



Muslim-American Involvement with Violent Extremism, 2015

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Eighty-one Muslim-Americans were associated with violent extremist plots in 2015, the highest annual total since 9/11. A majority of the individuals identified in 2015 involved travel (22 individuals) or attempted travel (23 individuals) to join militant groups based in Syria. Three joined militant groups in Pakistan or Somalia; and four were accused of helping others travel to Syria. Twenty-eight were associated with plots against targets in the United States. One person both traveled to Syria and allegedly plotted against targets in the United States upon his return.

These cases brought the total number of Muslim-Americans involved in violent extremism since 9/11 to 344, an average of 26 per year (Figure 1). Half of these individuals plotted against targets overseas; 10 percent involved unknown targets; and 40 percent plotted against targets in the United States.

Five plots engaged in violence in the United States in 2015, killed 19 people and raising the total since 9/11 to 69 fatalities. Over the same period, more than 220,000 Americans were murdered.¹ In 2015 alone, 134 Americans were killed in mass shootings.²

This is the seventh annual report on Muslim-American terrorism suspects and perpetrators published by the Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security. These reports, and the data on which they are based, are available at <http://kurzman.unc.edu/muslim-american-terrorism>.

Drop-off in Second Half of 2015

Of the 81 Muslim-Americans associated with violent extremism in 2015, three quarters were arrested or identified in the first half of the year (Figure 2). Only one quarter of these plots occurred in the second half of the year, although this decline was overshadowed by the shooting at a social service agency in San Bernardino, California, in December 2015, that killed 14 people and injured 17.

One factor in this drop-off may have been the Turkish government's decision in mid-2015 to restrict travel through Turkey to Syria.³ Some potential "foreign fighters" may also have been deterred by the U.S. government's stepped-up efforts to identify and arrest Americans who appeared to be planning to travel to Syria.

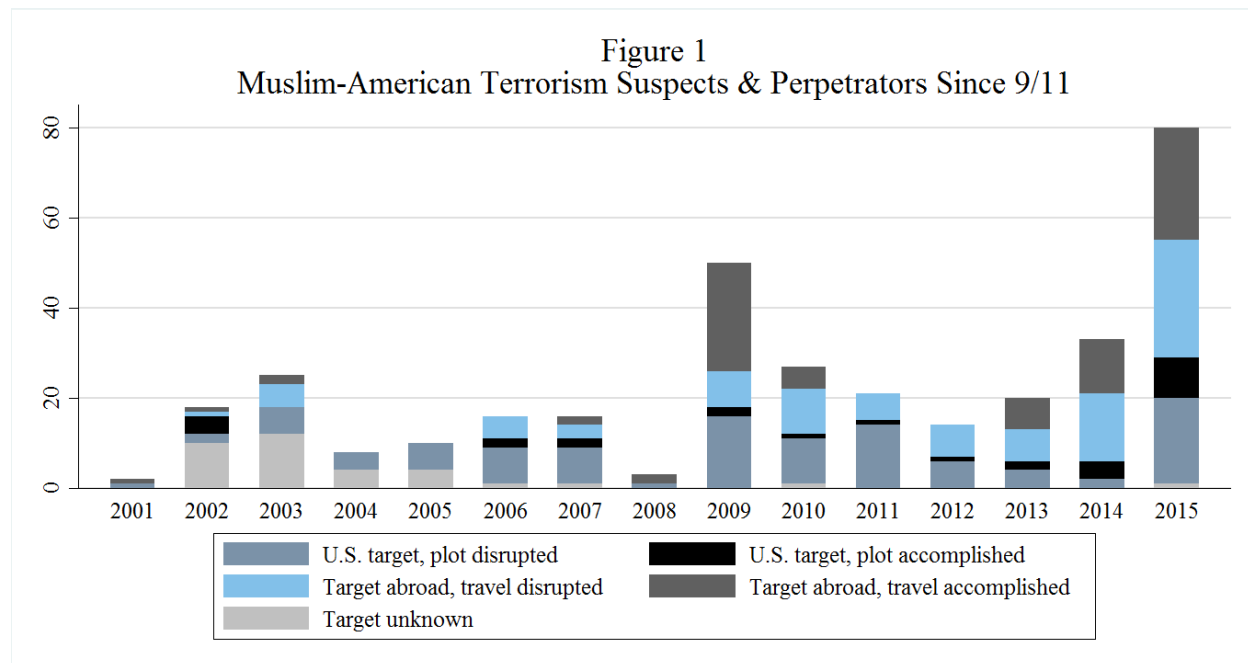
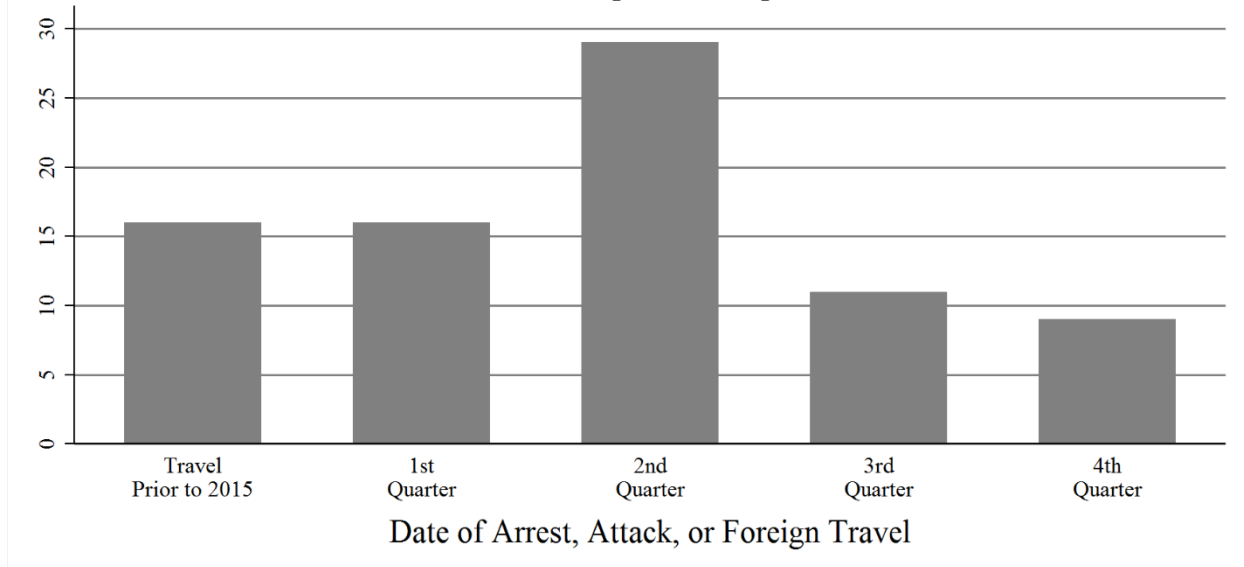


Figure 2
Muslim-American Terrorism Suspects & Perpetrators Identified in 2015



“In the last few months, we are seeing fewer people attempt to travel to join ISIL in Syria,” FBI Director James Comey testified before Congress in October 2015. “I don’t know what to make of that. One possibility is that we’re not seeing it the way we were before, [but] they’re still going. Another possibility is that all of our efforts to lock people up and punish them for going is making a difference. Another difference is help from our colleagues around the world, especially the Turks. Or something else.”⁴

Still, barriers to overseas travel do not account for the drop-off in plots against domestic targets. The “Islamic State” and its supporters continue to encourage Muslim-Americans to engage in attacks on U.S. soil, using knives or guns -- whatever weapons they have at hand -- rather than more elaborate plots that would require training and coordination.

In the first half of 2015, 19 Muslim-Americans were involved in such plots, generating three attacks (Figure 3): Elton Simpson and Nader Hamid Soofi shot at security guards outside a “Draw Muhammad” event in Garland, Texas, on May 3, injuring one guard; Usaamah Rahim brandished a knife at police in Boston, Massachusetts, on June 2; and Fareed Mumuni allegedly brandished a knife at police in Staten Island, New York, on June 17.

In the second half of 2015, the number of Muslim-Americans associated with plots against targets in the U.S. dropped by half, to 10, generating two attacks: Mohammad Abdulazeez shot military personnel in Chattanooga, Tennessee, on July 16, killing five and injuring one; and Syed Rizwan Farook and Tashfeen Malik shot social service workers in San Bernardino, California, on December 2, killing 14 and injuring 17.

Figure 3. Muslim-American Terrorism Suspects and Perpetrators, Plots Directed at U.S. Targets, 2015					
Name	Location	Plot or alleged plot	Disrupted	Status of case	
Christopher Cornell	Cincinnati, OH	Plan to attack U.S. Capitol	Early	Trial pending	
Jonas Edmonds	Chicago, IL	Plan to attack military armory	Early	Pled guilty	
Asia Siddiqui	New York, NY	Plan for unspecified attack	Late	Trial pending	
Noelle Velentzas				Trial pending	
Miguel Moran Diaz	Miami, FL	Plan to shoot people	Late	Trial pending	
John T. Booker, Jr.	Topeka, KS	Plan to truck-bomb military base	Early	Trial pending	
Abdirahman S. Mohamud	Columbus, OH	Trained with Nusra Front; plan to attack military bases	No	Trial pending	
			Early		
Unnamed minor	York, SC;	Plan to attack military bases	Late	Pled guilty	
Unnamed adult	Raleigh, NC			Unknown	
Elton Simpson	Phoenix, AZ; Garland, TX	Opened fire on security guards at an anti-Islamic event	No	Killed in attack	
Nader Hamid Soofi		Provided weapons used in attack		Trial pending	
Abdul Malik Abdul Kareem		Brandished knife at police officers		Killed in attack	
Usaamah Rahim	Boston, MA; Warwick, RI	Conspired with Rahim	No	Trial pending	
David Wright				Trial pending	
Nicholas Rovinski				Trial pending	
Munther Omar Saleh	New York, NY	Plan for attack with pressure- cooker explosive	Early	Trial pending	
Unnamed co-conspirator		Brandished knife at police officers	No	Trial pending	
Fareed Mumuni		Plan to attack with gun	Early	Trial pending	
Justin Sullivan	Morganton, NC	Plan to attack universities	Early	Trial pending	
Alexander Ciccolo	Adams, MA	Shot military personnel, killing 5	No	Killed in attack	
Mohammad Abdulazeez	Chattanooga, TN	Plan to attack beach with explosive	Early	Trial pending	
Harlem Suarez	Key West, FL	Plan to attack pope	Early	Unknown	
Unnamed minor	Lindenwold, NJ	Urged people to kill U.S. soldiers	Early	Trial pending	
Terrence J. McNeil	Akron, OH	Shot social service workers, killing 14	No	Killed in attack	
Syed Rizwan Farook	San Bernardino, CA			Provided weapons used in attack	Trial pending
Tashfeen Malik				Plan for unspecified attack	Early
Enrique Marquez	Baltimore, MD	Plan to attack a bar	Early	Trial pending	
Mohamed Elshinawy	Rochester, NY				

Early disruption is defined here as coming to the attention of authorities prior to the gathering of weapons or explosives.

Muslim-Americans in Syria

According to court records, media reports, and social media postings, 41 Muslim-Americans have joined the self-proclaimed “Islamic State” in Syria, Iraq, or Libya, or the Nusra Front (Jabhat al-Nusra), al-Qaeda’s franchise in Syria, since the Syrian civil war broke out in 2011.

Twenty of these Americans have died, while 16 (11 men and five women) appear to be living in territory controlled by these groups. Five were arrested after their return to the United States; of these, one (Abdirahman S. Mohamud) was accused of planning an attack in the United States.

Figure 4. Muslim-Americans Allegedly Joining Nusra Front or “Islamic State,” By Year of Travel	
2012	
Ahmad Abousamra	Died in Syria in June 2015
“Abdul Aliy” (@maitreveen)	Died in Iraq in March 2015
First roommate of “Abdul Aliy”	Died in Syria prior to March 2015
Second roommate of “Abdul Aliy”	Died in Syria prior to March 2015
Third roommate of “Abdul Aliy”	Possibly living in Syria
Sinh Vinh Ngo Nguyen	Arrested in 2013 after return to U.S.
2013	
Bilal Abood	Arrested in 2015 after return to U.S.
“Abu Dujana al-Amriki”	Died in Syria in 2013
“Abu Khalid al-Amriki”	Died in Syria in 2015
“Abu Muhammad al-Amriki”	Died in Syria in 2015
Eric Harroun	Arrested in 2013 after return to U.S.
Amiir Farouk Ibrahim	Died in Syria in 2013
Mohamad Saeed Kodaimati	Arrested in 2015 after return to U.S.
Nicole Mansfield	Died in Syria in 2013
2014	
“Abu Abdullah al-Amriki”	Died in Iraq in 2015
Moner Abusalha	Died in Syria in 2014
Ariel Bradley	Possibly living in Syria
Yusra Ismail	Possibly living in Syria
Yusuf Jama	Died in Syria in 2014
Rahmo Kodaimati	Possibly living in Syria
Kodaimati (first name not publicly identified; father of Mohamad, Rahmo)	Possibly living in Syria
Douglas McAuthur McCain	Died in Syria in 2014
Hanad Abdullahi Mohallim	Died in Syria in 2014
Abdirahman S. Mohamud	Arrested in 2015 after return to U.S.
Abdirahmaan Muhumed	Died in Syria in 2014
Hoda Muthana (Umm Jihad)	Possibly living in Syria
Reza Niknejad	Possibly living in Syria
Abdi Mohamud Nur	Possibly living in Syria
Abdullah Ramo Pazara	Died in Syria in 2014
“Umar” (@onthatpath3)	Possibly living in Syria
2015	
Sixto Ramiro Garcia	Died in Syria in 2015
Samy (last name not publicly identified)	Possibly living in Syria
2015 or earlier (date of travel unknown)	
“Abu Dawoud al-Amriki”	Died in Iraq in 2015
“Abu Huraira al-Amriki”	Possibly living in Syria
“Abu Isa al-Amriki”	Possibly living in Syria
“Abu Usama al-Amriki”	Died in Iraq in 2015
“Abu Zeyd”	Possibly living in Syria
“Chloe”	Possibly living in Syria
Khaled ad-Dusarii	Died in Syria in 2015
“Umm Isa al-Amriki”	Possibly living in Syria
Unnamed executioner of Christians by “Islamic State” in Libya	Possibly living in Libya

Note: Some of the individuals who traveled prior to 2014 came to public attention in 2015 and are included in the total of 81 Muslim-Americans associated with violent extremism in 2015.

American travel to Syria peaked in 2014 with 16 individuals, as shown in Figure 4. Only two individuals are known to have traveled in 2015. Another 12 are known to have traveled in 2014 or earlier but were only identified publicly in 2015, and are therefore included in the total of 81 Muslim-Americans associated with terrorism in 2015. An additional nine individuals became publicly known in 2015 but may have traveled prior to 2015 – their date of travel is unknown.

Three other individuals were identified in 2015 as having fought with militants outside of Syria and Iraq: Maalik Alim Jones, who allegedly fought with the Shabaab militant organization in Somalia from 2011 until his capture in December 2015; Ibrahim A. Mohamed, who died in Somalia in April 2015;⁵ and Ahmed Farouq, who died in a drone strike in Pakistan in January 2015, several months after being named deputy emir of Al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent.⁶

Of the 41 Americans who joined the Nusra Front or the “Islamic State,” listed in Figure 4, 16 have been identified publicly only by online pseudonyms. Many of these names were collected by researchers on militants’ use of social media who shared their findings with me. “Abdul Aliy” (Twitter name @maitreveen), for example, was apparently a college student in the American South studying communications. He converted to Islam and left for Syria in 2012 along with three unidentified roommates, according to his correspondence via social media with researcher Amarnath Amarasingam, who co-directs a study of Western foreign fighters based at the University of Waterloo in Canada. “Abdul Aliy” said that he and his roommates first affiliated with the U.S.-backed Free Syrian Army, then switched to the “Islamic State.” Two of the three roommates had died, “Abdul Aliy” said, and one was still alive at the time that “Abdul Aliy” himself was

killed in battle at Tikrit, Iraq, on March 10, 2015.

“Abu Muhammad al-Amriki,” originally from Azerbaijan, said on social media that he lived in the United States for more than a decade before traveling to Syria and joining the Nusra Front; in late 2013, he quit the group and switched to the “Islamic State,” according to a video that was posted on YouTube in 2014. He was reportedly killed in early 2015.⁷ “Abu Huraira al-Amriki” also switched from the Nusra Front to a group associated with the “Islamic State,” according to a video statement posted on YouTube in October 2015.⁸

“Abu Abdullah al-Amriki” apparently drove a “four wheel drive vehicle loaded with explosive materials and detonated in the Rafidi Army barracks” in Baiji, Iraq, in August 2015, according to information posted online by the “Islamic State.”⁹ (Rafidi is a derogatory term that the “Islamic State” uses for Shia Muslims.) This may be the same “Abu Abdullah al-Amriki” identified by two Yazidi women from Sinjar, Iraq, who were taken captive by “Islamic State” soldiers in August 2014. After their escape, they told reporters that “Abu Abdullah al-Amriki” bought nine or ten women at an auction of Yazidi slaves, resold most of them, and kept two for himself at a house in Manbij, Syria. They described him as a white convert to Islam, 23 years old, whose wife and two children lived in the United States. He claimed to have visited them several times since coming to Syria. One of the women also identified another American with the “Islamic State,” whom she knew only as “Abu Zeyd.” U.S. government officials showed her a picture of “Abu Zeyd,” but did not have pictures of “Abu Abdullah al-Amriki.”¹⁰

“Abu Dawoud al-Amriki” also died driving a truck bomb during a battle in Iraq, outside the city of Samarra in early March 2015,

according to an “Islamic State” Twitter account.¹¹ “Abu Khalid al-Amriki,” a Trinidadian who said he had lived in the United States before moving to Syria in 2013, was killed by a drone in September 2015.¹²

“Umar” (Twitter name @onthatpath3) may still be living in “Islamic State” territory. His Twitter account – with the profile description, “A nobody blessed to be in the blessed land” – remains active, as of January 2016. Anat Agron, a researcher with the Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), noted that Umar tweeted in September 2014, “The US bombed our house, killed 11 brothers, 4 Syrians, 3 Dutch & 4 Brits.... They missed me the only American citizen that was staying in the house.” No further identifying information is publicly known about Umar.

Agron has also been following three other Americans who may be living in “Islamic State” territory: a couple, “Abu Isa al-Amriki” and “Umm Isa al-Amriki,” and a convert from San Francisco who identifies herself online as “Chloe.” “Abu Isa al-Amriki” was mentioned in a social media post in 2015 by a British militant as a financier for travel to Syria; “Umm Isa al-Amriki” started a social media channel in early 2016 to help women travel to Syria.¹³

“Samy,” a 24-year-old college student from New York who apparently traveled to Syria in January 2015, is publicly known only by his first name, which was mentioned in the criminal complaint against the man who allegedly helped him travel to Syria via Turkey.¹⁴ Two other Americans, Rahmo Kodaimati and his father, are publicly known only through the criminal complaint against Rahmo’s brother Mohamad Saeed Kodaimati, who went to the U.S. Embassy in Ankara, Turkey, for assistance in returning to the United States after living for two years in Syria. At the embassy, and again some weeks later in interviews with federal officials in North

Carolina and California, Mohamad Kodaimati denied collaborating with the Nusra Front and the “Islamic State” – according to the complaint, these statements were contradicted by Facebook messages he sent from Syria. These messages also mentioned that his father and brother were fighting with a militant group.¹⁵

It is possible that more Americans may have traveled to Syria than the 41 who have been publicly identified. J.M. Berger, who has researched militants’ use of social media,¹⁶ suggests that the “Islamic State” may be keeping some of its American fighters “on the down-low,” in order to “conserve their Americans for when they need to make a big splash.”

U.S. government estimates of the number of Americans in Syria have been inconsistent. In March 2015, James Clapper, the Director of National Intelligence, estimated that “about 180 Americans have traveled to Syria to join Islamist militants and around 40 of them have returned to the United States.” Some of these people might have been aid workers rather than militants, he added,¹⁷ so these estimates may not be directly comparable with the numbers of Muslim-American militants identified in this report: 41 instead of 180 joining the “Islamic State” and other militant groups in Syria, and 5 instead of 40 returning to the United States. Other estimates correspond more closely with the scale of individuals identified in this report: In July 2015, Clapper’s spokesman estimated that more than 20 Americans had died in Syria, and that the ranks of the “Islamic State” included “a few dozen Americans.”¹⁸ In September 2015, a Department of State spokeswoman estimated that a dozen Americans were fighting for the “Islamic State.”¹⁹

Muslim-Americans Arrested for Planning Travel to Syria

Twenty-three Muslim-Americans were arrested in 2015 for allegedly planning to travel to Syria (Figure 5), as compared with 13 in the previous year.²⁰ This figure also dropped significantly in the middle of the year: 18 were arrested in the first half of 2015 for planning to travel to Syria, and only five in the second half.

Four other Muslim-Americans were accused of assisting travel to Syria, although they may not have been planning to travel themselves: Ali Shukri Amin and an unnamed minor in

Virginia, who assisted Reza Niknejad's travel to Syria in January 2015;²¹ Rawdah Abdisalaam, a woman from Seattle identified in the press in April 2015 as Twitter user Umm Waqqas, who communicated online with travelers to Syria;²² and Jalil Ibn Ameer Aziz in Pennsylvania, who was indicted in December 2015 for online activity assisting travelers to Syria.

U.S. government officials have offered considerably larger estimates of the number of Americans who have traveled or attempted to travel to Syria – “more than 250” or “around 250” -- but these estimates have not increased since July 2015.²³

Figure 5. Muslim-Americans Arrested in 2015 for Allegedly Planning to Travel to Syria

Month	Name	Metropolitan area	Status of case
January	Tairod Nathan Webster Pugh	Cairo, Egypt	Trial pending
February	Hamza Naj Ahmed	Minneapolis, MN	Trial pending
February	Abdurasul Juraboev	Brooklyn, NY	Trial pending
	Akhror Saidakhmetov		Trial pending
March	Hasan Edmonds	Chicago, IL	Pled guilty
April	Keonna Thomas	Philadelphia, PA	Trial pending
April	Joshua Ray Van Haften	Madison, WI	Trial pending
April	Mohamed Abdihamid Farah	Minneapolis, MN	Trial pending
	Adnan Abdihamid Farah		Trial pending
	Abdirahman (Abdurahman) Yasin Daud		Trial pending
	Zacharia Yusuf Abdurahman		Trial pending
	Hanad Mustafe Musse		Pled guilty
	Guled Ali Omar		Trial pending
May	Nader Elhuzayel	Anaheim, CA	Trial pending
May	Asher Abed Khan	Houston, TX	Trial pending
June	Alaa Saadeh	Fort Lee, NJ	Pled guilty
	Nader Saadeh		Pled guilty
	Samuel Rahamin Topaz		Pled guilty
July	Arafat M. Nagi	Lackawanna, NY	Trial pending
August	Jaelyn Delshaun Young	Starkville, MS	Trial pending
	Mohammad Oda Dakhlalla		Trial pending
September	Ali Saleh	New York, NY	Trial pending
December	Abdirizak Mohamed Warsame	Minneapolis, MN	Trial pending

To get more detail on this estimate, I spoke with public affairs officials at five U.S. government agencies in October 2015. None of them would speak on the record, or even allow me to identify their agencies, and they offered no further statistical details about Muslim-American involvement with the “Islamic State.” They confirmed the estimate of 250 Americans who had traveled or attempted to travel to Syria, and told me that this estimate is the product of an inter-agency process that also develops a single government-wide estimate of foreign fighters in Syria: at that time, a cumulative total of 28,000.

I contacted U.S. government public affairs offices again in the last week of January 2016 to see if the estimate had changed. Again, none of them would speak on the record. They said the U.S. government’s cumulative estimate of foreign fighters in Syria had gone up from 28,000 to 36,500 since October 2015, but the cumulative estimate of Americans who had traveled or attempted to travel to join militants in Syria was still approximately 250, the same as three months earlier.

Demographics of Muslim-American Terrorism Suspects and Perpetrators

Muslim-American terrorism suspects and perpetrators were younger in 2015 than in previous years: of the individuals for whom information could be obtained, two-thirds were age 15-24 (up from one half in previous years) and one third were students (up from one fifth). Of the individuals in the labor market, a large majority were in working-class occupations, as in previous years. Two thirds were born in the United States, compared with one half in previous years. Ethnic backgrounds were varied, with Arab-Americans comprising the largest single group at just under 25 percent, consistent with previous years. One third were converts to

Islam, similar to previous years. These demographics are consistent with the information gathered by the George Washington University Project on Extremism²⁴ and the New America Foundation’s database of homegrown extremists.²⁵

Muslim-American Supporters of the “Islamic State”

How many more Muslim-Americans support the “Islamic State” or other Islamic revolutionary groups, aside from those who have been arrested, joined militant groups abroad, or engaged in violence in the United States? Out of an estimated 2.5 million Muslims in the United States,²⁶ several hundred Americans have apparently expressed support for the “Islamic State,” according to estimates by social media researchers and government officials.

In March 2015, a Brookings Institution report found 404 Twitter accounts supporting the “Islamic State” and claiming in their profiles to be located in the United States, and 414 accounts that associated themselves with U.S. time zones, although the accounts may have “deceptively listed locations in the United States in order to create the appearance of a homeland threat.”²⁷ In December 2015, a detailed report by the George Washington University Program on Extremism “identified some 300 American and/or U.S.-based ISIS sympathizers active on social media, spreading propaganda, and interacting with like-minded individuals.”²⁸

On October 23, 2015, FBI Director Comey gave a considerably higher estimate of suspected American supporters of the “Islamic State.” Speaking to a meeting of counterterrorism experts, he said, “We’ve got investigations in all 50 states, over 900 of them, all of which we’re trying to assess where are these people on the journey from

consuming [militant propaganda] to acting [on that propaganda], what are the markers, and how do we create an algorithm that allows us to figure out which should be the highest priority of our 900 cases, which markers of radicalization are the most prominent and what weight should be assigned to them.”²⁹ According to press accounts, FBI officials later specified that “Islamic State”-related investigations constituted a “majority”³⁰ or “vast majority”³¹ of these 900 investigations. Elsewhere in his speech, Comey noted that the number of new investigations had slowed from “the pace [of plots] we faced in June and July, which was extraordinary.”³²

To put these investigations in context, the FBI reported to Congress that its counterterrorism division, with 7,132 employees, had investigated 6,688 terrorism-related cases in 2014, the most recent year for which figures are available.³³

About the author:

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Notes:

¹ Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Crime in the United States*, 2014, Table 1, "Crime in the United States by Volume and Rate per 100,000 Inhabitants, 1995-2014." The estimate for 2015 is extrapolated from trends in preceding years.

² Gun Violence Archive, "Mass Shootings – 2015," January 2016. The figure of 134 fatalities counts incidents causing four or more deaths, and does not include the 19 deaths caused by Muslim-American extremists.

³ Erin Cunningham, "The Flow of Jihadists into Syria Dries up as Turkey Cracks Down on the Border," *The Washington Post*, August 1, 2015; Tim Arango, "Turkey Moves to Clamp Down on Its Borders," *The New York Times*, December 23, 2015.

⁴ James Comey, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, testimony before the Homeland Security Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, October 21, 2015, minute 41 on videorecording of hearing, <https://homeland.house.gov/hearing/worldwide-threats-and-homeland-security-challenges/>.

⁵ Jasmine Opperman, "Canadian and American 'Martyred' in Somalia," Terrorism Research & Analysis Consortium (TRAC), April 24, 2015.

⁶ Greg Botelho and Jim Sciutto, "Ahmed Farouq: Leader of al Qaeda's Indian branch killed by U.S.," CNN.com, April 23, 2015.

⁷ Lorenzo Vidino and Seamus Hughes, "ISIS in America: From Retweets to Raqqa," Program on Extremism, George Washington University, December 2015, p. 13; "The Forgotten Fighters: Azerbaijani Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq," *jihadology.net*, February 2, 2015.

⁸ Veryan Khan, "Video: JN 'Amir' in the Southern Front, Abu Huraira al-Amriki, Defects & Joins Pro-IS Liwa Shuhada al-Yarouk," Terrorism Research & Analysis Consortium (TRAC), October 11, 2015.

⁹ Caleb Weiss, "American Suicide Bomber Deployed in Islamic State Assault in Baiji," Threat Matrix, a blog of the *Long War Journal*, August 19, 2015.

¹⁰ Mick Krever and Dan Wright, "Yazidi Woman: I Was Raped by 'American jihadi,'" CNN.com, September 29, 2015; Jay Akbar, "Exclusive: Revealed, American jihadi is 'Top ISIS Commander,'" Daily Mail Online, September 29, 2015.

¹¹ Scott Shane, "From Minneapolis to ISIS: An American's Path to Jihad," *The New York Times*, March 22, 2015.

¹² Lauren Williams, "Meeting a Daesh Jihadist in Syria," *The Saturday Paper* (Melbourne, Australia), July 18, 2015; Vidino and Hughes, "ISIS in America," pp. 13-14. Amarasingam, who corresponded with "Abu Khalid al-Amriki" via social media, says he refused to say when he moved from Trinidad to the United States. This may be the same "Abu Khalid" who appears in an "Islamic State" video featuring Trinidadians, as reported in Carolyn Kissoon, "Trini Children in ISIS Recruitment Video," *Daily Express* (Port of Spain, Trinidad), November 6, 2015. However, that "Abu Khalid" was in school in Trinidad, not living in the United States, before leaving for Syria, according to his mother. "Mother of ISIS Fighter Urges Trinidadians to Stay Home," *Jamaica Observer* (Kingston), November 23, 2015.

¹³ Anat Agron, "British ISIS Member Fundraises for Group, Directs 'Serious' Donors to Contact ISIS Via Secure Messaging App Kik," Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI), September 25, 2015; Anat Agron, "American Female ISIS Member Opens Telegram Channel to Help Women Move to Islamic State, Provides Information, Photos of her Experiences in Syria," MEMRI, January 15, 2016; Shane, "From Minneapolis to ISIS."

¹⁴ "Sealed Complaint," United States of America v. Ahmed Mohammed El Gammal, Southern District of New York, August 27, 2015, p. 10.

¹⁵ "Complaint," United States of America v. Mohamad Saeed Kodaimati, Southern District of California, April 23, 2015, pp. 20, 23.

¹⁶ J.M. Berger and Bill Strathearn, "Who Matters Online: Measuring influence, Evaluating Content and Countering Violent Extremism in Online Social Networks," International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR), March 28, 2013; J.M. Berger and Jonathon Morgan, "The ISIS Twitter Census," The Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, Brookings Institution, March 2015; J.M. Berger, "Tailored Online Interventions: The Islamic State's Recruitment Strategy," *CTC Sentinel*, October 2015, pp. 19-23.

¹⁷ James Clapper, Director of National Intelligence, quoted in "U.S. Spy Chief Says 40 Americans Who Went to Syria Have Returned," Reuters, March 2, 2015.

¹⁸ Brian Hale, spokesman for the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, quoted in Barbara Starr, "A Few Dozen Americans' in ISIS Ranks," CNN.com, July 15, 2015.

¹⁹ Unnamed Department of State spokeswoman, quoted in Nestor Ramos, "In Fighting ISIS, Springfield Man Finds His Cause," *The Boston Globe*, September 26, 2015.

²⁰ Charles Kurzman, "Terrorism Cases Involving Muslim-Americans, 2014," Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security, February 9, 2014.

²¹ Matt Zapposky, "Va. Teen Admits He Was Secret Voice Behind a Pro-ISIS Twitter Account," *The Washington Post*, June 11, 2015.

²² "Senior Female ISIS Agent Unmasked and Traced to Seattle," Channel4.com (London, UK), April 28, 2015.

²³ Brian Hale, spokesman for the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, quoted in Barbara Starr, "'A Few Dozen Americans' in ISIS Ranks," CNN, July 15, 2015 (this article was cited as the basis for the estimate in the House Homeland Security Committee, "Final Report of the Task Force on Combating Terrorist and Foreign Fighter Travel," September 2015); Tina Kaidanow, ambassador at large and coordinator for counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State, "Al-Qaida, the Islamic State, and the Future of the Global Jihadi Movement: A Conversation with Ambassador Tina Kaidanow," Brookings Institution, September 16, 2015, p. 8 of transcript; John P. Carlin, assistant U.S. attorney general for national security, "Briefing at the Foreign Press Center on the Foreign Terrorist Threat and Other National Security Issues," September 28, 2015; James B. Comey, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, prepared statements for the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, U.S. Senate, October 8, 2015; and the Homeland Security Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, October 21, 2015.

²⁴ George Washington University Project on Extremism, "ISIS Recruits in the U.S. Legal System," January 28, 2016.

²⁵ New America Foundation, Homegrown Extremism 2001-2015,"

<http://securitydata.newamerica.net/extremists/analysis.html>, viewed January 29, 2016, last updated in August 2015.

²⁶ Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, "Mapping the Global Muslim Population: A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Muslim Population," October 2009, p. 24.

²⁷ Berger and Morgan, "The ISIS Twitter Census," p. 12-13.

²⁸ Vidino and Hughes, "ISIS in America," p. ix.

²⁹ James B. Comey, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, speech to counterterrorism experts, Chicago, Illinois, October 23, 2015, audio minute 8:50.

³⁰ Evan Perez, "ISIS-Related Investigations Dominate FBI Extremist Inquiries," CNN.com, October 23, 2015.

³¹ Kevin Johnson, "Comey: Feds Have Roughly 900 Domestic Probes about Islamic State Operatives, Other Extremists," *USA Today*, October 23, 2015.

³² Comey speech of October 23, 2015, audio minute 12:55.

³³ FBI, "FY 2016 Authorization and Budget Request to Congress," February 2015, p. 4 - 15.