**Boko Haram**

**Name:** Boko Haram

**Type of Organization:**
- Insurgent
- territory-controlling
- terrorist
- violent

**Ideologies and Affiliations:**
- ISIS-affiliated group
- Islamist
- jihadist
- Salafist
- takfiri

**Place of Origin:**
Maiduguri, Nigeria

**Year of Origin:**
2002

**Founder(s):**
Mohammed Yusuf

**Places of Operation:**
Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, and Niger

**Overview**

*Also known as:*
- Islamic State’s West Africa Province (Iswap)¹
- Jama’atu Ahlis Sunnar Lidda’awati Wal-Jihad²
- Jama’atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda’awati Wal Jihad³
- Jama’atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda’awati Wal-Jihad⁴
- Nigerian Taliban⁵
- Wilayat Gharb Ifriqiyya⁶
- People Committed To The Prophet’s Teachings For Propagation And Jihad⁷
- Sunni Group For Preaching And Jihad⁸
- Islamic State in West Africa (ISWA)⁹

**Executive Summary:**

Boko Haram is an ISIS-aligned jihadist group based in northeastern Nigeria, also active in Cameroon, Chad, and Niger.¹⁰ The group promotes a Salafist-jihadist brand of Islam and seeks to establish a caliphate, or Islamic state, in Nigeria.¹¹ To achieve this goal, the group has carried out large-scale attacks inside Nigeria, including an attack on the U.N. headquarters in Abuja in 2011,¹² the abduction of nearly 300 schoolgirls in April 2014,¹³ and the multi-day massacre of the
northern town of Baga and surrounding villages in January 2015 that killed approximately 2,000 civilians. In November 2018, Boko Haram attacked a military base in Borno state—looting weapons, equipment, and vehicles, and leaving more than 100 soldiers dead. Since 2009, Boko Haram has claimed the lives of some 30,000 people, and displaced over two million, according to a January 2019 Defense Post report.

As noted by the U.N. Security Council, Boko Haram has maintained ties to al-Qaeda’s North African branch, al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) [2]. Various Boko Haram members trained and fought alongside AQIM in Mali before returning to Nigeria. In March 2015, however, longtime Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau [3] pledged allegiance to ISIS [4] on behalf of the Nigerian terror group. In August 2016, following months of mounting tension between Shekau and ISIS leadership, ISIS unilaterally announced a replacement for Shekau, Abu Musab al-Barnawi [5], though Shekau refused to cede authority to the new leader. Boko Haram militants have subsequently been divided in their loyalties to Shekau and Barnawi, with the two factions occasionally engaging in clashes, resulting in the death of several of Shekau’s associates.

Boko Haram was founded in 2002 in Maiduguri, Nigeria, by a Salafist cleric named Mohammed Yusuf. Although Yusuf called for the establishment of an Islamic state in Nigeria, at the time he did not pursue violence as a means to achieve it. That approach changed in 2009, when Boko Haram members took up violence in response to a Nigerian government crackdown and the killing of its leader. Boko Haram has since launched paramilitary campaigns targeting the Nigerian government and its neighbors as well as dozens of terrorist attacks, increasingly perpetrated by child suicide bombers. In addition, the fluid security situation in and around Nigeria has enabled militants to cross into Cameroon, Chad, and Niger, in order to evade Nigerian security forces and carry out regional attacks.

Though originally an underground movement, Boko Haram has seized and held land in northeastern Nigeria in order to realize its vision of an Islamic state. Between 2011 and 2015, the group captured territory roughly the size of Belgium. Since 2015, the Nigerian military has dislodged Boko Haram from almost all of the territory it previously controlled. As of June 2018, Boko Haram’s geographic reach consists of Nigeria’s northeastern states of Adamawa, Borno, and Yobe, as well as to regions along the border with Cameroon, and around Lake Chad.

Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari prematurely declared victory against Boko Haram in December 2015, though the announcement was followed by successive suicide bombings perpetrated by the terror group in the country’s northeast. The group has been designated as a terrorist organization by the United States, the United Nations, and the European Union.

**Doctrine:**

Boko Haram subscribes to a Salafist-jihadist ideology. Before rebranding as the Islamic State’s West Africa Province (Wilayat Gharb Ifriqiya) in March 2015, the group commonly referred to itself as Jama’atu Ahlis Sunnar Lidda’awati Wal-Jihad, which broadly translates to “people committed to the propagation of the Prophet’s teachings and jihad.” Boko Haram—the name given to the group by the Hausa-speaking residents in northeast Nigeria—translates to “Western education is sin.”

Like other Salafist groups, Boko Haram seeks to exemplify the community of Muslims (salafs, or ancestors) who lived during and immediately after the time of the Islamic prophet Muhammad. The group’s founder, Mohammed Yusuf, trained as a Salafist preacher and adhered to the teachings of Ibn Taymiyya, a 14th century scholar who preached tenets of Islamic fundamentalism. Following Yusuf’s death in 2009, the group took up the practice of takfir, whereby a Muslim is able to excommunicate and kill other Muslims whom they deem to be non-believers. In defending the right to kill his “non-believing” coreligionists, Shekau has claimed that a non-believer’s supposed “ignorance” of Boko Haram’s tenets should
Boko Haram

not be “taken into consideration” before killing him.  

Because of the group’s decentralized structure, not all fighters necessarily follow Salafi-takfirist doctrine. Indeed, many members may be non-religious individuals motivated by real and perceived grievances including failures of local governance, sectarian tensions between Christians and Muslims, and the large economic disparity in Nigeria.

Nonetheless, a strain within Boko Haram adheres to violent and extremist practices that even ISIS has at times deemed too brutal.

Some analysts have suggested that in recent years, the group has fragmented between factions stressing the need to build stronger links with international terrorist organizations and factions that seek to maintain the group’s exclusively domestic focus with the aim of establishing an Islamic state in Nigeria. In March 2015, Shekau pledged allegiance to ISIS on behalf of his terror group. ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghda...
In August 2016—nearly a year and a half after Boko Haram pledged allegiance to ISIS under Shekau—the Nigerian terror group split into warring factions: one loyal to Shekau, and the other to ISIS-appointed leader Abu Musab al-Barnawi. The split came after ISIS announced Barnawi’s appointment on August 2nd, and Shekau swiftly released an audio message in which he denied the leadership change and referred to ISIS’s announcement as a coup. Shekau nonetheless reportedly reaffirmed his pledge of allegiance to ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, referring to Baghdadi in subsequent audio recordings as “caliph.” The faction loyal to Shekau has usually been referred to as Boko Haram or Islamic State’s West Africa Province (ISWAP), whereas only al-Barnawi’s actions have been reported by ISIS central as the Islamic State in West Africa (ISWA). The two factions were reported to have clashed in the following months, resulting in the death of several of Shekau’s associates.

The August 2016 split followed months of growing tension within Boko Haram’s ranks. In June 2016, U.S. Marine Lieutenant General Thomas Waldhauser told the senate that several months earlier, “about half” of Boko Haram’s militants had split from Shekau due to his alleged failure to adhere to ISIS’s counsel. According to Waldhauser, Shekau had not obeyed ISIS’s orders to stop attacking other Muslims, and to cease using children as suicide bombers. Boko Haram has long been a fractious organization composed of various factions and offshoots. As of 2018, the most pronounced division within the group is between those loyal to Shekau and those loyal to Abu Musab al-Barnawi. Each of these camps has, in turn, a unique set of internal disputes. For example, a segment of al-Barnawi’s followers reputedly opposed his military chief Mamman Nur’s leniency in negotiations with the Nigerian government. Tension within the ranks of al-Barnawi’s faction reportedly escalated after Nur failed to exact ransom before releasing 104 of the Dapchi schoolgirls kidnapped in February 2018. Nur was allegedly killed by his own men on August 21, 2018. Boko Haram leader Ali Gaga was also executed by his own men on September 27, 2018, because he allegedly plotted to escape along with over 300 Boko Haram captives and to surrender to the Nigerian military. According to Colonel Timothy Antigha of the Multinational Joint Task Force, these incidents help portray Boko Haram as a well policed and strictly governed organization that does not tolerate disloyalty from anyone, irrespective of position or authority. However, these incidents may also indicate an emerging confidence crisis and fundamental problems with leadership and followership.

**Financing:**

In the early 2000s, Boko Haram founder Mohammed Yusuf reportedly received funding from Osama bin Laden, who distributed $3 million to Nigerian Salafi groups. Today, Boko Haram is believed to rely on a combination of local funding sources and lucrative criminal activity, particularly kidnapping for ransom. Its members have kidnapped foreigners and wealthy Nigerians since early 2013. The group has also reportedly received $3.15 million from French and Cameroonian negotiators in exchange for a French family the group abducted from northern Cameroon in February of that year. U.S. officials have estimated that Boko Haram receives approximately $1 million for the kidnapping and release of each wealthy Nigerian it abducts.

Boko Haram is also believed to finance itself through bank robberies, protection money from local governors, and foreign donations. It is suspected that the group also receives funding from local religious sympathizers and individuals opposing the Nigerian government. Some security analysts have noted that Boko Haram may be less reliant on large funding streams because it does not purchase sophisticated weaponry and runs low-cost operations.

The group has received limited funding from AQIM, but that support has reportedly had little impact on Boko Haram’s overall funding. Since the group pledged allegiance to ISIS in March 2015, this source of funding may have dried up, given the enmity and competition between al-Qaeda and ISIS. Boko Haram’s financial relationship with other extremist groups also appears limited. In 2016, reports emerged of starving Boko Haram members surrendering to Nigerian security forces, indicating that the group was continuing to suffer from major financial strains.
Recruitment:

Nigerians are likely to join Boko Haram for a variety of reasons. Among these motivations are belief in the group’s religious ideology, coercion tactics by Boko Haram soldiers, and local grievances, which may include insufficient access to government employment opportunities and other basic services, as well as humanitarian rights abuses such as unlawful arrests and torture. Recruits may also be drawn to join the group due to familial ties to other members.73

Increasingly, Boko Haram is believed to forcibly conscript its members.74 Between 2014 and 2016, the group reportedly abducted 10,000 boys and trained them as foot soldiers.75 One such individual told humanitarian aid agency Mercy Corps: “[Boko Haram] invaded our village and asked all the youth to come out and follow them or be killed….after they killed the first person who complained of this, we all followed them.”76 Boko Haram is believed to send many of these conscripted recruits to Cameroon where they are “re-educated” with Boko Haram’s ideology, according to analyst Jacob Zenn.77

Boko Haram has also attempted to recruit members by offering financial loans, referred to by the Nigerian military as “clandestine dispensation.”78 Such financial support may be attractive to aspiring business owners already disillusioned by the severe lack of economic opportunity in northern Nigeria. These individuals are believed to either accept loans from the group prior to joining, or join with the expectation of receiving the funds.79 Either way, “the payment has been surreptitiously programmed to fail by the benefactor, the Boko Haram,” according to an April 2016 statement by the Nigerian military.80

Training:

At the start of Boko Haram’s military campaign in 2009, its members used elementary tactics, such as drive-by shootings, which did not require advanced training. That process changed as the group began employing more advanced forms of weaponry, including explosives assembled by members who had previously trained alongside al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).81

Boko Haram has revealed little about how it trains its soldiers. Besides operating training camps in Nigeria,82 the group is believed to train its soldiers in Cameroon83 and Somalia.84 In early 2015, Boko Haram alluded to its indoctrination and training of children when it released photos via Twitter depicting child soldier training camps.85 The group has reportedly trained children as young as 6 years old to carry bombs into mosques and market places.86 In addition, many of the women and girls abducted by the terror group in recent years have been forced to carry out suicide missions.87

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Boko Haram


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Boko Haram

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Boko Haram


Boko Haram


Key Leaders

Abubakar Shekau
Leader

Abu Musab al-Barnawi
ISIS-appointed leader (since August 2016)

Mamman Nur
Third in command (reportedly)

Khalid Al-Barnawi
Allegedly leading the Boko Haram splinter group Ansaru

Mahamat Daoud
Alleged former leader
History:


- **January 16, 2019**: President Buhari says in a speech that Boko Haram’s terrorist activities are backed by outside forces and that Nigeria needs a lot of money to purchase military equipment and to completely neutralize the group. Source: Samson Toromade, “Buhari says foreigners are funding Boko Haram’s terrorism in Nigeria,” Pulse Nigeria, January 17, 2019, https://www.pulse.ng/news/local/buhari-says-foreigners-are-funding-boko-harams-terrorism-in-nigeria/oblivcy [84].

- **January 14, 2019**: Boko Haram fighters attack a military base and torch aid buildings in Rann, northeast of Maiduguri in Borno state, killing at least 14 people and forcing thousands to flee. It is previously reported that ISWA has conducted the attack, but Boko Haram claims responsibility, according to an online video released on January 17, 2019. Source: Agence France-Presse, “Deadly Boko Haram attack in northeast Nigeria sends thousands fleeing,” Japan Times, January 17, 2019, https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2019/01/17/world/deadly-boko-haram-attack-northeast-nigeria-sends-thousands-fleeing/#.XEiMBFVKipq [85].


- **December 14, 2018**: Nigeria’s military suspends UNICEF from operating in the country’s northeastern region over
claims it trains Boko Haram "spies."


- **September 30, 2018:** Cameroon’s President Paul Biya declares Boko Haram as defeated in the country, the first such announcement since he declared war on the extremist group in 2014. Source: Edwin Kindzeka Moki, "Boko Haram has been repelled, Cameroon's leader declares," Fox News, September 30, 2018, https://www.foxnews.com/world/boko-haram-has-been-repelled-cameroons-leader-declares/ [109].

- **September 29, 2018:** Chadian military kill 17 Boko Haram fighters in a counter-offensive near Lake Chad.
In October 2018, a Nigerian court convicts 45 members of Boko Haram in a mass trial. Another 468 suspects are released under the requirement that they undergo de-radicalization programs. Source: “Dozens of Boko Haram members convicted in mass secret trial in Nigeria,” Guardian (London), October 13, 2017.
Boko Haram


March 2016: Approximately 1,000 Boko Haram militants are suspected to be fighting alongside ISIS in Libya.
**Boko Haram**

ISIS operatives in the coastal Libyan city of Sirte reportedly hired special smugglers to transport militants quickly from Nigeria to Libya, avoiding typical stops on the smuggling route. At the same time, reports suggest Boko Haram is facing a food crisis, with militants seizing cattle and small livestock while raiding villages. On March 3, 76 emaciated Boko Haram members reportedly surrender to the Nigerian military in Maiduguri.


**March 2016 - May 2016:** Approximately half of Boko Haram’s members split from Shekau over his alleged failure to adhere to ISIS’s counsel.


**February 9, 2016:** Two suspected female Boko Haram operatives blow themselves up at a camp for displaced persons in Dikwa, northeastern Nigeria, killing 58 people and wounding nearly 80.


**February 1, 2016:** Boko Haram burns children alive as part of an attack in northeast Nigeria that kills 86.


**January 30, 2016:** Boko Haram militants raid and firebomb Dalori village, three miles from Maiduguri, killing 86 people.


**December 30, 2015:** Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari announces he is open to negotiating with Boko Haram terrorists over the release of the Chibok schoolgirls kidnapped in April 2014.


**December 24, 2015:** Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari declares Boko Haram as “technically defeated.”


**December 6, 2015:** Nigerian authorities arrest one dozen suspected Boko Haram militants in Abuja.

The police allege the suspects are part of “sleeper cells” operated by the terror group in the country’s capital, and that the individuals arrested were planning attacks in Abuja to take place during the year’s end. Source: Agence France-Presse, “Nigeria police make arrests over Boko haram ‘sleeper cells’ in Abuja area,” *Al Arabiya*, December 6, 2015, http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/africa/2015/12/06/Nigeria-police-make-arrests-over-Boko-haram-sleeper-cells-in-Abuja-area.html.

**December 2, 2015:** Joint forces from Cameroon, Chad, Nigeria, and Benin reportedly free 900 Boko Haram hostages and kill 100 Boko Haram insurgents in the Sambisa Forest.


**December 1, 2015:** The U.S. Treasury designates two senior Boko Haram leaders—Mohammed [Mamman] Nur and Mustapha Chad—pursuant to Executive Order (E.O.) 13224.


**November 27, 2015:** A suspected Boko Haram suicide bomber kills 21 Shiites in the middle of a religious procession from Kano to Zaria, Nigeria.


**October 15, 2015 - October 31, 2015:** President Obama announces the deployment of 300 American troops in Cameroon to help fight against Boko Haram.


**October 2015:** On October 2, militants carry out multiple bomb attacks in Nigeria’s capital Abuja, killing 18 and...
Boko Haram


- June 18, 2015: Chad bans the full face veil after a suspected Boko Haram suicide bomber uses the veil to conceal his
Boko Haram

explosives.


- **March 18, 2015:** Chad’s U.N. ambassador circulated a draft Security Council resolution endorsing a five-nation African...
Boko Haram

force against Boko Haram.


- March 9, 2015: Military forces from Chad and Niger advance into Nigeria as part of a joint military campaign against Boko Haram.
  

- March 7, 2015 - March 13, 2015: Boko Haram pledges allegiance to ISIS.
  

- February 25, 2015: Twitter suspends Boko Haram’s Twitter account under the username @Urwatu_Wutha.
  

- February 2015: Boko Haram insurgents carry out multiple attacks in Cameroon.
  

  

  

- January 11, 2015: A pair of child suicide bombers, both around 10 years old, blow themselves up in an open-air market in Potiskum in Yobe state, killing at least three people.
  

- January 10, 2015: A girl around 10 years of age carries out a suicide bombing in a market in the city of Maiduguri.
  
  At least 16 people are killed and more than 20 are injured. Source: Joe Hembra, “Two Suspected Child Suicide Bombers Hit North Nigeria Town,” Reuters, January 11, 2015, http://uk.reuters.com/article/2015/01/11/uk-nigeria-violence-refugees-idUSKBN05XL1P20150111 [151].

- January 6, 2015 - January 10, 2015: Boko Haram carries out fresh raids in Baga, leaving dozens dead after militants burn homes and buildings while indiscriminately shooting people.
  

- January 2015: Approximately 20,000 Nigerians leave the country for Chad, Niger, and Cameroon following Boko Haram attacks on their towns.
  

- January 5, 2015: Boko Haram uploads a video to YouTube of its leader, Abubakar Shekau, threatening to overrun Cameroon unless it throws out its constitution and embraces Islam.
  

  
Boko Haram


- **December 21, 2014**: Boko Haram releases a video of its militants killing civilians. They explain that the individuals are being killed because they are “infidels.” In the video, the leader states, “from now, killing, slaughtering, destructions and bombing will be our religious duty anywhere we invade.” Source: “Boko Haram releases video of extremists killing civilians,” Washington Post, December 21, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/boko-haram-releases-video-of-extremists-killing-civilians/2014/12/21/8549fcd4-8954-11e4-a085-34e9b9f09a58_story.html [156].


- **November 23, 2014**: Boko Haram militants murder 48 fish vendors in northeastern Nigeria. Some victims’ throats are slit, while others are tied up and drowned in Lake Chad. News regarding the attack was slow to surface because Boko Haram militants had destroyed cell towers in the area in previous attacks. Source: “Nigeria: Fish Vendors Attacked,” Agence France-Presse, November 23, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/24/world/africa/nigeria-fish-vendors-attacked.html [157].


- **November 1, 2014**: Boko Haram releases a video in which a man claiming to be Abubakar Shekau declares that the girls kidnapped over six months prior have been “married off” to the group’s fighters. In the video, the purported leader says, “the over 200 Chibok girls have converted to Islam, which they confess is the best religion. Either their parents accept this and convert too or they can die.” He also denies the existence of dialogue with the Nigerian government, asking: “who says we are dialoguing or discussing with anybody? Are you talking to yourselves? All we are doing is slaughtering people with machetes and shooting people with guns... War is what we want.” Source: Reuters, “Nigeria’s Purported Boko Haram Leader Says Had ‘Married Off’ Girls,” New York Times, November 1, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2014/11/01/world/africa/01reuters-nigeria-violence.html [162].

- **November 2014**: Boko Haram kidnaps approximately 400 women and children, including at least 300 elementary school students, from the town of Damasak. The kidnapping is left unreported until Human Rights Watch publishes an investigation into the incident in March 2016. Then-President Goodluck Jonathan had reportedly doubted, denied, and ignored claims of the kidnapping. Local authorities had reportedly refrained from talking about the kidnapping “out of fear of drawing the wrath of the government,” according to a local administrator. Sources: “Nigeria: A Year
Boko Haram


- **October 11, 2014:** Boko Haram releases 27 hostages, including 10 Chinese workers and the wife of Cameroon’s vice-prime minister.
  

- **October 2, 2014:** Shekau appears in a video, contradicting Nigerian military reports that he was killed.
  

- **September 24, 2014:** Boko Haram attacks and attempts to seize the town of Bama in northeast Nigeria.


- **August 25, 2014:** Boko Haram seizes the northeastern Nigerian city of Gwoza.


- **August 12, 2014:** Hundreds of thousands of Nigerians flee attacks from Boko Haram in northeastern Nigeria.


- **August 6, 2014:** Boko Haram seizes the town of Gwoza in Borno state, killing 100.


- **July 30, 2014:** A female suicide bomber blows herself up in the city of Kano, killing six.

  This is Boko Haram’s third suicide attack carried out by a female suicide bomber. According to security analysts, it is not clear whether the group is recruiting female bombers or forcing kidnapped girls to carry out suicide missions. Source: “Nigeria Kano blast: Boko Haram blamed for six deaths.” BBC News, July 30, 2014, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-28531037 (169).

- **July 28, 2014:** Boko Haram members kidnap the wife of Amadou Ali, Cameroon’s vice prime minister and one of the country’s most visible political figures.


- **July 23, 2014:** Two suicide attacks in Kaduna kill 82 people.


- **June 25, 2014:** Twin bomb attacks in Abuja and Lagos kill at least 22 people.


- **June 18, 2014 - June 22, 2014:** Boko Haram militants hold the village of Kummabza in Borno state hostage for four days.


- **June 2, 2014:** The European Union lists Boko Haram as a terrorist organization.


- **May 22, 2014:** The United Nations Security Council’s Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee adds Boko Haram to its list of those subject to financial sanctions and an arms embargo pursuant to U.N. Security Council Resolution 2083.


- **May 2014:** Boko Haram carries out numerous attacks in Abuja, Jos, and other parts of Nigeria.


- **April 14, 2014:** Boko Haram kidnaps more than 200 girls from a school in the northern town of Chibok in Borno state, triggering international condemnation and viral social media demands to “Bring Back Our Girls.”
Boko Haram


- **April 14, 2014:** Twin bomb attack claimed by Boko Haram at Abuja bus station kills more than 70 people.

- **November 13, 2013:** The U.S. State Department designates Boko Haram and its splinter faction Ansaru as Specially Designated Global Terrorists.

- **September 17, 2013:** Boko Haram gunmen dress in military uniforms and stage a fake checkpoint near Benisheik in Borno, burning vehicles and executing travelers, leaving at least 143 people dead.

- **August 14, 2013:** Nigeria’s Ministry of Defence announces the death of Boko Haram’s second-in-command, Momodu Baba (a.k.a. Abu Saad).

- **May 14, 2013:** Following repeated clashes between security forces and Boko Haram fighters, Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan declares state of emergency.

- **May 13, 2013:** Boko Haram’s leader, Abubakar Shekau, releases a video claiming the group has taken hostage women and children who will be treated as “slaves,” possibly meaning that they could be exploited for sex.
  The incident is believed to be Boko Haram’s first taking of “slaves.”

- **May 7, 2013:** About 200 armed Boko Haram fighters storm a police station, military barracks, and government buildings in Bama, killing 55 and freeing 105 prisoners.
  The BBC reports that “The fighters reportedly launched the attack in armored vehicles mounted with machine guns… [suggesting] that they are becoming better-resourced and they can adapt to the changing terrain.”

- **February 19, 2013:** Boko Haram carries out its first cross-border operation and first kidnapping, taking hostage a French family of seven in Cameroon.
  The family is later released, reportedly in exchange for ransom, though the French and Cameroonian governments deny paying one.

- **June 21, 2012:** While the State Department continues to refrain from designating Boko Haram in its entirety, it does designate group leaders Abubakar Shekau, Khalid al-Barnawi and Abubakar Adam Kambar as Specially Designated Global Terrorists, freezing any assets those persons have in the U.S. and prohibiting U.S. nationals from engaging any transactions with the designated persons.

- **June 17, 2012:** Boko Haram kills at least 50 people in suicide bombings of three churches in the northern state of Kaduna.

- **May 18, 2012:** U.S. Representatives Peter King and Patrick Meehan write a second joint letter to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, urging the designation of Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organization.

- **April 26, 2012:** Boko Haram bombs the offices of the newspaper ThisDay.

- **January 20, 2012:** Boko Haram executes its deadliest attack in a single day, killing over 180 people in bombings and shootings across the city of Kano in northern Nigeria.

- **January 2012:** Americans call on Boko Haram to be designated as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO).
  In January, Assistant Attorney General for National Security Lisa Monaco writes a letter to State Department Coordinator for Counterterrorism Daniel Benjamin, arguing that Boko Haram meets the standards for designation as an FTO. In March, two leading Members of Congress—Peter King, chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security, and Patrick Meehan, chairman of the Committee’s Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence—write a joint letter to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, urging that Boko Haram be designated as an FTO. In May, 25 American scholars of African politics urge Hillary Clinton not to designate Boko Haram as an FTO. They claim
that an FTO designation would "internationalize Boko Haram, legitimize abuses by Nigeria’s security services, limit the State Department’s latitude in shaping a long term strategy, and undermine the U.S. Government’s ability to receive effective independent analysis from the region." That same month, the U.S. State Department decides to hold off on designating Boko Haram as an FTO. Notwithstanding growing Congressional pressure in support of designation, as well as the support of the Justice Department and State’s Counterterrorism bureau, State’s African Affairs bureau opposed designation, as did the Nigerian government, which worried that FTO designation would help Boko Haram by elevating the group’s stature and thereby aiding fundraising and recruitment. Following the decision, Peter King and Patrick Meehan write a second joint letter to Hillary Clinton urging the designation of Boko Haram as an FTO. Source: Mark Hosenball and John Shiffman, "U.S. Justice Dept urges terror label for Nigerian militants," Reuters, May 17, 2012, [184].

- **January 2012**: A newly formed splinter group, known as Ansaru, announces Abu Usmatul al-Ansari as its leader. Source: "Boko Haram Fact Fast," CNN, October 18, 2018, [134].

- **January 2012**:Abubakar Shekau appears in a video posted on YouTube stating Boko Haram is "at war" with Christians. Source: Monica Mark, "Nigerian Islamist group's leader claims to be at war with Christians," Guardian, January 11, 2012, [185].

- **December 2011**: Boko Haram instigates a number of bomb attacks across Nigeria on Christmas Day including at St Theresa’s church in Madalla, a church in the city of Jos, three attacks in northern Yobe state and two attacks in town of Damaturu and Gadaka. Source: "Boko Haram attacks - timeline," Guardian, September 25, 2012, [183].

- **November 30, 2011**: U.S. Congress holds its first hearing on Boko Haram. In its report, titled "Boko Haram: Emerging Threat to the U.S. Homeland," the subcommittee finds that "Boko Haram has quickly evolved and poses an emerging threat to U.S. interests and the U.S. homeland" and recommends that the U.S. intelligence community does "[not under]estimate Boko Haram’s [intent and capability to] attack the U.S. homeland." The subcommittee also claims that "Boko Haram may meet the legal criteria for designation by the U.S. Department of State as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO)," and recommends that the Secretary of State investigate whether Boko Haram should be designated as an FTO, noting that an FTO designation may be required to provide our intelligence and law enforcement communities the tools necessary to ensure Boko Haram does not attack U.S. interests and the U.S. homeland. Source: "Boko Haram: Emerging Threat to the U.S. Homeland," U.S. Congress, November 11, 2011, [112].


- **November 4, 2011**: Boko Haram insurgents attack a number of targets in Yobo, Damaturu and Borno states, targeting security forces and their offices, markets, and 11 churches. At least 100 people are killed. Source: "Boko Haram Fact Fast," CNN, June 30, 2014, [187].

- **November 2011**: The arrest of a Boko Haram spokesman who claimed he was employed by Ali Ndume, then a senator from Borno state aligned with the People’s Democratic Party, fuels popular suspicions that the political establishment played a part in Boko Haram’s attacks. Further similar scandals support this impression and even lead to the storming of an All-Nigeria Peoples Party chairman’s house by members of the "Civilian Joint Task Force" (CJTF), comprised of youths helping the security forces to combat Boko Haram. Source: Andrew Walker, "What is Boko Haram?" United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 308, June 2012, [188].

- **September 14, 2011**: U.S. Representative Patrick Meehan and others call for Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to designate Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organization. In a letter to Secretary Clinton, Meehan and Speier write that "[T]hey are deeply concerned about Boko Haram and its growing involvement in terror attacks against innocent civilians and international organizations in Nigeria and its growing operational connections to al-Qaeda and its worldwide affiliates." Meehan and Speier state that "the FBI, and all other agencies in the United States Intelligence Community, must have all the available tools necessary to address this emerging terrorist group in its nascent stage before it metastasizes into a group capable of threatening the United States... [and] designating Boko Haram a Foreign Terrorist Organization will help ensure that happens." Source: "U.S. Reps. Meehan, Speier Call for State Department Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) Designation of Nigerian Islamist Sect Boko Haram," Congressmen Patrick Meehan, September 14, 2011, [189].

- **August 26, 2011**: A suicide car bombing of the U.N. building in Abuja kills at least 21 people and injures dozens. Boko Haram claims responsibility for the attack, the group’s first strike on a foreign target. Some security analysts claim that the sophisticated execution of the attacks hints to support from transnational terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). Boko Haram releases a video calling the U.N. a “forum of all the global evil” and praising the late al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, who was killed by U.S. Special Forces almost four months beforehand. Sources: "Boko Haram attacks – timeline," Guardian, September 25, 2012, accessed August 21, 2014, [183]. Source: Andrew Walker, "What is Boko Haram?" United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 308, June 2012, [188].

- **August 17, 2011**: General Carter Ham, commander of United States Africa Command (AFRICOM), stated to the Associated Press that according to “multiple sources,” Boko Haram made contacts with al-Shabab and with al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQM). Ham adds that this news "would be the most dangerous thing to happen not only to the Africans, but to us [the U.S.] as well." He added, "What is most worrying at present is, at least in my view, a clearly stated intent by Boko Haram and by al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb to coordinate and synchronize their efforts. I’m not so sure they’re able to do that just yet, but it’s clear to me they have the desire and intent to do that." Source: Jon Gambrell, "AFRICOM commander sees Nigeria terror link," Associated Press, August 17, 2011, [178].


August 2009 - 2010: Boko Haram members that survive the police/military purge go underground, reportedly hiding in neighboring Cameroon. Some of them allegedly join insurgent training camps in Mali and Algeria.


December 2003 - 2004: Following a dispute over fishing rights, the splinter group, then referred to as the Nigerian Taliban, comes into conflict with the police. They loot the Kanamma police arsenal and burn down the police station and government buildings. The confrontation leads to a siege by Nigerian security forces that lasts until the New Year and ends in a shootout during which most members of the group are killed. Source: Andrew Walker, “What is Boko Haram?”, United States Institute of Peace, Special Report 308, June 2012, http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/SR308.pdf[188], 3.

2003: In Maiduguri, Yusuf allegedly builds close links with Ali Modu Sheriff, a politician and wealthy businessman from a prominent Maiduguri family. In return for political support from Boko Haram’s following, Sheriff promises to implement sharia once in office and to direct state money to support Yusuf’s organization (through appointment of Yusuf disciple’s as religious affairs commissioner). The alliance falls apart when Sheriff
Boko Haram


Boko Haram

Violent history:

- **December 2003**: Attack on a number of police stations in Kanamma, Yobe state by a group then referred to as the Nigerian Taliban. Some of its members later went on to become members of Boko Haram.

- **April 2007**: Assassination of Sheikh Ja’afar Mahmoud Adam, a prominent, popular cleric and regular preacher at the Ndimi mosque in Maiduguri shortly before the 2007 presidential election.

- **July 2009**: Boko Haram members set churches, a police station, and a prison on fire in Maiduguri, killing hundreds. The government responds by arresting 700 Boko Haram members and laying siege to the mosque in Maiduguri. In response, Boko Haram members begin to indiscriminately kill police officers and civilians. After regaining control of the town, the police and military crack down on the group, allegedly killing hundreds of Boko Haram members, including Yusuf (who dies in police custody).

- **2010**: Boko Haram members return to Maiduguri, instigating attacks against police stations and military barracks to avenge the killing of Yusuf. The group also attacks a local jail, freeing prisoners, and begins attacks against Christians, critical Muslim clerics, suspected collaborators, UN agencies, bars, and schools. Initial attacks mainly constitute of shootings.

- **December 24-28, 2010**: Boko Haram claims responsibility for a twin bombing in Jos, a city in central Nigeria, killing at least 38 people on Christmas Eve. On the same day, two bombs also go off in two churches in Maiduguri.

- **December 31, 2010**: The group sets off a bomb near barracks in Abuja on New Year’s Eve, killing at least 4 people.

- **June 16, 2011**: In the first suicide bombing in Nigerian history and the first such attack by Boko Haram, a suicide bomber detonates a car bomb at the Nigerian police’s headquarters in Abuja, killing between six and eight people. The attack marks a new degree of sophistication in the way it is carried out.

- **August 26, 2011**: A suicide car bombing of the UN building in Abuja kills at least 21 people and injures dozens. Boko Haram claims responsibility for the attack, the group’s first strike on a foreign target. Some security analysts claim that the sophisticated execution of the attacks hints to support from transnational terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).

- **November 4, 2011**: Boko Haram attacks a number of targets in Yobo, Damaturu and Borno states, targeting security forces and their offices, markets and 11 churches. At least 100 people are killed.

- **November 15, 2011**: A police vehicle within the motorcade of the Borno state governor, Kashim Shettima, is attacked with a bomb in Maiduguri.

- **December 2011**: Boko Haram instigates a number of bomb attacks across Nigeria on Christmas Day including at St Theresa’s church in Madalla, a church in the city of Jos, three attacks in northern Yobe state and two attacks in town of Damaturu and Gadaka.

- **April 26, 2012**: Boko Haram bombs the offices of the newspaper ThisDay.

- **February 19, 2013**: Boko Haram carries out its first cross-border operation and first kidnapping, taking hostage a French family of seven in Cameroon. The family is later released, reportedly in exchange for ransom, though the French and Cameroon governments deny paying one.

- **May 7, 2013**: About 200 armed Boko Haram fighters storm a police station, military barracks, and government buildings in Bama, killing 55 and freeing 105 prisoners. The BBC reports that “The fighters reportedly launched the attack in armored vehicles mounted with machine guns... [suggesting] that they are becoming better-resourced and they can adapt to the changing terrain.”

- **September 19, 2013**: Boko Haram militants attacked city of Benisheik in Borno state, killing at least 87 people.

- **September 29, 2013**: Boko Haram gunmen attack agricultural school in Yobe, killing 50 male students.
**Boko Haram**

- **April 14, 2014**: Twin bomb attack claimed by Boko Haram at Abuja bus station kills more than 70 people.108
- **April 14, 2014**: Boko Haram kidnap more than 200 girls from a school in the northern town of Chibok in Borno state, triggering international condemnation and viral social media demands to "Bring Back Our Girls."109
- **May 2, 2014**: A car bomb explodes on a busy road in Abuja, killing at least 19. The attack happened days before Nigeria was due to host the World Economic Forum on Africa.110
- **May 5, 2014**: Boko Haram militants kill more than 300 residents in the town of Gamboru Ngala.111
- **May 20, 2014**: Twin bomb attacks in Jos kill at least 118 people.112
- **May 21, 2014**: Boko Haram gunmen kill at least 27 people in towns Sharwa and Alagano.113
- **June 25, 2014**: Twin bomb attacks in Abuja and Lagos kill at least 22 people. Boko Haram has claimed responsibility for the attack in both cities. If true, this would be the first attack by Islamist militants in Lagos.114
- **July 19, 2014**: Members of Boko Haram attack the village of Abbas Gava in northeastern Nigeria.115
- **July 23, 2014**: Two suicide attacks in Kaduna kill 82 people. One of the attacks was aimed at opposition leader and former president, Muhammadu Buhari. It is widely suspected that Boko Haram is responsible for the attacks.116 There was widespread speculation in the Nigerian media that the attack was an indication of Boko Haram’s strategy to further destabilize Nigeria.
- **July 28, 2014**: Boko Haram members kidnap the wife of Amadou Ali, Cameroon’s vice prime minister and one of the country’s most visible political figures.117
- **July 30, 2014**: A female suicide bomber blows herself up in the city of Kano killing 6. This is the third suicide attack carried out by a female suicide bomber. According to security analysts, it is not clear whether the group is recruiting female bombers or forcing kidnapped girls to carry out suicide missions.118
- **August 6, 2014**: Boko Haram seizes the town of Gwoza in Borno state, killing 100.119
- **August 11, 2014**: Boko Haram kidnap at least 97 men and boys and kill 28 people, and injures 27 others, in a raid on villages in Borno state.120
- **August 12, 2014**: Hundreds of thousands of Nigerians flee attacks from Boko Haram in the north east of Nigeria. Multinational agencies have said they are now sheltering more than 40,000 people.121
- **August 21, 2014**: Boko Haram seizes a riot police training academy in northern Nigeria, driving out recruits.122
- **August 21, 2014**: Boko Haram seizes another town, Buni Yadi in Yobe state, reflecting an apparent strategic shift toward taking and holding territory in order to achieve its goal of establishing an Islamist state.123
- **September 2, 2014**: Boko Haram attacks and attempts to seize the town of Bama in northeast Nigeria. Nigerian Military officials are able to repel the attack and kill 70 Boko Haram fighters, but the group returns the next day and succeeds in seizing the town.124
- **September 6, 2014**: Boko Haram militants attack the town of Gulak near the Cameroon border. Eyewitnesses state that the fighters “went from house to house shooting people.”125
- **September 18, 2014**: Boko Haram suicide bombers kill 15 people at a Nigerian teachers’ college. The bombers open fire at students and then detonate explosives in a crowded lecture hall.126
- **September 20, 2014**: Boko Haram kills four civilians in Cameroon. Over 40,000 Nigerians have fled to Cameroon in order to escape Boko Haram.127
- **September 25, 2014**: Boko Haram kills 18 people in an attack in Shaffa, Nigeria.128
October 18, 2014: Boko Haram attacks the village of Dzur, killing at least eight.\textsuperscript{120} Gunmen also abduct around 60 Nigerians from a village bordering Cameroon.\textsuperscript{130}

October 22, 2014: Boko Haram is suspected to be behind a bomb that exploded at a bus station in northern Nigeria, killing at least five and wounding 12.\textsuperscript{131}

October 23, 2014: Suspected Boko Haram militants kidnap at least 25 girls from a town in northeastern Nigeria.\textsuperscript{132}

October 31, 2014: A car bomb kills at least 10 at a bus stop in northeastern Nigeria.\textsuperscript{133}

November 2, 2014: Militants armed with guns and explosives attack Koton Karfe prison in central Kogi state, freeing 144 inmates. Boko Haram is linked to the attack.\textsuperscript{134}

November 3, 2014: A Boko Haram suicide bomber disguised in a school uniform sets off explosives at a high school in northern Nigeria, killing 48 students and wounding 79.\textsuperscript{135}

November 6, 2014: Boko Haram militants raid Ashaka cement factory and steal dynamite from its quarry.\textsuperscript{136}

November 7, 2014: A suicide bomber suspected of belonging to Boko Haram kills at least 7 people outside of a bank in northeast Nigeria.\textsuperscript{137}

November 10, 2014: A suicide bomber disguised in a school uniform sets off explosives at a high school in northern Nigeria, killing 48 students and wounding 79.\textsuperscript{138}

November 14, 2014: Boko Haram insurgents recapture the town of Chibok in northeastern Nigeria, where nearly 300 girls were abducted seven months prior. The militants entered the town “shooting from pickup trucks and motorcycles,” forcing thousands to flee.\textsuperscript{139}

November 21, 2014: At least 45 people are “slaughtered” by Boko Haram militants in an attack. The attack is believed to be in retaliation to an incident two days prior in which soldiers shot four of the group’s members. According to an eyewitness, the militants “tied peoples’ hands behind their backs and slit their throats like animals.”\textsuperscript{140}

November 23, 2014: Boko Haram militants murder 48 fish vendors in northeastern Nigeria. Some victims’ throats are slit, while others are tied up and drowned in Lake Chad. News regarding the attack was slow to surface because Boko Haram militants had destroyed cell towers in the area in previous attacks.\textsuperscript{141}

November 24, 2014: At 09:00 Nigerian time, Boko Haram insurgents flood the town of Damasak in northeast Nigeria, killing an unknown number of people. An eyewitness says that the militants “fired shots into the houses to force people out... many people have died.”\textsuperscript{142}

November 25, 2014: Two female suicide bombers belonging to Boko Haram kill 44 people in an attack in the northeastern city of Maiduguri. The first attacker detonated her bomb, killing three women. When rescuers rushed to the scene, the second girl set off her explosives, killing dozens more.\textsuperscript{143}

November 26, 2014: Boko Haram insurgents attack two villages bordering the town of Chibok, where nearly 300 schoolgirls were kidnapped in April 2014. The attack leaves more than 20 dead, and left nearly all the houses in the villages “burnt to ash.”\textsuperscript{144}

November 27, 2014: An attack at a northeast Nigerian bus station—purportedly carried out by Boko Haram militants—kills 40 people including five soldiers.\textsuperscript{145}

November 28, 2014: Gunmen purportedly belonging to Boko Haram set off three bombs and open fire on worshippers at a mosque in northern Nigeria’s biggest city, Kano. The attack kills at least 81 people.\textsuperscript{146}

November 30, 2014: Boko Haram militants raid a mostly Christian town in northeast Nigeria after nightfall, killing “scores” of people. Eyewitness accounts tell of 30 men riding into the town on motorcycles throwing bombs into houses and shooting the people who flee.\textsuperscript{147}

December 1, 2014: Boko Haram militants launch an attack on government, police and military buildings in Damaturu.
Boko Haram

The attack involves two female suicide bombers detonating bombs at the central Maiduguri market.148

- **December 10, 2014:** Boko Haram dispatch two female suicide bombers at a textile market in the city of Kano, killing six.149

- **December 11, 2014:** Boko Haram claim responsibility for twin bombs that explode in the city of Jos, in central Nigeria, killing 31.150

- **December 13, 2014:** Boko Haram fighters kill 35 people and kidnap about 185 others in a remote farming village in northeastern Nigeria called Gumsuri.151

- **December 18, 2014:** A suspected Boko Haram militant kills 32 and kidnaps 172 women and children during a raid in Northeastern Nigeria.152

- **December 21, 2014:** Boko Haram releases a video of its militants killing civilians. They explain that the individuals are being killed because “they are infidels.” In the video, the leader states, “from now, killing, slaughtering, destructions and bombing will be our religious duty anywhere we invade.”153

- **December 22, 2014:** Boko Haram is responsible for a bomb that goes off in a bus station near Gombe city, Nigeria. At least 20 people were killed.154

- **December 30, 2014:** 15 people are killed after Boko Haram militants open fire in Kautikari, a town near the Cameroonian border.155

- **December 31, 2014:** Gunmen suspected of belonging to Boko Haram kidnap 40 young men and boys, mostly between the ages of 15 and 23, from the village of Malari in northeastern Nigeria.156

- **January 1, 2015:** Boko Haram militants attack a bus in northern Cameroon, killing at least 15 people.157

- **January 3, 2015:** Boko Haram fighters take control of the northeast Nigerian town of Baga and a nearby military base. Hundreds of civilians are killed in the ensuing days.158 Baga hosts the headquarters of a multinational force from Niger, Nigeria, Chad, and Cameroon.159

- **January 4, 2015:** Boko Haram announces it has captured the northeastern Nigerian town of Baga. During its weekend raid Boko Haram destroys about 620 buildings in Baga and more than 3,100 in neighboring Doron Baga, according to Amnesty International.160 Reports later surface that Boko Haram killed 2,000 people during its capture of Baga.161 The Nigerian government later says only 150 people, including militants, actually died, but Amnesty International says the death toll is much higher than the official numbers.162

- **January 5, 2015:** Boko Haram uploads a video to YouTube of its leader, Abubakar Shekau, threatening to overrun Cameroon unless it throws out its constitution and embraces Islam.163

- **January 6-7, 2015:** Boko Haram raids in Baga leave dozens dead after militants burn homes and buildings while indiscriminately shooting people.164

- **January 10, 2015:** The Nigerian military repels Boko Haram fighters trying to capture Damaturu, a major northeastern town.165

- **January 10, 2015:** A girl of around 10 years of age with a bomb strapped to her blows herself up in a market in the city of Maiduguri. At least 16 people are killed and more than 20 are injured.166

- **January 11, 2015:** A pair of child suicide bombers, both around 10 years old, blow up in an open-air market in Potiskum in Yobe state, killing at least three people.167 The children are suspected to be part of the group of 200 schoolgirls kidnapped by Boko Haram in April 2014.148

- **January 12, 2015:** Boko Haram forces cross over from Nigeria into neighboring Cameroon and attack a military camp in Kolofata. The Cameroonian military repels the attack, killing 143 militants, according to the government. At least one Cameroonian soldier dies in the fight.160
January 13, 2015: At least two people are killed and 14 wounded in a suicide attack outside of a mosque in the state of Gombe. Boko Haram does not immediately claim responsibility, although Gombe is just outside its main area of operations.170

January 14, 2015: The Nigerian army pushes back a Boko Haram attack in the town of Biu in the state of Borno.171

January 18, 2015: Suspected Boko Haram militants kidnap an estimated 80 people in northern Cameroon.172 The attack marks the first time that Cameroonian villagers are kidnapped by suspected Boko Haram militants.173 Meanwhile, a suicide bomber in northeastern Nigeria kills four and injures more than 40 in an attack suspected to be carried out by Boko Haram.174

January 25, 2015: Boko Haram militants attack Nigeria’s northeastern city of Maiduguri, reportedly killing dozens. Militants also capture the northeastern town of Monguno.175

January 28, 2015: CNN reports that Boko Haram has killed “scores” in the recent series of attacks in Nigeria’s Adamawa state.176

February 1, 2015: Nigerian troops repel Boko Haram militants closing in on Maiduguri. Hundreds of insurgents are reported dead.177

February 5, 2015: Approximately 800 Boko Haram insurgents shoot or burn to death 90 civilians in a Cameroon border town. The town’s information minister tells the Associated Press that the insurgents “burned churches, mosques and villages and slaughtered youth who resisted joining them to fight Cameroonian forces.”178

February 9, 2015: Boko Haram militants hijack a bus in the north of Cameroon, kidnapping as many as 30 civilians.179

March 2, 2015: Chadian troops retake control of the northeastern Nigerian town of Dikwa, which Boko Haram had occupied for weeks. Boko Haram kills hundreds of civilians before retreating.180

March 2, 2015: Boko Haram posts a beheading video on Twitter of two men the group claims were spies. One of the men, claiming to be a farmer from the Nigerian village of Baga, says on camera that a policeman told him he would “become rich” if he informed on residents in his village. The video includes English, Arabic, and French subtitles. It is Boko Haram’s first purported beheading video.181

March 19, 2015: Boko Haram attacks the Nigerian town of Ngala, which the army said it had retaken from the terrorist group. Boko Haram kills 11 people in the raid.182

March 27-28, 2015: At 11 p.m. on March 27, scores of suspected Boko Haram gunmen attack the Buratai village in northeastern Nigeria’s Borno state. The gunmen burn most of the village and decapitate 23 people. Dozens are wounded.183

March 29, 2015: Boko Haram attacks the Bauchi state capital, Bauchi city. Gunmen attack public buildings, security checkpoints, police stations, and polling places, destroying ballot boxes. The Nigerian army responds with airstrikes. They burn down the office of the paramilitary Nigeria Security and Civil Defense force, a police station, and the local electoral commission office. Nigeria orders an indefinite curfew in the area. The fighting coincides with the second day of voting in Nigeria’s elections. Bauchi opposition politicians blame the curfew on efforts to affect the elections’ outcome.184

April 7, 2015: In Borno State, Nigeria, Boko Haram militants slaughter 24 civilians at a mosque after disguising themselves as preachers.185

April 16, 2015: Boko Haram strikes into Cameroon and murders 16 civilians. Six Boko Haram militants are killed by the Cameroonian army.186

May 9-10, 2015: Boko Haram gunmen kill two Cameroonian soldiers during clashes over the weekend. Three Boko Haram gunmen also die. Cameroonian officials said the fighting began when Boko Haram militants reportedly moved toward the northern Cameroonian town of Zelevet near the Nigerian border.187

May 13, 2015: Boko Haram kills at least six civilians and six members of a vigilante youth group in an attack on the
Boko Haram

Nigerian city of Maiduguri.\textsuperscript{188}

- **May 15, 2015**: Boko Haram retakes the Nigerian town of Marte in Borno state, which government forces had liberated in February.\textsuperscript{189} Boko Haram also attacks the Nigerian town of Mule, about six miles from the Borno state capital.\textsuperscript{190}

- **May 16, 2015**: At least seven people are killed when a female suicide bomber blows herself up in Damaturu, the capital of northern Nigeria’s Yobe state. No group claims responsibility but authorities suspect Boko Haram.\textsuperscript{191}

- **May 22, 2015**: Boko Haram militants hack 10 people to death in Nigeria’s northeastern Adamawa state.\textsuperscript{192}

- **May 29-31, 2015**: Boko Haram conducts a three-day string of bombing attacks in northern Nigeria, killing at least 42.\textsuperscript{193}

- **June 2, 2015**: Boko Haram bombs Maiduguri, killing an estimated 20 people.\textsuperscript{194}

- **June 12, 2015**: Boko Haram militants burn six northeastern villages in Nigeria’s north, killing 37, according to a survivor.\textsuperscript{195}

- **June 17, 2015**: Boko Haram launches an attack in Niger, killing dozens of civilians.\textsuperscript{196}

- **June 18, 2015**: Suspected Boko Haram insurgents attack Nigerien villages, killing dozens, in the Diffa region of Niger close to the Nigerian border.\textsuperscript{197}

- **June 23, 2015**: At least 50 people are killed in various Boko Haram attacks in Borno and Yobe state. One of the attacks reportedly includes a suicide bombing carried out by a 12-year-old girl.\textsuperscript{198}

- **June 24, 2015**: Boko Haram militants shoot dead at least 42 people in separate attacks in northeast Nigeria.\textsuperscript{199}

- **July 2, 2015**: In Borno state, Boko Haram militants gun down nearly 150 people as they pray in mosques during the holy month of Ramadan.\textsuperscript{200}

- **July 3, 2015**: Boko Haram insurgents murder nearly 200 Nigerians in attacks across the northeast of the country. In one of the attacks, a young female suicide bomber kills 12 in a mosque in Borno.\textsuperscript{201}

- **July 6, 2015**: Two bombs set off by suspected Boko Haram militants kill 44 in Nigeria’s central city of Jos.\textsuperscript{202}

- **July 10, 2015**: Boko Haram releases its first beheading video since its allegiance to ISIS.\textsuperscript{203}

- **July 19, 2015**: Suspected Boko Haram militants murder 20 Cameroonian in Kamouna, Cameroon. Many children are among the dead.\textsuperscript{204}

- **July 25, 2015**: Boko Haram militants kill at least 25 in Adamawa state in eastern Nigeria.\textsuperscript{205} On the same day, a suspected Boko Haram suicide bomber kills 10 in northern Cameroon.\textsuperscript{206}

- **August 17, 2015**: A Chadian judicial source announces Chad will hold 10 Boko Haram suspects on trial for “murder using explosives, illegal possession of weapons of war and criminal conspiracy.”\textsuperscript{207}

- **August 18, 2015**: Nearly 150 Nigerians are shot or drown while fleeing Boko Haram insurgents in Nigeria’s northeastern Yobe state.\textsuperscript{208}

- **August 23, 2015**: Suspected Boko Haram militants attack a convoy carrying Lieutenant General Tukur Buratai, the new head of the Nigerian army. One Nigerian soldier and 10 militants die, while Buratai is left unharmed.\textsuperscript{209}

- **August 25, 2015**: Two teenage suicide bombers carry out an attack in Damaturu, a northeastern Nigerian town, killing five and injuring 41.\textsuperscript{210}

- **August 30, 2015**: Boko Haram militants kill dozens of Nigerian civilians in raids on remote towns in the northeast of the country.\textsuperscript{211}
August 31, 2015: Boko Haram gunmen on horseback kill 79 people in remote villages in northeastern Nigeria.212

Early October 2015: On October 2, militants carry out multiple bomb attacks in Nigeria’s capital Abuja, killing 18 and wounding 41. Boko Haram claims responsibility on October 5.213 On October 11, five suicide bombers belonging to Boko Haram kill at least 36 Nigerians at a refugee camp in Chad.214

November 27, 2015: A suspected Boko Haram suicide bomber kills 21 Shiites in the middle of a religious procession from Kano to Zaria, Nigeria.215

December 25, 2015: Boko Haram insurgents launch a Christmas day attack on a town in northeast Nigeria, killing at least 14 and wounding several others.216

December 28, 2015: Boko Haram insurgents kill at least 80 people with rocket-propelled grenades and multiple suicide bombings in northeastern Nigeria.217

February 1, 2016: Boko Haram burns children alive as part of an attack in northeast Nigeria that kills 86. The new tactic is believed to be in response to a recent claim by the Nigerian government that Boko Haram is unable to carry out any attacks other than suicide bombings.218

November 2016: Boko Haram kidnaps approximately 400 women and children, including at least 300 elementary school students, in the town of Damasak. The incident receives little media attention until Human Rights Watch publishes an investigation into the incident in March 2016.219

January 30, 2016: Boko Haram militants firebomb Dalori village, three miles from Maiduguri, killing 86 people.220

February 9, 2016: Two suspected female Boko Haram operatives blow themselves up at a camp for displaced persons in Dikwa, northeastern Nigeria, killing 58 people and wounding nearly 80.221

May 12, 2016: Boko Haram suicide bombers attack in Maiduguri, leaving two Nigerian policemen dead.222

June 14, 2016: Boko Haram militants kill 24 people, mostly women, who were in mourning at a funeral in the village of Kuda in Nigeria’s northeastern Adamawa state.223

September 2016: Militants loyal to ISIS-appointed Abu Musab al-Barnawi clash with those loyal to Abubakar Shekau, resulting in the death of several key members of Shekau’s faction.224

September 9, 2016- September 19, 2016: Boko Haram insurgents launch three attacks in the village of Tallari in Nigeria’s northern Born State. Militants behead the village chief and his son, ambush a military convoy, and gun down eight Christians.225

December 9, 2016: Two teenage girls blow themselves up in a marketplace in Madagali, Adamawa state, killing 30 people and wounding 67 others. The Nigerian military holds Boko Haram responsible.226

January 17, 2017: Boko Haram insurgents attack a refugee camp hours after it is mistakenly bombed by the Nigerian air force.227

February 22, 2017: Boko Haram insurgents kill seven Nigerian soldiers during an attack on a military outpost in Gajiram, northeastern Nigeria.228

March 15, 2017: Suspected Boko Haram fighters attack the town of Magumeri in northeastern Borno state, indiscriminately firing into civilian homes and killing “scores” of people, according to online news agency Sahara Reporters.229

March 31, 2017: Boko Haram militants kidnap 22 girls and women in two separate raids in northeast Nigeria. They also kill a herdsman who refused to pay a protection fee.230

June 7, 2017: Boko Haram attacks the northeastern Nigerian city of Maiduguri with explosives and gunfire, forcing civilians to flee as Nigerian military forces repel the extremists.231
• **July 25, 2017:** Boko Haram ambushes an oil exploration team belonging to the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation in northeast Nigeria. The attack kills more than 50 people.231

• **August 15, 2017:** A woman suicide bomber explodes at a market in northeast Nigeria, killing 27 people. Almost simultaneously, two other suicide bombers detonate their devices near a camp for displaced persons. In all, 83 people are wounded in the three explosions. Boko Haram is suspected.232

• **November 15, 2017:** Four suicide bombers, which include females, carry out attacks in Maiduguri. At least 10 people are killed. Boko Haram is suspected.233

• **November 15, 2017:** A teenage suicide bomber attacks a mosque in Mubi, Adamawa State, killing over 50 people during morning prayers. Boko Haram is suspected.234

• **March 2, 2018:** Three aid workers are killed in Rann, northeast of Maiduguri in Borno state, and another three are kidnapped. Two of the three are later executed.235

• **July 26, 2018:** Boko Haram fighters attack a military base and a police station in Jakana, a village close to Maiduguri, leaving hundreds either dead, captured, or missing.236

• **August 30, 2018:** Boko Haram attacks a Nigerian army post in Zari village in northern Borno state, killing at least 48 soldiers.237

• **September 6, 2018:** Boko Haram attacks a civilian convoy near the town of Gwoza, Borno state, killing two and kidnapping 25 others.238

• **October 10, 2018:** ISWA attacks the military base in Metele, Borno state, killing or injuring at least 23 soldiers.239

• **October 23, 2018:** Boko Haram kills two people in an attack on a village northeast of Chibok.240

• **November 14, 2018:** Boko Haram kills 16 farmers and leaves dozens missing in an attack in northeast Nigeria.241

• **November 15-21, 2018:** ISIS-affiliated ISWA militants attack military bases in Borno state, killing over 100 soldiers and leaving approximately 150 additional troops missing. Before burning down the remains of the installations, they loot weapons, equipment, and vehicles. ISIS claims responsibility online. An attempt to recover the bodies of fallen soldiers is foiled by ISWA militants.242

• **November 20, 2018:** Boko Haram militants kill 53 soldiers and farmers in three days of attacks in northeastern Nigeria.243

• **December 7, 2018:** Boko Haram attacks Rann, a town in Borno state, and destroys the UNICEF clinic, the only healthcare center in the frequently attacked region.244

• **December 8, 2018:** Boko Haram fighters loyal to factional leader Abubakar Shekau attack a military base in northeast Nigeria with guns, killing two. A Boko Haram suicide bomber is “neutralized” before detonating the bomb.245

• **December 14, 2018:** Boko Haram invades military bases in the northern part of Borno state, killing “many” soldiers.246

• **December 24, 2018:** An ambush by Boko Haram terrorists on the road from Maiduguri to Damaturu kills 13 soldiers and one officer.247

• **December 26, 2018:** Boko Haram seizes six towns, all major population centers in Kukawa local government area of northern Borno, overrunning the multinational forces’ headquarters formed by Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon, and Niger, a naval fighting base, and a Marine Police base. Approximately 30,000 people flee. In early-January 2019, the Nigerian military retakes the city.248

• **January 2, 2019:** Boko Haram militants raid at least three military posts and overpower troops in northeast Nigeria.249

• **January 5, 2019:** Boko Haram kills two Nigerian soldiers and injures seven civilians in an ambush close to the border with Cameroon.250
Boko Haram

- **January 13, 2019**: Suspected members of Boko Haram attack Magumeri, an agrarian community in Borno state. An earlier attack in Magumeri on November 25, 2018 killed three soldiers and injured six others.  
- **January 14, 2019**: Boko Haram fighters attack a military base and torch aid buildings in Rann, northeast of Maiduguri in Borno state, killing at least 14 people and forcing thousands to flee. It is previously reported that ISWA has conducted the attack, but Boko Haram claims responsibility, according to an online video released on January 17, 2019.  

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Boko Haram


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Boko Haram

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**Boko Haram**


Boko Haram


Boko Haram


Designations:

Designations by the U.S. Government:

June 21, 2012: The State Department designates Boko Haram leaders Abubakar Shekau, Khalid al-Barnawi, and Abubakar Adam Kambar as Specially Designated Global Terrorists.254

November 14, 2013: The State Department designates Boko Haram and Ansaru as Foreign Terrorist Organizations and Specially Designated Global Terrorists.255

December 1, 2015: The Department of the Treasury designates senior Boko Haram leaders Mohammed Nur and Mustapha Chad, pursuant to Executive Order (E.O.) 13224.256

Designations by Foreign Governments and Organizations:

Australia—listed Boko Haram as a terrorist organization on June 26, 2014.257

Canada—listed Boko Haram as a terrorist entity on December 24, 2013.258

United Nations—the UN Security Council’s al Qaeda Sanctions Committee added Boko Haram to its list of designated entities on May 22, 2014.259

United Nations—the U.N. Security Council’s al Qaeda Sanctions Committee added Ansaru to its list of designated entities on June 26, 2014.260

United Nations—the U.N. Security Council’s al Qaeda Sanctions Committee added Abubakar Mohammed Shekau to its list of designated individuals on June 26, 2014.261

EU—designated Boko Haram as a terrorist organization on May 28, 2014.262
Boko Haram

United Kingdom—listed Boko Haram as a financial sanctions target on May 29, 2014.\(^{261}\)

United Kingdom—listed Abubakar Mohammed Shekau as a financial sanctions target on July 8, 2014.\(^{264}\)

United Kingdom—proscribed Ansaru (a.k.a. Vanguard for the Protection of Muslims in Black Africa) in November 2012 as “broadly aligned with al-Qaeda,” and listed the group as a financial sanctions target on July 8, 2014.\(^{265}\)

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Boko Haram

Associations:

Ties to Extremist Entities:

Boko Haram has received limited funding from AQIM.\(^{266}\) Boko Haram members have also allegedly attended AQIM training camps.\(^{266}\)

According to the U.S. military, there are indications that al-Shabab and Boko Haram are allegedly sharing money and explosive material.\(^ {269}\)

The two organizations appear to support each other’s operations.\(^ {283}\)

In March 2015, Abubakar Shekau pledged allegiance to ISIS in an audio message.\(^ {270}\) ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi\(^ {303}\) accepted the pledge soon after.\(^ {271}\) As of March 2016, approximately 1,000 Boko Haram operatives are believed to be fighting alongside ISIS in Libya. ISIS operatives reportedly hire special smugglers to transport Boko Haram militants quickly from Nigeria to Libya, avoiding typical stops on the smuggling route.\(^ {272}\)

Ties to other entities:

Boko Haram appears to have some connections to Saudi Arabia. The group has allegedly received funding from Saudi organizations and Boko Haram founder Mohammed Yusuf allegedly sought refuge there from Nigerian security forces in 2004.\(^ {273}\)

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\(^ {269}\) Jacob Zenn, “Boko Haram’s international connections,” Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, January 14, 2014,
Boko Haram

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Media Coverage:

Western Media

Until the kidnapping of 200 schoolgirls in Chibok in April 2014 leading to a global outcry and large-scale media coverage of Boko Haram, Western coverage of the group has been limited and restricted to sporadic attention following the violent attacks of the group in recent years. While its aspiration as an Al Qaeda-like organization and its links to transnational terrorist organizations have been noted in the media, the group has been mainly viewed as a domestic terrorist organization fueled by local grievances and sectarian tension, which reflects the assessment of most Western governments of the group.

Boko Haram first rose to international attention following violent clashes with Nigerian police forces in July 2009. While one of the nicknames of the group, “Nigerian Taliban,” was picked up by the Western press, The Guardian’s David Smith emphasized the domestic focus of the group around local grievances and sectarian tensions, arguing that Boko Haram “models itself on the Taliban but has no known link.”

With the frequency, scale, and violence of attacks by Boko Haram increasing since 2010, media coverage of the group became more frequent. Yet the exact nature of the group remained elusive to many commentators. In The New York Times, Jean Herskovits argued “[T]here is no proof that a well-organized, ideologically coherent terrorist group called Boko Haram even exists today. Evidence suggests instead that, while the original core of the group remains active, criminal gangs have adopted the name Boko Haram to claim responsibility for attacks when it suits them.” Similarly Reuters’ Joe Brook asked, “Is Boko Haram just the latest in a long list of violent spasms in Nigeria, or is it the next battalion of global jihadists, capable of thrusting Africa’s most populous nation into civil war?” He went on to argue that “Boko Haram remains firmly focused on domestic Nigerian issues.” However a “small, increasingly ambitious and sophisticated group of extremists controls the very top of the group. A handful of those members have received training outside Nigeria, including from AQIM.”

When Boko Haram bombed a UN building in Nigeria’s capital Abuja in August 2011, links of the group to international terrorist organizations such as al-Qaeda were widely mentioned in the press based on both the type of target and sophistication of the attack. Nigeria’s Minister of State for Foreign Affairs was cited by the BBC saying “This is not an attack on Nigeria but on the global community,” she said. “An attack on the world.” Following a proliferation of further attacks, the U.S. army starts to provide counter-insurgency training to Nigerian troops to combat what was described in the Guardian as an “armed Islamic insurgency.”

Following a statement by Abubakar Shekau posted on YouTube in January 2012, stating that Boko Haram was “at war with Christians,” media reports begin to highlight Boko Haram’s global ambition, arguing that “the group’s leadership would like to be seen as part of a global jihad.”

As Boko Haram began to professionalize its attacks, the group also began to manage its relationship with Western media outlets in a different way. Rather than allowing individual members of the group to talk to a range of journalists, a spokesperson with the name of “Abu Qaqa” begins to appear and contact journalists to link attacks to Boko Haram. At the same time, the leader of the Abubakar Shekau begins to frequently post videos of the group on YouTube.

In January 2012, Abu Qaqa agreed to an exclusive interview with the Guardian attempting to justify the group’s violent attacks with the failure of the Nigerian government and portraying Boko Haram as a popular movement. “It’s the secular state that is responsible for the woes we are seeing today. People should understand that we are not saying we have to rule Nigeria, but we have been motivated by the stark injustice in the land. People underrate us but we have our sights set on [bringing sharia to] the whole world, not just Nigeria… People were singing songs in [northern cities] Kano and Kaduna saying: ‘We want Boko Haram.’”

As Boko Haram’s attacks particularly against Christians continued and escalated, the U.S. Department of State came under increasing pressure by Congress and the Justice Department to designate the group as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO). With a group of prominent academics urging then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to refrain from a designation, a
public debate ensues in the U.S. over the question. Picking up on this point, the International Business Times emphasizes the limited usefulness of a designation concluding that "the U.S. needs to stop treating this as a security issue and start treating it for what it is—a political issue." 280

It was the kidnapping of 200 girls in April 2014 in the state of Chibok that led to large-scale Western media coverage of Boko Haram, prompting a global social media campaign in response. But despite global attention, the response of Western governments remained limited. Commenting in the Washington Post, Sarah Chayes argued that "amid the pressure to respond to the anguish, the United States is right not to overdo its counterterrorism assistance to Abuja," stating that "much of the responsibility for the rise of the Boko Haram extremist group may lie with the Nigerian government itself." 281 In the midst of the widespread public outrage over the kidnapping of the girls, media attention returns to the question of why Boko Haram had not been targeted by the U.S. administration earlier and designated as an FTO. 282

While Western media interest in Boko Haram has increased over the last years, most commentators continue to view the activities of the group predominately through a prism of domestic grievances rather than a regional or global jihadist agenda. However, commentators increasingly compare Boko Haram to other regional terrorist groups and point to an agenda that is more regionally rather domestically focused. Thus, Colin Freeman argued in The Telegraph that "like al-Shabaab in Somalia and Isis in Syria and Iraq, a group that was unheard just a few years ago is now a major threat to the stability of the region." 283 Similarly Robin Simcox stated on Al Jazeera English that "ignoring the long-standing connections Boko Haram has to al-Qaeda, or betting that Boko Haram’s focus will remain local is not a policy. It is willful blindness." 284

Rhetoric:

Abubakar Shekau, video message released on YouTube, December 29, 2016

“Our mission is to establish an Islamic caliphate [in Nigeria].”

Abubakar Shekau, video message released on YouTube, December 29, 2016

“I am here, well and alive…the battle is just beginning.”

Abubakar Shekau, audio message released on YouTube, November 13, 2016

To the West:

“...The war has just begun.”

Abu Musab al-Barnawi, interview in ISIS’s magazine al-Naba, August 2016

“[We will] booby-trap and [blow] up every church that we are able to reach, and [kill] all of those who we find from the citizens of the Cross.”

Abu Musab al-Barnawi, interview in ISIS’s magazine al-Naba, August 2016

“[Boko Haram] remain[s] a force to be reckoned with.”

Abubakar Shekau, audiotape released on social media, September 19, 2015

“Buhari is a liar and has deceived you. The army spokesman is also lying. We are alive, I am alive, this is my voice, more audible than it was before. This is Shekau. He and his footsoldiers always run helter-skelter whenever we come face to face with them... Buhari, you once claimed that you will crush us in three months. How can you crush us?”

Abubakar Shekau, August 16, 2015

“It is indeed all over the global media of infidels that I am dead or that I am sick and incapacitated and have lost influence in the affairs of religion. Gratitude be to Allah and with his help, I have not disappeared. I am still alive and I am not dead. And I will not die until my time appointed by Allah is up.”

Abubakar Shekau, August 16, 2015

“This ostentatious person, a liar -- I mean Buhari, who raised arms to crush us in three
Boko Haram

months. You Buhari, why didn’t you say in three years? We will certainly fight you by the grace of Allah until we establish Allah’s law everywhere on Earth.\textsuperscript{292}

Abubakar Shekau, threatening the upcoming Nigerian presidential election, February 18, 2015 \textsuperscript{325}

“This election will not be held even if we are dead. Even if we are not alive Allah will never allow you to do it.”\textsuperscript{293}

Abubakar Shekau, pledge of allegiance to ISIS, March 7, 2015 \textsuperscript{326}

“We announce our allegiance to the Caliph ... and will hear and obey in times of difficulty and prosperity, in hardship and ease. We call upon Muslims everywhere to pledge allegiance to the Caliph.”\textsuperscript{294}

Abubakar Shekau, praising the Paris shootings in a YouTube video, January 14, 2015 \textsuperscript{327}

“We have felt joy for what befell the people of France in terms of torment, as their blood was spilled inside their country.”\textsuperscript{295}

Abubakar Shekau, addressing Cameroonian President Paul Biya in a YouTube video, January 5, 2015 \textsuperscript{328}

“Oh Paul Biya, if you don’t stop this, your evil plot, you will taste what has befallen Nigeria... Your troops cannot do anything to us.”\textsuperscript{296}

Abu Musab al-Barnawi, Boko Haram video, January 2015 \textsuperscript{329}

“In reference to recent Boko Haram attacks in the Lake Chad region:

“As for it’s [sic] importance to us, it’s because of it removes that military presence from the lands of the Islamic state, and hence establish the shariah [Islamic law] of Allah in the region, and attain safety and security in it for Muslims [sic].”\textsuperscript{297}

Abu Musab al-Barnawi, Boko Haram video, January 2015 \textsuperscript{330}

“We have come to give victory to AlSunna [sic] and to establish the governance of Allah on earth.”\textsuperscript{298}

Boko Haram Militant Leader, December 21, 2014 \textsuperscript{331}

“We have made sure the floor of this hall is turned red with blood, and this is how it is going to be in all future attacks and arrests of infidels,” the group leader says in a message. “From now, killing, slaughtering, destructions and bombing will be our religious duty anywhere we invade.”\textsuperscript{299}
Abubakar Shekau, November 1, 2014 [332]

“The over 200 Chibok girls have converted to Islam, which they confess is the best religion. Either their parents accept this and convert too or they can die... who says we are dialoguing or discussing with anybody? Are you talking to yourselves? All we are doing is slaughtering people with machetes and shooting people with guns ... War is what we want.”

Abubakar Shekau, October 2014 [333]

“Anybody that said plans are underway for the release of the [nearly 300 kidnapped] girls is just daydreaming. They would not be returned.”

Abul Qaqa, June 2012 [334]

“The Nigerian state and Christians are our enemies and we will be launching attacks on the Nigerian state and its security apparatus as well as churches until we achieve our goal of establishing an Islamic state in place of the secular state.”

Abubakar Shekau, May 5, 2014 [335]

“I abducted your girls. I will sell them in the market, by Allah. I will sell them off and marry them off.”

Abubakar Shekau, May 2014 [336]

“Women are slaves. I want to reassure my Muslim brothers that Allah says slaves are permitted in Islam.”

Abubakar Shekau, March 24, 2014 [337]

“I promise that we will kill all your (Muslim) clerics. Just like I killed Albani and it was splashed all over the newspapers. I’ll kill them all. Who was Albani, he was nothing. I’ll kill all of them. I’ll spare none but who follow Allah and the Prophet. Whoever follows Jews and the [W]est is my enemy.”

Abubakar Shekau, March 24, 2014 [337]

“In this world, there are two kinds of people; there are those who are with us or those who are against us, and the latter group are those I’ll kill once I spot them.”

Abubakar Shekau, March 24, 2014 [338]

“Western education is totally forbidden. Girls, you should return to your homes. In Islam, it is allowed to take infidel women as slaves and in due course we will start taking women away and sell in the market.”
Abubakar Shekau, March 24, 2014 [339]

“Let me make it crystal clear to you save you from unnecessary distorted newspapers and the radio analysis on issues you don’t understand. We are not fighting the north, we are fighting the world. And you will see us fighting the world. This is our job.”

Abubakar Shekau, January 11, 2012 [340]

“This religion of Christianity you are practicing is not a religion of God—it is paganism. God frowns at it. What you are practicing is not religion. Aside that, you Christians cheated and killed us to the extent of eating our flesh like cannibals! You did all you wanted to us. We are trying to coerce you to embrace Islam, because that is what God instructed us to do. Even at that, without provocation, you slaughtered us and took our wives and humiliated us!... We are at war with Christians.”

Abubakar Shekau, January 2012 [341]

“I enjoy killing anyone that God commands me to kill - the way I enjoy killing chickens and rams.”

Abubakar Shekau, June 2011 [342]

“Anybody, even if he is a learned Muslim teacher, if we confirm that he exposes us to the government, his children will become orphans and his wife will become a widow, in God’s name.”


Boko Haram


