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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.

Boko Haram's Dangerous Expansion into Northwest Nigeria

By Jacob Zenn

A female student stands in a school that was burned down by Boko Haram in Maiduguri, Borno State. - AFP/GettyImages

During the past year, the Nigerian militant group Boko Haram has expanded from its traditional area of operations in northeastern Nigeria's Borno State and is now capable of conducting attacks across a 900-mile breadth of northern Nigeria, including in the strategic state of Sokoto.[1] Due to Sokoto's geographic location and religious significance—Sokoto is home to Nigeria's highest Islamic authority, the sultan of Sokoto[2]—it is the focal point in Boko Haram's strategy to purge northern Nigeria of its traditional Islamic leadership. Boko Haram's primary goal is to establish Shari`a law in Nigeria by force and to "dismantle" the Nigerian government and its secular institutions.[3]

Sokoto is also only 300 miles from "Azawad," the separatist region of northern Mali that is now under the control of al-Qa`ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), Ansar Eddine and the Movement for Unity and Jihad in

1 The group rejects the name "Boko Haram," which translates to "Western education is sinful" in the Hausa language. Locals gave the name to Muhammad Yusuf and his followers because they rejected Western science. The group refers to itself as Jama`at Ahl al-Sunna li al-Da`wa wa al-Jihad (People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad).

2 The sultan of Sokoto has the title *amir al-mu'minin* (Arabic for "commander of the faithful") and is considered the spiritual leader of the Sunni Muslim community in Nigeria. The sultan carries influence in particular with the Fulanis and Hausas of northern Nigeria, but less with the Kanuris of Borno State. The first Sultan was Usman dan Fodio, the founder of the Sokoto Caliphate and Fulani Empire.

3 Sunny Nwankwo, "Boko Haram Says No More Negotiations With FG," *Leadership*, March 21, 2012.

West Africa (MUJAO).[4] This makes it a natural entry point for AQIM militants to infiltrate Nigerian territory by way of Niger.

In 2012, the North-West zone[5] suffered a coordinated series of Boko Haram attacks, including the first ever attacks in Sokoto on July 30. The region also witnessed AQIM-style kidnapping operations.

This article analyzes Boko Haram's attacks in Sokoto and its broader offensive in the North-West zone, how the group's strategy toward the sultan and traditional Muslim rulers has bred dissent within its ranks, and whether AQIM has infiltrated the North-West zone through alliances with breakaway Boko Haram factions.

North-West Zone Offensive Reaches Sokoto

On July 30, 2012, Sokoto became the third state in Nigeria's North-West zone to suffer from major Boko Haram attacks since January 2012. The attacks, the first carried out by Boko Haram in Sokoto, were not without warning. On January 20, 2012, approximately 100 Boko Haram fighters launched an offensive on government buildings and police stations in the North-West zone's most populous state, Kano, killing an estimated 186 people, more than 150 of whom were civilians.[6] Afterwards, Boko Haram's spokesman said in a phone statement that "this is an open message to the *amir* of Sokoto Alhaji Muhammad Sa'ad Abubakar III…What happened in Kano will be inevitable in Sokoto unless you intervene and ensure the immediate and unconditional release of our members who were specifically arrested in the city of Sokoto."[7]

Several months later, Boko Haram launched major attacks in the second most populous state in the North-West zone, Kaduna, which is in the Middle Belt region where the Muslim northern and Christian southern regions of Nigeria meet.[8] On Easter, April 8, at least one suicide bomber in a vehicle detonated explosives near a church in Kaduna, killing 41 people.[9] On June 17, Boko Haram members detonated explosives near three other churches in Kaduna, including one vehicle suicide bombing, killing 19 worshippers during Sunday services.[10]

On July 30, Boko Haram fulfilled its January threat and attacked Sokoto. Two suicide bombers in vehicles detonated their explosives at the office of the assistant inspector general of police at the zonal police headquarters and the Unguwar Rogo divisional police headquarters simultaneously. Later that day, while most residents in Sokoto prepared to break the Ramadan fast, Boko Haram fighters on motorcycles fired shots at the Arkila police station.[11] On the same day in Kaduna, suspected Boko Haram members on motorcycles fired gunshots at the home of Nigeria's vice president, Namadi Sambo, in Zaria, Kaduna, killing one civilian.[12]

Claiming the attacks in Sokoto, Boko Haram's spokesman said on August 1, "We wish to extend our profound gratitude to Almighty Allah for giving us the opportunity to fulfill the promise we made [after the January 20 Kano attacks] on launching spontaneous attacks in Sokoto…We attacked Sokoto because many of our brethren have been incarcerated there."[13] The assault on Sokoto continued on August 6, when suspected Boko Haram members on motorcycles threw grenades at the Shagari police station, which is located next door to the residence of Nigeria's former president, Shehu Shagari.[14]

"The factionalization of the insurgency has also increased the likelihood that AQIM will be able to connect with militant cells in northern Nigeria."

The attacks in the North-West zone show that Boko Haram now operates throughout the 900-mile breadth of northern Nigeria, from Boko Haram's original base in Borno State in the far northeast to Sokoto State in the far northwest.[15] Moreover, the dispersal of Boko Haram fighters from the northeast is likely to gain pace as a result of the security forces crackdown in Borno,

4 Serge Daniel, "Islamist Fighters Ready for Battle in Northern Mali," Agence France-Presse, September 26, 2012; Walid Ramzi, "Algeria Disrupts Terror Plot," Magharebia, September 25, 2012.

5 Nigeria is unofficially divided into six geopolitical zones, with all 36 of the country's states and Abuja Federal Capital Territory falling into one of these zones. The geopolitical zones do not represent ethnic or religious homogeneity and are accepted in political discourse by almost all Nigerians. The North-West zone includes Sokoto, Kano, Kaduna, Katsina, Kebbi, Jigawa and Zamfara and formed the core area of influence of the Sokoto Caliphate. The Sokoto Caliphate lasted from 1804 until the British abolished the caliphate in 1903. The British, however, retained the sultan as a symbolic position in the newly established Northern Nigeria Protectorate. The current sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Muhammad Sa'ad Abubakar III, maintains this status in present-day Nigeria. Borno State and Yobe State in present-day North-East zone, which are the main areas of Boko Haram operations, remained outside of the influence of the Sokoto Caliphate and were under the influence of the ethnic Kanuri-led Borno-Kanem Empire (1380-1893). Thus, the shehu of Borno, not the ethnic Fulani sultan of Sokoto, is the traditional ruler of Borno State.

6 "Kano Police: 186 People Killed in Boko Haram Attack," ThisDayLive, January 23, 2012.

7 "Our Next Target is Sokoto, Says Boko Haram Spokesman," Sahara Reporters, January 29, 2012; Ismail Mudashir, "No Boko Haram Members in Sokoto Prison–Attorney General," *Daily Trust*, January 30, 2012. The Sokoto State commissioner for justice denied Boko Haram's allegations when he said he was "not aware of any Boko Haram members in detention in Sokoto."

8 Nigeria is split fairly evenly between a predominantly Muslim north and a predominantly Christian south.

9 "Death Toll in Nigeria Suicide Car Bombing that Struck Easter Rises to at Least 41 People," Associated Press, April 10, 2012.

10 "Three Churches Bombed in Northern Nigeria's Kano State," *Global Post*, June 17, 2012. These attacks, like others in the Middle Belt, further Boko Haram's goals of exacerbating Muslim-Christian religious tensions, undermining faith in the government's ability to provide security, and forcing the Christian population to flee from northern Nigeria.

11 Muhammad Bello et al., "Four Killed in First Boko Haram Attack in Sokoto," ThisDayLive, July 31, 2012.

12 Isa Sa'idu et al., "Gunmen Attack Sambo's House in Zaria – As Suicide Bomber Hit Sokoto," *Daily Trust*, July 31, 2012.

13 "JTF Kills Two, Intercepts Eight Rocket Launchers," *Vanguard*, August 1, 2012.

14 "Boko Haram Razes Police Outpost in Sokoto," Sahara Reporters, August 6, 2012. Shehu Shagari served as president of Nigeria's Second Republic from 1979 to 1983.

15 In 2011, there were nearly four times as many attacks in Borno State than the rest of northern Nigeria, while from January to September 2012, there were nearly twice as many attacks in the rest of northern Nigeria than in Borno. See "A Threat to the Entire Country," *Economist*, September 29, 2012.

Yobe, Kano and Adamawa states since September 2012, in which more than 200 fighters have been killed or arrested, including five high-ranking members.[16]

Message to the Sultan

As part of its "grand plans to Islamize Nigeria," Boko Haram seeks to transfer religious authority from the sultan of Sokoto and other traditional leaders to Boko Haram's religious leaders through a campaign of intimidation and assassination.[17] At the same time, the sultan has shamed Boko Haram for "violating the sanctity and honor of Muslims," while calling for "peaceful coexistence" between Christians and Muslims, an "end to the bloodshed," and for "dialogue and communication" to address Nigerian Muslims' grievances instead of "wreaking havoc on society."[18]

Two of the closest government officials to the sultan have also attempted to lead negotiations: Sambo Dasuki, Nigeria's national security adviser and a cousin of the sultan, who in July 2012 contacted *amirs*, Islamic scholars and moderate Salafists to help broker a cease-fire, and Namadi Sambo, who was the top government representative in secret negotiations held in Saudi Arabia in August 2012.[19]

Yet Boko Haram's primary leader, Abubakar Shekau, has not participated in Dasuki's or Sambo's negotiation attempts. The attack on Sambo's home on the same day of the Sokoto attacks was likely retaliation for Sambo's role in negotiations with a faction that Boko Haram spokesman Abu Qaqa claimed was "fake," an allegation which was corroborated by a security source in Nigeria who said the government was "spending millions" of public funds on "so-called mediators" who are taking advantage of the government's desperation, but unable to influence Boko Haram to stop attacks.[20] The only peace talks that Shekau's faction has publicly participated in were mediated by Shaykh Ibrahim Datti Ahmed in March 2012. Shaykh Datti Ahmed earned Boko Haram's trust because he is the president of the Supreme Council for Shari`a on which the late Boko Haram founder Muhammad Yusuf served as Borno State's representative.[21] In addition, unlike the sultan, who Shekau accuses of "supporting the federal government policies against Islam" and claims is "not the leader of the Muslims," the shaykh shares some of Boko Haram's religious beliefs.[22] Shaykh Datti Ahmed ultimately withdrew from the negotiations because of his "strong doubts…about the sincerity of the government's side" after the shaykh alleged that an aide to President Goodluck Jonathan, Ambassador Hassan Tukur, sabotaged the negotiations by leaking its details to the media.[23]

On September 30, 2012, Shekau said in a video statement addressed to the "traditional rulers who have been conspiring against [Boko Haram]" that "there is nobody that we are dialoguing with."[24] His main condition for negotiations—which he proposed in September 2011 after Boko Haram's attack on the UN headquarters in Abuja and again after the January 2012 Kano attacks and the July 2012 Sokoto attacks—is the release of Boko Haram members from prison; however, an "amnesty" is supported by only 3.8% of Nigerians, according to Nigeria's leading polling organization, and has been rejected by academics in the country.[25]

16 The high-ranking members include: Bakura Kulima (also known as Bin Walid), who was killed in Maiduguri, Borno State, on October 21; Shuaibu Mohammed Bama, who was reportedly arrested in the home of a senator, who is his uncle, in Maiduguri on October 18; Abubakr Yola (also known as Abu Jihad), who was killed in Mubi, Adamawa State, on September 25; the field commander in charge of Kogi, Abuja and Kaduna, who was killed in Kano on September 17; and a Boko Haram spokesperson under the pseudonym Abu Qaqa, who was reportedly killed in Kano on September 17.

17 Ike Abonyi, "Our Plans to Islamize the Country – Qaqa, Sokoto," *This Day*, March 8, 2012. According to the interrogation of a captured spokesman in April 2012, Boko Haram wants "to reduce the powers of the sultan to traditional rulership functions, while all religious authority would be vested with [Boko Haram's] leader to be based in Yobe," and "any ruler that would obstruct [Boko Haram's] plans would regret his action." See also "Nigeria Suicide Bomber Targets Maiduguri Mosque," BBC News Africa, July 13, 2012; "Emir's Bodyguard, Mosque Aide Hurt in Suicide Attack in Potiskum," *Vanguard*, August 3, 2012. The author has counted more than 30 assassinations of political and religious leaders attributed to Boko Haram since October 2010, particularly those who publicly spoke out against the group. On July 13, 2012, a teenage boy carried out a suicide bombing at a mosque in Maiduguri that came so close to killing the shehu of Borno, whose status in Borno is similar to the sultan's in the rest of Nigeria, that the shehu's clothes were "splattered with blood" and five people surrounding him were killed. Then, on August 3, 2012, a Boko Haram suicide bomber attempted to kill the *amir* of Fika, who is also the chairman of the Yobe State Traditional Council of Chiefs, at a mosque in Potiskum, Yobe State. The suicide bomber killed seven people surrounding the *amir*, but the *amir* survived. On August 5, explosions were reported at the *amir's* palace, but the *amir* again was unharmed.

18 "Islam, Christianity Not at War – Sultan," *Vanguard*, December 27, 2011; Luka Binniyat and Victoria Ojeme, "End Bloodshed Now – Sultan," *Vanguard*, May 25, 2012.

19 Olawale Rasheed, "Boko Haram: FG Reaches Out to Muslim Leaders, Scholars - May Skip Mali Mission," *Nigerian Tribune*, July 2, 2012; Muhammad Bello, "Govt in Dialogue with Boko Haram 'Via Back Channels,'" ThisDayLive, August 27, 2012.

20 "Statement By Boko Haram's Spokesperson Debunking Reports Of Dialogue With The Nigerian Government," Sahara Reporters, August 23, 2012; "Northern Governors, NSA Spending Millions On Fake Boko Haram Dialogue Facilitators -Source," Sahara Reporters, August 5, 2012.

21 Bayo Oladeji et al., "Boko Haram Picks Ahmed Datti as Mediator," *Leadership*, March 14, 2012.

22 Such credentials include 1) Shaykh Datti Ahmed's call to "defend the Islamic Faith" to prevent a Miss World pageant in Abuja in 2002 (Boko Haram attacked *ThisDay* newspaper's office in Abuja on April 28, 2012, in retaliation for a comment *ThisDay* made in 2002 that the Prophet Muhammad would want to marry a beauty queen; 2) his leadership to undermine a polio vaccination program in northern Nigeria in 2003 on the premise that it was a ploy by the West to cause infertility in Muslims or inject them with HIV; 3) his statement in 2004 that the Nigerian Taliban are "very sophisticated youth. I can understand why they [killed several policemen]"; and 4) his threat in 2011 that Muslims were "ready to go to war" if anyone stood in the way of Shari`a compliant non-interest banking. See Kingsley Omonobi et al., "Boko Haram: FG Panel Calls for Amnesty," *Vanguard*, September 27, 2011; "Boko Haram Released Exclusive Raw Video Of Thisday Bombing Nigeria," May 1, 2012, available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=P7xSGm4StY4; "Riots Force Miss World Out of Nigeria," BBC, November 23, 2002; Musa Umar Kazaure, "Polio Vaccine Controversy: Datti Ahmed Challenges Nigeria Medical Association On Competence," *Daily Trust*, December 12, 2003; "Sheikh Ibrahim Datti Ahmad, Defender of the Faith," *Guardian* [Lagos], September 3, 2012; "Datti Ahmed's Threat of War," *Nigerian Tribune*, August 4, 2011.

23 Alaba Johnson, "Why I am Pulling Out as Mediator for Boko Haram Peace Talks-Dr. Ibrahim Datti Ahmad, President, Supreme Council for Shari'a in Nigeria," NaijaPundit, March 18, 2012; Abdulkadir Badsha Mukhtar, "Nigeria: Hassan Tukur - I Never Sabotaged Boko Haram Talks," *Daily Trust*, May 4, 2012.

24 "Sako Zuwa Ga Duniya (A Message to The World)!" September 30, 2012, available at www.youtube.com/watch?v=txUJCOKTIuk.

25 Nigerian academics distinguish Boko Haram from the Niger Delta militants, for whom an amnesty in 2009

The Sokoto attacks were likely intended as a way for Boko Haram to communicate Shekau's demands to the sultan in the absence of direct talks.

Boko Haram's Breakaway Factions

Disagreements among Boko Haram members over assassinations of Muslim leaders, mass casualty attacks that kill Muslim civilians, and negotiations have contributed to the emergence of splinter groups.[26] Under interrogation, captured spokesman Abu Qaqa revealed that some Boko Haram members are tired of fighting, but are afraid to leave the group for fear of reprisals. For example, Abu Qaqa's replacement, known in Nigerian media as "Abu Qaqa II," was reportedly killed on Shekau's orders after trying to denounce Boko Haram following the attacks in Kaduna on Easter 2012.[27] The attacks killed mostly Muslim motorcycle taxi riders, women, and children outside of the church. Abu Qaqa also said that Boko Haram members who refused to go on suicide missions would face the "death penalty" and that the tendency to select non-Kanuris for such missions alienated members from other ethnic groups.[28]

Some groups in northern Nigeria have broken from Boko Haram because of their opposition to Shekau's faction, including the Yusuffiya Islamic Movement (YIM) and Jama`at Ansar al-Muslimin fi Bilad al-Sudan ("Ansar").[29] Neither group has claimed specific attacks, and their statements show that they support the insurgency in northern Nigeria; however, they both disapprove of Boko Haram's targeting strategy. In June 2011, the YIM, which is composed of former close followers of Muhammad Yusuf, distributed leaflets in Maiduguri to "distance our group from all the bombings targeted at civilians and other establishments and equally condemn them"; call on "this evil group [Boko Haram] to desist, failing which we shall have no option than to expose and hunt them"; and announce that it would "temporarily halt our fight against the assassination of our leaders in compliance with the prohibition of fighting in the holy month of Ramadan."[30]

"There have also been two recent kidnapping incidents in northwestern Nigeria that may have had connections to AQIM."

Like YIM, Ansar first introduced itself by distributing flyers in Kano days after the attacks on January 20, 2012.[31] Less than one week later, on February 3, Boko Haram killed six members of an unnamed rival faction in Maiduguri who were reportedly collaborating with the security forces against Boko Haram.[32] Ansar also issued a video statement in June 2012 in which it called Boko Haram's killing of Muslims, including two clerics who were affiliated with Ansar, "inexcusable" and accused Boko Haram of killing members who sought to defect to Ansar.[33] It then said in July 2012 in an Arabic language posting on an online jihadist forum that one of its goals was to "protect the lives and properties of Muslims" because no other "Islamic armed forces took any military actions" against the "infidel armed groups."[34]

In response to these disagreements, Shekau's faction has tried to show that Boko Haram does not kill "innocent" Muslims. On July 25, 2011, for example, Shekau explained in a video statement, "if you hear that we have killed a Muslim, we must have found out that he was collaborating with the unbelievers… But the ordinary people in town, we seek your forgiveness; I swear we will not harm you."[35] Boko Haram leaders have issued similar statements and alleged that the government is responsible for creating the impression of division.[36]

Concerns Over AQIM

AQIM is prevalent in territories just outside Nigeria, but until recently it has not conducted any known operations inside the country. Yet AQIM's proximity to northwestern Nigeria and the increased security measures multinational corporations are implementing in Niger to avoid kidnappings make Nigeria a suitable target for a new string of AQIM operations. There have been reports of Nigerians traveling north through Niger to northern Mali to join AQIM or MUJAO, as well as reports of Boko Haram members receiving militant training in Niger and setting up bases in southern Niger's largest city, Zinder, which is 150 miles north of Kano.[37] There are no reports of AQIM operatives traveling to Nigeria or of developments in northern Mali directly influencing the insurgency in northern Nigeria. A Nigerian intelligence report from May 2012, however, documented that

was constitutionally "justifiable" and a "step in the right direction" toward ending that insurgency. See Samuel Asuquo Ekanem et al., "Boko Haram and Amnesty: A Philo-Legal Appraisal," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 2:4 (2012); "Nigerians Reject Amnesty for Boko Haram Members...Prefer Military Action, Believe Sect Can be Crushed - NOI/Gallup Polls," Beegeagle's Blog, April 26, 2012.

26 These disagreements date to the events surrounding the death of Muhammad Yusuf, who was one of more than 700 Boko Haram members killed by Nigerian security forces during a four-day uprising in July 2009. Several months after his death, Abubakar Shekau, who was Yusuf's deputy, became Boko Haram's leader and led Boko Haram on a more militant and controversial path.

27 Ike Abonyi and Tokunbo Adedoja, "Boko Haram Kills Spokesman Abu Qaqa II," ThisDayLive, April 15, 2012.

28 Kanuris are the dominant ethnic group in Borno State, whereas Hausas and Fulanis are predominant ethnic groups throughout the rest of northern Nigeria. See Bashir Adefaka, "Terrorism: More Muslims are Killed than Christians – Joji, Arewa Chief," *Vanguard*, May 13, 2012; Yusuf Alli, "How Bombers are Chosen, by Boko Haram Suspect," *The Nation*, February 9, 2012.

29 The English translation is "Supporters of the Muslims in the Land of the Blacks."

30 Daniel Idonor et al., "Boko Haram Sect Splits," *Vanguard*, July 21, 2011.

31 "Boko Haram: Splinter Group, Ansaru Emerges," *Vanguard*, February 1, 2012.

32 "Boko Haram: Six Killed in Factional Clash," ThisDayLive, February 3, 2012.

33 "World Exclusive: Another Islamic Sect emerges...to Counter Boko Haram?" *Desert Herald*, June 2, 2012.

34 This statement was accessed on www.muslm.net.

35 "Killings In The North: No Reconciliation With The Federal Govt, Says Sect," *Guardian* [Lagos], July 25, 2011.

36 On July 6, 2011, for example, Boko Haram spokesman Abu Zaid said, "We as a group do not kill people who are innocent...in regaining the pride of the people in Islam, people have to endure in losing their properties and sometimes lives are also involved and this can fall on everyone, including us." See Malachy Uzendu and Ben Ukeji, "We're Stock Piling Bombs – Boko Haram," *Daily Champion*, July 8, 2011; Ahmad Salkida, "The Story Of Nigeria's First Suicide Bomber - BluePrint Magazine," Sahara Reporters, June 27, 2011.

37 "Niger Police Arrest Five Suspected Boko Haram Members," *Vanguard*, September 27, 2012.

nine Boko Haram members received training in hostage-taking from AQIM and that Boko Haram received the first installment of $250,000 from AQIM to kidnap "white" expatriates in Nigeria to ransom them or exchange them with AQIM for more money, weapons and ammunition.[38]

There have also been two recent kidnapping incidents in northwestern Nigeria that may have had connections to AQIM. The first incident occurred in May 2011, when a group of armed men kidnapped a British construction worker and an Italian colleague in the North-West zone's Kebbi State, which borders Sokoto.[39] Three months later, Agence France-Presse in Abidjan received a video of the Italian and British hostages blindfolded and on their knees claiming that their captors were al-Qa`ida while three armed men wearing Tuareg-style turbans stood behind them.[40] In December, a Mauritanian news agency received a separate video, this time from a group calling itself "al-Qa`ida in the Lands Beyond the Sahel," with the British hostage asking the United Kingdom to "answer the demands."[41] The group initially demanded the release of imprisoned senior Boko Haram leaders—consistent with typical Shekau faction demands—in exchange for freeing the two hostages. It also reportedly demanded a $6.4 million ransom.[42] The kidnapping cell's mastermind, Abu Muhammad, was reportedly a member of Boko Haram and connected to AQIM, and he divulged the location of the hostages after he was captured while holding a *shura* meeting with four other Boko Haram leaders in Kaduna on March 7, 2012.[43]

Approximately $1.6 million was reportedly paid to the kidnappers, and a Mauritanian politician who twice previously secured the release of hostages from AQIM mediated negotiations.[44] On March 8, 2012, however, the British government authorized a raid to save the two men—who by then had been transferred to Sokoto—but the captors killed both hostages during the rescue operation.[45]

Despite this kidnapping incident's connections to Boko Haram, the Nigerian group has never carried out or claimed a kidnapping or demanded money in negotiations. In addition to receiving funds from politically and religiously motivated sponsors, Boko Haram finances itself through bank robberies.[46] The kidnapping group's operation is consistent with AQIM, which is notorious in the Sahel region for extorting large ransoms from Western governments in exchange for hostages. Moreover, in a phone statement from Boko Haram spokesman Abu Qaqa to journalists after the two hostages were killed, he said, "We have never been involved in hostage-taking and it is not part of our style, and we never ask for ransom…Therefore, the allegation that the kidnappers were members of our group is ridiculous."

"Nigeria reportedly shares 480 irregular, unmanned border crossings with Niger and Chad, with only 12 official crossings secured by Nigerian troops. Weak border security as well as corruption could facilitate the travel of militants between northern Mali and Nigeria."

The British government suspected that al-Qa`ida in the Lands Beyond the Sahel was a "splinter group" whose members have left Boko Haram, while Nigerian security forces suspected the kidnappers were directly linked to AQIM in Chad and Niger.[47]

The second kidnapping occurred in early 2012. On January 26, a group kidnapped a German engineer who was inspecting a bridge destroyed in Kano. In March, AQIM released a video through its official media wing, al-Andalus, to a Mauritanian news agency showing the German hostage and offering to exchange him for Filiz Gelowicz (Umm Sayf Allah al-Ansari), who was in a German prison. The statement also warned the German government not to forget the "recent lesson taught to Britain by the mujahidin," referring to the failed rescue attempt of the Italian and British hostages earlier that month in Sokoto.[48] Filiz Gelowicz is a former Islamic Jihad Union (IJU) website administrator and wife of Fritz Gelowicz, a German convert to Islam who was one of three members of the IJU arrested in the 2007 Sauerland plot aimed at detonating car bombs at Ramstein Air Force base and Frankfurt Airport.[49] Although Filiz Gelowicz was released several months ahead of schedule in April 2012, the kidnappers did not release the German engineer, who, like the Italian and British hostages in Sokoto, was killed by his captors during a raid to save him in June 2012. In a second statement issued by AQIM through al-Andalus after the killing, AQIM blamed Germany for the death of the hostage. Neither statement referenced any typical Boko Haram demands, such as the release of Boko Haram prisoners.[50]

38 Emmanuel Ogala, "Boko Haram Gets N40 Million Donation From Algeria," Sahara Reporters, May 13, 2012.

39 "Video Shows Hostages Held by Al-Qaeda," Agence France-Presse, August 4, 2011.

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.; Matthew Holehouse, "British Hostage Murder: Timeline of How the Kidnap of Chris McManus and Franco Lamolinara by al-Qaeda Unfolded," *Telegraph*, March 8, 2012.

42 Nick Pisa and Christopher Leake, "Hostages' Families had Paid Kidnappers £1m: Deal to Release Briton and Italian Held in Nigeria 'Was Very Close after £4m Ransom Demand Agreed,'" *Daily Mail*, March 10, 2012; "SSS Detains 5 with 'Al Qaeda-links' Over German Kidnap," *Vanguard*, March 27, 2012.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

46 The author estimates that there have been several dozen bank robberies attributed to Boko Haram since 2011 in which hundreds of thousands of dollars were stolen. This is also an attractive way for Boko Haram to attract new recruits.

47 "Boko Haram Spokesman Denies Link to Nigerian Kidnap," Reuters, March 10, 2012.

48 "Al-Andalus Media Presents a New Statement and Video Message from al-Qa'idah in the Islamic Maghrib: 'To the German Government: If They Release Umm Sayf Allah al-Ansar Then We Will Release To You Our Prisoner,'" available at www.jihadology.net.

49 Petter Nesser, "Lessons Learned from the September 2007 German Terrorist Plot," *CTC Sentinel* 1:4 (2008).

50 "Al-Andalus Media Presents a New Statement from al-Qa'idah in the Islamic Maghrib: 'On the Killing of the German Prisoner in Nigeria,'" available at www.jihadology.net.

The composition of the five-person cell that carried out the kidnapping of the German engineer in Kano in 2012 was similar to AQIM, whose members tend to come from the Maghreb region, in that the cell's leader was a Mauritanian, whose shop in Kano was used as a base for the kidnappers.[51] When authorities raided the Mauritanian man's shop, they reportedly found an AQIM operations manual as well as other documents linking him to AQIM.[52] In addition, the absence of any references to Nigeria in the two AQIM videos, the release of the first video to a Mauritanian news agency, and the call for the release of an international jihadist like Filiz Gelowicz are signs that the operation was foreign-led and not inspired by the domestic causes for which Boko Haram and breakaway factions like YIM and Ansar fight. If AQIM did lead the operation, it appears that AQIM is not coordinating with Shekau's faction, but other Nigerian militants who have splintered from Shekau.

While not conclusive, these two incidents suggest that AQIM could be beginning to operate in northern Nigeria.

Conclusion

The expansion of Boko Haram throughout northern Nigeria has led to a proliferation of militant cells in the region, while the ruthless killings by Abubakar Shekau's faction have alienated some of these cells. As a result, there are now several breakaway factions in addition to Boko Haram operating in northern Nigeria. Although Boko Haram and the breakaway factions may differ about issues such as the assassination of Muslim leaders and methods such as kidnapping, none of the factions have renounced violence, concluded a cease-fire agreement with the government, or wavered on the issue of imposing Shari`a law in Nigeria.

The factionalization of the insurgency has also increased the likelihood that AQIM will be able to connect with militant cells in northern Nigeria. Nigeria reportedly shares 480 irregular, unmanned border crossings with Niger and Chad, with only 12 official crossings secured by Nigerian troops.[53] Weak border security as well as corruption—and even membership of immigration officials in Boko Haram—could facilitate the travel of militants between northern Mali and Nigeria.[54] As of now, Shekau's faction has not announced any affiliation with AQIM, support for AQIM, Ansar Eddine or MUJAO in northern Mali, or executed attacks outside of Nigeria. There is also no definitive evidence that AQIM operatives are active in Nigeria.

As the insurgency spreads further from Boko Haram's original base in Borno State, its members will also likely become exposed to local militant groups with their own regional agendas, such as the Muslim Fulanis of the Middle Belt region who are in conflict with Christian ethnic groups over land use. As a result, the insurgency is likely to become more diverse and complex over time, which will limit the efficacy of negotiations since neither Shekau's faction nor any other faction will be able to rein in all of the other factions. Meanwhile, the sultan, presumably the only religious leader who could unite all Muslims in Nigeria, has become the enemy of Shekau's faction, thus eliminating the possibility that intra-Muslim dialogue can quell the insurgency in northern Nigeria.

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51 Habeeb I. Pindiga et al., "Kidnap of German – Mauritanian, Four Others Arrested in Kano," *Daily Trust*, March 28, 2012.

52 "SSS Detains 5 with 'Al Qaeda-links' Over German Kidnap."

53 Olawale Rasheed, "Arms Inflow from Northern Borders Intensifies: The Gaddafi Mercenaries Connection, Boko Haram Members Relocate to Kano, Others," *Nigerian Tribune*, October 3, 2011; "Army Arrests Immigration Officer, Others over Boko Haram Links," ThisDayLive, September 29, 2012; Lydia Beshel, "Challenges of Nigeria's Porous Borders," Reporters 365, August 9, 2012.

54 Ibid.

The Future of Los Zetas after the Death of Heriberto Lazcano

By Samuel Logan

ON OCTOBER 7, 2012, Mexican authorities reportedly killed Heriberto "El Lazca" Lazcano, the leader of the Los Zetas drug cartel. Lazcano was the last piece of the structured command and control organization that held Los Zetas together as a cohesive unit. The uncertainty surrounding his death and the embarrassing theft of his body remain points of contention, although the result of any follow-up investigation will be the same: Lazcano is no longer the strategic leader of Los Zetas. His death could mark a cascading moment when the paramilitary group may devolve from a cohesive organization to a decentralized, leaderless collective that is harder to define, detect, and dismantle.

Without Lazcano, Los Zetas is an organization without a true commander. Leadership has fallen on the shoulders of Miguel "El 40" Trevino, but he was neither part of the original military cadre, nor does he have the respect of the entire organization.[1] With Lazcano's death and the group's perceived weakness, Trevino will remain under constant pressure from rivals and law enforcement, a diminished posture that will limit his ability to lead the organization effectively.

This article first provides background on Los Zetas, and then argues that Lazcano's death will result in the weakening and further decentralization of the cartel.

Background on Los Zetas

Osiel Cardenas Guillen, the former head of the Gulf Cartel, established Los Zetas in the late 1990s as an executive protection unit in Tamaulipas, the nerve center of the Gulf Cartel.[2] It has never been a traditional drug trafficking organization. In its early years, Los Zetas had two primary functions: to

1 For an extensive profile of Los Zetas as well as Miguel Trevino, see Samuel Logan, "A Profile of Los Zetas: Mexico's Second Most Powerful Drug Cartel," *CTC Sentinel* 5:2 (2012).

2 Ibid.

protect Gulf Cartel leader Guillen and to assassinate rivals. As a result of its success, Los Zetas evolved from a protection detail to an illicit enterprise focused on absolute control of large swathes of territory in Mexico and eventually Central America.

This enterprise, under Lazcano's leadership, then set out to disrupt Mexico's criminal underworld. As commanders of independent cells, sometimes called *estacas*, Los Zetas leaders benefited from a level of independence held in check by respect for command and by the fierce enforcement of tax payments to Lazcano and his long-time second-in-command, Miguel Trevino.

Personal differences divided the Zetas-Gulf Cartel coupling, and the two groups became enemies in 2010.[3] The "War in the North" between Los Zetas and their Gulf Cartel handlers catalyzed leadership attrition, forcing successive waves of replacements at the operational level.[4] Both Los Zetas and the Gulf Cartel suffered as a result of the conflict, but continued government pressure on Los Zetas, and the Gulf Cartel's ability to accommodate a relationship with the Sinaloa Federation, placed additional strains on Lazcano and his men. As subsequent high-level members of the organization fell to rivals or the government, Los Zetas struggled to maintain a cohesive structure that enforced top-down command and control.[5] Looking back, it might be said that the organization's high water mark in terms of operational capability and structural cohesion was in mid-2008, in the pocket of time when Los Zetas operated independently of the Gulf Cartel but remained under its protection.

From 2010 to the present day, the drug trafficking side of the business became a hardened pipeline. Buyers purchased cocaine in Honduras, and then moved that product through Guatemala and southern Mexico to Veracruz. It eventually made its way to Nuevo Laredo, where logisticians and others transported the product north.[6] Black market economics, and the strength of Los Zetas as a criminal brand name, held the loosely networked cells together, from Guatemala to central Mexico in Zacatecas State, to the border in Tamaulipas and Nuevo Leon. Yet even as central control in the organization weakened, the identity of one man held together the center that defined Los Zetas. Respect for Lazcano as the commander and leader ensured cohesion.

"The perceived weakness of Los Zetas will encourage traditional enemies in the Sinaloa Federation and the Knights Templar to exploit the power vacuum."

Even as the pressure to make payments may have slackened as Los Zetas expanded across Mexico in 2011, the respect for the commander likely did not. In its most diluted state, Los Zetas still retained more semblance of military structure than any other criminal organization in Mexico precisely because there was enough honor among these thieves to respect their leader. Since its inception, Los Zetas has maintained respect for the chain of command within its core leadership structure. Recovering the bodies of fallen comrades, caring for their families, the dogged pursuit of arrested *plaza* bosses by their rank-and-file, and several prison breaks all demonstrate a level of *esprit de corps* more recognizable in a military unit than a criminal organization. Los Zetas, until Lazcano's death, kept some vestige of this strong military element, unlike any other criminal outfit in Mexico. The theft of Lazcano's body is a final nod to that honor as well as a reminder of the tactical precision that helped establish the organization's criminal brand: one that connotes fury, force, and fear.[7]

Trevino's Limits

Today, Los Zetas is an organization without a head. Miguel Trevino is under intense pressure and will remain the focal point of an international manhunt until his capture. Unlike Lazcano, who kept a low profile, Trevino is prone to confrontation and violence. His personality drives him to the frontlines, and his need to keep tight control over Nuevo Laredo dictates that he will likely not travel far from this location. Both elements contribute to a less elusive target. Even if he is now the de facto leader of Los Zetas, Mexican government focus on his capture stunts any ability to project that leadership beyond a tight inner circle.

Miguel Trevino's focus has always been on drug trafficking, and he will likely retain significant control over this aspect of the organization until his death or capture.[8] Yet he was never part of the military cadre that founded Los Zetas.[9] As a result, Trevino likely does not receive the same level of respect Lazcano enjoyed among the rank-and-file.[10] Trevino also has been unable to shake accusations from August 2012 that he betrayed Lazcano.[11] A public spat between Lazcano and Trevino was at the core of these accusations.[12] Both men accused the other of betrayal, focusing on how one or the other had arranged for the systematic arrest of several mid-level leaders. Net sentiment promoted Lazcano as the leader and Trevino as the traitor.[13] Given the likelihood that the

3 For a detailed review of the Los Zetas-Gulf Cartel split, see Samuel Logan and John Sullivan, "The Gulf-Zeta Split and the Praetorian Revolt," ISN Security Watch, April 7, 2010.

4 See "War in the North," chapter 11 in George Grayson and Samuel Logan, *The Executioner's Men* (Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Press, 2012).

5 The best examples may be called "sloppy" organized crime, where a Los Zetas gunman killed a U.S. citizen on Falcon Lake in 2010 or the U.S. federal agent outside San Luis Potosi in early 2011. The most egregious example is the unnecessary murder of 72 immigrants in Tamaulipas in August 2010.

6 For an example of an arrested *plaza* boss that forced a shift in the drug trafficking structure, see Freya Peterson, "Mexican Navy Arrests Zetas Cartel Regional Commander Mauricio Guizar," *Global Post*, July 27, 2012.

7 Ben Bain, "Mexico Looks for Zeta Boss's Family in DNA Search, Milenio Says," Bloomberg, October 13, 2012.

8 Trevino was the main driver behind Los Zetas' move into the cocaine business. See Logan, "A Profile of Los Zetas: Mexico's Second Most Powerful Drug Cartel."

9 Lazcano was a former member of Mexico's elite military special forces, whereas Trevino is a former policeman.

10 For details, see Randy Kreider and Mark Schone, "New Zetas Cartel Leader Violent 'To the Point of Sadism,'" ABC News, October 12, 2012.

11 "Miguel Ángel Treviño, El Heredo de los Zetas," *Vanguardia*, October 13, 2012.

12 Patrick Corcoran, "Rumored Zetas Split Offers Bloody Prospects for Mexico," *InSight Crime*, July 24, 2012.

13 Kreider and Schone.

government or Trevino's enemies will capture or kill him, the future Los Zetas should be viewed as one where Trevino does not play a dominant role. Indeed, a narco-banner already appeared in mid-October announcing that a former group of Los Zetas operators now call themselves "The Legionaries," and they claim they will fight Trevino for control of the Nuevo Laredo plaza.[14]

"Trevino's focus has always been on drug trafficking, and he will likely retain significant control over this aspect of the organization until his death or capture. Yet he was never part of the military cadre that founded Los Zetas."

The men who operate large Zeta cells in Monterrey, Saltillo, Zacatecas, San Luis Potosí, Guadalajara, Veracruz, and other key cities are all insular organizations within their own right at the city, or *plaza*, level. Of the five Los Zetas leaders who remain on Mexico's most wanted list, three represent the future.[15] These men include: Sergio "El Grande" Ricardo Basutro Pena, Maxiley "El Contador" Barahona Nadales, and Roman "El Coyote" Ricardo Palomo Rincones.[16]

These men as well as the leaders of *plazas* still considered Los Zetas territory may choose to align themselves strategically with Trevino, or whoever is in charge of the strategic Nuevo Laredo *plaza* at any given time. The border town of Nuevo Laredo is perhaps the most desired territory in Mexico for cocaine trafficking due to its direct link to the Chicago drug retail market via I-35 as well as the access it affords to markets on the East Coast such as Atlanta and Charlotte.[17] Yet these leaders will remain independent to explore freedom of operation under the Los Zetas criminal brand on their own terms.

Decentralized Network

Successful criminal entrepreneurs are never short on ambition. As the gravitational center rapidly fades in the wake of Lazcano's death, the overall cohesion of the group will likely fall gradually below the threshold of what is considered a traditional criminal organization, as represented by the Tijuana or Gulf cartels. An interesting comparison might be the Beltran Leyva Organization (BLO), which Arturo Beltran-Leyva held together until his death in December 2009. Without the commander in place, two rival factions formed, one led by Arturo's former right-hand man, Edgar "La Barbie" Valdez Villareal, and the other led by his brother Hector. Both organizations then split into smaller groups, where the result is a number of smaller factions all warring for turf once controlled by the BLO, especially in the city of Acapulco.[18] These groups separated and worked against each other because of black market economics, ambition, and the lack of a cohesive element, such as a strong criminal brand. Los Zetas could, over time, follow this paradigm.

It is likely that Los Zetas' various power factions will leverage their current relationships to work alongside one another in a decentralized, networked fashion under the Los Zetas brand to traffic narcotics, control territory, and fight off rivals. The collective will behave more like a leaderless, self-organizing network than a structured organization with a clear leader, defined accounting structures, and precise goals for the future.

The decentralized network is beneficial for any individual *plaza* leader as long as the economics are right. When the conditions are not favorable, the plaza leader may choose to explore business opportunities elsewhere, even with a former rival organization such as the Gulf Cartel. Los Zetas operative Sergio "El Grande" Ricardo Basutro Pena, for example, is a *plaza* leader known to be close to Trevino. Yet with the decentralization of the organization, he is no longer bound to Trevino or any of the other *plaza* bosses under the Los Zetas brand. At any time he may choose to establish a new criminal brand or add his organization to another cartel, such as the Sinaloa Federation. Ambition is inherent in Mexico's criminal system; it is a fundamental ingredient for conflict. Recent violence in Matamoros in Tamaulipas State may be just the beginning of a phase of accommodation as Los Zetas *plaza* bosses seek to establish boundaries among themselves and with former rivals in the Gulf Cartel who now present just as much an opportunity for cooperation as conquest.[19]

"If Los Zetas devolves from an organization to a decentralized network, the violence from this instability could be spectacular at localized levels in cities and states where the organization once controlled its own rank-and-file."

During this power struggle, the only constant will be "Los Zetas" as a strong brand, despite a shift in the nature of the relationship among the men who call themselves a Zeta. Invariably, the more powerful *plaza* bosses will attempt to take over more territory within the area controlled by Los Zetas, growing their piece of turf as much as possible through cycles of violence that could last for months if not well into 2013.

14 Hannah Stone, "Zetas Splinter Group Announces Mission to Kill Z-40," *InSight Crime*, October 23, 2012.

15 The other two leaders are Miguel Trevino and his brother, Omar.

16 Omar Sánchez de Tagle, "Cinco mandos de Los Zetas que aún quedan libres," *Animal Politico*, October 11, 2012.

17 The corridor passing through Nuevo Laredo is an attractive smuggling route due to the high volume of licit transit that crosses the border. It is the largest in-land border crossing in the Americas. Due to the heavy traffic, it is relatively easy to hide illicit merchandise. Moreover, it provides fast access to drug markets in the United States through I-35.

18 For an explanation of the BLO fight over Acapulco, see Samuel Logan, "Acapulco Criminal Environment," Southern Pulse, June 18, 2012.

19 Sergio Chapa, "Gunfire Leads to Blockades in Matamoros," KGBT Action 4 News, October 12, 2012.

Younger, less organized members of the former organization may attempt to claim control over a lesser *plaza*, and build up their own organization—one that operates as part of the Los Zetas network when the benefits are clear. The absence of a clear leader and precise goals remove any barrier for individual ambition.

If Los Zetas devolves from an organization to a decentralized network, the violence from this instability could be spectacular at localized levels in cities and states where the organization once controlled its own rank-and-file, as well as the smaller organizations that worked as subcontractors for Zeta leaders. Meanwhile, the smaller stature of battling groups will present a challenge for a government postured to attack transnational criminal organizations (TCO), not so-called "superpandillas" and street gangs.[20]

On a parallel track, the perceived weakness of Los Zetas will encourage traditional enemies in the Sinaloa Federation and the Knights Templar to exploit the power vacuum. Undoubtedly, the Sinaloa Federation is the most powerful TCO in Mexico. For this reason alone, Nuevo Laredo is the most likely hotspot for year-end 2012 through early 2013 violence precisely because the leader of the Sinaloa Federation, Joaquin "El Chapo" Guzman, places high value on controlling the Nuevo Laredo border crossing. Nuevo Laredo is the only significant border crossing that "El Chapo" and the Sinaloa Federation do not control directly or through accommodations with lesser criminal organizations, such as the Arellano-Felix Organization in Tijuana and the Vicente Carrillo-Fuentes Organization in Juarez. Facing pressure from both the government and his criminal rivals, it is unlikely that Trevino will maintain absolute control over Nuevo Laredo for long. Indeed, the Knights Templar has already announced a crusade against him.[21]

As a decentralized network, Los Zetas cannot expect to last long as a coherent enterprise that behaves like a TCO; rather, smaller units under the Los Zetas brand will operate as smaller TCOs. Cooperation between Los Zetas leaders is likely, but under the decentralized model, there may no longer be a central enforcement structure.

Conclusion

From military recruit to warlord entrepreneur, Lazcano represented a new breed of criminal.[22] He raised the bar for professional hitmen across Mexico; Los Zetas employed an operational ability in the early 2000s that forced the whole criminal system to invest in some level of paramilitary capability. At the same time, he heralded a new barbarism.[23] Alive, Lazcano kept Los Zetas in formation, loose as it was. Dead, Lazcano's memory will be honored, but the men who follow in his wake will probably retain all the barbarism and likely little of the cohesion. As an organization, Los Zetas was feared but held its shape. As a decentralized network, Los Zetas presents a new criminal typology where brand is the only cohesion and black market pressures determine cooperation.

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20 Alejandro Hope, "Después de Los Zetas," *Animal Politico*, July 30, 2012.

21 Ruben Torres, "Templarios van por El Z-40," *El Economista*, October 11, 2012.

22 "Mexico's Criminal Organizations," Southern Pulse, June 30, 2011.

23 Samuel Logan, "Preface: Los Zetas and a New Barbarism," in "Criminal Insurgencies in Mexico and the Americas: The Gangs and Cartels Wage War," *Small Wars Journal* 22:5 (2011): pp. 718-727.

Kenya's Muslim Youth Center and Al-Shabab's East African Recruitment

By Christopher Anzalone

SINCE 2007, THE Somali militant group al-Shabab has recruited hundreds of foreign fighters.[1] Its Western foreign fighters have largely monopolized media attention despite the likelihood that the group's heaviest foreign fighter recruitment has been in East Africa. The bulk of non-Somali foreign fighters probably come from East African countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia, and Sudan and were recruited by al-Shabab's regional allies, such as Kenya's Muslim Youth Center (MYC). Encouraging East African Muslims to join al-Shabab has become a priority for the movement's media department, the al-Kataib Media Foundation.

The focus on regional foreign fighter recruitment makes logistical sense since it is easier to facilitate recruits' travel regionally compared to the requirements of recruitment in places further afield such as North America and Western Europe. The large East African Muslim communities, particularly the growing number of alienated and disaffected youth, also provide al-Shabab with promising recruitment pools.

1 Terrance Ford, director of intelligence and knowledge development for U.S. Africa Command, estimated al-Shabab's foreign fighters to number as many as 1,000, 200 to 300 of whom are non-Somali in terms of their ethnic backgrounds. See Terrance Ford, "The Foreign Fighter Problem: Recent Trends and Case Studies," conference at the Foreign Policy Research Institute, September 27, 2010. Most estimates place the total number of al-Shabab's frontline fighters between 3,000 and 9,000 at its height, although the insurgent movement has been hit by rising defections and desertions since 2011 due to battlefield setbacks. See David Shinn, "Al Shabaab's Foreign Threat to Somalia," *Orbis* 55:2 (2011); Christopher Anzalone, "Globalizing Insurgency in Somalia," *Yale Global*, August 23, 2011; "Defections Put Militant al-Shabab on the Run in Somalia," BBC, June 8, 2012; "Militants Defecting to Somali Side After Losses," Associated Press, June 15, 2012; "Al Shabab Defectors Describe Hunger and Isolation with Somali Terrorist Group," Associated Press, July 11, 2012; Christopher Anzalone, "Al-Shabab's Setbacks in Somalia," *CTC Sentinel* 4:10 (2011).

This article will first examine al-Shabab's regional recruitment drives in East Africa, and then profile the MYC, which is likely the Somali militant group's most reliable source of regional foreign fighters.

Al-Shabab's Regional Recruitment

In November 2010, al-Shabab's al-Kataib Media Foundation released a 35-minute recruitment video, "Message to the Umma: And Inspire the Believers," featuring nine named foreign fighters from different countries. Six of the foreign fighters were from East Africa, three from Kenya and the other three from Ethiopia, Tanzania, and Sudan. The video was subtitled in both English and Swahili, suggesting that its target audiences are potential recruits from abroad. Ali Rage, al-Shabab's spokesman, closed the video by specifically inviting East African foreign fighters to join the Somali insurgency, finishing his comments by saying, "to our people/family in East Africa we say, 'welcome to Somalia, *hakuna matata* (there are no worries)," using a famous Swahili phrase. Swahili speakers have also been subsequently featured in a number of other official al-Shabab videos, including the movement's video celebrating the formalization of its affiliation with al-Qa`ida central, which was released in April 2012, and a video released in February documenting a battle between insurgents and Kenyan-backed Somali militias.[2]

"One of the MYC's primary goals is encouraging violent action inside Kenya, and it has claimed credit for numerous attacks on Kenyan security forces and government targets in the country."

In the former, a Kenyan identified as Abu Hajer al-Kini[3] extolled Kenyans to join the "frontline" of fighting in the "land of jihad, the land of Somalia," and recited Swahili poetry in praise of al-Shabab's *amir*, Ahmed "Mukhtar Abu al-Zubayr" Godane. Referring to Kenyan Muslims as the "sons of Sa`d and Sa'id and Ali ibn Abi Talib and al-Bara' ibn Malik," invoking the historical memory of prominent companions of the Prophet Muhammad, Abu Hajer promised to launch attacks, including "martyrdom operations," inside Kenya while standing in front of a banner that declared, "Terrorism is a duty in Allah's religion."[4] In the latter video, another Kenyan foreign fighter, identified as Abu Ahmad, showed an al-Kataib cameraman weapons, ammunition, and other supplies, including several trucks, captured by al-Shabab in a surprise dawn attack in September 2011 on the border city of El-Wak in the Gedo region of Somalia.[5]

Al-Shabab's use of Swahili and the featuring of Swahili-speakers in its media productions are indicative of the insurgent movement's desire to attract more recruits from East Africa, where Swahili, the language of an estimated 35 million people, is widely spoken. Swahili, a Bantu language, is a *lingua franca* in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and parts of Somalia. Al-Shabab, which has long recruited from among a wide array of Somali clans, particularly the less politically powerful, has also reportedly recruited from among Somalia's minority Bantu communities.[6]

Al-Shabab's recruitment drives in East African countries such as Kenya have been greatly aided by the presence of both sympathizers, such as influential religious preachers, and allied organizations, chief among them Kenya's MYC.

Al-Shabab's Activities in Kenya

The vast majority of Somalis who have left their home country and settled in other East African countries have settled in Kenya, where an estimated 500,000 to nearly one million Somalis live.[7] Contested preliminary figures in the 2009 national census put the number of Somalis in Kenya at more than two million, although these results were later controversially canceled.[8]

The Somali community in the sprawling Eastleigh area of Nairobi, which is often referred to as "Little Mogadishu," has long been a commercial, cultural, and religious hub for Somalis. With a large potential pool of recruits and the presence of sympathetic Somali religious preachers, it has also been the center of al-Shabab's recruitment in the country for years.[9] In its formative years, the insurgent movement collected significant financial support from wealthy supporters in the business class as well as from mosques such as Abu Bakr al-Siddique, al-Hidaya, and Masjid al-Ahmar that were home to significant numbers of al-Shabab supporters.[10] A number of Somali-Kenyan preachers who had supported the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) opposed the 2008 agreement between ICU moderates such as Shaykh Sharif Shaykh Ahmad and the TFG and transferred their support to al-Shabab following

2 "The Year of Unity, 1433," al-Shabab, April 2012; "Battlefront El-Wak: Against the Kenyans' Agents," al-Shabab, February 2012.

3 This pseudonym means, "Abu Hajer, The Kenyan."

4 "The Year of Unity, 1433."

5 "Battlefront El-Wak: Against the Kenyans' Agents."

6 "Somalia: Bantu," World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples, Minority Rights Group International, May 2011; Roland Marchal, "Joining Al-Shabaab in Somalia," in Jeevan Deol and Zaheer Kazmi eds., *Contextualising Jihadi Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), p. 270. For background on the Somali Bantu, see Dan Van Lehman and Omar Eno, *The Somali Bantu: Their History and Culture* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 2003).

7 "Number of Somali Refugees in Horn of Africa Passes 1 Million Mark," United Nations Refugee Agency, July 17, 2012.

8 Critics of the decision to cancel the results believe that higher birthrates showed a dramatic rise in the number of Somali-Kenyans, and they allege that the numbers of the community were deliberately undercounted for political reasons. The Kenyan government claimed that inconsistencies in the data were the reasons for the inaccuracy of the preliminary figures, which is why they were subsequently canceled." See Wilfred Mulliro, "Kenya Somalis Population Explosion Cancelled in Census Results," al-Shahid News, August 31, 2010; John Muchangi, "Anger as Census Results Cancelled," *The Star* [Nairobi], September 1, 2010; Andrew Teyie, "2009 Census Delayed over Somali Numbers," *The Star*, January 9, 2010.

9 "Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea Submitted in Accordance with Resolution 1916 (2010)," United Nations Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea, July 2011, pp. 25-26.

10 "Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia Submitted in Accordance with Resolution 1853 (2008)," United Nations Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea, March 2010, pp. 25-27.

the Ethiopian invasion of Somalia in December 2006, which toppled the ICU.[11] Al-Shabab's recruiters also fed off disillusionment among Somalis in Kenya who complained of anti-Somali discrimination, harassment, and government neglect.[12]

Younger, more militant voices replaced more moderate ones in a number of Eastleigh's mosques. Among the former were Shaykh Hassan Hussein "Abu Salman" Adam, a charismatic Somali preacher in his early 30s who ran Masjid al-Ahmar, which served as a key fundraising and recruitment hub for al-Shabab.[13] The mosque also hosted visiting insurgent leaders in 2009.[14] Adam remains a popular voice among al-Shabab members and supporters, and his writings and lectures are widely disseminated on pro-Shabab websites such as Somali MeMo, Amiir Nuur, and Radio al-Furqaan, one of al-Shabab's terrestrial radio stations. Kenyan authorities reportedly arrested Adam for his support of al-Shabab in October 2011.[15]

Al-Shabab originally focused its recruitment drives within Kenya's Somali community but soon began targeting the country's non-Somali Muslims as well. Kenyan Muslim foreign fighters currently comprise the largest and best organized contingent of non-Somali foreign fighters within al-Shabab's ranks, according to the UN Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea.[16] The MYC, based in Nairobi, is al-Shabab's most important ally and source of foreign fighters in Kenya and perhaps in East Africa as a whole.

The Muslim Youth Center: Al-Shabab's Key Kenyan Ally

Known first as the Pumwani Muslim Youth, the MYC was formally founded in 2008 in the Majengo district of Nairobi as an informal advocacy group for Kenyan Muslims. It was initially dedicated to highlighting the social and economic grievances of lower class Kenyan Muslim youth, who became disillusioned with what they perceived as anti-Muslim discrimination in the country. The MYC later established branches in other Kenyan cities including the southern port city of Mombasa and Garissa, a city in the country's North Eastern Province bordering Somalia.[17] It currently has active branches inside Kenya and Somalia, with each branch having its own leadership structure.[18] Shaykh Ahmad Iman Ali, who has been featured in four productions released by the al-Kataib Media Foundation since January, is the *amir* of the MYC's Somalia branch.

Sponsoring religious lectures and communal events and publishing newsletters targeting disaffected Kenyan Muslim youth, the MYC was open to any Muslim who was at least 18-years-old and who had "integrity and high standing in the society," according to the group's constitution. Members paid dues of 100 Kenyan shillings or approximately $1.18.[19] The group's ideology was heavily influenced by Shaykh Aboud Rogo, a radical, pro-Shabab Kenyan preacher who was recently murdered in Mombasa on August 27, 2012, by unknown gunmen. His supporters accuse the Kenyan government of committing the murder, and violent protests broke out soon after his death.[20]

Allegations about Kenyan authorities' possible role in the murder comes on the heels of the suspicious murders and disappearances of a number of other radical Kenyan Muslim preachers, including Samir "Abu Nuseyba" Khan Hussein, an MYC-affiliated preacher who disappeared and was later found dead in April.[21] Another prominent Kenyan Muslim preacher, Muhammad Kassim, was also reported missing under mysterious circumstances in April. Kenyan Muslim community leaders have called for investigations into both Rogo's and Khan Hussein's murders.[22] The background of the MYC's Twitter account featured a photograph of Rogo as of October 2012.[23] The MYC's Twitter account also featured a photograph of Khan Hussein following the discovery of his body in April.

Shaykh Rogo was an open supporter of al-Shabab. He was Ahmad Iman Ali's former teacher and a frequent speaker at the group's events in Nairobi. Al-Shabab reportedly hosted Rogo for six months in Somalia prior to 2010.[24] The preacher was previously charged with playing a role in the November 28, 2002, attacks on the Paradise Hotel in Mombasa carried out by al-Qa`ida operatives in East Africa, but was acquitted due to a lack of evidence.[25] In a statement eulogizing Rogo, the MYC labeled him "a shining example of a true and pious Muslim, unwavering and steadfast in his determination to fight injustices against Muslims all over the world," adding that the MYC and its

11 Ibid.

12 Tristan McConnell, "Kenya: Where All Somalis are Suspect?" *Global Post*, November 4, 2011; Sudarsan Raghavan, "In Kenya, Somalis Become Casualties of Africa's Latest War," *Washington Post*, November 25, 2011; "Kenya: Somali Refugees Need Protection, Not Abuse," Amnesty International, December 8, 2010.

13 "Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia Submitted in Accordance with Resolution 1853 (2008)," p. 26.

14 Ibid., pp. 25-27.

15 Feisal Omar and Abdi Sheikh, "Kenya Sends More Troops to Somalia, 10 AU Soldiers Killed," Reuters, October 21, 2011; "Sheikh Hassan Hussein has Been Kidnapped by the Kuffar," Muslim Youth Center, October 20, 2011.

16 "Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea Submitted in Accordance with Resolution 1916 (2010)," p. 140.

17 Ibid., pp. 140-142.

18 Ibid.

19 A copy of the Muslim Youth Center's constitution was obtained and included by the UN Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea in its July 2011 report to the UN Security Council. See ibid., pp. 149-157. One of the constitution's signatories was Ahmad Iman Ali.

20 Joseph Akwiri, "Riots Hit Kenya after Muslim Cleric Shot Dead," Reuters, August 27, 2012; Wesonga Ochieng, Martin Mwaura, and Brian Otieno, "Chaos as Rogo is Murdered," *The Star*, August 28, 2012.

21 Philip Muyanga, "Police Probe Activist's Death," *The Nation*, April 13, 2012; "Muslim Leaders Condemn Murders of Terror Suspects," Kenyan Broadcasting Corporation, April 15, 2012; Leela Jacinto, "Kenya's Mysteriously Killed, Disappeared Islamic Clerics," France24, September 5, 2012.

22 Chrispinus Wekesa, "Probe Khan's Death, Muslim Leaders Say," *The Star*, May 4, 2012; Eugene Okumu, "Rogo Probe Team to Begin Work," *The Star*, September 3, 2012; Maureen Mudi, Calvin Onsarigo, and Martin Mwaura, "Another Team to Probe Rogo's Mombasa Murder," *The Star*, September 4, 2012.

23 "Announcement: MYC Joins Al-Shabaab in Tweeting on Tweeter," Muslim Youth Center, December 10, 2011; "MYC Tweets," Muslim Youth Center, December 13, 2011.

24 "Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea Submitted in Accordance with Resolution 1916 (2010)," p. 141.

25 "1 Dead in Mombasa Riots after Fiery Muslim Cleric is Shot Dead," Associated Press, August 27, 2012.

members are "part of the generation of Muslim youths that have been inspired by Shaykh Aboud Rogo's vision of the Muslim *umma* [community] in East Africa."[26] In May 2012, the group promised to honor his commitment to them by standing "shoulder to shoulder with our great shaykh."[27] The MYC and al-Shabab have alleged that Rogo and Khan were murdered by the Kenyan government as part of a campaign against the country's Muslims.[28]

Kenyan militants from the MYC's precursor organization, the Pumwani Muslim Youth, began to travel to and from Somalia as early as 2006.[29] Well-established smuggling networks facilitate travel between the two countries. One of the earliest known MYC members killed while fighting inside Somalia was Muhammad Juma Rajab, also known by his *nom de guerre* "Qa'qa," who died during an al-Shabab ambush of an Ethiopian convoy in the summer of 2008 at Bardaale near the western Somali city of Baidoa.[30] Rajab was featured in two al-Shabab videos, "Ambush at Bardaale," released in 2009, and "Message to the Umma." The former was also the first video in which American jihadist Omar Hammami appeared without his face covered. One of the foreign fighters featured in the latter, identified as Abu Jafar, was reportedly an MYC commander in Somalia known as Wahome Tajir Ali, who urged East African Muslims to join him on the "defensive lines" in Somalia.[31]

In a video released in late January by al-Kataib, Ahmad Iman Ali emerged publicly as the *amir* of the MYC's Somalia branch, which is believed to be composed of between 250 and 500 fighters.[32] An MYC statement on January 11 announced Ahmad Iman Ali as al-Shabab's "supreme leader" of Kenya.[33] In a nearly hour-long message aimed primarily at Kenyan Muslims, Ahmad Iman Ali, speaking in Swahili, urged them to join him alongside al-Shabab in Somalia.[34] He argued that Kenya had become a legitimate field of jihad because of the Kenyan government's alliance with the African Union, Ethiopia, the United States, and Israel, who are waging a war against Muslims under the guise of fighting al-Shabab and "terrorism." The term "terrorist," he said, has become merely a synonym of the forces of unbelief (*kufr*) to justify their war against Islam.

Kenya's history of intervention in Somalia, Ahmad Iman Ali said, did not begin with its recent invasion in October 2011. Rather, it began in 2006 and 2007 when the Kenyan military arrested Somali Islamists fleeing Somalia following the U.S.-backed Ethiopian invasion and extradited some to Ethiopia. Kenyan "perfidy" has continued at present with its financial, political, and military backing of "apostate" Somali militias along the Kenya-Somalia border. Attacks in Kenya are justified as a form of "defensive jihad" in Ahmad Iman Ali's view because of Kenya's participation in the global war on Islam spearheaded by the United States, a point he reiterated in another al-Kataib video released in June 2012 in which he eulogized Samir Khan Hussein.[35] Participation in this form of fighting is, he argued, an individual obligation (*fard `ayn*) for all Muslims.[36] Those who are unable to pick up a weapon themselves should play a missionary (*da`wa*) role in propagating the message of the MYC, al-Shabab, and other jihadist groups.[37]

Ahmad Iman Ali gave his pledge of allegiance (*bay`a*) to al-Shabab's leader, Ahmed Godane, in a video released in April by al-Kataib.[38] Expressing his joy at "the merger of the Muslims in their fight against their common enemy," Ahmad Iman Ali praised the leadership of the new al-Qa`ida *amir*, Ayman al-Zawahiri, as well as Godane's pledge of allegiance to him. He urged Godane to remain steadfast and not "turn his back on the fight." Further, Ahmad Iman Ali instructed Muslims to join the MYC and al-Shabab in fighting for the law of God to be established across the globe. He warned them that the United States is attempting to transform its war against Islam and Muslims into a war carried out by its proxies. The United States is also attempting, he said, to mask its war against Islam and Muslims through the manipulation of the news media.[39]

Conclusion

Since the beginning of 2012, the MYC has emerged in the public spotlight as al-Shabab's most important regional ally.[40] Hoping to manipulate and take advantage of increasing tension between Kenyan Muslims and non-Muslims, the MYC's leaders, such as Ahmad Iman Ali, and its media department have propagated a black and white narrative of civilizational conflict. To do this, the group continues to host events, issue publications, and maintain an active Twitter account and websites where it disseminates its written statements. Al-Kataib has produced its recent videos.

One of the MYC's primary goals is encouraging violent action inside Kenya. The group has claimed credit for numerous attacks on Kenyan security forces and government targets in the country, some carried out in cooperation with al-Shabab.[41] Indeed, Ahmad Iman

26 "Sheikh Aboud Rogo's Death: Embrace Change, Mujahideen," Muslim Youth Center, August 28, 2012.

27 "A Daring Visit to Mtaani: Sheikh Aboud Rogo," Muslim Youth Center, May 19, 2012.

28 Ibid.; "Sheikh Aboud Rogo's Death: A Catalyst for Change," al-Shabab, August 27, 2012; "A Challenge to the Mujahideen: Samir Khan's Execution," Muslim Youth Center, April 19, 2012.

29 This is an estimate, but travel likely began in 2006-2007. See "Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea Submitted in Accordance with Resolution 1916 (2010)," p. 141.

30 "Ambush at Bardale," al-Shabab, March 2009.

31 "Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea Submitted in Accordance with Resolution 1916 (2010)," p. 142.

32 Ibid., p. 144.

33 "Ahmad Iman Ali Appointed Supreme Amiir for Kenya," Muslim Youth Center, January 11, 2012.

34 "If They Seek Your Help in a Matter of Religion, it is Your Duty to Help Them," al-Shabab, January 2012. The video's title is taken from a part of verse 72 in the eighth chapter (*sura*) of the Qur'an.

35 "The Killing and Persecution of Muslims in Kenya," al-Shabab, June 2012.

36 Ibid.; "If They Seek Your Help in a Matter of Religion, it is Your Duty to Help Them"; "An Obligation to Act: Sheikh Ahmad Iman Ali's Message," Muslim Youth Center, January 9, 2012.

37 "If They Seek Your Help in a Matter of Religion, it is Your Duty to Help Them."

38 "Regarding the Bay`a of the Mujahidin," al-Shabab, April 2012.

39 Ibid.

40 Others, such as Tanzania's Ansaar Muslim Youth Centre (AMYC), also exist. The AMYC has ties to the MYC and the late Aboud Rogo. See "Somalia Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea Submitted in Accordance with Resolution 2002 (2011)," United Nations Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea, July 2012.

41 "Bomb Kills Several Kenyan Police in Refugee Camp," Muslim Youth Center, December 19, 2011; "Al-Shabaab Kills Kenyan Intelligence Officers," Muslim Youth Cen-

Ali has declared Kenya a legitimate arena for the MYC's "jihad."[42] The group is likely to benefit from rising tensions between large segments of Kenya's Muslim population and the Kenyan state caused by political marginalization and perceived government harassment, such as the singling out of Somalis inside Kenya and Kenyan Muslims in broad "anti-terrorism" sweeps by security forces. The MYC's intention, judging from the group's media messaging, is clearly to harness and manipulate recent tensions to further their goal of expanding violent Islamist activism inside Kenya.[43]

Invoking the examples of Usama bin Laden and Anwar al-`Awlaqi, a poem published by the MYC emphasized the group's dedication to expanding the war inside Somalia to Kenya, closing with the line, "Paradise is but a taxi journey away in Nairobi!"[44] The MYC praised al-Shabab's formal affiliation with al-Qa`ida central in February and promised to "set jihad alight" in Kenya as part of "al-Qa`ida in East Africa."[45] In light of these developments, Kenya's government must prepare for the growing terrorism risk due to its military and political intervention in Somalia.

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ter, December 12, 2011; "There's No Stopping the Mujahideen in Garissa..." Muslim Youth Center, January 1, 2012; "Aminyat: North Eastern Ops," Muslim Youth Center, January 4, 2012; "Operation Zenga Zenga Against Kenyan Police," Muslim Youth Center, January 14, 2012.

42 "If They Seek Your Help in a Matter of Religion, it is Your Duty to Help Them"; "An Obligation to Act: Sheikh Ahmad Iman Ali's Message," Muslim Youth Center, January 2012.

43 "Kenya's Nightmare (message from Ahmad Iman Ali)," Muslim Youth Center, September 27, 2011; "End Humiliation of Muslims!" Muslim Youth Center, August 1, 2012.

44 "Dreaming of Paradise: My Sheikhs Welcome Me Home," Muslim Youth Center, October 28, 2011.

45 "Welcome to AQEA (Al-Qa`ida East Africa)," Muslim Youth Center, February 10, 2012.

Terrorist Attacks in Kenya Reveal Domestic Radicalization

By Fredrick Nzes

ON OCTOBER 14, 2011, Kenya announced that it was deploying troops to Somalia in pursuit of al-Shabab, the al-Qa`ida-linked Somali militant group that has abducted foreign aid workers and tourists in Kenya. Since its October intervention in Somalia, militants have executed a number of terrorist attacks in Kenyan territory. Although authorities blame al-Shabab for much of the violence, it has also become clear that Kenya has a domestic radicalization problem of its own. Kenyan nationals have conducted a number of recent terrorist attacks in Kenya, with many of them receiving military training from al-Shabab in neighboring Somalia.[1]

Radical clerics in mosques in North Eastern and Coast provinces, as well as in Nairobi, have recruited Muslims in Kenya for militancy. Although 80% of Kenya is Christian, its Muslim population—which accounts for about 9-10% of the population—is largely concentrated on its eastern coast as well as on the border with Somalia.[2]

This article details recent terrorist attacks in Kenya and also identifies the factors behind the radicalization of Muslims in Kenya.

History of Terrorist Attacks in Kenya

Throughout its recent history, Kenya has been victim of sporadic terrorist attacks.[3] The most prominent of these incidents was on August 7, 1998, when al-Qa`ida attacked the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi, killing 213 people.[4] The attack was coordinated simultaneously with the bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, which killed 12 people.[5] On November 28, 2002, al-Qa`ida militants attacked the Israeli-owned Paradise Hotel in Mombasa, killing 15 people.[6] Almost simultaneously, militants fired two shoulder-launched missiles at an Israeli charter plane in the same city, missing the target.[7]

The recent escalation of terrorist attacks in Kenya, however, is the direct result of the al-Shabab insurgency in neighboring Somalia. On October 1, 2011, Marie Dedieu, a 66-year-old disabled French woman, was kidnapped from her home near Kenya's Manda Island by suspected al-Shabab gunmen.[8] She died while in the assailants' custody that same month.[9] On October 13, suspected al-Shabab militants kidnapped two female Spanish Médecins sans Frontières aid workers from the Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya, and took them to Somalia.[10] This series of cross-border attacks, as well as prior kidnapping incidents, spurred Kenya's military to intervene in Somalia on October 14.[11]

Once Kenyan troops entered Somalia, al-Shabab warned it would launch a campaign of violence in the country. The first incident targeting civilians in Kenya post-invasion occurred on October 24, 2011, when militants tossed a grenade into the Mwaura pub on Mfangano Street in Nairobi, wounding 12 people.[12] Later that day, another grenade attack targeted a bus terminal in Nairobi, killing one person.[13] On

1 "Police: Militant-Trained Kenyan Youth a Threat," Associated Press, May 4, 2012.

2 "The World Factbook," U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, October 4, 2012.

3 In 1980, for example, Islamic terrorists detonated a bomb at the Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi, killing 15 people. An Arab group claimed responsibility for the bombing, saying that it was in revenge for Kenya allowing Israeli troops to refuel in Nairobi during the raid on Uganda's Entebbe Airport in 1976. For details, see "Kenya Hunts for Suspect in Fatal Hotel Bombing," UPI, January 3, 1981.

4 "Embassy Bombing Death Toll Revised," *Los Angeles Times*, October 9, 1998.

5 Ibid.

6 "Kenya Terror Strikes Target Israelis," BBC, November 28, 2002.

7 Ibid.

8 Xan Rice and Kim Willsher, "French Woman Kidnapped by Somali Militants Dies," *Guardian*, October 19, 2011.

9 Ibid.

10 Xan Rice, "Two Aid Workers Kidnapped From Kenyan Refugee Camp," *Guardian*, October 13, 2011.

11 Kenya's military intervention in Somalia, however, was planned for years, reportedly part of a covert strategy to safeguard Kenya's borders and economic interests. For details on this, see Jeffrey Gettleman, "Kenyan Motives in Somalia Predate Recent Abductions," *New York Times*, October 26, 2011.

12 Dominic Wabala, "Grenade Rocks Nairobi Bar," *The Star*, October 25, 2011; "Two Grenade Blasts Rattle Nairobi; 1 Dead," Associated Press, October 25, 2011.

13 Ibid.

November 5, assailants threw two grenades at the East Africa Pentecostal Church in Garissa, killing two people.[14]

Attacks on churches escalated in 2012. In one recent incident, on September 30, 2012, militants threw a grenade into a church Sunday school service at the St. Polycarp's Anglican Church in the Eastleigh area of Nairobi, killing one child.[15] Then, on October 17, 2012, a grenade attack targeted officers from the paramilitary General Service Unit (GSU) who were cracking down on terrorist activity in the coastal city of Mombasa, killing one officer.[16]

Although al-Shabab is suspected of involvement in the series of grenade attacks in Kenya in 2011-2012, the group clearly has support from extremists living in Kenya.[17] Indeed, the Muslim Youth Center, a Nairobi-based religious extremist group, celebrated some of the attacks on its Twitter account and warned, "Public warnings via social media are over like we said. May Allah keep the mujahedeen strong."[18]

Radicalization in Kenya

Kenya is home to approximately 4.3 million Muslims, or about 9-10% of the country's population, and they predominately live in North Eastern and Coast provinces.[19] Many Muslims in Kenya also live in the Eastleigh neighborhood of Nairobi. Eastleigh, often called "Little Mogadishu," is mostly home to Somali refugees who, over the years, have fled the violence and instability in their home country.[20]

Certain territories in Kenya are susceptible to extremist or separatist ideology. Since Kenya's independence in 1963, it has faced a number of secessionist challenges. From 1963 to 1968, ethnic Somalis in North Eastern Province attempted to secede and become part of "Greater Somalia" in the Shifta War.[21] The war, as well as subsequent violence such as the Wagalla Massacre in 1984, was brutally suppressed, creating resentment among Somalis living in Kenya. After the Shifta War, the Kenyan government declared a state of emergency in North Eastern Province that lasted for almost three decades, further alienating Somalis living in Kenya.

"Al-Shabab can rely on radicalized Muslims in Kenya to support its fight in Somalia, and put pressure on the Kenyan government by attacking civilian targets in Kenya."

As a product of these repeated conflicts, northeastern Kenya—as well as parts of Coast Province—lack basic services such as paved roads, schools and hospitals. These regions suffer from poverty, high youth unemployment, rapid population growth and general insecurity. Resentment toward the government is high, and extremists are able to exploit these factors; chronic youth unemployment, for example, makes al-Shabab's promise of limited income attractive.[22]

During the 1970s, Saudi Arabian-funded missionaries traveled to Kenya to proselytize and convert Kenyan Muslims to Salafism. As a result of these missionary activities, the International Crisis Group argued that "the [Muslim] community [in Kenya] grew more insular, puritanical and conservative; sectarian animosities escalated, and traditional support for moderation and coexistence waned."[23]

During the 1990s, Muslims in Kenya were exposed to religious radicalism from al-Qa`ida, as well as from the Somali militant group al-Itihad al-Islami (AIAI). AIAI's goal was to establish an Islamic government in Somalia and the Ogaden region of Ethiopia. It attempted to recruit Kenyan Somali youth in Mandera and Garissa districts in Kenya's North Eastern Province as well as in Eastleigh.[24] It also raised funds through mosques to support its activities in Somalia. In 1996, Ethiopia launched a series of cross-border raids against AIAI, basically defeating the group—yet AIAI's leaders, Shaykh Hassan Dahir Aweys and Hassan Turki, would later play key leadership roles in the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) and al-Shabab.[25] Parts of AIAI's former support network is likely now supporting al-Shabab, as well as domestic jihadists in Kenya.

The emergence of the ICU and then al-Shabab in 2006 contributed to radicalization in Kenya. Although it was not until 2011 that Kenya began to suffer frequent small-scale terrorist attacks related to developments in Somalia, al-Shabab has been building a formidable and secretive support network in the country since 2007.[26]

Pumwani Riyadha Mosque

Today, there are a number of extremist support facilities in troubled areas of Kenya. Al-Shabab's primary source of support in Kenya appears to revolve around the Pumwani Riyadha Mosque, located near Eastleigh in Nairobi. Until recently, individuals at the mosque handed out jihadist pamphlets and articles authored by Anwar al-`Awlaqi, the Yemeni-American member of al-Qa`ida in the Arabian Peninsula who

14 "Grenade Attack on Church in Garissa Kills Two," BBC, November 6, 2011.

15 "Boy Killed in Grenade Attack on Kenya Church," RTTNews, October 1, 2012.

16 Eugene Okumu, "One Police Officer Dies and Several Injured in Grenade Attack," *The Star*, October 17, 2012.

17 See, for example, "Kenya Jails Islamist Insurgent for 59 Years," Agence France-Presse, September 20, 2012.

18 This was posted on the Twitter account @MYC_Press on September 30, 2012. For an in-depth analysis of the Muslim Youth Center, see Christopher Anzalone, "Kenya's Muslim Youth Center and Al-Shabab's East African Recruitment," *CTC Sentinel* 5:10 (2012).

19 "Kenyan Somali Islamist Radicalisation," International Crisis Group, January 25, 2012.

20 Ofeibea Quist-Arcton, "Tension Runs High in Kenya's Little Mogadishu," National Public Radio, November 19, 2011.

21 John Ringquist, "Bandit or Patriot: The Kenyan Shifta War 1963-1968," *Baltic Security and Defence Review* 13:1 (2011).

22 "Militants Lure Youths with Goodies," *The Standard*, September 10, 2011.

23 "Kenyan Somali Islamist Radicalisation."

24 Ibid.

25 "Hizbul Islam Group Withdraws Allegiance, Says 'Al Shabab is Weakened,'" GaroweOnline, September 25, 2012; Anonymous, "A Diagnosis of Somalia's Failing Transitional Government," *CTC Sentinel* 2:7 (2009).

26 Ibrahim Oruko, "Radical Islam Spills into Kenya," *The Star*, February 2, 2012; "Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea Submitted in Accordance with Resolution 1916 (2010)," United Nations Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea, July 2011.

was killed by a U.S. drone in September 2011.[27] The cleric's speeches were translated into Kiswahili and other local languages, as well as Luganda, a widely spoken language in Uganda.[28] Clerics at the mosque also reportedly delivered sermons with religiously inflammatory content.[29]

In the clearest case of domestic radicalization, the Muslim Youth Center (MYC) was formed at the Pumwani Riyadha Mosque in 2008.[30] The MYC, also known as the Pumwani Muslim Youth, was established by Shaykh Ahmad Iman Ali purportedly to express the grievances of impoverished Muslim youth.[31] In practice, however, the MYC has recruited hundreds of Muslims in Kenya to fight with al-Shabab in Somalia.[32] It has promised to sustain attacks for the "al-Shabab brothers" until Kenya withdraws troops from Somalia.[33]

Before evidence emerged of the MYC's role in radicalization and militancy, Ahmad Iman Ali was a respected shaykh in Nairobi. He was secretary for the mosque's planning committee, where he handled construction at the mosque complex.[34] Ahmad Iman Ali was also raising money and finding recruits for al-Shabab's fight in Somalia.[35] In 2009, Ahmad Iman Ali overtly entered militancy and moved to Somalia, where he would become the leader of al-Shabab's Kenyan recruits.[36]

Since Kenya's intervention in Somalia, authorities and analysts suspect that militant MYC members are responsible for much of the violence at home. In 2011, the United Nations Monitoring Group on Eritrea and Somalia cited in its report that the MYC is spearheading recruitment, fundraising, training and support of jihad in Kenya.[37] Since at least 2010, Ahmad Iman Ali has called for jihad in Kenya, instructing MYC fighters in Somalia to "hit back and cause blasts [in Kenya] similar to the Kampala bombings."[38] His mention of the Kampala bombings refers to al-Shabab's suicide attacks targeting civilians watching the World Cup in the Ugandan capital in July 2010. That attack killed 74 people.

Jihadist speeches and literature as well as the activities of the MYC at the Pumwani Riyadha Mosque have contributed to the formation of a radicalized, secretive group of Kenyan jihadists in Nairobi, Mombasa, Garissa, Mandera and other cities.[39] This Kenya-based group looks to al-Shabab as a source of emulation, while supporting its jihad by sending money and recruits to Somalia—as well as attacking civilian targets in Kenya.[40] According to Kenyan Police Commissioner Mathew Iteere, hundreds of Kenyan youth who trained with al-Shabab in Somalia have returned home to Kenya.[41]

Some analysts suggest that recruitment now not only includes the Somali community in Kenya, but also other Muslims living in the Kenyan and Tanzanian coastal regions.[42] According to the International Crisis Group, "There is growing evidence to suggest that attacks in North Eastern Province are joint operations of Kenyan Swahili and Somali jihadis. Swahili members are easily able to evade security by posing as locals and counting on outdated profiling by Kenyan security officers that all al-Shabaab members are Somali-looking."[43]

In recent months, due to increased government oversight, these mosques are reportedly no longer delivering extremist rhetoric.[44] The International Crisis Group, however, conducted interviews in the area in 2012 and found that jihadist radicalization "may have gone underground," possibly to people's homes or in *madrasas*.

Conclusion

After the al-Qa`ida terrorist attacks in Kenya in 1998 and 2002, the government improved its ability to fight terrorism and related threats.[45] It increased its capabilities to identify, arrest and detain suspects through an Anti-Terrorism Police Unit (ATPU) that was established in 2002. Yet al-Shabab's advances in Somalia during the last few years have challenged Kenya's ability to prevent terrorist attacks at home. Kenya's border with Somalia is long and cannot be secured effectively, and it is easy to smuggle across weapons or men. Moreover, al-Shabab can rely on radicalized Muslims in Kenya to support its fight in Somalia, and put pressure on the Kenyan government by attacking civilian targets in Kenya.

As al-Shabab continues to weaken in Somalia, the Kenyan government must also focus on finding suitable approaches to deradicalize the small number of Muslims who have been lured into extremism and are waging jihad in Kenya. The formation and activities of groups such as the MYC show that certain segments of Kenya's Muslim population are at risk of radicalization and recruitment into extremist groups. Even if al-Shabab is defeated in Somalia, Kenya's role in that defeat has now made it a target for Islamist militants seeking revenge.

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27 "Kenyan Somali Islamist Radicalisation."

28 Personal interview, anonymous subject matter expert who has visited the mosque, Nairobi, Kenya, October 2012.

29 Ibid.

30 "Kenyan Somali Islamist Radicalisation."

31 Ibid.

32 "Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea Submitted in Accordance with Resolution 1916 (2010)."

33 Bosire Boniface, "Muslim Youth Centre Aims to Create Religious Strife in Kenya, Analysts Say," *Sabahi*, August 22, 2012.

34 Nyambega Gisesa, "A Portrait of a Jihadist Born and Bred in Nairobi," Africa News Online, January 30, 2012.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.; Barnard Momayi, "Factions Support Ridyadha Mosque Report," CapitalFM News, August 7, 2011; Abdi Dahir, "Terror Suspects Hunt Shoots Down Business in Eastleigh," *Daily Nation*, November 15, 2011.

37 "Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea Submitted in Accordance with Resolution 1916 (2010)."

38 Ibid.

39 Authorities have arrested a number of Kenyan citizens for their role in these attacks. See, for example, Lordrick Mayabi, "Grenade Man Pleads Guilty, Admits Role in Attacks," CapitalFM News, October 26, 2011; "Police: Militant-Trained Kenyan Youth a Threat."

40 Ibid.

41 "Police: Militant-Trained Kenyan Youth a Threat."

42 "Raid, Grenades, Gunfire: Three Dead in Kenyan Tourist City," CNN, October 17, 2012.

43 "Kenyan Somali Islamist Radicalisation."

44 Ibid.

45 Ibid.

A Post-Trial Profile of Anders Behring Breivik

By Jacob Aasland Ravndal

ON JULY 22, 2011, Norwegian terrorist Anders Behring Breivik detonated a 2,100-pound bomb in the Norwegian Government Quarter in the heart of Oslo, killing eight people, before shooting and killing 69 people at Utøya, a small island 25 miles from the capital. After a trial that began in April 2012, Breivik was sentenced to 21 years in prison after a court declared he was "criminally sane" and guilty on August 24. The judicial process produced a wealth of new information about the man behind the worst atrocities in Norway since World War II and supports four key conclusions. First, Breivik was no stereotypical loner, and he decided to pursue mass violence much later than previously assumed. Second, through experimentation and dedication, Breivik managed to build a new type of fertilizer bomb never before used in past terrorist attacks. Third, Breivik's Knights Templar organization likely never existed before his attacks. Fourth, Breivik's ideology has less in common with the so-called counterjihad movement than with far right violent extremists.[1]

This article will present previously unknown facts about Breivik's personal background, tactics, and networks.[2] It will also offer new perspectives on Breivik's extremist ideology in light of texts he wrote before and after the attacks of July 2011. Unless otherwise cited, all of the facts in this article were presented during Breivik's trial.[3]

Breivik's Personal Background

The trial offered new insights about Breivik's personality. The court was presented with two forensic psychiatric evaluations that reached opposite conclusions regarding the question of criminal sanity. Several expert witnesses argued that the decision ultimately rested upon whether or not Breivik suffered from psychosis before the attacks, a question that was never resolved with absolute certainty. In contrast to the first forensic psychiatric evaluation team that diagnosed Breivik with paranoid schizophrenia, a second evaluation team concluded that Breivik was criminally sane, but suffering from one or several personality disorders.[4] During the proceedings, all nine expert witnesses offering testimony on Breivik's mental health agreed with the findings from the second evaluation.

The court unanimously sentenced Breivik to "preventive detention," Norway's strictest form of detention.[5] The practical implication of the sentence is that Breivik will remain in jail for as long as he is considered a danger to society.

The July 22 attacks sparked a renewed focus on the threat from what many call "lone wolf" terrorists. The trial strengthened the impression of Breivik as a lone wolf in the sense that he prepared and executed the attacks on his own. On the other hand, testimony from Breivik's closest friends suggests he was far from a stereotypical loner with few friends and poor social skills. Not only did Breivik belong to a normal and resourceful group of friends, he was also characterized as one of the caring and sociable members of the group. This challenges the common assumption that he was a loner.

This description of Breivik does not correspond with the remorseless person one could observe in court. Only once did Breivik display strong emotions during the trial; he cried uncontrollably when the prosecutor showed his homemade propaganda video on the trial's opening day. Apart from this episode, Breivik remained indifferent during the proceedings, even when victims recounted gruesome stories.[6]

The trial also revealed new facts about how Breivik financed the attacks, which are connected to his radicalization process. Breivik was a dedicated financial entrepreneur. He established several companies, and made approximately $150,000-$200,000 between 2002-2003 at the age of 24. Although few of his companies were successful, his last project, called Diploma Service, generated substantial money.[7] Breivik used the surplus from Diploma Service, as well as profit from other investments, to finance his preparations for the July 22 attacks. When he finally depleted his personal savings on April 26, 2011, he started using credit cards, 11 in total.

"Breivik was no stereotypical loner, and he decided to pursue mass violence much later than previously assumed."

It is not clear, however, whether Breivik knew he was going down a violent path when he was conducting business between 2002 and 2006. Breivik claimed he attended an inauguration meeting of the Knights Templar organization in London in 2002, and that he decided to become a martyr in 2007. Prosecutors, on the other hand, did not believe such a meeting took place, or that the Knights

1 The term counterjihad refers to a transnational political movement whose main objective is to reverse Muslim immigration and the introduction of Islamic culture to Western societies. See Toby Archer, "Countering the Counter-Jihad," *RUSI Monitor*, August 15, 2008.

2 For a pre-trial summary on Breivik's personal background, tactics and networks, see Jacob Aasland Ravndal, "A Pre-Trial Profile of Anders Behring Breivik," *CTC Sentinel* 5:3 (2012).

3 The author attended the trial hearings in Norway.

4 Alternative diagnoses that were discussed in court included dissocial and narcissistic personality disorder as well as Asperger syndrome. Among the experts were representatives from the prison psychiatric team who observed Breivik on a daily basis since his arrest. There were also representatives from a group of 17 experts that monitored Breivik around the clock for two weeks against his own will looking for signs of psychosis. Out of those 17 experts, 16 reported no such signs.

5 Preventive detention is an indefinite sentence that may be given to dangerous, accountable offenders with the purpose of protecting the community against new serious criminality. For more details, see "Factsheet Preventive Detention," Norwegian Correctional Services, August 22, 2012.

6 Although Breivik came across as soft-spoken and polite throughout most of the trial, he also behaved inappropriately on several occasions. For example, he did a closed fist salute on the first and last days of the trial, and made several rude remarks to the first psychiatric evaluation team.

7 This company produced fake diplomas and appears to have operated legally.

Templar ever existed. They further argued that Breivik did not decide to become a terrorist until 2009, or possibly as late as 2010. For example, all financial transactions related to the attacks, such as the acquisition of body armor, weapons and bombmaking material, occurred between April 2010 and July 2011.

It is noteworthy that Breivik appeared to have given up his financial activities as early as 2006. Earning money had been a key driver in his life since he dropped out of high school in 2001. Why did he suddenly quit his financial endeavors? Different explanations were discussed in court. One theory was that his companies did not produce much money. This explanation has been dismissed on the grounds that by 2006 he had generated a substantial amount of money through Diploma Service. A second explanation was that he suffered from depression. Several of his friends believed this could be the reason why Breivik began to isolate himself and show little interest in social relations. A final explanation was that he had radicalized and changed focus from money to politics.

The last explanation seems the most plausible considering the remaining part of Breivik's life, although depression could have contributed to his radicalization. Either way, this does not necessarily mean that Breivik had decided to engage in mass violence by 2006. In fact, the first two books in his trilogy compendium hardly mentioned armed revolution, with the exception of a few sections toward the end of the second book. In contrast, texts written by Breivik in these books discussed and evaluated a range of non-violent forms of resistance, suggesting this was Breivik's preferred option in the beginning.[8]

Yet Breivik's non-violent campaign did not work. Major newspapers rejected his articles, and counterjihad ideologues he admired, such as Peder Are Nøstvold Jensen (known as Fjordman), refused his proposals for cooperation. At some point, possibly as late as 2009, he apparently gave up his non-violent initiatives, and started writing the third book in his trilogy: *A Declaration of Preemptive War*.

Breivik's Tactics

The trial proceedings revealed new information about Breivik's tactics—such as his mental preparation for the attacks, bomb production process, and target selection. Breivik told the court that he spent a lot of time preparing mentally for the atrocities. He worked systematically to "de-emotionalize" himself to prepare for murder. He compared himself to soldiers going to war in Afghanistan who, according to Breivik, use dehumanization techniques to be able to kill the enemy. In addition, Breivik claimed he practiced Japanese Bushido meditation techniques combined with music to build "contempt for death" and repress his fears.

"Breivik further explained that his goal was to kill everyone on the island by using the surrounding lake as a 'weapon of mass destruction'—forcing people to flee into the cold water and drown."

Breivik also used computer games to prepare for the attacks. In particular, he played the first person shooter game "Call of Duty."[9] According to Breivik, it primarily helped him practice the holographic weapon gun sight he used on Utøya. He also used the game to practice a scenario where police forces might attempt to capture him using a "pincer movement."

Breivik's most demanding project, both intellectually and physically, was the making of his 2,100-pound fertilizer bomb. He claimed in court that he acquired more than 600 bomb-making manuals online, with recipes involving more than 100 different types of explosives.[10] He also studied al-Qa`ida attacks as well as al-Qa`ida in the Arabian Peninsula's *Inspire* magazine to obtain knowledge of the types of explosives and techniques to use.

It appears that Breivik, through experimentation and dedication, was the first person to produce a bomb from diluted fertilizer. The measure to dilute the concentration of ammonium nitrate in fertilizer was introduced in Europe after the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995 to ensure that fertilizer products could no longer be used to manufacture bombs. Breivik was aware of this, and explained that it was the reason why none of the bomb-making recipes he had acquired would work. They either used illegal explosives materials that were too risky to obtain, or they required the old fertilizer concentration. He therefore had to experiment and combine knowledge from different recipes. He also explained that despite extensive research, he could not identify a single terrorist attack using the diluted fertilizer type available on European markets today.

The trial also shed more light on Breivik's targeting calculations. For example, he said that Utøya was not his initial target. He originally intended to attack a major Norwegian press gathering called the SKUP-conference, or the headquarters of the Norwegian Labor Party.[11]

Breivik said he decided to target Utøya when he realized he would only be able to produce one bomb instead of three. The second target, therefore, had to be a firearms assault operation.[12] Utøya

8 Among other topics, Breivik discussed strategic communication, education reform, rhetoric and how to deal with the media. For more details, see Breivik's compendium: Anders Behring Breivik, "2083: A European Declaration of Independence," sections 2.73–2.80. The compendium is available in different versions. This article therefore refers to its numerical sections, rather than page numbers.

9 Breivik registered an account for this game on January 18, 2010, and had an average playing time of 10 hours per month for one year and four months. This is not necessarily an unusual amount of time compared to other computer game enthusiasts. Breivik spent considerable more time playing World of Warcraft during the same period. He also practiced shooting at a pistol club.

10 Breivik's use of numbers should not always be interpreted literally as he has shown a tendency to exaggerate.

11 Breivik also considered striking the parliament, the worker's parade on May 1, the Blitz house which belongs to Norwegian left-wing radicals, the offices of the Norwegian Socialist Party, the offices of the Norwegian newspapers *Aftenposten* and *Dagsavisen*, and the royal palace.

12 Originally, Breivik planned to carry out his shooting spree at the SKUP-conference, but the bomb was not

was not only selected because Breivik considered it a "political indoctrination camp" for "cultural Marxists." He also chose Utøya because prominent Labor Party politicians were scheduled to speak on the island. According to Breivik, former Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland was his top priority target, and the alleged reason why he chose the date of July 22, the day of her visit.[13]

Breivik further explained how his original plan was to capture Brundtland and videotape her beheading while reading her death sentence. He said that he learned this technique from al-Qa`ida and believed it would have a major psychological effect. Brundtland, however, had already left the island by the time Breivik arrived. Breivik further explained that his goal was to kill everyone on the island by using the surrounding lake as a "weapon of mass destruction"—forcing people to flee into the cold water and drown.

Breivik's Networks

Before the beginning of the trial, the media identified a series of possible network connections between Breivik and other extremists. During the trial, the prosecution disputed most of these connections, including meetings between Breivik and other members of his alleged Knights Templar organization.

First, the prosecution investigated Breivik's alleged meeting with a Serb war hero in Liberia in 2002. Contrary to Breivik's allegation that his trip to Liberia represented a key event in his radicalization process, the prosecutor introduced evidence suggesting that the trip was in fact a misguided attempt on Breivik's behalf to set up a blood diamond trading company. To support this argument, the prosecution conducted a video-link interview in court with one of Breivik's contacts in Liberia, who said Breivik appeared genuinely interested in diamonds.

Second, the prosecutor presented evidence suggesting that Breivik's alleged trips to attend Knights Templar meetings in London and in the Baltic countries were in fact related to his diamond trade and money laundering, respectively. For example, Breivik's movements during these trips, traced electronically by the police, suggested that he did not have the time to attend such meetings.

Third, police tried to trace any possible meetings between Breivik and people connected to the English Defense League or similar organizations, but did not find any conclusive evidence.

In sum, the evidence presented strongly suggests that Breivik's Knights Templar network did not exist before the attacks. There are, however, already examples of groups and individuals trying to establish networks in cooperation with Breivik from jail. For example, Nick Greger, a German former neo-Nazi convicted of terrorism charges, wrote to Breivik and offered him the support of his Order 777 network.[14] There is also letter correspondence published online between Breivik and Russian extremists suggesting that a support network is being established in Russia.[15] In one letter, Nikola Korolev, who is currently serving a prison sentence for a bomb attack in Moscow in 2006, is referred to as the leader of a Russian prison network that sympathizes with Breivik.[16] In addition, Breivik has received support letters from around the world, and there are numerous blogs supporting him. In the Czech Republic, a man was recently arrested for planning a terrorist attack inspired by Breivik.[17]

While much of the media reporting about Breivik's ideology has centered on the counterjihad movement, a closer reading of his own texts suggests that his ideology may have more in common with far right extremists.

Breivik's Ideology

There are two key challenges when studying Breivik's ideology: the magnitude of the 1,518-page long compendium, and the fact that Breivik only authored half of the content. To decipher Breivik's ideology, a necessary first step is therefore to isolate his own texts. In addition, Breivik has provided new ideological statements in court and in letters written from inside prison.

By studying Breivik's own texts and statements, it becomes clear that he attempted to provide a comprehensive ideological framework to unite different factions of the far right.[18] His main thesis is that Western societies are governed by politically-correct elites, the so-called "cultural Marxists," who since the end of World War II have systematically deconstructed traditional Western values and traditions, and allowed for massive Muslim immigration to Europe.

Cultural Marxism refers to a continuation of core Marxist principles, translated from economic to cultural terms. Whereas classical Marxism was meant to deconstruct economic class differences, cultural Marxism has been used to deconstruct traditional family structures, the roles of men and women, and differences between races.[19] As a result, Western culture has been transformed from being patriarchal and culturally homogenous into being matriarchical and multicultural. This is, according to proponents of the theory, a dangerous development that will lead to a totalitarian society in line with Nazism and communism. One mission of Breivik's Knights Templar organization is to supposedly fight the three "hate ideologies" of Nazism, communism and Islam.[20]

ready in time and he missed the April 1-2, 2011, event date. He also missed the annual meeting of the Labor Party on April 7-10, 2011.

13 Other speakers included Jens Stoltenberg (prime minister), Jonas Gahr Støre (then minister of foreign affairs) and Marte Michelet (journalist and former leader of the political party Red Youth).

14 "Ekstremist har sendt Breivik brev - vil stifte Knights Templar," *Dagbladet*, June 19, 2012.

15 "Russian Branch of Breivik's Organization Headed by Nikola Korolev," Spas History's Journal, June 9, 2012.

16 Ibid.

17 "Czech Police Charge Man over 'Breivik-Style' Plot," BBC, August 18, 2012.

18 He combined elements from traditional far right, anti-Islamism, American paleoconservatism, anti-feminism, revolutionary theory and a range of other "isms," including well-known conspiracy theories.

19 Ideas about cultural Marxism, which are first presented in the introductory chapter of Breivik's compendium, are in fact a copy of the anthology *Political Correctness: A Short History of an Ideology*, published in 2004. This collection of short essays was originally written for an American audience, but Breivik simply replaced "America" with "Europe," and inserted "Muslims" instead of other minority groups described in the essays.

20 Breivik, 3.13.

Breivik believed that it is too late to reverse this development by democratic means, and therefore called for an armed revolution that legitimizes terrorism and the use of chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear weapons.[21] He developed a detailed list of charges against cultural Marxist "traitors," and has also formed a system of different traitor categories with corresponding penalties.[22] In other words, Breivik's armed revolution was first and foremost directed against Western elites and regimes, and less toward the Muslim population.

While Breivik has borrowed most of what he has written about cultural Marxism, multiculturalism and armed revolution from other writers, he has also developed his own ideas about how he would organize a future society. In the compendium, he discussed religion, sex, family planning, reprogenetics,[23] international affairs, globalization, development aid, music and the economy. Breivik proposed a peculiar world in these texts.

"The case underscores the potential importance of the internet in radicalization processes and indicates that the possibility of obtaining training and operational skills online may have been underestimated."

For example, he called for a reformation of the church and proposed a militant version of Christianity in which religious leaders once again call for crusades.[24] With regard to family structures, Breivik suggested that fathers should always have custody of children, and that physical punishment should be legal.[25] Marriage should be based on mutual interests rather than feelings, and sexual relations should be practiced with moderation.[26] Yet Breivik proposed establishing "liberal zones" where sex could be practiced more freely for those who cannot control their desires.[27]

Breivik was also concerned about protecting the future of the Nordic race and suggested using reprogenetics to secure future generations.[28] He proposed establishing state-run surrogate clinics where Nordic children could be born and raised.[29] The state would take full responsibility for the upbringing of these children, and there should be a bachelor's degree for state-employed "guardian parents."[30]

He further proposed dismantling the European Union and importing cheap labor from abroad—a "future servant class."[31] These workers would live in segregated communities and only do cleaning, construction work, drive taxis, and farming. They would be granted short 12-month contracts and would have to return to their country of origin at the end of the term.[32]

Breivik summarized his ideology in a one hour and twelve minute court statement. He claimed to speak on behalf of the Norwegian and European indigenous peoples, and attacked what he regarded as a systematic suppression of so-called cultural conservatives by cultural Marxists since the end of World War II. He presented extensive conspiracy theories as well as unfounded assumptions and statistics concerning immigration, and Islam in particular. He claimed brutality is not necessarily evil, and drew parallels to the U.S. nuclear bombings of Japan in 1945.[33]

Recent letter correspondence between Breivik and some of his supporters indicates that Breivik continues to regard himself as a revolutionary leader, and that he is largely unable to accept his compromised position. In one of these letters, he discussed "plans for the coming decade."[34] He claimed to be planning three books: one dealing with the July 22 operation, a second on ideology, and a third addressing the future. Furthermore, he claimed to be in the process of establishing a pan-European think-tank to be called "The Conservative Revolutionary Movement." According to Breivik, this think-tank will consist of conservative intellectuals and "keyboard warriors" fighting for a conservative revolution.[35]

Finally, in the same letter, Breivik wrote that he and other patriots are establishing a prison network in Northern Europe for politically-oriented prisoners, focusing on Germany, Russia, Denmark, Sweden and Norway. In the same paragraph, he drew a parallel to Nelson Mandela who a few decades ago headed the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC) before he was imprisoned, but continued to lead the armed resistance from prison.

Conclusion

The trial exposed Breivik as a strikingly committed extremist and ideological entrepreneur, who never fully understood the logic of terrorism. Terrorists use violence for political reasons. Yet if the spectacle of violence overshadows the political message, the logic of terrorism has failed. In the case of Breivik, there is no doubt that the level of violence for which he is responsible has drawn far more attention than the political message he is trying to convey.

21 Ibid., 3.35–3.59.

22 Ibid., 3.2, 3.44.

23 Reprogenetics is a term referring to the merging of reproductive and genetic technologies expected to happen in the near future. The term was coined by Lee M. Silver, a professor of molecular biology at Princeton University, in his book *Remaking Eden* (New York: Avon Books, 1997).

24 Breivik, 3.80–3.81.

25 Ibid., 3.83.

26 Ibid., 3.88.

27 Ibid., 3.85.

28 Ibid., 3.92–3-93.

29 Ibid., 3.90.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., 3.94.

32 Ibid.

33 In the same statement, Breivik idealized states such as Japan and South Korea for being high-tech nations that rejected multiculturalism and embraced ethnic protectionism and values such as discipline, codes of honor and national pride. He argued it is unfair that most indigenous peoples are praised for conserving their cultures and traditions, while his own indigenous people are labeled racist when doing the same thing.

34 "Letter to Angus," The Commander Breivik Report, accessed October 4, 2012.

35 When describing his think-tank plans, Breivik characterized the current counterjihad network in Western Europe as quite successful and effective, but criticized it for fighting against Islam only, and not for European indigenous, cultural and religious rights.

The trial also demonstrated how someone who felt ignored and misunderstood was able to build an alternative reality online, and educate himself on how to plan and execute a massive and deadly terrorist attack. The case underscores the potential importance of the internet in radicalization processes and indicates that the possibility of obtaining training and operational skills online may have been underestimated.

Finally, the trial revealed that Breivik's life story and psychological profile involves a number of contradictions and mysteries. He is criminally sane, but mentally ill. He acted alone, but was not a typical loner. He seemed emotionally indifferent in court, but cried when watching his own propaganda video.

What Breivik wanted from the trial was to be sentenced as criminally sane. Anything else would have undermined his project. He wanted to make a statement to the world through extreme violence, and in this he has succeeded. Whether he will succeed in inspiring others to join his armed resistance remains to be seen, but the level of violence could turn out to be his own worst enemy.

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The Syria Balancing Act: Supporting Transition, Avoiding Blowback

By James Denselow

IN THE LAST few months, violence in Syria has escalated into a more conventional civil war. The early manifestations of Syria's revolution—large public protests across the country—have been replaced by a diverse and fragmented armed opposition fighting an insurgency against what is increasingly viewed as a government that is running out of time and ideas. International support to this opposition has taken a myriad of forms providing legitimacy, money and arms to the rebel fighters.

In June 2012, for example, the Saudi government reportedly agreed to fund Free Syrian Army (FSA)[1] salaries. Both Saudi Arabia and Qatar are leading the supply of weapons to the opposition through Turkey.[2] The *Times of London* reported the scale of such supplies in September as a ship from Libya arrived in Turkey carrying more than 400 tons of cargo including SAM-7 surface-to-air anti-aircraft missiles and rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs), described by a member of the FSA as "the largest single delivery of assistance to the rebel fighting units we have received."[3]

These financial and weapons transfers are not without risks. Although the FSA is comprised of secular militias, there are also hard-line Salafi-jihadi fighters among the rebel ranks, and reports increasingly suggest that they are receiving some of the outside financial and weapons aid. Western policymakers worry that a marriage of convenience between secular and Salafi-jihadi fighters against the Bashar al-Assad regime could lead to a bloody divorce along the lines of the Afghan mujahidin in the 1980s. Such a development would add to the instability in the Middle East as Salafi-jihadi fighters could use sophisticated weapons, such as surface-to-air missiles, against other targets in the region.

This article reviews the jihadist presence among the rebel ranks, examines how Syria's unsecured borders are allowing money, weapons and foreign fighters to filter into the country, and finally warns that supplying weapons to Syrian rebels may destabilize the region further if these weapons are smuggled outside of Syria's borders.

Jihadist Elements in Syria

Fighters publicly pursuing a more secular platform dominate the rebel movement in Syria. There is clear evidence, however, that Salafi-jihadis also fight among the rebel ranks. These Salafi-jihadi fighters are concentrated in a number of different groups or militias, the most prominent of which is Jabhat al-Nusra.

In one of the most detailed examinations of the operational capacity of jihadist elements in Syria, Bilal Saab identified a handful of small jihadist groups, saying that the Syrian battlefield is "awash with al-Qa`ida-linked jihadist cells."[4] These cells, Saab argued, are disorganized and lack a charismatic leader capable of unifying them.[5] Other media reports describe radical fringe elements operating within a diverse setup that is still dominated by Syrian nationalists rather than transnational ideologues. In arguably the most comprehensive study so far, an International Crisis Group report in October outlined how "the presence of a powerful Salafi strand among Syria's rebels has become irrefutable."[6]

The relatively large focus on the numbers and exact role of extremist elements in the Syria conflict is stoked by the Syrian regime's continual emphasis of the pivotal role played by jihadists. Following meetings with al-Assad in September, UN envoy Lakhdar Brahimi reported that the Syrian government estimates that there are

1 Martin Chulov, Ewen MacAskill, and John Densky, "Saudi Arabia Plans to Fund Syria Rebel Army," *Guardian*, June 22, 2012.

2 David E. Sanger, "Rebel Arms Flow is Said to Benefit Jihadists in Syria," *New York Times*, October 14, 2012.

3 "Syrian Rebels Squabble over Weapons as Biggest Shipload Arrives from Libya," *The Times*, September 15, 2012.

4 Bilal Y. Saab, "Unpacking Al-Qaeda's Presence in Syria," *Jane's Islamic Affairs Analyst*, September 27, 2012.

5 Ibid.

6 "Tentative Jihad: Syria's Fundamentalist Opposition," International Crisis Group, October 11, 2012.

5,000 foreign fighters in the country.[7] Al-Assad's government has regularly accused Western and Arab countries of exacerbating the violence by sending weapons and facilitating foreign fighter travel. In September, the Syrian ambassador to the UN Human Rights Council, Faysal Khabbaz Hamoui, told the council that the opposition was conducting "a jihad or holy war against Damascus…the mercenaries are a time bomb that will explode later in the country and in the countries supporting them after they finish their terrorist mission in Syria."[8]

British officials involved in supporting the opposition, however, see al-Qa`ida as a "very small minority" of the opposition,[9] while Noman Benotman's research of extremist websites estimates the number of foreign fighters "between 1,200-1,500 members"[10] compared to the FSA's estimated strength of tens of thousands of armed men.[11]

Although the exact number of foreign fighters is in dispute, it is clear that Salafi-jihadi groups are operating in Syria today. As with previous conflicts in the region, when state authority shrinks, new groups move into the less contested spaces. In Syria, the geography of the country and its history as a thoroughfare for state-sanctioned armed groups—whether Hamas and Hizb Allah to the west, the increasingly lawless Sinai to the south or the active al-Qa`ida affiliate in Iraq that has longstanding logistical capabilities in the country—leave it particularly vulnerable to foreign fighters joining the conflict.

Increasingly Unsecured Borders

For the past 40 years, Syria has used its foreign policy to back proxy groups in Lebanon, Iraq and Palestine. Yet prior to the outbreak of protests in March 2011, Syria was already experiencing a low level terrorist threat from the Salafi-jihadi group Jund al-Sham, which claimed responsibility for numerous attacks in the country including one on the U.S. Embassy in Damascus in 2006.[12] It is also suspected of targeting a Syrian intelligence building in Damascus in September 2008, which killed approximately 17 people.[13] After the outbreak of violence across Syria and the deployment of the military against the protestors in 2011, a number of militant groups have exploited the new operating space created by the conflict.

The state of flux across the North Africa region caused by the fall of Mu`ammar Qadhafi, Hosni Mubarak and Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali has weakened traditionally strong state security forces and affected the entire Levant. Today, the Syrian state has lost control over a number of its border crossings and large swathes of the country. UN officials have reported how both Humvees and surface-to-air missiles have moved from Libya through the now contested Sinai Peninsula to the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip.[14] Syria's border with Lebanon has historically been largely un-demarcated due to Syria's pre-colonial claims to the territory. It is crisscrossed with smuggling routes, and despite laying minefields along sensitive areas the Syrian regime has found it impossible to prevent weapons and people moving in either direction.[15]

The BBC reported in September 2012 how Egyptians were traveling to Syria under the guise of a "relief convoy" organized by an ultra-orthodox Islamic group with contacts in Egypt and Lebanon.[16] Likewise, the long desert border with Iraq has been largely abandoned as a result of opposition attacks and the regime concentrating its forces around large urban centers. In July, the regime lost control of the major crossings of Bab al-Hawa and Bab al-Salam on the border with Turkey and the main Abu Kamal post on the border with Iraq. Following Syrian artillery strikes on locations inside Turkey in October, the Syrian regime instructed its military to keep aircraft at least six miles from Turkey's border, another example of the regime's diminished sovereignty.

Weapons Proliferation

The lack of border security creates the risk that weapons intended for the secular Syrian opposition could end up in the hands of new jihadist groups in the region that have emerged in the last 19 months, as well as to more established groups such as al-Qa`ida in Iraq (AQI). In the case of AQI, the group has a number of smuggling routes that cross the Syria-Iraq border. In the past decade, these routes have been used to move weapons and other supplies from Syria into Iraq to support AQI's insurgency. With the influx of weapons to Syria's rebels, there is the real possibility that arms will be smuggled out of Syria to Iraqi insurgents. AQI's access to deadly weapons such as SAMs could be used with great effectiveness against Iraq's Shi`a-led government. If such weapons were smuggled out of the Middle East to Europe or beyond, the effects could be devastating. In the hands of al-Qa`ida, SAMs could be used against civilian airliners, a tactic al-Qa`ida already employed during the terrorist attacks in Mombasa, Kenya, in 2002.

"If such weapons were smuggled out of the Middle East to Europe or beyond, the effects could be devastating. In the hands of al-Qa`ida, SAMs could be used against civilian airliners, a tactic al-Qa`ida already employed during the terrorist attacks in Mombasa, Kenya, in 2002."

7 "Assad Wants to Return to 'The Old Syria,' Says U.N. Envoy Brahimi," al-Arabiya, September 24, 2012.

8 "Syrian War Crimes List Drawn Up," *Irish Times*, September 17, 2012.

9 Personal interviews, anonymous officials, UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office, London, September 14, 2012.

10 Noman Benotman and Emad Naseraldin, "The Jihadist Network in the Syrian Revolution: A Strategic Briefing," Quilliam Foundation, September 2012.

11 Personal interview, Michael Weiss, research director of The Henry Jackson Society, London, October 2, 2012.

12 Beirut-based *al-Akhbar* reported in June that elements of Jund al-Sham and Fatah al-Islam had left Palestinian camps in Lebanon and joined Jabhat al-Nusra.

13 Rafid Fadhil Ali, "Terrorism Comes to Damascus: Syria Faces its Own Islamist Threat," *Terrorism Monitor* 6:20 (2008).

14 Personal interview, anonymous UN officials, October 4, 2012.

15 In March 2012, Human Rights Watch reported Syrian opposition activists disarming PMN-2 anti-personnel mines and TMN-46 anti-vehicle mines.

16 "Egyptian Jihadist's Path to Syria," BBC, September 25, 2012.

British officials have highlighted how equipment supplied by Qatar, Turkey and Saudi Arabia has already been "leaked" to other groups.[17] U.S. officials relayed this issue to the *New York Times*, claiming, "the opposition groups that are receiving the most of the lethal aid are exactly the ones we don't want to have it."[18] The bottom-up nature of the organized resistance, the changing and competitive networks of patronage, as well as constantly shifting frontlines make it difficult for outside state supporters to transfer weapons to the "right hands." There is also the issue of weaponry captured from the Syrian regime itself; opposition ground forces have already overrun numerous air defense bases and airports.

The rebel uprising in Libya is a pertinent example of how arms intended for one conflict can quickly cause unintended developments elsewhere. Following the collapse of the Qadhafi regime, an authoritarian state's tight control of weaponry suddenly became a source of regional supply. A *New York Times* investigation in June 2012 identified "persistent reports of smuggling—to dealers, insurgents or terrorists in Algeria, Chad, Egypt, Lebanon, Mali, Syria, Tunisia, the Palestinian territories and elsewhere."[19] Some analysts argue that al-Qa`ida in the Islamic Maghreb's control of northern Mali was a direct result of Libyan arms being redeployed to ethno-nationalists and religious extremists in North Africa.

Considering Syria's direct proximity to the Middle East's numerous flashpoints, Washington will want to avoid a repeat of the weapons proliferation that occurred in the Libya conflict. U.S. officials have acknowledged off the record that they are sending more intelligence officers and diplomats to both advise the rebel forces against the Syrian regime and crucially to also watch "for al-Qaeda's infiltration of rebel ranks."[20] Meanwhile, the British government, which is providing $8 million worth of non-lethal support to opposition[21] fighters who "share our values,"[22] are conscious of the dangers of giving direct aid to an opposition that can be divisive.

Moving Forward

With Western powers unwilling to deploy more advisers on the ground in Syria's "liberated areas," Turkey will remain the critical player in the careful balance of responsible support to the opposition that the West is looking to provide. Governments in the United States and United Kingdom will likely continue to pursue the parallel strategy of providing greater support to Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey, while working to unify the Syrian opposition and isolate foreign fighters.

Against the October backdrop of Syrian artillery attacks and the worst violence in Turkey's Kurdish southern areas in a decade, Turkish intelligence continues to play a key role as a gatekeeper of weapons allowed into northern Syria.[23] When Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu warned that his country is willing to risk war to establish safe zones for refugees in northern Syria,[24] Washington and European capitals must realize that a "hands-off" strategy toward the Syrian opposition causes regional powers to lead the way. This could have unpredictable consequences for Western interests.

James Denselow is a Middle East Security Analyst based at King's College London.

17 Personal interviews, anonymous officials, UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office, London, September 14, 2012.

18 Sanger.

19 C.J. Chivers, "Death Illustrates Issues With Loose Weapons Stockpiles in Libya," *New York Times*, June 13, 2012.

20 Kimberly Dozier, "Syria Crisis: U.S. Border Presence Grows," Associated Press, September 9, 2012.

21 Non-lethal support includes training, communications equipment and body armor.

22 Personal interviews, anonymous officials, UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office, London, September 14, 2012.

23 Michael Weiss, "Syrian Rebels Say Turkey is Arming and Training Them," *Telegraph*, May 21, 2012.

24 "Davutoglu Says War Risk Worth Taking in Syria," *Today's Zaman*, September 28, 2012.

Recent Highlights in Terrorist Activity

September 1, 2012 (AFGHANISTAN): Twin Taliban suicide attacks killed 10 civilians and two police officers near a U.S.-run military base in Wardak Province. – *AFP, August 31*

September 1, 2012 (MALI): Islamist militants who control northern Mali overran Douentza, a strategic town close to government-held territory. Fighters belonging to the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO) entered Douentza in 4x4s and disarmed the Gando Iso local militia. MUJAO is affiliated with al-Qa`ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). – *AFP, September 1*

September 1, 2012 (MALI): The Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO) reportedly executed an Algerian diplomat who they took hostage after overrunning the Algerian Embassy in Gao, Mali, in April 2012. – *al-Bawaba, September 2*

September 2, 2012 (YEMEN): A suspected U.S. drone killed 10 alleged members of al-Qa`ida in the Arabian Peninsula, as well as three female companions, in the Rada area of Bayda Province. Later reports in CNN quoted Yemeni security officials as saying that all 13 people killed were civilians, and not members of AQAP, in what amounted to "a mistake." – *AFP, September 2; CNN, September 3*

September 3, 2012 (PAKISTAN): A suicide bomber in an explosives-laden vehicle rammed into a U.S. Consulate sport utility vehicle in Peshawar, wounding two Americans and two Pakistani employees. The attack occurred in a residential area of Peshawar called University Town. – *Reuters, September 3; New York Times, September 3*

September 5, 2012 (YEMEN): A suspected U.S. drone killed five alleged al-Qa`ida in the Arabian Peninsula militants in Hadramawt Province. – *CNN, September 5*

September 7, 2012 (GLOBAL): The U.S. government designated the Haqqani network as a terrorist organization on the State Department's Foreign Terrorist Organizations list. – *Washington Post, September 7*

September 8, 2012 (AFGHANISTAN): A suicide bomber detonated explosives outside NATO headquarters in Kabul, killing six people. – *Australian Broadcasting Corporation, September 8*

September 9, 2012 (IRAQ): A series of car bombs exploded in mainly Shi`a districts in Baghdad after a court sentenced Iraq's fugitive Vice President Tariq al-Hashimi to death. Al-Hashimi is a senior Sunni politician. – *Reuters, September 9*

September 9, 2012 (MALI): A car accident killed a senior commander for al-Qa`ida in the Islamic Maghreb in Gao, located in northern Mali. He was identified as Nabil Makhloufi, an Algerian national. Makhloufi was known as the "*amir* of the Sahara." – *Reuters, September 9; BBC, September 10*

September 10, 2012 (AFGHANISTAN): Militants fired into Bagram Air Base in Kabul, destroying a coalition Chinook CH-47 heavy-transport helicopter and killing three Afghan service members who were on board. An ISAF spokesman said, "We can confirm that an ISAF helicopter was destroyed by indirect fire. The helicopter caught fire after it was hit." – *New York Times, September 11*

September 10, 2012 (PAKISTAN): A car bomb exploded at a market in Parachinar, Kurram Agency of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas. The explosion killed at least 12 people. – *BBC, September 10*

September 10, 2012 (INDONESIA): A would-be suicide bomber decided to turn himself in to authorities rather than carry through with his planned attack. He told police that he was supposed to attack any of the following four targets in Jakarta: the tactical police headquarters, a police station, the counterterrorism force Detachment 88, or a Buddhist community headquarters. – *Australian Broadcasting Corporation, September 11*

September 10, 2012 (SOMALIA): Somalia's parliament elected Hassan Sheikh Mohamud as the country's new president. – *Voice of America, September 10*

September 11, 2012 (GLOBAL): Al-Qa`ida chief Ayman al-Zawahiri confirmed that senior leader Abu Yahya al-Libi was killed earlier in the year. In June, the U.S. government announced that it had killed Abu Yahya in an airstrike in Pakistan, but al-Zawahiri's statement was the first official al-Qa`ida confirmation of his death. - *Reuters, September 11; Voice of America, September 11*

September 11, 2012 (LIBYA): Militants attacked the U.S. Consulate in Benghazi, killing four U.S. Foreign Service members, including U.S. Ambassador to Libya Christopher Stevens. – *AP, September 13*

September 11, 2012 (TURKEY): A suicide bomber killed at least one police officer at the Sultangazi district police station in Istanbul. A Turkish leftist group, the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party/Front (Dev Sol), claimed responsibility. – *CNN, September 11; BBC, September 11*

September 12, 2012 (PAKISTAN): Al-Qa`ida released a new video of American hostage Warren Weinstein, who was kidnapped from his home in Lahore in August 2011. Weinstein is 71-years-old, and is likely being held in the tribal regions along Pakistan's border with Afghanistan. – *ABC News, September 12*

September 12, 2012 (SOMALIA): Two al-Shabab suicide bombers attempted to assassinate the new president of Somalia, Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, at a hotel in one of the most secure areas of Mogadishu. Mohamud was meeting with Kenya's foreign minister at the time of the blasts, and both men escaped injury. Eight people were killed. – *Reuters, September 12*

September 13, 2012 (GLOBAL): Al-Qa`ida chief Ayman al-Zawahiri released a new message calling on Muslims to support Syrian rebels. – *Reuters, September 13*

September 14, 2012 (UNITED STATES): Authorities arrested Adel Daoud, an 18-year-old suburban Chicago man, who is accused of attempting to detonate what he thought was a car bomb outside a Chicago bar. "Mr. Daoud, a United States citizen who lives in Hillside, Ill., on the outskirts of Chicago, has been under surveillance for months, and in multiple conversations with [FBI] agents expressed a desire to kill on a mass scale as revenge for what he believed was the persecution of Muslims by the United States," wrote the *New York Times*. Officials said that Daoud considered 29 possible targets, "including military recruiting centers, bars, malls and other tourist attractions in the Chicago area." – *New York Times, September 15*

September 14, 2012 (UNITED STATES): A U.S. federal court in Virginia sentenced Amine Mohammed El Khalifi to 30 years in prison for plotting to execute a suicide bombing at the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C. As stated by the *Washington Post*, Khalifi, an illegal immigrant from Morocco, "was arrested in February [2012] heading to the Capitol with what he thought was an explosives-laden vest and a loaded gun. Undercover FBI agents had provided both weapons, which were rendered inoperable." – *Washington Post, September 14*

September 14, 2012 (AFGHANISTAN): Taliban militants dressed in U.S. Army uniforms attacked Camp Bastion in southern Helmand Province, killing two U.S. Marines. Britain's Prince Harry was at the camp at the time of the attack, but he was reportedly "never in any danger." The large-scale attack destroyed or severely damaged eight fighter jets. According to the *New York Times*, "The complex attack, which NATO officials said was conducted by three tightly choreographed teams of militants wearing American Army uniforms, was a reminder that the Taliban remain capable of serious assaults..." The militants managed to enter the base perimeter and penetrate the facility. – *Reuters, September 15; New York Times, September 16*

September 14, 2012 (KENYA): Police in Nairobi foiled a terrorist attack after raiding a house in Eastleigh district. During the operation, which uncovered suicide bombs and assault rifles, police arrested two suspects of Somali origin. – *CapitalFM News, September 14; Reuters, September 14*

September 16, 2012 (PAKISTAN): A roadside bomb killed 14 civilians in Lower Dir District of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. The Pakistani Taliban released a statement and said that the attack was revenge after villagers in the area formed a pro-government militia. – *Reuters, September 15*

September 17, 2012 (IRAQ): A suicide bomber detonated an explosives-laden vehicle at a Green Zone checkpoint, killing seven Iraqis. - *Telegraph, September 17; Reuters, September 17*

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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.

September 17, 2012 (NIGERIA): Nigerian soldiers reportedly killed Abu Qaqa, the spokesman for the militant group Boko Haram. On October 1, however, Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau claimed that Abu Qaqa was still alive, but in the custody of Nigerian security forces. – *Voice of America, September 17; Reuters, October 1*

September 17, 2012 (NIGERIA): Suspected members of Boko Haram assassinated the attorney general of Borno State at his home. – *Reuters, September 18*

September 18, 2012 (AFGHANISTAN): A suicide bomber rammed an explosives-laden vehicle into a minibus carrying foreign aviation workers in Kabul, killing at least 12 people including eight South Africans. Hizb-i-Islami claimed responsibility, and claimed that the suicide bomber was a woman who was angry over an anti-Islam film that ridiculed the Prophet Muhammad. – *AP, September 18*

September 20, 2012 (GLOBAL): U.S.-born al-Qa`ida member Adam Gadahn released a new video in support of rebel uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa. – *CNN, September 25*

September 20, 2012 (SOMALIA): At least one suicide bomber killed approximately eight people at the popular Village Café restaurant in Mogadishu. Three journalists from the state-run broadcasting services were among the dead. – *Sky News Australia, September 21; CNN, September 21*

September 22, 2012 (SOMALIA): Gunmen assassinated a member of Somalia's newly formed parliament outside his home in Waberi district of Mogadishu. – *CNN, September 23*

September 23, 2012 (INDONESIA): Indonesian police announced that they arrested nine men accused of planning suicide attacks against the security forces and other government targets in Jakarta. It was not immediately clear if the group had connections to established terrorist organizations. – *al-Jazira, September 23*

September 23, 2012 (NIGER): State Security Police arrested five suspected Boko Haram members who entered Niger from Nigeria through the Zinder region. – *Reuters, September 25*

September 24, 2012 (PAKISTAN): A U.S. drone killed six suspected militants near Mir Ali, North Waziristan Agency of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas. One of those killed has been identified as Abu Kasha al-Iraqi, a high-ranking al-Qa`ida planner and facilitator. – *Deutsche Press Agency, September 26, 2012*

September 26, 2012 (SYRIA): A suicide bomber detonated an explosives-laden vehicle outside the perimeter fence of Syria's military headquarters in Damascus. Seconds after the explosion, another suicide bomber detonated explosives within the grounds of the facility. Four guards were killed by the blasts. – *Washington Post, September 26*

September 27, 2012 (IRAQ): A suicide bomber reportedly detonated an explosives-laden vehicle at the gate of Tikrit prison, freeing dozens of convicted Islamic State of Iraq militants. The prison uprising left 16 security force members dead. – *AFP, September 28*

September 28, 2012 (SOMALIA): Kenyan troops launched a predawn beach landing at Kismayo port in southern Somalia, hoping to push al-Shabab out of its last major stronghold. Reports suggested that during the early morning hours of September 29, most al-Shabab militants withdrew from Kismayo rather than face the better-equipped Kenyan troops. – *AP, September 28; New York Times, September 29*

September 28, 2012 (NIGERIA): Nigeria's military said that it arrested a number of security personnel due to their connections with Boko Haram. One of those arrested was an immigration officer. According to a Nigerian military official, the immigration officer "confessed to having been trained alongside 15 other members of the sect on weapon handling, assassination and special operations in Niger republic." – *AFP, September 28*

September 30, 2012 (IRAQ): Coordinated bombs exploded in Shi`a neighborhoods across Iraq, killing at least 26 people. – *AP, September 30*

September 30, 2012 (SYRIA): A suicide bomber in an explosives-laden vehicle targeted a government security compound in Qamishli, located in the country's mainly Kurdish northeast near the Turkish border. Several people were killed. – *Voice of America, September 30*