

ISLAMIC RADICALIZATION IN CANADA: INDEX OF RADICALIZATION

Stefan Sabo-Walsh

Abstract

This report presents an overview of Islamic radicalization in Canada. It is made up of two parts: the first provides a socio-economic and demographic overview of Canada's Muslim minority population. The second details the radicalization process of individuals, aggregates common trends and themes of this process, and provides specific case studies of radicalized Canadians. The report concludes that the Islamic radicalization process in Canada is extremely multifaceted and continues to pose a security concern to the country.

Contents

Introduction: Muslims in Canada: An Overview.....	6
Chapter 1: Demographics.....	7
Muslim Immigration in Canada.....	8
Muslim Population Statistics	8
Projected Regional Muslim Population Growth Rate.....	11
Canadian Muslim Population.....	12
Age Estimate.....	18
Occupation.....	18
Education.....	19
Muslim Integration into Canadian Society.....	19
Domestic Fears of the Muslim Canadian Population.....	21
Chapter 2: Organization.....	22
Muslim Representation in Canada.....	22
Individual Organizations.....	22
University Student Organizations.....	25
Ethnic Programming.....	26
Mosques and Islamic Centers in Canada.....	26
Chapter 3: Radicalization.....	27
Overview of Islamic Radicalization.....	27
The Radicalization Process.....	30
Islamic Radicalization in Canada.....	33
Radical Views in the Muslim Canadian Community.....	36
General Trends Amongst Canadian Radicals.....	38
The Terrorist Threat to Canada.....	40
Potentially Dangerous Connections.....	41
Canadian anti-terror Legislation.....	44
Mosques Linked to Radicals and Radical Activity.....	45
Radical Community and Social Leaders.....	48
Financial Support for Terrorist Organizations.....	52
Muslim Canadian Community Responses to Extremism..	54

List of Attempted Terror Attacks on Canadian Soil.....	56
Canadian Jihadists.....	69
Canadian Support for Foreign Terror Plots.....	83
Honour Killings.....	85
Chapter 4: Conclusion.....	86
 Main Findings.....	86
 Future Research.....	88
Bibliography.....	89

Summary

The growth of Islamic radicalization in Canada poses an increasing threat to national security. This report attempts to measure differences in the radicalization process in Canada and to highlight the diverse nature of this threat. It will also present case studies of those Canadians who have turned to radical Islam and attempted to, or succeeded in, carrying out violent acts based on extremist interpretations of Islam. By presenting case studies of radicalized Canadians, this report will show both common and divergent trends in the examples of this varied process, as well as the role of radicalizing influences and common beliefs. This report will deliver an in-depth picture of the threat Islamic radicalization poses to Canada, and recount the successful means by which this threat has been countered in the past.

This report also aims to provide a socio-economic profile of the Muslim Canadian population, compiled primarily from Canadian census data and think-tank research.

Canada's Muslim community makes up an estimated 3.2% of the country's total population. Islam is the fastest growing religion in Canada. The growth of the Muslim Canadian population is driven predominantly by immigration; Pakistan and Iran rank 5th and 7th on the top 10 list of immigrant arrivals to Canada. Much like non-Muslim immigrants to Canada, a majority of the Muslim immigrants settle in Canada's major cities. The three largest Muslim Canadian communities are located in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, respectively. With a median age of 28, the Islamic community is also the youngest religious community in Canada.

Muslim Canadians are represented by numerous organizations and institutions. There are 67 Mosques across Canada. The largest Canadian Mosque was constructed in 2005 by the Ahmaddiya community in Calgary, Alberta. Ontario has the largest number of Mosques, with 31 in total located

in that province. Organizations representing Muslim Canadians are generally liberal. Despite this, many favour increased integration with the non-Muslim Canadian population. Some organizations, including The Islamic Circle of North America promote cross-border interaction with the American Muslim population.

Since 2006, Canadian security forces have stopped four domestic Islamic extremist terror plots. Combined, 25 individuals were responsible for planning these attacks. Roughly 1/3rd of them were born in Canada.

Canada has also increasingly exported Jihadists to foreign battlefields. Negative views of Canadian involvement in Afghanistan and support for U.S. foreign policy provide common grievances that are often cited as radicalizing influences.

Some of the case studies presented in this paper feature recent converts to Islam, many of whom were born in Canada. Furthermore, some of the Islamist extremists chronicled are of an ethnic background not commonly associated with such radicals. Rather than presenting a detailed analysis of linked experiences in the radicalizing process, this report will highlight the extremely varied and heterogeneous pathways to extremism.

Of importance in this analysis is the growing interaction between Muslim Canadian community leaders and Canadian security forces. Early notifications of radical behaviour and intelligence sharing have resulted in arrests being made prior to deadly attacks. Such a positive relationship reaffirms the necessity for Muslim community leaders to play a central role in combating Islamic extremism.

Despite the growth of this positive relationship between some members of the Muslim community and security forces, other radical community leaders and centers remain. At least two Canadian Mosques have been described as

centers of radicalization by Canadian and U.S. officials alike. Surveys also indicate that a minority of the Muslim Canadian population has supported both al-Qaeda linked ideologies in the past as well as members of the Toronto 18 terror cell that attempted to attack three prominent targets within the Greater Toronto Area in 2006. While a significant majority of the Muslim Canadian population rejects all ties to extremism and radicalization, the risk of radicalization within the Muslim Canadian population remains a pressing concern.

Introduction

Muslims in Canada: An Overview

Muslim immigration to Canada is not a new phenomenon, but has grown rapidly since 1991. Between 1960 and 1990, 139,000 Muslim immigrants arrived in Canada. Between 1991 and 2001, the number of Muslim émigrés almost doubled, with 276,000 recorded Muslim entrants. Many chose to settle in large Canadian cities, with the largest Muslim populations residing in Ontario and Quebec, respectively. The majority of Muslim Canadians have integrated successfully into Canadian communities. Almost 50% of non-Muslim residents of Canada, particularly in Toronto and Vancouver, report regular interaction with Muslim Canadians.

Conversely, a small minority of the Muslim Canadian community espouse radical views. These views include support for the introduction of Sharia law into Canada, support for the establishment of an Islamic Caliphate in Canada, support for the practice of polygamy, and moral, financial, and actionable support for overseas terror groups. Recognizing the growing threat the domestic support for such views presents, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) began to develop stronger links with the Muslim Canadian community, which had previously been wary of a relationship with the RCMP. This was in part due to the law enforcement organization's

apparent use of 'profiling' techniques which were perceived by the community as derogatory. Successful interaction between the two has solidified, at least at the top level, a positive relationship between Canada's primary law enforcement agency and Muslim Canadian communities. This was exemplified by the 2013 Via rail plot arrests that were aided by outreach from Muslim leaders in Ontario¹.

By presenting case studies of radicalized Canadians, this report aims to provide an overview of the threat posed by a small minority of the Muslim Canadian population. It will also highlight non-actionable support for overseas terrorist organizations through both passive and financial aid. It will also offer a brief overview of culturally and religiously motivated murders in Canada to showcase the fact that Islamic extremism also poses a threat to Muslim Canadians caught between fundamentalist cultural beliefs and the Canadian social values.

Consequently, this report will also illustrate that Islamic radicalization also poses a serious threat to the Muslim Canadian community. As a result of the vilification of general community members following the arrests of suspected terrorists, the Muslim Canadian community has suffered from attacks on Mosques and been targeted by hate crimes. Surveys show that Non-Muslim Canadians consider the Muslim minority in Canada to be the community most likely to experience discrimination; an even greater likelihood than that faced by the Canadian Aboriginal community, This report also draws attention to the growing role of the Muslim Canadian community in countering radicalization, as well as its responses to Islamic terrorism both in Canada and abroad.

¹ Freeze, Colin. How Faith Built a Fragile Trust Between Police, Muslim Community. *The Globe and Mail* <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/how-faith-built-a-fragile-trust-between-police-muslim-community/article11540816/>

Chapter 1: Demographics

Muslim Immigration in Canada

Muslim immigration to Canada has been documented since the 1960s. Muslim immigrants have predominantly arrived from the Middle East and North Africa region, as well as South East Asia. These immigrants have predominantly settled in large urban areas. Allegedly, the first Muslim family settled as pioneers in Canada in 1854; despite initially slow immigration and growth rates, it is now the largest religious group, aside from Christians, in the country². The period between 1991 and 2001 that saw the largest number of Muslim immigrant arrivals to Canada witnessed turmoil in countries with sizeable Muslim populations; the Bosnian conflict and the first Gulf war saw many Muslim refugees settling in Canada. Moreover, while fertility rates have dropped in other groups across the country, they remain fairly stable for Muslim Canadian women³. The potential growth rate of Islam in Canada also means that the Muslim Canadian population of Canada is expected to grow exponentially over the next two decades.

Muslim Population Statistics

The 2011 Canadian household survey found that 3.2% of Canada's total population was Muslim, numbering over 1 million⁴. This was an increase from the projected population in 2010 which was 940,000 or 2.8% of the national population. This phenomenon highlights the Muslim community's rapid growth since 1990. In that year, 313,000 Muslims accounted for 1.1% of Canada's population. The projected growth rate of Canada's Muslim

² Hamdani, Daood Hassan. Canadian Muslims on the Eve of the Twenty-First Century, 201
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13602009908716436#.Ue0Sg9JyBc0>

³ Ibid, 204

⁴ Statistics Canada, Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Canada <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-010-x/99-010-x2011001-eng.cfm#a1>

population by 2030 is 2,661,000, suggesting that in that year, Canada's Muslim population will make up 6.6% of the total national population:

- **Figure 1, Canadian Muslim Population Projected Growth Rate, Pew Research Group 2010⁵**

Canadian Muslim Population	Number	% of Population
1990	313,000	1.10%
2010	940,000	2.80%
2030 (Projected)	2,661,000	6.60%

The Muslim population's growth in Canada has been largely a result of increased immigration; since the 1960's, Muslim immigration to Canada has grown exponentially. Between 1960 and 1970, an estimated 10,000 Muslim's immigrated to Canada. Between 1991 and 2001, this number had grown to an estimated 276,000.

- **Figure 2: Historical Muslim Immigration to Canada, Pew Forum⁶**

Date Range	# Immigrated
1960-1970	10,000
1971-1980	51,000
1981-1990	78,000
1991-2001	276,000

⁵ Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life: The Future of the Global Muslim Population
<http://features.pewforum.org/muslim-population/?sort=Pop2010>

⁶ Pew Research Center: The Future of the Global Muslim Population, Projections for 2010-2030, 145

Between 2001 and 2006 immigration to Canada from Muslim majority nations was as follows:

- **Figure 3: Immigration to Canada from Muslim Nations, 2001-2006, Pew Research Forum⁷**

Country of Origin	# of Immigrants
1) Pakistan	58,000
2) Iran	28,000
3) Lebanon	11,000
4) Morocco	15,000
5) Afghanistan	16,000
6) Bangladesh	14,000
7) Algeria	16,000
8) Somalia	4,000

Note: Not all immigrants from Muslim nations are Muslim themselves.

Apart from Lebanon and Somalia, the numbers of arriving immigrants from the aforementioned countries have all increased from pre-2001 figures⁸.

Pakistan and Iran were amongst the top 10 source nations of all immigrants to Canada in 2011:

- **Figure 4, Immigration Source Nations, Statistics Canada⁹**

Country of Origin	Rank
-------------------	------

⁷ Ibid, 146

⁸ Ibid, 147

⁹ Statistics Canada, Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Canada

Pakistan	5 th
Iran	7 th

Moreover, the top three African source nations of immigration, all have significant Muslim populations:

- **Figure 5, Immigration Source Nations (African Nations), Statistics Canada¹⁰**

Top 3	Source Nations
1	Algeria
2	Morocco
3	Nigeria

Algeria’s Muslim population is 98.2%, Morocco’s is a reported 100%, and Nigeria’s is 47.9%¹¹.

Projected Regional Muslim Population Growth Rate

According to the Pew Research Forum, by 2030 Canada is projected to have a Muslim population of 2.7 million, accounting for 6.6% of the nations projected population¹². This statistic places Canada second among nations in North, Central and South America for the greatest projected Muslim population growth rate by 2030, behind the U.S. in 1st, followed by Argentina in 3rd, Venezuela in 4th, and Brazil in 5th:

- **Figure 6: Projected Muslim Population Growth Rate by 2030, Americas Region, Pew Research Forum¹³**

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life: The Future of the Global Muslim Population
<http://features.pewforum.org/muslim-population-graphic/#/Nigeria>

¹² Ibid, 20

¹³ Ibid, 141

Top 5	
1	United States
2	Canada
3	Argentina
4	Venezuela
5	Brazil

Much of this population growth is expected as a result of continued immigration from Asia, North Africa, and the Middle East¹⁴. Muslim female fertility rates also account for the expected population increase, with the average Muslim Canadian family having 2.4 children, compared to families from other social groups that produce an average 1.6 children per family¹⁵.

The two demographics that are predicted to represent the fastest expected growth rate for a visible minority group between 2006 and 2031 are Arabs (806,000-1.1 million) and West Asians (457,000-592,000). Between 2006 and 2031, it is estimated that 50% of non-Christian religious Canadians will be Muslim, an increase from 35% in the previous year.

Canadian Muslim Population

In 2001, the Canadian Census showed a Muslim Canadian population of 579,640. Of that number, almost three-quarters of this group was foreign born:

- **Figure 7: 2001 Canadian Census Data on Canadian Muslim Population, 2001 Census**¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid, 139

¹⁵ Ibid, 156

¹⁶ Statistics Canada, Selected Religions by Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration, 2001 Counts
<http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/highlight/Religion/Page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo=PR&View=1b&Code=01&Table=1&StartRec=1&Sort=2&B1=01&B2=Counts>

Total Population	579,640
Canadian Born	137,835
Foreign Born	415,835
Immigrated Before 1991	139,975
Immigrated Between 1991-2001 ¹⁷	275,860
Population Increase Between 1991-2001 ¹⁸	82%

The 2011 Canadian National Household Survey found that the Canadian foreign born population of 6,775,800 represented 20.6% of Canada’s population. The majority of immigrants arrive from Asia, with the majority of the foreign-born populace residing in the provinces of Ontario, British Columbia, Quebec, and Alberta:

- **Figure 8, Foreign Born Population of Canada 2011, Statistics Canada**¹⁹

¹⁷ Stats Canada 2001 Census <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/highlight/Religion/Page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo=P&R&View=1b&Code=01&Table=1&StartRec=1&Sort=2&B1=01&B2=Counts>

¹⁸ Muslims Fastest Growing Community, Iqra <http://iqra.ca/2013/muslims-fastest-growing-religious-community-in-canada/>

¹⁹ Statistics Canada, Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Canada <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-010-x/99-010-x2011001-eng.cfm#a1>

Foreign Born Population	6,775,800
%of Canada's Population	20.60%
Provinces of Residence (majority)	Ontario, British Columbia, Quebec, Alberta

The survey also projected that 6,264,800 people self-identified as a visible minority, making up 19.1% of Canada's population. Of this number, 30.9% are born in Canada, while 65.1% are foreign born. Canada's three largest minority groups are South Asians, Chinese, and Black Canadians, who together make up 61.3% of Canada's minority groups. 1.56 million respondents of the survey self-identified as South Asian, making up a total of 4.8% of Canada's population. Two thirds of those who self-identify as minority status reported East Indian ancestry, of which 9.3% are Pakistani, 8.5% are Sri Lankan, and 4.7% are Punjabi:

- **Figure 9, Visible Minority Self-Identification, Statistics Canada²⁰**

Total	6,264,800
%of Canada's Population	30.90%
% of this population	30.90%

²⁰ Ibid

born in Canada	
% of this population that immigrated to Canada	65.10%
3 largest minority groups	South Asians, Chinese and Blacks
% of Minority Population that is South Asian, Chinese, or Black	61.30%
Muslim % of Canada's Population	3.2%, over 1 million people

While immigrant religions in Canada continue to be dominated by Christianity, Islam is the fastest growing religion in Canada:

- **Figure 10: Immigrant Religions 2013, National Post**²¹

Religion	%
Christianity	54.2%
Islam	10.6%

The growth rate of the pre-eminent religions in Canada are as follows: Islam (+72.53%), Hindu (+67.68%), Christian Orthodox (+14.82%), Roman Catholic (-0.5%), and Anglican (-19.83%)²². The increase in the Muslim population, according to Statistics Canada, is largely a result of increased immigration, especially from Pakistan.

The Muslim Canadian populace exhibits a minimal tendency towards intermarriage. Muslim intermarriage statistics show a strong preference for inter-religious unions. 71% of Canadian Muslim couples live in Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal. Only 4% of Canadian Muslims have intermarried with Catholics, the highest rate of marriage with a non-Muslim. Moreover, only 1% are in a relationship with someone who practices no religion²³.

Much like the majority of Canada's immigrant population, Muslim Canadian geographical concentration is based around large urban areas. Out of the 6.8 million immigrants accounted for in 2011, 91% resided in one of 33 CMA (census metropolitan areas), with Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal housing 63.4% of the immigrant population. Language diversity statistics show that

²¹ National Post, Survey Shows Muslim Population is Fastest Growing Religion in Canada

²² Ibid

²³ Clark, Warren. Statistics Canada, Canadian Social Trends: Inter-religious Unions in Canada
<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-008-x/2006003/pdf/9478-eng.pdf>

Arabic and Farsi made the list of top ten most frequently spoken languages in Canada, sitting at 5th and 9th²⁴.

The Muslim Canadian population is most prevalent in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. The Canadian Muslim population has increased by 82% in the last decade:

- **Figure 11: 2013 Canadian Muslim Population Dispersion by Major Cities, Iqra**²⁵

City	Population Size
Toronto	424,900
Montreal	221,000
Vancouver	73,200

Per province, the Muslim population of Canada is heavily geographically concentrated in Ontario (352,530), Quebec (108,620), and British Columbia (56,220):

- **Figure 12: Table of Muslim Population by Province, Stats Canada**²⁶

Province	Muslim Population
Ontario	352,530
Quebec	108,620
British Columbia	56,200
Alberta	49,040
Manitoba	5,095

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ Iqra, Muslims Fastest Growing Religious Community in Canada <http://iqra.ca/2013/muslims-fastest-growing-religious-community-in-canada/>

²⁶ Stats Canada, Population by Religion, by Province, and Territory (2001 Census) <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo30a-eng.htm>

Nova Scotia	3,545
Saskatchewan	2,230
New Brunswick	1,275
Newfoundland and Labrador	630
PEI	195
North-West Territories	180
Yukon	60
Nunavut	30

Age Estimate

Muslims are the youngest Canadian religious group by median age, which is 28²⁷. The median age of the total national population in Canada is 43.7 (2011)²⁸. Approximately one third of Canadian Muslims are under the age of 14 (29% of the Muslim population), while 19.4% of the non-Muslim Canadian population are under the age of 14²⁹.

Occupation

The latest Statistics Canada data regarding religious group employment was compiled during the 2001 Canadian Census. 264,770 Muslims (over the age of 15) were employed as of January 1, 2000. Of this number, 162,770 were

²⁷ Press, Jordan, Postmedia News: National Household Survey Shows Muslim Population fastest-growing Religion in Canada
<http://www.canada.com/National+Household+Survey+shows+Muslim+population+fastest+growing+religion+Canada/8354099/story.html>

²⁸ Statistics Canada, Population by Broad Age Groups and Sex, Counts, including Median Age, 1921-2011
<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/hlt-fst/as-sa/Pages/highlight.cfm?TabID=1&Lang=E&PRCode=13&Asc=0&OrderBy=1&Sex=1&View=1&tableID=22>

²⁹ Pew Research Center: The Future of the Global Muslim Population, Projections for 2010-2030, 152
http://www.pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/Topics/Religious_Affiliation/Muslim/FutureGlobalMuslimPopulation-WebPDF-Feb10.pdf

male, and 102,000 were female. 84% worked in an English speaking environment while 9% worked in a French speaking environment. The unemployment rate of Muslim Canadians sat at 14.4% during the census data collection and was the third highest religious unemployment rate, behind the Salvation Army (15.7%), and Aboriginal Spirituality, (22.9%). The occupational category in which Muslims in Canada experienced the highest employment rates was Sales and Service Occupations (63,265 or 26.9%). 12,825 were self-employed (incorporated) and 18,195 were self-employed (unincorporated)³⁰. In 2001, the census found that 14.4% of Canadian Muslims were unemployed, compared to the national unemployment rate of 7.4%³¹.

Education

A Focus Canada survey conducted in 2006 found that educational standards are higher amongst the Muslim Canadian population, with 45% holding University degrees, compared to the non-Muslim average of 33%³².

Muslim Integration into Canadian Society

The Focus Canada survey also highlighted both Muslim Canadian and non-Muslim Canadian views on Muslim assimilation in Canada.

In 2006, 46% of Canadians reported frequent contact with Muslim Canadians³³. Contact with Muslim Canadians is most common in Toronto and

³⁰ Statistics Canada, 2001 Census: Selected Cultural and Labour Force Characteristics <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/english/census01/products/standard/themes/Rp-eng.cfm?LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=1&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=0&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=67773&PRID=0&PTYPE=55430,53293,55440,55496,71090&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2001&THEME=56&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=>

³¹ Bartlett, Jamie, Birdwell, Jonathan, King, Michael. "The Edge of Violence", DEMOS, 30 http://www.demos.co.uk/files/Edge_of_Violence_-_full_-_web.pdf?1291806916

³² Environics Institute, "Focus Canada 2006-4", 64 <http://www.environicsinstitute.org/uploads/institute-projects/focus%20canada%202006-4%20report.pdf>

³³ Ibid, 62

Vancouver, which host the largest and third largest Muslim Canadian populations in Canada, respectively³⁴.

65% of Canadians stated that immigrants did not do enough to “adopt Canadian values”, a decrease from the 1993 statistic (72%). 30% of Canadian respondents, disagreed with this statement, an increase from the 1993 data collection results (23%)³⁵. The survey also found that Canadians view Muslims as the minority most likely to be discriminated against: 44% viewed Muslims as the most likely to be discriminated against, followed by Aboriginals at 42%, Pakistanis/East Indians at 36%, and Black Canadians at 32%³⁶.

Adopting Canadian customs also appears to be important for Muslim Canadians; 55% reported that they “want to adopt customs”, while 23% “want to remain distinct”³⁷. 65% of Muslim Canadians believe that they “should be free to maintain religious/cultural practices”, 15% believe that they “should blend into Canadian society”, and 17% believe they should do “both equally”³⁸. Despite their desire to maintain separate cultural practices, “94% of Canadian Muslims say they are very (73%) or somewhat (23%) proud to be Canadian”³⁹.

The study also noted that in 2006, 49% of Canadians had a “generally positive” view of Islam, while 38% had a “generally negative” view of Islam. The number of Canadians with a generally positive view of the Muslim community increases amongst the Canadian respondents who regularly encounter Muslim Canadians⁴⁰. In British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec, the sites of largest Muslim community settlement, views of Islam are as follows:

³⁴ Ibid, 63

³⁵ Ibid, 71

³⁶ Ibid, 76

³⁷ Ibid, 84

³⁸ Ibid, 87

³⁹ Ibid, 92

⁴⁰ Ibid, 65

in BC, 52% have a “positive” view of Islam, while 35% have a “negative” view of the religion. In Ontario, 57% have a “positive” view of Islam, while 33% have a “negative” view. In Quebec, the numbers are inverted, with only 36% holding a “positive” view of Islam compared to the 51% who hold a “negative” view of the religion⁴¹.

Domestic Fears of the Muslim Canadian Population

As the Focus Canada Survey reported, the three largest worries (reported as very worried) of the Muslim Canadian population were unemployment (33%), discrimination (30%), and extremism (26%)⁴². While extremism will be discussed later, the fear of unemployment corresponds with a study entitled “What Do Canadian Muslims Want?” that also noted the largest concerns of the community are based on employability⁴³. As mentioned prior, an unemployment rate of 14.4% in 2001 ranked Muslim Canadian’s as the third largest religious group most likely to be unemployed⁴⁴.

While the Focus Canada survey notes that Muslim Canadians fear discrimination, Leuprecht and Winn found that Muslim Canadians do not view Canada as racist or Islamophobic. Polling also found high levels of approval for the Canadian government, among the members of this community despite increased federal support for Israel in Canada’s foreign policy. Of note amongst Muslim respondents was support for Canada’s freedom of religion and expression. Respondents also noted a lack of racism within Canada⁴⁵.

⁴¹ Ibid, 66

⁴² Ibid, 104

⁴³ Leuprecht, Christian, and Winn, Conrad. “What do Muslim Canadians Want? The Clash of Interpretations and Opinion Research”. The MacDonald Laurier Institute for Public Policy, 10 <http://www.macdonaldlaurier.ca/files/pdf/What-Do-Muslim-Canadians-Want-November-1-2011.pdf>

⁴⁴ Statistics Canada, 2001 Census: Selected Cultural and Labour Force Characteristics

⁴⁵ Leuprecht, Christian, and Winn, Conrad, 16

The Focus Canada Survey showed similar support amongst Muslim Canadians for the Canadian way of life. 77% of Muslim Canadians believe that the “treatment of Muslims in Canada vs. in other western countries” was better, while only 3% thought it was worse. 70% of Muslim Canadians also believed that “quality of life for Muslim women in Canada/Europe compared to most Muslim countries” was better⁴⁶. Only 17% of Muslims and 28% of Canada’s total population perceive that “many/most Canadians/Europeans are hostile to Muslims”⁴⁷. 31% of Muslim Canadians report that they “have had a recent bad experience due to race/ethnicity/religion”, while 69% said they have no bad experiences⁴⁸.

Part 2: Organization

Muslim Representation in Canada

Canada is home to an extremely diverse Muslim population. Sunni and Shia populations in Canada are equally represented by both individual and cross-communal organizations. On university campuses across the country, Muslim student societies often function together with student clubs focusing on national, rather than religious, identification. These include large Pakistani and Iranian clubs, as well as primarily religiously inclined groups. There are at least 9 major Islamic organizations and 67 Mosques representing Muslims in Canada. Many of the organizations also run Islamic schools and provide charitable assistance to those in need in the community.

Individual Organizations

Ahlul Bayt Assembly of Canada

⁴⁶ Environics Institute, “Focus Canada 2006-4”, 80

⁴⁷ Ibid, 81

⁴⁸ Ibid, 82

The Shia population of Canada is primarily represented by the Ahlul Bayt Assembly of Canada. It is headquartered in York, Ontario and was founded in 1993 as a charitable organization. According to its website, there are 23 Shia Centers and Mosques in the greater Toronto area, 46 in Quebec, 2 in Kitchener, 5 in Windsor, 6 in Ottawa, 3 in London, 2 in Hamilton, 8 in Vancouver, 3 in Edmonton, 2 in Calgary, 7 in the Atlantic Provinces, 123 in Ontario, and 33 in Western Canada⁴⁹.

Ahmadiyya Muslim Community Canada

The Ahmadiyya population in Canada is primarily represented by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community Canada Organization. This community group has branches in Ontario (11), in Alberta (2), Saskatchewan (2), British Columbia (1), Quebec (1), Manitoba (1), and Nova Scotia (1). Every year, it hosts the Jalsa Salana, a celebration of the group's Messiah. In 2013, it will be hosted in Mississauga, the 37th such gathering⁵⁰

The Canadian Muslim World League

The Canadian Muslim World League counts 50 Islamic schools across Canada, with 35 in Ontario and 5 in Quebec alone⁵¹. In British Columbia, there are approximately 17 Sunni centers and Mosques. The BC Muslim Association, the province's largest Sunni organization, is headquartered from Richmond, BC, with a further 10 branches across the province, as well as two official Muslim schools⁵². In Ontario, 11 of the 31 Mosques are Shia, in Quebec, 7 are considered Shia, though the Islamabc list includes prayer rooms⁵³.

Co-Representative Groups

Despite numerous Islamic centers and Mosques which represent particular branches of Islamic belief in Canada, many Muslim Canadian non-profit

⁴⁹ Islamabc, Shia Muslim Centers in Canada <http://www.islamabc.org/service1.htm>

⁵⁰ Ahmadiyya Muslim Community Canada <http://ahmadiyya.ca/services/services.php>

⁵¹ Muslim World League, Islamic Schools in Canada <http://www.mwlcanda.org/canada/schools.htm>

⁵² Muslim World League, British Columbia, <http://www.thebcma.com/home.aspx>

⁵³ Islamabc, <http://www.islamabc.org/service1.htm>

organizations equally represent all strains of Islam. These Muslim Canadian organizations include the Muslim Canadian Congress, which aims to represent all Muslim Canadians that “are not represented by existing organizations”. It supports the separation of religion and state, and notes the danger extremism poses to Canadian society⁵⁴.

The Canadian Muslim Union

The Canadian Muslim Union was founded in 2006 as a non-profit organization. It was founded following a split within the Muslim Canadian Congress, though both groups continue to share a majority of the same social values⁵⁵.

The Islamic Society of North America

The Islamic Society of North America has a Canadian center located in Mississauga. It is open to all Muslim Canadians, regardless of background⁵⁶. It also aims “to promote the establishment of full-time Islamic schools and aid in their administration”⁵⁷.

The Islamic Circle of North America

The Islamic Circle of North America also has Canadian branches. It has 8 chapters in Ontario, 2 in Alberta and 1 in British Columbia⁵⁸.

The Canadian Islamic Congress

The Canadian Islamic Congress is self described as the largest non-profit Muslim organization in Canada. It provides services to all Muslim Canadians, promotes integration, provides university scholarships to achieving students and promotes a platform through which the Muslim Canadian population can

⁵⁴ Muslim Canadian Congress, The MCC Mission <http://www.muslimcanadiancongress.org/mission.html>

⁵⁵ Canadian Muslim Union, About CMU <http://www.muslimunion.ca/about.html>

⁵⁶ Islamic Society of North America, Our Mission <http://www.isna.ca/1/about-us/our-mission>

⁵⁷ Ibid, Our Goals

⁵⁸ ICNA Canada, Islamic Center of North America <http://icnacanada.net/chapters/>

communicate its general fears and worries to the Canadian government. The organization's president is Dr. Amin Elshorbagy⁵⁹.

The Muslim Association of Canada

The Muslim Association of Canada is a non-profit organization operating solely in Canada. It aims to promote better knowledge of Islam and to drive Muslim Canadian integration⁶⁰.

The Council on American-Islamic Relations Canada

The Council on American-Islamic Relations Canada is a non-profit organization based in Ottawa. Its objective is to present a balanced portrayal of Islam within the Canadian media and to promote cross-communal engagement⁶¹.

University Student Organizations

The following list shows the number of Muslim student associations on selected University Campuses across Canada. This list does not include cultural groups representing nationalities of Muslim-majority nations:

University of Calgary (2)⁶², University of Alberta (1)⁶³, Simon Fraser University (3)⁶⁴, University of British Columbia (3)⁶⁵, Manitoba (2)⁶⁶, New

⁵⁹ The Canadian Islamic Congress <http://www.canadianislamiccongress.com/cic2010/>

⁶⁰ Muslim Association of Canada

<http://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/Our%20Vision%20and%20Mission.aspx>

⁶¹ Council on American-Islamic Relations Canada, About Us <http://www.caircan.ca/aboutus.php>

⁶² University of Calgary Clubs <http://suclubs.orgsync.com/clubslist>

⁶³ University of Alberta Clubs

<https://alberta.collegiatelink.net/organizations?SearchValue=Religious&SearchType=Category&CurrentPage=1&SelectedCategoryId=36>

⁶⁴ SFU Clubs List <http://go.sfss.ca/clubs/list>

⁶⁵ UBC Student Clubs <http://www.ams.ubc.ca/clubs/cultural/>

⁶⁶ University of Manitoba Students Union

http://umsu.ca/index.php?keyword=islam&task=search&option=com_listings&task=search&Itemid=

Brunswick (0)⁶⁷, Brock (1)⁶⁸, McMaster (4)⁶⁹, Queens (2)⁷⁰, Ottawa (2)⁷¹, Ryerson (3)⁷², McGill (2)⁷³, Concordia (1)⁷⁴.

Ethnic Programming

OMNI television is one of the largest providers of ethnic programming in Canada; in British Columbia it offers news services in Cantonese, Mandarin, and Punjabi, as well as well as special programming in Farsi, Pashto, and Urdu (amongst others)⁷⁵. In Ontario it also offers diversity programming in Arabic and Somali⁷⁶. Ethnic channels group also provides diversity programming in languages including Arabic, Hebrew, and Urdu⁷⁷.

Mosques and Islamic Centers in Canada

There are 67 Mosques in Canada. According to a poll conducted among 455 Muslim Canadians by the MacDonald Laurier Institute for Public Policy, 154, or 33.84%, attended a Mosque more than once a week⁷⁸. The number of Mosques is as follows:

- **Figure 13: Number of Mosques per Province, Muslim World League**⁷⁹

⁶⁷ UNB Student Union <http://www.unbsu.ca/content/239101>

⁶⁸ Brock Student Life <http://www.unbsu.ca/content/239101>

⁶⁹ MSU Students Union <https://www.msumcmaster.ca/clubs-directory>

⁷⁰ AMS Queens <http://myams.org/clubs/clubs-categories/religious-and-cultural-identity.aspx>

⁷¹ SFUO Clubs Listing <http://www.sfu.ca/clubs/clubs-listing/>

⁷² RSU Student Groups <http://www.ryerson.ca/calendar/2012-2013/pg1481.html>

⁷³ SSMU, Religious, Cultural, and Linguistic Clubs Archive <http://ssmu.mcgill.ca/blog/clubs/religious-cultural-and-linguistic-clubs/page/4/>

⁷⁴ Concordia University List of Student Groups <http://deanofstudents.concordia.ca/student-groups/complete-list-of-student-groups/>

⁷⁵ Omni TV BC <http://www.omnibc.ca/programming/index.php?diversity=yes>

⁷⁶ Omni TV Ontario <http://www.omnitv.ca/ontario/>

⁷⁷ Ethnic Channel Group <http://www.ethnicchannels.com/>

⁷⁸ Leuprecht, Christian, and Winn, Conrad, 10

⁷⁹ Muslim World League <http://www.mwlcanda.org/index.htm>

Province	# of Mosques
Ontario	31
Quebec	15
British Columbia	8
Alberta	4
Saskatchewan	2
Newfoundland and Labrador	1
PEI	1
Nova Scotia	1
New Brunswick	1
Manitoba	1
Yukon	1
North-West Territories	1
Nunavut	0

Total: 67

The largest mosque in Canada was opened in 2005 in Calgary. The Baitun Nur Mosque is home to Calgary's community of 2000-3000 Ahmadiyya Muslims⁸⁰. The \$15 million dollar project was supported mostly by donations from the city's Ahmadiyya community⁸¹.

The small Muslim community in Nunavut has also recently expressed hope that it might be able to build the territories' first Mosque⁸².

⁸⁰ Calgary Herald, Politicians and faithful open Canada's largest mosque

<http://www.canada.com/topics/news/story.html?id=c1ce5c3b-de23-4093-85b8-36162ac636a6>

⁸¹ Big Mosque on the Prairie opens in Calgary

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/story/2008/07/05/calgary-mosque.html>

⁸² Nunavut Muslims seek to Build First Mosque. *Iqra*. <http://iqra.ca/2013/nunavut-muslims-seek-to-build-first-mosque/>

Part 3: Radicalization

Overview of Islamic Radicalization

Radical Islam, at least in reference to the political ideologies associated with the Canadian individuals featured in this report's case studies, alludes primarily to two ideas:

1) The global Muslim community is under attack by Western powers that have killed thousands of Muslim civilians,

And,

2) Canada is directly responsible for aiding these attacks by engaging with the NATO mission in Afghanistan and supporting U.S. foreign policy.

The first point is not unique to the Canadian experience with Islamic radicalization and Canadian extremists. This belief evolved from the ideologies of internationally renowned radical Islamists like Sayyid Qutb, who viewed fundamentalist interpretations of Islam as solutions to political turmoil. These ideologies maintain their importance to the present day. Qutb dedicated much of his attention to the belief that while Western Crusaders continued to try and control Muslim lands, the "Islamic spirit was an obstacle to imperialism"⁸³. Zimmerman states that Qutb's musings on *Jahiliyyah*, the chaotic and ungoverned period prior to Islam's growth that continues without true Islamic rule, calls for violent action against non-Islamic and apostate states⁸⁴. Qutb's writings have continued to be utilized by Islamic radicals. Al-Qaeda's goals, for example, include a desire to rid Muslim lands of Western

⁸³ Soage, Ana Belen. Islamism and Modernity: The Political Thought of Sayyid Qutb, 196
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14690760903119092#.UfevV9JyBc0>

⁸⁴ Zimmerman, John. Sayyid Qutb's Influence on the 11 September Attacks, 235
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09546550490480993#.Ufew6dJyBc0>

influences that they view as having “subjugated the lands of Islam”⁸⁵. This concept has been extended to Canadian involvement in Afghanistan.

Radical Canadian Imams and speakers have often voiced objection to Canada’s ongoing mission in Afghanistan. These figures include Imam Aly Hindy, deported Imam Said Jaziri, and Abdul Qayyum Jamal (for full profiles see section: Radical Community and Social Leaders). Jamal, for example, propagated the claim that Canadian soldiers stationed in Afghanistan were raping Muslim women⁸⁶. As the following case studies will show, Canadian involvement in Afghanistan has been identified in many of the case study profiles as a source of anger that furthers radicalisation.

As this report will later note, only a small minority of radical Islamist beliefs promote violence against Canadian targets. Rather, in examples such as support for the installation of Sharia law or anger at Canadian social values, Canadian radicals often prefer communal isolation. Some agree with al-Qaeda’s ideology or supported the goals of the Toronto 18.

In some cases, anger at perceived injustices committed against the global Ummah has prompted some Canadians to travel overseas to engage in Jihad; since 2001, prominent battlefields that have drawn foreign Canadian fighters include Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria. Questions remain over the threat to Canadian national security should such foreign fighters return. Worst case scenario predictions suggest that these fighters may either radicalize other individuals or attempt to attack Canadian targets. Other jihadists have plotted attacks against other western targets from within Canada. Prominent targets have been in the U.S. and the UK.

⁸⁵ Haynes, Jeffrey. Al-Qaeda: Ideology and Action, 182
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13698230500108868#.Ufezf9JyBc0>

⁸⁶ Teotonio, Isabel. The Battle of Toronto, The Star
<http://www3.thestar.com/static/toronto18/index.1.html>

The financing of overseas terrorist groups has also been commonplace in Canada, as has passive support for terrorist ideologies and goals. Finally, some radicalized Canadians have attempted to carry out domestic terror attacks. Since 2001, there have been four such plots.

Consequently, Canada's role in combating Islamic extremism and terrorism within its borders requires a multi-faceted approach to a threat that encompasses both direct and indirect threats to its security and interests.

The Radicalization Process

The radicalization process has been described by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police as an introduction to an ideology or beliefs that support extremist views over moderate ones. While holding radical views is not considered problematic, security threats emerge when such ideologies inspire violent action in an attempt to spread certain beliefs or enact political change⁸⁷.

One CSIS assessment of Canadian venues of radicalization defines radicalization as a social process in which an individual graduates from socially acceptable ideals to ones that, at their worst, endorse violence⁸⁸.

A primary radicalizing pathway is driven by group dynamics. Marc Sageman quoted Canadian officials by describing this phenomenon as "the bunch of guys" or "groups of guys"⁸⁹. In this scenario, the radicalizing process is not undertaken alone, but rather collectively carried out by a group of acquaintances or friends with similar beliefs. The Toronto 18, for example, was made up of numerous friends that had known each other at high school, attended the same Mosque, and played soccer together. In-group dynamics

⁸⁷ RCMP-GRC, "Radicalization: a Guide for the Perplexed" 1 <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/pubs/nsci-ecrsn/radical-eng.pdf>

⁸⁸ CSIS Intelligence Assessment, Venues of Sunni Islamist Radicalization in Canada, 2 <http://www.scribd.com/doc/118731630/radicalization>

⁸⁹ Meyer, Josh. Small Groups Now a Large Threat in U.S. *Los Angeles Times*. <http://articles.latimes.com/2007/aug/16/nation/na-homegrown16>

foster trust and a common goal or common perceived affront against a shared identity can increase group cohesion⁹⁰.

The group dynamics theory also offers a more relevant explanation of radicalizing processes than internet radicalization, at least in the Canadian experience. Research undertaken by the International Center for the Study of Radicalization and Political Violence suggests that radicalization very rarely initially takes place online. While the internet allows for the sharing of ideas, it very rarely draws in new recruits. The internet provides a space in which individuals with already radical views can connect to a wider audience and exchange ideas and moral support, but does not often facilitate initial entry into the radicalization process on its own⁹¹.

Victimization is often put forward as another reason that an individual radicalizes. Self-sacrifice in the name of a cause or community can incite individuals to radicalize and carry out terrorist attacks⁹². However, as interviews with Canadian radicals show, a majority of radical Muslim Canadians do not view themselves as being victimized. Rather, they see the wider international community of Muslims as victims. They consider Canada's role in Afghanistan or its support for U.S. foreign policy as a driver of global Muslim suffering. For many, attacking Canada is a means by which to revenge the suffering of Muslims overseas that they see Canada as being intrinsically linked to.

Many of the pathways to radicalization explored by King and Taylor begin with a sense of perceived deprivation. While different theories hypothesize a link between socio-economic deprivation or inequality and radicalization⁹³, this does not appear to be a common theme within Canada. King and Taylor utilize the New York Police Department's (NYPD) 4-step model relating to

⁹⁰ McCauley, Clark, and Moskalenko, Sophia. Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Towards Terrorism, 421 <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09546550802073367#.Ueal3NjYBc0>

⁹¹ Stevens, Tim, and Neumann, Peter. "Countering Online Radicalization: a Strategy for Action" <http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/1236768491ICSROnlineRadicalisationReport.pdf>

⁹² McCauley, Clark, and Moskalenko, Sophia, 419

⁹³ King, Michael, and Taylor, Donald. The Radicalization of Homegrown Jihadists: A Review of Theoretical Models and Social Psychological Evidence, 605 <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09546553.2011.587064#.Ueal6dJyBc0>

Islamic radicalization as evidence of this assertion. An individual in the first “pre-radicalization” stage is generally young and well educated, not particularly religious, and often lacks prior criminal convictions. In the subsequent “self-identification” phase, an individual encounters some form of personal crisis and turns to Islam. The individual eventually turns to extremist tenets of the religion and develops friendships with other radicals. In the third phase, “indoctrination”, an individual subscribes to the idea that Muslims are being attacked overseas, and decides to avenge their fellow Muslims through violent action. Importantly, during this stage, an individual generally stops attending Mosques and holds private meetings with fellow radicals. The final stage, entitled “jihadization”, takes place when an individual intends to carry out attacks and attends training camps, whether at home or abroad. This stage includes the appropriation of weapons⁹⁴.

King and Taylor further state that the deprivation often cited as a cause of radicalization is not only a socio-economic phenomenon. Tying once more into the common view of global Muslim suffering as a driver of radicalization, relative deprivation theory argues that individuals feel connected to members of a perceived group. Therefore, “it is the perception of deprivation, and not actual deprivation that will motivate a person to action”⁹⁵.

Moghaddam further argues in his “staircase to terrorism” model, in which an individual climbs the stairs (representing specific phases of radicalization) to an eventual terrorist attack, that perceived deprivation or injustice represents the bottom floor of the ladder and fosters initial radicalization. When an individual believes that they lack solutions to affect their situation, they climb to the second floor where they envision the enemy that is driving their marginalization. On the third floor an individual begins to view a terrorist group’s goals as justified, and on the fourth they are recruited by a

⁹⁴ Ibid, 607

⁹⁵ Ibid, 610

terrorist group. Finally, the fifth floor is made up of selected individuals who are chosen to carry out an attack ⁹⁶.

Only a small minority of radicals ever engage in violence or even promote it. The aforementioned studies show that the path to violent radicalization, while certainly ringed by common themes, differs on an individual basis. As the next section on Islamic radicalization in Canada will show, two of the common themes in the Canadian experience with radicalization include an association with al-Qaeda's ideology and the perception that injustices are being perpetrated against the global Muslim community. These themes conform to the process in which an individual begins to associate with a group that they believe is being discriminated against. Conversely, the following sections will also highlight the realities of Canadian radicalization. Extremists come from a host of socio-economic, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. Radicalization theories offer salient explanations as to why an individual may choose to engage with radical rhetoric, but they do not provide an encompassing explanation as to why or how individuals are drawn to radical ideologies in the first place.

Islamic Radicalization in Canada

Islamic Radicalization in Canada does not follow a uniform path .According to a Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) intelligence assessment partially released to the public in 2011, commonalities in the Canadian radicalization process have been predominantly based on family ties, religious conversion, travel in foreign countries, interaction with a radicalizer, and the commonly held perception that Islam is under attack⁹⁷. The

⁹⁶ Moghaddam, Fathali M. The Staircase to Terrorism: A Psychological Explanation, 162
http://fathalimoghaddam.com/research_files//1256627851.pdf

⁹⁷ CSIS Intelligence Assessment, A Study of Radicalization: the Making of Islamist Extremists in Canada Today, 2 http://www.theglobeandmail.com/incoming/article8151644.ece/BINARY/csisradicals_001.pdf

assessment also noted group influences and the role of the internet in the radicalization process⁹⁸.

Domestic Canadian Islamist radicalization is described by the RCMP as being driven predominantly by al-Qaeda, its ideology, or linked individuals or movements. Nevertheless, Canada's history of radicalization has witnessed a spectrum of ethno-nationalist separatist groups, as well as both left and right wing movements that have culminated in violence or support for overseas groups⁹⁹.

Canada has recently been privy to numerous examples of Islamist radicalization that have resulted in attempted attacks on domestic targets. Moreover, the RCMP notes that CSIS is investigating a few hundred individuals, many of whom have been radicalized¹⁰⁰.

Radicalization cannot be explained by social capital or lack of education, nor are immigrants that have trouble fitting in more likely to take up arms¹⁰¹. Social disenfranchisement has not been a common trend amongst those arrested in Canada on terrorism charges. Commonalities in social behaviour with non-radicalized Canadians have been mentioned on numerous occasions; these include a love of Tim Horton's and appreciation of Ontario's wintertime beauty. As the RCMP highlights, the lack of early warning triggers of radicalization leading to violence is based on the ordinary nature of many radicals¹⁰².

Despite this, some Muslim Canadian radicals who have planned violent attacks have been arrested following intra-communal identification and intelligence sharing between Muslim community leaders and the RCMP and CSIS. Furthermore, some who have travelled overseas to engage in terrorist activity have been described by friends and family as having undergone a

⁹⁸ Ibid, 12

⁹⁹ RCMP-GRC, "Radicalization: a Guide for the Perplexed", 2

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 4

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 5

¹⁰² Ibid, 6

noticeable change that included the adoption of radical beliefs some time prior to their departure.

Social networks appear to be the most significant indicator of radicalization. Family ties, as in the case of the Khadr family, distil radical ideologies from an early age. Groups of friends or acquaintances, such as the Toronto 18 or the suspected VIA train plotters, worked together. Furthermore, exposure to radical community leaders can also have a faster effect on individual radicalization. Foreign travel experience has also been a common factor amongst some Canadian radicals¹⁰³.

Accordingly, the aforementioned CSIS report states that a majority of those radicalized were young, many were computer savvy having trained in engineering or computing fields, and none of them appeared to be marginalized by Canadian society¹⁰⁴. A majority of those studied were radicalized between the ages of 18-35¹⁰⁵. Many had children¹⁰⁶, and the concept of "immigration trauma" was ruled out as a possible driver of radicalization based on low levels of refugee-related incidents¹⁰⁷. Of further note was the view that social circles played a key role in the radicalizing process¹⁰⁸.

A secondary CSIS intelligence assessment dated February 14th, 2012, provided an insight into Canadian venues of radicalization. The assessment suggests that members of the Canadian public are being radicalized in both religious and non-religious venues across the country¹⁰⁹. It further states that prisons have become an arena of radicalization¹¹⁰. Moreover, the family sphere has also supported radicalization. Former cases suggest that parents

¹⁰³ Ibid, 7

¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁴ CSIS Intelligence Assessment, A Study of Radicalization: the Making of Islamist Extremists in Canada Today, 12

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 4

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 6

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 7

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 11

¹⁰⁹ CSIS Intelligence Assessment, Venues of Sunni Islamist Radicalization in Canada, 1

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 5

have radicalized their children, husbands have radicalized wives and vice versa, and that siblings have radicalized each other. As well, radicalization has taken place both in Canada as well as abroad¹¹¹.

As well as noting the danger of online radicalization, the assessment notes that as a group phenomenon (whether physical or online), radicalization can take place in any area that people gather¹¹².

Of particular concern in this case is the potential for Canadian prisons to incubate radical ideals and drive recruitment. As Wilner's analysis of Islamist prison radicalization notes, incarcerated radicals can pose a serious threat to their fellow prisoners. Due to this, combating prison radicalization should necessitate the isolation of radicals from the general prison population, and denying them access to radical literature¹¹³.

Counterterrorism efforts do not end with the incarceration of would-be attackers; once in prison, they must be strictly monitored so that they do not aid in the recruitment of other violent radicals¹¹⁴. Due to the growing trend of domestic radicalization, between 2008 and 2010, more people were incarcerated on terrorism-related charges than in multiple decades preceding those dates¹¹⁵.

While prison radicalization has been a common trend in Europe and the U.S., with previous minor offenders being drawn to Jihad following prison terms, all Canadian's incarcerated post 2010 on terrorism related charges had never been to prison before. The 2008/2009 breakdown of the Canadian prison population was: 67% Caucasian, 17% Aboriginal, and 4% Muslim¹¹⁶.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 6

¹¹² Ibid, 7

¹¹³ Wilner, Alex. "From Rehabilitation to Recruitment". The MacDonald Laurier Institute for Public Policy, 4 <http://www.macdonaldlaurier.ca/files/pdf/FromRehabilitationToRecruitment.pdf>

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 8

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 9

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 15

In-group/out-group pressures also play a role in certain prison conversions, with a UK study noting that many join Islamic groups as a means by which to protect themselves from other groups or from prison violence¹¹⁷.

Radical Views Amongst the Muslim Canadian Community

There is much support among the Muslim Canadian community for utilizing Sharia law as a legal basis by which family disputes and intra-communal quarrels may be solved. The Focus Canada survey showed that this was supported by 53% of Muslim Canadians, but only 11% of Canada's non-Muslim population. Conversely, 34% of Muslim Canadians did not want Sharia law implemented, with 79% of the Canadian population at-large agreeing with this sentiment¹¹⁸.

According to the study conducted by Leuprecht and Winn, 40% of non-observant Muslims and 44% of polled Iranians opposed the introduction of Sharia law, while 15% of polled Arabs and 15% of habitual mosque attendees supported it. 8% of non-observant Muslims were in favour of Sharia courts ruling on family legal issues, and 22% of those regularly attending Islamic groups also supported it¹¹⁹. Their study showed lesser support for Sharia law than the Focus Canada report suggested.

In terms of support for terrorist and radical groups, al-Qaeda was completely rebuffed by 65% of Leuprecht and Winn's respondents, supported completely by 1%, and considered tolerable by 34%. Notably, 13% of respondents completely rejected the Muslim Brotherhood, but total support for the organization was almost double that at 24%. As the study further notes, support for the Muslim Brotherhood, an organization whose core goals

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 20

¹¹⁸ Environics Institute, "Focus Canada 2006-4", 100

¹¹⁹ Leuprecht, Christian, and Winn, Conrad, 12

include the imposition of Shari'a law, was higher than support for Sharia law itself¹²⁰.

According to the Focus Canada survey, 40% of Muslim Canadians believe that there is "a struggle between moderate and extremist Muslims", while 56% of the population at-large agreed. 50% of Muslim Canadians did not believe that such a struggle existed, while 28% of the population at-large agreed with this¹²¹. When asked if they sided more with moderates or extremists, 80% of Muslim Canadians "identified with moderates", while 14% "identified with extremists"¹²². Worryingly, while 73% of Muslim Canadian's stated that the Toronto 18's planned attacks would not have been at all justified, 5% responded that they would have been "completely justified", while a further 7% responded that they would have been "somewhat justified"¹²³. When responding to the "degree of responsibility for reporting potentially violent extremists", 72% of Muslim Canadians responded "a great deal", while 15% responded "some"¹²⁴. This provides hope that increased links and information sharing between Muslim Canadian communities and Canadian police and intelligence forces will continue to provide early warning signs when dealing with potential instances of radicalization inspired violence.

General Trends amongst Canadian Radicals

Research undertaken by Bartwell, Birdwell, and King on Islamic radicalism, allied with Ilardi's interviews with Canadian radicals, allows for an assessment of certain trends and beliefs amongst radicalized Canadians.

Bartwell, Birdwell, and King found that ethnic communities in Canada are less likely to form closed societies than in Europe¹²⁵. Furthermore, discussions with Muslim Canadian youth identified a generally negative view of the RCMP

¹²⁰ Ibid, 13

¹²¹ Environics Institute, "Focus Canada 2006-4", 108

¹²² Ibid, 110

¹²³ Ibid, 116

¹²⁴ Ibid, 115

¹²⁵ Bartlett, Jamie, Birdwell, Jonathan, King, Michael, 41

as a common trend. The organization was viewed as having “their own agenda under their sleeve”, or “simply engaging in a public relations game”¹²⁶. Despite this, the report noted that the reporting of radicals or extremist incidents is far more likely to occur in Canada than in Europe¹²⁷.

Salafist communities were considered to be small in Canada, though some of the youth interviewed did support certain tenets of Salafism¹²⁸. The study also found that almost no respondents viewed any Islamic organizations in Canada as security threats¹²⁹.

Many of the interviewees, including those defined as radicals, stated that they loved Canada and its relative openness especially when compared to the Muslim experience in Europe¹³⁰. Despite this, those studied that had been involved in terror cells voiced their disapproval of Canadian society, its customs, and its morals¹³¹. This second assertion clashes with the Ilardi’s findings.

Ilardi, an Australian police officer, conducted 7 interviews with Canadian radicals between March and June 2011, in the greater Toronto Area. Ilardi found that grievances were not always the primary reason for the maintenance of radical beliefs¹³².

Of the men interviewed, some had discounted their former radical views, while some continued to harbour them. This included support for the concept of conducting Jihad both abroad and at home. 3 were of European Canadian background, 2 of Indian, 1 Pakistani and 1 Canadian Aboriginal (See The Cree Jihadist in section: Radical Community and Social Leaders)¹³³.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 71

¹²⁷ Ibid, 124

¹²⁸ Ibid, 113

¹²⁹ Ibid, 115

¹³⁰ Ibid, 76

¹³¹ Ibid, 77

¹³² Ilardi, Gaetano Joe, “Interviews with Canadian Radicals”

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1057610X.2013.813248#.UdU10DtyBc1>

¹³³ Ilardi Stats,

<http://www.tandfonline.com/action/showPopup?citid=citart1&id=T0001&doi=10.1080/1057610X.2013.813248>

Ilardi noted that his findings are in keeping with the apparent lack of marginalization common amongst Canadian radicals. Most of his subjects did have a history of a “self destructive existence prior to being radicalized”, including drug abuse and violent crime. For many, Islam was a religion that provided meaning to their turbulent lives¹³⁴.

Feelings of personal grievance did not influence radicalization, and for some, feelings of continued integration into Canadian society continued at the height of their radical beliefs. Moreover, for many the perception of the targeting of the global Islamic community only took place after the adoption of radical beliefs, and integration into radical circles. Following this, the view of the victimization of the Islamic community became one of their central ideals, as was in many cases a belief that violence in the name of the communities’ defence was justifiable.

In terms of recruitment, most of the men were not recruited by a radical; rather, they integrated into Islamic communities on their own volition. From there, they slowly made links with extremists, who helped shape their own views. Only one man was directly recruited by an extremist organization, Takfir wal Hijra. Many also found that their circles of friends extended little past their new-found radical associates.

Despite radical beliefs, none of the men engaged in violent behaviour. Some felt it would have a negative effect on their families, while some began to reconsider their radical beliefs, and noted personal relationships with non-Muslim Canadians as a de-radicalizing experience¹³⁵.

The Terrorist Threat to Canada

The aim of this report is to provide an insight into Islamic radicalism in Canada. This necessitates an analysis of arenas of radicalization, suspected

¹³⁴ Ibid

¹³⁵ Ibid

radicalizers, as well as a thorough investigation of those who transferred radical beliefs into both support for violent action or a plan to carry out violent acts themselves.

Canada does not have a huge problem with Islamic radicalization. Moreover, as mentioned prior, stronger links between law enforcement agencies and communal leaders have provided early warning signs where suspicion of future violence arises. That is not meant to suggest that Canada does not have problems relating to Islamic radicalization. Islamic radicals have engaged in terrorist-related activity on Canadian soil both prior to, and particularly after, September 11th, 2001. Certain community leaders and Imams in Canada have also espoused radical ideologies and shared them with their followers. Certain Mosques in Canada have been described as areas of concern by both domestic and foreign security agencies. By providing background information relating to these individuals and arenas of concern, this report will highlight common trends and areas of worry relating to Islamic radicalization.

Potentially Dangerous Connections

Al-Qaeda

As the 2013 Public Report on the Terrorist Threat to Canada states, Al-Qaeda, and Al-Qaeda linked groups, remains the largest terrorist threat to Canadian national security¹³⁶, and the majority of potential terrorist threats are linked to Al-Qaeda's ideology¹³⁷.

Al-Qaeda's role as the pre-eminent global Jihadist group following its successful mass casualty terror attacks on September 11th, 2001, means that its ideology has attracted world wide attention. Of the 4 domestic terror plots

¹³⁶ Public Safety Canada: 2013 Public Report on the Terrorist Threat to Canada, 3
http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/prg/ns/ctrng-xtms/_fl/trrst-thrt-cnd-eng.pdf

¹³⁷ Ibid, 23

detailed in this report, at least 2 were believed to have been influenced by Al-Qaeda. This number may well be higher. The 2013 Via train plot was reportedly supported by Al-Qaeda elements in Iran. Moreover, Canadians that have travelled overseas have been linked to Al-Qaeda related groups, including during the In Amenas attack that began on January 16th, 2013.

Afghanistan-Pakistan Region

As the central location of the Al-Qaeda responsible for the September 11th attacks, the Afghanistan-Pakistan border region was home to numerous terrorist training camps. Many Canadians have travelled to the region to participate in such training camps, including at least one member of the Toronto 18. Of particular note is the Khadr family, some of whose members have been arrested on a litany of charges relating to terrorist acts and support for terrorist entities within the region.

Syria

The ongoing Syrian civil war that began on March 15th, 2011 has continued to attract fighters from all over the world. Canada is not immune to this phenomenon. The Canadian government has enforced sanctions against the Syrian regime and prompted numerous asset freezes¹³⁸.

According to Canadian Public Safety Minister Vic Toews, the Canadian presence in Syria, while not quantifiable, certainly exists. Furthermore, he suggested that Canadians had joined extremist groups within the country¹³⁹.

Hezbollah

¹³⁸ Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development Canada. Canada's Response to the Situation in Syria <http://www.international.gc.ca/international/syria-syrie.aspx>

¹³⁹ Bell, Stewart. Canadians join fight in Syria as civil war turns nation 'into hub for terrorist activities': report. *National Post* <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/06/13/syria/>

While Canada is not a direct target for Hezbollah attacks, Canadians have in the past been linked and charged with providing material and financial aid to the Lebanese terrorist organization. Following the arrest of Hani Abdel Rahim Hussein Sayegh in 1997, Canadian security officials noted his links to the group, further stating that "Hezbollah has established an infrastructure in Canada that can assist and support terrorists seeking a safe haven in North America. Hezbollah members in Canada receive and comply with direction from the Hezbollah leadership hierarchy in Lebanon". Such assistance reportedly includes the procurement of funds, human smuggling especially into the United States, and the provision of safe houses from which future attacks can be plotted¹⁴⁰.

In 2008, Alan Bell further stated that Hezbollah could be utilizing Canada as an arena "for fundraising, recruiting and equipment and forgery of documents, etc", but doubted that Canada itself was under direct threat from a Hezbollah planned attack¹⁴¹.

In 2011, in a "Statement before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security; Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence", Ilan Berman stated that in the 1990's and early 2000's, Hezbollah had succeeded in laundering "tens of thousands of dollars" through a connected network with bases in Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal. Furthermore, this network was also able to ship equipment to Hezbollah in the Middle East. Other groups have also utilized Canada as a staging ground from which to send money to Hezbollah, which Berman notes are especially active in the Ottawa and GTA areas due to the sizeable Shia populations present there¹⁴².

¹⁴⁰ Turner, Craig, and Wright, Robin. Hezbollah Support Network in Canada Alleged. *Los Angeles Times* http://articles.latimes.com/1997-03-29/news/mn-43290_1_support-network

¹⁴¹ Reports of Hezbollah in Canada Unsubstantiated: Expert. *CTV News* <http://www.ctvnews.ca/reports-of-hezbollah-in-canada-unsubstantiated-expert-1.303526>

¹⁴² Berman, Ilan. Hezbollah in the Western Hemisphere: Statement before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, 4 <http://homeland.house.gov/sites/homeland.house.gov/files/Testimony%20Berman.pdf>

In 2012, Canadian activist Mouna Diab was arrested on charges relating to the smuggling of weapons to Hezbollah in Lebanon. As Bell notes, the case was the “first time Canada has laid charges in connection with Hezbollah”. Diab is alleged to have bought gun parts in Montreal that she planned on shipping to Lebanon. Following the case, the RCMP noted that Hezbollah in Canada was primarily involved in “operational support activities and fundraising”. Moreover, Hezbollah signs have been visible within parts of Ontario’s Shia communities, including a 2007 billboard “featuring Hezbollah boss Hassan Nasrallah”¹⁴³.

Canadian involvement in overseas Hezbollah acts of terrorism was highlighted by Hassan El Hajj Hassan’s involvement in the July 19th, 2012 bombing attack on a Bulgarian tour bus (See Section: Canadian Jihadists).

Canada also played a central role in recommending that the European Union label Hezbollah a terrorist group. On July 22nd, 2013, the European Union added Hezbollah’s military wing “to a list of terrorist organizations”. This decision was welcomed by Canadian Foreign Affairs minister John Baird¹⁴⁴.

Canadian anti-terror Legislation

Following the September 11th, 2001, mass casualty terrorist attacks, the Canadian government began to press for harsher legislation when trying acts of terrorism, or support/links to terrorist activity. Bill C-36, the Canadian anti-terrorism act, was passed and became part of the Canadian criminal code on December 18th, 2001. The act made it possible for Canadian security forces to hold suspected terrorists for up to three days without formal

¹⁴³ Bell, Stewart. Mouna Diab Charged with Terrorism for Allegedly Trying to Smuggle Weapons to Hezbollah, *National Post* <http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/07/13/quebec-woman-who-fought-against-muslim-stereotypes-charged-with-terrorism-in-alleged-hezbollah-weapons-smuggling-plot/>

¹⁴⁴ Baird Welcomes ‘Courageous’ EU Decision to Blacklist Hezbollah, *CBC News* <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/story/2013/07/22/pol-hezbollah-eu-terrorism-baird-kenney.html>

charges being laid, increased the possibility of utilizing electronic surveillance, and allowed “for preventative arrests”. Moreover, the act made it a criminal offence to “collect or provide funds” for a terrorist organization, to “contribute to or facilitate the activities of a terrorist group”, to “instruct anyone to carry out a terrorist act or an activity on behalf of a terrorist group”, and to “harbour or conceal a terrorist”¹⁴⁵. In 2007 the Bill was not renewed, and eventually expired.

Despite the Bill’s expiration, the Canadian Conservative government introduced Bill S-7, the Combating Terrorism Act, in 2012 which expanded on the former Bill C-36. It was introduced in April 2013. It expanded on C-36 by allowing for investigative hearings in which intelligence could be gathered by speaking to members of the Canadian public suspected of having ties to, or knowledge of, a terrorist group or act. It can also prohibit Canadians from leaving the country if they are suspected of going overseas to willingly participate in terrorist acts¹⁴⁶. Moreover, supporting an act of terrorism overseas or carrying out a terrorist attack overseas can now be prosecuted by Canadian courts¹⁴⁷.

Mosques Linked to Radicals and Radical Activity

Salaheddin Islamic Center (Scarborough):

Located in Scarborough, Ontario, the center has attracted attention for its outspoken Imam Aly Hindy (see section: Radical Community and Social Leaders) and for its overseas funding. Such funding has grown exponentially over the last few years. In 2010, three foreigners donated \$931,000 of the center’s \$4 million in proceeds. This was up from 2009 when the center

¹⁴⁵ Indepth Canadian Security: Anti-terrorism Act, *CBC News*

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/cdnsecurity/>

¹⁴⁶ Controversial Anti-Terrorism Tools Revived as Bill Passes, *CBC News*

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/story/2013/04/24/pol-anti-terror-bill-s7-vote.html>

¹⁴⁷ 8 Things to Know About the New Anti-Terrorism Bill, *CBC News*

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/story/2013/04/25/pol-eight-things-to-know-anti-terrorism-bill.html>

received \$250,000, around 1/10th of the center's proceeds in that fiscal year. In regards to the \$931,000 received in 2010, Imam Hindy claims that \$400,000 came from Saudi Arabia (the Islamic Development Bank), and further funds arrived from Qatar and the United Arab Emirates based charities. Since 2009, therefore, the center has received over \$650,000 of foreign donations¹⁴⁸.

The Mosque has been linked to Canadian terror suspects including Steven Chand and members of the Khadr family. The New York Police Department described the center as "a known radical Mosque"¹⁴⁹.

During the trial of Abdullah Khadr, the center was accused by the Crown Attorney for being linked to two of the Toronto 18 who had attended the mosque. In response, Judge Trotter dismissed assertions that the center was a focal point of radicalization, but noted that "persons involved in questionable activities with questionable associations" have passed through it on numerous occasions. Khadr was denied bail despite the fact that members of the Salaheddin center had raised enough money to post his bail¹⁵⁰.

Al-Rahman Islamic Center for Islamic Education (Mississauga)

Located in Mississauga, Ontario, the center was regularly attended by at least 6 of the 17 arrested members of the Toronto 18. The center emerged as one of the prosecutions key pieces of linking evidence between the group's members. The eldest member of the Toronto 18, Qayyum Abdul Jamal (see section: Radical Community and Social Leaders), was described as often interacting with youth, and delivering sermons at the center, but was not one of the Mosque's leaders¹⁵¹.

¹⁴⁸ Bell, Stewart. Toronto's million-dollar Radical Mosque

¹⁴⁹ New York Police Department. Radicalization in the West: the Homegrown Threat. 35
http://www.nypdshield.org/public/SiteFiles/documents/NYPD_Report-Radicalization_in_the_West.pdf

¹⁵⁰ Shephard, Michelle. Bail Denied for Abdullah Khadr. *The Star*.
http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2008/08/20/bail_denied_for_abdullah_khadr.html

¹⁵¹ DePalma, Anthony.

Al-Sunnah Al-Nabawiah Mosque (Montreal)

Located in Montreal, Quebec, the Mosque attracted attention in 2011 after it was named by the U.S. Pentagon as one of 9 global Mosques with strong links to al-Qaeda. These links included the facilitation of recruitment and training of would-be terrorists. Members of the Mosque during the late 1990's, including Mohamedou Ould Salahi (See section: Canadian Jihadists), are now incarcerated in Guantanamo Bay¹⁵². Also, Chiheb Esseghaier (See section: List of Attempted Attacks on Canadian Soil), one of the accused in the 2013 Via train plot, allegedly attended the mosque¹⁵³.

Other mosques mentioned in the threat assessment where located in Pakistan, Yemen, the UK, France, Italy, and Afghanistan¹⁵⁴.

Westbrook Calgary, unnamed Mosque

A 22 year old Canadian male named Damian Clairmont was recruited to go and fight in Syria by a community leader within a Westbrook Calgary Mosque or Islamic center according to his mother. The boy was born a Roman Catholic in Nova Scotia and was intelligent and athletic, but began to develop more extreme worldviews a few years after his conversion to Islam. His mother asserted that he had been recruited by a CSIS monitored Westbrook Mosque leader¹⁵⁵, while also stating that CSIS officers were further investigating a suspected Calgary recruitment ring¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵² Freeze, Colin. U.S. Viewed Montreal Mosque as hub for Islamist Militants: Leaked Gitmo Documents. *The Globe and Mail*. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/us-viewed-montreal-mosque-as-hub-for-islamist-militants-leaked-gitmo-documents/article597625/>

¹⁵³ Palmer, Randall, and Sharp, Alastair. Canadian Train Plot Suspects Caused Unease with Extreme Views, *Reuters* <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2013/04/25/uk-arrests-profiles-idUKBRE9301GB20130425>

¹⁵⁴ U.S. Lists Montreal Mosque as al-Qaeda 'Recruiting' Place. *CBC News*.

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/story/2011/04/25/guantanamo-montreal-mosque.html>

¹⁵⁵ Bell, Stewart. 'He was a sitting target': Mother of Canadian Muslim Convert says Son Recruited into Syrian Conflict from Calgary Mosque. *National Post*. <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/06/20/he-was-a->

Abu Huraira Mosque (Toronto)

Located in Toronto, Ontario, 6 members of the Abu Huraira Mosque have been implicated in terror attacks in Somalia¹⁵⁷. They disappeared from Canada in mid-October, 2009, and are believed to have joined al-Shabaab, an Al-Qaeda affiliate operating in Somalia. The Abu Huraira Mosque's leaders alerted Canadian police forces that the men had all gone missing¹⁵⁸.

Alongside Mahad Ali Dhore (See Section: Canadian Jihadists), 2 other Canadian males who attended the Abu Huraira Mosque have been killed while fighting alongside "al-Qaeda linked militants" overseas.¹⁵⁹. They disappeared from Canada in mid-October, 2009, and are believed to have joined al-Shabaab.

In September 2013, however, Canadian Imam Sheikh Said Rageah stated that he had spoken to two of the men who had renounced their ties to al-Shabaab and resettled in Hargeysa, Somaliland. Out of the 6 Somali Canadians previously mentioned, they are the only 2 believed to still be alive¹⁶⁰.

[sitting-target-mother-of-canadian-muslim-convert-says-son-recruited-into-syrian-conflict-from-calgary-mosque/](#)

¹⁵⁶ Bell, Stewart. "It's Between Me and God": How a Calgary High School Dropout Joined Syria's Civil War, *National Post* <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/07/12/its-between-me-and-god-how-a-calgary-high-school-dropout-joined-syrias-civil-war/>

¹⁵⁷ Canadian Reportedly Killed in Mogadishu Court Attack. *CBC News*. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2013/04/15/toronto-man-reportedly-killed-somalia-attack.html>

¹⁵⁸ Aulakh, Raveena. Did Five Torontonians join Jihad in Somalia? *The Star*. http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2009/12/12/did_five_torontonians_join_jihad_in_somalia.html

¹⁵⁹ Canadian Reportedly Killed in Mogadishu Court Attack. *CBC News*. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2013/04/15/toronto-man-reportedly-killed-somalia-attack.html>

¹⁶⁰ Bell, Stewart. 'They Realized what they were doing was Wrong': Two Canadians Quit Extremist Group Al-Shabaab, Imam Says. *National Post*. <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/09/12/al-shabab/>

Radical Community and Social Leaders

Said Jaziri

Born in Tunisia, Jaziri immigrated to Canada in 1998, having successfully obtained refugee status. While in Canada, he preached at the Montreal al-Qods Mosque, and was known for his radical Islamic views. He promoted the application of Sharia law for Canadian Muslims and led protests against the Danish Mohammed cartoons. In 2005 he was detained for having lied about his criminal record in France, where he had been previously jailed. In 2007 he was deported to Tunisia¹⁶¹.

Prior to his deportation Jaziri had also spoken out against homosexuality in Canada, and requested government funds to construct a new Montreal Mosque. In 2011, he was apprehended by U.S. security forces in the boot of a BMW being driven into the U.S. from Mexico¹⁶².

Aly Hindy

An Imam at the Salaheddin mosque in Scarborough Ontario, Hindy has been an outspoken proponent of applying Sharia law to Canadian Muslims. He has criticized the Canadian press for vilifying Muslims, and has strongly denounced homosexuality in Canada, as well as noting his strong support for the Khadr family¹⁶³.

¹⁶¹ CBC, Outspoken Montreal Imam Ordered Detained Until Deportation
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/story/2007/10/17/qc-imam1017.html>

¹⁶² LA Times, Controversial Muslim Cleric is Arrested while Sneaking into the U.S.
<http://articles.latimes.com/2011/jan/27/local/la-me-border-cleric-20110127>

¹⁶³ Bell, Stewart. Toronto's million-dollar Radical Mosque. *National Post*.
<http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/02/16/aly-hindy-salaheddin-islamic-centre/>

In 2008 Hindy was found to have officiated over 30 polygamous unions since 2003. Despite their illegality under Canadian law, Hindy has long supported Sharia law as the legal basis by which Canadian Muslims should be judged¹⁶⁴.

Following the Toronto 18 arrests, Hindy suggested that the men had been arrested because of their beliefs. He also questioned the validity of the charges¹⁶⁵, and stated that CSIS' mole, Mubin Shaikh, had played a central role in the youths' radicalization by encouraging them¹⁶⁶.

Abdul Qayyum Jamal (also See Section: List of Attempted Terror Attacks on Canadian Soil)

The oldest member of the Toronto 18, Jamal was born in Pakistan in 1963, and moved to Canada as an adult¹⁶⁷. As a suspected member of the Toronto 18 he was arrested in 2006 on charges of "planning to cause a deadly explosion, participating in the activities of a terrorist group and receiving training from a terrorist group". The charges were later dropped¹⁶⁸.

Jamal was 43 at the time of the arrests, and was initially described as one of the group's ringleaders. Prior to his arrest, Jamal had been a school bus driver and delivered frequent speeches in the al-Rahman mosque. He occasionally took younger members of the mosque for group meals or played soccer with them¹⁶⁹. Moreover, in some of his fiery speeches, Jamal alluded

¹⁶⁴ Javed, Noor. GTA's Secret World of Polygamy. *The Star*.

http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2008/05/24/gtas_secret_world_of_polygamy.html

¹⁶⁵ DePalma, Anthony. 6 of 17 arrested in Canada's Antiterror Sweep Have Ties to Mosque near Toronto. *NY Times*. http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/05/world/americas/05canada.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

¹⁶⁶ Harnden, Toby. Muslim Extremist Admits he was Spy who Revealed Canada Bomb Plot. *The Telegraph*. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/canada/1524086/Muslim-extremist-admits-he-was-spy-who-revealed-Canada-bomb-plot.html>

¹⁶⁷ Teotonio, Isabel. The Toronto 18. *The Star*. <http://www3.thestar.com/static/toronto18/index.html>

¹⁶⁸ Teotonio, Isabel. Toronto 18: Key Events. *The Star*.

¹⁶⁹ DePalma, Anthony.

that Canadian soldiers stationed in Afghanistan were raping Afghan women¹⁷⁰.

Such statements raised the ire of Wajid Khan, who served as a Mississauga Conservative MP between 2004 and 2008. Following the mass arrests he stated that Jamal's views were extremely dangerous and could endanger disenfranchised Muslim youths¹⁷¹.

The Cree Jihadist

Dawood (full name undisclosed) grew up as a member of the James Smith First Nation's Community in Saskatchewan, but in his late twenties converted to Islam following drinking problems and suicidal tendencies. He reportedly has handed out hundreds of Anwar al-Awlaki's speeches on DVD at a Toronto Mosque. He publicly supports the notion of foreign jihad in countries like Somalia. Despite this, he states that he approached CSIS officers in 2011 after a Pakistani-Canadian spoke to him about blowing up the CN tower. His conversion followed a childhood spent in detention facilities and on the street as a homeless youth¹⁷².

Members of the Khadr Family (For further profiles on the Khadr family, see section: Canadian Jihadists)

Maha Elsamnah

Ahmed Khadr's wife and the family matriarch, Elsamnah was born in the Palestinian territories before moving to Canada in 1977 and marrying Ahmed. In the 1980's, she moved to Afghanistan with her husband. While there, her children allegedly took part in al-Qaeda training camps. In 2004 she returned

¹⁷⁰ Teotonio, Isabel. Toronto 18: the Battle of Toronto. *The Star*

¹⁷¹ Struck, Doug. Arrests Shake Image of Harmony. *The Washington Post*.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/06/04/AR2006060400610.html>

¹⁷² Bell, Stewart. Cree Jihadist: How a Boy from a Saskatchewan Reserve came to Embrace Islamist Extremism. *National Post* <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/02/22/cree-jihadist-how-a-boy-from-a-saskatchewan-reserve-became-a-national-security-concern/>

to Canada with her son Abdulkareem who was seeking medical aid in Canada following his involvement in a suspected al-Qaeda linked firefight¹⁷³. In a PBS interview conducted on February 22nd, 2004, she defended her children's involvement in terrorist training camps by asserting that she preferred that option to an upbringing in Canada that would have led to drug abuse and homosexual activity by the ages of 12 or 13. She also renounced the concept of moderate Islam, suggesting that "moderate Muslims are not following the complete Quran"¹⁷⁴.

Zaynab Khadr

The oldest Khadr child, Zaynab was born in Ottawa in 1979 and has often defended the actions of her siblings, especially Omar¹⁷⁵. She returned to Canada from Pakistan in 2005, and despite expressing hope of moving back, the Canadian government continues to with-hold her travel documents. She has been investigated by the RCMP for alleged links to a terrorist organization¹⁷⁶.

Financial Support for Terrorist Organizations

Alongside financial support for ethno-national separatist terrorist groups including the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam), Canada has been accused of financing Islamic terrorism and terrorist groups overseas.

A damning report was released by the Basel Institute on Governance in 2013, which ranked Canada 109th on the most risky list relating to money laundering and terrorist financing, behind nations including Egypt and Saudi

¹⁷³ Greco, Vanessa

¹⁷⁴ PBS Frontline, Son of Al-Qaeda: Interview Maha and Zaynab Khadr

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/khadr/interviews/mahazaynab.html>

¹⁷⁵ Profiles of the Controversial Khadr Family

¹⁷⁶ Greco, Vanessa

Arabia¹⁷⁷. Canada was ranked 5.11 on a scale of 0 (no risk) to 10 (high risk)¹⁷⁸.

Between 2007 and 2011 the Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Center of Canada found that the top destinations of fund transfers relating to the financing of terrorism that originated in Canada were: 1) The U.S. 2) The United Arab Emirates 3) Lebanon 4) Pakistan 5) The UK. The report also noted that between 2008 and 2009 there was a drop from 56 to 34 cases relating to terrorist financing utilizing money services businesses. The other two major reporting sectors, financial institutions and casinos, remained fairly static. Between 2008 and 2011, financial institution cases dropped from 98-89, while casinos maintained parity at 6. Between 2008 and 2011 the report noted 257 cases related to terrorist financing and threats to Canada, and a further 124 cases relating to money laundering, terrorist financing, and threats to Canada. The report stated that the "last category highlights the connection between crime and terrorism"¹⁷⁹.

Canadian support for Hamas has been manifested both politically and financially since the group's formation in 1987. In 2004, U.S. diplomats suggested that most terrorist activity in Canada was relegated to financial and propaganda aid. In investigating financing, the Canadian Revenue Agency has scrutinized the actions of IRFAN-Canada for alleged financial ties with Hamas¹⁸⁰.

IRFAN-Canada continues to operate in Canada as a non-profit organization, and was stripped of its charity status in 2011. The Canadian Revenue Agency

¹⁷⁷ Duhaime, Christine. Canada Apparently a Worse Terrorist Financing and Money Laundering Risk than Chile, Cyprus, Romania, Hungary, Israel, and Egypt

<http://www.antimoneylaunderinglaw.com/2013/06/canada-apparently-a-risky-terrorist-financing-and-money-laundering-jurisdiction-compared-to-chile-cyprus-romania-hungary-israel-and-egypt.html>

¹⁷⁸ Basel Institute on Governance. Basel AML Index

<http://index.baselgovernance.org/index/Index.html#ranking>

¹⁷⁹ Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing Trends in FINTRAC Cases Disclosed Between 2007 and 2011

<http://www.fintrac-canafe.gc.ca/publications/typologies/2012-04-eng.asp#s1>

¹⁸⁰ Freeze, Colin. Fundraising Stopped, but Sympathy Remains

<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/hamas/fundraising-stopped-but-sympathy-remains/article4210671/>

stated that between 2005 and 2009, IRFAN had sent \$14.6 million to 15 groups linked to Hamas¹⁸¹.

The U.S. Department of State "2013 International Narcotics Control Strategy Report" noted that while Canada lacks a major black-market, "there are indications that trade-based money laundering occurs", but that "there is no certainty that this activity is tied to terrorist financing activity"¹⁸².

A report released by the Canadian Senate in March 2013 noted that Canada was not doing enough to counter money laundering and the financing of terrorism. It called for greater international collaboration and the introduction of a "consolidated approach". Furthermore, it noted that the RCMP believes that in 2011, "between \$5 billion and \$15 billion was laundered in Canada"¹⁸³.

Muslim Canadian Community Responses to Extremism and Radicalism

As noted prior, Muslim Canadian leaders and organizations have attempted to address the growing problem of radicalization within their community. In many cases, outreach and education has aimed to provide parents with the knowledge of early signs of radicalization amongst their children. The larger effort has also included de-radicalization programs and increased integration with Canadian security forces.

Following the Toronto 18 arrests in June, 2006, Toronto based Sheik Sayyid Ahmed Amiruddin began to offer a 12 step de-radicalization and detox

¹⁸¹ Fedio, Chloe. Former Charity Funded Terror Group: Federal Audit. *The Star*
http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2011/04/15/former_charity_funded_terror_group_federal_audit.htm

¹⁸² U.S. Department of State. 2013 INCSR Report, Canada
<http://www.state.gov/j/inl/rls/nrcrpt/2013/vol2/204065.htm#Canada>

¹⁸³ The Standing Senate Committee on Banking, Trade, and Commerce. Follow the Money: Is Canada Making Progress in Combating Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing? Not Really
<http://parl.gc.ca/content/SEN/Committee/411/BANC/dpk/01mar13/home-e.htm>

program. In collaboration with the RCMP and other members of the Muslim Canadian community, the project began in 2008. Notably, Amiruddin states that it is often parents who bring their children to him after they begin to notice signs of radicalization. The project has been expanded with the help of at least two other Muslim community leaders in Toronto¹⁸⁴.

On December 13th, 2012, the Muslim Canadian Congress (MCC) addressed a letter to then-Liberal interim leader Bob Rae requesting him to stop current-Liberal leader Justin Trudeau from attending the 'Reviving the Islamic Spirit' conference taking place in Toronto. The conference was accused by the MCC of supporting Islamist ideology, and one that had worrying links to "Muslim Brotherhood influenced organizations" overseas¹⁸⁵. In response, Trudeau publicly stated at the conference that those who had opposed his attendance had hoped to "divide Canadians"¹⁸⁶.

A year prior to the VIA train plot arrests in 2013, a Canadian Imam had notified the RCMP of an extremist whom he feared "was corrupting youth in his community". Following the arrests, the RCMP was quick to thank the Muslim community for its help, which had made the successful investigation possible¹⁸⁷.

Following the 2013 VIA train plot arrests, the Canadian Islamic Social Services Association stated that it planned to intensify anti-radicalization education amongst the Winnipeg Muslim community. One of the Association's members, Shahina Sidiqqi, stated that youth radicalization was not taking place in Canadian mosques, and viewed it as a predominantly online phenomenon. In collaboration with the RCMP, the Association hopes to

¹⁸⁴ Teotonio, Isabel. Detox Takes Care of Radicals. *The Star*

http://www.thestar.com/life/2009/06/03/detox_takes_care_of_radicals.html

¹⁸⁵ Justin Trudeau Should Stop Pandering to Islamists. Muslim Canadian Congress: Media Release

<http://www.scribd.com/doc/116691139/Muslim-group-demands-Justin-Trudeau-stop-pandering-to-Islamists>

¹⁸⁶ Justin Trudeau Stands up to Critics over RIS Appearance. *Iqra*. <http://iqra.ca/2012/justin-trudeau-stands-up-to-critics-over-ris-appearance/>

¹⁸⁷ Freeze, Colin, and White, Patrick. Tip from Imam led Police to First Known al-Qaeda Plan of Attack that we've Experienced. *The Globe and Mail*. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/tip-from-imam-led-police-to-first-known-al-qaeda-plan-of-attack-that-weve-experienced/article11492749/>

provide parents with information so that they may be able to detect early signs of radicalization amongst their children¹⁸⁸.

List of Attempted Terror Attacks on Canadian Soil

Chronology of Attempted Terrorist Attacks

2006: Toronto 18

The Toronto 18 case refers to the arrest of 14 adults and 4 youths in June 2006. The group had engaged in 2 terrorist training camps in rural Ontario, and had planned to construct bombs with the goal of detonating them as well as creating an al-Qaeda inspired terrorist group. 7 members of the group eventually had charges against them dropped or stayed¹⁸⁹. The group's leader, Zakaria Amara worked in a Canadian Tyre, and in his spare time at work began to assemble a detonator to blow up three targets: 1) The Toronto Stock Exchange, 2) CSIS' office in Toronto, and 3) an unnamed Canadian military base alleged to have been CFB Trenton, around 174km east of downtown Toronto¹⁹⁰.

Many of the original links between the accused had been based on the fact that 6 of the 17 accused had regularly attended the al-Rahman Islamic Center for Islamic Education in Mississauga¹⁹¹. Details of the plot released by the Crown in 2008 included plans to storm the Canadian parliament and behead the Prime Minister, as well as plans to construct explosive devices. The plotters were first noticed in 2005 when two of the accused adults were caught attempting to smuggle weapons across the U.S.-Canada border in a

¹⁸⁸ Winnipeg Mosques more Vigilant amid more Terror Arrests, *CBC News*.
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/story/2013/04/26/mb-mosques-winnipeg-terror-arrests-reax.html>

¹⁸⁹ Timeline, Toronto 18: Key Events in the Case, *CBC News*
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2008/06/02/f-toronto-timeline.html>

¹⁹⁰ Teotonio, Isabel. The Battle of Toronto, *The Star*
<http://www3.thestar.com/static/toronto18/index.1.html>

¹⁹¹ DePalma, Anthony. Six of 17 Arrested in Canada's Antiterror Sweep Have Ties to Mosque near Toronto, *The New York Times*
http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/05/world/americas/05canada.html?pagewanted=print&_r=1&

rented car. Later, a well known member of the Canadian Muslim community, Mubin Shaikh, was recruited to infiltrate the group¹⁹².

The group conducted two terrorist training camps, the first in December, 2005, in Orillia, Ontario, and the second in May, 2006, in the Rockwood conservation area. A second informant named Shaher Elsohemy had also collected evidence against the plotters, and is now in the RCMP's witness protection program. He was allegedly paid an estimated \$4 million dollars to infiltrate the group, and to arrange an order for the ammonium nitrate needed to construct the group's bombs¹⁹³. The plot involved two cells, one in Mississauga ran by Zakaria Amara following his loss of confidence in the group's religious leader, Fahim Ahmad. Ahmad led the Scarborough group¹⁹⁴. A profile of each suspect and the charges laid against them follows:

a) Zakaria Amara (Ringleader)-Mississauga

Amara was born in Jordan, and lived in Saudi Arabia and Cyprus prior to his immigration to Canada at age 12. Though baptized an Orthodox Christian, Amara converted to Islam at age 10 following his education at an Islamic school in Cyprus. At age 12, his family moved to Canada¹⁹⁵.

Amara built a home-made detonator and attempted to acquire bomb-making materials, with which he planned to construct bombs that would detonate at the Toronto Stock Exchange, the CSIS office in downtown Toronto, and a Canadian military base. He was one of the lead organizers of the December 2005 training camps in rural Ontario. These included paintball and members of the group watching Jihadist videos in the local Tim Horton's. Despite repenting and asking for forgiveness prior to his sentencing, he was jailed for

¹⁹² Teotonio, Isabel. Alleged Toronto Terror Plot Detailed in Court, *The Star*

http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2008/03/26/alleged_toronto_terror_plot_detailed_in_court.html

¹⁹³ Friscolanti, Michael. The Four-Million Dollar Rat, *MacLean's*

http://www.macleans.ca/article.jsp?content=20070212_140696_140696

¹⁹⁴ Teotonio, The Toronto 18

¹⁹⁵ Teotonio, The battle of Toronto

life in January 2010¹⁹⁶. He attempted to construct his bombs from three tones of ammonium nitrate¹⁹⁷.

b) Saad Gaya-Mississauga

Gaya was born in Canada to Pakistani parents in 1987. He was close friends with fellow accused Saad Khalid¹⁹⁸. The McMaster University honours student was jailed for 12 years (including time already served) for unloading what he believed was the fertilizer that would be used to construct the bombs¹⁹⁹.

c) Saad Khalid-Mississauga

Khalid was born in Saudi Arabia to Pakistani parents in 1986, and moved to Canada aged 9. He became friends with Amara in high school²⁰⁰. Khalid was entrusted with running one of the two cells involved in the plot. As one of the 4 accomplices charged with bomb-making, he pleaded guilty and received a 14 year sentence²⁰¹.

d) Shareef Abdelhaleem-Mississauga

Abdelhaleem was born in Egypt in 1976 and moved to Canada aged 10. He was charged as the middle man who had attempted to provide Amara with the ammonium nitrate needed to construct bombs²⁰². He was one of the 4 accused charged with bomb-making, and was sentenced to life in prison in 2011.

¹⁹⁶ Friscolanti, Michael. The Merciless and Meticulous Toronto 18 Ringleader Goes to Prison for Life, *MacLean's* <http://www2.macleans.ca/2010/01/18/life-sentence-for-%E2%80%9Ctoronto-18%E2%80%9D-ringleader/>

¹⁹⁷ Teotonio, The Toronto 18

¹⁹⁸ Teotonio, The Toronto 18

¹⁹⁹ Friscolanti, Michael. The Merciless and Meticulous Toronto 18 Ringleader Goes to Prison for Life

²⁰⁰ Teotonio, The Toronto 18

²⁰¹ Friscolanti, Michael. The Merciless and Meticulous Toronto 18 Ringleader Goes to Prison for Life

²⁰² Teotonio, The Toronto 18

Prior to his conviction, he had worked as a computer-engineer with an estimated annual salary of over \$300,000. He partied frequently, and feared that if he left the Toronto 18 group he would lose his social circle and standing, according to the Court mandated psychiatrist, Dr. Hy Bloom²⁰³.

e) Ibrahim Aboud-Mississauga

Aboud was born in Iraq in 1986, and moved to Canada around the age of 14. He became friends with Amara in high school²⁰⁴. Aboud was the 18th member of the group arrested, two months after the other 17. He was charged with “participating in a terrorist group, and training for terrorist purposes”, but his charges were stayed in April 2008²⁰⁵.

f) Fahim Ahmad-Scarborough

Ahmad was born and raised in Afghanistan, and his family moved to Canada when he was 10 years old²⁰⁶. He was unemployed, and spent much of his time on Jihadist web-sites²⁰⁷.

Described as one of the leaders of the Toronto 18 group alongside Amara, Ahmad was sentenced to 16 years in prison in October, 2010. Ahmad had helped organize the two rural Ontario training camps, but the presiding judge noted that the planned attacks were nowhere near ready to be carried out²⁰⁸. He was charged with the import of firearms, “participating in a terrorist group and instructing others to carry out activities for that group”²⁰⁹.

g) Asad Ansari-Mississauga

²⁰³ Wilkes, Jim, and Teotonio, Isabel. Life in Prison for Toronto 18 member, *The Star*
http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2011/03/04/life_in_prison_for_toronto_18_member.html

²⁰⁴ Teotonio, The Toronto 18

²⁰⁵ Timeline, Toronto 18: Key Events in the Case

²⁰⁶ Teotonio, The Battle of Toronto

²⁰⁷ Teotonio, The Toronto 18

²⁰⁸ Toronto 18 Ringleader Gets 16 Years, *CBC News*

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2010/10/25/toronto-toronto-18-terrorism-sentence.html>

²⁰⁹ Timeline, Toronto 18: Key Events in the Case

Ansari was born in Pakistan in 1985, but his family moved to Saudi Arabia 7 months later. They then moved to Canada when he was 12, and he became friends with Ahmad and Amara in middle school²¹⁰. At age 25, Ansari was convicted of participating in a terrorist group's activities in 2010 and sentenced to 6.5 years in prison. Ansari attended the 2005 terrorist training camp in Washago, Ontario²¹¹.

h) Steven Chand-Scarborough

Chand was born in Canada in 1981 to Fijian parents. Though raised Hindu, he later converted to Islam²¹². Chand was convicted in 2010 on charges relating to his participation in a terrorist group and sentenced to 10 years in prison²¹³.

i) Ali Dirie-Scarborough

Dirie was born in Somalia in 1983 and moved to Canada as a youth²¹⁴. In 2009, the then 26 year old Dirie was found guilty of "procuring weapons, arranging false travel documents, and trying to recruit extremists for a domestic group"²¹⁵.

j) Amin Durrani-Scarborough

Durrani was born in Pakistan in 1986 and moved to Canada aged 12²¹⁶. Durrani pleaded guilty to "participating in a terrorist group", having attended

²¹⁰ Teotonio, The Toronto 18

²¹¹ Last 2 Toronto 18 Accused Found Guilty, *CBC News*

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2010/06/23/toronto-18-verdict.html>

²¹² Teotonio, The Toronto 18

²¹³ Timeline, Toronto 18: Key Events in the Case

²¹⁴ Teotonio, The Toronto 18

²¹⁵ Toronto 18 Plotter Gets 2 More Years, *CBC News*

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2009/10/02/tor-dirie-sentence.html>

²¹⁶ Teotonio, The Toronto 18

the Washago training camp in 2005. He was 19 when he was arrested in 2006²¹⁷.

k) Ahmad Mustafa Ghany-Mississauga

Ghany was born in Canada in 1984²¹⁸. He was arrested for “participating in a terrorist group, and training for terrorist purposes”, but charges against him were stayed in April 2008²¹⁹.

l) Abdul Qayyum Jamal-Mississauga

Jamal was born in Pakistan in 1963, and moved to Canada as an adult²²⁰. Jamal was arrested for “planning to cause a deadly explosion, participating in the activities of a terrorist group and receiving training from a terrorist group”, but the charges relating to the explosion were dropped in November 2007, and the other charges against him were stayed in April 2008²²¹. Jamal was 43 at the time of the arrests, and was described as being one of the group’s ringleaders.

Despite his charges being dropped or stayed, Jamal must obey an 8pm curfew, cannot contact the other alleged members of the group, and cannot apply for travel documentation²²². Prior to his arrest, Jamal had been a school bus driver and delivered frequent speeches in the al-Rahman mosque. He occasionally took younger members of the mosque for group meals or played soccer with them²²³. Moreover, in some of his fiery speeches, Jamal

²¹⁷ Another Toronto 18 Member Pleads Guilty, *CBC News*

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2010/01/20/toronto-18-plea941.html>

²¹⁸ Teotonio, *The Toronto 18*

²¹⁹ Timeline, *Toronto 18: Key Events in the Case*

²²⁰ Teotonio, *The Toronto 18*

²²¹ Timeline, *Toronto 18: Key Events in the Case*

²²² Former Bomb Plot Suspect Thought Arrest was a Terrible Mistake, *CBC News*

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2008/04/16/jamal-invu.html>

²²³ DePalma, Anthony. Six of 17 Arrested in Canada’s Antiterror Sweep Have Ties to Mosque near Toronto

alluded that Canadian soldiers stationed in Afghanistan were raping Afghan women²²⁴

m) Jahmaal James-Scarborough

James was born to parents from the West Indies in Canada, in 1983. Raised Christian, he ultimately converted to Islam²²⁵. James was 22 at the time of his arrest in 2006. He pleaded guilty, and also noted that he had traveled to Pakistan in 2005 in the hopes of attending a terrorist training camp and bringing back his knowledge to the other accused. He fell sick in Pakistan and allegedly never attended the camp. He was a convert to Islam, and had left the group shortly prior to his arrest²²⁶. He was sentenced to 7 years in prison for "participating in a terrorist group"²²⁷.

n) Yasim Mohamed-Scarborough

Mohamed was born in Somalia in 1981 and moved to Canada aged 5²²⁸. He was charged with "participating in a terrorist group and training for terrorist purposes", but charges against Mohamed were stayed in April 2008²²⁹.

o) Nisanthan Yogakrishnan (youth 1)

Despite being 17 at the time of his arrest, Yogakrishnan was sentenced as an adult and served 2.5 years in prison on charges of "knowingly participating in, and contributing to, a terrorist group"²³⁰.

p) Youths 2-4

²²⁴ Teotonio, The battle of Toronto

²²⁵ Teotonio, The Toronto 18

²²⁶ Last 2 Toronto 18 Accused Found Guilty

²²⁷ Timeline, Toronto 18: Key Events in the Case

²²⁸ Teotonio, the Toronto 18

²²⁹ Timeline, Toronto 18: Key Events in the Case

²³⁰ Ban Lifted on Convicted Terrorist's Identity, *CBC News*

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2009/09/09/toronto-terror-identity.html>

All 3 of these unnamed youths were charged with “participating in a terrorist group and receiving training to be part of a terrorist group”. Youth 2 had their charges stayed in February 2007, while Youths 3 and 4 had their charges stayed in July 2007²³¹.

2010: The London Ontario Plot

The 2010 London Ontario plot involved three males arrested on charges of “taking part in a domestic terrorist plot and possessing plans and materials to create makeshift bombs”. The men had chosen targets including government buildings and public transport²³². The three men charged were:

a) Misbahuddin Ahmed

The 29 year old was arrested in Ottawa, in 2010, on charges of explosives possession and conspiracy to commit a terrorist act. He worked as an x-ray technician at the Ottawa Hospital, and was considered a hard-working employee with no criminal history or signs of radicalization. He has a wife, and at the time of his arrest in 2010, a three month old daughter. In 2008, he and his co-conspirator Kurram Sher played in a charity ball hockey league that was raising funds for Pakistani, Indian, and Bangladeshi charities. According to the RCMP, Ahmed grew up in Canada but was born in either India or Pakistan²³³.

b) Hiva Alizadeh

The 33 year old was arrested in Ottawa, in 2010, on charges of explosives possession, conspiracy to commit a terrorist act, and supporting a terrorist group by providing material and financial aid. Alizadeh immigrated to Canada

²³¹ Timeline, Toronto 18: Key Events in the Case

²³² Alleged Terrorist Plot Targeted Canada. *CBC News*

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/story/2010/08/26/ottawa-rcmp-arrest-folo.html>

²³³ Profile: Misbahuddin Ahmed. *CBC News* <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2010/08/27/f-profile-ahmed-terrorism.html>

from Iran around his 21st birthday, and spent most of his life in Winnipeg. While co-workers never noted examples of radical religious beliefs, his Canadian-Aboriginal wife began to wear a full niqab in 2008. According to both Pakistani and Canadian sources, he traveled to Pakistan to seek terrorist training²³⁴.

c) Khurram Sher

The 31 year old was arrested in London, Ontario, in 2010, on charges of conspiracy to commit a terrorist attack. Former friends described him as well adjusted to Canadian life. He worked as a Pathologist in the St. Thomas Elgin General Hospital in London. He had previously spent time volunteering in Kashmir in 2006, and East Jerusalem in 2008²³⁵. Sher had also previously competed on Canadian Idol²³⁶, and was born and raised in Montreal²³⁷.

All three of the above convictions were supported by shared intelligence between Canada, the U.S., and Britain²³⁸.

2013: The Via Train Plot

On April 22nd, 2013, the RCMP announced that it had arrested two males, Chiheb Esseghaier, and Raed Jaser, on charges of plotting to engage in terrorist activity by detonating an explosive device aboard a Via passenger train in the GTA. The plot reportedly targeted a rail line linking Toronto and

²³⁴ Profile: Hiva Alizadeh. *CBC News* <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2010/08/27/f-bomb-plot-profile-hiva-alizadeh.html>

²³⁵ Profile: Khurram Sher, *CBC News* <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2010/08/27/f-bomb-plot-profile-khurram-sher.html>

²³⁶ Bronskill, Jim. Secret CSIS Source, Allied Intelligence Cited in High Profile Terror Case. *MacLean's* <http://www2.macleans.ca/2013/05/17/secret-csis-source-allied-intelligence-cited-in-high-profile-terror-case/>

²³⁷ Gordon, Sean, and Stechyson, Natalie. Khurram Sher: A High-Achieving, Joking Doctor. *The Globe and Mail* <http://m.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/khurram-sher-a-high-achieving-joking-doctor/article1378369/?service=mobile>

²³⁸ Ibid

New York. The two men were living in Canada legally but were not Canadian citizens²³⁹.

While the plot was still in the planning stages, RCMP sources stated that it was apparently supported by al-Qaeda elements in Iran. Police investigators began tracking the pair in August 2012, and collaborated with U.S. officials. The RCMP also received vital intelligence from the GTA Islamic community²⁴⁰. There are no signs of collaboration between the pair and the Iranian government²⁴¹.

a) Chiheb Esseghaier

Esseghaier was 30 at the time of his arrest and living in Montreal. He studied at the University of Sherbrooke, before transferring to the Institute National de la Recherche Scientifique in Quebec for PHD related research on nanotechnology. Tunisian born, Esseghaier was cautioned by the University in 2011 for allegedly pulling down a poster that supported equality of the sexes. Prior to his arrest, he had utilized the Islamic State of Iraq's logo as his Linked in profile picture, until the site removed it. He has also been linked to the Assuna Annabawiyah Mosque, though the Mosque's President denied having ever heard of him²⁴². In the two years prior to his arrest, Esseghaier travelled to Iran, allegedly meeting a "network of low to mid-level al-Qaeda fixers and facilitators based in the town of Zahedan". The town is roughly 20km's south of where the south-westernmost borders of Pakistan and Afghanistan meet²⁴³.

²³⁹ Alleged al-Qaeda Supported Plot against VIA Train Thwarted, *CBC News*

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/story/2013/04/22/pol-terror-plot-ontario-quebec-arrests.html>

²⁴⁰ Ibid

²⁴¹ Palmer, Randall, and Sharp, Alastair. Canadian Train Plot Suspects Caused Unease with Extreme Views, *Reuters* <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2013/04/25/uk-arrests-profiles-idUKBRE9301GB20130425>

²⁴² Ibid

²⁴³ White, Patrick. Via Rail Plot's Alleged al-Qaeda-Iran Connection Spurs Alarm in U.S. *The Globe and Mail* <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/via-rail-plots-alleged-al-qaeda-iran-connection-spurs-alarm-in-us/article11562189/>

A jail-cell interview with Esseghaier noted that he condemned Canadian military involvement in Afghanistan, and suggested that more radicals like him could emerge from the Islamic minority across the country. He also stated his desire to be charged under Sharia law rather than the Canadian penal code²⁴⁴, and has therefore decided not to recruit a Canadian lawyer²⁴⁵.

According to U.S. authorities, another Tunisian man entitled Ahmed Abassi had been responsible for radicalizing Esseghaier. Abassi was arrested in New York in April on unrelated terror charges²⁴⁶. Abassi had moved to Quebec in 2010 from Tunisia, and had undertaken postgraduate level research on chemical engineering. In December, 2012, he was barred from returning to Canada from Tunisia, and instead travelled to New York. Prior to this, he is accused of having played a central role in Esseghaier's radicalization²⁴⁷.

b) Raed Jaser:

Jaser was 35 years old at the time of his arrest and lived in Toronto. Jaser's family moved as Palestinian refugees to Canada from the UAE in 1993. Most of his family holds Canadian citizenship, though neither Jaser nor Esseghaier hold Canadian passports. Jaser's father noted signs of radicalization in his son in 2010, and reached out to Muhammad Robert Heft, who works with Canadian Islamic youths. Prior to this, in 2004 the Canadian government had considered deporting Jaser due to his problems with the law that included 5 fraud convictions and 2 "failures to comply with a recognizance". He attended the Masjid al-Faisal Mosque up to five times a day, but was described as a quiet and nice man by other attendees²⁴⁸.

²⁴⁴ Gillis, Wendy. Via Terror Plot: Suspect says Others may Take his Place, *The Star*
http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2013/06/22/via_terror_plot_suspect_says_others_may_take_his_place.html

²⁴⁵ Man Accused in Alleged Via Plot has yet to Find a Lawyer, *CBC News*
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2013/06/25/toronto-alleged-via-plot-accused-court.html>

²⁴⁶ Tunisian who Allegedly Wanted to Commit Terror, Held in the U.S.
<http://edition.cnn.com/2013/05/09/us/new-york-terror-arrest>

²⁴⁷ Hamilton, Graeme, and Bell, Stewart. Ordinary Student was Considered a Security Risk before becoming Third Man Connected to Alleged VIA Rail Terror Plot
<http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/05/10/ordinary-student-was-considered-a-security-risk-before-he-was-connected-to-alleged-via-rail-terror-plot/>

²⁴⁸ Ibid

2013: Victoria Canada Day Bomb Plot

A Caucasian Canadian couple, Nuttall and Korody were arrested on Monday, July 1st, 2013, following allegations that the pair were planning to set off pressure-cooker bombs outside the British Columbia Provincial legislature in Victoria.

a) John Nuttall

Born in 1974, Nuttall was charged alongside Amanda Korody for attempting to detonate 3 pressure cooker bombs during Canada Day Celebrations (July 1st) in Victoria, British Columbia. Both Nuttall and Korody were described by police as self radicalized. Nuttall had a history of drug abuse, as well as criminal charges relating to robbery, assault, and possession of a weapon. He and Korody were arrested in Surrey, British Columbia.

Earlier in 2013, a neighbour contacted the Surrey RCMP after hearing Nuttall on his telephone talking about Jihad²⁴⁹. He was described as a caring friend with a troubled past by former friends and band-mates²⁵⁰. A friend of the pair noted that their behaviour had changed about 6 months prior to their arrest, and that Nuttall had disapproved of his brother's military record with the Canadian forces, and their ongoing mission in Afghanistan. Prior to their arrests, the pair was asked to leave the Surrey, British Columbia Mosque that they had been attending²⁵¹.

b) Amanda Korody:

²⁴⁹Mordant, Nicole, and Kwan, Jennifer. Canada Bombing Suspect's Past: A Tale of Violence, Drugs, Punk Music. *Reuters* <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/07/03/us-security-plot-idUSBRE9621DB20130703>

²⁵⁰Baker, Paula, and Judd, Amy. Friends of John Nuttall say he was a Great Friend, but was also Troubled. *Global News* <http://globalnews.ca/news/690911/friends-of-john-nuttall-say-he-was-a-great-friend-but-was-also-troubled/>

²⁵¹ Canada Day Bomb Plot Suspects were kicked out of B.C. Mosque, *CBC News* <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/story/2013/07/03/bc-legislature-plot-suspects-neighbours-surrey.html>

Born in 1983, Korody, unlike Nuttall, has no criminal record²⁵². Korody was described by a former teacher as a gifted student, but one that had problems with her parents and fellow teenagers²⁵³. She and Nuttall were described by their landlady as recovering addicts, citing the numerous methadone bottles littering their small rental unit. The couple had lived in the home for 3 years, and had been practicing Muslims for two years, which included Korody wearing a burqa. The pair had been on welfare²⁵⁴.

Assessment

The four plots included 25 plotters (not including Ahmed Abassi). Of those 25, not including the 4 Toronto 18 plotters charged as youths:

- a) 5 converted to Islam
- b) 7 were born in Canada
- c) 14 were born abroad
- d) 19 were between the ages of 18-35. Nuttall was 39 when he was arrested in 2013, and Jamal was 43 when he was arrested in 2006.
- e) 1 plot was supported by a foreign terrorist organization
- f) All four plots involved members that had known each other in some capacity prior to planning their attacks.
- g) 3 of the plots aimed to strike Ontario targets, while 1 aimed to strike targets in British Columbia.
- h) 1 of the plots had allegedly planned to hit cross border targets in both Canada and the U.S. (Via)

²⁵² Dickson, Louise, and Devlin, Mike. Accused Bomb Plotter John Nuttall once Lived in Victoria, Played in Punk Bands. *Times Colonist* <http://www.timescolonist.com/news/world/accused-bomb-plotter-john-nuttall-once-lived-in-victoria-played-in-punk-bands-1.340698>

²⁵³ Canada Day Bomb Plot Suspects were Kicked Out of B.C. Mosque, *CBC News*

²⁵⁴ Bolan, Kim. Couple Charged in Legislature Bomb Plot Lived Frugal Life in Surrey, Landlady Says. *Times Colonist* <http://www.timescolonist.com/couple-charged-in-legislature-bomb-plot-lived-frugal-life-in-surrey-landlady-says-1.340597>

Friends and family members of the London, Via, and Canada Day plotters in many instances noted that they had seen striking changes in the personalities and political views of those radicalized. Members of all four plots had previous relationships prior to their decision to attack Canadian targets; for example, members of the Toronto 18 attended high school and local mosques together, members of the London plot had played in ball hockey tournaments together, and Korody and Nuttall had been in a relationship prior to their conversion. Shared grievances specifically included Canada's military involvement in Afghanistan.

Three out of the four groups were small; both the Victoria and Via plots involved two people, while the London plot involved three.

The Toronto 18 provides a case study of a larger group incorporating two cells in suburban Ontario. A majority of them were in their late teens to early twenties. In this instance, police infiltration played a central role in building a case against the group.

Canadian Jihadists

Canada has increasingly been linked to the export of Jihadists. In 2013 this has included fighters joining terrorist and insurgent groups in the Sahel region of northern Africa, Somalia, and Syria. As well, Canadian Jihadists have been linked to Chechnya and Dagestan, Iraq, Lebanon, Gaza, and the Afghanistan-Pakistan border region.

Canadian's have been involved in a litany of terrorist attacks that include high profile suicide attacks and hostage situations. Many have been directly involved in regional insurgencies. Canadian's have been held in Guantanamo Bay for suspected acts of terror, with Omar Khadr attracting particular attention due to his young age.

Many Canadian Jihadists join insurgencies in their home countries, or their parent's home countries. Despite this trend, however, some have travelled abroad to volatile regions within which Islamist terror groups operate in the

hope of joining them. The case study regarding the In Amenas hostage situation provides particular insight into the heterogeneous nature of Islamic radicalization in Canada.

Canadian's have also been linked to attacks on western allies, chief amongst them the U.S. and UK. In some cases, the perpetrators have been apprehended following intelligence sharing between Canada and the targeted countries.

The following case studies involve Canadian individuals that have been linked to Jihadist activity abroad:

1) Abu Abdul Rahman

Rahman was a Canadian-Iraqi insurgent leader, who moved to Turki, Iraq, after marrying an Iraqi woman in 1995. As a suspected high ranking member of al-Qaeda in Iraq, he led insurgents in the 2006 Battle of Turki, and following the death of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi was touted as one of the organizations potential new leaders²⁵⁵.

2) **In Amenas**

Following the 16th of January, 2013, attack on a gas facility in Algeria, reports emerged that two of the dead attackers had been Canadian. Investigations led to the conclusion that at least 3 or 4 young males from London, Ontario had travelled overseas following their radicalization to join terrorist organizations in the North Africa region. Two of the men had converted to Islam during high school. The first two, Katsiroubas and Medlej, were found dead following the In Amenas attack. The third, Yoon, was held in custody in Mauritania, though he was later released and deported back to Canada in July 2013. The fourth, Enderi, is currently in Libya and denies any wrongdoing or association with the other three.

²⁵⁵ Wong, Edward. Some Fighters in Iraq Adopt New Tactics to Battle U.S. *The New York Times*
http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/24/world/middleeast/24diyala.html?fta=y&_r=0

a) Xristos Katsiroubas

22 years old at the time of his death, Xristos grew up in a middle class London, Ontario, Greek Orthodox family, though he converted to Islam during high school. In 2007, both Katsiroubas and his family were interviewed by CSIS agents following allegations that he and Medlej were hanging out with a suspicious group. He was described as a quiet young man who dropped out of secondary school in 2011. A school friend of his recalls that around 2009 his personality changed drastically and that he was always suggesting visits to the local Mosque²⁵⁶.

b) Ali Medlej

Medlej was estimated to be 24 years old at the time of his death, and like Katsiroubas had grown up in a middle class London, Ontario family. Medlej graduated from high school in 2006, and following his graduation remained friends with the younger Katsiroubas²⁵⁷.

The pair is believed to have attended the London Muslim Mosque, though following the attack the Mosque's chair, as well as other London based Muslim community leaders, harshly condemned the attackers. In June 2012, members of the London Muslim Mosque were approached by RCMP officers who showed them pictures of Medlej and a few other men. The pair had moved to Edmonton in 2007 in search of work, but had been evicted by their landlord following extensive property damage. They were also arrested for minor theft in a grocery store²⁵⁸. Alongside Aaron Yoon who has been jailed

²⁵⁶ Weston, Greg. Canadians in Algerian Gas Plant Attack Identified. *CBC News*
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/story/2013/04/01/f-algeria-canadians-militants-hostages.html>

²⁵⁷ Ibid

²⁵⁸ Ontario Mosque Leaders Reject Links to Extremism. *CBC News*
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2013/04/02/london-ontario-mosque-reaction.html>

in Mauritania, the CBC reported that at least 2 or more other friends of the pair had also gone overseas with them²⁵⁹.

c) Aaron Yoon

Arrested in Mauritania in 2011, 24 year old Yoon was jailed for 2 years on charges of links to Al-Qaeda. A friend of Medlej and Katsiroubas who attended the same high school, he is believed to have traveled overseas with the pair. Yoon traveled to Nouakchott in 2011 where he began to learn Arabic. Yoon served his prison sentence in a jail that housed other al-Qaeda linked prisoners²⁶⁰, raising concerns over further radicalization. He is alleged to have planned to join Islamist insurgents in northern Mali in 2011, prior to his arrest²⁶¹. Yoon was raised Roman Catholic, but converted to Islam in grade 11²⁶². Yoon was reportedly radicalized by an extremist Mauritanian cleric who was linked to Mokhtar Belmokhtar through his cousin²⁶³.

On July 14th, 2013, Yoon was ordered released by a Mauritanian court following a failed attempt to increase his jail sentence to ten years. A judicial source noted that he would probably be removed from the country

²⁵⁹ Toronto Star, London Residents Shocked by Canadians in terror
http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2013/04/02/london_residents_shocked_by_news_that_canadians_named_in_terror_attack.html

²⁶⁰ MacCharles, Tonda. Mauritania Jailed Canadian Aaron Yoon for al-Qaeda Ties, Says Amnesty. *The Star*
http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2013/04/05/aaron_yoon_serving_twoyear_sentence_in_mauritania_for_al_qaeda_ties_amnesty_international.html

²⁶¹ Mauritania Jails Canadian for Two Years for Terrorist Conspiracy, *Reuters*
<http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/04/09/us-mauritania-canada-yoon-idUSBRE93811E20130409>

²⁶² Weston, Greg. Canadians in Algeria Attack went Overseas with 3rd Man. *CBC News*
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2013/04/02/algeria-attack-canadians-aaron-yoon-london-ontario.html>

²⁶³ Bell, Stewart. Canadian in Mauritanian Custody was Recruited for Jihad by a Radical Cleric: Official. *National Post* <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/04/11/aaron-yoon-was-recruited-for-jihad-by-a-radical-cleric/>

immediately²⁶⁴, and he subsequently arrived in Canada on Friday July 26th, 2013²⁶⁵

d) Mujahid (Ryan) Enderi

Enderi left Canada around the same time as Medlej, Katsiroubas, and Yoon. Enderi's family immigrated to Canada from Libya, and Medlej became friends with the group in 2007. The London Muslim Center that was frequented by Medlej and Katsiroubas was not visited by Enderi, but the centers coordinator knew of Enderi's family²⁶⁶. While an article published by the Toronto Star named Enderi as the fourth suspect sought by police, a week later, Enderi was interviewed by CTV News from Tripoli, where he had been living for almost 2 years. He protested his innocence, and denied links to Yoon, Medlej, and Katsiroubas. He was several grades behind the three in secondary school, and claimed to have lost touch with them after their trip to North Africa²⁶⁷.

3) Bulgaria Bus Bombing

The July 2012 Bulgaria bus bombing in Burgas was, according to Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird, carried out by a Lebanese-Canadian citizen named Hassan El Hajj Hassan (25) considered to still be at large. Hassan is believed to have been working with Hezbollah²⁶⁸. The attack has prompted debate within Canada as to whether foreign terrorists with

²⁶⁴ Mauritanian Court Frees Canadian 'al-Qaeda trainee', *Global Post*

<http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/afp/130714/mauritanian-court-frees-canadian-al-qaeda-trainee>

²⁶⁵ Freeze, Colin. Aaron Yoon Returns to Canada After Being Jailed for Terrorism Overseas. *Globe and Mail*
<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/muslim-student-jailed-for-terrorism-overseas-returns-to-canada/article13463225/>

²⁶⁶ *ibid*

²⁶⁷ Fourth London Terror Suspect Claims Innocence, *CTV London* <http://london.ctvnews.ca/fourth-london-terror-suspect-claims-innocence-1.1249322>

²⁶⁸ Bulgaria Bus Bombing Suspect is Canadian Dual National: Baird. *CTV News*
<http://www.ctvnews.ca/world/bulgaria-bus-bombing-suspect-is-canadian-dual-national-baird-1.1143546>

Canadian citizenship should be stripped of their passports. Hassan is alleged to have moved to Vancouver with his mother at age 8 from Lebanon, and then returned 4 years later. He and his co-conspirator are believed to be back in Lebanon²⁶⁹. Hassan is believed to have a child living in Canada, whom he visited prior to the attack. While there, he is also reported to have collected and received funds to help carry out the attack²⁷⁰.

4) The Millennium Plotters

a) Ahmed Ressam

Ressam is believed to have entered Canada in 1994, when he attempted to move to Montreal on a forged French passport. He was arrested, though allowed to enter the country pending a claim for political asylum. He lived in Montreal for 4 years in an apartment later believed to have links to GIA and al-Qaeda. He carried out a string of small thefts, and when his asylum request was rejected, he remained in Canada having successfully forged a passport under the false name of Benni Antoine Noris²⁷¹.

Ressam was linked to a GIA plot in 1996 after his cell phone number was discovered on the body of a killed GIA member in Roubaix, France. Following this, Ressam was monitored by CSIS until his departure to Afghanistan in 1998. Upon his return to Montreal under then false identity of Benni Noris, Ressam plotted to detonate a bomb at LAX. In November 1999 he traveled to Vancouver to meet a cohort, and they began to construct crude bombs in a rented motel room. On December 14th, 1999, Ressam loaded more than 100

²⁶⁹ Clark, Campbell, and Freeze, Colin. Alleged Links between Hezbollah, Canadian Suspect and Bulgaria Bombing Draw World Reaction. *The Globe and Mail*
<http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/alleged-links-between-hezbollah-canadian-suspect-and-bulgaria-bombing-draw-world-reaction/article8322239/>

²⁷⁰ Bell, Stewart. Canadian Suspect Named in Deadly Bulgarian Bus Bombing Allegedly Trained with Hezbollah <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/07/25/canadian-identified-as-suspect-in-deadly-bulgarian-bus-bombing-of-israeli-tourists/>

²⁷¹ Ahmed Ressam's Millennium Plot, *PBS Frontline*
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/trail/inside/cron.html>

pounds of explosives into his truck and crossed from Victoria, BC, to Port Angeles, WA. There he was apprehended by an alert customs official, and a thorough search of his truck located the bombs.

Following legal disputes and appeals, he was sentenced to between 65 and 130 years in prison²⁷².

b) Mohamedou Ould Salahi

Born on December 21st, 1970, in Mauritania, Salahi made several trips to Montreal in 1999 after his German visa was not renewed. While in Canada, he was investigated and placed under surveillance by CSIS officials. He was believed by both Canadian and U.S. investigators to be a ringleader of the Millennium Plot with Ahmed Ressay²⁷³. He was arrested in Dakar, Senegal at the behest of U.S. officials, and has been held in Guantanamo Bay since 08/05/2002²⁷⁴.

5) Jamal Akal

Akal grew up in Nuseirat, in Gaza, and moved to Windsor, Ontario, in 1999, where he obtained Canadian citizenship²⁷⁵. He was arrested in the Gaza Strip following allegations that he had been trained by a Hamas leader to carry out attacks against Jewish leaders in the U.S. and Canada²⁷⁶. Akal was freed from Israeli prison after serving a 4 year sentence, and returned to Canada²⁷⁷.

²⁷² Ibid

²⁷³ CSIS Watched Terrorist Suspect in 1999. *CBC News*

http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2001/10/03/slahi_csis011003.html

²⁷⁴ Guantanamo Bay Detainee File on Mohamedou Ould Salahi, *The Telegraph*

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/wikileaks-files/guantanamo-bay-wikileaks-files/8477160/Guantanamo-Bay-detainee-file-on-Mohamedou-Ould-Salahi-US9MR-000760DP.html>

²⁷⁵ Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Hamas-Trained Terrorist-Canadian National-Arrested by ISA-8 Dec 2003 <http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/pressroom/2003/pages/hamas-trained%20terrorist-%20canadian%20national-%20arrest.aspx>

²⁷⁶ Canadian Pleads Guilty in Plot to Kill Jews, *CBC News*

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/story/2004/11/24/akkal-israel041124.html>

²⁷⁷ Gaza born Canadian Freed After 4 Years in Israeli Prison, *CBC News*

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/story/2007/08/30/akkal-freed.html>

6) Rudwan Abubakar:

The son of Eritrean refugees, Abubakar was born in Sudan and subsequently moved to Canada with his family. He finished high school in East Vancouver in 1997, and continued to play soccer and model. In June 2004, he and a friend left Vancouver to fly to Dubai, but his family soon lost track of him. It is asserted that he and his friend flew to Dagestan on August 23rd, 2004. On October 8th, Russian security forces revealed that they had killed four insurgents, one of whom had in his possession a Canadian passport and a B.C. driver's license in the name of Rudwan Abubakar²⁷⁸.

7) William Plotnikov

Born May 3rd, 1989, Plotnikov grew up in Russia, moved to Canada with his family, but eventually returned and was killed by Russian security forces in Dagestan in July, 2012. His father noted that his son had converted to Islam in 2009, and left the country a year later, having failed to adjust to Canada. Plotnikov's father noticed a sudden change in his son, as did a friend who traveled with him to Moscow. Plotnikov then traveled to Dagestan, before being returned to Moscow by Russian security forces, which had been tipped off by William's father. He eventually made his way back to Dagestan and joined a Dagestani insurgent group prior to his death²⁷⁹.

Plotnikov has been linked to the Boston Marathon Bomber Tamerlan Tsarnaev, who left Russia a few days after Plotnikov's death. U.S. law enforcement officials continue to attempt to construct links between the two men²⁸⁰.

²⁷⁸ Family of Rudwan Abubakar says he wasn't Bomb Making Rebel, *CBC News*
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2004/12/12/abubaker041212.html>

²⁷⁹ Bell, Stewart. William Plotnikov, a Canadian Turned Militant Killed in Dagestan, *National Post*
<http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/08/20/dagestan/>

²⁸⁰ Shuster, Simon. The Boston Bomber Trail: Fresh Clues in Rural Dagestan, *Time*
<http://world.time.com/2013/04/29/picking-up-the-boston-bomber-trail-in-utamysk-russia/>

8) Ferid Ahmed Imam

Aged 32, Imam was born in Ethiopia and moved to Canada aged 7. He was a former biochemistry student at the University of Manitoba. He was considered an affable individual by members of his community. In 2007, alongside Yar, he departed for Pakistan where it is alleged that he participated in a terrorist training camp in a leadership position. He was last seen in Miran Shah, Pakistan²⁸¹. Imam has been linked to the failed 2009 plot to attack the New York City subway system with suicide bombers. Imam trained 3 men in Pakistan prior to their arrival in New York, where they were arrested²⁸².

9) Maiwand Yar

Aged 29, Yar was born in Pakistan and moved to Canada aged 8. Yar studied mechanical engineering at the University of Manitoba, before traveling to Pakistan with Imam. Both men are linked to the Pakistani Taliban and Al-Qaeda, and trained insurgents with the goal of killing NATO troops in Afghanistan²⁸³. Yar was previously arrested at age 20 for selling crack cocaine. In 2006, the pair embarked upon the Haji with one other friend, Muhannad al-Farekh²⁸⁴. While al-Farekh remains missing, he faces no charges in Canada²⁸⁵.

10) Members of the Khadr Family

²⁸¹ Wanted by the RCMP: Ferid Ahmed Imam <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/wanted-recherches/ter/imam-eng.htm>

²⁸² Terror Charges Laid Against 2 Former Winnipeggers, *CBC News* <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/story/2011/03/15/mb-terrorism-charges-winnipeg.html>

²⁸³ Wanted by the RCMP: Maiwand Yar <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/wanted-recherches/ter/yar-eng.htm>

²⁸⁴ McArthur, Greg, White, Patrick, Friesen, Joe, Blatchford, Christie, Youssef, Marten, and Freeze, Colin. Global Manhunt for Canadian Students, *The Globe and Mail* <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/global-manhunt-for-canadian-students/article4327862/?page=all>

²⁸⁵ McArthur, Greg, and Freeze, Colin. Mounties Lay Terror Charges Against Missing Canadians, *the Globe and Mail* <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/mounties-lay-terror-charges-against-missing-canadians/article572373/>

a) Ahmed Khadr

The family patriarch, Ahmed moved to Canada in 1977 from his birthplace of Egypt. In the 1980's he traveled to Afghanistan to join the fight against the Soviet's, and it is here that intelligence officials assert that he first met Osama Bin Laden. He may also have been involved as one of the founding members of Al-Qaeda. He fathered six children with his wife Maha Elsamnah, and the family frequently traveled between Canada and Pakistan. In 1996 he was arrested on charges relating to the bombing of the Egyptian embassy in Pakistan, but was released a year later following lobbying by then Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien²⁸⁶. He was killed in a firefight near his Waziristan safe-house in 2003, alongside a reported 8 other al-Qaeda militants²⁸⁷.

b) Abdulkareem Khadr

Canadian born, Abdulkareem was paralyzed following a wound sustained in the same firefight that killed his father at age 14. In 2004, he returned to Canada seeking medical treatment²⁸⁸. On July 15th, 2010, he appeared in Ontario court on charges of "alleged sexual exploitation of a minor"²⁸⁹.

c) Abdullah Khadr

Born in Ottawa, Abdullah has been charged with supplying al-Qaeda with weaponry, as well as running one of their training camps in the 90's. In 2005 he returned to Canada following his release from Pakistani jail. While in

²⁸⁶ Greco, Vanessa. Keeping up with the Khadr's: A Family Tree, *CTV News*
<http://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/keeping-up-with-the-khadrs-a-family-tree-1.976666>

²⁸⁷ McKenna, Terence. Al-Qaeda Family: the Firefight at Waziristan. *CBC News*
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/khadr/waziristan.html>

²⁸⁸ Profiles of the Controversial Khadr Family <http://www.cbc.ca/news/interactives/khadr/>

²⁸⁹ Bell, Stewart. Another Khadr Son Facing Charges. *National Post*
<http://www2.canada.com/edmontonjournal/news/story.html?id=5d86a171-a235-4e42-b47d-15a3ca9713be>

Canada, the U.S. appealed for his extradition to the United States to stand trial for supplying weaponry to al-Qaeda²⁹⁰. On August 4th, 2010, this request was denied by a Superior Court Judge who cited his mistreatment at the hands of U.S. influenced Pakistani authorities as one reason for his release²⁹¹.

e) Abdurahman Khadr

Born in 1982 in Bahrain, Abdurahman was raised between Afghanistan and Canada. In 2001 he was arrested in Afghanistan. He was subsequently transferred to Guantanamo Bay in 2003, where he reportedly agreed to provide intelligence on his fellow prisoners to the CIA²⁹². He was released and returned to Canada in 2003. He has often disassociated himself from his family in interviews. He claims that he distanced himself from them following the September 11th attacks and that he disagreed with their Al-Qaeda inspired beliefs²⁹³.

f) Omar Khadr

Omar was born in Toronto in 1986, and grew up between Canada, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. On July 27th, 2002, he was apprehended by U.S. troops in Ab Khail, Afghanistan, near the Pakistani border. He was charged with killing U.S. Sergeant Christopher Speer by throwing the hand grenade that ended Speer's life²⁹⁴. He was transferred to Guantanamo Bay, and in

²⁹⁰ Greco, Vanessa

²⁹¹ Shephard, Michelle. Court Rejects Abdullah Khadr Extradition Request. *The Star*
http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2010/08/04/court_rejects_abdullah_khadr_extradition_request.html

²⁹² The Reach of War: Guantanamo Memories, From Outside the Wire, *The New York Times*
<http://www.nytimes.com/2004/06/21/world/the-reach-of-war-guantanamo-memories-from-outside-the-wire.html>

²⁹³ PBS Frontline, Son of Al-Qaeda: Interview Abdurahman Khadr
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/khadr/interviews/khadr.html>

²⁹⁴ Krauss, Clifford. Threats and Responses: Detainee; Canadian Teenager Held by U.S. in Afghanistan in Killing of American Medic, *The New York Times* <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/14/world/threats-responses-detainee-canadian-teenager-held-us-afghanistan-killing.html>

2010 pleaded guilty to killing Speer. Despite being sentenced to 40 years in prison, a pre-trial agreement limited the sentence to 8 years.

In 2012, he was transferred to Canada, where he is set to spend the rest of his sentence²⁹⁵. In 2013, reports surfaced that he had encountered problems in Ontario's Millhaven prison. 3 weeks into his time there, he was threatened by another inmate and was subsequently transferred to a maximum security institution in Edmonton²⁹⁶.

11) Mahad Ali Dhore

The April 14, 2013 attack on the Mogadishu courts in Somalia is believed to have been supported by a Canadian suicide bomber. Alongside 8 other militants, Dhore was killed during the attack. Dhore emigrated from Somalia to Canada at age 9²⁹⁷. In 2009 he allegedly travelled to Nairobi to visit his grandmother, but is believed to have subsequently moved to Somalia where he started a family. He had studied Math and History at York University²⁹⁸.

Dhore is believed to have been one of 6 men from the Abu Huraira mosque in Toronto to engage in militant activity overseas²⁹⁹. The 6 men range between the ages of 20-30, and were considered integrated into Canadian society.

²⁹⁵ Profiles of the Controversial Khadr Family

²⁹⁶ Shephard, Michelle. Omar Khadr Segregated from other Inmates after Death Threats in Canadian Prison, *The Star*

http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2013/05/29/omar_khadr_segeregated_from_other_inmates_after_death_threats_in_canadian_prison.html

²⁹⁷ Canadian Linked to Somalia Attack: Reports, *AFP*

<http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jFCJunINJZLTbAJlojT5vaq64NPQ?docId=CNG.575dd0c188af9fd5a4aff4bbba884232.11>

²⁹⁸ Shephard, Michelle. Ex-York U Student May Have Been Involved in Somalia Attack, *The Star*

http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2013/04/14/somalia_militants_attack_mogadishu_courthouse.html

²⁹⁹ Canadian Reportedly Killed in Mogadishu Court Attack, *CBC News*

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2013/04/15/toronto-man-reportedly-killed-somalia-attack.html>

Two of the men were born in Canada, while all attended primary school and onwards in Canada³⁰⁰.

12) Faker Ben Abdelazziz Boussora

Born in Tunisia, the 49 year old moved to Canada in 1991, settling in Montreal. He traveled frequently between Montreal and Tunis throughout the 1990's, and was granted citizenship in 1999. He attended the Assuna Mosque in Montreal, and between 2000 and 2001 made numerous trips to Afghanistan to engage in terrorist training³⁰¹.

13) Abderraouf Ben Habib Jdey

Born in Tunisia, the 48 year old Jdey immigrated to Canada in 1991, becoming a citizen in 1995. At the University of Montreal, Jdey studied Biology, and like Boussora, attended the Assuna Mosque. In 1999 Jdey left Montreal and traveled to Afghanistan where he undertook terrorist training. He returned briefly to Canada in 2001, where it is believed he met with other extremists³⁰². Jdey has recorded a martyrdom video in which he notes his desire to die in combat against infidels³⁰³.

14) Mohammed Jabarah

At age 12, Jabarah's family emigrated from Kuwait to Canada, settling in St. Catharines. Jabarah attended Holy Cross Catholic Secondary School, but following his graduation, decided to pursue his post secondary studies in the Persian Gulf. He and his brother were reportedly recruited by Al-Qaeda in

³⁰⁰ Friesen, Joe, and Freeze, Colin. Are Somali-Canadians Fighting for the Shadowy al-Shabaab? *Globe and Mail*. <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/toronto/are-somali-canadians-fighting-for-the-shadowy-al-shabab/article1209951/?page=all>

³⁰¹ National Counterterrorism Center, 2013 Counterterrorism Calendar: Faker Ben Abdelazziz <http://www.nctc.gov/site/profiles/boussora.html>

³⁰² National Counterterrorism Center, 2013 Counterterrorism Calendar: Abderraouf Ben Habib Jdey <http://www.nctc.gov/site/profiles/jdey.html>

³⁰³ Canadians Who Have Fallen Prey to Islamic Extremism, *CBC News* <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2013/04/02/canada-canadians-al-qaeda.html>

Kuwait, and the pair traveled to Pakistan to undergo training, where Jabarah asserts that he met Bin Laden on 4 different occasions.

Following the September 11th attacks, he moved to Singapore, before being arrested a few months later in Oman and deported to Canada. Following questioning, he was handed over to U.S. authorities. While he allegedly became an informant, he continued to plot attacks against the U.S. and was sentenced to life in prison in 2008³⁰⁴.

Early instances with terrorist fundraising occurred in the late 1990's, when Jabarah raised over \$3,500 in Saint Catharine's to send to Abu Gaith, an Al-Qaeda linked preacher, that would aid the Chechen struggle against Russia³⁰⁵.

15) Amer al-Maati

El-Maati was born in Kuwait on May 25th, 1963. He moved to Canada in his teenage years and attended high school in Toronto, and then the University in Montreal³⁰⁶. He allegedly traveled to Afghanistan after completing University in 1990's, and was awarded a Canadian passport in 1998, in Pakistan. In 2001, his name was discovered amongst a cache of Al-Qaeda documents found in Afghanistan³⁰⁷.

Assessment

The above case studies referenced 29 Jihadists with links to Canada. Of those 29, not including Abu Abdul Rahman (no information):

- a) 3 converted to Islam
- b) 8 were born in Canada

³⁰⁴ Canadians Who Have Fallen Prey to Islamic Extremism

³⁰⁵ McKenna, Terrence. Indepth: Passport to Terror, *CBC News*
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/jabarah/>

³⁰⁶ Wanted: Again Canadians on an FBI Terror List, *CBC News*
http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/ussecurity/fbi_wanted.html

³⁰⁷ Canadians who have fallen prey to Islamic extremism

- c) 20 were born abroad
- d) 20 were between the ages of 18-35.

A majority of the noted Jihadists were involved with Al-Qaeda or Al-Qaeda affiliated groups. A majority of those involved in overseas Jihad were either killed or incarcerated abroad. Some that have returned, including members of the Khadr family, have been engaged in ongoing legal battles.

These case studies reaffirm the belief that a growing number of Canadian's are going abroad to engage in violent Jihad. As with the domestic attacks cases, there is no one unifying trajectory towards engagement with radical Jihad. While numerous mentions of Mosques have been made in this report, this is not meant to suggest that leaders at all of the mentioned Mosques support radical interpretations of Islam. Rather, Jihadists may often use a Mosque as a meeting place or simply attend it frequently as a result of heightened religious identification.

Canadian Support for Foreign Terror Plots

Two high-profile Canadian terror cases have involved individuals who have attempted to provide support to overseas terror groups. This included the construction of detonators, and the provision of financial aid. Both men were sentenced to life in Canadian prison:

1) Momin Khawaja

Canadian born Khawaja(1979) was arrested in 2004 on charges of attempting to build bomb triggering devices for an al-Qaeda inspired cell in London, United Kingdom, that had planned to attack nightclubs and shopping malls³⁰⁸. Prosecutors argued that while under contract with the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs as a software engineer, Khawaja had been in contact with the London based cell. While he was imprisoned for 10.5 years in Canadian prison in 2009, a failed appeal by his defence lawyer saw

³⁰⁸ Khawaja Directly Involved in British Bomb Plot: Prosecutor, *CBC News*
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2008/06/23/khawaja-trial.html>

Khawaja's sentence increased to life in prison. During the re-trial, the presiding judge noted Khawaja's lack of remorse³⁰⁹.

Khawaja described his radicalization as a gradual process that was driven by what he viewed as civilian suffering in Afghanistan and Iraq. Despite his links to the London based cell that had planned to strike civilian soft-targets, in a 2013 interview he condemned the Boston Marathon bombings and the VIA train plot due to their targeting of civilians³¹⁰. In 2003, Khawaja had allegedly attended a terrorist training camp in the FATA region of Pakistan, which followed a 2002 trip in which he attempted to join the Pakistani Taliban. Khawaja was the first Canadian charged under the Canadian anti-terrorism act³¹¹.

2) Said Namouh

Namouh was sentenced to life in prison in Montreal in 2010 on charges relating to the financing of a terrorist group, being a member of a terrorist group, and planning an attack for a terrorist group. The 40 year old was a prominent online figure, spending much of his spare time on Jihadist forums. Namouh originally moved to Canada from Morocco in 2003, and married a Canadian woman³¹².

Namouh's involvement with the Global Islamic Media Front, a pro Al-Qaeda media organization, also involved attempting to plan attacks in Germany and

³⁰⁹ MacCharles, Tonda. Supreme Court of Canada Upholds Anti-Terror Law; Khawaja's Appeal Rejected. *The Star*

http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2012/12/14/supreme_court_of_canada_upholds_antiterror_law_khawajas_appeal_rejected.html

³¹⁰ Dimmock, Gary. Khawaja Condemns Boston Bombings and VIA Rail Terror Plot. *Ottawa Citizen*
<http://www.ottawacitizen.com/news/Khawaja+condemns+Boston+bombings+Rail+terror+plot/8334890/story.html>

³¹¹ Brennan, Richard. Accused Made Bomb Detonator, Crown Says. *The Star*
http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2008/06/24/accused_made_bomb_detonator_crown_says.html

³¹² Quebecer in Bomb Plot gets Life Sentence, *CBC News*
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/story/2010/02/17/quebec-said-namouh-sentenced-to-life-for-terrorist-plot.html>

Austria. Canada has also looked at the possibility of deporting Namouh once he has served his sentence³¹³. This follows a decision not to extradite Namouh to Austria in 2007, where 3 of his co-conspirators were arrested³¹⁴.

Honour Killings

Honour killings in Canada are a further example of radical ideologies espoused by a minority of the Muslim Canadian population.

2006

In September 2006, a man of Afghan background killed his sister, Khatera Sadiqi, and her fiancé, Feroz Mangal. The Crown prosecution referred to the case as an honour killing³¹⁵

2007

On December 10th, 2007, 16 year old Aqsa Parvez was killed by her brother and father, who both received life sentences for the crime. She was killed following numerous disputes regarding her disagreement with having to wear a hijab³¹⁶.

2009

On June 30th, 2009, four bodies were discovered in a submerged car in the Rideau Canal, in Kingston, Ontario. Inside the car were the bodies of the three daughters of Mohammad Shafia and Tooba Yahya. Alongside the three girls, the body of Mohammad's other wife in his polygamous marriage was also discovered. The three girls were aged 13, 17, and 19, and the first wife was 50. Shafia, Yahya, and their son Hamed were all sentenced to life in

³¹³ Convicted Terrorist Said Namouh Gets Life Sentence. *CTV News* <http://montreal.ctvnews.ca/convicted-terrorist-said-namouh-gets-life-sentence-1.484733>

³¹⁴ Quebec Man Held in European Bomb Plot Won't be Extradited: RCMP, *CBC News* <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/story/2007/09/14/suspect-canada.html>

³¹⁵ Neco Cockburn. Ottawa Man Claims 'Lost Control', Killed Sister, her Fiancé. *Ottawa Citizen* <http://www.ottawacitizen.com/news/Ottawa+claims+lost+control+killed+sister+fiance/1621815/story.html>

³¹⁶ Aqsa Parvez's Father, Brother, Get Life Sentences. *CBC News* <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2010/06/16/parvez-sentence.html>

prison with no chance of parole for 25 years. The Afghan family killed the four for their apparent affront to the family's honour³¹⁷

Part 4: Conclusion

Main Findings

This report has attempted to create a database relating to incidents of Islamic radicalization in Canada. The findings primarily present a snapshot of Canada's struggle with the export of Jihadists and successful counter-terrorism measures taken against planned domestic attacks since September 11th, 2001. While there have been no successful attacks on Canadian soil since then, Canadians have been involved in numerous overseas attacks. Moreover, an unknown number of Canadians are currently involved in the Syrian civil war. Some collusion with extremist Jihadist groups remains highly probable.

As mentioned prior, radicalization is not a process with a clear start, middle, or end. Canada has struggled with this puzzle. Radicals, whether violent or not, have stark ethno-religious backgrounds and different family histories. Some have immigrated to Canada, while others were born there. Some have converted to Islam following personal struggles, while some have done so having been influenced by their in-group circumstances. Most radicals are not marginalized within society, and many support Canadian values.

Despite the fact that a belief in Islam, however perverted in its interpretation, is the single uniting trend amongst the extremists and terrorists explored in this report, Islam itself is not a security threat to Canada. The vast majority of Muslim Canadians are completely intolerant to violent and radical interpretations of Islam. Many favour cross-cultural engagement with non-Muslim communities. Of note is that in many of the

³¹⁷ Dalton, Melinda. Shafia Jury finds all Guilty of 1st-Degree Murder. *CBC News*
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/story/2012/01/29/shafia-sunday.html>

interviews conducted with Canadian radicals, the Canadian way of life and values associated with Canada are well supported. Many view the treatment of fellow Muslims in Canada as far better than in other parts of the world, including Europe.

Radical outspoken community leaders do not help the image of Muslim Canadians. Imams and Mosques related to radical behaviour propagate extremist ideologies and can play a key role in the radicalization process. As in the case of the Toronto 18, radical ideologues can indoctrinate youthful radicals and provide them with a sense of moral justification. Moreover, as in the case of the Salaheddin Islamic Center, funding often arrives from abroad. Donor countries often include ones dominated by strict Wahhabi interpretations of Islam, such as Saudi Arabia. Radical Imams often denounce Canadian social values and rally for the application of Sharia law to Muslim Canadians.

Ontario has been the stage for 3 out of 4 domestic terror plots, and has exported a large number of Jihadists. It has the largest Muslim population in Canada, but is also the most populous province in Canada.

Islamic radicalization continues to remain a pressing security concern for Canada. Al-Qaeda related ideologies and anger at Canadian foreign policy have played a key role in radicalizing Canadians. While recognizing this problem remains a priority, attempting to construct a common picture of a Canadian at risk of radicalization remains extremely difficult. This report has attempted to correlate data based on relevant case studies, but also shows the multifaceted approach a variety of Canadians take before they accept radical ideals or act in support of them. Social networks and foreign travel experience are indicators of radicalization in many cases, but not all.

In conclusion, stopping radicalization is an impossible task. There is no one pathway to radicalization, and not all radicals are surrounded by social or family networks that may pick up on increasing extremism. Moreover, as in the case of the London, Ontario, plot, many would-be terrorists appear

completely normal and integrated to their friends and peers. Radicalization is therefore not always an externally manifested phenomenon. Consequently, while many Muslim Canadian leaders have invested time into educating their communities about the threat of radicalization, it continues to be a pressing law enforcement issue, in which community leaders are playing an increasingly central role. Of hope is the fact that reporting worrying trends of extremism by members of the Muslim community appears to be much higher in Canada than other parts of the world.

Future Research

As is often the case with radicalized individuals, exposure to radical ideologies or ideologues often acts as a key driver. Many of the intelligence assessments noted in this report are intentionally blank, while many of the case studies make mention of Jihadist recruiters or particular un-named venues of radicalization. Who radicalizes individuals, and where they are radicalized, should be key areas of research. Did the members of the Toronto 18 radicalize each other? Who was radicalized first? Did any of its members feel that they had no choice but to carry on with an attack they may not have personally agreed with?

Another area of interest is early-warning signs. Many friends and family members of radicalized Canadians mention in retrospect that they had noticed a significant change in their demeanour and behaviour prior to attempted or successful attacks. While only a minority of radicals ever actually engage in violence, noting common trends as perceived by those closest to those radicalized could increase knowledge of what the transformation from early to late radicalization actually looks like.

Bibliography

AFP (2013), 'Canadian Linked to Somalia Attack: Reports', *AFP*, 16 April. Available from <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jFCJunINJZLTbAJlojT5vaq64NPQ?docId=CNG.575dd0c188af9fd5a4aff4bbba884232.11> [14 August 2013]

Ahmadiyya Muslim Community Canada (2013). Online Services. Available at: <http://ahmadiyya.ca/services/services.php> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Aulakh, R (2009), 'Did Five Torontonians join Jihad in Somalia?', *The Star*, 12 December. Available from http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2009/12/12/did_five_torontonians_join_jihad_in_somalia.html [14 August 2013]

Baker, P, and Judd, A (2013), 'Friends of John Nuttall say he was a Great Friend, but was also Troubled', *Global News*, 4 July. Available from <http://globalnews.ca/news/690911/friends-of-john-nuttall-say-he-was-a-great-friend-but-was-also-troubled/> [14 August 2013]

Bartlett, J, Birdwell, J, King, M (2010). "The Edge of Violence", *DEMOS*. Available from: http://www.demos.co.uk/files/Edge_of_Violence_-_full_-_web.pdf?1291806916 (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Basel Institute on Governance. *The Basel AML Index: Country Risk Ranking* (2012). Available from <http://index.baselgovernance.org/index/Index.html#ranking> [14 August 2013]

Bell, S (2010), 'Another Khadr Son Facing Charges', *National Post*, 16 June. Available from <http://www2.canada.com/edmontonjournal/news/story.html?id=5d86a171-a235-4e42-b47d-15a3ca9713be> [14 August 2013]

Bell, S (2012), 'Mouna Diab Charged with Terrorism for Allegedly Trying to Smuggle Weapons to Hezbollah', *National Post*, 13 July. Available from <http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/07/13/quebec-woman-who-fought-against-muslim-stereotypes-charged-with-terrorism-in-alleged-hezbollah-weapons-smuggling-plot/> [14 August 2013]

Bell, S (2012), 'Toronto's million-dollar Radical Mosque', *National Post*, 16 February. Available from. <http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/02/16/aly-hindy-salaheddin-islamic-centre/> [14 August 2013]

Bell, S (2012), 'William Plotnikov, a Canadian Turned Militant Killed in Dagestan', *National Post*, 20 August. Available from <http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/08/20/dagestan/> [14 August 2013]

Bell, S (2013), 'Canadian in Mauritanian Custody was Recruited for Jihad by a Radical Cleric: Official', *National Post*, 11 April. Available from <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/04/11/aaron-yoon-was-recruited-for-jihad-by-a-radical-cleric/> [14 August 2013]

Bell, S (2013), 'Canadian Suspect Named in Deadly Bulgarian Bus Bombing Allegedly Trained with Hezbollah', *National Post*, 25 July. Available from <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/07/25/canadian-identified-as-suspect-in-deadly-bulgarian-bus-bombing-of-israeli-tourists/> [14 August 2013]

Bell, S (2013), 'Canadians join fight in Syria as civil war turns nation 'into hub for terrorist activities': report', *National Post*, 13 June. Available from <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/06/13/syria/> [14 August 2013]

Bell, S (2013), 'Cree Jihadist: How a Boy from a Saskatchewan Reserve came to Embrace Islamist Extremism', *National Post*, 22 February. Available from <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/02/22/cree-jihadist-how-a-boy-from-a-saskatchewan-reserve-became-a-national-security-concern/> [14 August 2013]

Bell, S (2013), "'He was a sitting target': Mother of Canadian Muslim Convert says Son Recruited into Syrian Conflict from Calgary Mosque", *National Post*, 20 June. Available from <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/06/20/he-was-a-sitting-target-mother-of-canadian-muslim-convert-says-son-recruited-into-syrian-conflict-from-calgary-mosque/> [14 August 2013]

Bell, S (2013), "'It's Between Me and God': How a Calgary High School Dropout Joined Syria's Civil War", *National Post*, 12 July. Available from <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/07/12/its-between-me-and-god-how-a-calgary-high-school-dropout-joined-syrias-civil-war/> [14 August 2013]

Bell, S (2013), "'They Realized what they were doing was Wrong': Two Canadians Quit Extremist Group Al-Shabab, Imam Claims", *National Post*, 12 September. Available from <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/09/12/al-shabab/> [20 September 2013]

Berman, I (2011), 'Hezbollah in the Western Hemisphere: Statement before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence', 7 July. Available from <http://homeland.house.gov/sites/homeland.house.gov/files/Testimony%20Berman.pdf> [14 August 2013]

Bolan, K (2013), 'Couple Charged in Legislature Bomb Plot Lived Frugal Life in Surrey, Landlady Says', *Times Colonist*, 2 July. Available from

<http://www.timescolonist.com/couple-charged-in-legislature-bomb-plot-lived-frugal-life-in-surrey-landlady-says-1.340597> [14 August 2013]

Brennan, R (2008), 'Accused Made Bomb Detonator, Crown Says', *The Star*, 24 June. Available from http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2008/06/24/accused_made_bomb_detonator_crown_says.html [14 August 2013]

Brock University Student Life (2013). Clubs. Available at: <http://www.unbsu.ca/content/239101> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Bronskill, J (2013), 'Secret CSIS Source, Allied Intelligence Cited in High Profile Terror Case', *MacLean's*, 17 May. Available from <http://www2.macleans.ca/2013/05/17/secret-csis-source-allied-intelligence-cited-in-high-profile-terror-case/> [14 August 2013]

Calgary Herald (2008). 'Politicians and Faithful Open Canada's Largest Mosque', *Calgary Herald*, 14 August 2013. Available from <http://www.canada.com/topics/news/story.html?id=c1ce5c3b-de23-4093-85b8-36162ac636a6> [14 August 2013]

Canadian Muslim Union (2013). About CMU. Available at: <http://www.muslimunion.ca/about.html> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Canadian Security Intelligence Service. *Intelligence Assessment, A Study of Radicalization: the Making of Islamist Extremists in Canada Today* (2011). Available from http://www.theglobeandmail.com/incoming/article8151644.ece/BINARY/csir_adicals_001.pdf [14 August 2013]

Canadian Security Intelligence Service. *Intelligence Assessment: Venues of Sunni Islamist Radicalization in Canada* (2012). Available from <http://www.scribd.com/doc/118731630/radicalization> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2001), 'CSIS Watched Terrorist Suspect in 1999', *CBC News*, 3 November. Available from http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2001/10/03/slahi_csis011003.html [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2004), 'Canadian Pleads Guilty in Plot to Kill Jews', *CBC News*, 24 December. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/story/2004/11/24/akkal-israel041124.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2004), 'Family of Rudwan Abubakar says he wasn't Bomb Making Rebel', *CBC News*, 12 December. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2004/12/12/abubaker041212.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2004), 'Wanted: Again Canadians on an FBI Terror List', *CBC News*, 27 May. Available from http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/ussecurity/fbi_wanted.html [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2007), 'Gaza born Canadian Freed after 4 Years in Israeli Prison', *CBC News*, 30 August. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/story/2007/08/30/akkal-freed.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2007), 'Indepth Canadian Security: Anti-terrorism Act', *CBC News*, 27 February. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/cdnsecurity/> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2007), 'Outspoken Montreal Imam Ordered Detained Until Deportation', *CBC News*, 17 October. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/story/2007/10/17/qc-imam1017.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2007), 'Quebec Man Held in European Bomb Plot Won't be Extradited: RCMP', *CBC News*, 14 September. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/story/2007/09/14/suspect-canada.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2008), 'Former Bomb Plot Suspect Thought Arrest was a Terrible Mistake', *CBC News*, 16 April. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2008/04/16/jamal-invu.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2008), 'Khawaja Directly Involved in British Bomb Plot: Prosecutor', *CBC News*, 23 June. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2008/06/23/khawaja-trial.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2008), 'Timeline, Toronto 18: Key Events in the Case', *CBC News*, 2 June. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2008/06/02/f-toronto-timeline.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2008). 'Big Mosque on the Prairie opens in Calgary', *CBC News*, 14 August 2013. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/story/2008/07/05/calgary-mosque.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2009), 'Ban Lifted on Convicted Terrorist's Identity', *CBC News*, 9 September. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2009/09/09/toronto-terror-identity.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2009), 'Toronto 18 Plotter Gets 2 More Years', *CBC News*, 2 October. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2009/10/02/tor-dirie-sentence.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2010), 'Alleged Terrorist Plot Targeted Canada', *CBC News*, 26 August. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/story/2010/08/26/ottawa-rcmp-arrest-folo.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2010), 'Another Toronto 18 Member Pleads Guilty', *CBC News*, 20 January. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2010/01/20/toronto-18-plea941.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2010), 'Aqsa Parvez's Father, Brother, Get Life Sentences', *CBC News*, 16 June. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2010/06/16/parvez-sentence.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2010), 'Last 2 Toronto 18 Accused Found Guilty', *CBC News*, 23 June. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2010/06/23/toronto-18-verdict.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2010), 'Profile: Misbahuddin Ahmed', *CBC News*, 27 August. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2010/08/27/f-profile-ahmed-terrorism.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2010), 'Quebecer in Bomb Plot gets Life Sentence', *CBC News*, 17 February. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/story/2010/02/17/quebec-said-namouh-sentenced-to-life-for-terrorist-plot.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2010), 'Toronto 18 Ringleader gets 16 Years', *CBC News*, 25 October. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2010/10/25/toronto-toronto-18-terrorism-sentence.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2011), 'Terror Charges laid against 2 Former Winnipeggers', *CBC News*, 15 March. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/story/2011/03/15/mb-terrorism-charges-winnipeg.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2011), "U.S. Lists Montreal Mosque as al-Qaeda 'Recruiting' Place", *CBC News*, 25 April. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/world/story/2011/04/25/guantanamo-montreal-mosque.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2012), 'Profiles of the Controversial Khadr Family', *CBC News*, 1 October. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/interactives/khadr/> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2013), '8 Things to Know About the New Anti-Terrorism Bill', *CBC News*, 25 April. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/story/2013/04/25/pol-eight-things-to-know-anti-terrorism-bill.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2013), 'Alleged al-Qaeda Supported Plot against VIA Train Thwarted', *CBC News*, 22 April. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/story/2013/04/22/pol-terror-plot-ontario-quebec-arrests.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2013), 'Canada Day Bomb Plot Suspects were kicked out of B.C. Mosque', *CBC News*, 3 July. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/story/2013/07/03/bc-legislature-plot-suspects-neighbours-surrey.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2013), 'Canadian Reportedly Killed in Mogadishu Court Attack', *CBC News*, 15 April. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2013/04/15/toronto-man-reportedly-killed-somalia-attack.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2013), 'Canadian Reportedly Killed in Mogadishu Court Attack', *CBC News*, 15 April. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2013/04/15/toronto-man-reportedly-killed-somalia-attack.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2013), 'Canadian Reportedly Killed in Mogadishu Court Attack', *CBC News*, 15 April. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2013/04/15/toronto-man-reportedly-killed-somalia-attack.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2013), 'Canadians Who Have Fallen Prey to Islamic Extremism', *CBC News*, 2 April. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2013/04/02/canada-canadians-al-qaeda.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2013), 'Controversial Anti-Terrorism Tools Revived as Bill Passes', *CBC News*, 24 March. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/story/2013/04/24/pol-anti-terror-bill-s7-vote.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2013), 'Man Accused in Alleged Via Plot has yet to Find a Lawyer', *CBC News*, 25 June. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/story/2013/06/25/toronto-alleged-via-plot-accused-court.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2013), 'Ontario Mosque Leaders Reject Links to Extremism', *CBC News*, 2 April. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2013/04/02/london-ontario-mosque-reaction.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2013), 'Winnipeg Mosques more Vigilant amid more Terror Arrests', *CBC News*, 26 April. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/story/2013/04/26/mb-mosques-winnipeg-terror-arrests-reax.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News (2013), "Baird Welcomes 'Courageous' EU Decision to Blacklist Hezbollah", *CBC News*, 22 July. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/story/2013/07/22/pol-hezbollah-eu-terrorism-baird-kenney.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News, (2010), 'Profile: Hiva Alizadeh', *CBC News*, 27 August. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2010/08/27/f-bomb-plot-profile-hiva-alizadeh.html> [14 August 2013]

CBC News, (2010), 'Profile: Khurram Sher', *CBC News*, 27 August. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2010/08/27/f-bomb-plot-profile-khurram-sher.html> [14 August 2013]

Clark, C, and Freeze, C (2013), 'Alleged Links between Hezbollah, Canadian Suspect and Bulgaria Bombing Draw World Reaction', *The Globe and Mail*, 6 February. Available from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/alleged-links-between-hezbollah-canadian-suspect-and-bulgaria-bombing-draw-world-reaction/article8322239/> [14 August 2013]

Clark, Warren. Inter-religious Unions in Canada, Statistics Canada, Canadian Social Trends. Available at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-008-x/2006003/pdf/9478-eng.pdf> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Concordia University (2013). List of Student Groups. Available at: <http://deanofstudents.concordia.ca/student-groups/complete-list-of-student-groups/> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Council on American-Islamic Relations Canada (2013). About Us. Available at: <http://www.caircan.ca/aboutus.php> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Cratty, C (2013), 'Tunisian who Allegedly Wanted to Commit Terror, Held in the U.S.', *CNN*, 9 May. Available from <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/05/09/us/new-york-terror-arrest> [14 August 2013]

CTV News (2008), 'Reports of Hezbollah in Canada Unsubstantiated: Expert', *CTV News*, 20 June. Available from [http://www.ctvnews.ca/reports-of-
hezbollah-in-canada-unsubstantiated-expert-1.303526](http://www.ctvnews.ca/reports-of-hezbollah-in-canada-unsubstantiated-expert-1.303526) [14 August 2013]

CTV News (2010), 'Convicted Terrorist Said Namouh Gets Life Sentence', *CTV News*, 17 February. Available from [http://montreal.ctvnews.ca/convicted-
terrorist-said-namouh-gets-life-sentence-1.484733](http://montreal.ctvnews.ca/convicted-terrorist-said-namouh-gets-life-sentence-1.484733) [14 August 2013]

CTV News (2013), 'Bulgaria Bus Bombing Suspect is Canadian Dual National: Baird'. *CTV News*, 5 February. Available from [http://www.ctvnews.ca/world/bulgaria-bus-bombing-suspect-is-canadian-
dual-national-baird-1.1143546](http://www.ctvnews.ca/world/bulgaria-bus-bombing-suspect-is-canadian-dual-national-baird-1.1143546) [14 August 2013]

CTV News (2013), 'Fourth London Terror Suspect Claims Innocence', *CTV London*, 22 April. Available from [http://london.ctvnews.ca/fourth-london-
terror-suspect-claims-innocence-1.1249322](http://london.ctvnews.ca/fourth-london-terror-suspect-claims-innocence-1.1249322)

Dalton, M (2012), 'Shafia Jury finds all Guilty of 1st-Degree Murder', *CBC News*, 29 January. Available from [http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/story/2012/01/29/shafia-
sunday.html](http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/story/2012/01/29/shafia-sunday.html) [14 August 2013]

DePalma, A (2006), '6 of 17 arrested in Canada's Antiterror Sweep Have Ties to Mosque near Toronto', *New York Times*, 5 June. Available from <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/06/05/world/americas/05canada.html?pagewanted=all&r=0> [14 August 2013]

Dickson, L, and Devlin, M (2013), 'Accused Bomb Plotter John Nuttall once Lived in Victoria, Played in Punk Bands', *Times Colonist*, 2 July. Available from [http://www.timescolonist.com/news/world/accused-bomb-plotter-john-
nuttall-once-lived-in-victoria-played-in-punk-bands-1.340698](http://www.timescolonist.com/news/world/accused-bomb-plotter-john-nuttall-once-lived-in-victoria-played-in-punk-bands-1.340698) [14 August 2013]

Dimmock, G (2013), 'Khawaja Condemns Boston Bombings and VIA Rail Terror Plot', *Ottawa Citizen*, 3 May. Available from [http://www.ottawacitizen.com/news/Khawaja+condemns+Boston+bombings
+Rail+terror+plot/8334890/story.html](http://www.ottawacitizen.com/news/Khawaja+condemns+Boston+bombings+Rail+terror+plot/8334890/story.html) [14 August 2013]

Environics Institute (2006). Focus Canada 2006-4. Available at [http://www.environicsinstitute.org/uploads/institute-
projects/focus%20canada%202006-4%20report.pdf](http://www.environicsinstitute.org/uploads/institute-projects/focus%20canada%202006-4%20report.pdf) (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Ethnic Channel Group (2013). About Us. Available at: <http://www.ethnicchannels.com/>

Fedio, C (2011), 'Former Charity Funded Terror Group: Federal Audit', *The Star*, 15 April. Available from

[http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2011/04/15/former charity funded terror_group_federal_audit.html](http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2011/04/15/former_charity_funded_terror_group_federal_audit.html) [14 August 2013]

Financial Transactions and Reports Analysis Center of Canada. *Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing Trends in FINTRAC Cases Disclosed Between 2007 and 2011* (2012). Available from <http://www.fintrac-canafe.gc.ca/publications/typologies/2012-04-eng.asp#s1> [14 August 2013]

Foreign Affairs, Trade, and Development Canada. *Canada's Response to the Situation in Syria* (2013). Available from <http://www.international.gc.ca/international/syria-syrie.aspx> [14 August 2013]

Freeze, C (2011), 'Fundraising Stopped, but Sympathy Remains', *The Globe and Mail*, 25 May. Available from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/hamas/fundraising-stopped-but-sympathy-remains/article4210671/> [14 August 2013]

Freeze, C (2011), 'U.S. Viewed Montreal Mosque as hub for Islamist Militants: Leaked Gitmo Documents', *The Globe and Mail*, 25 April. Available from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/us-viewed-montreal-mosque-as-hub-for-islamist-militants-leaked-gitmo-documents/article597625/> [14 August 2013]

Freeze, C (2013), 'Aaron Yoon Returns to Canada After Being Jailed for Terrorism Overseas', *The Globe and Mail*, 26 July. Available from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/muslim-student-jailed-for-terrorism-overseas-returns-to-canada/article13463225/> [14 August 2013]

Freeze, C (2013), 'How Faith Built a Fragile Trust Between Police, Muslim Community', *The Globe and Mail*, 25 April. Available from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/how-faith-built-a-fragile-trust-between-police-muslim-community/article11540816/> [14 August 2013]

Freeze, C, and White, P (2013), 'Tip from Imam led Police to First Known al-Qaeda Plan of Attack that we've Experienced', *The Globe and Mail*, 22 April. Available from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/tip-from-imam-led-police-to-first-known-al-qaeda-plan-of-attack-that-weve-experienced/article11492749/> [14 August 2013]

Friesen, J, and Freeze, C (2009), 'Are Somali-Canadians Fighting for the Shadowy al-Shabaab?', *The Globe and Mail*, 4 December. Available from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/toronto/are-somali-canadians-fighting-for-the-shadowy-al-shabab/article1209951/?page=all> [14 August 2013]

Friscolanti, M (2007), 'The Four-Million Dollar Rat', *MacLean's*, 12 February. Available from

http://www.macleans.ca/article.jsp?content=20070212_140696_140696 [14 August 2013]

Friscolanti, M (2010), 'The Merciless and Meticulous Toronto 18 Ringleader Goes to Prison for Life', *MacLean's*, 18 January. Available from <http://www2.macleans.ca/2010/01/18/life-sentence-for-%E2%80%9Ctoronto-18%E2%80%9D-ringleader/> [14 August 2013]

Gillis, W (2013), 'Via Terror Plot: Suspect says others may Take his Place', *The Star*, 22 June. Available from http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2013/06/22/via_terror_plot_suspect_says_others_may_take_his_place.html [14 August 2013]

Global Post (2013), "Mauritanian Court Frees Canadian 'al-Qaeda trainee'", *Global Post*, 14 July. Available from <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/afp/130714/mauritanian-court-frees-canadian-al-qaeda-trainee> [14 August 2013]

Gordon, S, and Stechyson, N (2012), 'Khurram Sher: A High-Achieving, Joking Doctor', *The Globe and Mail*, 23 August. Available from <http://m.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/khurram-sher-a-high-achieving-joking-doctor/article1378369/?service=mobile> [14 August 2013]

Greco, V (2012), 'Keeping up with the Khadr's: A Family Tree', *CTV News*, 29 September. Available from <http://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/keeping-up-with-the-khadrs-a-family-tree-1.976666> [14 August 2013]

Hamdani, D.H. (1999) 'Canadian Muslims on the Eve of the Twenty-First Century'. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 19 (2): 197-209. Available from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13602009908716436#.Ue0Sq9JyBc0>

Hamdani, D.H. (1999) 'Canadian Muslims on the Eve of the Twenty-First Century'. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 19 (2): 197-209. Available from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13602009908716436#.Ue0Sq9JyBc0>

Hamilton, G, and Bell, S (2013), 'Ordinary Student was Considered a Security Risk before becoming Third Man Connected to Alleged VIA Rail Terror Plot', *National Post*, 10 May. Available from <http://news.nationalpost.com/2013/05/10/ordinary-student-was-considered-a-security-risk-before-he-was-connected-to-alleged-via-rail-terror-plot/> [14 August 2013]

Harnden, T (2006), 'Muslim Extremist Admits he was Spy who Revealed Canada Bomb Plot', *The Telegraph*, 16 July. Available from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/canada/1524086>

[/Muslim-extremist-admits-he-was-spy-who-revealed-Canada-bomb-plot.html](#)
[14 August 2013]

Haynes, J. (2005) 'Al-Qaeda: Ideology and Action'. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 8 (2): 177-191. Available from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13698230500108868#.Ufezf9JyBc0>

Ilardi, G J. (2013) "Interviews with Canadian Radicals". *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. Available from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1057610X.2013.813248#.UdU10DtyBc1> [14 August 2013]

Iqra (2012), 'Justin Trudeau Stands up to Critics over RIS Appearance', *Iqra*. Available from <http://iqra.ca/2012/justin-trudeau-stands-up-to-critics-over-ris-appearance/> [14 August 2013]

Iqra (2013). 'Muslims Fastest Growing Religious Community in Canada', *Iqra*, 8 May 2013. Available from <http://iqra.ca/2013/muslims-fastest-growing-religious-community-in-canada/> [14 August 2013]

Islamabc (2013). Shia Muslim Centers in Canada. Available at: <http://www.islamabc.org/service1.htm> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Islamic Circle of North America (2013). ICNA Canada. Available at: <http://icnacanada.net/chapters/> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Islamic Society of North America (2013). Our Mission. Available at: <http://www.isna.ca/1/about-us/our-mission> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Hamas-Trained Terrorist-Canadian National-Arrested by ISA* (2003). Available from <http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/pressroom/2003/pages/hamas-trained%20terrorist-%20canadian%20national-%20arrest.aspx> [14 August 2013]

Javed, N (2008), 'GTA's Secret World of Polygamy', *The Star*, 24 May. Available from http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2008/05/24/gtas_secret_world_of_polygamy.html [14 August 2013]

King, M, and Taylor, D. (2011) 'The Radicalization of Homegrown Jihadists: A Review of Theoretical Models and Social Psychological Evidence'. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 23 (4): 602-622. Available from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09546553.2011.587064#.UeaI6dJyBc0> [14 August 2013]

Krauss, C (2002), 'Threats and Responses: Detainee; Canadian Teenager Held by U.S. in Afghanistan in Killing of American Medic', *The New York Times*, 14 September. Available from <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/14/world/threats-responses-detainee-canadian-teenager-held-us-afghanistan-killing.html> [14 August 2013]

Leuprecht, C, and Winn, C (2011). "What do Muslim Canadians Want? The Clash of Interpretations and Opinion Research". *The MacDonald Laurier Institute for Public Policy*. Available from: <http://www.macdonaldlaurier.ca/files/pdf/What-Do-Muslim-Canadians-Want-November-1-2011.pdf> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

MacCharles, T (2012), 'Supreme Court of Canada Upholds Anti-Terror Law; Khawaja's Appeal Rejected', *The Star*, 14 December. Available from http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2012/12/14/supreme_court_of_canada_upholds_antiterror_law_khawajas_appeal_rejected.html [14 August 2013]

MacCharles, T (2013), 'Mauritania Jailed Canadian Aaron Yoon for al-Qaeda Ties, Says Amnesty', *The Star*, 5 April. Available from http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2013/04/05/aaron_yoon_serving_two_year_sentence_in_mauritania_for_al_qaeda_ties_amnesty_international.html [14 August 2013]

Marosi, R (2011), 'Controversial Muslim Cleric is Arrested while Sneaking into the U.S.', *Los Angeles Times*, 27 January. Available from <http://articles.latimes.com/2011/jan/27/local/la-me-border-cleric-20110127> [14 August 2013]

McArthur, G, and Freeze, C (2011), 'Mounties Lay Terror Charges against Missing Canadians', *The Globe and Mail*, 15 March. Available from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/mounties-lay-terror-charges-against-missing-canadians/article572373/> [14 August 2013]

McArthur, G, White, P, Friesen, J, Blatchford, C, Youssef, M, and Freeze, C (2010), 'Global Manhunt for Canadian Students', *The Globe and Mail*, 1 October. Available from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/global-manhunt-for-canadian-students/article4327862/?page=all> [14 August 2013]

McCauley, C, and Moskalenko, S (2008) 'Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Towards Terrorism'. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 20 (3): 415-433. Available from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09546550802073367#.UeaI3NjYBc0> [14 August 2013]

McGill University (2013). SSMU, Religious, Cultural, and Linguistic Clubs Archive. Available at: <http://ssmu.mcgill.ca/blog/clubs/religious-cultural-and-linguistic-clubs/page/4/> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

McKenna, T (2004), 'Indepth: Passport to Terror', *CBC News*, October. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/jabarah/> [14 August 2013]

McKenna, T (2005), 'Al-Qaeda Family: the Firefight at Waziristan', *CBC News*, 8 November. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/khadr/waziristan.html> [14 August 2013]

McMaster Students Union (2013). Clubs. Available at: <https://www.msumcmaster.ca/clubs-directory> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Meyer, J (2007), 'Small Groups Now a Large Threat in U.S.' *Los Angeles Times*, 16 August. Available from <http://articles.latimes.com/2007/aug/16/nation/na-homegrown16> [14 August 2013]

Moghaddam, F. M. (2005) 'The Staircase to Terrorism: A Psychological Explanation'. *American Psychologist*, 60 (2): 161-169. Available from http://fathalimoghaddam.com/research_files//1256627851.pdf [14 August 2013]

Mordant, N, and Kwan, J (2013), 'Canada Bombing Suspect's Past: A Tale of Violence, Drugs, Punk Music', *Reuters*, 3 July. Available from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/07/03/us-security-plot-idUSBRE9621DB20130703> [14 August 2013]

Muslim Association of Canada (2013). Our Vision and Mission. Available at: <http://www.macnet.ca/English/Pages/Our%20Vision%20and%20Mission.aspx> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Muslim Canadian Congress (2013). The MCC Mission. Available at: <http://www.muslimcanadiancongress.org/mission.html> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Muslim Canadian Congress: Media Release (2012), 'Justin Trudeau Should Stop Pandering to Islamists', 13 December. Available from <http://www.scribd.com/doc/116691139/Muslim-group-demands-Justin-Trudeau-stop-pandering-to-Islamists> [14 August 2013]

Muslim World League (2013). Islamic Schools in Canada. Available at: <http://www.mwlcanada.org/canada/schools.htm> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Muslim World League <http://www.mwlcanada.org/index.htm> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

National Counterterrorism Center. *2013 Counterterrorism Calendar: Faker Ben Abdelazziz* (2013). Available from <http://www.nctc.gov/site/profiles/boussora.html> [14 August 2013]

National Counterterrorism Center. *2013 Counterterrorism Calendar: Abderraouf Ben Habib Jdey* (2013). Available from <http://www.nctc.gov/site/profiles/jdey.html> [14 August 2013]

Neco, C (2009), "Ottawa Man Claims 'Lost Control', Killed Sister, her Fiancé", *Ottawa Citizen*, 22 May. Available from <http://www.ottawacitizen.com/news/Ottawa+claims+lost+control+killed+sister+fiance/1621815/story.html> [14 August 2013]

New York Police Department. *Radicalization in the West: the Homegrown Threat*(2007). Available from http://www.nypdshield.org/public/SiteFiles/documents/NYPD_Report-Radicalization_in_the_West.pdf [14 August 2013]

New York Times (2004), 'The Reach of War: Guantanamo Memories, From Outside the Wire', *The New York Times*, 21 June. Available from <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/06/21/world/the-reach-of-war-guantanamo-memories-from-outside-the-wire.html> [14 August 2013]

Omni Television British Columbia (2013). All Diversity Programming. Available at: <http://www.omnibc.ca/programming/index.php?diversity=yes> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Omni Television Ontario (2013). All Diversity Programming. Available at: <http://www.omnitv.ca/ontario/> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Palmer, R, and Sharp, A (2013), 'Canadian Train Plot Suspects Caused Unease with Extreme Views', *Reuters*, 25 March. Available from <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2013/04/25/uk-arrests-profiles-idUKBRE93O1GB20130425> [14 August 2013]

Palmer, R, and Sharp, A (2013), 'Canadian Train Plot Suspects Caused Unease with Extreme Views', *Reuters*, 25 April. Available from <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2013/04/25/uk-arrests-profiles-idUKBRE93O1GB20130425> [14 August 2013]

PBS (2001), 'Ahmed Ressam's Millennium Plot', *PBS Frontline*, October. Available from <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/trail/inside/cron.html> [14 August 2013]

PBS Frontline (2004), 'Son of Al-Qaeda', *PBS*, 22 April. Available from <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/khadr/family/> [14 August 2013]

Pew Research Center (2011). The Future of the Global Muslim Population, Projections for 2010-2030. Available at: <http://features.pewforum.org/muslim-population/?sort=Pop2010> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Press, J (2013). 'National Household Survey Shows Muslim Population fastest-growing Religion in Canada', *Postmedia News*, 14 August 2013. Available from <http://www.canada.com/National+Household+Survey+shows+Muslim+population+fastest+growing+religion+Canada/8354099/story.html> [14 August 2013]

Ptashnik, V (2013), 'London Residents Shocked by News that Canadians named in Terror Attack', *The Star*, 2 April. Available from http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2013/04/02/london_residents_shocked_by_news_that_canadians_named_in_terror_attack.html [14 August 2013]

Public Safety Canada. *2013 Public Report on the Terrorist Threat to Canada* (2013). Available from <http://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/prg/ns/ctrng-xtms/fl/trrrst-thrt-cnd-eng.pdf> [14 August 2013]

Queens University Student Government (2013). Religious and Cultural Identity. Available at: <http://myams.org/clubs/clubs-categories/religious-and-cultural-identity.aspx> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Reuters (2013), 'Mauritania Jails Canadian for Two Years for Terrorist Conspiracy', *Reuters*, 9 April. Available from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/04/09/us-mauritania-canada-yoon-idUSBRE93811E20130409> [14 August 2013]

Royal Canadian Mounted Police. *Radicalization: a Guide for the Perplexed* (2009). Available from <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/pubs/nsci-ecrsn/radical-eng.pdf> [14 August 2013]

Royal Canadian Mounted Police: Wanted by the RCMP. *Ferid Ahmed Imam* (2013). Available from <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/wanted-recherches/ter/imam-eng.htm> [14 August 2013]

Royal Canadian Mounted Police: Wanted by the RCMP. *Maiwand Yar* (2013). Available from <http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/wanted-recherches/ter/yar-eng.htm> [14 August 2013]

Ryerson University (2013). RSU Student Groups. Available at: <http://www.ryerson.ca/calendar/2012-2013/pg1481.html> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

SFU Clubs List (2013). Simon Fraser Student Society. Available at: <http://go.sfss.ca/clubs/list>

SFUO Clubs (2013). Clubs Listing. Available at: <http://www.sfu.ca/clubs/clubs-listing/> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Shephard, M (2008), 'Bail Denied for Abdullah Khadr', *The Star*, 20 August. Available from http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2008/08/20/bail_denied_for_abdullah_khadr.html [14 August 2013]

Shephard, M (2010), 'Court Rejects Abdullah Khadr Extradition Request', *The Star*, 4 August. Available from http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2010/08/04/court_rejects_abdullah_khadr_extradition_request.html [14 August 2013]

Shephard, M (2013), 'Ex-York U Student May Have Been Involved in Somalia Attack', *The Star*, 14 April. Available from http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2013/04/14/somalia_militants_attack_mogadishu_courthouse.html [14 August 2013]

Shephard, M (2013), 'Omar Khadr Segregated from other Inmates after Death Threats in Canadian Prison', *The Star*, 29 May. Available from http://www.thestar.com/news/world/2013/05/29/omar_khadr_segregated_from_other_inmates_after_death_threats_in_canadian_prison.html [14 August 2013]

Shuster, S (2013), 'The Boston Bomber Trail: Fresh Clues in Rural Dagestan', *Time*, 29 April. Available from <http://world.time.com/2013/04/29/picking-up-the-boston-bomber-trail-in-utamysh-russia/> [14 August 2013]

Soage, A. B. (2009) 'Islamism and Modernity: The Political Thought of Sayyid Qutb'. *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 10 (2): 189-203. Available from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14690760903119092#.UfevV9JyBc0>

Statistics Canada (2001). 2001 Census. Available at: <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/highlight/Religion/Page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo=PR&View=1b&Code=01&Table=1&StartRec=1&Sort=2&B1=01&B2=Counts> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Statistics Canada (2001). Population by Religion, by Province, and Territory (2001 Census). Available at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo30a-eng.htm> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Statistics Canada (2001). Selected Cultural and Labour Force Characteristics (2001 Census). Available at

http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/english/census01/products/standard/themes/Rp_eng.cfm?LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=1&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=0&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=67773&PRID=0&PTYPE=55430,53293,55440,55496,71090&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2001&THEME=56&VID=0&VNAMEF= (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Statistics Canada (2001). Selected Religions by Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration, 2001 Counts. Available at: <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/highlight/Religion/Page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo=PR&View=1b&Code=01&Table=1&StartRec=1&Sort=2&B1=01&B2=Counts> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Statistics Canada (2010). Projections of the Diversity of the Canadian Population, 2006-2031. Available at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/91-551-x/91-551-x2010001-eng.pdf> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Statistics Canada (2011). Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity in Canada. Available at: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-010-x/99-010-x2011001-eng.cfm#a1> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Stevens, T, and Neumann, P (2009) 'Countering Online Radicalization: a Strategy for Action'. The International Center for the Study of Radicalization and Political Violence, 28 January. Available from <http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/1236768491ICSROnlineRadicalisationReport.pdf> [14 August 2013]

Struck, D (2006), 'Arrests Shake Image of Harmony', *The Washington Post*, 4 June. Available from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/06/04/AR2006060400610.html> [14 August 2013]

Teotonio, I (2008), 'Alleged Toronto Terror Plot Detailed in Court', *The Star*, 26 March. Available from http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2008/03/26/alleged_toronto_terror_plot_detailed_in_court.html [14 August 2013]

Teotonio, I (2009), 'Detox Takes Care of Radicals', *The Star*, 3 June. Available from http://www.thestar.com/life/2009/06/03/detox_takes_care_of_radicals.html [14 August 2013]

Teotonio, I (2010), 'The Toronto 18', *The Star*. Available from <http://www3.thestar.com/static/toronto18/index.1.html> [14 August 2013]

The BC Muslim Association (2013) Welcome. Available at: <http://www.thebcma.com/home.aspx> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

The Canadian Islamic Congress (2013). Home. Available at: <http://www.canadianislamiccongress.com/cic2010/> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

The Standing Senate Committee on Banking, Trade, and Commerce. *Follow the Money: Is Canada Making Progress in Combating Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing? Not Really* (2013). Available from <http://parl.gc.ca/content/SEN/Committee/411/BANC/dpk/01mar13/home-e.htm> [14 August 2013]

The Telegraph (2011), 'Guantanamo Bay Detainee File on Mohamedou Ould Salahi', *The Telegraph*, 27 April. Available from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/wikileaks-files/guantanamo-bay-wikileaks-files/8477160/Guantanamo-Bay-detainee-file-on-Mohamedou-Ould-Salahi-US9MR-000760DP.html> [14 August 2013]

Turner, C, and Wright, R (1997), 'Hezbollah Support Network in Canada Alleged' *Los Angeles Times*, 29 March. Available from http://articles.latimes.com/1997-03-29/news/mn-43290_1_support-network [14 August 2013]

U.S. Department of State. *2013 INCSR Report, Canada* (2013). Available from <http://www.state.gov/j/inl/rls/nrcrpt/2013/vol2/204065.htm#Canada> [14 August 2013]

UBC Student Clubs <http://www.ams.ubc.ca/clubs/cultural/> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

University of Alberta Clubs (2013). Bears Dean. Available at: <https://alberta.collegiatelink.net/organizations?SearchValue=Religious&SearchType=Category&CurrentPage=1&SelectedCategoryId=36> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

University of Calgary Clubs (2013). Student Union Clubs Hubs. Available at: <http://suclubs.orgsync.com/clubslist> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

University of Manitoba Students Union (2013). UMSU Student Groups. Available at: http://umsu.ca/index.php?keyword=islam&task=search&option=com_listings&task=search&Itemid= (Accessed 14 August 2013)

University of New Brunswick Student Union (2013). Clubs and Societies Profile. Available at: <http://www.unbsu.ca/content/239101> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Weston, G (2013), 'Canadians in Algeria Attack went Overseas with 3rd Man', *CBC News*, 2 April. Available from

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2013/04/02/algeria-attack-canadians-aaron-yoon-london-ontario.html> [14 August 2013]

Weston, G (2013), 'Canadians in Algerian Gas Plant Attack Identified', *CBC News*, 1 April. Available from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/story/2013/04/01/f-algeria-canadians-militants-hostages.html> [14 August 2013]

White, P (2013), 'Via Rail Plot's Alleged al-Qaeda-Iran Connection Spurs Alarm in U.S.', *The Globe and Mail*, 25 April. Available from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/via-rail-plots-alleged-al-qaeda-iran-connection-spurs-alarm-in-us/article11562189/> [14 August 2013]

Wilkes, J, and Teotonio, I (2011), 'Life in Prison for Toronto 18 Member', *The Star*, 4 March. Available from http://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2011/03/04/life_in_prison_for_toronto_18_member.html [14 August 2013]

Wilner, A. (2010). "From Rehabilitation to Recruitment". *The MacDonald Laurier Institute for Public Policy*. Available from <http://www.macdonaldlaurier.ca/files/pdf/FromRehabilitationToRecruitment.pdf> (Accessed 14 August 2013)

Wong, E (2006), 'Some Fighters in Iraq Adopt New Tactics to Battle U.S.', *The New York Times*, 24 November. Available from <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/24/world/middleeast/24diyala.html?fta=y&r=0> [14 August 2013]

Zimmerman, J. (2004) 'Sayyid Qutb's Influence on the 11 September Attacks'. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16 (2): 222-252. Available from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09546550490480993#.Ufew6dJyBc0>