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About the CTC Sentinel

The Combating Terrorism Center is an independent educational and research institution based in the Department of Social Sciences at the United States Military Academy, West Point. The CTC Sentinel harnesses the Center's global network of scholars and practitioners to understand and confront contemporary threats posed by terrorism and other forms of political violence.

The views expressed in this report are those of the authors and not of the U.S. Military Academy, the Department of the Army, or any other agency of the U.S. Government.

The JRTN Movement and Iraq's Next Insurgency

By Michael Knights

JRTN leader Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri, seen here in 1999. - Photo by Salah Malkawi/Getty Images

THE STABILIZATION OF IRAQ has become wedged on a plateau, beyond which further improvement will be a slow process. According to incident metrics compiled by Olive Group, the average monthly number of insurgent attacks between January and June 2011 was 380.[1] The incident count in January was 376, indicating that incident levels remained roughly stable in the first half of 2011. One reason behind this stability is the ongoing virulence of northern and central Iraqi insurgents operating within Sunni Arab communities. Five predominately Sunni provinces and western Baghdad were responsible for an average of 68.5% of national incidents each month in 2011.[2]

This article argues that one driver for the ongoing resilience, or even revival, of Sunni militancy is the growing influence of the Jaysh Rijal al-Tariq al-Naqshabandi (JRTN) movement, which has successfully tapped into Sunni Arab fear of Iraq's Shi`a-led government and the country's Kurdish population, while offering an authentic Iraqi alternate to al-Qa`ida in Iraq (AQI). The features of JRTN are becoming clearer, providing an interesting case study of an insurgent movement that learned from the mistakes of other militants and has successfully created a hybrid of Islamist themes and nationalist military expertise.

Birth and Evolution of JRTN

When JRTN formally announced its establishment after Saddam Hussein's execution on December 30, 2006, the movement was initially a subject

1 All of the data in this article is drawn from Olive Group operations. Olive Group is a major private security company operating in Iraq.

2 Ibid. The five predominately Sunni Arab provinces are Anbar, Salah al-Din, Mosul, Diyala and Kirkuk.

of curiosity because of its apparent connection to the Naqshbandi order of Sufi Islam. In fact, JRTN's adoption of Naqshbandi motifs reflected patronage networks that coalesced during Saddam's rule. In northern Iraq, the Naqshbandi order had many adherents, both Arab and Kurdish, but the most politically significant strand of the movement were Arabs who pragmatically collaborated with the Ottoman Empire, the British Mandate and later the various Iraqi governments. According to Iraqi expert Professor Amatzia Baram, this Arab strand of Iraq's Naqshbandis used the movement as a political and business fellowship—perhaps similar to freemasonry—to advance their joint interests.[3] Under the Ba`athist regime, the Naqshbandi cultivated Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri, Iraq's vice president and deputy chairman of the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council, as their sponsor. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, al-Duri was rushed through the process of confirmation as a Naqshbandi shaykh, officially connecting his spiritual lineage (*silsilah*) directly to the Prophet Muhammad.[4] Al-Duri initiated numerous military families into the Naqshbandi order during the Iran-Iraq War and throughout the gradual Islamification of the Ba`athist regime in the 1990s, using the order to strengthen his personal loyalty and patronage networks.[5]

"The taped execution of Saddam Hussein by Shi`a militiamen in December 2006 provided a springboard for JRTN to announce its existence at the start of 2007."

The Naqshbandi layer of the former regime was not widely recognized during the early years of the insurgency in 2003-2005. Small hints of the use of Naqshbandi identity as a mobilizing principle began to surface in 2005 when insurgent *katibat* (battalions) emerged in Mosul and Kirkuk provinces bearing the name of Shaykh Abd al-Qadir al-Gilani, the founder of the Qadiri order of Sufism, an order related to the Naqshbandi.[6] A number of events coincided in 2005-2006 to provide an opening for al-Duri and his supporters to develop an insurgent umbrella movement that blended Iraqi nationalism, protection of the Sunna (Iraq's Sunni Arabs), and orthodox Islamic themes. During 2006, insurgent movements led by Iraqi Salafists (most notably the Islamic Army or Jaysh al-Islami) clashed with AQI and splintered. From 2006 onward, JRTN has contracted the services of many ailing Sunni insurgent groups.

The taped execution of Saddam Hussein by Shi`a militiamen in December 2006 provided a springboard for JRTN to announce its existence at the start of 2007. Against a backdrop of increasing sectarian violence, the manner of Saddam's chaotic execution by hanging, a criminal's death, prompted a wave of outrage and fear among former regime elements.[7] In early 2007, the growth of al-Duri's ambitions led to a split in the New Ba`ath Party. One faction allied with Muhammad Younis al-Ahmed, a Saddam family consigliore with close ties to Syrian intelligence and with the al-Awda insurgent movement.[8] Others aligned with al-Duri, who formed the Higher Command for Jihad and Liberation (HCJL) in October 2007. Like the Islamic State of Iraq—a coalition dominated by one large group, AQI—HCJL is built almost entirely around JRTN. In the years after 2007, JRTN exploited the disintegration of other groups—including parts of AQI—and grew in strength. It emerged as the only Iraqi insurgent group to have grown stronger during and since the U.S.-led "surge." Indeed, U.S. statements on JRTN have arguably added to its credibility and potential for recruiting and fundraising.[9]

JRTN's Organizational Structure

Estimates concerning the size of JRTN range from 1,500 to 5,000 members, but these figures do little to improve understanding of the concentric circles of involvement in such a movement.[10] According to multiple accounts, JRTN appears to have a small core of permanent members by design; outside of a compact national leadership, the only "card-carrying" members appear to be a cadre of facilitators, financiers, intelligence officers and trainers.[11] Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri is the leader of JRTN and HCJL, and he remains in adequate health and is politically active within Iraq.[12] His role in the organization is

3 Personal interview, Professor Amatzia Baram, Washington, D.C., February 10, 2011.

4 Rafid Fadhil Ali, "Sufi Insurgent Groups in Iraq," *Terrorism Monitor* 6:2 (2008). Without al-Duri's assistance, the Naqshbandi would have been treated to the same intense surveillance and intimidation of other secret societies such as Iraq's freemason lodges, which became dormant under the Ba`ath.

5 Al-Duri is typically associated with the "Return to Faith" campaign of the early 1990s. In fact, al-Duri appears to have avoided the public spotlight entirely during this campaign. As Amatzia Baram noted, "Saddam was the 'Mr Islam': Izzat Ibrahim was 'Mr Sufi.' Al-Duri was always careful not to overshadow Saddam." Personal interview, Professor Amatzia Baram, Washington, D.C., February 10, 2011.

6 Ali, "Sufi Insurgent Groups in Iraq." Abd al-Qadir al-Gilani formed the Qadira during the 11th century.

7 Saddam had asked to be executed by firing squad. Many committed republicans and Ba`athists felt this was appropriate, to honor the office of the president if not Saddam himself. The manner of Saddam's death—amidst Shi`a religious chanting—was taken as a sectarian affront by many Sunni Arabs. Personal interview, Professor Amatzia Baram, Washington, D.C., February 10, 2011.

8 Rafid Fadhil Ali, "Reviving the Iraqi Ba'ath: A Profile of General Muhammad Yunis al-Ahmad," *Terrorism Monitor* 7:3 (2009).

9 Since 2009, when JRTN was designated by the United States as a terrorist group, U.S. statements have had the unintended impact of boosting JRTN's credentials. Alongside AQI, JRTN is the other main insurgent movement cited as a threat by U.S. officials, many of whom identify JRTN as the greater threat. One U.S. officer told Jane's, "the US and other security forces potentially played into [JRTN's] hands by building JRTN up to be stronger than they actually were." See Jo Sharp, "Iraq's Sufi-Baathist Insurgency," *Jane's Terrorism and Security Monitor*, March 8, 2010. Also see "U.S. Treasury Department Freezes Assets of Iraqi Insurgent Group," U.S. Treasury Department, December 23, 2009.

10 The aforementioned Jane's article refers to "1,500 to 2,000" members. The author has heard other estimates by U.S. military officers that range from 3,000 to 5,000 members of various kinds.

11 Personal interviews, U.S. intelligence analysts, Skype, telephone and face-to-face interviews, dates and locations withheld at the request of interviewees.

12 Ibid. Al-Duri's credentials within the Ba`athist milieu cannot be overstated. From 1963 to 1968, al-Duri was Saddam's shadow, serving with him in the intelligence and peasants sections of the Ba`ath Party and later spending time in jail together. From the Ba`ath return to power in 1968 until the regime's fall in 2003, al-Duri served as Saddam's most trusted deputy, being careful not to threaten Saddam's position. The relationship was not even weakened when al-Duri's daughter divorced

tending to the coalition of tribal and factional relationships, a role to which he is ideally suited by temperament and experience.[13] The national leadership of JRTN and the HCJL command staff are one and the same, with five main subsections: Military Affairs, Religious Affairs, Financial Affairs, Media, and Operational Security.[14]

JRTN's mid-level operatives were initially drawn from a select group of former military and intelligence officers who had attained ranks between lieutenant colonel and brigadier general under the Ba`athist regime. The first cadres of JRTN operators appear to have been recruited primarily from former Republican Guard and military intelligence officers with connections to the pre-2003 Naqshbandi lodges within the Saddam military. Security personnel from Saddam's inner-most circle were not favored due to their high profile.[15] The tribal make-up of JRTN mirrors the professional backgrounds of members, with a significant number of Jubburis from Hawija, Sharqat and Kirkuk; Ubaydis from Rashad and Tuz Khurmatu; Azzawis from Lake Hamrin and northern Diyala; and Harbis (including al-Duri's tribal relatives) from Salah al-Din. In keeping with Saddam-era policies, a patchwork quilt of small sub-tribes and clans are aligned with JRTN, rather than entire federations or tribes.[16] Since 2009, the movement has gained significant strength in Abu Ghurayb and parts of the Falluja to Ramadi corridor.[17] Due to old Ba`athist ties to southern tribes, JRTN probably has the ability to conduct limited attacks in southern Iraq as well.[18]

JRTN sponsors large numbers of attack cells across northern and central Iraq to strike specified types of targets, almost always for payment on delivery of a video proving the attack was undertaken. In some cases, specific targets may also be identified by JRTN core members (particular bases, vehicle routes or persons). If necessary, JRTN may also provide access to weapons and explosives.[19] JRTN seems to carefully choose its "contractors" and even provides a degree of training and recruitment support to help form such cells. One U.S. intelligence officer described the trainers sent out as "mid-level guys in their early- to mid-30s with technical expertise in [improvised explosive devices, IEDs], sniping, things like that, farming out their knowledge into other areas of Iraq."[20] JRTN prefers to use former members of elite military units such as the Special Republican Guard or Republican Guard as operational affiliates.[21] Candidates are identified by personal recommendations, and vetting is undertaken through former regime networks. Training programs are used to refresh military skills and discipline, including extended "90-day" courses where recruits are subjected to physical abuse by former warrant officers.[22]

"All attack videos publicized by JRTN exclusively show strikes on U.S. bases and forces; other types of attacks, such as JRTN's numerous under-vehicle IED intimidation attacks on security forces, are disavowed."

Operators are slowly introduced to operational tasks, progressing from reconnaissance to simple attacks and finally to weapons caching and complex attacks.[23] Instruction to new cells stresses the need to adopt low-risk tactics (such as sniper fire and rocket attacks) to conserve personnel and to progressively adapt more complex attacks only after patiently profiling the enemy.[24] New members are assigned a serial number that is intended to be used in lieu of their name in communications.[25] JRTN likes to parade a ceremonial platoon of its soldiers in videos, stressing uniform elements of armament and clothing; its deployed cells are also given platoon, company, battalion and brigade designations, although the order of battle is not as structured as this nomenclature suggests.[26]

JRTN also appears to fully outsource some commissioned attacks to existing insurgent movements. In some cases, these are the remnants of formerly significant insurgent groups like Jaysh al-Islami, Hamas al-Iraq, Ansar al-Sunna and Jaysh Muhammad. The foot soldiers of these movements are often not informed by their leaders that JRTN contracted their services.[27] Some

Saddam's son Uday.

13 Al-Duri's special skill was always in the field of relationship-building. While others in the progressive Ba`athist government sneered at religious and tribal powerbrokers in the first decades of Ba`ath rule, al-Duri was busy forging long-term links to sects and tribes across Iraq. Despite his limited military background, al-Duri mixed well with professional soldiers during his long tenure as deputy commander of Iraq's armed forces.

14 Abdul Hameed Bakier, "Ex-Baathists Turn to Naqshbandi Sufis to Legitimize Insurgency," *Terrorism Focus* 5:1 (2008).

15 Only a small number of Special Republican Guard, Special Security Organization (Amn al-Khass), and Presidential Guard (*himaya*) have been associated with JRTN. Intelligence personnel in JRTN tend to be from the military intelligence or general intelligence rather than Saddam's creation, the Mukhabarat. Saddam Fidayin, widely disliked by Iraqi military men, were also not included in JRTN's core personnel.

16 Saddam's own tribe, the Albu Nasir, does not appear to be strongly involved in JRTN.

17 Personal interviews, U.S. intelligence analysts, Skype, telephone and face-to-face interviews, dates and locations withheld at the request of interviewees.

18 Many former Ba`athists and Ba`athist-affiliated tribal shaykhs lost status after 2003 and continue to be legally ostracized by the Islamist parties in the south. These outcasts sometimes assist former regime elements in carrying out attacks in the south, such as the attacks over the last year in Basra Province. Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri also maintained close ties with a number of southern tribes, to whom he acted as benefactor during the Saddam years.

19 Personal interview, U.S. intelligence analyst, date withheld at the request of interviewee.

20 Sharp.

21 Colonel Mike Marti, "Intelligence Operations in Iraq," U.S. Department of Defense Bloggers Roundtable, May 19, 2010.

22 Ibid. Also drawn from personal interview, U.S. intelligence analyst, date and location withheld at the request of interviewee.

23 Personal interview, private security analyst with access to Iraqi brigade tactical operation centers in northern Iraq, March 27, 2011.

24 Bakier.

25 Ibid.

26 Personal interview, U.S. intelligence analyst, date and location withheld at the request of interviewee.

27 A U.S. soldier told a reporter, "Sometimes some of the groups perceive, in fact, that they're working for their organization only to discover later that several tiers up they are actually being facilitated by another." For details, see

facilitators used by JRTN have operated with Ansar al-Sunna or AQI previously. This tactical "co-mingling" of groups is noted in numerous accounts.[28] JRTN appears to employ AQI to undertake deniable attacks on Iraqis, particularly civilian targets. In one well-known instance, JRTN contracted AQI to detonate a car bomb at the Ad Dawr Joint Control Center in December 2006, part of a successful strategy to eliminate all rivals to al-Duri's sub-tribe in the area.[29] JRTN has also been linked to AQI car bombings in Ramadi, Kirkuk and Tikrit.[30] Some attacks by AQI have even been jointly claimed by JRTN.[31]

Population-Centric Insurgency

JRTN's recruitment material and manifesto is a successful blend of political ideas with religious imagery. The key message of JRTN and HCJL communications is the need for unity among Sunni insurgent movements. In a June 2009 communiqué issued to celebrate the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq's cities, Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri stressed the goal of "resistance unity on the battlefield."[32] One U.S. officer noted: "We believe now that JRTN's intent is to coalesce as many insurgent groups… under a common theme of removing the occupiers (the Coalition Forces) from Iraq and, second, to overthrow the government of Iraq for a Ba`athist regime or something similar."[33] JRTN states that it would be willing to negotiate a cease-fire with the government of Iraq and the United States, but only once many of the changes wrought in Iraq since 2003 are reversed, including the unattainable stated aim of restoring all of the 600,000-odd security personnel to their former statuses and disestablishing all government organs and laws introduced since the occupation began.[34]

From the outset, JRTN appears to have tailored its strategic messaging and its operational activity to appeal to the population within its operational areas. With a significant nod to Islamic values, JRTN's video productions have consistently focused on the concerns of mainstream Sunnis, such as the fear of an Iranian-influenced Shi`a government in Baghdad, concerns about Kurdish activities in the disputed areas (termed "the occupied territories" by JRTN), and general discontent about the apparent chaos and corruption since the end of Ba`athist rule.[35]

"The apparent focus on U.S. forces has earned the movement sympathetic treatment by some parts of the Iraqi security forces and judiciary."

Alongside its messaging, JRTN has issued targeting guidance to differentiate itself from AQI, most notably a commitment to restrict attacks to "the unbeliever-occupier," the JRTN descriptor for U.S. forces.[36] Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri stated in 2009, "all the fighting efforts are going to be directed totally against the invaders (the imperial American forces wherever they are on the Iraqi land), and we absolutely forbid killing or fighting any Iraqi in all the agent state apparatus of the army, the police, the awakening, and the administration, except in self-defense situations, and if some agents and spies in these apparatus tried to confront the resistance." All attack videos publicized by JRTN exclusively show strikes on U.S. bases and forces; other types of attacks, such as JRTN's numerous under-vehicle IED intimidation attacks on security forces, are disavowed.[37]

Integrated Kinetic and Information Operations

JRTN's branding and messaging has yielded a number of significant advantages for the group. One private security analyst with access to U.S. and Iraqi Security Force officers stated: "At the operational level, JRTN's appearance of a religious connection gives it credibility in the eyes of the population and therefore increases the support offered and reduces the interference by the local population."[38] The analyst noted that JRTN's stated "policy of only attacking the 'occupiers' and not the local population (whatever their ethnic or religious group) makes it one of the least 'interfered with' terrorist groupings. The population turned its back on many of the foreign fighters but JRTN are still seen as Iraqis first."[39] In areas along the federal-Kurdish line of control, JRTN's anti-Kurdish agitation may have assisted its penetration of Sunni security forces. Kurdish factions

Richard Tomkins, "Analysis: Baathists Beat Nationalist Drum," UPI, June 5, 2009. This is echoed in Sharp.

28 A good example is the interview by U.S. Army Brigadier General Craig Nixon, who is quoted in Quil Lawrence, "US Sees New Threat In Iraq From Sufi Sect," National Public Radio, June 17, 2009.

29 Lieutenant Colonel Pat Proctor, "Fighting to Understand: A Practical Example of Design at the Battalion Level," *Military Review*, March-April 2011. Also see reference to this incident in Sharp.

30 For an official statement on a JRTN and al-Qa`ida-affiliated suicide bomb cell, see "Suspected VBIED Cell Leader Arrested in Sulaymaniyah," Multinational Force-Iraq, March 2, 2010. Car bombings in Kirkuk and Tikrit in 2011 have also been linked to JRTN funding. This information is based on personal interview, U.S. intelligence analyst, date withheld at the request of interviewee.

31 The attack in question was the July 29, 2010 daylight storming and capture of an Iraqi Army checkpoint in Adhamiya, Baghdad. See Hayder Najm, "Al-Qaeda Maintains its Foothold," *Niqash*, August 11, 2010.

32 Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri, "Message Izzat Ibrahim Al-Duri Supreme Commander of the Fight and Liberation. The end of June 2009," Jabha-wqs.net, June 30, 2009.

33 Richard Tomkins, "Ba'athists Aiding Insurgent Attacks," *Washington Times*, June 4, 2009.

34 "Iraqi Resistance Announces Founding of Supreme Command for the Jihad and Liberation in Baghdad," al-Basrah.net, October 3, 2007.

35 Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri, "Letter from the Jehad Leader of the Iraqi Resistance Izzat Ibrahim ad-Duri," Jabha-wqs.net, May 29, 2005.

36 The main JRTN tactics used are long-range harassing tactics such as rocket fire on U.S. bases and sniper attacks, or the use of command wire-initiated roadside bombs. JRTN affiliates make use of hand-thrown armor-piercing RKG-3 grenades and have occasionally experimented with armor-piercing roadside bombs related to explosively-formed projectiles. This information is based on personal interview, private security contact, May 12, 2011.

37 In fact, JRTN appears to spend considerable resources on kinetic forms of counterintelligence, targeting judges, police officers and the Sons of Iraq with warnings followed by progressively deadly uses of force. In keeping with Ba`athist practices, JRTN uses not only terrorism, but also enticement: many police officers in strongholds like Ad Dawr receive "two pay checks"—their federal and JRTN stipends—according to U.S. officers quoted in Sharp. In the autumn of 2010, JRTN undertook a "concerted campaign to overawe Iraqi Army forces in west Baghdad" through massed employment of under-vehicle IEDs, according to a private security contact interviewed by the author in May 2011.

38 Personal interview, private security analyst, March 27, 2011.

39 Ibid.

recently accused JRTN of influencing the 12th Iraqi Army division in southern Kirkuk and flying JRTN's flag on Iraqi Army vehicles during anti-Kurdish protests.[40] Through sympathizers in the security forces, JRTN is assumed by U.S. officers to have at least some basic insight into the workings of joint U.S.-Iraqi operations centers, including Unmanned Aerial Vehicle and signals intelligence.[41]

The apparent focus on U.S. forces (plus its capacity to intimidate local judges and call upon tribal support) has earned the movement sympathetic treatment by some parts of the Iraqi security forces and judiciary. One intelligence officer from Diyala noted that his Iraqi counterparts "rarely stated in public that JRTN was much of a threat and every time we detained a JRTN leader, we had to fight tooth and nail to keep them detained. In other words they did not accept that JRTN was a serious risk to the [government of Iraq], only to Americans."[42] JRTN appears to have successfully used loopholes in Iraqi law that means "resistance activities" are not treated as seriously as crimes with Iraqi victims. According to one analyst, this legal aspect "is one reason that [JRTN] is deliberately not leaving a trail of evidence and claims connecting it to car bombings or assassinations that target Iraqis."[43]

Although opinions differ on the issue, most analysts seem to agree that JRTN is relatively well-funded compared to most Iraqi insurgent groups.[44] Localized extortion and intimidation is a mainstay for many Iraqi insurgent groups, including large segments of AQI, but JRTN appears to draw its funding primarily through top-down distribution of funds. Larger-scale contract and project-level business extortion may be a source, and JRTN also seems to draw on infusions of cash from major tribal figures in Iraq.[45] The former regime diaspora is an additional source of revenue, particularly former Republican Guard officers in Jordan and, to a lesser extent, Syria and Yemen.[46] JRTN's energetic media campaign and its use of Islamic motifs has also allowed the movement to capture a strong share of the bigger, yet declining, slice of the external contributions coming to Iraq from "armchair jihadists" in the Gulf states. Some sources suggest that Arab intelligence services, notably the Jordanian General Intelligence Department, may be cultivating long-term ties with JRTN with an eye to countering Iranian influence in Iraq.[47]

Outlook for JRTN

JRTN, like its leader Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri, is a chameleon, capable of assuming the form that will best serve its interests at the time. When Iraq's Sunni insurgency was stricken by internal divisions between 2005 and 2009, JRTN emerged with a message of unity. When public support for the resistance was weakened by AQI's actions against Iraqi Sunnis, JRTN committed itself to a public policy of not harming Iraqis whenever possible. The movement's blend of Islamist and nationalist rhetoric and its appeal to Ba`ath-era nostalgia at a time of weak governance means it is squarely in-sync with the views of the population it relies upon for active and passive support. Yet the strategic landscape in Iraq is changing, not least due to the coming drawdown of U.S. forces. How will JRTN adapt to the potential forks in the road ahead?

One change factor could be the death or capture of Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri, quite possibly by natural causes due to his age and recurring health issues. Al-Duri is the last substantial link to the Ba`ath government and his leadership credentials are solid compared to other former regime elements. Nor is al-Duri lacking in vision, which he showed when he submitted letters to President George W. Bush and later President Barack Obama, was interviewed by *Time Magazine*, and had pronouncements read out at the Arab League despite his changed status since 2003.[48] Al-Duri is more than an important symbol of continuity since Saddam's time: he is also a "quiet professional"—a seasoned coalition-builder with unparalleled tribal and political ties in the Sunni community. His loss could cause cracks within the organization as its "spiritual center" is in his home town of Ad Dawr and in the Naqshbandi mosques he built there.[49]

The withdrawal of most or all U.S. forces could be another stressful transition for JRTN. The movement's current *raison d'être*—expelling U.S. forces—could dry up in the coming six months. JRTN is already struggling to maintain the flow of new attack videos due to reduced availability of U.S. targets as bases shut down and convoy traffic declines, and this could stem the movement's external fundraising. As a result, JRTN may evolve its concept of resistance until liberation. Since 2009, JRTN has slowly been moving the goalposts by parroting popular fears that Iraq's Shi`a-led government is "basically a puppet of Iran and is trying to persecute Sunnis," in the words of one U.S. officer.[50] A private security analyst who monitors JRTN communiqués noted that JRTN had "become a more anti-Baghdad organization than anti-American."[51] JRTN is also likely to ramp up its anti-Kurdish rhetoric concerning the "occupied territories" along the federal-Kurdish line of control.

40 Personal interview, Kurdistan Regional Government counterterrorism intelligence analyst, Sulaymaniyah, Iraq, May 21, 2011.

41 "Partnerships," Warhorse Intel Blog, September 17, 2010.

42 "Seriously, I just need to let Diyala go," Warhorse Intel Blog, January 22, 2011.

43 Personal interview, U.S. intelligence analyst, date withheld at the request of interviewee.

44 For instance, Lieutenant Colonel Geoffrey Catlett, commander of a U.S. battalion in the JRTN heartland of Hawija, stated that the movement was "very well-funded." For details on his statement, see Michael Gisick, "US Targeting Insurgent Group in N. Iraq," *Stars and Stripes*, May 25, 2010.

45 Personal interviews, U.S. intelligence analysts, dates withheld at the request of interviewees.

46 Ibid. For background on the amount of money held by former regime elements abroad, see Michael Knights, "The Role Played by Funding in the Iraq Insurgency," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, August 2005.

47 "Dancing with Wolves: Maliki's Envoys Take the Pulse of Baathists and Generals Outside Iraq," *Gulf States Newsletter*, May 4, 2009.

48 "The Next Insurgency: Baathists and Salafis Pool Resources to Fight Iraqi Government," *Gulf States Newsletter*, September 17, 2010.

49 "Phase Used in Proctor, Fighting to Understand," *Military Review*, March-April 2011.

50 Sharp.

51 Personal interview, private security analyst, May 10, 2011.

Many U.S. analysts relay a sense that JRTN is "playing the long game" or is "waiting us out."[52] JRTN may shift its balance to non-U.S. targets in a switch toward the second of its stated aims: changing the nature of government in Iraq. This may result in a narrowing of its operations and use of affiliates and in greater numbers of deniable operations against Iraqis. Although its maximal aims are unachievable, it is conceivable that elements of JRTN could slip onto the edges of the political spectrum in Iraq as advocates of the Sunna who outwardly shed their affiliations to the Ba`ath Party and even al-Duri and JRTN.

The Ba`ath Party—including a young Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri—spent five years seeking to get back into power between 1963 and 1968. The process of recovering power was incremental and well-planned. It is difficult at the present time to assess the extent to which JRTN has contributed to the season of high-tempo assassinations in Baghdad, but a portion of the killings are probably traceable to the movement. This kind of carefully parsed violence that kills few but intimidates many is typical of the Ba`ath Party and may point to the future evolution of a slimmer, post-occupation JRTN movement.[53]

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52 Personal interview, private security analyst, March 27, 2011. Also see Colonel Burt Thompson, quoted in Tomkins, "Analysis: Baathists Beat Nationalist Drum."

53 Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri laid out the rationale for counter-stability targeting when he stated: "Kill the traitors and stooges, pursue them and strike them down. Do not allow for any stability, because stability serves the enemy and his puppets." See al-Duri, "Letter from the Jehad Leader of the Iraqi Resistance Izzat Ibrahim ad-Duri."

Anwar al-`Awlaqi's Disciples: Three Case Studies

By Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens

SINCE 9/11, THE terrorist threat to the West has evolved. Attacks planned or carried out against the U.S. and British homelands increasingly involve young Muslims living in the West. This new specter of what is commonly referred to as "homegrown terrorism" demonstrates that Salafi-jihadi messaging and propaganda has to some extent succeeded in convincing Western Muslims that jihad is not strictly a foreign concept practiced by villagers in Afghanistan and multimillionaire Arab war veterans, but is one that they too can embrace. In addition, global jihadist ideologues have effectively conveyed that the death and suffering meted out against Muslims is no longer confined to far-away lands, but is evident in their own countries. From the United States to Sweden, this propaganda argues that the "Crusader West's" long-running conspiracy to destroy Islam and Muslims is real and expanding, and Western Muslims must follow in the footsteps of the heroes of Islam and take up the call to arms before it is too late. Although ahistorical and often counterfactual, this narrative is supported by using simplistic interpretations of Islamic scripture and early history, making it easy to grasp and convincing.

Indeed, although the reasons why some Western Muslims have planned or carried out attacks within their home countries are numerous and complex, in the vast majority of recent cases there exists one basic constant: the embrace of a primarily grievance-driven and religious ideology, often with the aid of the sermons and lectures of an ideologue who has an intimate grasp of Western culture and is perceived by his followers to be pious and knowledgeable.

As has been well documented, Anwar al-`Awlaqi is among the most popular of such ideologues. The question in many cases is not whether al-`Awlaqi successfully conveyed both the "war on Islam" narrative and the religious imperative to react with violence, but rather how he has achieved this. He is one of the ideological leaders of what can be described as the Western wing of the global jihadist movement, which seeks to give more resonance to the Salafi-jihadi ideology among Western Muslims. Social scientists have long debated the importance of leadership in mobilizing and recruiting members of social movement organizations, and of particular concern has been how to strike the right balance between acknowledging both the importance of individual human agency and the critical role of the Weberian "charismatic authority" of a respected and (perceived to be) knowledgeable leader.[1]

This article argues the importance of focusing on the latter, taking into account the role of the leader as one who, according to Tarrow, uses "contention to exploit political opportunities, create collective identities" and mobilize individuals "against more powerful opponents."[2] Having now tasked himself with "selling" Salafi-jihadi ideology to Western Muslims, al-`Awlaqi's function as a leader who is able to frame the movement's ideology in a manner that resonates with the interests, values, and beliefs of his target audience is crucial, as is his ability to articulate grievances and apply the religious ideology to formulate and justify violent responses.[3]

As both the United States and a number of European governments create and adjust policies aimed at countering domestic radicalization, they will need to fully comprehend these details. By examining a number of case studies of al-`Awlaqi's followers who have been mobilized, this article aims to contribute to this understanding.

1 For a comprehensive discussion of this debate, see Aldon Morris and Suzanne Staggenborg, "Leadership in Social Movements" in David Snow, Sarah Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi eds., *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2004). For Weber's theory of charismatic leadership, see Max Weber et al., *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (Somerville, NJ: Bedminster Press, 1968).

2 Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

3 For more on framing and frame resonance, see Robert Benford and David Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000).

Rajib and Tehzeeb Karim

In late February 2011, British Airways employee Rajib Karim was convicted in Britain for conspiring with Anwar al-`Awlaqi to assist in orchestrating an attack on an airliner, as well as pass along critical information on airport security measures.[4] In the days immediately following the trial, Scotland Yard released transcripts of sections of Karim's e-mail correspondence with both his Yemen-based brother, Tehzeeb, who was helping him get in contact with the ideologue, and with al-`Awlaqi himself. These provide rare and valuable insights into the mind of an al-`Awlaqi disciple.

Upon reading the messages, Karim's and Tehzeeb's reverence for the "shaykh" who they considered to be a spiritual leader is beyond doubt, as is the fact that their resolve to assist in, or carry out, an attack was immeasurably strengthened after making direct contact with him. In a message to al-`Awlaqi, Tehzeeb described how they viewed him as a legitimate interpreter of God's will:

> it fills our heart with happiness to be in direct communication with you. only allah knows what we feel about you. and this is from the honor which allah bestows on those who honor his words and his *deen* [religion] and its sanctities.[5]

Similarly, Rajib told al-`Awlaqi how much "respect and love" he had for him, and that hearing directly from him was a "blessing from allah" that "gave me hope." Upon offering to take a job as a flight attendant, he informed al-`Awlaqi of his concerns about having to take part in activities that are forbidden in Islam, such as serving alcohol and non-halal food. In what is an illustration of how much emphasis he placed on gaining religious sanction for his actions, as well as what sort of role al-`Awlaqi plays for potential terrorists, Rajib asked the preacher if he could provide him with a *dalil* (Islamic scriptural evidence), which proved that taking the job was acceptable for a Muslim if undertaken in pursuance of "the jihadi cause."

The e-mails also provide researchers with useful information on what particular elements of al-`Awlaqi's message resonated with Rajib who, unlike his brother, lived in the West. In al-`Awlaqi's translation of Yusuf al-`Uyayri's "Constants on the Path of Jihad," his primary concern was two-fold: to make the global war on Islam a reality for Western Muslims, and to prove that violent jihad or migration (*hijra*) are the only possible and religiously acceptable responses. He argued that Muslims in the West are in an identical situation to that faced by the Prophet Muhammad and his followers in pre-Islamic Mecca, where they were persecuted and forced to make the *hijra* to Medina and subsequently fight jihad. Thus, any Muslim who lives peacefully in the lands of the "enemies of Islam" is a *munafiq* (religious hypocrite), as he has rejected jihad, instead choosing to "customize" the religion to suit a particular geographic location. Proclaiming that "Muhammad did not customize Islam based on his location… he customized the location based on Islam," al-`Awlaqi framed attempts by both Western governments and many Western Muslim organizations to reinterpret jihad along more non-violent lines as part of the concerted effort to destroy "pure" Islam, and therefore an ideological element of the multifaceted war on the religion and its followers.

"Al-`Awlaqi framed attempts by both Western governments and many Western Muslim organizations to reinterpret jihad along more non-violent lines as part of the concerted effort to destroy 'pure' Islam, and therefore an ideological element of the multifaceted war on the religion and its followers."

Alongside this teaching is also the doctrine of *al-wala' wa'l-bara'* (loyalty and disavowal), which calls for Muslims to reject non-Muslim practices and avoid relationships with unbelievers.[6] Described by al-`Awlaqi in "44 Ways to Support Jihad" as a "central element of our military creed," he argued that this doctrine is crucial to the success of jihad in the West. Without a proper grasp of both their globally conscious Islamic identity and the hatred they must harbor toward their non-Muslim neighbors and colleagues, Western Muslims cannot achieve the goals of the global movement.

The stark choices of either flight or violence offered by al-`Awlaqi clearly had an impact on Rajib Karim, who on January 29, 2010 wrote to him describing his fear of becoming a *munafiq* due to having co-existed peacefully with non-Muslims in Britain for so long:

> Dear shaykh…I always write to my brother saying how depressed I am living in Britain and how I hate myself for not making *hijra* and also not being able to do anything here…from the moment I entered this country my *niya* [intention] was to do something for the *deen* [religion], it was not to make a living here and start enjoying life in this country. As month after month and then slowly years went by without anything happening and also not being able to have any concrete plans to do anything here, my *iman* [faith] was getting affected. I started feeling like a real *munafiq* [hypocrite]. It has been three years that I have been living here away from the company of good brothers and spending a good part of my working day with the *kuffar* [non-Muslims].

Karim's e-mails demonstrate that the tension between fulfilling the required criteria laid out by al-`Awlaqi and al-Qa`ida for being a "true" Muslim and living peacefully among non-Muslims

4 "Terror Plot BA Man Rajib Karim Gets 30 Years," BBC, March 18, 2011.

5 The transcripts of the e-mails between al-`Awlaqi and the Karim brothers were released by the Metropolitan Police in February 2011. They have been reproduced here in their original syntax, including all spelling and grammatical errors.

6 For more on this doctrine, see, for example, Muhammad Saeed al-Qahtani, *Al-Wala' wal Bara': According to the Aqeedah of the Salaf* (London: al-Firdous, 1993); Joas Wagemakers, 'The Transformation of a Radical Concept: al wala' wal bara' in the Ideology of Abu Muhammed al-Maqdisi," in Roel Meijer ed., *Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement* (London: Hurst & Company, 2009).

in a country run by a secular democratic government can become overwhelming for a small number of Western Muslims, obliging them to seek out ways to counterbalance their situation.

Faisal Shahzad

In the months following Faisal Shahzad's arrest for attempting to detonate a car bomb in New York City's Times Square in May 2010, a video was released by his patrons in the Pakistani Taliban showing him offering explanations for his actions while training in the mountains of Waziristan in Pakistan. Among the inspirations he is reported to have cited to interrogators was the work of Anwar al-`Awlaqi, and a close analysis of the video certainly suggests this to be the case.[7] Indeed, during his address he took a moment to thank "those shaykhs who are spreading *da`wa* in English…talking about jihad, out loud," claiming that "it's because of those shaykhs that I'm probably here today."[8] His justifications for violence appear closely related to those found in al-`Awlaqi's "Constants," in particular al-`Awlaqi's interpretation of jihad as a duty (*fard*) equal to, if not above, the more common Islamic practices of prayer, fasting and the Hajj pilgrimage. Quoting Qur'an 2:216 and 2:183, al-`Awlaqi argued that:

> Allah says, "Fighting has been prescribed upon you and you dislike it, but it is possible that you dislike a thing which is good for you and you love a thing which is bad for you. But Allah knows and you know not." This *ayah* [verse] says that fighting is prescribed upon you, so it is a *fard*, it's an instruction from Allah… They [jihad and fasting] are both in Surah al-Baqarah. Fighting is prescribed upon you and fasting is prescribed upon you; so how come we are treating them differently?

As with many of his other arguments, this is by no means an original concept, yet he is aware that the conceptualization of jihad is one of the defining debates being had by Muslims in the West, both among themselves and with wider Western society. As different Islamic organizations and sects vie for influence among young Western Muslims, al-`Awlaqi seeks to provide ideological ammunition for the minority of Salafi-jihadi followers. He also used this argument as further proof of the war on Islam, claiming that by working against jihad, Western governments are actively preventing Muslims from carrying out their divinely ordained duties to both the defense and spread of their religion.

"By their own accounts, the majority of 'homegrown' Salafi-jihadis join the global jihad out of a sincere belief that they are acting upon a religious mandate to defend themselves and their fellow Muslims from what they perceive to be a conspiracy to destroy them."

This interpretation of jihad was clearly not lost on Shahzad, who used the same Qur'anic references as al-`Awlaqi (which refer to the ordained obligations of jihad and fasting respectively) to make the same point about jihad in his video address:

> One of the most prominent things in Islam…when I came to it, is jihad. People do prayer, they… give *zakat* [obligatory charitable donations], they do fasting, they go to Hajj, but they follow part of it [Islam], but they don't follow the other part of it, which is fighting in the cause of Allah…I don't understand why people follow one of the commandments, but they don't follow the other commandment… they are equally important.[9]

Like Rajib Karim, he is also conscious of the ultimatum offered by al-`Awlaqi to Muslims living peacefully in the West as supposed *munafiqin*, and sees two options available for the "true" follower:

> I urge my brothers and sisters and all the Muslims living abroad to either immigrate, migrate as soon as possible to the Muslim nation or if you die you will die in *kufr*… But today, *alhamdulillah* [praise God], I am among them [the non-Muslims] and planning to wage an attack inside America.[10]

Zachary Adam Chesser (also known as Abu Talha al-Amrikee)

The Prophet Muhammad cartoon controversy that began in Denmark in 2005 and reached its peak during the following four years represented a seminal moment for Islam in the West. Since it began, it has sparked numerous debates surrounding the reconciliation of Islam and Western society, including whether or not this is a requirement and, if so, if it is at all possible.

Those who have used the issue to prove the fundamental incompatibility of the two come in many different forms, from conservative non-Muslim commentators who argue that Islam represents a threat to some of the basic intellectual precepts of Western civilization, to small groups of Salafi-jihadis who have taken the opportunity to inflame communal tensions and depict the cartoons as part of the Western campaign to destroy Islam.[11] Among the most egregious examples of the latter was a February 2006 march in London organized by the now banned Salafi-jihadi group al-Muhajiroun, in which protesters held up placards calling for the abolition of free speech and the murder of anyone deemed to have insulted the Prophet Muhammad or Islam.[12]

7 "Times Square Bomb Suspect had Links to Terror Preacher," *Daily Telegraph*, May 7, 2010; "Sources: Shahzad Had Contact With Awlaki, Taliban Chief, and Mumbai Massacre Mastermind," ABC News, May 6, 2010.

8 These quotes are drawn from Faisal Shahzad's video announcement, which was available on various jihadist web forums.

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 For an example of the former, see, Christopher Caldwell, *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe* (New York: Doubleday, 2009).

12 "Cartoon Controversy Spreads Throughout Muslim World," *Guardian*, February 4, 2006.

Again showing an acute awareness of issues that concern many Western Muslims, al-`Awlaqi used the controversy to further develop his "war on Islam" frame and progress the aims of the global jihad. In May 2008, shortly following his release from prison in Yemen, he gave a lecture entitled "The Dust Will Never Settle Down," in which he again interwove Islamic texts and history with the present day to justify the Salafi-jihadi call for violence. Given as a live lecture via an online chat room, the publicity for the talk was posted on many of the leading English-language Islamist forums. It assured readers that the preacher would provide the Islamic solution to this problem and explain "what is the ruling of Shari`a on such incidents [insulting the Prophet Muhammad] and how did the *Sahaba* [followers of the Prophet Muhammad] deal with such people and what do our scholars say about them."[13]

One of the disciples al-`Awlaqi chose to illustrate his point is Muhammad ibn Maslama who, according to a hadith in Sahih Bukhari, was tasked by the Prophet Muhammad to find and kill Ka'ab ibn al-Ashraf, a poet and Jewish tribal leader in pre-Islamic Mecca who wrote poems insulting the Prophet Muhammad and lamenting the victory of the Muslims over the Quraish in the Battle of Badr. The passion in al-`Awlaqi's praise for Ibn Maslama's zeal and devotion to the Prophet Muhammad was rivaled only by that shown in his criticism of modern day Western Muslims who have allowed this to go unpunished:

> How concerned are you? How concerned are we when it comes to the honor of *Rasool*, when it comes to the honor of Islam, when it comes to the book of Allah? How serious do we take it?...We want the spirit of the Sahaba.[14]

A clear call for violent action against the modern day al-Ashrafs, he quoted the Prophet Muhammad's justification taken from an account given in *As-Saram Al-Maslool `Ala Shatim Ar-Rasul* (*The Drawn Sword and the One Who Curses the Messenger*), by medieval Hanbali scholar Ibn Taymiyya:

> He [al-Ashraf] spoke against us. He spoke against me and he defamed me with his poetry. And then he made it clear to the Jews—if any one of you, you the *Yahood* [Jews], or the *mushrikeen* [polytheists], if any one of you try to defame me through your words, this [the sword] will be the way we deal with you.

After the airing of an episode of the American-animated TV series *South Park*, in which the Prophet Muhammad and the controversy surrounding his depiction were given the usual satirical treatment by its producers, Trey Parker and Matt Stone, the death threats that followed owed much to al-`Awlaqi. Zachary Adam Chesser, who was involved with the English-language Salafi-jihadi website www.revolutionmuslim.com, used the lecture to legitimize a posting on the group's site in which he claimed that:

> We have to warn Matt and Trey that what they are doing is stupid and they will probably wind up like Theo Van Gogh [a Dutch film director murdered after making a film criticizing Islam] if they do air this show...Join us in this campaign to let Matt Stone & Trey Parker know that...the dust will never settle down.[15]

Chesser, who was by this time in e-mail contact with al-`Awlaqi, included in this posting a video made by Revolution Muslim which announced the beginning of the "Defense of the Prophet Campaign," depicting pictures from the South Park episode accompanied by the audio of al-`Awlaqi's lecture. Chesser would later be convicted in the United States for providing material support to terrorists, communicating threats and soliciting others to threaten violence.[16]

Conclusion

In each of the cases cited above, al-`Awlaqi's involvement as the charismatic, ideological leader appears to be an important factor, with two of the three explicitly referring to him as the main inspiration for their actions. At some stage, both Chesser and Karim were in e-mail contact with him, and though that surely strengthened their resolve, it is not necessarily always a prerequisite for action.[17]

By their own accounts, the majority of "homegrown" Salafi-jihadis join the global jihad out of a sincere belief that they are acting upon a religious mandate to defend themselves and their fellow Muslims from what they perceive to be a conspiracy to destroy them. This has, in part, taken place due to the propaganda efforts of al-Qa`ida and its affiliates. Through his charismatic delivery and background as a respected preacher in the United States, al-`Awlaqi in particular has succeeded in putting Salafi-jihadi interpretations of Islam and Islamic history against the backdrop of Western discursive trends and broader political developments chiefly related to the position of Muslims in the West, Western foreign policy and the globally conscious concept of the *umma*.

Work to counter this messaging is currently being undertaken by policymakers, think-tanks and other civil society organizations throughout the Western world. As these and many other case studies demonstrate, the role of ideology and its delivery through charismatic leaders must be firmly taken into account.

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13 This promotion of al-`Awlaqi's live online lecture appeared on, among other places, www.sunniforum.com.

14 Anwar al-`Awlaqi, 'The Dust Will Never Settle Down," May 2008, available on various Islamist web forums.

15 This blog has since been removed from the internet. Copies are in the author's possession.

16 "Man who Threatened 'South Park' Creators Gets 25 Years in Prison," CNN, February 24, 2011; "Abu Talhah Al-Amrikee: An Extensive Online Footprint," Anti-Defamation League, February 25, 2011.

17 See, for example, the British case of Roshonara Choudhry, who was directly inspired by al-`Awlaqi's work, but never made any contact with him.

Will Al-Qa`ida and Al-Shabab Formally Merge?

By Leah Farrall

IN SEPTEMBER 2009, al-Shabab, the Somalia-based jihadist group, released a video in which it made a public declaration of allegiance to al-Qa`ida leader Usama bin Ladin.[1] The declaration was in support of al-Shabab's campaign to align itself with al-Qa`ida's global agenda and to be included under its banner. Despite this and subsequent statements, however, al-Shabab did not secure an invitation to become an al-Qa`ida franchise. Instead, al-Qa`ida's senior leadership maintained its position of general support for the conflict in Somalia and provided al-Shabab with behind the scenes assistance. With Bin Ladin dead, however, al-Qa`ida's new leadership may decide it wants al-Shabab after all, and that the benefits of a merger at a time when al-Qa`ida needs to project power and influence outweigh any lingering concerns about al-Shabab's suitability. Yet how likely is such a merger?

For the past few years, al-Qa`ida has been cautious in its acquisition of new franchises and avoided taking on organizations that were not the leading group in the territory where they operated.[2] Around the time it made its September 2009 declaration, al-Shabab was not the unchallenged, leading group in Somalia. It was embroiled in conflict with Hisbul Islamiyya—another jihadist organization whose leadership had links to al-Qa`ida.[3] Acquiring al-Shabab while it was involved in conflict with Hisbul Islamiyya, and supporting one jihadist group in conflict with another, would have undermined al-Qa`ida's narrative on unity, integration and growth, and invited criticism from within the militant milieu. Thus, despite al-Shabab's reemphasis of its allegiance in early 2010, no invitation to join al-Qa`ida was forthcoming.[4]

Since then, however, al-Shabab and Hisbul Islamiyya have unified, finalizing their lengthy "negotiations" with a December 2010 agreement and statement outlining their shared goals.[5] The prolonged period of "negotiation" was primarily over the scope and purpose of the jihad in Somalia. Hisbul Islamiyya had a more limited geographical focus, and a different *manhaj* (program) than al-Shabab.[6] These differences were in relation to not only the scope and methods of jihad in Somalia, but also the future Islamic state they envisioned for the country and the region more generally.[7] Their unification statement showed the triumph, at least on paper, of al-Shabab and its more global agenda for jihad. This is visible in the goals outlined in the statement, which included a commitment to work for the restoration of Islamic sanctities, freeing of Muslim prisoners, and the unification of the *umma*.[8] This language was in line with al-Qa`ida's own *manhaj* and position. Yet despite al-Shabab's efforts, still no merger has taken place.

This article examines the likelihood of a merger between al-Qa`ida and al-Shabab and analyzes the factors that may lead to or hinder such a merger taking place.

New Leadership, New Position on Al-Shabab?

Al-Qa`ida's reticence to pursue mergers with groups whose actions could bring harm to its "brand" and make it vulnerable to criticism from within the militant milieu may be one reason for the absence to date of a merger between the two groups. Al-Shabab's use of assassinations, cemetery desecrations and campaigns of intimidation, which have alienated it from the public, may be viewed with concern by al-Qa`ida—particularly given backlashes it has previously faced from franchisees' use of violent tactics against civilian populations. Another factor may be reluctance on the part of al-Qa`ida to take on a group where, although public statements of ideological affinity are made, the reality on the ground may be such that a parochial focus dominates its agenda and actions.

Perhaps in recognition of the dominance of this focus, al-Qa`ida's interest in Somalia during the last few years of Bin Ladin's leadership appeared largely limited to its value as a location for supporting external operations.[9] Al-Qa`ida's new leader, Ayman al-Zawahiri, appears to have a stronger focus on acquiring territory and expanding areas under mujahidin control. This focus was evident in 2005 when al-Zawahiri placed emphasis on the importance of securing territory and establishing emirates in correspondence between him and the then leader of al-Qa`ida in Iraq.[10] Al-Shabab's nominal control over territory may thus make it a more attractive candidate for a merger.[11]

Al-Zawahiri and others in al-Qa`ida's senior leadership might also take a more positive view of al-Shabab because its unification statement with Hisbul Islamiyya specifically emphasized a desire to establish an emirate in Somalia. Once an emirate is established, the narrative can be presented that it is obligatory to help defend it from threat via providing support and wherever possible immigrating to assist.[12] Thus, even if the establishment of an emirate does not necessarily attract more internal on-the-ground support or change little in the way the jihad against the Transitional Federal Government

1 The title of the video was "At your service, Osama," and was released on September 20, 2009.

2 For details on al-Qa`ida's approach to franchise acquisition, see Leah Farrall, "How al Qaeda Works," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2011.

3 The links were formed in the early 1990s when al-Qa`ida was providing Somali groups with training for jihad, including some persons who would rise to leadership positions in Hisbul Islamiyya. For useful information on the nature of these links, see documents covering al-Qa`ida's Somalia sojourn in the Combating Terrorism Center's Harmony database. For a useful summary of the conflict between al-Shabab and Hisbul Islamiyya that took place in October 2009, see Alex Thurston, "Al Shabab, Hizbul Islam, and a War Within Somalia's Civil War," Sahel Blog, October 5, 2009.

4 Sarah Childress, "Somalia's Al Shabab to Ally with Al Qaeda," *Wall Street Journal*, February 2, 2010.

5 Harakat al-Shabab al-Mujahideen and Hizbul Islami, "The Year of Unity," al-Kataib Foundation for Media Production, December 2010.

6 Ibid.

7 This future state as envisaged by some militant groups in Somalia is broader than the country's borders and encompasses Somali ethnic regions, in what some term "Greater Somalia."

8 Ibid.

9 This observation is drawn from a review of detainee commentary and information contained in the Wikileaks Guantanamo detainee document collection.

10 This correspondence, a July 2005 letter to Abu Mus`ab al-Zarqawi, is available at www.globalsecurity.org/security/library/report/2005/zawahiri-zarqawi-letter_9jul2005.htm.

11 "The Year of Unity."

12 This narrative ties into arguments used by militant Salafists on the requirement to undertake *hijra* to help in the building and defense of an Islamic state.

(TFG) and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) is conducted, it could have particular potency for those outside Somalia radicalized to a militant Salafist worldview. In this way, declaring the establishment of an emirate can help garner additional material, financial and ideological support.

While al-Shabab and Hisbul Islamiyya presumably authored their unity statement intending to pursue the establishment of an emirate regardless of any future merger, al-Qa`ida's tendency to be predatory may see it push for al-Shabab to become a franchise if an emirate is established to exercise influence over it.[13] Such a move may not engender local support.[14] In the past, however, an absence of broad local support has not stopped militant groups from making such declarations.

Additionally, al-Zawahiri and others may ascribe to the view shared by some figures in al-Qa`ida (and the militant milieu more generally) that a presence in Somalia would hold great strategic value for their global jihad. Somalia has long been seen as a useful rear base of support for jihadist activity in not only Africa, but also the Arabian Peninsula. It has also been viewed as a useful location from where training can be conducted and external operations planned.[15] While al-Qa`ida may push forward for these reasons, a key question is whether al-Shabab would willingly cede to its authority.

Will Al-Shabab Commit?

There is a lack of information of the composition of al-Shabab's senior leadership and in particular knowledge of their position on merger and precedence. Al-Shabab clearly preferences a doctrine of unity, but in what form it envisages this, and whether or not it would cede authority to al-Qa`ida based solely on seniority, remains unclear. This is because there is little visibility of al-Shabab's *manhaj*—if in fact its *manhaj* has developed beyond mere sloganeering to the point where it addresses issues of merger and unification.[16]

It is clear, however, that in the aftermath of Bin Ladin's death, al-Shabab has shown no signs of moving away from its public support for al-Qa`ida. It has recognized al-Zawahiri as al-Qa`ida's new *amir* and reiterated its oath of allegiance.[17] Although words of allegiance are significant, the reality of how such an oath might translate into a closer relationship, including the possibility of a merger, is more complex. Christopher Anzalone, a doctoral candidate at McGill University who has produced some excellent and incisive work on al-Shabab, makes the important point that while al-Shabab may be "using a transnational-type message akin to al Qaeda central," they "can get the benefits...that they want from this type of militant transnational Islamism, while still maintaining their organizational independence."[18] The murkiness of al-Shabab's command structure and *manhaj* means that it is difficult to discern whether its efforts to align ideologically are a way of tapping into support networks while remaining independent. It is also difficult to know exactly how al-Shabab would approach a merger or how much authority it would willingly cede, particularly since al-Qa`ida's recent leadership losses include Fazul Abdullah Mohammad (also known as Fadil Harun), its senior envoy in Somalia who could have played a crucial role in assisting negotiations between the two groups.[19]

Al-Shabab may also be less than committed to a merger in spite of public statements to the contrary. As Anzalone notes,

> there is a strong element of rhetorical strategy in al-Shabaab leaders' referencing of OBL and other AQ ideologues. It allows them to potentially expand an already limited recruiting base by tapping into broader themes related to "the Ummah," [but] there is a difference between this ideological affinity and necessarily wanting to merge with al Qaeda central officially.[20]

In Anzalone's view, al-Shabab may seek to become a franchise if it became further weakened and its leadership "believed that a formal merger would help them stave off final defeat."[21] These are all valid points worthy of analytical consideration.

Conversely, al-Shabab's most recent statement pledging allegiance to al-Qa`ida's new *amir* made particular reference to the organization's guiding role. In this respect, the loss of Fazul Mohammad as a trusted envoy and source of guidance could result in al-Shabab intensifying efforts to seek a closer relationship between the two groups.[22] Additionally, al-Shabab's leaders might follow guidance outlining that regardless of the strength of their own position, a newer group should merge with the older, more senior group.[23] Here, too, it is difficult to determine whether al-Shabab adheres to such *manhaj* guidelines and prescriptions. Yet even if al-Shabab were to pursue a merger with al-Qa`ida as the older, more senior group, the sticking point of ceding authority would likely remain, despite its public welcoming of al-Qa`ida's guiding hand.

13 For an explanation of al-Qa`ida's predatory history, which while led by Bin Ladin is also codified as an organizational policy of sorts, see Farrall.

14 See Greste's account of the view of Hassan Had on al-Shabab taking over in Peter Greste, "Somalia: Inside the Land of Bandits" *The Telegraph*, July 20, 2011.

15 This is evident in documentation from al-Qa`ida's early foray into Somalia, available via the Combating Terrorism Center's harmony collection. It can also be seen in a review of detainee accounts in the Wikipedia collection of documents relating to Guantanamo detainees as well as in the work of ideologues such as Abu Saad al-Amili.

16 For the presentation of the theme of unity and call for a year of unity, see "The Year of Unity." Additionally, Abu Mansoor al-Amriki alleged that al-Shabab follows al-Qa`ida's *manhaj*, although his claim was remarkably short on confirming details.

17 This statement was first made by radio and has since been disseminated by al-Shabab's media house. For a summary, see "Al-Shabab Al-Mujahideen Pledge Allegiance to Al-Zawahiri," Middle East Media Research Institute, June 20, 2011, available at www.thememriblog.org/blog_personal/en/38601.htm.

18 Personal interview, Christopher Anzalone, June 3, 2011.

19 Fazul Mohammad died on June 8, 2011 in a gunfight with Somali forces at a TFG checkpoint in Mogadishu. While other substantial links between the groups exist, Fazul Mohammad's had historical depth and continuity of personal connections, important to these types of negotiations. Some reporting has emerged claiming that Fazul Mohammad was betrayed by al-Shabab elements unhappy with his role in the organization, however the veracity of this information remains in doubt. See, for example, www.bar-kulan.com/2011/06/15/aswj-says-al-shabaab-behind-fazul%E2%80%99s-death/.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 See "Al-Shabab Al-Mujahideen Pledge Allegiance to Al-Zawahiri."

23 For an explanation of this in relation to al-Qa`ida's franchise acquisition, see Farrall.

Although franchises have operational autonomy in terms of local planning, this takes place under broadly agreed upon parameters because in a franchise situation, a group conducts operations under the al-Qa`ida name. Since al-Shabab retains a strong local and regional focus, it may seek to retain the option to pursue attacks related to these objectives how it sees fit. It is unclear how al-Qa`ida's new leadership would view such a move and the loss of Fazul Mohammad may have removed an influential figure who could help negotiate these issues in al-Qa`ida's favor. Two key questions therefore emerge. How receptive would al-Shabab be to ceding authority in exchange for operating as a franchise under al-Qa`ida's banner, particularly with a new leadership in place? How might al-Qa`ida feel about an al-Shabab franchise less inclined to take its direction?

Conclusion

Al-Qa`ida has a new leadership that finds itself with the strategic imperative of needing to stamp its authority on the organization and to find a way to reinforce al-Qa`ida's power and preeminence. These changed circumstances might drive new thinking in relation to the cost benefit calculations of merging al-Shabab with al-Qa`ida, even with Fazul Mohammad's death. A new franchise in Somalia offers one potential solution to al-Qa`ida's current inaction, and brings with it several appreciable benefits. A merger would reinforce its relevance and unity of purpose. It would also provide a resource cheap means for al-Qa`ida to demonstrate its ongoing importance—perhaps more quickly and possibly even more effectively in some target audiences than undertaking a terrorist spectacular. Although much remains unknown about the state of the relationship between al-Shabab and al-Qa`ida, in light of the changed circumstances of both groups, this relationship is one that bears closer scrutiny.

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The Somali Diaspora: A Key Counterterrorism Ally

By Major Josh Richardson

THE DEATH OF Fazul Abdullah Mohammad (also known as Fadil Harun), al-Qa`ida's top commander in East Africa, at a Mogadishu checkpoint in June 2011 counts as another in a string of blows to the global terrorism network.[1] This rare good news story, however, was bracketed by a number of domestic setbacks in Somalia. A May 30 suicide attack carried out in part by a member of the Somali-American diaspora claimed the lives of two soldiers from the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM),[2] and on June 10 the Somali minister of the interior and national security was killed by a suicide bomber in his home, who happened to be his niece.[3] The minister's death came one day after the Somali Transitional Federal Government (TFG) signed the Kampala Accord, extending the government transitional period an additional year.[4]

As recent statements and actions indicate, the United States increasingly views Somalia and the region as a critical front in the effort to defeat al-Qa`ida.[5] This places increased pressure on al-Shabab,[6] an organization that relies on support from the Somali diaspora.[7] Indeed, a number of Western Muslims, including Americans, have traveled to Somalia to fight with al-Shabab. Some of these Westerners became suicide bombers for the group. The Kampala Accord has, in an oddly positive way, provided the international community with additional time to press recent counterterrorism successes and set the conditions for a more stable Somalia. Engagement with the Somali diaspora is a crucial element toward any future stability.

The Somali Diaspora: Stakeholders in a Stable Future

Although some Somalis living outside of the homeland left as a result of civil war in the 1980s, the vast majority emigrated due to the cycles of famine and war that have characterized the failed state period since the collapse of the Siad Barre regime in 1991.[8] The Somali diaspora is estimated at 1-1.5 million people worldwide—150,000 of whom live in the United States, half of that number having arrived since 2000.[9] Many entered as asylum seekers, escaping war and famine only to cluster in Western urban areas high in poverty and crime.[10] Still, many others, such as Somalia's recently ousted prime minister,[11] gain dual

1 For more on Fazul Mohammad, his death, and Somalia's reaction, see Abdi Sheikh, "Somalia Vows to Defeat al-Qaida After Killing Fazul Abdullah Mohammed," Reuters, June 12, 2011.

2 The suicide attacker from Minnesota, 27-year-old Farah Mohamed Beledi, left the United States for Somalia in October 2009. For more, see Amy Forliti, "FBI Confirms 1 Suicide Bomber in Last Week's Attack in Mogadishu, Somalia, was Minnesota Man," Associated Press, June 9, 2011.

3 Rashid Nuune, Mohamed Odowa, and Yusuf Hagi, "Blast Kills Interior Minister: Minister's Niece is Alleged Suicide Bomber," SomaliaReport.com, June 10, 2011.

4 The accord acknowledges that Somalia is not stable enough to hold national elections in 2011, and includes a declaration from Ugandan President Museveni to oversee the extended mandate.

5 Mark Mazzetti and Eric Schmitt, "U.S. Expands its Drone War into Somalia," *New York Times*, July 2, 2011.

6 Harakat al-Shabab al-Mujahideen, also known as al-Shabaab or "the youth," is descendent of al-Itihad al-Islami (AIAI), a Somali militant group from the mid-1990s. For more, see Claude Heller, "Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1853 (2008)," United Nations, March 10, 2010, pp. 14-16. For a listing of al-Shabab suicide operations from 2006-2009, visit www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2010/01/shabaab_suicide_bomb.php.

7 This is especially true for its suicide operations. See Bill Roggio, "Shabaab Suicide Bomber was Danish Citizen," *The Long War Journal*, December 9, 2009.

8 Khadra Elmi, "Distant Voices and the Ties that Bind Identity, Politics and Somali Diaspora Youth," *Accord* 21 (2010).

9 Laura Hammond et al., "Cash and Compassion: The Role of the Somali Diaspora in Relief, Development and Peace-Building," UNDP Somalia, January 2011, pp. 1, 29.

10 Ibid., pp. 29-30.

11 As stated in paragraph 4.c. of the Kampala Accord: "within 30 days of the signing of this agreement, the Prime Minister will resign from his position; and the President will appoint a new Prime Minister." Somali Prime Minister Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed's forced resignation caused widespread protests in Mogadishu. Many Somalis noted that he was the only honest politician in the country; they attributed his ouster to back-room politics, and they fear that rampant corruption will return with his departure. He was living and working in the United States before returning to Somalia to take the position of prime minister. See Jeffrey Gettleman, "Somali Prime Minister Resigns as Part of a Political Deal," *New York Times*, June 19, 2011.

citizenship, attend universities, and enter into lucrative careers in their host countries. Importantly, irrespective of social or economic status abroad, the diaspora remains intimately connected and heavily invested in the homeland.

"You eat with your brother when he has money," stated one member of the Somali diaspora who lives in London and supports four uncles and eight aunts in Somalia through remittances.[12] Last year, Somalis in the diaspora sent between $1.5-2 billion to people back home.[13] Remittances were largely private—sent directly to a person, family or local leader—but also included between $130-200 million sent for development purposes.[14] The diaspora has long relied on a system known as *hawala*[15] for transferring these funds from abroad back into Somalia quickly and at low cost. *Hawalas* came under intense scrutiny after 9/11, resulting in the closure of the industry leader, al-Barakaat.[16] The institution adapted, however, and Somalis have continued sending remittances. Only recently, during the global financial crisis in 2009, did remittances dip noticeably. They are now back on the rise.[17]

In stark contrast to continued political fragmentation and failure in Somalia, there are examples of economic cooperation and progress spurred by the diaspora. Somali businesses have created regional trade networks that defy traditional clan and territorial divisions.[18] Unregulated economic partnerships with groups in Ethiopia, Kenya, Djibouti, Uganda, and Tanzania in many sectors such as finance, real estate, and retail services have highlighted that Somalis will seek non-violent avenues and law and order if it is more profitable to them.[19] Members of the diaspora are also better at monitoring their investments than the international community is at monitoring aid projects. The diaspora can tap into regional and local power brokers to ensure oversight and prevent corruption, where aid organizations have no such leverage.[20]

The dilemma, however, is apparent. The diaspora's steadfast support has created a dependent society in Somalia. The statistics seem to confirm it: 80% of small business start-up capital is directly attributed to remittances,[21] and the financial network of *hawalas* is reportedly the number one private sector employer in Somalia.[22] Dependency breeds spoilers—those who seek to maintain instability for personal gain—and this is a major concern among the diaspora, who often give despite their own harsh circumstances.[23] For the poor and professionals alike, remittances are an investment as well as an obligation. They are heavily invested in one day returning to a safe Somalia to stay, and as such should be considered a motivated ally in efforts toward Somali stability.

Also important with respect to the diaspora is an understanding of the age demographic and how different generations view remittances. In the United States, the Somali diaspora is relatively young, as compared to the general population.[24] Younger members of the diaspora are less likely to send private remittances to relatives they may not know well, but are more interested in contributing to community projects or traveling to Somalia to give their time and expertise.[25] This is a unique opportunity that host-nations should recognize because younger generations possess unique skill-sets and are often less bound to certain structures within traditional Somali society.[26]

Current Obstacle: Radicalization within the Diaspora

While the Somali diaspora's role is mostly positive, it has also contributed some negative elements as well. Youth from the diaspora, radicalized for al-Shabab, have been responsible for multiple suicide attacks during the past three years: in October 2008, Shirwa Ahmed became the first American suicide bomber in an attack in Bosasso;[27] in December 2009, a member of the Danish-Somali diaspora attacked a medical school graduation ceremony at the Hotel Shamo in Mogadishu;[28] in September 2010, Danish-Somalis attacked the Mogadishu airport in a suicide operation;[29] and in May 2011 a member of the American-Somali diaspora attacked AMISOM soldiers in Mogadishu.[30] While not exhaustive, this short list is indicative of al-Shabab's reliance on foreign youth to wage its suicide terrorist campaign. Al-Shabab looms as the primary spoiler to Somali stability, yet key weaknesses are evident.

The withdrawal of Ethiopian forces from Somalia in January 2009 weakened al-Shabab's narrative. Al-Shabab used the December 2006 Ethiopian invasion and subsequent occupation

12 Anna Lindley, "The Early-Morning Phonecall: Remittances from a Refugee Diaspora Perspective," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35:8 (2009).

13 The World Bank estimates that $325 billion were remitted globally in 2010. Hammond et al., pp. 3, 13; Dilip Ratha and Ibrahim Sirkeci, "Remittances and the Global Financial Crisis," *Migration Letters* 7:2 (2010).

14 Ibid.

15 *Hawala* means "transfer of debt." For more on this system, see Anna Lindley, "Between 'Dirty Money' and 'Development Capital': Somali Money Transfer Infrastructure Under Global Scrutiny," *African Affairs* 108:433 (2009).

16 Lindley, "Between 'Dirty Money.'" For more on legislation, see H.R. 3162, USA PATRIOT Act Section 373, "Illegal Money Transmitting Businesses," October 24, 2001, p. 178. Also see the Financial Action Task Force, "Terrorist Financing," 2008, p. 24, for their reference to "alternate remittance systems (ARS)" as remittances intended for terrorist purposes.

17 Hammond et al., p. 43.

18 Lee Cassanelli, "Private Sector Peacemaking: Business and Reconstruction in Somalia," *Accord* 21 (2010).

19 Ibid.

20 Hammond et al., p. 20.

21 Hassan Sheikh and Sally Healy, "Somalia's Mission Million: The Somali Diaspora and its Role in Development," United Nations, March 2009.

22 Hammond et al., p. 44.

23 Lindley, "The Early-Morning Phonecall: Remittances from a Refugee Diaspora Perspective."

24 Within the U.S. Somali diaspora, fewer are under the age of five or over the age of 44 than the national average. See "Counting the Franklin County Somali Population (CRP data byte no. 2)," Community Research Partners, 2009, available at www.communityresearchpartners.org/uploads/DataBytes/DataByteNo2_SomaliPopulation.pdf. Also see Hammond et al., p. 29.

25 Hammond et al., p. 40.

26 Cindy Horst et al., "Participation of Diasporas in Peace-Building and Development: A Handbook for Practitioners and Policymakers," Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), February 2010.

27 This was a key event that led to the revelation that 20 young men from the Minneapolis area in the United States had traveled to Somalia to fight for al-Shabab. See Heller, p. 31.

28 Bill Roggio, "Shabaab Suicide Bomber was Danish Citizen," *The Long War Journal*, December 9, 2009.

29 Alisha Ryu, "Suicide Bombers Attack Mogadishu Airport," Voice of America, September 9, 2010.

30 Sheikh, "Somalia Vows to Defeat al-Qaida after Killing Fazul Abdullah Mohammed."

as a reason to break with the exiled Islamic Courts Union (ICU)[31] and vie for power as the main Somali opposition to the Ethiopians, whose army occupied Mogadishu. From its new position of power, al-Shabab introduced improvised explosive devices and suicide attacks to the Somali battlefield, earning a designation as a Foreign Terrorist Organization from the United States in 2008,[32] and courting ties to al-Qa`ida and its regional affiliate, the Yemen-based al-Qa`ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP).[33] While al-Shabab's tactics may have been expedient in the face of Ethiopian occupation, their strategic move to partner with an international, Salafi-jihadi terrorist organization runs counter to many Somali citizens, as the practice of Sufism is widespread in the country.[34] Today, al-Shabab faces opposition from Somali clan-based organizations such as Ahlu-Sunna wal-Jama (ASWJ), which recently renewed its commitment to defeating al-Shabab in Somalia.[35]

Although some reports suggest that diaspora support for al-Shabab has receded since 2009,[36] radicalization clearly continues and al-Shabab has shifted focus to AMISOM targets. Farah Mohamed Beledi, the U.S. citizen involved in the May 30, 2011 attack in Mogadishu, did not depart the United States until October 2009,[37] some 10 months after the Ethiopians withdrew from Somalia. Analysis of diaspora communities, in general, suggests that their members tend to be very active when supportive of a certain cause.[38] In the case of disaffected youth in the Somali diaspora, al-Shabab has been able to capitalize on this feature, as well as the fact that these young people do not have to live with war on a daily basis, making them more susceptible to radicalization in a distant environment.[39]

The Importance of Engaging the Diaspora

President Barack Obama's recently released "National Strategy for Counterterrorism" both recognizes the current threat posed by radicalization among the diaspora as well as underscores the importance of engaging diaspora communities as part of a comprehensive counterterrorism approach.[40] Improved relations between the diaspora and host countries, especially in the West, would prove significant in further weakening al-Shabab and would have the additional benefit of strengthening the diaspora's ability to positively influence Somalia during this critical time. Moreover, it reduces the risk of radicalized members of the Somali diaspora being swayed by the more transnational propaganda of al-Qa`ida, an ominous development.

The Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota area is home to the largest Somali community in the United States—a community that wrestles with poverty, crime, and radicalization.[41] Twenty young men from this diaspora community are known to have traveled to Somalia in 2007 and 2008 to fight for al-Shabab.[42] Outreach efforts by local law enforcement[43] as well as a visit earlier this year by Attorney General Eric Holder have been largely well received and stand as a model that should be expanded upon.[44] Somali youth groups, such as the one in St. Paul that organized Holder's visit in May, should be the key demographic focus for efforts at combating radicalism in the diaspora.

Conclusion

The recent focus on Somalia as a key frontier in the fight against al-Qa`ida increases pressure on al-Shabab and could provide a key ingredient in emboldening Somalis to reduce support for the group. Popular opposition to al-Shabab within Somalia will be important as Somalis elect a new government in August 2012 and seek to take control of their own country. In the year ahead, vigorous and constructive dialogue between host countries and their Somali diaspora community must accompany lethal counterterrorism efforts as a critical element in weakening al-Shabab and paving the way toward a more stable Somalia.

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31 The ICU came to national prominence in June 2006 by defeating U.S.-supported militia elements in Somalia. The group was popular among Somalis, but following the December 2006 invasion by Ethiopia it was swiftly defeated and reformed in exile in Asmara, Eritrea. While away, al-Shabab, a more militant wing, broke ranks and rose to power in Somalia. For more, see Ken Menkhaus, "Stabilisation and Humanitarian Access in a Collapsed State: The Somali Case," *Disasters* 34 (2010).

32 Ibid.

33 Al-Shabab reportedly formed connections to al-Qa`ida in 2009. See Heller, p. 14. Somalia's neighbor, Yemen, is home to the al-Qa`ida surrogate al-Qa`ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). For more on al-Shabab/AQAP linkages, see Sally Healy and Ginny Hill, "Yemen and Somalia: Terrorism, Shadow Networks, and the Limitations of Statebuilding," Chatham House, October 2010. More recent connections are discussed in the June 28, 2011, U.S. "National Strategy for Counterterrorism," as well as Mark Mazzetti and Eric Schmitt, "U.S. Expands its Drone War into Somalia," *New York Times*, July 2, 2011.

34 Sufi Islam is more moderate, described as "a veil lightly worn." For more on Sufi Islam and Somalia, see *Al-Qa`ida's (Mis)Adventures in the Horn of Africa* (West Point, NY: Combating Terrorism Center, 2006).

35 "Ahlu Sunna Group Threatens al-Shabaab in Central Somalia," Shabelle Media Network, June 17, 2011.

36 Heller, p. 25.

37 Sheikh, "Somalia Vows to Defeat al-Qaida After Killing Fazul Abdullah Mohammed."

38 Horst et al., p. 19.

39 Ibid.

40 Barack Obama, "National Strategy for Counterterrorism," U.S. White House, June 28, 2011.

41 U.S. Census data from 2010 shows that 60,000 Somalis live in the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area. This information was drawn from Hammond et al., p. 29.

42 Heller, pp. 31-32.

43 Rupa Shenoy, "Somali Community, Law Enforcement Try to Keep Open a Dialogue," Minnesota Public Radio, June 11, 2011.

44 James Walsh, "Attorney General Holder Reaches Out to Somalis, Hears from Protesters," *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, May 27, 2011.

David Hicks' Memoir: A Deceptive Account of One Man's Journey with Al-Qa`ida

By Ken Ward

ARRESTED IN AFGHANISTAN in late 2001, David Hicks became arguably the most prominent Western detainee at Guantanamo Bay. A Muslim convert, the Australian-born Hicks was accused by the Pentagon of joining al-Qa`ida and training at its terrorist camps. Yet despite the charges, Hicks was transformed into a folk hero for the thousands of his compatriots who campaigned for his release. In April 2007, Hicks was released from Guantanamo Bay and returned to Australia. After being freed by Australian authorities in December 2007, Hicks would eventually publish his memoir in 2010, recounting his life experiences.[1]

Counterterrorism analysts examining Hicks' memoir would expect to uncover insights into the appeal that radical Islamic movements have had for Western converts. One aspect that makes Hicks' story especially interesting is the fact that he eventually renounced Islam and spent his last years at Guantanamo Bay as an object of suspicion for some of his fellow inmates. As a result, Hicks' memoir could have provided detail on the process by which converts become disillusioned with Islam. This article, however, argues that Hicks has not aimed at full disclosure in his autobiography. While he appears to offer significant details about the conditions of his detention at Guantanamo Bay, including several diagrams on the layout of the prison camp,[2] he is vague and often incoherent when recounting the activities that led to his arrest. The result is an extended but implausible cover story meant to explain away his presence in Afghanistan at the time of the U.S.-led intervention.

A Profile of David Hicks

There is no dispute about the basic facts of Hicks' life. An only child of parents who later divorced, Hicks dropped out of school at 15, worked on cattle stations and then trained horses in Japan. Watching Japanese television, he was moved by the plight of Kosovo, and went off directly to train in a camp in Albania run by the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). Coming home, he applied unsuccessfully to the Australian Defence Force (ADF), toyed with going to East Timor to help its people, adopted Islam and encountered the Tablighi Jama`at missionary Islamic movement.[3] After some time in Pakistan, he switched allegiance to Lashkar-i-Tayyiba (LeT) and went to fight in Kashmir.[4] At LeT's request, he moved to Afghanistan for further military training.[5] His capture in December 2001 led to five and a half years of imprisonment.

More specific details on Hicks' life are up for contention. According to his 2004 Pentagon charge sheet, Hicks was accused of conspiracy, attempted murder by an unprivileged belligerent and aiding the enemy.[6] Another charge sheet dated February 2007 only accused him of providing material support for terrorism. The charge sheets claim that after arriving in Albania around May 1999, Hicks was trained in a KLA camp and "engaged in hostile action" before returning to Australia. Having joined a "terrorist organization," namely LeT, after going to Pakistan in November 1999, Hicks "engaged in hostile action against Indian forces" on the Line of Control (LOC) between Pakistani and Indian Kashmir.[7] Hicks then allegedly went to Afghanistan with LeT funding to be trained by al-Qa`ida.[8] He is accused of staying at an al-Qa`ida guesthouse, where he handed over his passport and said he would use the *kunya* (alias) "Muhammed Dawood."[9]

According to Leigh Sales' work on Hicks, Usama bin Ladin visited the al-Faruq training camp while Hicks was undergoing training there in 2001. Hicks reportedly complained to Bin Ladin about the lack of training material in English. The al-Qa`ida chief urged Hicks to translate some material into English.[10]

After two courses, according to the Pentagon, al-Qa`ida's military chief, Muhammad `Atif, recommended to Hicks an urban tactics training course at Tarnak Farm near Kandahar.[11] The curriculum included marksmanship, the use of assault and sniper rifles, rappelling, kidnapping and assassination methods. In August 2001, Hicks was trained in information collection and surveillance in an apartment in Kabul. `Atif then reportedly asked Hicks if he was willing to carry out a suicide attack, but Hicks was uninterested.[12] Hicks was in Pakistan at the time of the 9/11 attacks, but afterward he traveled back to Afghanistan "to rejoin his al Qaeda associates."[13]

Hicks' Own Account

As long as the information on which the U.S. charges were based remains unpublished, it is not possible to ascertain which data Hicks himself supplied to Pentagon interrogators.[14] In his book, Hicks described his activities on Kashmir's LOC: "We stayed for a week, and during that time a lot of fire was exchanged...We did not fire upon Indian soldiers or any other people. We only participated in the

1 David Hicks, *Guantanamo, My Journey* (Sydney: Heinemann, 2010). The author is grateful for comments on this article from Greg Fealy and Nelly Lahoud.

2 Hicks himself does not state when he left Islam. A former fellow detainee of his, Moazzam Begg, does so in his memoir, *Enemy Combatant*.

3 Hicks, p. 71.

4 Ibid., p. 93.

5 Ibid., p. 145.

6 These are available in a book about Hicks by Leigh Sales, *Detainee 002* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007), a book Hicks does not refer to in his memoir. The charge sheets are reproduced on pp. 256-260 and 264-270.

7 Ibid., p. 257.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid., p. 258. In fact, this name is not a *kunya*. A *kunya* is a name using the words "Abu" or "Umm," meaning father or mother, combined with the name of the eldest son, or eldest daughter if there is no son. For example, Bin Ladin's *kunya* was Abu Abdullah. Aliases in *kunya* form have often been adopted even by recruits who have no children. Hicks was the father of two children, from whose mother he was long separated. Since "Dawood" is merely Arabic for "David," it is unlikely that Hicks could have used this as his alias in Afghanistan since it was too close to his real name. The second charge sheet corrects this error, giving his alias as "Abu Muslim al-Austraili."

10 Ibid., p. 259.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., pp. 25, 279.

13 Ibid., p. 259.

14 Sales reports that Hicks in fact divulged everything to anybody interrogating him. She quotes an American prosecutor who saw him as "a total liability on a proper operation: he can't keep his mouth shut. He talked from the second we caught him. We never had to use any techniques at all on him at Guantanamo." Ibid., p. 85.

symbolic exchange of fire."[15] Hicks claimed that he left the LOC before he could be "launched" as an infiltrator. By contrast, Hicks told his family in a letter excerpted by *The Australian* newspaper that he and three others did indeed cross the LOC, armed with rocket-propelled grenades.[16] This claim is impossible to verify. If Hicks did not prove his value to LeT in Kashmir, the group's later investment in his further training seems unwarranted.

Hicks admitted that he undertook military training in Afghanistan, but asserted it was in "government-sanctioned camps." He claims not even to have heard of al-Qa`ida until he was imprisoned at Guantanamo Bay,[17] which is one of the most astonishing assertions in his book. According to Hicks' account, an unnamed LeT friend escorted Hicks to Afghanistan.[18] In Kandahar, they went to a large, white building where at least 100 non-Afghans were staying. Hicks called it the "Kandahar Hotel."[19] Not one of the foreigners he met there, Hicks wrote, had come to prepare for jihad. "No matter how angry they were at what was taking place, they never spoke of committing terrorist acts," Hicks claimed. "On the contrary, they wanted to help their fellow human beings, not to harm them."[20]

As Hicks considered his course options, another comrade brought him to a nearby school where "we passed five or six visiting Afghan and Arab scholars sitting on chairs. We...shook the hands of these scholars...After a few minutes, my acquaintance...asked if I recognized one in particular [Bin Ladin]."[21] His description of this meeting seems somewhat peculiar. Bin Ladin was not always so taciturn and unforthcoming. Last year, the author interviewed a former member of Indonesia's Jemaah Islamiya, Amran bin Mansoor. Amran participated in a training course in 2000 at an al-Qa`ida camp. He was one of a group of Southeast Asians introduced to Bin Ladin at a Kandahar guesthouse for jihadists from all over the world. Bin Ladin spoke to the Southeast Asians for 20 minutes, according to Amran, discussing among other topics the weather in Malaysia and Singapore. Yet nine months after that session, seated casually with a group of other "scholars," as Hicks put it, Bin Ladin supposedly said nothing to a Westerner who had come for military training despite the potential value he represented for al-Qa`ida.

"Hicks provides a dishonest account of his involvement with militant groups in South Asia. Rather than provide insight into his conversion to Islam or why he joined radical Islamic groups, Hicks' autobiography is a self-serving document meant to 'explain away' any suggestion that he was involved with al-Qa`ida or terrorist activities."

Regardless, at the camp Hicks had to choose between basic training or going to another camp. He reluctantly agreed to more basic training at a "mainstream camp" that was "administered by the local Afghan government" two or three hours by bus from Kandahar.[22] He spent seven weeks there.[23] Hicks offered no details of his training at this camp, in conformity with his habit of giving almost no information about any training he received. In particular, he avoided mentioning any weapon he learned to use. His training in Pakistan, for example, had been "mostly sport-oriented, for there was little funding for ammunition."[24] LeT's limited resources are surprising given that Hicks described the group as "a virtual branch of the [Pakistani] government."[25]

After the basic training course, Hicks attended a mountain warfare course at the same camp, then an urban warfare course near Kandahar.[26] The urban warfare class dealt "with such situations as are found in Kashmir...when a village would need to be defended to deter soldiers from entering."[27] His final course was in Kabul.[28] He offered no detail about this last course. Yet Feroz Abbasi, another inmate at Guantanamo Bay, was also an English-speaker in Afghanistan at the time. Abbasi described his training in an autobiography he composed in Guantanamo.[29] He arrived in Afghanistan early in 2001. After eight weeks of basic training at al-Faruq, Abbasi took "mountain training" once more at al-Faruq. He then undertook "city tactics" training at Kandahar airport, and finally was trained in the reconnaissance of potential targets in Kabul. Bin Ladin once gave a lecture at al-Faruq during Abbasi's time there.

Hicks failed to see that Abbasi's account is actually devastating for his own case.[30] Even without seeking to incriminate Hicks, Abbasi has outlined a program that was remarkably similar to Hicks', except that Abbasi did not claim his camps were "administered by the local Afghan government." The chances that both al-Qa`ida and the Taliban offered courses of identical training at roughly the same time seems highly unlikely.

15 Hicks, p. 113.

16 In December 2007, *The Australian* published a selection of self-incriminating letters that Hicks had sent to his family from his travels, which had reportedly been seized by the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) from Hicks' parents' house after his arrest.

17 Hicks, p. 158.

18 If Hicks is to be believed, he and his traveling companion encountered no difficulty crossing the border.

19 Hicks, p. 142.

20 Ibid., p. 140.

21 This is the only meeting with Bin Ladin that Hicks acknowledges in his book. Nothing is learned of Bin Ladin's alleged call for Hicks to carry out translations. Ibid., p. 143.

22 Ibid., p. 146.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., p. 104.

25 Ibid., p. 147.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid., p. 146.

28 Ibid.

29 Sean O'Neill and Daniel McGrory, *The Suicide Factory* (London: HarperCollins, 2006), pp. 210-213.

30 Hicks wrote that this detainee later claimed he had been mistreated and became convinced "that the only way to save himself was to bring his own false accusations against me." Hicks, p. 320.

Curtain Fall

In August 2001, Hicks decided that he wanted to leave Afghanistan and go home, which is why he was in Pakistan at the time of the 9/11 attacks.[31] Yet he has to convincingly explain to his readers why several months later, in December 2001, he was captured in Afghanistan by Northern Alliance forces. According to his account, Hicks needed a new Pakistani visa and money for his airfare to Australia.[32] After taking a taxi to Quetta, he claimed that he left his passport and some Afghan clothes in Kandahar. He thought that it would be difficult to enter Australia on a forged passport, but apparently did not think to tell Australian officials in Islamabad that his passport was lost.[33] Therefore, even after watching the 9/11 attacks on Pakistani television, he decided to travel back into Kandahar supposedly to collect his possessions.[34]

After entering Afghanistan, U.S. airstrikes began. Hearing that the Pakistani border was closed, Hicks weighed his options.[35] The mountain warfare graduate, who wrote lyrically about mountains and spent several months in Kashmir, decided against seeking refuge in the mountains near the Pakistani border as they "represented hardship with little food and water, and inadequate warmth in the night."[36] He instead traveled to Kabul, where he teamed up with an LeT acquaintance.[37]

31 Hicks, p. 147.

32 Hicks does not provide any information about how he has financed himself since last leaving Australia in 1999 beyond admitting he received benefits from LeT, such as airfares.

33 Hicks, p. 151.

34 Ibid., p. 150. Hicks said he had a "collection of local clothing he wanted to take back to Australia." Yet Afghan clothes were probably readily available in Quetta, given its large Pashtun population. If Hicks had indeed left his passport in Afghanistan, he might well have found it difficult crossing the Pakistani-Afghan border in either direction. Amran bin Mansoor, the Malaysian, told the writer he had been turned back at the Afghan border the first time he tried to cross it and had to go back to Quetta. If he was alone in a taxi, it would have been hard for Hicks to pass himself off as a Pashtun to border police. He did not speak Pashtu. If he had wished to acquire a new Pakistani visa during his visit to Quetta, not having a passport with him to have it stamped would have been quite a nuisance.

35 Ibid., p. 152.

36 Ibid., p. 153.

37 Ibid., p. 160.

Hicks was armed, but he did not identify his weapon.[38] According to Hicks, there had been some "old and rusty" guns in Kandahar that he and some traveling companions collected. Hicks later sold his gun and ammunition to finance a proposed taxi trip to Pakistan. By then, however, he was captured and sold to U.S. forces.

Conclusion

Hicks' chapters on his last months in Afghanistan are the most incoherent in his book. They underline his inability to provide a clear picture of his motives and actions. This vagueness and evasiveness undermine the very story he has set out to construct. In the end, Hicks provides a dishonest account of his involvement with militant groups in South Asia. Rather than provide insight into his conversion to Islam or why he joined radical Islamic groups, Hicks' autobiography is a self-serving document meant to "explain away" any suggestion that he was involved with al-Qa`ida or terrorist activities.

Unsatisfactory though his story is, Hicks is still worth studying because of the danger that white jihadists peculiarly represent to Western countries due to their "insider" status. Elements of his make-up, and some of his motives where they can be determined, may well be found in other Western recruits. At the same time, Hicks did provide one important, unintentional contribution, which is that his confused text is unlikely to inspire other Westerners to the jihadist path.

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38 Ibid., p. 155.

Hizb al-Tahrir: A New Threat to the Pakistan Army?

By Arif Jamal

ON MAY 6, 2011, Pakistani authorities arrested Brigadier Ali Khan on charges of ties to Hizb al-Tahrir (HT), an Islamist group that is banned in Pakistan. Shortly after, authorities revealed that four majors in the Pakistan Army were also under investigation for ties to HT.[1] In the following weeks, Pakistan's security agencies carried out raids on the homes of HT members across the country. They have arrested at least two prominent members of the group: Deputy Spokesman Imran Yusufzai and Engineer Aftab.

These incidents warrant a closer look at HT's activities in Pakistan, especially considering the organization's previous stated goal of infiltrating a country's military to achieve power—with its end objective the creation of an Islamic state.

This article examines the ties between Brigadier Ali Khan and HT, provides a profile of HT, and assesses whether the Islamist group poses a threat to stability in Pakistan.

Profile of Brigadier Ali Khan

Brigadier Ali Khan was serving as director for rules and regulations at the Army General Headquarters in Rawalpindi when he was arrested for alleged links to HT. He received military training in the United States, and had earlier commanded a brigade in Kashmir. He hails from a family with strong links to the military.[2] He was set to retire on July 9, 2011.[3]

Among his colleagues, Khan is known to be highly religious and anti-American. In a meeting after the killing of Usama bin Ladin, Khan was reportedly angry over what he considered a serious

1 *The News International*, June 23, 2011.

2 He is the son of a junior commissioned officer. His brother is a colonel and currently serving in an intelligence agency. His son and son-in-law are serving as captains in the army. See Shakeel Anjum, "Serving Brigadier Held for Link with Banned Outfit," *The News International*, June 22, 2011.

3 *Dawn*, June 22, 2011.

intelligence failure.[4] What he saw as the intelligence failure, however, was the Pakistani military's inaction in the face of a U.S. cross-border raid, suggesting that Pakistan should have shot down the U.S. helicopters.[5] At the same meeting, he also reportedly questioned the "luxurious lifestyle of the armed forces top brass," insinuating that they should change their habits.[6]

When speaking with reporters, Khan's wife denied that her husband or their family had links with HT, saying, "If you visit somebody's home or be visited, a link is automatically established."[7] Her statement, however, implies that she and her husband may have at least visited the homes of HT members, suggesting that the family had some sort of connection to those affiliated with HT. She described her husband as "a staunch and practicing Muslim" who believed in the ideology that led to the creation of Pakistan. "Pakistan was made in the name of Islam and the Islamic laws should be enforced," she said. "This is the ideology of Pakistan."[8] His wife claimed, however, that she had never heard of HT before the latest charges, although she described it as "an organization of intellectual people, I guess."[9]

"Even if HT does not pose any immediate threat to the armed forces in Pakistan, the group should be carefully monitored to prevent any rapid recruitment successes. Extremist groups can grow quickly in Pakistan."

Khan's legal counsel, Inam Ullah, disputed that his client had any ties to HT. Instead, Ullah attributes Khan's arrest to the tough questions he asked top generals about the Abbottabad raid that killed Bin Ladin, and how U.S. military forces were able to enter Pakistani airspace undetected. Ullah argues that Khan's arrest is meant to dissuade other military officers from questioning the decisions of Pakistan's military leadership.

Regardless, the accusation that Khan is a major supporter of HT warrants a closer look at the group's activities in Pakistan.

HT Pakistan

Hizb al-Tahrir is essentially a non-violent Islamist group. It wishes to establish an Islamic state through *da`wa* and preaching, rather than through violence. Founded in Jerusalem in 1953, it flourished among Muslims in the United Kingdom, where its headquarters is believed to be located. It is active in more than 40 countries, and Pakistan is one of the top five countries that provide the bulk of its membership. The group does not endorse participation with democratic political systems.

Pakistan's chapter of HT was formally founded in November 2000, although a number of Pakistanis had joined the group in the preceding decades outside Pakistan. The founding members of HT Pakistan were mostly Pakistani expatriates from relatively successful families. HT's spokesman in Pakistan, Naveed Butt, for example, is a graduate of the University of Illinois.

After the 9/11 attacks and subsequent U.S.-led military intervention in Afghanistan, HT was able to expand its influence in Pakistan.[10] According to some reports, the founders of HT in Pakistan include Imtiaz Malik, a British youth of Pakistani descent, Dr. Abdul Wajid, and Dr. Abdul Basit Shaikh.[11] Imtiaz Malik is considered to be the underground leader of HT Pakistan. Naveed Butt remains the public face of the group in Pakistan, and he is assisted by two youths, Imran Yusufzai and Shahzad Sheikh.[12]

HT has a pyramid-style organizational structure, with its central leader based in the United Kingdom. The Pakistani group considers itself only a chapter of the international HT. HT Pakistan has been extremely secretive, as it is banned in the country. Naveed Butt is the only official allowed to reveal his identity. He told the author, "We are not allowed to reveal our identity because of the worldwide repression against the Hizb al-Tahrir."[13] The group is organized in small cells of five to six members.[14] The members are not allowed to reveal their affiliation even to other HT members. Another supervising cell coordinates the activities of a large number of cells. "The idea is that only a few members are exposed if one member is arrested," explained a member of HT Pakistan.[15]

HT has adopted peaceful methods to propagate its ideological messages. It distributes pamphlets, and it holds conferences, seminars and religious lectures. Its members also pursue *da`wa* activities, and propagate HT's ideology on an individual basis. HT primarily targets the educated classes, as well as prominent groups such as journalists, teachers, trade union leaders, the *ulama*, among others.[16] It considers these categories of citizens to be in the best position to influence public opinion. HT members are often seen distributing literature outside mosques in upscale neighborhoods in urban areas. They also use text messaging to spread their message and are present on social networking websites such as Facebook.[17]

The Threat of HT Pakistan

Despite HT's non-violent stance, "the group ascribes to a little discussed strategy called *nusra*, which means it could support a coup d'etat by an armed force if that force is pursuing an Islamist agenda."[18] Indeed, one of

4 Umar Cheema, "Brig Al had Raised Questions About Abbottabad Raid," *The News International*, June 23, 2011.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
10 Personal interview, Naveed Butt, Islamabad, Pakistan, April 11, 2003.
11 Amir Mir, "HT had Coup Plans," *The News International*, June 23, 2011.
12 Ibid.
13 Personal interview, Naveed Butt, Islamabad, Pakistan, April 11, 2003.
14 Personal interviews, members of HT, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, September 1, 2006.
15 Ibid.
16 Personal interview, Naveed Butt, Islamabad, Pakistan, April 11, 2003.
17 Personal interviews, HT members, Karachi, Pakistan, June 2, 2007.
18 Emmanuel Karagiannis, "Political Islam in Central Asia: The Role of Hizb al-Tahrir," *CTC Sentinel* 3:2 (2010).

its former members suggests that HT encourages violent coup d'etats by its members who belong to armies in Muslim states.[19] According to Rashad Ali, a former HT leader who now works for the anti-extremism organization called CENTRI, "HT sees Pakistan as a strong nuclear power. It has been doing recruitment work in Pakistan for this purpose, for a long time."[20] He told *The News International*:

> HT are dangerous for Pakistan for three reasons. They will justify the arguments of jihadist terrorists by declaring the state of Pakistan as *kufr*. They will call for secession within the military, when Pakistan has suffered so much since the start of the war on terror. The fact that they are approaching the military is a sign that they are seeking to take power through a military coup.[21]

It is this strategy that makes the allegations of serving members of Pakistan's military belonging to HT so alarming.

According to various reports, HT's former global leader, Abdul Qadeem Zallum, considered Pakistan as an important future Islamic stronghold after the country carried out its first nuclear weapons test. Around 1999, Zallum asked HT members of Pakistani origin to return to their home country and organize the group "in the nuclear-armed Pakistan." Dozens of them left their lucrative careers in the United Kingdom and elsewhere and went to Pakistan. According to an HT member, this trend continues today. "We always encourage Pakistani members to return to their country after completing their education if they can," said one member. "Our members sacrifice their rewarding careers to work for the Hizb al-Tahrir. The reason is Pakistan is more likely to be first Muslim country to have an Islamic country."[22]

Brigadier Ali Khan is not the first officer arrested for links to HT. In 2003, the Pakistan Army discovered that HT had succeeded in recruiting several army officers while they were training at Sandhurst in the United Kingdom. Details about this plot and the names of those arrested were never revealed, but Maajid Nawaz, a former HT member, claimed to have been one of their recruiters.[23]

Additionally, on May 4, 2009, military police arrested four persons including Colonel Shahid Bashir, the then commanding officer of the Shamsi Air Force Base, for his links with HT. Bashir was accused of leaking secrets about the Shamsi airfield, which has been used by the Central Intelligence Agency for launching drone attacks on militants in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas. According to a December 2009 report by the BBC, Bashir was court-martialed on charges of spying and for inciting the armed forces to carry out terrorist acts.[24]

Explaining HT's strategy in Pakistan, former HT member Maajid Nawaz explained it best:

> Indeed, the particular problem of HT infiltration inside the Pakistan Army was exported to Pakistan from Britain. HT advocates violent overthrow of democratic states through illegal military coups in order to enforce a single interpretation of Islam…Recruiting from the world's Muslim-majority armies is a fundamental tenet of their call. And though groups like HT are not terrorists, this only makes them even more able to recruit from the Pakistani elite for their paralysing call…Groups such as HT do not seek to launch a mass movement; rather they specifically target the intellectual elite and the military apparatus of the countries in which they operate. For years, leading journalists and the intellectual elite of Pakistan have been targeted by highly educated English-speaking Islamists. They have been seeking to convert prominent opinion shapers to their supremacist ideology. Once this sector is taken, a military coup can be staged by key officers sympathetic to the cause, who would in turn face minimal resistance from society.[25]

Conclusion

Brigadier Ali Khan and four Pakistan Army officers may have been the cell around which HT Pakistan is organized. After examining HT and the group's aims in Pakistan, it is possible that the organization was aiming to foment a "colonels' coup" to realize its goal of establishing an Islamic state in Pakistan. It is not clear how many other HT cells are operating in Pakistan's armed forces.

Even if HT does not pose any immediate threat to the armed forces in Pakistan, the group should be carefully monitored to prevent any rapid recruitment successes. Extremist groups can grow quickly in Pakistan. Indeed, the group's spokesman, Naveed Butt, is encouraged about their ability to recruit Pakistani military officers, saying, "Unlike in some other countries, the Pakistani army is not an elitist army. They come from all strata of society."[26] The thought of a successful colonels' coup must have had a numbing effect on Pakistan's top military brass, and it probably explains their hard line approach to Brigadier Ali Khan.

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19 Maajid Nawaz "How to Fight Back," *Dawn*, June 26, 2011.

20 Murtaza Ali Shah, "HT is Obsessed with Nuclear Pakistan," *The News International*, June 23, 2011.

21 Ibid.

22 Personal interview, HT member, London, March 2007.

23 Nawaz; Ahmed Rashid, "Pakistan Army Officers Arrested in Terror Swoop," *Telegraph*, September 1, 2003; Nicola Smith, "British Islamists Plot Against Pakistan," *Sunday Times*, July 4, 2009.

24 *The News International*, June 22, 2011.

25 Nawaz.

26 Mahan Abedin, "'Stooges' Time is Up in Pakistan," *Asia Times Online*, July 8, 2011.

The Significance of Fazal Saeed's Defection from the Pakistani Taliban

By Daud Khattak

AT THE END of June 2011, Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP)[1] experienced a major blow when senior commander Fazal Saeed Zaimusht defected from the group and formed his own organization, Tehrik-i-Taliban Islami Pakistan (TTIP).[2] Fazal Saeed revolted against the TTP leadership less than two months after the killing of Usama bin Ladin, marking the first split in the TTP since its formation in 2007. The rift is widely perceived as part of an effort by the Pakistani security establishment and the Haqqani network to court an important faction of the TTP: Fazal Saeed's militia in Kurram Agency. Although the split may weaken the TTP, many analysts believe that it will strengthen the Haqqani network and the militant factions that are focused solely on fighting in Afghanistan—activities in which the Pakistani security establishment appears to have some involvement.

This article explains the importance of Fazal Saeed, and places his defection from the TTP in context with the interests of both the Haqqani network and the Pakistani security establishment.

The Role of Fazal Saeed

Fazal Saeed, 39-years-old, is from Uchat village in Central Kurram district.[3] He enjoys the support of hundreds of local tribesmen in Kurram Agency, which is located in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) on the border with Afghanistan. Saeed joined the TTP when it was founded by Baitullah Mehsud in 2007.[4] Since then, he played an active role in the TTP on various levels, but he has been the group's primary asset in Kurram.[5] He opposes Pakistan's alliance with the United States, but is equally against attacks inside Pakistan. He supports fighting against U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan and shows allegiance to Afghan Taliban leader Mullah Omar.

Saeed's support in Kurram extends beyond his involvement with the Taliban. Kurram is geographically separated between Sunni and Shi`a Muslims, and there have been historic hostilities between the two sects in Kurram. Tribesmen in Kurram rallied behind Saeed to create a united militia against rival Shi`a militias. The ongoing conflict between Sunni and Shi`a has displaced thousands of families from Upper and Lower Kurram. Leaders of both sides finally negotiated, and they signed the Murree Agreement in November 2008.[6] As part of the agreement, both sides agreed that the Pakistani government should remove armed outsiders and conduct an operation against militant forces in the agency. The agreement, however, was never implemented, exacerbating the conflict.

In February 2011, the Murree Agreement was revitalized after negotiations occurred in Islamabad. Saeed, who was leading the TTP in Kurram at the time of the February peace accord, welcomed the agreement during a news conference and pledged that his loyalists would take action against any side found to be violating the truce.[7] Various reports also suggest that the Haqqani network supported the peace agreement as well. A key element of the Haqqani family, Haji Ibrahim, for example, attended the February talks.[8]

Although the Peshawar-Tal-Parachinar roadway—a key route that Shi`a in Upper Kurram use to travel—was opened in February 2011 after more than three years of closure, the first violation of the peace agreement came on March 5 when militants killed four Shi`a traveling on the road. On March 13, armed militants killed 11 passengers in the Mamo Khwar area of Tal tehsil. On March 25, armed men attacked a convoy of passengers, killing 13 and abducting more than 25 Shi`a in Bhaggan village. These violations crippled the peace agreement only weeks after it went into effect.[9]

The violations are reportedly one reason why Fazal Saeed separated from the TTP. According to sources in the region, Fazal Saeed believed that the TTP had no interest in supporting the Sunni-Shi`a peace agreement in Kurram—a position to which he disagreed.[10] When explaining his reasons behind leaving the TTP, he said, "We abhor killing innocent people through suicide attacks and bomb blasts, attacks on our own army and destruction of social infrastructure."[11] Fazal Saeed also apparently no longer wanted to pay the TTP a percentage of the funds he earns from imposing taxes on Kurram traders.

Saeed's defection should have a positive effect for stability in Kurram, an outcome wanted by both the Haqqani network and the Pakistani security establishment. The Haqqani network seeks stability in Kurram so that it can increase its presence in the tribal agency. Kurram is viewed as a strategic territory for executing attacks inside Afghanistan. In addition to bordering Afghanistan, it also borders Pakistan's North Waziristan Agency, Orakzai Agency, Khyber Agency, and Hangu District. Due to its location, it is considered coveted territory for militants in Waziristan to cross into Afghanistan to conduct attacks against U.S. and NATO troops. By providing the Shi`a with peace and stability in Kurram, the Haqqani network and other Afghanistan-focused militants will expect the Shi`a to allow Sunni militants to traverse their territory in Upper Kurram to access the agency's northern border with Afghanistan.

1 The TTP is an umbrella of a dozen militant organizations in the Pakistani tribal areas. The organization was formed in December 2007 with Baitullah Mehsud as its head. Baitullah was killed in a drone strike in 2009.

2 "Taliban Commander Fazal Saeed Leaves TTP," *Dawn*, June 27, 2011.

3 Rahimullah Yusufzai, "Rebel TTP Commander Claims his Group is Getting Offers of Support," *The News International*, June 30, 2011.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Farhat Taj, "A Report From Kurram," *Daily Times*, January 1, 2011.

7 "Taliban Welcome Kurram Truce," *Dawn*, February 8, 2011.

8 A key tribal elder, who attended the talks in Islamabad, confirmed to the author that Haji Ibrahim, brother of Jalaluddin Haqqani, attended the meetings and urged the two sides to sign the peace accord.

9 "Militants Kill 8, Kidnap Dozens in Kurram Ambush," *Express Tribune*, March 25, 2011.

10 A key elder, who joined all the peace talks, told this to the author in an interview.

11 Hussain Afzal, "Kurram Commander Quits TTP over Suicide Attacks," *Dawn*, June 28, 2011.

The Role of the Pakistani State

The Pakistani security establishment has played an important role in developments in Kurram as well. Elements in Pakistan's security establishment largely distinguish militants operating in the country between so-called "good Taliban" and "bad Taliban." The "good Taliban" are those fighters solely focused on attacking targets in neighboring Afghanistan. These militants use Pakistan as a safe haven where they are largely free from attacks by U.S. and NATO forces—although they remain the target of repeated drone strikes. Moreover, there are allegations by Western governments, journalists, and analysts that Pakistan's security establishment provides some support to these fighters to maintain political influence in Afghanistan. The best example of the so-called "good Taliban" is the Haqqani network.

The "bad Taliban," on the other hand, are those fighters that see the Pakistani state as an enemy, and regularly target Pakistani forces and interests. These fighters may be involved in executing attacks in Afghanistan, but they also seek to destabilize the Pakistani government due to its counterterrorism support to the United States, among other motives. The best example of the "bad Taliban" are those fighters associated with the TTP.

For Pakistan's security establishment, launching operations against the "good Taliban" is likely seen as counterproductive and against the country's interests. If it were to execute attacks against the Haqqani network, for example, it would turn those fighters against it, thus strengthening the ranks of the "bad Taliban" and fighters intent on attacking the Pakistani state. Moreover, by supporting the "good Taliban," the Pakistani security establishment increases its ability to influence developments in neighboring Afghanistan, especially after the eventual departure of international troops.

This explains why the Pakistani security establishment has been reluctant to launch a military operation against Haqqani fighters in North Waziristan Agency. Analysts believe that both the Pakistani security establishment and the Haqqanis are seeking peace in Kurram to provide another safe haven for Haqqani fighters, where they can further establish their presence and continue cross-border attacks in Afghanistan.[12] Convincing the TTP's Kurram asset, Fazal Saeed, to defect is key to this possible strategy. For Pakistan, a strong Haqqani network with access to all the key areas of Afghanistan would provide its security establishment with sizeable influence in any future government in Kabul.

As evidence of this strategy, Pakistan recently launched a counterterrorism operation in Kurram Agency. Yet the operation has not targeted Fazal Saeed or his militia in Kurram. Additionally, many Pakistani analysts believe that one of the motives behind the Kurram operation is to help provide cover to Haqqani assets. As stated by Mohammad Taqi in the *Daily Times*,

> A side benefit of the chaos created in the Kurram Agency is that it would be a lot easier to hide the jihadists in the midst of the internally displaced people (IDP), making the thugs a difficult target for precision drone attacks. Also, the establishment's focus has been to "reorient" the TTP completely towards Afghanistan. The breaking away from the TTP of the crook from Uchat village, Fazl-e-Saeed Zaimusht (who now interestingly writes Haqqani after his name) is the first step in the establishment's attempt to regain full control over all its jihadist proxies.[13]

A number of displaced families who are living in the newly-established IDP camp in New Durrani area of Sadda town complained that the same militants who used to terrorize them are now living with them inside the camp.[14] "The terrorists who used to impose taxes on us are living among us in the camp and getting more facilities than us," said one of the IDPs.[15] Moreover, due to the IDPs, it would be difficult for the United States to avoid collateral damage if it were to escalate drone strikes over Kurram.

Conclusion

Fazal Saeed's declaration on June 27 of establishing the TTIP is a serious blow to the TTP. The rift could encourage rebellion among other TTP factions.[16] This becomes especially relevant considering that Hakimullah Mehsud has not been seen on the ground or in the media during the past several months. Therefore, while Saeed's decision may increase stability in Pakistan, it could have the opposite effect in Afghanistan. Stability in Kurram may allow the Haqqani network and other Afghanistan-focused fighters more territory to recruit and train, as well as provide them with more territory to access Afghanistan. It will also make it more difficult to convince the Pakistani security establishment to focus its resources on defeating militias that have no interest in attacking Pakistani interests—but only targets in neighboring Afghanistan.

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12 Hasan Khan, "No Peace in Kurram," *Dawn,* April 6, 2007.

13 Mohammad Taqi, "The Sham Operation in Kurram," *Daily Times*, July 7, 2011.

14 Personal interviews, IDPs and their family members living in Peshawar and in the camp, via telephone, June/July 2011.

15 Ibid.

16 The faction led by Faqir Muhammad in Bajaur Agency, for example, invites closer scrutiny. Faqir Muhammad was the deputy of former TTP chief Baitullah Mehsud. Upon Baitullah's death, Faqir declared himself as the new "acting chief" of the TTP. He adopted a meaningful silence, however, after Hakimullah Mehsud was named as the new, permanent TTP leader.

Recent Highlights in Terrorist Activity

June 1, 2011 (PAKISTAN): Approximately 200-500 militants crossed into Pakistan from Afghanistan and attacked the Shaltalu security checkpoint in Upper Dir District of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, killing 23 policemen and five civilians. A police officer in the region stated, "Militants were in military uniform when they attacked the check post and then went into forest." The assault lasted through the following day. The Pakistani Taliban claimed responsibility. – *International Business Times, June 1; AFP, June 1; Reuters, June 3*

June 2, 2011 (UNITED STATES): U.S. Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano warned that Lashkar-i-Tayyiba "is a potent terrorist organization. It could be construed as a threat to the United States." – *AFP, June 2*

June 2, 2011 (IRAQ): At least three explosions ripped through Ramadi, Anbar Province, killing 10 people. The bombs targeted provincial government offices. – *AFP, June 2*

June 3, 2011 (GLOBAL): U.S.-born al-Qa`ida operative Adam Gadahn appeared in a new video message calling on Muslims living in the United States to execute one-man terrorist acts using automatic weapons purchased at gun shows. "Let's take America as an example," Gadahn said. "America is absolutely awash with easily obtainable firearms. You can go down to a gun show at the local convention center and come away with a fully automatic assault rifle, without a background check, and most likely without having to show an identification card. So what are you waiting for?" Gadahn also suggested targeting major institutions, showing the logo of Exxon and Bank of America, and said, "I mean we've seen how a woman knocked the Pope to the floor during Christmas mass, and how Italian leader Berlusconi's face was smashed during a public appearance. So it's just a matter of entrusting the matter to Allah and choosing the right place, the right time, and the right method." – *ABC News, June 3*

June 3, 2011 (IRAQ): A bomb exploded in Tikrit's fortified government compound, killing 18 people. – *Los Angeles Times, June 4*

June 3, 2011 (IRAQ): A suicide bomber detonated his explosives inside the Tikrit hospital as Sunni Muslim parliament member Mutasher Samarrai visited, killing five people. Samarrai escaped injury, however. – *Los Angeles Times, June 4*

June 3, 2011 (PAKISTAN): A U.S. aerial drone possibly killed Ilyas Kashmiri, a high value militant with links to al-Qa`ida. Kashmiri, one of the most senior operatives in Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islam (HuJI), was reported killed near Wana, South Waziristan Agency. – *Los Angeles Times, June 5*

June 3, 2011 (YEMEN): Rockets struck the presidential palace in Sana`a, killing seven people and injuring Yemeni President Ali Abdullah Salih. Yemen's military blamed the attack on al-Qa`ida in the Arabian Peninsula. As a result of his injuries, Salih traveled to Saudi Arabia for medical attention. – *Reuters, June 5*

June 5, 2011 (PAKISTAN): A bomb in a pick-up truck exploded on the outskirts of Peshawar, killing six people. – *Los Angeles Times, June 6*

June 5, 2011 (PAKISTAN): A suicide bomber detonated explosives at a crowded bakery in Nowshera District of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, killing at least 18 people. – *Los Angeles Times, June 6*

June 6, 2011 (AFGHANISTAN): The beheaded body of Bamiyan provincial council chief Jawad Zahak was found in the mountainous Ghorband valley. The Taliban later admitted killing the ethnic Hazara. – *BBC, June 8*

June 7, 2011 (GLOBAL): A 22-country survey found that approximately 75% of those polled believed that the United States was justified in killing al-Qa`ida chief Usama bin Ladin. According to Reuters, "The poll showed that countries that were part of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan were among those with the highest approval rating, led by the United States with 95 percent, France and Britain with 87 percent and Australia, Belgium and Canada with 85 percent. In other ISAF nations, Poland had 83 percent who felt the killing was justified, followed by Italy (81 percent), Hungary (79), Germany (76), Sweden (71), Turkey (71) and Spain (70)." No Middle Eastern nations were polled, however. – *Reuters, June 7*

June 7, 2011 (GLOBAL): The head of Interpol said that al-Qa`ida and affiliated groups remain the world's biggest threat to security despite the killing of Usama bin Ladin. "The airline and air industry continues to be a prime target for terrorists, but we've seen from recovered intelligence etc that they are also focusing a lot on mass transit," said Interpol Secretary General Ronald Noble. "But airlines continue to be a special target." – *Reuters, June 7*

June 7, 2011 (SOMALIA): Somali forces killed Fazul Abdullah Mohammad (also known as Fadil Harun) in Mogadishu. Mohammad was a top al-Qa`ida operative wanted for his role in the U.S. Embassy bombings in East Africa in 1998. A British security official later told reporters that "the Ritz Hotel in London and the elite private school Eton were among a handful of possible British terror targets that [Fazul] was considering before he was killed." – *Reuters, June 11; AP, June 17*

June 8, 2011 (UNITED STATES): FBI Director Robert Mueller told Congress that an initial review of documents captured in Usama bin Ladin's Abbottabad compound suggest that al-Qa`ida remains committed to attacking the U.S. homeland. – *AP, June 8*

June 9, 2011 (UNITED STATES): The FBI confirmed that a Minnesota man was involved in a suicide bombing in Somalia on May 30. The man was identified as Farah Mohamed Beledi. The terrorist and insurgent group al-Shabab earlier took credit for the May 30 attack, saying that "the bomber was Abdullahi Ahmed, 25, of Minneapolis." – *AP, June 7*

June 9, 2011 (UNITED STATES): A Chicago court convicted Tahawwur Rana on two terrorism counts, but he was acquitted of the third charge that he helped plot the 2008 Mumbai terrorist attacks. He was, however, found guilty of helping plot a never-executed

attack on a Danish newspaper, as well as providing support to Lashkar-i-Tayyiba. – *Bloomberg, June 10*

June 9, 2011 (PAKISTAN): Approximately 150 militants attacked a security checkpoint on the border of North and South Waziristan Agency, killing eight soldiers. – *Reuters, June 9*

June 10, 2011 (GLOBAL): According to Bloomberg, "The U.S. is asking the United Nations Security Council to distinguish between Taliban and al-Qaeda followers in enforcing sanctions, a bid to encourage Taliban reconciliation with Afghanistan's government." – *Bloomberg, June 10*

June 10, 2011 (AFGHANISTAN): A suicide bomber killed four police officers at a memorial service for General Daoud Daoud in Kunduz Province. – *New York Times, June 10*

June 10, 2011 (SOMALIA): A suicide bomber killed Somali Interior Minister Abdishashakur Sheik Hassan at his home in Mogadishu. The bomber was the minister's niece. Al-Shabab claimed responsibility. – *RTT News, June 10; New York Times, June 10*

June 11, 2011 (PAKISTAN): Two blasts killed at least 34 people in Peshawar. According to Agence France-Presse, "A small initial blast late on Saturday night drew onlookers and emergency services before a second more powerful blast, believed to be from a suicide strike, was detonated." The Pakistani Taliban denied responsibility. – *Reuters, June 11; AFP, June 13*

June 13, 2011 (IRAQ): A suicide bomber in a vehicle detonated his explosives outside a police compound in Basra, killing five people. – *Reuters, June 13*

June 13, 2011 (PAKISTAN): A suicide bomber attacked a bank in Islamabad, killing one person. – *Voice of America, June 13*

June 14, 2011 (IRAQ): Militants executed a complex attack and took control of a government building in Diyala Province. As stated in the *Washington Post*, "The assault on the provincial council headquarters in Baqubah, about 35 miles northeast of Baghdad, included a car bombing and attacks carried out by men armed with assault weapons and suicide bombers who detonated explosives-laden belts inside the building, security officials said." – *Washington Post, June 14*

June 15, 2011 (AFGHANISTAN): A suicide bomber detonated an explosives-laden vehicle in Kapisa Province, killing four policemen and four civilians. The bomber targeted the governor's office. – *Dawn, June 15; Voice of America, June 15*

June 16, 2011 (GLOBAL): Ayman al-Zawahiri has been named the new overall leader of al-Qa`ida. His succession comes in the wake of Usama bin Ladin's death in May 2011. – *BBC, June 16*

June 16, 2011 (NIGERIA): A car bomb exploded at the national police headquarters in the Nigerian capital of Abuja, killing at least two people. Initial reports stated that the blast was from a suicide bomber; however, subsequent evidence has cast that initial claim in doubt. The northern Nigeria based militant Islamist group Boko Haram claimed responsibility. – *Voice of America, June 16; Bloomberg, June 20; AFP, June 22*

June 17, 2011 (UNITED STATES): A 22-year-old Ethiopian-American, Yonathan Melaku, was arrested around 2 AM after he drew suspicion walking around Arlington Cemetery in northern Virginia. Upon being confronted at the cemetery, Melaku, a U.S. Marine Corps Reserve lance corporal, fled, and when police caught him they discovered a backpack with four ziplock bags containing a substance labeled ammonium nitrate, as well as a notebook with the words "al qaeda," "Taliban rules," "mujahidin," and "defeated coalition forces." The man, who joined the Marine Corps Reserve on September 4, 2007, had been awarded the National Defense Service Medal and the Selected Marine Corps Reserve medal. Upon further investigation, authorities charge that Melaku was responsible for a string of shootings at the Pentagon and other military targets in the Washington, D.C. area. – *ABC News, June 18; AP, July 20*

June 17, 2011 (SOMALIA): Somalia's al-Shabab insurgent and terrorist group welcomed Ayman al-Zawahiri as the new head of al-Qa`ida. – *Shabelle Media Network, June 17*

June 18, 2011 (AFGHANISTAN): Three militants armed with suicide vests and assault rifles stormed a police station in Kabul, killing four Afghan security force personnel and five civilians. According to Agence France-Presse, "One of the attackers detonated his explosives at the entrance to the compound, allowing his two accomplices into the building… Once inside, they fired at police, sparking a gun battle which lasted for around two hours before the pair were killed." – *AFP, June 18*

June 19, 2011 (UNITED STATES): U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates told reporters that al-Qa`ida has been "significantly weakened. There's just no two ways about it…We have taken a real toll on them over the last, particularly the last two years…The question is whether Zawahiri, the new leader taking bin Laden's place, can hold these groups together in some kind of a cohesive movement, or whether it begins to splinter, and they become essentially regional terrorist groups that are more focused on regional targets. And we just don't know that yet." – *AFP, June 19*

June 19, 2011 (AFGHANISTAN): A suicide bomber in a vehicle targeted a NATO convoy in Kunduz Province, killing at least three people. The Taliban claimed responsibility. – *CNN, June 19*

June 21, 2011 (AFGHANISTAN): A suicide bomber targeted the compound of the governor for Parwan Province, killing at least two people. The governor was unharmed. – *AFP, June 21; CNN, June 21*

June 21, 2011 (PAKISTAN): Pakistan's military arrested Brigadier Ali Khan for suspected ties to the radical Islamist group Hizb al-Tahrir (HT). HT is banned in Pakistan. – *Wall Street Journal, June 21*

June 21, 2011 (YEMEN): The Yemeni Defense Ministry announced that overnight airstrikes in Abyan Province killed 20 militants affiliated with al-Qa`ida in the Arabian Peninsula. – *AP, June 21*

June 22, 2011 (AFGHANISTAN): A suicide bomber killed six police officers at a checkpoint in Ghazni Province. – *CNN, June 22*

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The views expressed in this report are those of the authors and not of the U.S. Military Academy, the Department of the Army, or any other agency of the U.S. Government.

June 22, 2011 (YEMEN): More than 60 prisoners escaped from the Mukalla prison in Hadramawt Province. Reports stated that 57 of the escapees are known al-Qa`ida militants. – *Huffington Post, June 22*

June 23, 2011 (SOMALIA): A U.S. drone aircraft reportedly fired on two senior members of al-Shabab in Somalia. – *al-Jazira, July 1; New York Times, July 1*

June 24, 2011 (GLOBAL): A U.S. official told reporters that documents seized in Usama bin Ladin's Abbottabad compound reveal that the al-Qa`ida chief considered changing the group's name to improve its "brand." According to the Associated Press, "He suggested possibly Taifat al-Tawhed Wal-Jihad, or Monotheism and Jihad Group, and Jama'at I'Adat al-Khilafat al-Rashida, translated as Restoration of the Caliphate Group, the official said." As stated by the *Guardian*, "A name change would allow al-Qaida to distance itself from growing criticism within the Islamic world that it was responsible for killing large numbers of Muslims, Bin Laden wrote." – *AFP, June 24; Guardian, June 24*

June 25, 2011 (AFGHANISTAN): A suicide bomber in a vehicle killed at least 27 people at a hospital in Logar Province. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, "The attacker, driving a black sport utility vehicle, first targeted the Azra district police headquarters but was confronted by officers, district police chief Bakhtiyar Gul Ashrafi said. The assailant then drove toward a nearby 40-bed hospital filled with patients, visitors and staff members, detonating his explosives outside… The blast leveled the maternity ward and much of the rest of the building, trapping scores of people under the rubble." – *Los Angeles Times, June 25*

June 25, 2011 (PAKISTAN): A husband and wife team carried out a suicide attack at a police station in Kolachi, South Waziristan Agency. – *BBC, June 26*

June 26, 2011 (IRAQ): A suicide bomber in a wheelchair detonated his explosives at the entrance to a police station in Tarmiya, 30 miles north of Baghdad. Three people were killed in the blast. – *AP, June 27*

June 27, 2011 (PAKISTAN): Senior Pakistani Taliban leader Fazal Saeed Zaimusht defected from Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and established his own group called Tehrik-i-Taliban Islami (TTI). Saeed was the TTP's main asset in Kurram Agency, where he has the support of local tribesmen. He said that he will now fight against the TTP, as well as U.S. troops in neighboring Afghanistan. – *Reuters, June 27*

June 28, 2011 (AFGHANISTAN): A handful of insurgents attacked the Western-style Intercontinental Hotel in Kabul. As stated by *Time Magazine*, "The assault left between 18 and 21 dead and 13 wounded, Ministry of Interior spokesman Sadiq Sadiqi told TIME. Local news said nine civilians, two policemen, one Spanish national and nine suicide bombers were killed and that 13 civilians, five government officials and two NATO soldiers were wounded." – *Los Angeles Times, June 28; Washington Post, June 28*

June 29, 2011 (PAKISTAN): Pakistani Defense Minister Ahmed Mukhtar told state media that his government told the United States to leave the remote Shamsi airbase, which is reportedly used to deploy U.S. unmanned aerial vehicles. – *AFP, June 29*

June 30, 2011 (AFGHANISTAN): An improvised explosive device destroyed a bus in Nimroz Province, killing 20 Afghan civilians. – *Dawn, July 1*