistry, of which manufacturing explosives is one topic and which is something we have a dire need for.

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We will send some of the brothers who are bright - and it is not known that they have joined the ranks of the mujahidin - to study at universities and task them to take classes in the fields that we need to develop. The situation of the brothers, security-wise, will be comfortable, and they can access any Websites as they wish and buy books and products without raising any questions.

One of the specialties we need that we should not overlook is the science of administration. It is an independent science and a very important one where there is an abundance of expertise. Also, we should not overlook strategic politics [TN: political science]. We need a brother or two in these specialties. This is inexpensive and we will benefit greatly from it in many fields, as it will provide us with a sound opinion during the events that our 'Ummah will be going through.

(TN: Begin underline) What you have in your hands is a living experience that bore fruit and which is the realization of the brothers, during the time of Shaykh 'Abdallah 'Azzam, may he rest in peace, that the mujahidin needed to have scholars with them. So we made several attempts to have shaykhs [TN: Islamic scholars] and scholars with us at the fronts so they can educate the youth, but nobody came to stay with us permanently ... sending some young people to study Shari'a and then they return to us. (TN: End underline)

-- We have to prepare ourselves that after sending some of the brothers, we may only get 40 percent back due to factors such as the family burden (TN: starting a family and having children) and the psychological factors that follow.

We should not forget the geographic and time differences. They are two dangerous factors for the individual since we do not see him (TN: the operative) and we are not in contact with him, which may cause him to forget some of the things we agreed upon, start to lose interest, and gradually change the path he is on.

-- Attached are Basir and Abu Hurayra's letters, which I previously requested from you.

-- Attached is a letter to Shaykh Abu Muhammad. Please send it to him when you can. If you haven't already sent him the previous letter, please do not send it and send him this one instead.

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-- Please advise whether my son Khalid's letter to Khamenei was published or not. Also please send me the reactions to the letter if it was published.

(TN: Begin green highlight) That was corroborated by the number of NATO troops, under the leadership of the US to fight al-Qa'ida in Afghanistan, which exceeds 100,000. Obama decided to add 30,000 troops after the Americans spied on al-Qa'ida in Pakistan and Afghanistan and mentioned that al-Qa'ida's permanent members are about 100. Many people found it strange to send more than 100,000 soldiers to fight 100 people. What they do not know is that the 100 people that the US is fighting are determined to attack the US in its homeland, which is where the danger they face hides. Bush stated during his presidency that we will fight them over there so that we don't fight them over here. So we have to pay attention to that.

A few days ago, the US Secretary of State made a statement indicating that the biggest danger that America faces is not Iran or Korea, it is al-Qa'ida. The secret does not lie in al-Qa'ida threatening US interests abroad, as Iran does, for example, by expanding in the region particularly in Iraq and Lebanon and competing against the American dominance, but it lies in al-Qa'ida's determination to attack the US in its homeland. (TN: End green highlight)