Back to the Future
The Resurgence of Salafi-Jihadists

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Chairman McKeon, Ranking Member Smith, and members of the Committee, thank you for inviting me to testify at this hearing, “The State of Al-Qaeda, its Affiliates, and Associated Groups.”

There is considerable disagreement about the strength and composition of al Qa’ida and the broader milieu of Salafi-jihadist groups. Some argue that al Qa’ida – especially core al Qa’ida – has been severely weakened, and there is no longer a major threat to the United States from terrorist groups. According to University of Chicago professor John Mearsheimer: “Terrorism – most of it arising from domestic groups – was a much bigger problem in the United States during the 1970s than it has been since the Twin Towers were toppled.” Former CIA operations officer Marc Sageman concludes that “al Qaeda is no longer seen as an existential threat to the West.” Some contend that the most acute threat to the United States comes from home grown terrorists. Others maintain that al Qa’ida is resilient and remains a serious threat to the United States. Finally, some claim that while the al Qa’ida organization established by Osama bin Laden is in decline, “al Qa’idism” – a decentralized amalgam of freelance extremist groups – is far from dead.
Which of these arguments is right? This testimony makes several arguments. First, there has been an increase in the number of Salafi-jihadist groups and followers over the past several years, particularly in North Africa and the Levant. Examples include groups operating in such countries as Tunisia, Algeria, Mali, Libya, Egypt (including the Sinai), Lebanon, and Syria. There has also been an increase in the number of attacks perpetrated by al Qa’ida and its affiliates. Second, however, the broader Salafi-jihadist movement has become more decentralized. While there are some similarities among Salafi-jihadists, there are also substantial differences. Salafi-jihadist leaders and groups often disagree about the size and global nature of their desired emirate, whether to attack Shi’a, and the legitimacy of striking civilian targets. Third, only some of these groups are currently targeting the U.S. homeland and its interests overseas like U.S. embassies and its citizens. The most concerning are al Qa’ida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and inspired individuals like the 2013 Boston Marathon bombers, though the growing number of Western fighters traveling to Syria to fight against the Assad government presents a potential threat.

The rest of this testimony is divided into four sections. The first examines the organizational structure and capabilities of al Qa’ida and other Salafi-jihadist groups. The second section explores reasons for the resurgence of Salafi-jihadists. The third section outlines threats to the U.S. homeland and U.S. interests overseas. And the fourth provides general policy recommendations.

**The Organization and Capabilities of Salafi-Jihadists**

The unfortunate tendency among some journalists and pundits to lump all Islamic terrorists as “al Qa’ida” has clouded a proper assessment of the movement. Consequently, I will focus on al Qa’ida and other Salafi-jihadists. Used in this context, the term Salafi-jihadists refers to individuals and groups – including al Qa’ida – that meet two criteria. First, they emphasize the importance of returning to a “pure” Islam, that of the Salaf, the pious ancestors. Second, they believe that violent jihad is fard ‘ayn (a personal religious duty).9 Salafi-jihadists consider violent jihad a permanent and individual duty.10 Many Salafists are opposed to armed jihad and advocate the da’wa or “call” to Islam through proselytizing and preaching Islam. But Salafi-jihadists like al Qa’ida leader Ayman al-Zawahiri support both Salafism and armed jihad.11

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9 See, for example, bin Laden’s fatwa published in the London newspaper *Al-Quds al-‘Arabi* in February 1998, which noted that “to kill Americans is a personal duty for all Muslims.” The text can be found at: http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/military/jan-june98/fatwa_1998.html.


Today, this movement is increasingly decentralized among four tiers: (1) core al Qa’ida in Pakistan, led by Ayman al-Zawahiri; (2) a half dozen formal affiliates that have sworn allegiance to core al Qa’ida (located in Syria, Iraq, Somalia, Yemen, and North Africa); (3) a panoply of Salafi-jihadist groups that have not sworn allegiance to al Qa’ida, but are committed to establishing an extremist Islamic emirate; and (4) inspired individuals and networks.

1. **Core Al Qa’ida:** The first tier includes the organization’s leaders, most of whom are based in Pakistan. Al Qa’ida leaders refer to this broader area as Khurasan, a historical reference to the territory that once included Persia, Central Asia, Afghanistan, and parts of northwestern Pakistan during the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates. Core al Qa’ida is led by Ayman al-Zawahiri. There are still a range of Americans in core al Qa’ida (such as Adam Gadahn) and operatives that have lived in America (such as Adnan el Shukrijumah), who are committed to targeting the United States. Al Qa’ida’s senior leadership retains some oversight of the affiliates and, when necessary, may attempt to adjudicate disputes among affiliates or provide strategic guidance. But Zawahiri’s challenges with the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) in 2013 and 2014 highlight core al Qa’ida’s limitations in enforcing its judgments. Around July 2013, Zawahiri took an unprecedented step by appointing Nasir al-Wuhayshi, the emir of AQAP, as his deputy, elevating the importance of Yemen for core al Qa’ida.

2. **Affiliated Groups:** The next tier includes affiliated groups that have become formal branches of al Qa’ida. What distinguishes “affiliates” from other types of Salafi-jihadist groups is the decision by their leaders to swear bay’at (allegiance) to al Qa’ida leaders in Pakistan. These organizations include ISIS based in Iraq, AQAP based in Yemen, al Shabaab based in Somalia, al Qa’ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) based in Algeria and neighboring countries, and Jabhat al-Nusrah based in Syria. All of the groups became formal affiliates within the past decade: ISIS in 2004, initially as al Qa’ida in Iraq; AQIM in 2006; AQAP in 2009; al Shabaab in 2012; and Jabhat al-Nusra in 2013 after breaking away from ISIS.

There has been an increase in the number of attacks from al Qa’ida and its affiliates. Most of these attacks have occurred in “near enemy” countries and against local targets. A further breakdown of the data shows that violence levels are highest in Yemen (from AQAP), Somalia (from al Shabaab), Iraq (from ISIS), and Syria (from ISIS and Jabhat al-Nusra). These attacks include a mixture of suicide attacks, complex attacks using multiple individuals and cells, assassinations, and various types of improvised explosive devices against local government targets and civilians.

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12 See, for example, letter from Ayman al-Zawahiri to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and Abu Muhammad al-Jawlani, May 2013.
13 These dates refer to the year in which the affiliate publicly announced that their emirs had sworn bay’at to al Qa’ida central leaders.
14 Data are from the Global Terrorism Database at the University of Maryland’s National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START). Accessed on January 12, 2014, at www.start.umd.edu/gtd/.
3. Allied Groups: Next are a series of allied Salafi-jihadist groups whose leaders have not sworn bay'at to core al Qaeda in Pakistan. This arrangement allows these Salafi-jihadist groups to remain independent and pursue their own goals, but to work with al Qaeda for specific operations or training purposes when their interests converge. There are a substantial number of allied Salafi-jihadist groups across Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and the Caucasus. Perhaps most concerning, there has been an increase in the number, size, and activity of Salafi-jihadist groups in two areas: North Africa and the Levant. Examples include the Mohammad Jamal Network (Egypt), Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis (Egypt), Mujahideen Shura Council (Egypt), Ansar al-Sharia Libya (Libya), al-Murabitun (Algeria and other countries), Ansar al-Sharia Tunisia (Tunisia), Harakat Ansar al-Din (Mali), and Boko Haram (Nigeria).

Figure 1: Example of Core Al Qaeda, Affiliates, and Other Salafi-Jihadist Groups

4. Inspired Individuals and Networks: The last tier includes those individuals and networks with no direct contact to core al Qaeda, but who are inspired by the al Qaeda cause and outraged by perceived oppression of Muslims in Afghanistan, Chechnya, Palestinian territory, and other countries. They tend to be motivated by a hatred of the West and its allied regimes in the Middle East. Without direct support,
these individuals and networks tend to be amateurish, though they can occasionally be lethal. Tamerlan Tsarnaev, the ringleader of the 2013 Boston Marathon bombings, was motivated by the extremist preaching of now-deceased AQAP operative Anwar al-Awlaki, among others. Tsarnaev and his brother also used al Qa’ida propaganda materials, including an article from *Inspire* magazine, as guides to build their bombs. But many other plots were rudimentary, and their half-baked plans would have been difficult to execute.

**Why a Resurgence?**

The rise in Salafi-jihadists groups has likely been caused by two factors. One is the growing weakness of governments across Africa and the Middle East, which has created an opportunity for Salafi-jihadist groups to secure a foothold. The logic is straightforward: weak governments have difficulty establishing law and order, which permits militant groups and other sub-state actors to fill the vacuum.16

Governance, as used here, is defined as the set of institutions by which authority in a country is exercised.17 It includes the ability to establish law and order, effectively manage resources, and implement sound policies. A large body of quantitative evidence suggests that weak and ineffective governance is critical to the onset of sub-state actors – including insurgent and terrorist groups. One study, for example, analyzed 161 cases over a 54-year period and found that financially, organizationally, and politically weak central governments render insurgencies more feasible and attractive due to weak local policing or inept counterinsurgency practices.18 The reverse is also true: strong governance decreases the probability of insurgency. In looking at 151 cases over a 54-year period, one study found that effective governance is critical to prevent insurgencies, arguing that success requires the “provision of temporary security, the building of new institutions capable of resolving future conflicts peaceably, and an economy capable of offering civilian employment to former soldiers and material progress to future citizens.”19 In addition, strong governmental capacity is a negative and significant predictor of civil war, and between 1816 and 1997 “effective bureaucratic and political systems reduced the rate of civil war activity.”20

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18 Fearon and Laitin, “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War,” pp. 75-76.
20 Hironaka, *Neverending Wars*, p. 45.
There are good reasons to believe that weak governance has contributed to the rise of Salafi-jihadist groups. Since 2010, a year before the Arab uprisings, there has been a significant weakening of governance across the Middle East and North Africa, according to World Bank data. Levels of political stability dropped by 17 percent from 2010 to 2012, government effectiveness by 10 percent, rule of law by 6 percent, and control of corruption by 6 percent across the Middle East and North Africa. Of particular concern, governance deteriorated in numerous countries that saw a rise in Salafi-jihadist groups. Take rule of law, which measures the extent to which agents have confidence in – and abide by – the rules of society, as well as the quality of contract enforcement, property rights, the police, and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence. Between 2010 and 2012, the government’s ability to establish a rule of law declined by 21 percent in Egypt, 31 percent in Libya, 25 percent in Mali, 20 percent in Niger, 17 percent in Nigeria, 61 percent in Syria, and 39 percent in Yemen – according to World Bank data. To make matters worse, most of the countries had low levels of rule of law even before this drop. This decline appears to be, in part, a consequence of the Arab uprisings.

A second factor is the spread of Salafi-jihadist militant networks within the Middle East and Africa. Operatives who have spent time training at al Qa’ida and other Salafi-jihadist camps or fighting in countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya have moved to new countries in North Africa and the Levant and established Salafi-jihadist groups.

Individuals that spend time at training camps generally establish trusted social relationships. Training camps provide a unique environment for terrorists to pray together, reinforcing their ideological views; share meals; train together in classrooms, at shooting ranges, and through physical conditioning; socialize with each other during breaks; and, after training is completed, sometimes fight together. Camps create and reinforce a shared religious identity and strategic culture dedicated to overthrowing infidel regimes. For example, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, who attempted to blow up an airplane landing in Detroit on Christmas Day 2009, attended an al Qa’ida training camp in the Shabwah region of Yemen. There were over two-dozen fighters who dug trenches, crawled through barbed wire, and practiced tactical movements such as clearing buildings. The daily routine at the training camp consisted of rising early, praying, reading the Qur’an, completing warm-up drills, and conducting tactical training. After lunch, the students completed additional tactical training drills and stayed in tents at night. The social

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25 See, for example, Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab Comments, Training Video of Abdulmutallab, Al Malahim Media Foundation (al Qa’ida in the Arabian Peninsula), Released in 2010.
interaction during daily routines experienced by individuals like Abdulmutallab creates a strong bond among operatives.

While there is limited data on foreign fighter flows, there is some evidence that individuals from al Qa’ida and other Salafi-jihadist camps and battle fronts have migrated to the Middle East and North Africa. In Syria, for example, Jabhat al-Nusrah leaders, including Abu Mohammed al-Jawlani, were veterans of the Iraq war and members of al Qa’ida in Iraq. Mohktar Belmokhtar, the emir of Al-Murabitun, split off from AQIM in 2012 and had spent time in al Qa’ida training camps in Africa in the 1990s. In Egypt, Muhammad Jamal trained in Afghanistan in the late 1980s with al Qa’ida, where he learned to make bombs. In Tunisia, Ansar al-Sharia’s leader, Sayfallah Ben Hassine, spent considerable time at training camps in Afghanistan in the late 1990s and early 2000s, where he apparently met Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri.

The Threat to the United States

Not all Salafi-jihadist groups present a direct threat to the U.S. homeland. In the near term, AQAP likely presents the most immediate threat, along with inspired networks and individuals like the Tsarnaev brothers that perpetrated the April 2013 Boston Marathon bombings. The growth in social media and the terrorist use of chat rooms, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and other sites has facilitated radicalization inside the United States. While al Qa’ida leaders did not organize the Boston attacks, they played a key role by making available the propaganda material and bomb-making instructions utilized by the Tsarnaevs.

Other affiliates do not appear to pose an immediate threat to the U.S. homeland. AQIM is focused on overthrowing regimes in North Africa, including Algeria. Al Shabaab’s objectives are largely parochial, and it has conducted attacks in Somalia and the region. But al Shabaab possesses a competent external operations capability to strike targets outside of Somalia. The Westgate Mall attack was well-planned and well-executed, and involved sophisticated intelligence collection, surveillance, and reconnaissance of the target. These skills could be used for other types of attacks directly targeting the United States and its


citizens. In addition, Americans from cities like Phoenix and Minneapolis have traveled to Somalia over the past several years to fight with al Shabaab. Between 2007 and 2010, more than 40 Americans joined al Shabaab, making the United States a primary exporter of Western fighters to the al Qa’ida-affiliated group.29 And ISIS and Jahbat al-Nusrah are primarily interested in establishing Islamic emirates in Iraq, Syria, and the broader region.

Still, several Salafi-jihadist groups pose a threat to the United States overseas. Ansar al-Sharia in Tunisia, for instance, has planned attacks against U.S. diplomats and infrastructure in Tunis, including the U.S. embassy. Operatives from Ansar al-Sharia Libya, the Muhammad Jamal Network, and AQIM were involved in the 2012 attack that killed U.S. Ambassador Christopher Stevens. Several Salafi-jihadist groups pose a threat to the forthcoming Sochi Winter Olympics, including Imirat Kavkaz based out of the North Caucasus and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan.

Other groups, like Jabhat al-Nusrah, could be a long-term threat. Jabhat al-Nusrah’s access to foreign fighters, external network in Europe and other areas, and bomb-making expertise suggest that it may already have the capability to plan and support attacks against the West. There appears to be a growing contingent of foreign fighters – perhaps several thousand – traveling to Syria to fight in the war. A substantial portion of these fighters are coming from the region, including Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq. Some have come from Chechnya. Others have apparently come from Afghanistan and Pakistan. But a significant number also appear to be coming from the West, especially from Belgium, France, and Sweden. Extremists have traveled to Syria from other European countries. According to Spanish officials, for example, a network based in Spain and Morocco sent approximately two dozen fighters to Jabhat al-Nusrah over the past year. It is unclear how many of these fighters have returned to the West, but some have apparently returned to Germany, Denmark, Spain, and Norway among others. In October 2012, authorities in Kosovo arrested the extremist Shurki Aliu, who had traveled from Syria to Kosovo and was involved in recruiting and providing material to Syrian opposition groups. A small number of Americans – roughly one hundred – have apparently traveled to Syria to support the Syrian opposition.30

It is currently unclear whether most of these fighters will remain in Syria over the long run, move to other war zones such as North Africa, or return to the West. And even if some return, it is uncertain whether they will become involved in terrorist plots, focus on recruiting and fundraising, or become disillusioned with terrorism. Still, foreign fighters have historically been agents of instability. They can affect the conflicts they join, as they did in post-2003 Iraq by promoting sectarian violence and indiscriminate tactics. Perhaps more important, foreign fighter mobilizations empower transnational terrorist groups such as al Qa'ida, because volunteering for war is the principal stepping-stone for individual involvement in

30 Author interview with government officials from Europe and the Middle East, December 2013. This “support” ranges from fighting to assisting non-governmental organizations aiding the Syrian opposition.
more extreme forms of militancy. When Muslims in the West radicalize, they usually do not plot attacks in their home country right away, but travel to a war zone first. A majority of al Qaeda operatives began their militant careers as war volunteers, and most transnational jihadi groups today are by-products of foreign fighter mobilizations.31

**Key Steps**

Based on these developments, U.S. policymakers should be concerned about the number, size, and activity of al Qaeda and other Salafi-jihadist groups. Some of these groups pose a direct threat to the U.S. homeland, embassies, and citizens overseas, while others are currently targeting local regimes.

Yet Salafi-jihadist groups are vulnerable for several reasons. First, the decentralized structure of Salafi-jihadist groups creates potential weaknesses. Decentralized groups are more likely to face principal-agent problems since it is more difficult to detect and discipline operatives engaged in shirking or defection. In addition, there is a higher possibility of division with decentralized groups, making it easier for government agencies to play groups against each other and sow discord among them. The 2014 fighting between Jabhat al-Nusrah and ISIS provides recent evidence. Second, there is little popular support for al Qaeda and other Salafi-jihadist groups, including in North Africa and the Levant. As Ayman al-Zawahiri explained in his *General Guidelines for Jihad*, an important goal of the movement is “to create awareness in the Ummah regarding the threat posed by the Crusader onslaught.”32 But for Salafi-jihadists like Zawahiri, their ummah is small. Third, governance appears to be strengthening in some countries. One example is Somalia. The Transitional Federal Government has reduced al Shabaab’s control of territory to portions of southern Somalia with support from Kenya, Uganda, the African Union Mission in Somalia, pro-government militias, and Western countries like the United States.

Still, an effective U.S. strategy needs to begin with an honest assessment of the problem. Three steps can help weaken al Qaeda in the future.

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The first is implementing a robust strategy that focuses on covert intelligence, law enforcement, special operations, and diplomatic activity to target Salafi-jihadist groups plotting attacks against the United States, as well as the financial and logistical networks of these groups. The United States should refrain from deploying large numbers of conventional forces to Muslim countries, which is likely to radicalize local populations. In cases where al Qa’ida and other Salafi-jihadists are already plotting attacks against the U.S. homeland or U.S. interests overseas, a failure to become directly engaged could severely jeopardize U.S. national security. The risks of not being engaged would be serious. Americans could die and there would likely be substantial political costs if Americans concluded that U.S. policymakers did not do enough to prevent an attack.

The second step is helping local governments establish basic law and order as a bulwark against al Qa’ida and other extremists. In cases where al Qa’ida and other Salafi-jihadists do not pose a significant threat to the homeland or U.S. interests overseas, the United States should support local governments and allies as they take the lead. A good example is the French-led operation in Mali in 2013. In these cases, the United States may refrain from directly targeting terrorists but still deploy small numbers of U.S. military forces, intelligence operatives, diplomats, and other government personnel to train and equip local security forces, collect intelligence, and undermine terrorist financing.

The third is aggressively undermining al Qa’ida’s extremist ideology. In 1999, the State Department disbanded the U.S. Information Agency, which played a prominent role in countering Soviet ideology during the Cold War. Today, no U.S. government agency has the lead role for countering the ideology of al Qa’ida and its broader movement. But an effective campaign has to be done carefully, covertly, and led by credible Muslims in these countries. In the end, the struggle against the al Qa’ida movement will be long – measured in decades, not months or years. Much like the Cold War, it is also predominantly an ideological struggle. As Ayman al-Zawahiri wrote in 2012: “The strength of al-Qa’ida … is derived from the message it spreads to the ummah and the downtrodden all around the globe.”

Other Salafi-jihadist leaders agree. AQAP leader Nasir al-Wahishi remarked: “Our most important weapon is the media. You

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Chairman McKeon, Ranking Member Smith, and members of the Committee, thank you again for organizing this hearing. I look forward to your questions.

34 Letter from Nasir al-Wahishi to Emir of Al Qa’ida in the Islamic Maghreb, May 21, 2012, Associated Press collection. The document is part of a cache of documents that the Associated Press found on the floor in a building occupied by al Qa’ida fighters in Mali.