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Ayman al-Zawahiri Audio/Video Release  
Analysis (AZAVRA)

v1.1

5 August 2005

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Questions or comments can be directed to Ben Venzke at [bvenzke@intelcenter.com](mailto:bvenzke@intelcenter.com) or [bvenzke@leo.gov](mailto:bvenzke@leo.gov). The latest release can be found at <http://www.intelcenter.com>.

**IMPORTANT NOTE:**

Certain aspects of the analysis of the 4 Aug. 2005 video release based solely on the excerpts aired by al-Jazeera are inherently flawed in that they are based on excerpts aired without context and with no knowledge as to how much or what content has not been aired. At the time of this release we are working off those excerpts as efforts to obtain the complete release continue. All statements referencing this release consequently bear that qualifier.

**EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The five audio/video releases by Ayman al-Zawahiri prior to his 4 Aug. 2005 release were followed by what can be considered signature al-Qaeda style operations within 6-30 days. However, the increase in frequency, 4-5 a year, of audio/video releases by Ayman al-Zawahiri since 2003 when combined with an increase in the number of attacks over the same period makes the appearance of a correlation between the release of new audio/video statements and attacks inevitable. This neither proves nor disproves a correlation but makes clear the needed inclusion of additional information to have the analysis reliably indicate one way or the other.

The al-Zawahiri reference in the 4 Aug. 2005 video to Osama bin Laden's truce offer to Europe in an audio release on 15 Apr. 2004 is significant in that it demonstrates al-Qaeda's longer view. While many had discounted the threat when no attacks occurred in the period immediately following the end of the truce window set by Osama bin Laden on 15 Jul. 2004, al-Qaeda clearly did not forget, tying it to the London attacks more than a year later.

According to our initial assessment regarding whether or not the 4 Aug. 2005 video from al-Zawahiri serves as a claim of responsibility for the 7/7 and 7/21 London bombings, it is consistent with a practice that has existed before in earlier high level al-Qaeda releases

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where claims are made by senior leadership without directly stating it in an unequivocal fashion. The wording is sometimes one more of association. While ambiguous, this is considered to be a valid technique of al-Qaeda's for claiming responsibility for certain attacks.

During the video al-Zawahiri makes a number of threats believed to be indicative of targeting priorities. Attacks associated with these threats could come within days or be as far out as a year or more. The threats apply to the UK, US, countries working with US forces in Afghanistan and Iraq and Arab regimes which al-Qaeda sees as illegitimate and puppets of the US.

### **RELEASE OF AYMAN AL-ZAWAHIRI AUDIO/VIDEO & ATTACKS**

The five audio/video releases by Ayman al-Zawahiri prior to his 4 Aug. 2005 release were followed by what can be considered signature al-Qaeda style operations within 6-30 days. However, the increase in frequency, 4-5 a year, of audio/video releases by Ayman al-Zawahiri since 2003 when combined with an increase in the number of attacks over the same period makes the appearance of a correlation between the release of new audio/video statements and attacks inevitable. This neither proves nor disproves a correlation but makes clear the needed inclusion of additional information to have the analysis reliably indicate one way or the other.

Ayman al-Zawahiri has already made four audio/video releases in 2005. In 2004, al-Zawahiri made five and Osama bin Laden made six. In 2003, al-Zawahiri made four releases and Osama bin Laden made five. Both al-Zawahiri and bin Laden made 13 releases each between Jan. 2002 and 8 Jul. 2005.

### **Ayman al-Zawahiri Releases**

The Ayman al-Zawahiri audio/video addresses factored into this analysis are listed below. There are a total of 14 releases between Jan. 2002 and 4 Aug. 2005.

- 4 Aug. 2005 - Video
- 17 Jun. 2005 – Video

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- 20 Feb. 2005 – Video
- 30 Jan. 2005 – Audio
- 29 Nov. 2004 – Video
- 1 Oct. 2004 – Audio
- 9 Sep. 2004 – Video
- 25 Mar. 2004 – Audio
- 24 Feb. 2004 – Audio
- 19 Dec. 2003 – Audio
- 28 Sep. 2003 – Audio
- 3 Aug. 2003 – Audio
- 21 May 2003 – Audio
- Sep 2002 – Audio

### **Osama bin Laden Releases**

The Osama bin Laden audio/video addresses factored into this analysis are listed below. Following the dates are who bin Laden was addressing. There are a total of 13 releases between Jan. 2002 and 8 Jul. 2005.

- 27 Dec. 2004 - Audio
- 16 Dec. 2004 - Audio
- 29 Oct. 2004 – Video - Americans
- 6 May 2004 – Audio - Ummah and Muslim Brothers
- 15 Apr. 2004 – Audio - Europeans
- 4 Jan. 2004 – Audio - Ummah and Muslim Brothers
- 18 Oct. 2003 - Audio - Americans
- 18 Oct. 2003 – Audio - Iraqi People
- April 2003 – Audio - Muslim Brothers
- Feb. 2003 – Audio - Palestinians and Muslim Brothers
- 11 Feb. 2003 – Audio - Muslim Brothers in Iraq
- 12 Nov. 2002 – Audio - US Allies
- 6 Oct. 2002 – Audio - Americans

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## Attacks

The attacks factored into this analysis along with dates are listed below. There are other low-level attacks conducted during this period. These were not counted for the purpose of this analysis due to a number of factors, including the prominence the attacks were given by the group in its communiqués and other writings.

- 11 Apr. 2002 – Crashing of Fuel Truck into Synagogue - Djerba, Tunisia
- 6 Oct. 2002 – Bombing of Limburg Oil Tanker - off Coast of Yemen
- 8 Oct. 2002 – Shooting Targeting US Marines - Failaka, Kuwait
- 28 Nov. 2002 – SAM strike & Vehicular Bombing - Mombasa, Kenya
- 12/13 May 2003 – Vehicular Bombing of Housing Compound - Riyadh, Saudi Arabia
- 16 May 2003 – Suicide Bombing - Casablanca, Morocco
- 8 Nov. 2003 – Vehicular Bombing of al-Muhaya Housing Compound - Riyadh, Saudi Arabia
- 15 Nov. 2003 – Vehicular Bombing of Synagogues - Istanbul, Turkey
- 20 Nov. 2003 – Vehicular Bombing of HSBC Bank HQ & UK Consulate – Istanbul, Turkey
- 11 Mar. 2004 – Bombing of Trains - Madrid, Spain
- 21 Apr. 2004 – Vehicular Bombing of Traffic Directorate - Riyadh, Saudi Arabia
- 1 May 2004 – Hostage Taking, ABB Lummus Global - Yanbu, Saudi Arabia
- 29 May 2004 – Hostage Taking, Oil Industry Offices - al-Khobar, Saudi Arabia
- 8 Jun. 2004 – Shooting, American Robert Jacobs – Riyadh, Saudi Arabia
- 12 Jun. 2004 – Shooting, Kidnapping Americans Kenneth Scroggs & Paul Johnson – Riyadh, Saudi Arabia
- 9 September 2004 – Vehicular Bombing, Australian Embassy – Jakarta, Indonesia
- 7 Oct. 2004 – Vehicular Bombings, Taba Hilton & Resort/Tourist Areas – Taba, Egypt
- 29 Dec. 2004 – Vehicular Bombings, Interior Ministry & Special Emergency Forces HQ – Riyadh, Saudi Arabia
- 14 Feb. 2005 – Vehicular Bombing, Assassination of former Lebanese PM Rafik Hariri – Beirut, Lebanon
- 19 Mar. 2005 – Vehicular Bombing, Doha Players Theater (UK) – Doha, Qatar
- 7 Jul. 2005 – Bombings, London Underground & Bus – London, UK
- 21 Jul. 2005 – Bombings, London Underground & Bus – London, UK

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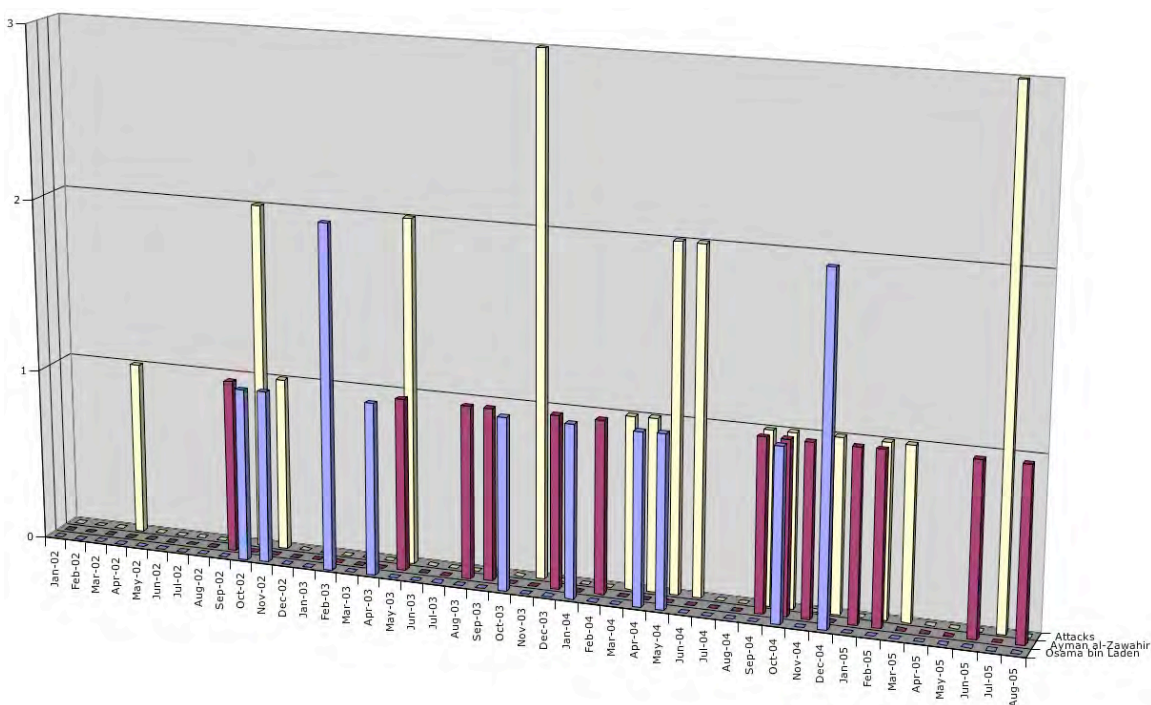
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- 23 Jul. 2005 – Vehicular Bombings & Bombing, Hotels & Tourist Areas – Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt

## Chart



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### **AL-ZAWAHIRI VIDEO RELEASE ON 4 AUG. 2005**

On 4 Aug. 2005, al-Jazeera aired a new video statement by Ayman al-Zawahiri. It is unclear how much more of the video was not aired by al-Jazeera. Speaking about some of the portions not aired an al-Jazeera anchor said, "Ayman al-Zawahiri, the second-in-command in al-Qaeda organization, strongly attacked the Egyptian security agencies in his new videotape. He accused these agencies of defending the US and Israeli interests. He also criticized Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf and accused him of accepting bribes. Al-Zawahiri described Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas as a secular who sold his religion and moves from one failure to another. He called on whom he described as mujahideen in Palestine not to be dragged by the Palestinian National Authority [PNA] into taking part in the political process. He also called on the judicious people to topple what he described as corrupt regimes."

The following is a translation of the portions aired by al-Jazeera. Ayman al-Zawahiri: "As for the British, I tell them that Blair has brought you destruction in central London, and God willing, will bring more destruction. O nations of the crusade alliance, we proposed that you at least stop your aggression against the Muslims. The lion of Islam, mujahid Sheikh Osama Bin Laden, may God preserve him, offered you a truce to leave the house of Islam. Has Sheikh Osama Bin Laden not informed you that you will not dream of security until we live it in reality in Palestine and before all infidel armies leave the land of Mohammed, may peace be upon him? Your salvation will only come in your withdrawal from our land. You, however, shed rivers of blood in our land so we exploded volcanoes of anger in your land. Our message to you is crystal clear: Your salvation will only come in your withdrawal from our land, in stopping the robbing of our oil and resources, and in stopping your support for the corrupt and corrupting leaders. What you have you seen, O Americans, in New York and Washington and the losses you are having in Afghanistan and Iraq, in spite of all the media blackout, are only the losses of the initial clashes. If you continue the same policy of aggression against Muslims, God willing, you will see horror that will make you forget what you saw in Vietnam. The truth which Bush, Rice and Rumsfeld hide from you is that the only way out from Iraq is immediate withdrawal, and any delay in this decision will only mean more deaths and more losses. If you don't leave today, then you shall inevitably leave tomorrow but after scores of thousands of fatalities and double that number of disabled and wounded people.

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They are repeating with regard to Iraq the same claims and lies they uttered about Vietnam. Did they not tell you that they would train the Vietnamese people so that they would run their own affairs themselves, and that they were defending freedom in Vietnam?"

### **Additional Excerpts**

At 1830 GMT on 4 Aug. 2005, al-Jazeera aired additional excerpts from the Ayman al-Zawahiri video. The additional excerpts are included below. It is still unknown how much additional content has not been aired. It is also unclear at where or in what order these excerpts appear in the video

#### **Excerpt #1:**

"The secretary of state of America, which desecrates the holy Koran, came to give a lecture at the American University of Cairo [AUC] about people's freedoms. Rice, however, came to the wrong place. Her real audience was not at the American University of Cairo; her real audience was 500 meters to the east of the AUC, that is at the premises of the State Security Police, where the real soldiers of America are located. These are the soldiers who defend its interests and those of Israel in Egypt. The people who reap the biggest benefits from its aid and those who receive training at the hands of its experts are based there."

#### **Excerpt #2:**

"I call upon the nation's opinion leaders - the scientists, writers, intellectuals, craftsmen, merchants and officers - to come together and discuss means of disposing of these corrupt and corruptive regimes that weigh down on our nation's chest. I call on them to start preparing for change, no matter how much time and effort is needed. I call on them to spread calls for change among all sects of the nation, and to know that victory always comes at a price. A dark fate awaits us if we do not resist them."

#### **Excerpt #3:**

"Our message to you is crystal clear: Your salvation will only come in your withdrawal from our land, in stopping the robbing of our oil and resources and in stopping your support for the corrupt and corrupting leaders. Those who collaborated with America in

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Iraq and Afghanistan will, God willing, bear the consequences of this collaboration soon."

### **AL-ZAWAHIRI 4 AUG. 2005 ANALYSIS**

#### **Truce**

The al-Zawahiri reference in the 4 Aug. 2005 video to Osama bin Laden's truce offer to Europe in an audio release on 15 Apr. 2004 is significant in that it demonstrates al-Qaeda's longer view. While many had discounted the threat when no attacks occurred in the period immediately following the end of the truce window set by Osama bin Laden on 15 Jul. 2004, al-Qaeda clearly did not forget, tying it to the London attacks more than a year later. While an American will typically view a threat not acted on within a few weeks of its issuance as a failure, it is nothing for al-Qaeda to see a perfectly clear and successful linkage between a threat and an attack that follows more than a year later.

#### **Claim**

According to our initial assessment regarding whether or not the 4 Aug. 2005 video from al-Zawahiri serves as a claim of responsibility for the 7/7 and 7/21 London bombings, it is consistent with a practice that has existed before in earlier high level al-Qaeda releases where claims are made by senior leadership without directly stating it in an unequivocal fashion. The wording is sometimes one more of association. While ambiguous, this is considered to be a valid technique of al-Qaeda's for claiming responsibility for certain attacks.

At times the group has made direct, unequivocal claims to the degree that when an initial written statement on 2 Dec. 2002 claiming responsibility for the 2002 Mombasa attack was not readily accepted in media circles as credible, al-Qaeda's Sulaiman Abu Ghaith went to the lengths of releasing an audio recording on 7 Dec. confirming that the written statement was in fact from al-Qaeda and it did conduct the attack. In that same 2002 release, Ghaith made the interesting comment, "While the nature of the work in the previous phase prohibited us from claiming responsibility for our jihad operations against

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this unjust alliance, we find ourselves in a better state and stronger position that enables us to do so.”

### **Black Turban**

Our analysis regarding the wearing by Ayman al-Zawahiri of a black turban in this video as opposed to his standard white turban is still in its initial stages. During commentary on al-Jazeera on 4 Aug. 2005 by Montasser al-Zayat he said, “What I perceive from Dr. al-Zawahiri's statement is that he wants to exploit the troubled atmosphere in various areas of the world in order to pursue fighting operations. This is the message he wants to convey through this statement. This message is even clearer in the turban he was wearing. He was wearing a black turban, which Muslims wear only in times of war. The Messenger [Mohammed], peace be upon him, used to wear a black turban in times of war. He [al-Zawahiri] wants to exploit the bombings in London and Sharm al-Sheikh to ensure an ongoing state of war. At the same time, he wants to entice the peoples to revolt and start a revolution against the existing governments.”

### **Threats**

During the video al-Zawahiri makes a number of threats believed to be indicative of targeting priorities. Attacks associated with these threats could come within days or be as far out as a year or more. The threats apply to the UK, US, countries working with US forces in Afghanistan and Iraq and Arab regimes which al-Qaeda sees as illegitimate and puppets of the US.

- “As for the British, I tell them that Blair has brought you destruction in central London, and God willing, will bring more destruction.”
- “What you have you seen, O Americans, in New York and Washington and the losses you are having in Afghanistan and Iraq, in spite of all the media blackout, are only the losses of the initial clashes. If you continue the same policy of aggression against Muslims, God willing, you will see horror that will make you forget what you saw in Vietnam.”

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- “I call upon the nation's opinion leaders - the scientists, writers, intellectuals, craftsmen, merchants and officers - to come together and discuss means of disposing of these corrupt and corruptive regimes that weigh down on our nation's chest.”
- “Those who collaborated with America in Iraq and Afghanistan will, God willing, bear the consequences of this collaboration soon.”

### **AL-ZAWAHIRI VIDEO RELEASE ON 17 JUN. 2005**

On 17 Jun. 2005, al-Jazeera aired several excerpts of a video from al-Qaeda's Ayman al-Zawahiri. It is unclear how long the entire video was and what if any other statements were made by al-Zawahiri. In the first segment, al-Zawahiri said, “Real reform is based on three principles. The first principle is the rule of Shariah because it is the Shariah revealed from the Lord to His servants and which ensures their interests, freedom, dignity and pride. It also safeguards their honor. And because it is the Shariah, which the Islamic nation accepts no other, after having suffered from methods that are contrary to Islam, imposed on the Islamic nation through force and repression. The second principle for reform is the freedom of Muslim countries. We cannot imagine having any kind of reform while our country is occupied by the Crusader forces spread in all corners of our country. It is not possible to imagine any kind of reform while the crusader forces are taking up positions in our country, enjoying support, supplies, facilities and storage, and the ability to take off from our countries to attack our brothers and sisters everywhere in Muslim countries. We cannot imagine having any kind of reform while our governments are governed by US embassies in our countries. These embassies interfere in all our affairs. The third principle for reform is the freedom of the Muslim nation in running its affairs. This kind of reform can only be achieved through two things. The first is the freedom of independent and Shariah-based judiciary, the implementation of its rules and ensuring its stature, influence and power. The second is the freedom of the Muslim nation and its right to enjoin what is just and forbid what is wrong.” In the second segment, al-Zawahiri said, “What I also want to assert is that driving the invading Crusader troops and Jews from the countries of Islam cannot be achieved only through demonstrations and chanting slogans in the street. We can achieve reform and drive the invaders out of the countries of Islam only through fighting in the cause of God. Almighty God says:

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'And fight them on until there is no more Tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in Allah altogether and everywhere.' And Almighty God says: 'Fight them, and Allah will punish them by your hands, cover them with shame, help you (to victory) over them, heal the breasts of Believers.' In the third segment, al-Zawahiri said, "I salute my brothers, the lions of Islam, who are garrisoned on the holy frontiers of Islam in the environs of Jerusalem. I beseech them, invoking the name of the Almighty God, not to renounce their jihad; not to lay down their arms; not to believe the agents' counsel; not to remember [corrects himself] not to forget the lessons of history; not to trust the secularists, who sold Palestine for a cheap price; and not to allow themselves to be dragged into the game of secular elections under a secular constitution."

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