

## **STATEMENT OF CASE TO RENEW THE DESIGNATION OF AL-SHABAAB AS A TERRORIST ENTITY**

### **PURPOSE**

1. This paper sets out the case demonstrating Al-Shabaab, (also known as Al-Islamiya, Harakat al-Shabaab, al-Mujahideen, Mujahidin Youth Movement, Shabaab al-Mujahideen Movement, or Young Mujahideen Movement in Somalia), meets the statutory criteria for the renewal of its designation as a terrorist entity within New Zealand pursuant to the Terrorism Suppression Act 2002 (TSA).

### **STRUCTURE OF THIS PAPER**

2. This paper sets out updated information about Al-Shabaab's continued involvement in terrorist activity and covers any relevant changes or developments to the organisation since its original designation in February 2010,<sup>1</sup> and renewals in February 2013, February 2016, January 2019, and December 2021,<sup>2</sup> including SP's objectives, structure, weapons and tactics and includes recent attacks which meet the definition of a terrorist act under the TSA.
3. This updated information, together with the information contained in the original designation paper and previous renewal papers, provide the basis for the conclusion that Al-Shabaab meets the legal criteria for renewal of its designation as a terrorist entity under the TSA.

### **STATUTORY CRITERIA FOR DESIGNATION RENEWAL UNDER THE TSA**

4. Section 29B of the TSA provides that a designation of a terrorist entity expires three years after the date of designation unless it is earlier revoked, or renewed by the Prime Minister. The original designation is made pursuant to s 22 of the TSA, which provides that the Prime Minister may designate an entity as a terrorist entity if the Prime Minister believes on reasonable grounds that the entity has knowingly carried out, or has knowingly participated in the carrying out of, one or more terrorist acts. Carrying out a terrorist act includes the planning, preparation, or credible threat to carry out the act, whether it is actually carried out or not (s 5A(a) and (b)) and also includes an attempt to carry out the act (s 5A(c)).
5. The Prime Minister may renew that designation for a further three years under s 29B(2) if satisfied that there are still reasonable grounds as set out in s 22 for the entity to be designated under that section.
6. Before the expiry of an order made under s 29B(2), the Prime Minister may make another order under s 29B(3) renewing the designation concerned for a further three years. The Prime Minister may make any number of orders under s 29B(3) in respect of the same designation (s 29B(5)).

### **CREDIBILITY OF SOURCES**

7. This paper has been prepared using open or unclassified sources which have a reputation for careful and unbiased reporting. These include The Guardian, BBC News, CNN, and Al Jazeera.
8. A range of think tanks were referred to including Council on Foreign Relations and ACLED Data.

9. A range of regional news sources were also referred to including Shabelle Media Network, CGTN Africa News, and Anadolu Agency (AA).
10. Other sources utilised include VOA News, France24, U.S. Department of State, United Nations Security Council, Australian National Security, the Counterterrorism Guide, and West Point.

## **EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT DESIGNATION RENEWAL UNDER THE TSA**

### **Continued involvement in terrorist activity**

11. On 25 November 2021, a suicide car bomb was detonated outside the Mucassar primary and secondary school in Mogadishu. The attack occurred during school hours resulting in eight people confirmed dead and at least 23 injured. The hospital nearby was also damaged. Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for the attack as an intended strike on a United Nations security convey passing the school.<sup>3</sup>
12. On 18 January 2022, a Mogadishu teashop near a military base was attacked by a suicide bomber. The lone attacker entered the teashop and detonated an explosive vest causing four deaths and ten casualties. Al-Shabaab claimed the purpose of this attack was to target Somali soldiers inside the teashop.<sup>4</sup> The attack occurred two days after Somalia's Government spokesperson was injured in another targeted convoy bombing.<sup>5</sup>
13. On 19 February 2022, a popular restaurant in Beledweyne for local officials and politicians was targeted by an Al-Shabaab suicide bomber. Security had been increased in Beledweyne, prior to the first Parliamentary seating vote. Fourteen people died as a result of the attack.<sup>6</sup> One of the victims was a candidate for the Parliamentary election.<sup>7</sup>
14. On 24 March 2022, Security Forces killed two attackers that attempted to infiltrate an army base near the International Airport in Somalia. Mortars were fired at the camp where African Union (AMISOM) peacekeeping troops, United Nations and other international organisations are based, and two men attempted to gain entry. It was reported two security guards and a policeman were killed, and four others were injured in the attack.<sup>8</sup>
15. On 21 August 2022, Al-Shabaab fighters stormed a hotel often frequented by Government Officials and set off explosives. Security Forces retaliated the siege for 30 hours and cleared the remaining planted explosives.<sup>9</sup> At least 20 were killed during the siege and 40 casualties were taken to hospital.
16. On 3 September 2022, Al-Shabaab conducted an overnight attack on the Hiran area. The group destroyed food supply trucks and set them on fire. Nineteen civilians were found dead, including women and children. Al-Shabaab claimed the trucks were targeted as they were transporting material for fighters of a local sub clan helping government forces.<sup>10</sup>
17. On 23 October 2022, gunmen attacked a Southern Somali hotel, killing nine civilians. Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for the attack and the military operation spokesperson, stated Jubbaland region's administrators were intended targets.<sup>11</sup>
18. On 30 October 2022, two car bombs were detonated in Mogadishu near the Ministry of Education. The explosions caused destruction to nearby buildings and vehicles as well killing 116 people and injuring 300.<sup>12</sup> Al-Shabaab was blamed for the attack by Somali President, Hassan Sheikh Mohamud and later the group claimed responsibility.<sup>13</sup>

19. On 6 November 2022, an Al-Shabaab suicide bomber entered the entrance of Mogadishu military camp and detonated his device when checked by Somali troops. At least five people were killed and 11 injured. The attack was later claimed by Al-Shabaab.<sup>14</sup> The next day, gunmen entered a Galgaduud military base after setting off two car bombs. Al-Shabaab spokesman, Abdiasis Abu Musab, stated the fighters killed several soldiers, stole weapons and military vehicles.<sup>15</sup>
20. On 27 November 2022, a hotel often used as accommodation for government officials in Mogadishu was attacked by gunmen.<sup>16</sup> One of the gunmen wore a suicide vest which was detonated before gunfire commenced. The siege lasted an estimated 12 hours. Al-Shabaab fighters killed eight civilians and one soldier. Five other soldiers were injured during the siege. In Al-Shabaab's statement, the group claimed the attack and disclosed the target was the nearby presidential palace. Somalian parliament postponed a scheduled session due to the siege.<sup>17</sup>
21. On 22 December 2022, an armed group of Al-Shabaab fighters attacked a police vehicle in Eastern Kenya, killing three people. The vehicle was hit with an explosive device and a rocket-propelled grenade as it was travelling to Garissa.<sup>18</sup>
22. On 4 January 2023, two car bombs were exploded in two separate military bases situated in Mahas and Dadan. The blasts killed 19 people. Al-Shabaab claimed the attack and stated the target was "apostate militias and soldiers".<sup>19</sup>
23. On 22 January 2023, five civilians were killed when a government building in Mogadishu was bombed by Al-Shabaab members. Those attempting to escape the building were met with gunfire. Security forces retaliated and killed six of the attackers.<sup>20</sup>
24. On 26 May 2023, Al-Shabaab fighters targeted a military base housing Ugandan forces. An exchange of gun fire occurred after an initial suicide bomb. Both groups had casualties, with a death toll of 137 people.<sup>21</sup>
25. On 30 May 2023, Al-Shabaab attacked another military base in Masagawa, north of Mogadishu. The number of deaths is unconfirmed; however, it is estimated seven people, including Al-Shabaab attackers, died during the attack.<sup>22</sup>
26. On 4 June 2023, Al-Shabaab fighters stormed a military base, housing African union peacekeepers in Bulamarer, southwest of Mogadishu. A car laden with explosives was driven in to the base and 54 Ugandan soldiers were killed. An airstrike was conducted by the US Africa Command the day after the attack to destroy equipment taken by Al-Shabaab fighters.<sup>23,24</sup>
27. On 9 June 2023, a beachside hotel was taken under a six-hour siege by Al-Shabaab members, killing six civilians and wounding ten others. Seven of the attackers were killed during the siege.<sup>25</sup>
28. On 25 June 2023, an attack took place in two villages in Southeast Kenya, bordering Somalia. During the attack, houses were burnt and destroyed, and five civilians were killed. The men and women were separated, and some men were tied up and beheaded. Media reporting linked the attack to Al-Shabaab militants as the group has targeted the Kenyan border with Somalia previously.<sup>26,27</sup>
29. On 29 September 2023, a suicide bomber entered a tea shop based in Mogadishu and killed eleven people and wounded 18. The tea shop was located near the presidential palace and was frequently visited by Somali Security Forces. Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for the attack.<sup>28</sup>

30. On 10 January 2024, a United Nations helicopter was forced to emergency land in rebel-held territory in Galmudug state after a technical glitch. The nine passengers, consisting of medical professionals and soldiers, were captured by Al-Shabaab. One was shot, six were abducted, and one is unaccounted for.<sup>29, 30</sup>
31. On 11 February 2024, the General Gordon military base in Mogadishu was attacked. Four Emirati soldiers and one Bahraini military officer were confirmed dead. Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility in an online statement, stating that the United Arab Emirates (UAE) was an enemy of Islamic law for supporting the Somali Government.<sup>31, 32</sup>
32. On 25 March 2024, a military base in the lower Shabelle region was stormed and temporarily occupied by Al-Shabaab suicide car bombers. Somalia's military was successful in regaining the military base. Seven Somali soldiers and ten Al-Shabaab fighters were killed during an exchange of gunfire. Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for the attack.<sup>33</sup>
33. On 15 July 2024, members of the public were at a popular café in Mogadishu when a car bomb was detonated, killing people, and wounding 20. The bomb also destroyed nearby buildings and vehicles. The café was situated near the Presidential Palace and Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility as the café was a common place for security and government workers to meet.<sup>34</sup>
34. On 3 August 2024, a suicide bombing, and gun attack occurred at Lido Beach, Mogadishu, killing 37 people. The suicide bomber ignited the bomb in the entrance of the Beach View Hotel. A group of Al-Shabaab armed members subsequently began shooting nearby people. An estimated 200 people were wounded in the attack. Security Forces successfully killed the attackers at the scene, and captured one escaping with a car filled with explosives.<sup>35, 36</sup>

## **Ideology and objectives**

35. Al-Shabaab is a Sunni Salafi jihadist group whose primary objective remains the establishment of an Islamic State in Somalia and other East African territory.<sup>37</sup> Within that broad objective, Al-Shabaab also intends to build legitimacy by taking advantage of the country's humanitarian crisis and replacing the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS). Via these objectives Al-Shabaab anticipate a closer alignment with Al-Qaeda.<sup>38, 39</sup>
  - a. On 15 June 2022, a Channel 4 video journalist was permitted to attend and film a graduation ceremony for 200 Al-Shabaab fighters. The graduates were trained with the intention to carry out attacks against the Somali Government, and are led by a previous Somali Government Intelligence Officer, Abdirahman Mahamed Warsame, also known as Mahad Karate. During the interview the deputy leader stated that "it is our decision not to kill anyone whom the Sharia forbids us from killing, non-Muslims or Muslims". However, the group also accepts that there will be non-target casualties due to the methods used.<sup>40</sup>
  - b. In controlled areas of Somalia, Al-Shabaab continues to enforce strict rules such as prohibiting specific types of music and film entertainment, shaving of beards, plastic bags, the sale of drugs like khat (a narcotic plant), smoking, and have banned cooperation with humanitarian agencies. The group endorses amputation and stoning (respectively) for suspected thieves and adulterers. Regular public executions are carried out in the controlled areas. Mahad Karate stated "nobody has achieved their principles, systems, and administration by being peaceful... our religion is being attacked. Democracy is a religion for non-Muslims. It's against our beliefs and identity."<sup>41, 42</sup>

- c. Al-Shabaab is trying to establish a welfare estate. By providing food distribution centres through controlled areas, Al-Shabaab gain support from those experiencing the hardship of limited resources and loss of property due to natural disasters. The public supporting Al-Shabaab believe the group wish to support the poor Muslim people, have created an environment for Muslims that are considered equal, and that there is law and order.<sup>43</sup>

## Organisation and structure

36. Since 2021, Al-Shabaab continues to control large areas of central and southern Somalia. However, in recent years some areas of Somalia have been reclaimed by the Somali government.<sup>44</sup> In 2022, Al-Shabaab increased their cross-border operations in Ethiopia and Kenya.<sup>45</sup>
  - a. In August 2023, the Somali President claimed a renewed military plan to eliminate Al-Shabaab. Areas such as Hiiraan, Middle Shabelle, Mudug, Bay, Hirshabelle and Galmudug have since been mostly claimed back, and Al-Shabaab's presence has diminished (adding to the loss of supporters caused by high levels of taxation and hardship). This loss in territory led Al-Shabaab north, where there were opportunities to exploit political instability.<sup>46</sup>
37. The United States has designated 16 entities and individuals in the Horn of Africa, United Arab Emirates, and Cyprus for facilitating finances for Al-Shabaab.<sup>47</sup> On 17 October 2022 and 24 May 2023, the United States Department of State published two press releases expressing further designation of Al-Shabaab leaders as Specially Designated Global Terrorists.<sup>48</sup> Most notably, these include:
  - a. Senior leader, Mohamed Mohamud Mire, was designated in 2022 and sanctioned by the United Nations Security Council in 2024 for being responsible for the tax-collection wing and participated in financing, planning, facilitating, preparing, and perpetrating acts of activities in Somalia. Mohamed Mire is also one of Al-Shabaab's strategic decision makers.<sup>49,50</sup>
  - b. The commander of the armed wing, Yasir Jiis. Known for his involvement with Jabha or Jabhaats attack operations.<sup>51</sup>
  - c. The chief of the Intelligence wing, Yusuf Ahmed Hajji Nurow, otherwise known as Gees Ade.
  - d. Maxamed Dauud Gabaane was designated in 2023 along with other fellow finance emirs. , Gabaane carries out the responsibility of Head of the Amniyat intelligence wing in the Wanlaweyn District, where he regularly collects information on coalition forces and Baledogle Military Airfield Somali personnel.<sup>52</sup>
  - e. Maxamed Siidow, a finance and operations commander in the Jabha armed wing. He oversees the taxation operations in the Lower Shabelle area. Maxamed Siidow is known for leading Al-Shabaab attacks and planning the utilization of IEDs.<sup>53</sup>
  - f. Suleiman Cabdi Daoud, manages the collections of religious taxation from civilians, and the Al-Shabaab 'court' used to store fines collected from Lower Shabelle.
38. On 21 May 2024, another press release was issued by the United Nations Security Council detailing sanctions on two other Al-Shabaab leaders. The United Nations sanctioned both

leaders pursuant to paragraph 26 of resolution 2662 (2022), as their actions have demonstrated engagement and support for threatening the peace in Somalia.<sup>54</sup>

- a. Abdikadir Mohamed Abdikadir, also known as Ikrima, is the Head of Operations and Logistics. Abdikadir Abdikadir has coordinated recruitment of Kenyan youth and commanded a force Al-Shabaab Kenyan fighters.<sup>55</sup>
  - b. Mohamed Omar Mohamed was sanctioned in 2023 due to his planning, perpetrating violent acts, and recruiting soldiers (including child soldiers) for Al-Shabaab.<sup>56</sup> He is also responsible for a series of attacks targeting civilians. Previously, Mohamed Mohamed was a Wali and Jabha armed wing commander of the Berdaale district.<sup>57</sup>
39. As of 2022, Ahmed Umar Abu Ubaidah, or Ahmed Diriye, is a prominent figure in Al-Shabaab heavily involved in the planning and execution of attacks in Somalia.<sup>58, 59</sup>
40. Sheikh Mohamed Abu Abdalla, appears to continue governing the Jubba Regions.<sup>60</sup>
41. Available resources have not indicated whether the above-named members of Al-Shabaab are still acting as leaders. There is only one recorded death of a leadership figure. On 17 December 2023, Al-Shabaab leader, Maalim Ayman, believed to be responsible for planning multiple attacks in Somalia and Kenya, was killed during a US African Command airstrike. Maalim Ayman was known for an attack on 5 January 2020 at Manda Bay, Kenya.<sup>61</sup>

### **Weapons, tactics and capability**

42. Al-Shabaab continue to use tactics including attacking government buildings, businesses, and accommodation near the presidential palace, and military bases. The majority of the recorded attacks are targeted in or near the capital, Mogadishu. Tactics also include the frequent use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs), either carried on their person or in vehicles (VBIED), as well as grenades, and firearms. Al-Shabaab frequently uses ambush tactics.<sup>62</sup>
43. 2024 reporting indicates the potential for a new relationship between the Houthis in Yemen and Al-Shabaab. It is suspected that Houthis are selling weapons to Al Shabaab, including drones.<sup>63</sup>
44. Estimates of numbers of the number of Al-Shabaab members vary from 5,000 to 14,000.<sup>64</sup> This number fluctuates over time as significant casualties and new recruitment occur. Al-Shabaab continues to use online platforms and Radio Al-Andalus, a Somalia based radio channel, to recruit in Somalia and internationally.<sup>65</sup>
45. Al-Shabaab continue to fund their mission with taxes. Vehicles that enter Al-Shabaab controlled areas are searched and expected to pay a tax between \$200 - \$1500 USD to pass through depending on the size and type of goods. This money is used to fund the military campaign and efforts to build the desired Islamic state. Al-Shabaab have invested \$2 million into new departments such as health care,<sup>66</sup> taking advantage of the political and economic instability and poverty to increase the number of loyal followers.<sup>67</sup>

### **LAW OF ARMED CONFLICT (LOAC)**

46. Section 5(4) of the TSA provides that an act does not constitute a terrorist act for the purposes of the TSA if two conditions are met. The first condition is that there must be a situation of armed conflict in those areas in which the entity conducts its operations, at the time the act occurs. Secondly, the act must accord with the rules of international law applicable to the

conflict – the law of armed conflict (LOAC). If one of these conditions is not met, the acts in question may constitute a terrorist act.

47. The situation continues to be one of sporadic violent activity by Al-Shabaab and has not reached a level of intensity and continuity which would bring the situation within the meaning of “armed conflict” for the purposes of the exemption in section 5(4) of the TSA. Further, Al-Shabaab’s actual or planned targeting of civilians, police officers, and civilian infrastructure is in breach of the LOAC principle of distinction. Accordingly, the acts do not meet the exemption in s 5(4), and Al-Shabaab’s attacks are properly characterised as terrorist acts.

## CONCLUSION

48. On the evidence set out above, this paper concludes that there are still reasonable grounds as set out in s 22 of the TSA for Al-Shabaab to be designated under that section.
49. Since its designation in February 2010, and renewal in February 2013, February 2016, January 2019, and December 2021, Al-Shabaab has continued to carry out activities which meet the definition of terrorist acts in ss 5 and 5A of the TSA (paragraphs 11-34 including planning, threatening, and attempting attacks. Accordingly, given there are still reasonable grounds to believe Al-Shabaab has knowingly carried out terrorist acts as set out in s 22 of the TSA, Al-Shabaab meets the legal criteria for renewal of its designation as a terrorist entity under s 29B.
50. The designation must be renewed by 14 December 2024 to be effective.

<sup>1</sup> The statement of case, dated 20 July 2014 can be accessed at: <http://www.police.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publications/shining-path-renewal-september-2014.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> The statement of case, dated 17 July 2017 can be accessed at: <https://www.police.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publications/renew-the-shining-path-terrorist-entity-27july2017.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> 25/11/2021, 'Al-Shabab bombing near Mogadishu school kills at least 8', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/11/25/large-explosion-rocks-somali-capital-mogadishu> on 30/08/2024.

<sup>4</sup> 18/01/2022, 'Four people killed, 10 wounded in bombing in Somali capital', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via Four people killed, 10 wounded in bombing in Somali capital | Al-Shabab News | Al Jazeera <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/1/18/several-people-killed-in-bombing-in-somali-capital> on 30/08/2024.

<sup>5</sup> 12/01/2024, 'Somalia: Several killed in Mogadishu car bombing', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via Somalia: Several killed in Mogadishu car bombing | News | Al Jazeera on 5/09/2024.

<sup>6</sup> 19/02/2022, 'Suicide bombing kills 14 in Somali restaurant', *The Guardian*, accessed via <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/feb/19/suicide-bombing-kills-in-somali-restaurant> on 30/08/2024.

<sup>7</sup> 19/02/2022, 'At least 13 killed by suicide bomber in central Somalia', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via At least 13 killed by suicide bomber in central Somalia | Al-Shabab News | Al Jazeera <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/2/19/at-least-13-killed-by-suicide-bomber-in-central-somalia> on 30/08/2024.

<sup>8</sup> 24/03/2022, 'Somalia: Five dead in attack on military base near airport', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via Somalia: Five dead in attack on military base near airport | Al-Shabab News <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/24/somalia-five-dead-in-attack-on-military-base-near-airport> | Al Jazeera on 30/08/2024.

<sup>9</sup> 21/08/2022, 'Somali group al-Shabab targets Mogadishu hotel in daring attack', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/gallery/2022/8/21/photos-somali-group-al-shabab-targets-mogadishu-hotel-in-daring-attack> on 30/08/2024.

<sup>10</sup> 3/09/2022, 'At least 19 civilians killed in al-Shabab attack in Somalia', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/9/3/at-least-18-civilians-killed-in-al-shabab-attack-in-somalia> on 30/08/2024.

<sup>11</sup> 23/10/2022, 'Attack on hotel in Somalia's Kismayo ends with 9 civilians dead', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/10/23/car-explosion-gunfire-hit-hotel-in-somalia-port-city-police> on 30/08/2024.

<sup>12</sup> 30/10/2022, 'At least 100 killed, 300 hurt in 'heinous' Mogadishu car bombings', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/10/30/hundreds-killed-wounded-in-heinous-mogadishu-car-bombings> on 30/08/2024.

<sup>13</sup> 6/11/2022, 'Five killed in suicide bombing at Somalia military camp', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/11/6/several-killed-in-suicide-bombing-at-somalia-military-camp> on 02/09/2024.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> 7/11/2022, 'Al-Shabab gunmen attack military base in central Somalia', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via Al-Shabab gunmen attack military base in central Somalia | <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/11/7/suspected-al-shabaab-militants-attack-somalia-military-base-defence-ministry> Armed Groups News | Al Jazeera on 02/09/2024.

<sup>16</sup> 27/11/2022, 'Al-Shabab fighters attack Mogadishu hotel used by govt. officials', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/11/27/mogadishu-hotel-used-by-somali-officials-in-mogadishu-al-shabaab> on 02/09/2024.

<sup>17</sup> 28/11/2022, 'Somali troops overpower al-Shabab fighters to end hotel siege', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/11/28/somali-troops-overpower-al-shabab-fighters-to-end-hotel-siege> on 02/09/2024.

<sup>18</sup> 22/12/2022, 'Al-Shabab kills two policemen, one civilian in eastern Kenya', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/12/22/al-shabaab-militants-kill-two-policemen-one-civilian-in-eastern-kenya> on 03/09/2024.

<sup>19</sup> 04/01/2023, 'Al-Shabab claims deadly car bomb attack in central Somalia', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/1/4/car-bombs-kills-civilians-level-houses-in-central-somalia> on 03/09/2024.

<sup>20</sup> 22/01/2023, 'At least five killed in bomb, gun attack in Somalia's Mogadishu', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/1/22/several-injured-after-blast-at-mayors-office-in-mogadishu> on 03/09/2024.

<sup>21</sup> 26/05/2023, 'Al-Shabab attacks AU peacekeeper mission base in Somalia', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/5/26/al-shabab-attacks-au-peacekeeper-mission-base-in-somalia> on 03/09/2024.

<sup>22</sup> 30/05/2023, 'At least 17 dead as Somali army and al-Shabab clash, says witness', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/5/30/at-least-17-dead-as-somali-army-and-al-shabab-clash> on 03/09/2024.

<sup>23</sup> 04/06/2023, 'Al-Shabab killed 54 Ugandan soldiers in Somalia, says Museveni', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/4/al-shabab-killed-54-ugandan-soldiers-in-somalia-says-museveni> on 03/09/2024.

<sup>24</sup> 04/06/2023, 'Uganda says 54 African Union peacekeepers killed in Somalia by al-Shabaab militants', *The Guardian*, accessed via <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jun/04/uganda-says-54-african-union-peacekeepers-killed-in-somalia-attack-al-shabaab> on 03/09/2024.

<sup>25</sup> 09/06/2023, 'Several killed in hotel siege in Somalia's Mogadishu', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/9/somalias-al-shabaab-attack-hotel-in-mogadishu> on 03/09/2024.

<sup>26</sup> 26/06/2023, 'Al-Shabaab beheads 5 people in southeast Kenya', *Anadolu Agency*, accessed via <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/al-shabaab-beheads-5-people-in-southeast-kenya/2931089> on 24/09/2024.

<sup>27</sup> 25/06/2023, 'Five civilians killed, some 'beheaded', in southeast Kenya', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/6/25/five-civilians-killed-some-beheaded-in-southeast-kenya> on 4/09/2024.

<sup>28</sup> 29/09/2023, 'Suicide attack on tea shop in Somalia capital kills at least seven', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/9/29/suicide-attack-on-tea-shop-in-mogadishu-kills-at-least-seven> on 03/09/2024.



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- <sup>30</sup> 10/01/2024, 'Al-Shabab captures UN helicopter in central Somalia', *Al Jazeera*, accessed via <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/1/10/al-shabab-captures-un-helicopter-in-central-somalia> on 23/09/2024.
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