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Item 1: TRC Complete Translation and Analysis of New Osama bin Laden Video Item 2: Training Manual Discusses Urban Terrorist Attacks, Assassinations and Kidnappings

Item 3: Insurgency Sniper Attacks

Item 4: Video Available: "Indonesia (Country Profile) in the Crusaders' Net"









<u>Graphic</u>: New propaganda video urges Arabic and English speaking Muslims to support Indonesian radicals (Item 4).

#### **Orientation/Introduction:**

Please review the introduction to the Terror Web Watch at Intel Report.

## <u>Item 1</u>: TRC Complete Translation and Analysis of New Osama bin Laden Video

The following is a translation of the Arabic-language transcript of Osama bin Laden's audio recording aired on January 19. Note that this transcript contains more of the recording than was aired on *al-Jazeera*, but may not contain the complete contents of the recording, as *al-Jazeera* has held back from releasing parts of such speeches in the past.

[begin translation]

In the Name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate Peace to whoso follows guidance

This message to you is about the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and how to stop them. I had not been intending to talk to you about this, because for us the matter is obvious: nothing breaks iron like iron. Our circumstances, thank God, have gone from good to better, and your circumstances have done the opposite of that.

My concern was aroused by the repeated fallacies of your President Bush in his comments about the results of your opinion polls, which show that a great majority of you want to withdrawal American forces from Iraq. In spite of that, Bush resists this desire, saying that withdrawing forces sends the wrong message to the enemies. [He says] "it is better to fight them in their land than it is to fight them in ours."

Between my hands is the response to these errors. I say that the war in Iraq is raging without letting up and that operations in Afghanistan are continuously escalating, praise God. The Pentagon's own figures show the increasing number of their dead and wounded, and also their great material losses. The result has been the collapse of morale of their soldiers there and a rise in suicides among them. You can imagine the collapse of morale that wounds the soldier as he gathers up the torn limbs of his comrades after they step on mines and are ripped apart. In this situation, the soldier is between two fires. If he refuses to leave his barracks and go out on patrols, he will receive harsh punishments from the Butcher of Vietnam [tr note: Bin Laden has used this name to refer to Donald Rumsfeld in the past], and if he goes out he will be eaten by the demons of mines. He is under the psychological pressure of fear, humiliation, defeat, and having his people neglect him. He can find no solution except for suicide, and this is what you hear about. His suicide is a powerful message to you, penned by his soul and his blood and the grief and pain that squeezes him, to salvage what can be salvaged from this hell. The solution is in your hands if [your soldiers] are important to you.

As for the news of the brother Mujahideen, it is different from what the Pentagon reports. The media's reporting does not overreach the truth, nor the reality on the ground. Information that the White House administration was intent on targeting some of the media outlets that tried to report some of the facts created deep doubts. Documents appeared recently that the Butcher of Freedom in the World was determined to bomb the main offices of the satellite station al-Jazeera in Qatar after bombing their headquarters in Kabul and Baghdad.

On another topic, the Jihad continues, praise God, in spite of the measures undertaken by the American army and their collaborators to subdue it. There is no difference worth mentioning between these crimes and the crimes of Saddam. The crimes have reached the extent of raping women and imprisoning them instead of their husbands. There is no effort and no power except by God.

As for torturing men, this has reached the point of using burning chemical acids and electric drills on their joints. The worst of it is when they use these on their heads until they die. Read your human [rights] reports which speak of the scandals in the Abu Ghraib, Bagram and Guantanamo prisons.

I say that these barbaric means have failed to break the edge of the resistance and the Mujahideen. Thanks to God for their growth and strength. Reports show the defeat and failure of the plan of the cursed quadripartite of



Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, and Wolfowitz. The announcement of defeat and their being expelled [from Iraq and Afghanistan] is a matter of time which depends to a certain extent on how conscious the American people are of the extent of this miserable situation. Intelligent people know that Bush does not have a plan to achieve the victory in Iraq as he claims. Compare the small number of dead at the time when Bush made that absurd display on the aircraft carrier announcing the end of major operations to the ten times more that have been killed and injured in small operations. You know that the truth is that the administration does not have the desire nor the will to leave Iraq for suspicious personal reasons. I say that the results of the polls satisfy the intelligent people and expose that Bush has made a mistake.

The reality shows that the war against America and its allies in is not limited to Iraq, as they claim. Rather, Iraq has turned into a gravitational point [for the Mujahideen] and a place [for them] to renew [their] great energies. The Mujahideen can also, thanks to God, penetrate most of the security measures which the countries of the oppressive coalition have taken time after time. As proof of that are the explosions that you have seen in the capitals of the most important European countries in this enemy alliance. As for the delay of similar operations in America, this is not because we cannot penetrate your security measures, but rather because the operations are still under preparation. You will see the them in your homeland when the preparations are finished, with God's permission.

Based upon what I have presented, the falseness of what Bush says is apparent. He evades the substance of the results of the opinion polls, which show that it is preferred to pull out the soldiers and to stop fighting the Muslims in their lands and to not fight them in yours, either.

We do not object to a long-term truce with just conditions. God has forbidden us from lying and from breaches of faith. Both sides would agree to a truce of security and stability and to rebuild Iraq and Afghanistan, which have been damaged by war. There is no shame in that solution if it is done without stealing billions of dollars from the owners of the oil, and without including the peddlers of war in America who gave billions of dollars to Bush's election campaign. We understand that they are the reason Bush and his group insist on continuing the war.

If you [the American public] are sincere in your desire to make peace and achieve security, then we have given you an answer. If Bush wants to continue spreading lies and tyranny, it would be beneficial to read the book "Rogue State", which reads in its introduction: "If I were the President, I would stop [terrorist] operations against the United States. First, I would offer my apologies to all the widows and orphans and the people who had been tortured. After that I would announce that America's interference in the countries of the world was over."

To conclude, I say that victory in this war will either be ours or it will be yours. If the former, then know that this will lead to your loss and your defeat forever. This is the direction the wind is blowing, thanks to God. If it is the latter, then read history and know that we are a people who do not sleep in the face of injustice. We require vengeance. We do not rest day or night until we avenge, as happened on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of September, with God's permission. Your minds will be exhausted and your lives will be unhappy. The matter become something you will hate. As for us, we have nothing to lose. He who swims in the ocean does not fear the rain. You have occupied our land. You have attacked our honor and dignity. You have spilt our blood, stolen our money, demolished our homes, driven us out, and disrupted our security. We will treat you the same.

You have tried to prevent us from the honorable life, but you cannot prevent us from an honorable death. In our religion shirking Jihad is what we fear. Death, if it comes under the shadow of the swords, is our desire. You cannot count on your strength and your modern weapons; for they may win some of the battles, but they will lose the war. The patience and perseverance that we have is better, and an eye towards the finish. We persevered to defeat the Soviet Union with simple weapons for ten years. We drained their economy and they were ruined completely, thanks to God. You have been warned. We will persevere in fighting you, with God's permission, until hastiness dies from us. We will not flee from battle until the weapons themselves flee.

I swore I would not die, except as free Despite finding death a bitter taste For fear of shame and deception

Peace to whoso follows guidance



#### [end translation]

#### Analysis:

Time created

The only event Osama bin Laden references to date the recording definitively are the London attacks (<u>Terrorist Incident</u>) of last summer. However, he alludes to a media report and a statement by President George Bush that



seem to correspond to late November 2005. Bin Laden says, "Documents appeared recently that the Butcher of Freedom in the World was determined to bomb the main offices of the Qatari satellite station *al-Jazeera* at their headquarters in Kabul and Baghdad." On November 22, 2005, this was the cover story of the United Kingdom (Country Profile) paper the *Daily Mirror*.

The *Daily Mirror* reported on a "top secret memo," which described how Bush had allegedly wanted to bomb *al-Jazeera's* offices in Qatar (Country Profile) (story).

Bin Laden also says "intelligent people know that Bush does not have a plan to achieve the victory in Iraq (Country Profile) as he claims." Bush's "plan for victory in Iraq" was the focus of a well-publicized speech delivered at the US Naval Academy on November 30, 2005. Taking into consideration the time it probably takes to get news to Bin Laden, wherever he is hiding, Bin Laden probably made this tape at

least as recently as December 2005.

#### Bin Laden's messages

It was argued when Bin Laden made his last video appearance in December 2004 that both his choice of clothing and his choice of words indicated that he was trying to appear more "statesman-like" (WAR Report). The attempt to appear the diplomat by proposing a truce in this recording also supports the thought that Bin Laden is trying to make himself into a statesman to represent the Muslim world.

Though the message is made to sound like it is being directed at the United States(Country Profile), his offer of the "long-term truce" is likely more for Muslim audiences among whom Bin Laden wants to be seen as a legitimate leader. Offering a truce based on "just conditions" allows Bin Laden's defenders to excuse any future attacks by saying that Bin Laden had extended the olive branch before attacking and it was the Americans who rejected the peace proposal.

This analyst believes with fair certainty that the offer of the truce was not a serious one on Bin Laden's part. If Europe rejected his offer of a truce, then certainly the United States would not accept one. Bin Laden likely understands his adversary well enough to know that. Both sides also know that the "just conditions" in this fantasy of a truce would be set by al-Qaeda (Group Profile), and, if the demands made in their previous ideological speeches and writings are any guide, it would involve the withdrawal of all American interests from all Muslim lands. "Muslims lands" would probably even include a large part of Spain (Country Profile), the lost "al-Andulus" of the historical Islamic empire.

Further, he states elsewhere in the speech that he is already preparing operations to attack the US homeland; this makes a mockery of the pretense of a truce. And though he reminds the American people that he and his kind "require vengeance" and "do not rest day or night until we avenge," he also knows that Americans are a vengeful people to any who attack them. The truce offer was, thus, probably made for appearances sake, to give a scanty moral cover, in the eyes of his supporters, for the next al-Qaeda attacks on Americans.

#### Is an attack imminent?

The argument of whether Osama bin Laden still has the ability to direct terrorist cells to attack the US is ongoing among analysts. Some believe that the most wanted man in the world does not have the freedom of movement, the communication channels, and the luxury of the time needed to be active in directing operations. Others say that Bin Laden still commands a well-trained core of operatives that could, in theory, be dispatched around the world.

In this speech, as in others, Bin Laden threatens more attacks, what he calls "operations," in the US homeland. However, it is possible that bin Laden does not have his finger on the trigger of the next terrorist attack, but is simply counting on the fact that either self-generated cells or Afghan or Iraq alumni who are inspired by al-Qaeda will be animated by his words.

To make his threat to attack in the American homeland in this recording seem credible, Bin Laden points to the ability of the Mujahideen to attack in Madrid (Terrorist Incident) and London. However, with both of those attacks, the post-attack investigations revealed that regional groups had organized to carry out attacks largely on their own initiative. It is still up for debate as to whether there was much communication at all between those groups and the al-Qaeda core. Especially in the case of the London bombings, the investigation revealed that the initiative to attack, the preparations, the targeting, and the timing were likely decided by the planners of the attack in the UK rather than by the al-Qaeda leadership.

If Bin Laden is claiming that attacks similar to the Madrid and London train attacks will happen in the US, he may simply be counting on a similar situation where a mostly self-organized group, inspired by al-Qaeda, decides to attack in the name of al-Qaeda. He may have faith that somewhere, someone is preparing an attack on the US but have no direct line of communication or command to operative groups.

Bin Laden probably wants his supporters to think that he is actively planning something, rather than just planning to take credit when something finally happens. He implies that the "delay" in carrying out operations in the US is because of lengthy preparations, trying to give the impression that he has spent the last four and a half years not running away, but plotting his *pièce de résistance*. Although his isolation and the lack of evidence that he had any direct hand in recent terror attacks would imply otherwise, it is yet a possibility. Bin Laden says that he would carry out attacks similar to those that struck the Spanish and British capital cities; that desire for "similar" attacks may be his way of specifying that he would like to attack in the US capital of Washington, DC.

#### Opinion polls

Bin Laden puts a strange amount of emphasis on opinion polls that he alleges were taken in the US and show that the American public does not support the war. He may be referring to a well-publicized CNN/USA Today/Gallup poll taken in May 2005 that showed that the majority of Americans did not find the Iraq war worthwhile (link). The thought process demonstrated by Bin Laden in this recording is the following: the American public, he believes, has turned largely against the war. He may be attempting to convince them that if they pull out of Iraq and Afghanistan (Country Profile), they could avoid future al-Qaeda terrorist attacks. In Bin Laden's eyes, connecting the current occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan with future al-Qaeda attacks in the US may give the thus far docile public the impetus to put pressure on their politicians to disengage from these areas. This strategy appeared two years ago in a strategic document called "Jihadi Iraq, Hopes and Dangers," with regards to European countries, especially Spain, involved in the Coalition. That document is believed to have inspired the train attacks in Madrid.

This most recent speech is clearly informed by al-Qaeda's successful experience with Spain. If the terrorist organization can speak to a segment of the American public who they think opposes the Iraq and Afghan occupations, they may be able to convince them to voice their resistance in order to protect themselves from another terrorist attack. This is a different issue than the truce—bin Laden would like to make the American public believe that pulling troops out of Afghanistan and Iraq would spare them from future attacks, but that alone would not fulfill a truce with al-Qaeda, whose long list of complaints against us does not stop at Iraq and Afghanistan.

# <u>Item 2</u>: Training Manual Discusses Urban Terrorist Attacks, Assassinations and Kidnappings

Abdulaziz al-Muqruin (aka Abu Hajer) was one of the most dangerous terrorists to operate in Saudi Arabia (Country Profile). He was a well-trained and capable leader of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (Group Profile), and under his leadership the organization flourished. For the months al-Muqrin was in charge, it was doubtful that Saudi Arabia would ever be a safe place for foreigners again. Abdulaziz al-Muqrin acquired his military knowledge at al-Qaeda's camps in Afghanistan from 1990-1994 and by fighting in Algeria (Country Profile), Bosnia and



Herzegovina (Country Profile), and Somalia (Country Profile) in the 1990s. As an operative, he had carried out the November 2003 compound bombings (Terrorist Incident). It was under his guidance that the group carried out their siege of a housing complex in al-Khobar Saudi Arabia in which 22 people lost their lives (Terrorist Incident). The group also assassinated American citizen Kenneth Scroggs (Terrorist Incident) and Robert Jacobs (Terrorist Incident) under al-Muqrin's leadership, and kidnapped and beheaded Paul Johnson (Terrorist Incident).

When al-Muqrin was caught while disposing of Johnson's headless body, half the battle against the organization was won. Though the group continued to carry out individual assassinations, they have been unable to produce good leadership since Muqrin and carry out larger scale, successful attacks. Unfortunately, Muqrin has left something of his heritage behind him, in the way of a compilation of all of his terrorist training instructions from the publications his group used to issue. Called, "Military Lessons by Abu Hajar Abdulaziz al-Muqrin," the 67-page manual contains Muqrin's instructions on topics from carrying out attacks in urban areas to kidnapping and assassinations. It was downloaded from the "training camp" forum of the "al-Ghorabaa" Jihadist website.

Among al-Muqrin's guidance are his recommendations for organization for cells operating in urban areas. He says that groups should be broken up into an intelligence collecting cell, a logistics cell, a leadership cell, and an "execution" cell (the one that carries out the attacks). He recommends each cell should contain no more than four people, and ideally cell members should be drawn from the populations of the cities in which they are operating.

Al-Muqrin covers how to plan attacks. He goes over lists of targets and discusses different kinds of targets. He creates a list of human targets in order of their priority. The list places Jews at the top, followed by Christians of nationalities listed in descending priority: American, British, Spanish, Australian, Canadian, Italian. Within each nationality, he provides a list, in descending order of importance, of the kind of people that should be targeted:

- "1. Men of money and economy and work for money has a global significance in this age
- 2. Diplomats and thinkers and analysts and political delegates
- 3. Scientists and experts
- 4. Military leaders and soldiers
- 5. Tourists: each is a way for the Mujahideen to warn against entering or staying in the lands of the Muslims."

He advocates attacks against these targets in cities. Of the purpose of such attacks, he says: "Strikes inside a city are considered a form of militant diplomacy. It is a form of diplomacy that writes in blood and uses torn limbs as letters..." He puts a lot of emphasis on targeting: "[Attacks] are a way to direct messages to a number of groups, and therefore it is important to choose targets with the same precision in which you choose language."

Three subjects al-Muqrin explores in depth are assassinations, kidnapping, and, interestingly, the use of physical dead drops to pass materials and communications between cells and cell members. The emphasis put on this latter subject may hint that al-Muqrin's group made extensive use of such dead drops in their operations.

In discussing assassinations, al-Muqrin lists in detail all the intelligence a cell should have gathered on a target before planning the assassination operation, including necessary details to gather on any guards or personal security details. He also discussed lessons learned from well-known assassinations. In justifying assassinations theologically, al-Muqrin points to the Prophet's use of an assassin to kill a political rival named Abu Rafa' the Jew.

### **Item 3: Insurgency Sniper Attacks**

Operating in an urban warfare environment conducive to sniper attacks, Iraqi insurgency (Group Profile) snipers have become increasingly effective at targeting Calition forces. While sniper attacks are operationally effective in that they wound, kill, and can demoralize an enemy, the Iraqi insurgency is adding to their utility by filming the attacks and subsequently displaying them on jihadist websites as propaganda. Moreover, these websites have posted a detailed training manual for aspiring snipers in Iraq (Country Profile). Cumulatively, insurgency elements are using the Internet to demonstrate their success against Coalition forces, to inspire, to teach a sympathetic audience how to achieve the same results, and to harshly illustrate to a foreign audience the human costs of the occupation not visually covered by the western media.



The insurgency sniper training manual appeared on the Internet in the spring of 2005. A specific emphasis was given to priority targeting, instructing recruits to target military commanders and officers as replacing them "may take 2-4 years and cost more than \$500,000 to put someone through the famous West Point"(source). One section, titled "Who would you shoot?," displays pictures of Coalition troops operating in various environments in Iraq. With the picture of an American patrol, the manual instructs that the soldiers be targeted in the following order: lead officer, communications officer, machine gunner, and doctor. On a busy street scene, the manual states a shot cannot be taken because there are children near the American soldier. Under the picture of a large US convoy, the manual advises the sniper not shoot because his escape is unlikely. This is a significant point, indicating the insurgency is recruiting snipers who can develop their skills and operate continuously, as opposed to a ready martyr for a suicide bombing.

Subsequent to the training manual, a lengthy propaganda film that highlights the success of the insurgency sniper 'Juba' was created by the Islamic Army in Iraq (Group Profile) and made available on the Internet. Juba is the nickname given by Coalition forces to a particularly effective insurgency sniper, and obviously the name has spread and caught on among elements of the Iraqi insurgency. Set to music, the film is primarily a compilation of successful Juba sniper attacks. In all, 23 attacks on Coalition troops are shown; interposing the attack clips is an image of President George Bush, coffins draped with the American flag, and the word 'Juba' written in English and 'The Baghdad sharpshooter' written in Arabic.

The last month has also seen a rash of Internet video clips showing sniper attacks against Coalition troops, the majority attributed to the Army of the Mujahideen (Group Profile). In early January, a clip of an attack on a US patrol appeared, where the sniper muttered repeatedly "God is great" and took three shots over the course of a minute. A subsequent clip was posted of two attacks on Coalition troops, whereby the sniper fired across a busy street of traffic and later targeted two soldiers in a vacant alley. The most recent sniper video was also aired by al-Jazeera, and the attack was accredited to Juba.

In addition to his operational effectiveness as a sniper, Juba has become an important propaganda character for the Iraqi insurgency. By providing video footage of his attacks on jihadist websites, the insurgency will continue to propagate his legend, inspiring copy cat snipers and garnering support by demonstrating military effectiveness. For a sympathetic audience, he is an ideal figure to celebrate: a professional resistance fighter who targets Coalition soldiers exclusively and whose *modus operandi* does not involve blowing up Iraqi civilians. Furthermore, the Internet allows his exploits to reach a western audience, reminding them of the heavy costs being incurred by Coalition troops in their effort to stabilize Iraq.

## <u>Item 4</u>: Video Available: "Indonesia (<u>Country Profile</u>) in the Crusaders' Net"

A video by this title was produced by a media outlet that calls itself (in Arabic) the Eastern Media Center and circulated on Arabic language Jihadist websites. The video is in Arabic with English subtitles and seems to be designed to call the attention of Arabic and English-speaking Muslims to the alleged "crisis" in Indonesia. It is part of a trend over the past couple years to create more connections between radical Indonesian Muslims and Middle Eastern ones in order to encourage more support from the Middle East of radical movements in Indonesia. The 23-minute video discusses the history of Indonesian Muslims and Islamism, but most of the focus is on alleged persecution of Muslims. While this may seem strange in the world's largest Muslim country, the conflict has been waging between more liberal, secular Muslims in Indonesia and Muslims who have been influenced by the Salafi movement spreading in the Middle East. The video purportedly depicts that conflict, accusing the more liberal Muslims of allowing proselytizing of other religions and committing massacres. The video shows gruesome scenes of bodies that it claims were killed in massacres and also what it claims is evidence of Christian and Jewish proselytizing. The video is available from TRC upon request.

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