BRIEFING **196** / AFRICA 28 MARCH 2024 20+ MINUTES

JAS vs. ISWAP: The War of the Boko Haram Splinters

The conflict between JAS and ISWAP has to do with a fundamental disagreement over how to treat civilians. Whereas JAS sees all civilians as fair game for plunder, ISWAP treats Muslims differently from

The jihadist organisation often designated as Boko Haram was born from a social movement that developed in the late 1990s and 2000s around Mohamed Yusuf, a popular Salafi preacher from Maiduguri, the capital of Borno state in north-eastern Nigeria. In the late 2000s, Yusufôs movement, usually called the Yusufiyya, began confronting the authorities. In 2009, it launched an uprising in Maiduguri and a few other north-eastern towns, killing members of the Nigerian security forces. The revolt was bloodily suppressed, with hundreds of Yusufiyya followers killed, and Yusuf was shot dead by the police.

Some of Yusufôs followers reorganised around a close associate, Shekau, and under the name of JAS (though still widely known as Boko Haram) initiated an insurgent campaign from 2010, receiving support from al-Qaeda. As described in prior Crisis Group work, the organisation began attacking state

NIGER
CHAD
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uprising. He lacks the depth of religious knowledge that the organisation prefers in its leaders, but after the conflict began, he rose to the rank of

Crisis Group telephone interviews, former JAS fighters, 24 January 2023. Videos of various JAS

confirmed media reports saying they busted up an ISWAP cell. Crisis Group correspondence, Nigerian security official, 11 October 2023. ñSecurity agents storm terroristsô hideout in Keffi, as hoodlums detonate bombò, , 30 May 2023.

[3] Crisis Group telephone interviews, former ISWAP and JAS fighters, January-October 2023. Crisis Group correspondence, researchers, September-October 2023.

By contrast, in 2023, JASôs fortunes improved. Defections from JAS diminished to a trickle. [1] Bakura also managed to forge links to a sub-group of militants who had rejected his decision to kill Sahalaba and take over as imam. [2] This band, sometimes called Dar al-Gazuwa because it is based near Gazuwa, a village in Bama local government area, had tried to fight on its own. In 2023, it dispersed and divided, with some of its fighters rejoining Bakuraôs faction. [3] In the second half of 2023, ISWAP repeatedly tried to push back JAS near Lake Chad, but with little success. [4]

ISWAP did, however, consolidate its control elsewhere. It fought off JAS groups farther south, in the swathe of land between the lake and the Sambisa forest, in the local government areas of Marte, Bama, Mafa, Konduga and Dikwa. [5] It also intensified its operations in the Borno and in eastern Yobe state. In the last two months of 2023, its claimed attacks were up significantly from earlier in the year ï with 39 in November and 44 in December. [6] ISWAP also resumed flexing its muscle outside Borno. In November, it took responsibility for no fewer than five raids in Cameroon, including on military outposts. [7] In January 2024, it claimed an attack in Nasarawa state, in central Nigeria, a dozen kilometres from Abuja. [8] Four Christian civilians were killed on this occasion. A former ISWAP official reports hearing of senior group members being sent on missions outside Nigeriaôs north east in late 2023. [9] An analyst says the group may have benefited from the assistance of recent recruits from Ansaru for operations in central Nigeria. [10]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Critics said Bakuraôs lack of Islamic knowledge was a serious problem for his leadership. Sahalaba was a cleric and a (judge ruling based on sharia). Crisis Group telephone interviews, former JAS fighters, 15 and 23 January, 15 June and 22 September 2023.

[3] Crisis Group telephone interview, former JAS fighter, 23 September 2023.

[4] For information on fighting in the Lake Chad basin, see Tomasz Rolbieckiôs Lake Chad Basin Weekly Security Updates.

[5] ñISWAP guns down Boko Haram commander in Sambisaò, , 2 October 2023.

See Appendix C.

See Appendix D, as well as Rolbiecki, Lake Chad Basin Weekly Security Update, 13-19 November 2023.

Rolbiecki, Lake Chad Basin Weekly Security Update, 25 December 2023-7 January 2024.

Crisis Group telephone interview, former ISWAP official, 27 December 2023.

Crisis Group correspondence, analyst, 3 November 2023.

The JAS-ISWAP rivalry is, in effect, a power struggle between competing organisational models. ISWAPôs model, which is more bureaucratic, may seem more efficient and sustainable than JASôs. It is also more controlling, however, and many JAS fighters do not accept it. Many are fighting back, and the unexpected resistance has in turn fed tensions within ISWAP.

A recent UN report assessed that ISWAP has 4,000-7,000 fighters, while JAS was deemed to have 1,000 fighters on Lake Chad and another 500-1,000 in the Mandara mountains. ñThirty-third Report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team Submitted Pursuant to Resolution 2610 (2021) Concerning ISIL (Daôesh), Al-Qaida and Associated Individuals and Entitiesò, UN, 29 January 2024. It is difficult, however, to know what to make of these numbers, which are based on feedback from unidentified member states with no indication as to the assessment methods used. Figures about JAS and ISWAP are fundamentally uncertain because both groups count members ( ) who are not full-time fighters. They are traders, farmers, craftsmen, Quranic teachers and others whom the groups may call upon to take part in defending their strongholds from attack. The recent deaths in battle, defections and surrenders make estimates even trickier.

The two jihadist groups differ in their treatment of civilians and organisational structure. JAS

ISWAP and JAS also differ over the relative power of military leaders, on one hand, and political and religious leaders, on the other. To sustain its reformed model, with ISISôs advice, ISWAP has standardised its operations. [2] It is more controlling of fighters than JAS is, and it uses computers and paperwork to keep track of them and their activities. [3] It has a bureaucracy and a department dedicated to internal security, the , modelled on ISIS. It registers its members and regulates the size of fighting units. It can move around fighters and staff, irrespective of their personal ties to commanders. It keeps a central arsenal and forbids fighters from keeping weapons with them while not on operations. It provides sustenance to its personnel, and it has tried to pay salaries several times. In ISWAP, religious leaders and bureaucrats hold a lot of power. [4]

In contrast, JAS is less bureaucratic and centralised. Military leaders are more independent, and the top leadership has much less influence over them. To their fighters, military commanders act more as patrons than as officers in an army. Also, JAS fighters get to keep their guns at all times. JAS commanders do consult the leadership, and they can send resources to and receive weapons from it. But they are much freer to do what they like, particularly in robbing civilians, without formal approval. JAS fighters say this licence makes the group more attractive than ISWAP. [5]

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[1] ISWAPôs less violent approach toward Muslim civilians helped in its initial success. Crisis Group Report, , op. cit. But ISWAP has committed ï and sometimes claimed responsibility for ï massacres of civilians whom it considered to have violated its strictures. The reasons it gave include refusing to pay taxes, spying for the government or resisting its rule. Also, in line with ISIS practice, it considers the massacre and enslavement of non-Muslims legitimate.

[2] Maman Inoua Elhadji Mahamadou Amadou and Vincent Foucher, ñBoko Haram in the Lake Chad Basin: The Bakura Faction and Its Resistance to the Rationalisation of Jihadò, Stiftung Wissenchaft und Politik Policy Brief, 8 December 2022.

[3] Crisis Group telephone interview, former ISWAP fighter, 17 August 2022.

[4] Crisis Group telephone interviews, former ISWAP official, 8 November 2023; former ISWAP , 7 December 2023.

[5] Crisis Group telephone interview, former JAS fighter, 23 January 2024.

Preying on civilians has been the major point of contention between the two factions. In line with their interpretations of Islamic law, both groups draw a distinction between loot taken outside combat (,in Arabic) and booty of war ( ). The two groups treat similarly: fighters are supposed to keep four fifths of its value and the rest goes to the leadership. Since it is mostly military equipment, both sets of leaders tend to take it all with the understanding that they will pay fighters the equivalent value in cash. The fault line between the two factions concerns , which refers to goods stolen from civilians.

Here, the differences are stark. ISWAP forbids the taking of from Muslim civilians, even those who have not pledged allegiance to the group. JAS considers non-affiliated Muslim civilians to be apostates, and it authorises taking from them.

northern Borno, where it is having mounting problems defending herders from JAS marauders. Many herders are moving to Chad and Cameroon.

Crisis Group telephone interviews, former ISWAP , 9 December 2023; former ISWAP fighters, 26 June and 11 July 2023.

Crisis Group telephone interviews, former ISWAP official, 8 November and 12 December 2023.

Over the course of 2023, ISWAP put a number of civilians to death on suspicion of spying and chased away others. See, for instance,

Another issue is that the other Lake Chad countries face other threats ï from the Anglophone conflict in Cameroon to securing borders in Chad to non-Boko Haram jihadist violence in Niger (which, though a lesser challenge than in Mali and Burkina Faso, still commands time and attention). Nigeria is thus finding that its neighboursô commitment to the MNJTF is weaker than in the past.

Crisis Group Africa Briefing NÁ188, , 31 March 2023; Crisis Group, ñAverting Chaos in Chadò, video, 27 October 2022.

For background on the MNJTF, see Crisis Group Africa Report NÁ291, , 7 July 2020.

Crisis Group correspondence, international military expert, 10 October 2023; Nigerian security official, 16 January 2024.

ñLa FMM enregistre de nouveaux succ¯s dans la r®gion du lac Tchad et de nouveaux terroristes d®posent les armes ï Le Commandant de la forceò, MNJTF, 16 February 2024.

See Nnamdi Obasi, ñECOWAS, Nigeria and the Niger Coup Sanctions: Time to Recalibrateò, Crisis Group Commentary, 5 December 2023; and ñWhat Turmoil in ECOWAS Means for Nigeria and Regional Stabilityò, Crisis Group forthcoming Commentary.

ñLetter from the Lake Chad Basin Commission Executive Secretariat to his Excellency General Mahamat Idriss Debi [sic] Itnoò, 24 August 2023; Crisis Group telephone interview, Nigerian security official, 11 October 2023.

Obasi, ñWhat Turmoil in ECOWAS Means for Nigeria and Regional Stabilityò, op. cit. See also ñWest African bloc ECOWAS says it is lifting sanctions on Nigerò, France 24, 24 February 2024; and ñNigeria reopens border with neighbouring Nigerò, Agence France-Presse, 14 March 2024.

Against this backdrop, the Lake Chad governments are mostly taking a muddling-through approach, hoping that ISWAP and JASS

state militaries. It is difficult to determine the number of deaths with precision, as the intra-jihadist violence is under-reported, but at the very least, several hundred fighters have died in this conflict since the end of 2022.

Still, the results of this strategy have been mixed. The Nigerian military claims to be doing significant

January 2024. On the Kaduna case, see Human Rights Watch, ñNigeria: Erroneous Military Airstrikeò, 7 December 2023.

[5] ISWAP may be ready to go on the offensive again: according to an analyst, the group took over a Nigerian army base in Kirenowa in March, though it was quickly forced out when the army sent in a Tucano ground attack plane. Crisis Group correspondence, 15 March 2024. Crisis Group has been unable to verify this attack, though ISIS media did claim one such attack on a Telegram channel Crisis Group viewed.

[6] See Appendix E.

[7] ñ95% of people with Boko Haramôs ideology dead ï Borno govtò, , 4 March 2024.

B. Persistent Threat

The revival of JAS under Bakura, together with ISWAPôs resilience, shows that it is too soon for authorities to move on from the conflict. Moreover, recent developments relating to the two factions suggest more violence to come. JAS is consolidating its hold on two main enclaves: the islands of Lake Chad and the Mandara mountains. Several Crisis Group interviewees say JAS will not try to extend its control beyond these natural strongholds, whose difficult terrain its fighters are familiar with. [1] It lacks the motor vehicles needed to traverse the Borno savannah. Still, from the lake and mountains, JAS is in a good position both to plunder civilian settlements and to raid military targets.

Data is not available everywhere, but there have been new waves of displacement in areas where JAS groups operate. The International Organisation for Migration counted about 20,000 displaced people between February and June 2023 in the Bama, Konduga and Monguno local government areas alone. In May 2023, jihadist attacks uprooted more than 2,500 Cameroonian citizens, who fled to Nigeriaôs Adamawa state. [2] JAS has resumed preying on civilians in Chadôs R®gion du Lac. It has been laying low in Nigerôs Diffa region, which lies to the west of the Lake Chad basin, but it previously hit that area hard and could do so again.

While JAS primarily preys on civilians, it remains a threat to the military as well. Attacks on military posts are one of the few ways for JAS to restock its arsenal. JASôs deadly raid on a Chadian garrison on the Bohoma peninsula in 2020 highlighted the groupôs capacity in this regard. [3] JAS could grow stronger still as a result of more defections from ISWAP, which could be a means of transferring expertise in strategy and tactics that the latter group has gleaned from ISIS. [4]

A revived JAS could also reach out from its north-eastern base to cause problems in north-western Nigeria. Since Shekauôs time, JAS has had fighters in the north west, led by Sadiku, a Borno-born commander. [5] This group, operating from forested hills in Kaduna state, has conducted many kidnappings for ransom, for instance grabbing passengers off the Kaduna-Abuja train in March 2022. Its status is uncertain, with reports of internal tensions, and Sadikuôs relationship with Bakura is also

unclear. Crisis Group was unable to verify suggestions in a research report that Sadiku has developed links to groups other than JAS, including ISWAP and Ansaru. A former associate of Sadiku told Crisis Group that while he criticised Bakuraôs killing of Sahalaba, he eventually pledged allegiance. If Bakura were to send additional weapons and fighters to Sadiku or other JAS backers in the north west, the damage to security there could be significant.

Crisis Group telephone interviews, former ISWAP official, 8 November 2023; former ISWAP fighter, 20 June 2023.

ñIDP and Returnee Atlasò, International Organization for Migration, June 2023, p. 9.

If violence, displacement and food insecurity persist or increase, humanitarian assistance will be needed to lessen the toll on civilians. But the Borno state and Nigerian federal governments have been suggesting that the conflict is winding down, with victory on the horizon. They are pushing for stabilisation, reconstruction and development aid instead of emergency assistance, phasing out the latter. The Borno authorities are preparing to close down the informal camps for internally displaced people in Maiduguri, the state capital, and are studying the feasibility of removing formal camps in other towns as well. The UN special adviser on solutions to internal displacement visited north-eastern Nigeria in May 2023 in support of this ñstabilisationò agenda.

help in targeting and assessing damage. In addition to possibly seeking assistance from international partners on these functions, the military should focus on improving procedures used to authorise airstrikes in order to create greater uniformity and higher standards in targeting.

C. Assist and Monitor Defectors

Each of the four Lake Chad basin countries needs to find its own way to help and monitor defectors and to discourage them from taking up arms again. Resource-intensive encampments of the Safe Corridor type are not easily replicable and have proven difficult to sustain, even in Nigeria where they have gained the most traction. [1] Efforts by the Borno state government to consolidate its alternative ad hoc defection program with the assistance of UN agencies are welcome, and donors should lend their support as well. While no one knows how the war between the jihadist factions will play out, in some scenarios it could encourage more fighters to surrender, so credible defection programs, for all their limitations, are essential to show jihadists that they do indeed have a way out.

On the other hand, the authorities and their international partners need to take into account the suspicions and frustrations of ordinary citizens in the Lake Chad countries. Many see the defection programs as rewarding insurgents and granting them impunity. As Crisis Group has previously recommended, a way to address these concerns would be to try high-level captured (as opposed to defecting) jihadists in a fair, well-prepared and well-publicised manner. [2]

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[1] Crisis Group Briefing, , op. cit.

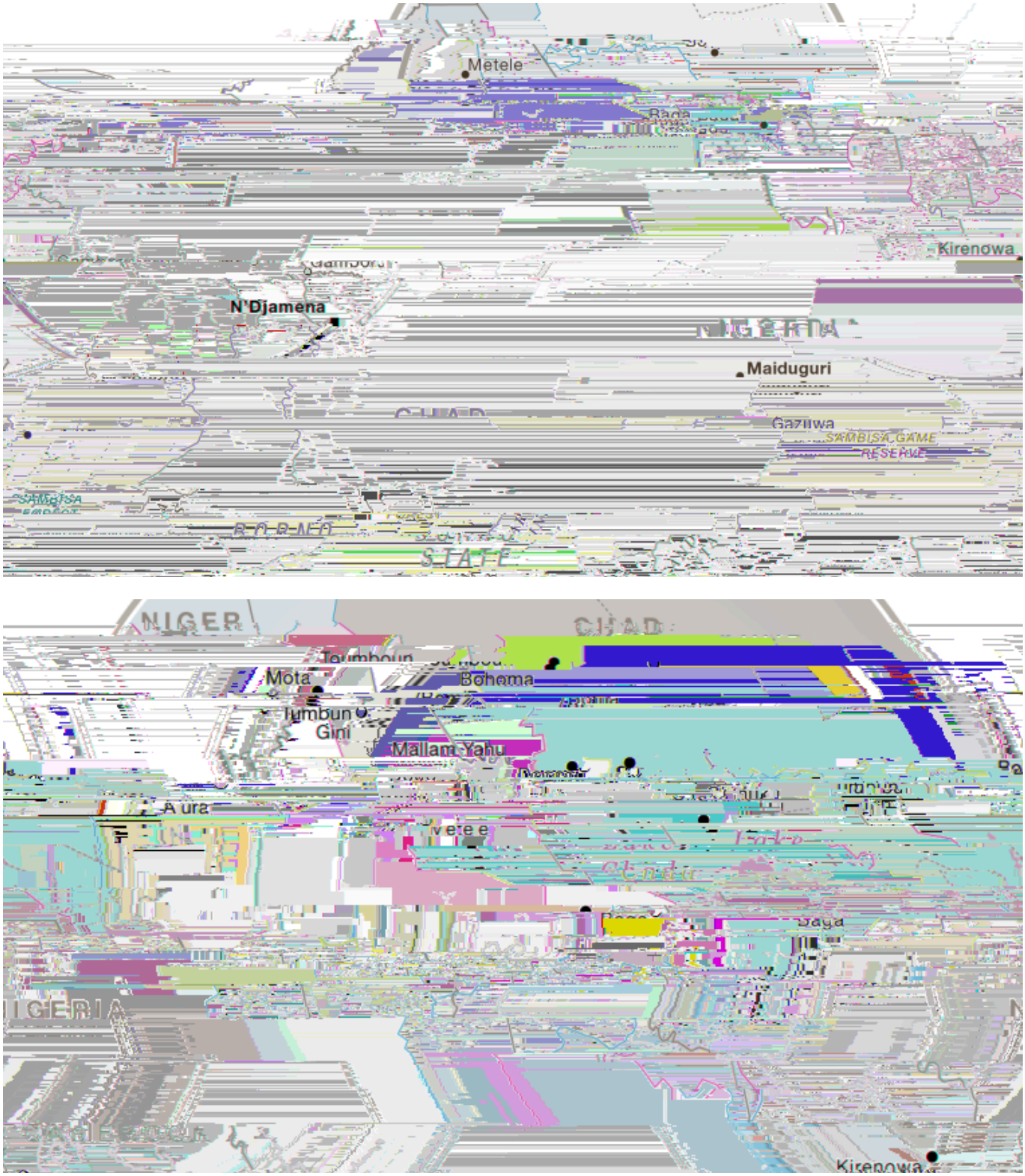
[2] Ibid.

D. Reinvigorate Regional Security Cooperation

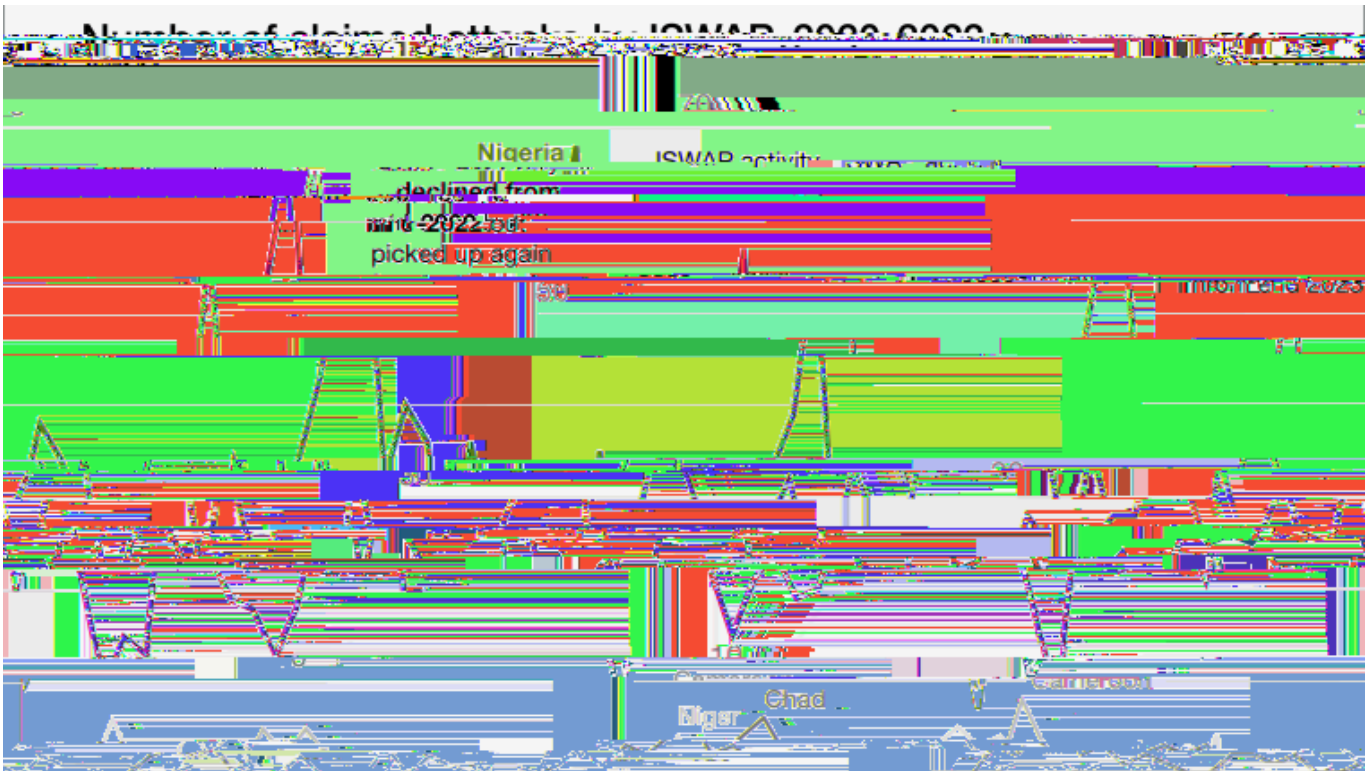
The jihadist insurgencies in the Lake Chad basin had good reason to choose border areas, including the islands and the Mandara mountains, as places to entrench themselves. Being able to slip across borders and take shelter in difficult terrain gives them an edge. Regional cooperation is essential to taking it away. Even as they deal with other pressing security problems, the Lake Chad neighbours will need to keep sufficient focus on ISWAP and JAS, partly by reinvigorating the MNJTF. Among other things, Nigeria will need to find ways to work with Niger, notwithstanding its 2023 coup. Crisis Group has offered recommendations elsewhere for steps Nigeria and its ECOWAS partners can take to try to heal the rift with Niger and the two other Sahelian states that have left the bloc. [1]

Nigeria, which is both the richest of the Lake Chad countries and the most affected by the conflict, should take the lead. It was Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhariîs involvement that activated the MNJTF, and it now falls to his successor, President Bola Tinubu, to jump-start it once more. He can

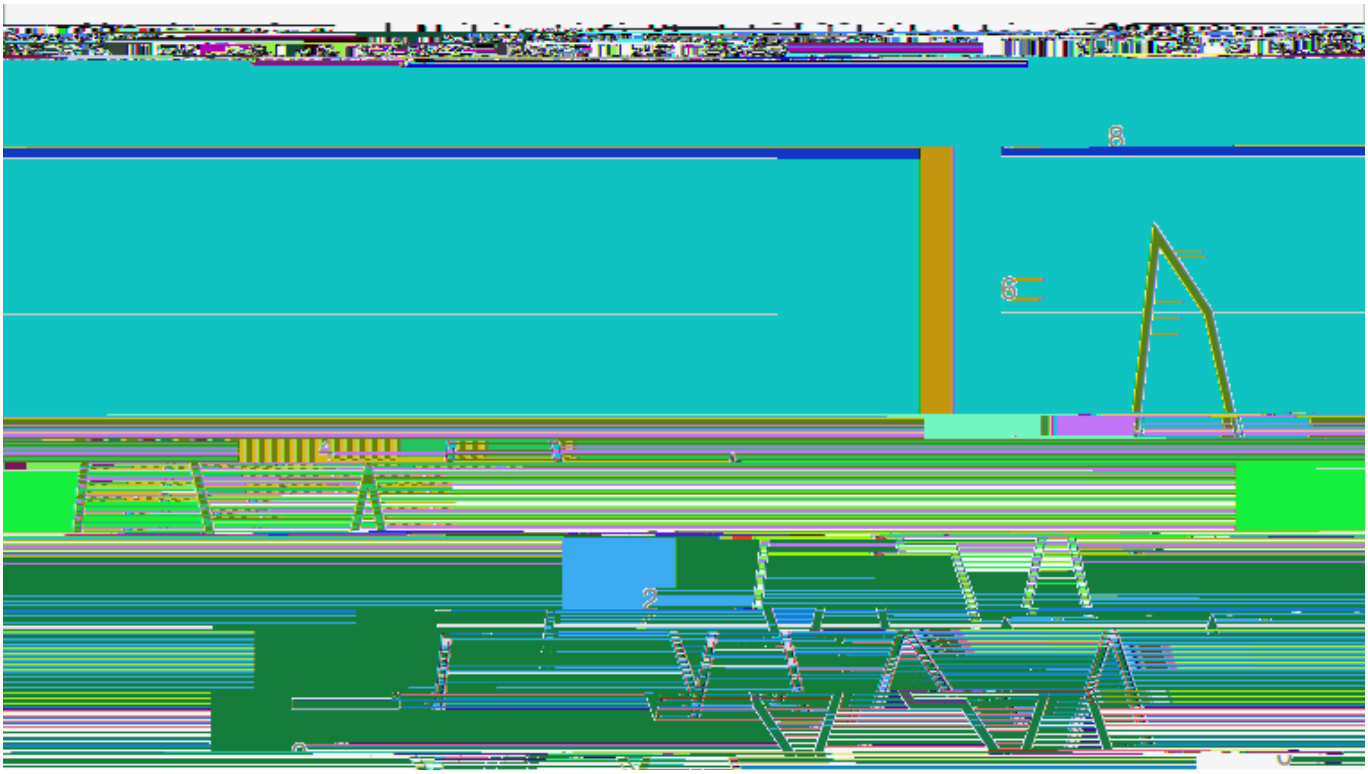
Appendix B: Map of North East Nigeria



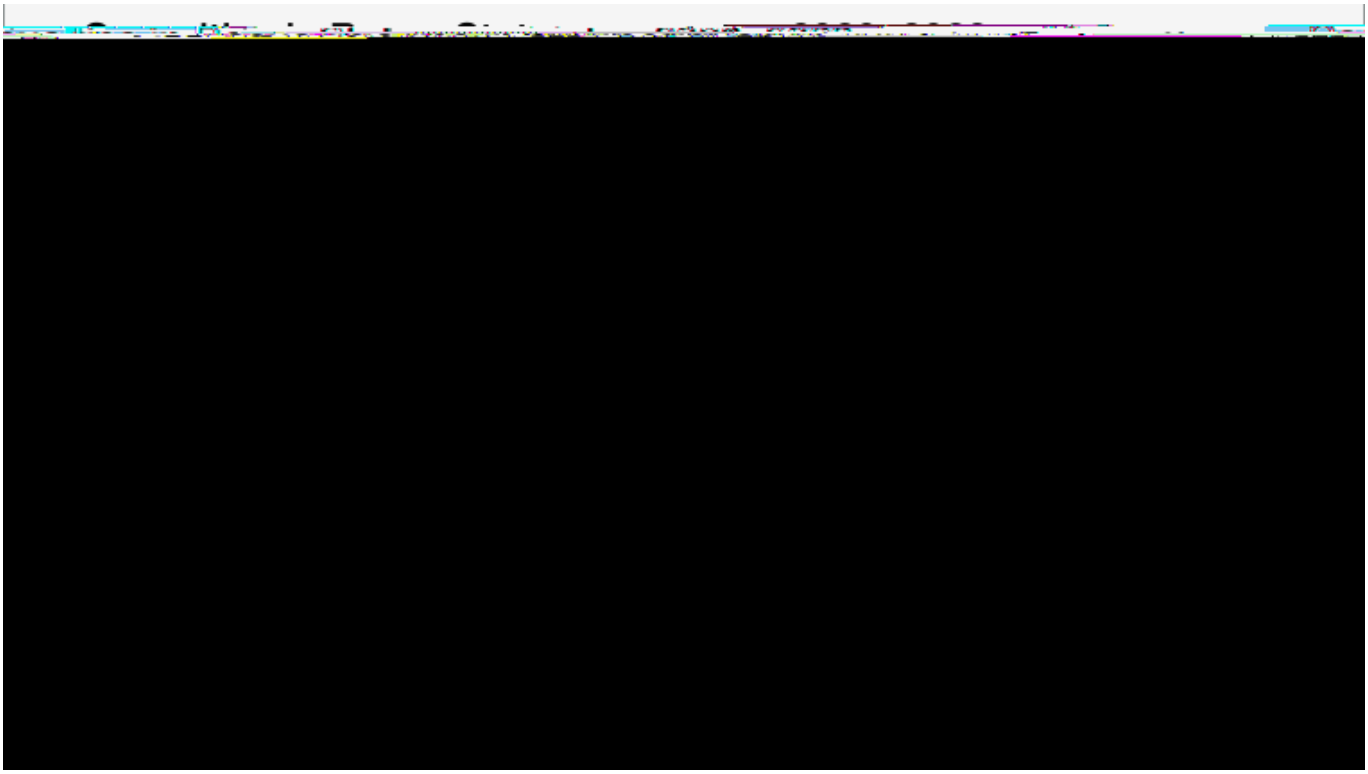
Appendix C



Appendix D



Appendix E



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n%5B%5D=530&location%5B%5D=531&location%5B%5D=532&location%5B%5D=533&location%5B%5D=534&location%5B%5D=535&location%5B%5D=536&location%5B%5D=537&location%5B%5D=538&location%5B%5D=539&location%5B%5D=540&location%5B%5D=541&location%5B%5D=542&location%5B%5D=543&location%5B%5D=544&location%5B%5D=545&location%5B%5D=546&location%5B%5D=547&location%5B%5D=548&location%5B%5D=549&location%5B%5D=550&location%5B%5D=551&location%5B%5D=552&location%5B%5D=553&location%5B%5D=554&location%5B%5D=555&location%5B%5D=556&location%5B%5D=557&location%5B%5D=558&location%5B%5D=559&location%5B%5D=560&location%5B%5D=561&location%5B%5D=562&location%5B%5D=563&location%5B%5D=564&location%5B%5D=565&location%5B%5D=566&location%5B%5D=567&location%5B%5D=568&location%5B%5D=569&location%5B%5D=570&location%5B%5D=571&location%5B%5D=572&location%5B%5D=573&location%5B%5D=574&location%5B%5D=575&location%5B%5D=576&location%5B%5D=577&location%5B%5D=578&location%5B%5D=579&location%5B%5D=580&location%5B%5D=581&location%5B%5D=582&location%5B%5D=583&location%5B%5D=584&location%5B%5D=585&location%5B%5D=586&location%5B%5D=587&location%5B%5D=588&location%5B%5D=589&location%5B%5D=590&location%5B%5D=591&location%5B%5D=592&location%5B%5D=593&location%5B%5D=594&location%5B%5D=595&location%5B%5D=596&location%5B%5D=597&location%5B%5D=598&location%5B%5D=599&location%5B%5D=600&location%5B%5D=601&location%5B%5D=602&location%5B%5D=603&location%5B%5D=604&location%5B%5D=605&location%5B%5D=606&location%5B%5D=607&location%5B%5D=608&location%5B%5D=609&location%5B%5D=610&location%5B%5D=611&location%5B%5D=612&location%5B%5D=613&location%5B%5D=614&location%5B%5D=615&location%5B%5D=616&location%5B%5D=617&location%5B%5D=618&location%5B%5D=619&location%5B%5D=620&location%5B%5D=621&location%5B%5D=622&location%5B%5D=623&location%5B%5D=624&location%5B%5D=625&location%5B%5D=626&location%5B%5D=627&location%5B%5D=628&location%5B%5D=629&location%5B%5D=630&location%5B%5D=631&location%5B%5D=632&location%5B%5D=633&location%5B%5D=634&location%5B%5D=635&location%5B%5D=636&location%5B%5D=637&location%5B%5D=638&location%5B%5D=639&location%5B%5D=640&location%5B%5D=641&location%5B%5D=642&location%5B%5D=643&location%5B%5D=644&location%5B%5D=645&location%5B%5D=646&location%5B%5D=647&location%5B%5D=648&location%5B%5D=649&location%5B%5D=650&location%5B%5D=651&location%5B%5D=652&location%5B%5D=653&location%5B%5D=654&location%5B%5D=655&location%5B%5D=656&location%5B%5D=657&location%5B%5D=658&location%5B%5D=659&location%5B%5D=660&location%5B%5D=661&location%5B%5D=662&location%5B%5D=663&location%5B%5D=664&location%5B%5D=665&location%5B%5D=666&location%5B%5D=667&location%5B%5D=668&location%5B%5D=669&location%5B%5D=670&location%5B%5D=671&location%5B%5D=672&location%5B%5D=673&location%5B%5D=674&location%5B%5D=675&location%5B%5D=676&location%5B%5D=677&location%5B%5D=678&location%5B%5D=679&location%5B%5D=680&location%5B%5D=681&location%5B%5D=682&location%5B%5D=683&location%5B%5D=684&location%5B%5D=685&location%5B%5D=686&location%5B%5D=687&location%5B%5D=688&location%5B%5D=689&location%5B%5D=690&location%5B%5D=691&location%5B%5D=692&location%5B%5D=693&location%5B%5D=694&location%5B%5D=695&location%5B%5D=696&location%5B%5D=697&location%5B%5D=698&location%5B%5D=699&location%5B%5D=700&location%5B%5D=701&location%5B%5D=702&location%5B%5D=703&location%5B%5D=704&location%5B%5D=705&location%5B%5D=706&location%5B%5D=707&location%5B%5D=708&location%5B%5D=709&location%5B%5D=710&location%5B%5D=711&location%5B%5D=712&location%5B%5D=713&location%5B%5D=714&location%5B%5D=715&location%5B%5D=716&location%5B%5D=717&location%5B%5D=718&location%5B%5D=719&location%5B%5D=720&location%5B%5D=721&location%5B%5D=722&location%5B%5D=723&location%5B%5D=724&location%5B%5D=725&location%5B%5D=726&location%5B%5D=727&location%5B%5D=728&location%5B%5D=729&location%5B%5D=730&location%5B%5D=731&location%5B%5D=732&location%5B%5D=733&location%5B%5D=734&location%5B%5D=735&location%5B%5D=736&location%5B%5D=737&location%5B%5D=738&location%5B%5D=739&location%5B%5D=740&location%5B%5D=741&location%5B%5D=742&location%5B%5D=743&location%5B%5D=744&location%5B%5D=745&location%5B%5D=746&location%5B%5D=747&location%5B%5D=748&location%5B%5D=749&location%5B%5D=750&location%5B%5D=751&location%5B%5D=752&location%5B%5D=753&location%5B%5D=754&location%5B%5D=755&location%5B%5D=756&location%5B%5D=757&location%5B%5D=758&location%5B%5D=759&location%5B%5D=760&location%5B%5D=761&location%5B%5D=762&location%5B%5D=763&location%5B%5D=764&location%5B%5D=765&location%5B%5D=766&location%5B%5D=767&location%5B%5D=768&location%5B%5D=769&location%5B%5D=770&location%5B%5D=771&location%5B%5D=772&location%5B%5D=773&location%5B%5D=774&location%5B%5D=775&location%5B%5D=776&location%5B%5D=777&location%5B%5D=778&location%5B%5D=779&location%5B%5D=780&location%5B%5D=781&location%5B%5D=782&location%5B%5D=783&location%5B%5D=784&location%5B%5D=785&location%5B%5D=786&location%5B%5D=787&location%5B%5D=788&location%5B%5D=789&location%5B%5D=790&location%5B%5D=791&location%5B%5D=792&location%5B%5D=793&location%5B%5D=794&location%5B%5D=795&location%5B%5D=796&location%5B%5D=797&location%5B%5D=798&location%5B%5D=799&location%5B%5D=800&location%5B%5D=801&location%5B%5D=802&location%5B%5D=803&location%5B%5D=804&location%5B%5D=805&location%5B%5D=806&location%5B%5D=807&location%5B%5D=808&location%5B%5D=809&location%5B%5D=810&location%5B%5D=811&location%5B%5D=812&location%5B%5D=813&location%5B%5D=814&location%5B%5D=815&location%5B%5D=816&location%5B%5D=817&location%5B%5D=818&location%5B%5D=819&location%5B%5D=820&location%5B%5D=821&location%5B%5D=822&location%5B%5D=823&location%5B%5D=824&location%5B%5D=825&location%5B%5D=826&location%5B%5D=827&location%5B%5D=828&location%5B%5D=829&location%5B%5D=830&location%5B%5D=831&location%5B%5D=832&location%5B%5D=833&location%5B%5D=834&location%5B%5D=835&location%5B%5D=836&location%5B%5D=837&location%5B%5D=838&location%5B%5D=839&location%5B%5D=840&location%5B%5D=841&location%5B%5D=842&location%5B%5D=843&location%5B%5D=844&location%5B%5D=845&location%5B%5D=846&location%5B%5D=847&location%5B%5D=848&location%5B%5D=849&location%5B%5D=850&location%5B%5D=851&location%5B%5D=852&location%5B%5D=853&location%5B%5D=854&location%5B%5D=855&location%5B%5D=856&location%5B%5D=857&location%5B%5D=858&location%5B%5D=859&location%5B%5D=860&location%5B%5D=861&location%5B%5D=862&location%5B%5D=863&location%5B%5D=864&location%5B%5D=865&location%5B%5D=866&location%5B%5D=867&location%5B%5D=868&location%5B%5D=869&location%5B%5D=870&location%5B%5D=871&location%5B%5D=872&location%5B%5D=873&location%5B%5D=874&location%5B%5D=875&location%5B%5D=876&location%5B%5D=877&location%5B%5D=878&location%5B%5D=879&location%5B%5D=880&location%5B%5D=881&location%5B%5D=882&location%5B%5D=883&location%5B%5D=884&location%5B%5D=885&location%5B%5D=886&location%5B%5D=887&location%5B%5D=888&location%5B%5D=889&location%5B%5D=890&location%5B%5D=891&location%5B%5D=892&location%5B%5D=893&location%5B%5D=894&location%5B%5D=895&location%5B%5D=896&location%5B%5D=897&location%5B%5D=898&location%5B%5D=899&location%5B%5D=900&location%5B%5D=901&location%5B%5D=902&location%5B%5D=903&location%5B%5D=904&location%5B%5D=905&location%5B%5D=906&location%5B%5D=907&location%5B%5D=908&location%5B%5D=909&location%5B%5D=910&location%5B%5D=911&location%5B%5D=912&location%5B%5D=913&location%5B%5D=914&location%5B%5D=915&location%5B%5D=916&location%5B%5D=917&location%5B%5D=918&location%5B%5D=919&location%5B%5D=920&location%5B%5D=921&location%5B%5D=922&location%5B%5D=923&location%5B%5D=924&location%5B%5D=925&location%5B%5D=926&location%5B%5D=927&location%5B%5D=928&location%5B%5D=929&location%5B%5D=930&location%5B%5D=931&location%5B%5D=932&location%5B%5D=933&location%5B%5D=934&location%5B%5D=935&location%5B%5D=936&location%5B%5D=937&location%5B%5D=938&location%5B%5D=939&location%5B%5D=940&location%5B%5D=941&location%5B%5D=942&location%5B%5D=943&location%5B%5D=944&location%5B%5D=945&location%5B%5D=946&location%5B%5D=947&location%5B%5D=948&location%5B%5D=949&location%5B%5D=950&location%5B%5D=951&location%5B%5D=952&location%5B%5D=953&location%5B%5D=954&location%5B%5D=955&location%5B%5D=956&location%5B%5D=957&location%5B%5D=958&location%5B%5D=959&location%5B%5D=960&location%5B%5D=961&location%5B%5D=962&location%5B%5D=963&location%5B%5D=964&location%5B%5D=965&location%5B%5D=966&location%5B%5D=967&location%5B%5D=968&location%5B%5D=969&location%5B%5D=970&location%5B%5D=971&location%5B%5D=972&location%5B%5D=973&location%5B%5D=974&location%5B%5D=975&location%5B%5D=976&location%5B%5D=977&location%5B%5D=978&location%5B%5D=979&location%5B%5D=980&location%5B%5D=981&location%5B%5D=982&location%5B%5D=983&location%5B%5D=984&location%5B%5D=985&location%5B%5D=986&location%5B%5D=987&location%5B%5D=988&location%5B%5D=989&location%5B%5D=990&location%5B%5D=991&location%5B%5D=992&location%5B%5D=993&location%5B%5D=994&location%5B%5D=995&location%5B%5D=996&location%5B%5D=997&location%5B%5D=998&location%5B%5D=999&location%5B%5D=1000&location%5B%5D=1001&location%5B%5D=1002&location%5B%5D=1003&location%5B%5D=1004&location%5B%5D=1005&location%5B%5D=1006&location%5B%5D=1007&location%5B%5D=1008&location%5B%5D=1009&location%5B%5D=1010&location%5B%5D=1011&location%5B%5D=1012&location%5B%5D=1013&location%5B%5D=1014&location%5B%5D=1015&location%5B%5D=1016&location%5B%5D=1017&location%5B%5D=1018&location%5B%5D=1019&location%5B%5D=1020&location%5B%5D=1021&location%5B%5D=1022&location%5B%5D=1023&location%5B%5D=1024&location%5B%5D=1025&location%5B%5D=1026&location%5B%5D=1027&location%5B%5D=1028&location%5B%5D=1029&location%5B%5D=1030&location%5B%5D=1031&location%5B%5D=1032&location%5B%5D=1033&location%5B%5D=1034&location%5B%5D=1035&location%5B%5D=1036&location%5B%5D=1037&location%5B%5D=1038&location%5B%5D=1039&location%5B%5D=1040&location%5B%5D=1041&location%5B%5D=1042&location%5B%5D=1043&location%5B%5D=1044&location%5B%5D=1045&location%5B%5D=1046&location%5B%5D=1047&location%5B%5D=1048&location%5B%5D=1049&location%5B%5D=1050&location%5B%5D=1051&location%5B%5D=1052&location%5B%5D=10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