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Terrorism in Africa

12 Myths About Terror in Sub-Saharan Africa

December 1, 2015



By Marc-Antoine Pérouse de Montclos

Fear and ignorance have led to the propagation of countless misconceptions about the threat of terrorism around the world. Sub-Saharan Africa, where groups like Boko Haram and al-Shabab regularly launch large scale attacks, is hardly an exception with broad tropes being used to explain deeply local movements. Below, I outline 12 myths about terrorism in the region and propose ways to move beyond the misconceptions and towards lasting local solutions.



Myth #1: Jihadist terrorism poses the main threat to sub-Saharan Africa today.

The Response: We must focus all the resources of public authorities and of the international community on the War on Terror.

The Reality: Each year, malaria and car accidents kill many more people than all of the terrorist acts in Africa combined. Access to health care and road security are

therefore much more important when it comes to saving lives. From a financial and political point of view, many developing states nevertheless continue to focus on the War on Terror.



Myth #2: Jihadist terrorism is unprecedented and exceptional in sub-Saharan Africa.

The Response: Counterinsurgency strategists must therefore use unconventional tools to deal with this new threat.

The Reality: In the Sahel, the Jihadists of the 19th century had a territorial anchor, a social base, and a longevity that con-

temporary revolutionary Islamic movements never had. Revolts under the banner of the Koran are not new at all. Consequently, we must understand so-called 'radical' Islam as a form of contestation that directly calls into question the repressive nature of weak states and political regimes which prohibit the expression of any opposition through political parties, trade unions, or associations.



Myth #3: Jihadist terrorism on the African continent is the result of a clash of civilizations between the Arab and Muslim world in the North on one side, and the land of the 'Blacks' who were evangelized by Christian missionaries in the South on the other.

The Response: A wall must be erected to stop, or at least to slow down the spread of Islam to tropical, equatorial and southern Africa.

The Reality: Jihads are, above all, wars waged within Islam. To reduce them to their hostility to Christianity risks starting a real international war of civilizations and ghettoizing Muslims perceived as incapable of modernizing and living in democratic societies. Actually, such an essentialist understanding of cultural differences justifies resorting to force to combat populations who are supposedly condemned to backwardness.



tacking Christians and the West in the first place; without success judging by the track record of jihads that occur in Islamic territories and mainly kill Muslims. To protect only Christians would follow the reasoning of terrorists and go against humanitarian principles that forbid faith-based discriminations when it comes to giving aid. Religious favoritism would again create the conditions for a war of civilizations pushing for a militarized response to terrorism.

Myth #4: Jihadists aim first and foremost to kill or convert Christians by force.

The Response: The main priority is therefore to protect Christians.

The Reality: The Salafists who advocate a military jihad are seeking essentially to ‘excommunicate’ (takfir) and combat ‘bad Muslims.’ In Africa, al-Qaida is the only movement that encourages attacking



ism. Such views obscure the local dynamics of insurgency and simplify to the extreme the social complexity of conflicts. They also perpetuate the false belief that all jihadist movements are coordinated under the central command of an ‘Islamic International’-style organization, like the Comintern during the Cold War. Actually, the perception of a globalized threat comes from autointoxication, if not ignorance, and encourages the expansion of military action in the response to terrorism.

Myth #5: Jihadist terrorism in Africa follows an arc of crisis all over the Sahel, from Mauritania to Somalia.

The Response: The threat is global and requires an international response.

The Reality: The narratives of a global threat serve to justify foreign military interventions in the Sahel and to support authoritarian regimes which have been rehabilitated thanks to their participation in the fight against terrorism.

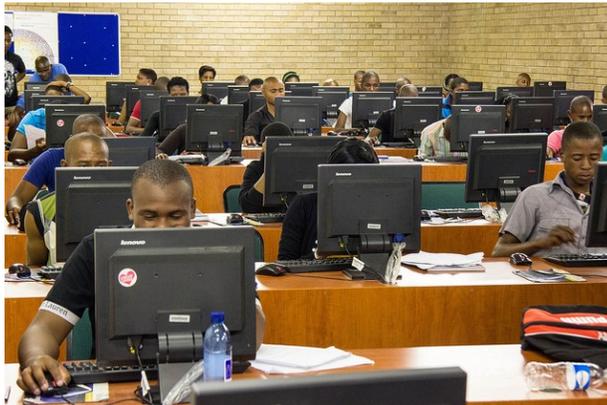


Myth #6: The jihadists who fight in Africa come from abroad.

The Response: The problem needs to be resolved in the Arab countries.

The Reality: In line with the domino theory and the fear of an ‘arc of crisis,’ many commentators support the idea that African jihads are manipulated by invisible forces and point to the role of Arab countries or Iran. These ‘conspiracy’ theories

often rely on scapegoating and help African governments to dismiss their responsibilities in problems that are allegedly ‘imported’ from abroad. They also allow western powers to justify the militarization of their response to terrorism by referring to Jihadism as a threat to ‘world peace’ per Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter.



Myth #7: The jihadists who fight in Africa recruit members on the Internet.

The Response: We must control cyberspace and break down social media.

The Reality: Apart from a few exceptions with the Somali diaspora, African jihadists currently recruit through lineages and matrimonial alliances in clandestine contexts where trust is forged by geographic proxim-

ities, cultural affinities, and linguistic communities. The emphasis on new communication technologies should not be the priority of the fight against terrorism in regions where access to telephones and the Internet is still very limited.



Myth #8: The Muslim community is divided into schools that believe in fundamentalist Sharia and the merits of a worldwide jihad.

The Response: We must promote a more tolerant Islam.

The Reality: There's a silent majority of Muslims who don't identify with any sectarian trend. Sufi brotherhoods are often presented as carriers of an Islam that is 'African' and 'tolerant.' But they once supported the arguments of the jihad, before becoming allies of the colonizers. Today they are part of the Muslim establishment and they are very much criticized by the Salafists because of their syncretic arrangement of pre-Islamic African traditions. As a result of their involvement with secular and corrupt governments, they also lost some of their moral leadership. Therefore, they may not be in the best position to 'de-radicalize' young people tempted by the jihad, contrary to the conventional wisdom of many counterinsurgency experts in sub-Saharan Africa.



Myth #9: The jihadists who fight in Africa are all crazy fanatics.

The Response: Their minds must be de-radicalized with psychiatric treatment.

The Reality: The media coverage of jihadist violence often tends to focus excessively on the irrationality of the mysterious motivations of the perpetrators of suicide bombings,

the seductive power of religious extremism, and the popularity of social justice through Sharia. However, some combatants join terrorist groups for other reasons: acts of revenge against rivals, intergenerational conflicts, personal vendettas against the abuses of security forces, and economic or ethnic grievances that are only able to find expression through the mosque. The theory of religious fanaticism actually obscures the political conditions of the emergence of Islamist revolts.



Myth #10: All negotiation is impossible.

The Response: The response can only be military.

The Reality: Although portrayed as suicidal, jihadist groups frequently negotiate the freedom of prisoners in exchange for their hostages. The real difficulty of mediations stems mostly from their fragmentation, which complicates

the identification of reliable interlocutors, and to the disintegration of their chains of command, which doesn't allow for lasting agreements to be guaranteed. Ultimately, negotiations stop when it comes to the issue of the religious or secular nature of the powers in place. But the absolute refusal to engage in dialogue with terrorists en-

courages the recourse to military solutions that often cause ‘collateral’ damage and frequently end up aggravating conflicts.



Myth #11: The jihadists who fight in Africa are mere criminals motivated by profit and greed.

The Response: The response should be primarily police-driven.

The Reality: The denial of the political foundations of African insurgency has been very fashionable since the end of the Cold War and the ‘ideological’

oppositions between the East and the West. The tendency to dehumanize and delegitimize the terrorist enemy has also contributed to reducing jihadists to common gangsters. Distorted by propaganda, such representations confuse the analysis of the political economy of insurgent groups that certainly include criminals, yet also resort to pillage and extortion to continue their struggle in the absence of financing from Arab countries.



Myth #12: Jihadist terrorism in Africa is the consequence of poverty.

The Response: It would be sufficient to increase development aid to buy peace.

The Reality: Contemporary jihadist movements haven’t systematically developed in the poorest zones of Africa, nor have they recruited exclusively from the most deprived segments of the population. In the Sahel, poverty generally constitutes

the backdrop of terrorism. But it doesn’t determine or explain the political conditions in which Islamist revolts emerged. Additionally, the assimilation of the fight against poverty with the War on Terror leads to some errors. Actually, imagining that international aid is liable to buy peace rests on two unverified hypotheses. First, aid is effective and permits development. Secondly, aid prevents conflicts, whatever the role it also plays in supplying warring factions, prolonging conflicts and boosting competition for rare resources.

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<http://www.worldpolicy.org/blog/2015/12/01/12-myths-about-terror-sub-saharan-africa>

Terrorisme : « le phénomène du siècle »

Publié le 03 décembre 2015 à 08h27



On a pensé et dit de ce siècle qu'il serait religieux ; je constate qu'il est, depuis sa première année, marqué par le phénomène du terrorisme.

Réinventé par *Al-Qaïda*, l'organisation qui l'a incarné et qui était alors toute-puissante, il s'est manifesté avec un sinistre éclat le 11 septembre 2001.

Ce jour-là, *Al-Qaïda* a osé l'attentat – d'une ampleur inégalée à ce jour – contre les tours jumelles de New York et contre le Pentagone, près de Washington : 3 000 morts en quelques heures.

*

Les États-Unis ont alors déclaré la guerre à *Al-Qaïda* : les principaux dirigeants de l'organisation ont été capturés et son chef a fini par être éliminé. Il ne reste de cette centrale que quelques métastases, une « idéologie » et un système du terrorisme indiscriminé qu'elle a affiné : en majorité civiles, les victimes ont pour seul tort de se trouver au mauvais endroit à un moment choisi par les chefs terroristes, lesquels disposent de troupes qui acceptent de mourir pour tuer.

Al-Qaïda a été supplantée en 2014 par plus vicieux et plus jeune qu'elle : « l'État islamique » une entité composée d'« enfants » de Saddam Hussein, irakiens comme lui, mais le dépassant en cruauté.

Ils ont déplacé des frontières, pris le contrôle des sunnites d'Irak et de Syrie, et entrepris de recréer un État encore plus puissant que celui que Saddam Hussein a longtemps dirigé.

Leur arme principale est le terrorisme indiscriminé pratiqué par *Al-Qaïda*, leur champ d'action est quasi international : des pays arabo-musulmans, avec comme cibles prioritaires les populations chiites, des pays africains, l'Europe occidentale, la Russie.

En octobre et novembre 2015, ils ont frappé en Turquie, [dans le Sinaï](#), [à Paris](#), [à Bamako](#), à Tunis, au Nigeria, au Cameroun, au Niger et au Bangladesh.

Un index global du terrorisme a été établi qui donne pour 2014 un bilan de 32 658 morts, soit une augmentation de 80 % par rapport à 2013. La très grande majorité de ces attaques a eu lieu en Irak, en Afghanistan, au Nigeria, au Pakistan et en Syrie ; 3 % d'entre elles seulement ont visé l'Occident et la Russie.

Mais l'on vient de voir que la vague terroriste a atteint en 2015 la Turquie, la Russie et l'Europe, ainsi que [la Tunisie](#) et le Mali.

*

Une curieuse résolution du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU cite nommément « l'*État islamique en Irak et au Levant, également connu sous le nom de Daesh* », dont on sait qu'il s'est mis à recruter en Europe au sein de la jeunesse, des « convertis » et des musulmans nationaux ou binationaux.

Une minuscule frange d'entre eux s'est laissée embrigader et lui a permis d'exécuter des actes terroristes spectaculaires à Paris, puis de jeter le trouble à Bruxelles.

En ce XXI^e siècle, il suffit de quatre kalachnikovs, qu'on peut aisément se procurer à faible prix, et de quelques kilos d'explosifs entre les mains d'un petit nombre d'hommes et de femmes déterminés, et sachant utiliser les réseaux sociaux, pour semer la terreur et provoquer un vent de panique confinant parfois à l'hystérie.

Il se trouve même des dirigeants politiques de bon niveau pour se dire « en guerre », s'improviser chefs politico-militaires, enfourcher les réflexes de la peur et du patriotisme le plus zélé.

*

Comment a évolué le phénomène du terrorisme depuis le début du siècle ?

Il faut d'abord noter que, frappés le 11 septembre 2001, les États-Unis se sont barricadés chez eux, ont mis en place un système d'écoutes mondial et d'autres moyens de défense qui leur ont permis de se prémunir contre le terrorisme organisé, celui d'*Al-Qaïda* et de ses franchisés comme celui de « l'État islamique » : leur territoire n'a plus été touché, alors qu'eux-mêmes, à l'offensive, s'employaient à capturer ou à tuer, partout dans le monde, les dirigeants jihadistes.

Mais ces derniers ont réussi à frapper plusieurs pays arabes, africains et asiatiques, trois ou quatre pays d'Europe occidentale et la Russie.

Pendant ce temps, matrice du terrorisme, l'islamisme dit « modéré » a pris le pouvoir ou y participe dans nombre de pays arabes ou musulmans.

Notez-le, les États-Unis et l'Europe ont souvent favorisé cette accession au pouvoir ; ils ne l'ont jamais empêchée ou seulement contrecarrée.

Les dirigeants islamistes disent se battre « pour défendre l'islam attaqué » et les plus radicaux d'entre eux croient que « la violence est un moyen nécessaire et approprié pour atteindre leurs objectifs ».

Notez-le également : chaque fois qu'ils ont été en position d'exercer le pouvoir, les

islamistes ont lamentablement échoué : à Gaza d'abord, au Yémen, en Somalie, au Soudan, en Égypte et, enfin, en Tunisie.

Les islamistes conduisent généralement les pays qu'ils gouvernent à la régression socio-économique.

*

Pour venir à bout de son ennemi, il faut d'abord le connaître, le circonscrire et l'isoler de ceux qu'il voudrait gagner à sa cause. Et, ensuite, choisir les armes les plus efficaces pour le défaire.

Nous n'avons su faire ni l'un ni l'autre.

a) Ce 20 novembre 2015, le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU a voté, à l'unanimité, la résolution 2249. Elle donne du terrorisme une définition si générale qu'elle sert les jihadistes en les rangeant parmi les combattants qui luttent contre un système de domination injuste : « *Le terrorisme sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses manifestations constitue l'une des menaces les plus graves contre la paix et la sécurité internationales, et tous les actes de terrorisme sont criminels et injustifiables, quels qu'en soient les motivations, le moment et les auteurs.* »

b) En 2001, George W. Bush a déclaré la guerre au terrorisme. Lui et son successeur ont réduit *Al-Qaïda*. Mais son « idéologie », elle, s'épanouit, transmise à plus efficace qu'elle.

La guerre ne vient pas à bout du terrorisme. « L'État islamique » sera détruit en 2016 par une coalition militaire ! Mais c'est son « idéologie » qu'il faudra faire régresser, ainsi que l'attrait qu'elle exerce sur une partie de la jeunesse du monde et sur ceux qui n'ont pas trouvé leur place dans le « système ».

*

Le très bon connaisseur qu'est Olivier Roy attire l'attention sur l'évolution la moins bien connue du terrorisme et dédie son analyse aux dirigeants français qui n'ont pas encore compris que le mal était déjà parmi eux : « *Ce n'est pas une « révolte de l'islam » ou celle des « musulmans », mais un problème précis concernant deux catégories de jeunes, originaires de l'immigration en majorité, mais aussi Français « de souche ». Il ne s'agit pas de la radicalisation de l'islam mais de l'islamisation de la radicalité.*

« *Les convertis ? Ils choisissent l'islam parce qu'il n'y a que ça sur le marché de la révolte radicale.* »

<http://www.jeuneafrique.com/>

Analysis: terrorism and risk management

4 Dec 2015 17:05



Director at security consultancy HP Risk Management, David Holley, gives his opinion on what the recent terror attacks across the world mean for the business travel manager.

Attacks in France, Turkey, Tunisia, Mali and the bombing of Metrojet 9268 in Egypt has meant that terrorism is once again in the headlines. So what does this mean for the business travel manager?

Most significantly, these incidents ram home the importance of robust risk management programmes. In addition, travel tracking and clear lines of communication between travel managers and travellers are critical.

On the November 13, the mobile network was kept operational throughout the attacks in Paris; this meant that GPS travel tracking worked.

John Scott of Voyage Manager, confirmed this: “Our tracking systems helped identify and communicate with several hundred travellers in the Paris region and gave managers much greater clarity at the time.”

Equally essential but often overlooked, is the need to have a sensible and flexible reaction plan up your sleeve. It always helps to make travellers aware of emergency courses of action prior to travel.

There is a tendency to evacuate travellers from a country immediately after, or during a crisis; however, complex attacks increasingly involve striking multiple targets. Therefore risks at airports, railway stations and trains themselves should be considered too. Travellers can be caught up in a secondary incident as they try to evacu-

ate.

Often hibernation is a more appropriate response; this means keeping travellers in a safe location until the dangers have passed. Travellers will often complain about this counter intuitive approach as they just want to get out, but pre-briefing them that you may keep them in situ, in a safe location, will dispense with a lot of angst. Be ready to speak to their families as well, who may also want reassurance.

This does mean that a safe location needs to be identified. Large hotels may not be the answer as they are often attractive targets. For example, in Brussels during the raised alert level, the Radisson Blu was locked down as a precaution causing consternation amongst guests.

Airbnb which is often dismissed for safety reasons by corporate travel programmes, could potentially serve as a safe bolt hole. The discretion of an Airbnb may offer greater security than a flash hotel full of fellow travellers.

Additionally, start information sharing with other corporate travel managers; there will be others in the same predicament. Common solutions might be quicker than trying to fix a problem on your own.

A lasting impact of the latest attacks in Europe, could be an increase in border controls and reversal of freedom of movement legislation. Germany, Austria, Slovakia, Slovenia, Finland and the Netherlands have re-introduced border checks resulting in more security and longer travel times.

Nonetheless the business traveller remains resilient. In a poll conducted by the Global Business Travel Association in America, three quarters of travel buyers said that travel to Europe will remain largely unaffected after the Paris attacks.

Sadly terrorism is a problem that is not going away. All the more reason to keep preparing for the next incident.

HP Risk Management Ltd is a security consultancy established two years ago by David Holley to assist companies manage their travel risks. More information can be found at

<http://buyingbusinessstravel.com/>

POURQUOI LES JEUNES CAMEROUNAIS PRENNENT LES ARMES ?

POURQUOI LES JEUNES CAMEROUNAIS PRENNENT LES ARMES ? :: CAMEROON Si on savait que certains jeunes camerounais se faisaient déjà recruter par des gangs dans les grandes métropoles ou des bandes de «coupeurs de route», l'enrôlement dans des groupes de plus grande envergure comme Boko Haram semble un fait nouveau.

Pour tenter de trouver une explication au phénomène, la Dynamique mondiale des jeunes (DMJ), en collaboration avec la fondation Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, vient de mettre à la disposition du public une palette d'éléments permettant la compréhension des facteurs qui sous-tendent la vulnérabilité des jeunes face à l'enrôlement. Le document est rendu public le 30 novembre 2015 à Yaoundé

PERCEPTION ET CONNAISSANCE DES GROUPES ARMÉS

Soumises à la rigueur de l'analyse, les résultats de l'enquête révèlent que le terme « groupe armé » évoque pour les jeunes un groupe rebelle. 39% le pensent, surtout dans toutes les régions ciblées par l'étude, à l'exception du Centre. Le lien avec le terrorisme vient en seconde position (32%). Seuls 30% considèrent le groupe armé comme « groupe semant le désordre ».

Par ailleurs, lit-on dans le rapport, 01 sur 05 jeunes pense que les groupes armés sont des groupes qui utilisent des armes contre les populations civiles. Les résultats obtenus mettent aussi en évidence deux choix assez tranchés: Pour 51% de jeunes, les groupes armés sont dangereux et à éviter (65%). Le choix de les considérer comme des « bandits » et des «gens qui se battent pour une cause juste» raflent respectivement 9% et 11%. D'une manière générale, le document met en lumière une grande homogénéité dans la rubrique des confessions religieuses. Ici, pas d'écart significatif dans l'opinion des jeunes.

FAIBLES ACCOINTANCES

13% (soit plus d'un jeune sur dix) des enquêtés sur l'ensemble des 06 régions prétend avoir été en contact directement ou indirectement avec les membres des groupes armés. La majorité évoquant des amis, des camarades ou des frères.

Très peu disent avoir été approchés eux-mêmes par des recruteurs. Selon Duplex Kuenzop, «on observe qu'en milieu urbain et particulièrement à Yaoundé, les jeunes sont plus en contact avec les bandes criminelles, des gangs qu'avec des recruteurs des groupes rebelles à caractère politique par exemple». Dans la région de l'Est, où 14% des enquêtés ont affirmé avoir été en contact avec les groupes armés, le rapport souligne que la majorité raconte avoir été victimes d'agressions diverses.

Dans l'Extrême-nord, poursuit le document, les jeunes ont rapporté de nombreux témoignages sur le recrutement développé par Boko Haram. Ici encore, la différence entre jeunes musulmans et jeunes chrétiens n'est pas très marquée. Dans cette région, 12,5% de jeunes adeptes de l'Islam disent avoir été approchés par un groupe armé, contre 16% pour les chrétiens. «A priori donc, conclut Duplex Kuenzop, ceux qui recrutent pour Boko Haram ne cibleraient pas davantage les musulmans».

CATÉGORIES SOCIO-PROFESSIONNELLES

Plus généralement, le rapport montre qu'il n'y a pas de métiers plus ciblés que d'autres. Les recruteurs ayant besoin d'une diversité de compétences et sachant adapter leur discours au type d'interlocuteur. Ici, on note que ce sont les moins de 25 ans qui sont les plus approchés. Pour les enfants de la rue et les «sans domicile fixe», le chiffre de 27% est avancé

PROCÉDÉS DE RECRUTEMENTS

Il ressort que les recruteurs usent de différents arguments suivant la personne qu'ils tentent d'enrôler. Cela signifie aussi que ce n'est pas un acte rapide. Certaines ONG actives dans ce domaine dénoncent les techniques très agressives de recrutement (films multimédias, intervention dans les écoles et démarchage téléphonique à domicile et sur téléphone portable). La personne est ciblée et le recruteur essaie de tisser des liens avec elle, d'établir une relation de confiance. «Le processus prend donc du temps», conclut Njifendji.

Il s'agit beaucoup plus de comprendre le profil social ou psychologique du jeune, quels sont ses problèmes, ses besoins. Pour cette raison, si l'argument de l'argent est le plus partagé par les jeunes enquêtés comme moyen d'enrôlement, il est loin d'être le seul utilisé par les groupes armés. «L'argumentaire du recruteur est complexe», lit-on dans le rapport. Il peut mêler les arguments politiques sur la situation du pays, le système de corruption, les inégalités, sur l'incapacité du gouvernement à gérer le pays et surtout à s'occuper des jeunes. Isolés, ces derniers aspirent à faire partie de quelques choses. C'est là qu'interviennent les recruteurs. La plupart du temps, ils repèrent leurs futures recrues dans les marchés, les bars, les universités qui ont commis de petits actes de délinquance, voire ont fait des passages en prison... Leur stratégie générale: l'écoute empathique, une promesse de solidarité et d'émotions fortes, d'une femme ou d'un mari, mais aussi celle de «blesser cette société qui a mis ces jeunes à l'écart». On retient également que de nombreux groupes armés misent sur «l'effet boule de neige», en envoyant auprès de ces jeunes en quête d'appartenance un combattant déjà formé qui leur présente l'organisation sous les termes les plus élogieux.

Au Nord et à l'Extrême-nord, des jeunes ont expliqué aux enquêteurs que l'enrôlement n'est pas seulement pour aller se battre. «On peut aussi recevoir une moto en échange de services». Dans les zones de pastoralisme, ils disent qu'ils peuvent aussi recevoir des têtes de bétail si on participe au vol d'un troupeau.

«TU IRAS AU PARADIS»

Mais quelles que soient les raisons qui poussent les jeunes et moins jeunes, hommes ou femmes, à rejoindre les rangs des groupes armés. «Ils n'y vont pas dans le but de se faire exploser. Tous n'en sont pas capables, mais surtout, la majorité n'en a pas envie. En arriver là signifie qu'on a réussi à les convaincre d'une vie meilleure dans l'au-delà», décrypte la sociologue. Que rien ne les attend ici. «Cet acte a une portée symbolique très forte».

Devenir kamikaze pour défendre une cause, un honneur, un Dieu, n'est plus un fléau qui touche seulement les adultes. Beaucoup de jeunes parfois seulement âgés de dix ans, révèle le rapport, sont enrôlés et «formés» dans un but: mourir pour la cause. Dans les zones enquêtées, ils sont devenus en quelques mois la bombe intelligente et

bon marché du terrorisme de nouvelle génération.

«TERRAIN FERTILE»

L'enquête de DMJ précise que «le kamikaze est le produit d'une idéologie et d'une technique de préparation facilement transposable et exportable». Les paysages sont différents mais les techniques sont souvent les mêmes parmi les différents pays: enrôlement forcé ou volontaire, entraînement basique au maniement des armes, lavage de cerveau, torture, etc. Tous les moyens sont bons pour faire des petites recrues de véritables bombes. Une chose est sûre: les jeunes ignorent souvent leur rôle dans les opérations meurtrières qui leur sont imposées.

D'un point de vue économique, les jeunes (les moins de 15 ans surtout) coûtent moins chers que leurs aînés.

Sur le plan physique, les premiers sont plus agiles et mobiles. Pas besoin de les payer, encore moins de dépenser beaucoup, pour les nourrir, les habiller, etc. L'aspect psychologique: ils sont naïfs, facilement manipulables et influençables. Ils n'ont pas conscience du danger, et ne font pas la différence entre le bien et le mal. Ainsi, leur enlever tout sentiment de peur et de culpabilité est un jeu d'enfant. Ils sont fidèles et obéissants. Il y a donc très peu de risques qu'ils s'échappent ou se retournent contre lui. Les filles sont recrutées pour assouvir les besoins des adultes.

La norme dans les groupes armés, c'est une fille par soldat minimum. Les enfants des rues sont les plus sujets à ce phénomène car personne ne vient les réclamer. Les raffles au cours d'irruptions dans les villages ou dans les camps de réfugiés sont monnaie courante.

Lorsqu'un groupe armé s'empare d'un village, tous les jeunes sont parfois réunis □ filles et garçons □ et poussés à s'enrôler par la force. La menace et la contrainte constituent aussi des moyens d'enrôlement. Enrôlement volontaire.

Le terme «volontaire» mérite d'être expliqué. Il est très important de nuancer car très peu d'enfants s'engagent parce qu'ils en ont vraiment envie. Le manque d'information et d'éducation mêlé à la pauvreté extrême met ces enfants au pied du mur. Ils n'ont aucune idée de ce qu'est la vie dans un groupe armé, et ne pensent qu'à se sortir de la situation dramatique dans laquelle ils vivent.

Cependant, la réalité est souvent très différente de ce qu'ils avaient imaginé.

MOTIVATIONS

Le cadre socio-économique y est pour beaucoup. Beaucoup voient l'armée comme une solution pour remédier à leurs problèmes (65%). Ils pensent que l'armée mettra fin à la pauvreté dans laquelle ils vivent, et qu'ils auront éventuellement accès à l'éducation. L'armée devient alors l'unique moyen de survie car ils pensent qu'ils recevront un salaire comme les adultes. Beaucoup de recrues sont issues des campagnes et des endroits reculés, loin de la ville synonyme de travail et de richesse.

Le statut social que confèrent l'armée et le prestige de l'uniforme pousse les pa-

rents à envoyer leurs enfants. C'est l'assurance d'un avenir meilleur pour eux et leur progéniture. En entrant dans un groupe armé, les enfants accèdent directement au statut d'adulte et obtiennent par la même occasion une place importante dans la communauté.

L'appartenance à un groupe ethnique représenté par un groupe armé, pousse les enfants par solidarité à rejoindre ces groupes. D'autres décident aussi de s'engager pour une cause politique ou religieuse (13%).

Quand un village est mis sens dessus dessous par un groupe rebelle, que des milliers de personnes sont assassinées, violées, une des premières réactions des rescapés est de se venger. Parmi eux, il y a des centaines de jeunes, victimes de cette violence quotidienne, qui décident de prendre les armes pour tuer leurs ennemis. En effet, l'impunité est souvent la règle, alors ils s'engagent pour faire la justice eux-mêmes. Aussi l'engagement par vengeance (10,5%) est à prendre en compte. De même que d'autres frustrations (échecs aux concours, maltraitance des parents, divorces des parents) évaluées à 7%.

SOLUTIONS

Selon Dupleix Kuenzop, il est donc indispensable de travailler en amont des recrutements, en «restaurant la république dans les espaces marginalisés. C'est un travail de longue haleine, mais il faut écouter, respecter, soutenir et réintroduire sur le marché du travail ces jeunes». Car «mener des actions dans les mosquées ou les différentes institutions religieuses, ne suffit pas».

<http://camer.be/>

Kenya

One dead, 50 injured in chaotic campus security drill

04 December 2015

Wamuyu Kamau, a second-year student at Strathmore University, is distressed and has been missing class. She is yet to get over the trauma she suffered last Monday when a security drill turned tragic, spreading panic and causing a stampede that killed one employee.

The shambolic drill, which was executed as if it were a real terror attack, has left Kenya's top private university nursing an image nightmare. It has also rekindled fears of terror attacks that have stalked institutions after last April's deadly assault on Garissa University College.

The botched security operation forced students to scamper for safety, with dozens jumping from as high as the fifth floor of some buildings. More than 50 students and employees were hospitalised with injuries.

"While I escaped with scratches after crawling out of campus through a live fence after the alarm and gun shots rent the air, I am yet to believe it wasn't a real attack. My close friend is hospitalised with fractured limbs," Kamau told *University World News*.

"It will take months before I heal from the mental torture I went through, thinking the university had been hit by terrorists. The drill was conducted near the student centre, where many people gather before and after classes.

"While the university administration says they had notified and trained us, I personally wasn't informed prior to the drill. I understand the necessity of doing such an exercise but why should it be carried out in such a seemingly reckless manner, to even cause death?" she said.

Vice-chancellor John Odhiambo apologised but said the drill was well intentioned, especially in the light of security alerts that showed Kenya's universities had been singled out by terrorists as being among top potential targets.

Terror attacks

On 2 April 2015, [al-Shabaab Islamic militants attacked Garissa University College](#) in northeast Kenya, killing at least 148 students and injuring scores in the country's deadliest terror attack since the 1998 bombing of the United States embassy in Nairobi.

A week later, a [student died following a stampede](#) at the University of Nairobi's Kikuyu campus after 'gunshot-like' explosions caused by an electricity fault triggered a terror scare across the institution. More than 40 students were injured.

In September 2013 al-Shabaab attacked Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi. At least 67 people were killed in a siege involving just four gunmen, and which lasted

for four days.

Universities poorly prepared

Kenyan universities have been castigated for poor security, vigilance and preparedness on campuses and in hostels, especially following the Garissa attack.

In recent years universities have heightened security measures. But they struggle to guarantee full control over, for instance, who walks onto campuses.

“The way students and employees at Strathmore responded to the drill shows that the Garissa massacre has instilled fear in universities and the country in general. People feel exposed to attacks,” said a security analyst who did not want to be named as he consults for the government.

“Universities are ill-prepared should a real attack happen. In most of them, you can walk in and out without being subjected to security checks. Post-Garissa, vigilance has gone up substantially but still, the level of risk is high,” he added.

In August, Kenya’s Interior Cabinet Secretary Joseph Nkaissery announced that police officers would be deployed on request to universities to boost security and guard against possible future attacks by religious extremists. Universities are expected to make requests for the police officers and meet associated costs.

Kenya’s sorry state of preparedness was laid bare by a recent [United Nations Security Council report](#) that castigated the government for failing to act on available intelligence ahead of the Garissa attack. According to the report, multiple intelligence sources told UN investigators that al-Shabaab gunmen were known to be in Garissa 10 to 14 days prior to the attack.

The principal of Garissa University College, Dr Ahmed Warfa, was aware that campus security arrangements were inadequate and had consulted and written several times to the local government security apparatus requesting extra security – but was not taken seriously.

Feeling insecure

Kenyans are worried about whether state security and intelligence personnel have the capacity to identify and neutralise terrorist networks before they unleash more attacks on universities and schools, and kill people.

“You ask me if I feel more secure at the university, I would tell you no. While security has been enhanced around the university, strangers still seep through the security checks and that’s my greatest fear,” said Dan Okoth, an MBA student at the University of Nairobi.

“Knowing that terrorists target areas where they would get the maximum impact in terms of casualties, security around hostels and study halls worries me,” said Okoth.

It is also emerging that universities are increasingly turning to undercover intelligence officers who mingle freely with students to help boost detection of threats.

“Security is a complex issue. When it comes to protecting students, we have resolved we are not leaving anything to chance,” said a senior security administrator at a Nai-

robi-based university. “We will go to any lengths. We are tapping all the available resources to neutralise the threat of attacks.”

Breeding radicalised youths

Educationists said universities in Kenya, and in many other African countries, are not only targets of terror attacks but are also playing a part in breeding radicalised youths, some of whom take up Islamic fundamentalism.

The inability of graduates to find gainful employment and growing economic inequalities that prevent many graduates from attaining social status in society, have provided fodder for the recruitment of well-educated youths into the ranks of militant politico-religious orders.

“The feeling of deprivation coupled with a sense of injustice is giving birth to anger and readiness to reject the existing system and challenge it and even to overthrow it using violence,” said Professor Alexander de Waal, executive director of the World Peace Foundation at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, in his study *Islamism and its Enemies in the Horn of Africa*.

After the Garissa University College attack, Kenyan authorities identified one of the attackers as a former University of Nairobi law graduate who was described as a brilliant up-and-coming lawyer.

<http://www.universityworldnews.com/>

Libya

Quand la Libye est en passe de devenir le nouveau sanctuaire de Daech

07/12/2015

INTERNATIONAL - Alors que le groupe Etat islamique (EI) ne cesse de se renforcer dans son fief libyen de Syrte, où affluent combattants et nouvelles recrues étrangères, les négociations entre les deux gouvernements libyens organisées sous l'égide des Nations unies qui en est désormais à son deuxième émissaire, marque assurément le pas.

Aujourd'hui, selon Kader Abderrahim, chercheur à l'Iris, la vermine de Daech contrôlerait désormais 1/5e du pays, soit 20 à 23% du territoire, et un rapport récent des Nations Unies évaluerait le nombre de combattants entre 2000 et 3000, dont 1500 à Syrte. La situation en Libye est "incontestablement le grand dossier des mois qui viennent", déclarait il y a peu, le Premier ministre Manuel Valls.

Quatre ans après la mort de Mouammar Kadhafi - lynché à mort à Syrte en octobre 2011, la Libye est plongée inexorablement dans la chaos. Le Parlement et le Gouvernement élus ont été forcés de fuir pour les villes éloignées de Tobrouk et de Beïda après que les milices liées aux groupes islamistes se sont emparés de Tripoli, la capitale libyenne en 2014.

Depuis bientôt un an déjà, l'Etat islamique s'est emparé de la ville côtière de Syrte, située à 430 km de Tripoli. Et l'EI contrôlait déjà l'aéroport depuis fin mai 2015.

Depuis janvier 2015, le groupe Etat islamique a pris le contrôle de larges territoires de la région de Syrte. Les djihadistes ont notamment pris la localité de Noufliyeh, d'où était originaire Mouammar Kadhafi. Selon les autorités de Tripoli, Daesh s'est même allié à des partisans du régime de Kadhafi pour l'aider à s'emparer des champs pétroliers de la région de Syrte. En février 2015, les combattants de Daech ont saisi et décapité des dizaines de chrétiens se trouvant en Libye, dont des égyptiens et des éthiopiens.

Daech avance à grands pas, les négociations entre les factions rivales quant à elles patinent

Ainsi, au moins quatre projets de sortie de crise ont été rejetés par les factions rivales. Le dernier en date présenté au Maroc reconnaissant tout à la fois la chambre des représentants issue du scrutin du 14 juin 2014 (et réfugiée à Tobrouk) comme la seule autorité législative pendant la période de transition et la formation d'un gouvernement d'union nationale serait pour un an, dirigé par un Premier ministre et deux vice-Premiers ministres, avait lui aussi essuyé une fin de non recevoir.

Chacun sait que les gouvernement et parlement installés dans l'est du pays à Tobrouk, reconnus par la communauté internationale, sont accusés d'incarner l'ancien régime de Mouammar Kadhafi. En face, on reproche aux autorités qui ont pris la ville de Tripoli d'être soutenues par les milices islamistes Fajr Libya, désignée comme organisation terroriste par ses opposants, mais qui combat Daech.

Les puissances régionales interfèrent déjà dans les conflits tribaux et religieux

Et il y a plus, la situation est d'autant plus explosive que les puissances régionales interfèrent déjà dans les conflits tribaux et religieux. La Turquie et le Qatar soutiennent le gouvernement de Tripoli. Le Soudan est soupçonné de livrer des armes à l'Etat islamique et aux Frères musulmans. Et l'Egypte arme le gouvernement de Tobrouk pour sécuriser sa frontière. Elle est d'ailleurs déjà intervenue militairement le 16 février 2015, à la suite de l'assassinat de 21 Coptes égyptiens par l'EI rappelle Jean-François Fiorina, Directeur de l'ESC Grenoble.

Il y a une urgence, la dégradation de la situation sécuritaire au nord de la Libye rend une intervention étrangère inévitable.

L'échec de la médiation de l'ONU, la dégradation de la situation sécuritaire au nord de la Libye rend inévitable une intervention étrangère. De fait, le chaos libyens fait assurément le lit de Daech.

L'expert Pierre Servant le martèle volontiers."Il faut monter des forces spéciales pour attaquer et détruire les troupes de Daech en Libye sans mandat. Cela fait déjà huit mois qu'on en parle. **Avec ces attermolements et ces comportements de pu-celles, le pays est en passe de s'enflammer et de se daechiser à 600 km de nos frontières sans parler de l'Algérie**" et ce dernier de conclure: "**On aura beau détruire les troupes de Daech en Mésopotamie, on les retrouvera aux portes de l'Europe .**"

Dans cette perspective, les autorités libyennes sont prêtes à coordonner leurs actions avec la Russie dans la lutte contre l'Etat islamique . Si Moscou engage une opération en Libye, a annoncé Abdallah al-Thani, Premier ministre du gouvernement libyen reconnu par la communauté internationale.

"Nous souhaitons que les Russes s'engagent dans la lutte contre l'Etat islamique [sur le territoire libyen, ndlr]. Notre gouvernement est prêt à coordonner ses démarches avec eux au plus haut niveau", a déclaré M. al-Thani.

Par ailleurs, des vols ISR (Reconnaissance, Surveillance et Intelligence) avaient été planifiés, fin novembre 2015, depuis le porte avion Charles de Gaulle au dessus de Syrtes. Et Il va s'en dire que d'autres missions ISR sont à prévoir, s'empresse de confirmer le Palais de l'Elysée.

Quand Le chef de l'opération Barkhane plaide pour une intervention dans le sud de la Libye

La France qui écarte encore aujourd'hui l'option militaire en Libye, a pour autant installé une base militaire temporaire à Madama, dans le nord-est du Niger à proximité de la frontière libyenne.

Pour l'heure, il n'y a officiellement "aucune présence militaire française au Sud-Libye", mais la zone demeure une préoccupation sécuritaire majeure et les choses pourraient changer la donne.

"Le terrorisme va partout là où il n'est pas combattu" martelait en février 2015, le général Palasset, le chef de l'opération Barkhane "La lutte contre le terrorisme ne doit pas se faire dans la demi-mesure, soit on lutte contre le terrorisme et on le vainc, soit on n'est pas partout où il est et il survit."

On le sait, l'armée française a enregistré des succès importants contre les groupes

terroristes, mais deux foyers de déstabilisation, Boko Haram et la Libye, menacent toujours la région. Pour mémoire, quelque 3500 militaires français sont actuellement déployés sur cinq pays à savoir la Mauritanie, le Mali, le Niger, le Tchad, et le Burkina Faso mais pas encore la Libye! L'opération Barkhane a ainsi pour objectif la traque des djihadistes qui circulent librement dans la région au gré des frontières poreuses.

Dans ce contexte, le sud libyen est le pays incubateur du terrorisme, c'est là où il naît et là où il se développe", souligne volontiers le général Palasset, "Au sud libyen, tout est à faire". "Si on laisse des zones refuges, c'est autant de bases de départ qui affaibliront voire déstabiliseront un certain nombre d'Etats", soulignait le commandant de Barkhane.

La nouvelle géopolitique sahéenne post-Kadhafi explique les problèmes actuels

Le colonel Kadhafi avait en effet réussi, au prix d'une dictature sévère, à imposer la stabilité intérieure dans un pays mosaïque aujourd'hui menacé de fragmentation. La Libye unitaire n'existant plus, le danger est de voir apparaître une situation de guerres tribales et claniques comme en Somalie, avec toutes les conséquences régionales prévisibles.

"Les observateurs n'ont pas compris que le sens profond de la politique saharo-sahéenne conduite par le colonel Kadhafi s'expliquait par ses origines. Sa tribu, les Khadafa ou Gueddafa, dont le cœur est la ville de Sabha, est certes numériquement peu importante, avec ses 150.000 membres, cependant, elle occupe un espace stratégique à la jonction de la Tripolitaine et de la Cyrénaïque, mais d'abord à la verticale reliant la méditerranée au cœur du Sahara, de Syrte à Mourzouk. Cette tribu chamelière engagée dans le commerce à longue distance était traditionnellement en relation avec les Toubou et les Touaregs, ce qui explique les alliances du régime Kadhafi et son attirance pour le sud saharien et sahéen " Confie l'africaniste Bernard Lugan.

Et comme le souligne le journaliste grand reporter Renaud Girard: "tactiquement rondement menée, la guerre de 2011 contre Kadhafi, historiquement, comme la plus grave erreur stratégique commise sous la Vème République dans sa politique étrangère.

Car Kadhafi, pour peu sympathique et rationnel qu'il fût, n'était plus notre ennemi. En notre faveur, il avait fait deux concessions et nous rendait deux services. Il avait renoncé au terrorisme et indemnisé ses victimes françaises. Il avait renoncé aux armes nucléaires et révélé les dangereux trafics du Pakistanais Abdul Qadeer Khan. Il pourchassait résolument les islamiques. Il stoppait les trafics d'êtres humains entre l'Afrique subsaharienne et la Méditerranée".

Et si la solution pérenne passait par les tribus et par le fils de Kadhafi?

N'est-il pas temps d'avoir le courage de rompre avec une logique occidentale qui obscurcit l'analyse et de rechercher des solutions stables et pérennes: en un mot miser sur les tribus?

Contre toute attente, le 14 septembre 2015, le Conseil suprême des tribus de Libye désigna Seif al-Islam Kadhafi comme son représentant légal. Désormais, ce dernier a toute légitimité pour parler au nom des forces vives de Libye!

"On le sait, les alliances tribales constituées par le colonel Kadhafi ont explosé; là est l'explication principale de la situation chaotique que connaît le pays. En conséquence de quoi, soit l'anarchie actuelle perdure et les islamistes prendront le pouvoir en Libye, soit les trois confédérations renouent des liens entre elles. Or, c'est ce qu'elles viennent de faire en tentant de faire comprendre à la 'communauté internationale' que la solution passe par les tribus." confie Bernard Lugan.

Et il y a plus, la communauté internationale aura t-elle le courage de revoir ses alliances, quand la Turquie et le Qatar militent avec force et ardeur pour une constitution d'un État islamique en Libye? Aura t-elle l'audace de revenir sur le mandat d'arrêt international émis contre Seif al-Islam...? Rien n'est moins sûr.

<http://www.huffingtonpost.fr/>

Mali

The DEA warns that drugs are funding terror. An examination of cases raises questions about whether the agency is stopping threats or staging them.

December 7, 2015

In December 2009, Harouna Touré and Idriss Abdelrahman, smugglers from northern Mali, walked through the doors of the Golden Tulip, a hotel in Accra, Ghana. They were there to meet with two men who had offered them an opportunity to make millions of dollars, transporting cocaine across the Sahara. Touré wore a dashiki, and Abdelrahman had on tattered clothes and a turban that hid much of his face. They tipped the guards at the entrance and then greeted Mohamed, a Lebanese radical, in the lobby. Mohamed took them up to a hotel room to see David, a drug trafficker and a member of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or FARC. “Hola, Colombiano,” Touré said, as he entered the room. Abdelrahman tried to call David “007” in Spanish, but said “477” instead. David, who was dressed in a short-sleeved pullover and Bermuda shorts, laughed and offered his guests bottles of water.

Touré and Abdelrahman came from Gao, a parched and remote city in northern Mali which has long been used as a base for smuggling of all kinds, from immigrants to cigarettes. In recent years, the surrounding region has also been the scene of conflict between violent bands of nomadic insurgents, including members of al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). During months of meetings and phone calls, David and Mohamed had told Touré that the FARC had some 30,000 fighters at war with the United States, and that it wanted to work with al-Qaida, because the groups shared the same enemy. “They are our brothers,” Mohamed said. “We have the same cause.” Touré had explained that he had connections to the organization: he ran a transport company, and, in return for safe passage for his trucks, he provided al-Qaida with food and fuel.

Still, David remained skeptical. He needed assurances that Touré’s organization was up to the task. The FARC had a lot of money riding on the deal and was willing to pay Touré and Abdelrahman as much as \$3,000 per kilo, beginning with a 50-kilo test run to Melilla, a Spanish city on the North African mainland. Loads ten times that size would follow, David said, if the first trip went well.

“If you’re done, I’m going to speak,” Touré said. He told David and Mohamed that he was tired of all the “blah, blah, blah.” He had operatives along the smuggling route, which stretched from Ghana to Morocco. Abdelrahman, whom Touré had introduced as the leader of a Malian militia, said that he had hired a driver with links to al-Qaida. They had also bribed a Malian military official, who would help them cross the border without inspection.

David was reassured. “I want us to keep working together, because we’re not doing this for the money — we’re doing this for our people,” he said.

Two days later, Touré and Abdelrahman went back to the Golden Tulip to collect their initial payment. Oumar Issa, a friend from Gao who was also involved in the

plan, waited at another hotel to receive his portion. Instead, the smugglers were met by Ghanaian police officers. David and Mohamed, it turned out, were not drug traffickers but undercover informants for the United States Drug Enforcement Administration. Within days, Touré, Abdelrahman, and Issa were turned over to the DEA, put on a private jet, and flown to New York, where they were arraigned in a federal courthouse. They were charged under a little-known provision of the Patriot Act, passed in 2006, which established a new crime, known as narco-terrorism, committed by violent offenders who had one hand in terrorism and the other in the drug trade.

In announcing the charges, Preet Bharara, the U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York, said, "As terrorists diversify into drugs, they provide us more opportunities to incapacitate them and cut off funding for future acts of terror." The case marked the first time that the narco-terrorism provision had been used against al-Qaida. The suspects appeared to be precisely the kind of hybrid whom the law, which does not require that any of the targeted activities take place in the U.S., had been written to catch. Michele Leonhart, the DEA administrator at the time, said, "Today's arrests are further proof of the direct link between dangerous terrorist organizations, including al-Qaida, and international drug trafficking that fuels their activities."

As the Malians' case proceeded, however, its flaws became apparent. The defendants emerged as more hapless than hardened, childhood friends who believed that the DEA's informants were going to make them rich. "They were lying to us. And we were lying to them," Touré told me from prison. Judge Barbara Jones, who oversaw the final phases of the case, said, "There was no actual involvement by the defendants or the undercover agents . . . in the activities of either al-Qaida or the FARC." Another judge saw as many problems with the statute as with the merits of the case. "Congress has passed a law that attempts to bind the world," he said to me.

The investigation continues to be cited by the DEA as an example of its national-security achievements. Since the narco-terrorism provision was passed, the DEA has pursued dozens of cases that fit the broad description of crimes under the statute. The agency has claimed victories against al-Qaida, Hezbollah, the Taliban, and the FARC and established the figure of the narco-terrorist as a preeminent threat to the United States.

With each purported success, the DEA has lobbied Congress to increase its funding. In 2012, Michael Braun, who had served as the DEA's chief of operations, testified before Congress about the link between terrorists and drug traffickers: "Based on over 37 years in the law-enforcement and security sectors, you can mark my word that they are most assuredly talking business and sharing lessons learned."

That may well be true. In a number of regions, most notably Colombia and Afghanistan, there is convincing evidence that terrorists have worked with drug traffickers. But a close examination of the cases that the DEA has pursued reveals a disturbing number that resemble that of the Malians. When these cases were prosecuted, the only links between drug trafficking and terrorism entered into evidence were provided by the DEA, using agents or informants who were paid hundreds of thousands of dollars to lure the targets into staged narco-terrorism conspiracies.

The DEA strongly defends the effectiveness of such sting operations, claiming that

they are a useful way to identify criminals who pose a threat to the United States before they act. Lou Milione, a senior official at the agency, told me, “One of the things the DEA is kind of in the business of is almost all of our investigations are proactive.” But Russell Hanks, a former senior American diplomat, who got a firsthand look at some of the DEA’s narco--terrorism targets during the time he served in West Africa, told me, “The DEA provided everything these men needed to commit a crime, then said, ‘Wow, look what they did.’” He added, “This

<http://www.valuewalk.com/2015/12/drugs-terrorists/>

Nigeria

Remember Boko Haram's victims, too

Boko Haram deemed more deadly than ISIS

Nigerian extremists killed 2,000 in one day

Congress should support bill to eradicate these terrorists



Nigerians marched in their nation's capital, Abuja, during a silent protest to raise awareness about girls and boys abducted by Boko Haram. **Sunday Alamba AP**

On Nov. 13, people from every corner of the world reeled over the horrific attacks in Paris that killed 130 people and injured 350 more. Millions filtered their Facebook profile pictures with the blue, white and red of the French flag; #prayforparis became a worldwide trend; and cable news stations covered the tragedy and the Islamic State's role in it nearly 24/7.

My heart, like countless others, was filled with sadness over the tragedy that engulfed the City of Light, but I couldn't help but wonder: Where is the outrage for the rampage taking place in Nigeria and several bordering nations? Who is praying for the 219 Chibok schoolgirls still missing after their abduction last year? Saturday marked 600 days that the girls have been held captive.

A few days later, news outlets published details of a report that found that while ISIS has captured the world's attention, the Nigerian insurgency group, Boko Haram, holds the title of the "world's deadliest terrorist group." Last year, Boko Haram killed 6,664 people, compared to the 6,073 lives taken by the Islamic State. According to the Global Terrorism Index, the deaths attributed to Boko Haram during that period increased by 300 percent.

The bloodbath in Paris was the worst the nation has experienced since World War II, but terrorist acts by Boko Haram frequently are daily occurrences. The extent of its

maliciousness came as a surprise to many except the few who track the group's activities closely.

On Jan. 3, Boko Haram killed 2,000 people in Nigeria. On Nov. 17, an attack in the Nigerian city of Yola killed 32 people in a marketplace and wounded 80 others. Less than 24 hours later, two girls acting as suicide bombers killed 12 people and injured dozens of others in Cameroon.

On Nov. 29, the group kidnapped an unspecified number of girls from Nigeria's Borno state. The Associated Press reported the next day that the insurgents had burned down a Nigerian military base and sent 107 military soldiers fleeing.

In addition, the brutal tradition of "breast ironing" is reportedly resurfacing in that nation to "protect" girls from Boko Haram militants by making them less appealing.

Where is the outrage?

The level of response to the enduring and daily traumas experienced by millions of Nigerians literally pales in comparison to reactions to terrorist attacks in Paris, Beirut and other cities. It brings to mind the debate currently taking place on the presidential campaign trail about whether all lives matter.

Nigeria's President Muhammadu Buhari won election by pledging to defeat and destroy Boko Haram by the end of this year. The West African nation's military, working with the Multinational Joint Task Force of soldiers from the border nations Chad, Niger and Cameroon, has made some important strides in decreasing Boko Haram's territory. It is clear, however, that even with the special operations and support provided by the United States and other nations, Nigeria does not have the resources to eradicate the Islamic militants.

A few weeks ago, I introduced H.R. 3833, legislation that directs the departments of State and Defense to jointly develop a five-year plan to assist the MNJTF in defeating Boko Haram, help rebuild the region's social and economic infrastructure and eradicate the conditions that have allowed the terrorist group's rise. The plan must address humanitarian support for civilians and security for schools. In September, the Senate passed companion legislation introduced by Sen. Susan Collins to combat Boko Haram, and I urge my colleagues in the House to support the resolution.

Terrorism has no borders and, like ISIS, Boko Haram militants are driven by the desire to purge the world of free thought and expression. The girls kidnapped by Boko Haram last year were targeted for pursuing an education. The people who died and were injured in the Paris attacks were targeted because of their participation in cultural and other activities as simple as dinner with friends at a café. Najat Rochdi, a top U.N. official in Cameroon, noted on Nov. 30 that Boko Haram "is expanding and there is only a small window of opportunity to stop it." It is time for the world's leaders to find their global outrage and work collectively to end Boko Haram's six-year insurgency.

U.S. Rep. Frederica S. Wilson, who represents the 24th Congressional District in Miami, is the U.S. point person for the #BringBackOurGirls movement.

<http://www.miamiherald.com/>

The Real Terror!

December 15, 2015

Boko Haram was tagged the world most deadly terrorist group in 2014. According to The Global Terrorism Index, Boko Haram killed more people- 6,644 in terror attacks in 2014 than any other terrorist group in the world. The Islamic State, ISIL, which is based in Syria and Iraq, follows closely behind, at 6,073 deaths through terrorism in 2014.

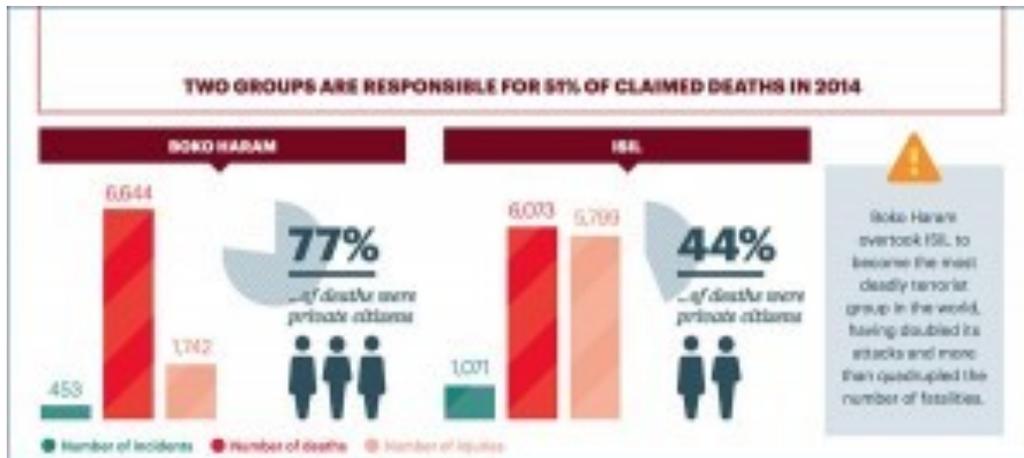


Figure 1: © static.visionofhumanity.org

The Global Terrorism Index is an annual report by the New York City-based Institute for Economics and Peace. It tracks global deaths from terror attacks, which it defines as “an intentional act of violence or threat of violence by a non-state actor.”

In confirming this figure, the highly respected [Nigeria Security Tracker](#), compiled by the U.S.-based Council on Foreign Relations, found that over 6,000 people were killed in clashes between Boko Haram and Nigerian forces in 2014.

From 2013 through 2014, the death toll from terrorism-related attacks climbed drastically in Nigeria, increasing by 300 percent. It was the largest increase in terrorist deaths ever recorded by any country.

Regrettably, Nigeria is second of just the five countries that suffer the bulk of terrorist acts in 2014. The rest countries are: Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Syria – accounting for 78 percent of all fatalities in 2014. Iraq bears the heaviest burden with 9,929 terrorist fatalities in 2014.

Putting the consequences of this terror together, Boko Haram activities in the north eastern part of Nigeria have been reported to be responsible for dead of about 13,000 people, damage of properties worth billions of naira and the displacement of over 3 million Nigerians.

Truth be told, I agree with all these facts. They are genuine, they are actually what Abubakar Shekau, the Boko Haram leader stands for and the world already knows him for that.

However, what do you say about those that had the opportunity to stop this terror, those that were in charge of the administration when Boko Haram was unveiling its devilish act, those that had all it takes to put an end to the insurgency before it escalated but blatantly refused to do so? How do you categorize such act? Isn't it terror itself?

After the report of the presidential committee that looked into the details of the arms procurement activities of the last administration was released, and Sambo Dasuki the former National Security Adviser (NSA) was arrested due to shady deals discovered by the committee, it became apparent that the negligence to combat and defeat the insurgency was a deliberate act in the face of ending corruption.

It was meant to be the office of the NSA and not the office of a Money Disbursing Agent (MDA), but it was the latter that it stood for during the last administration.

The revelations so far from the on-going investigation of the arms procurement scam during the last administration have confirmed the hypothesis of so many – the lack of political will to defeat Boko Haram.

Funds meant for arms procurement were shared among some political elites and fortunate folks close to the administration. While innocent Nigerians were being killed by Boko Haram, school children were being abducted, properties were being damaged and millions were being displayed.

Pathetic as it were, the NSA after denying the military especially the soldiers at the forefront of the war arms to confront the insurgency, on a global platform he called them cowards and when they revolted against the malicious act they were compelled to pass through, he charged them for mutiny and sort to kill them. There is no terror greater than this!

The point is, there is no terror anywhere greater than the #DasukiGate. Because, the reported most deadly terrorist group- Boko Haram, could have been overcome had #DasukiGate not existed. #DasukiGate was indirectly responsible for the loss and the pains Boko Haram caused the people.

Had #DasukiGate not existed, and the funds meant for arms procurement were judiciously utilized, the Boko Haram terror would have been easily curtailed, contained and defeated.

Had #DasukiGate not existed, Boko Haram would have not attained the rank of the world most deadly terrorist group in 2014.

Had #DasukiGate not existed, Boko Haram may have been defeated or rendered completely powerless.

#DasukiGate was the real terror indirectly behind the death of innocent Nigerians. It was the real terror responsible for the loss of lives of Nigerian gallant soldiers on the battle front against the Boko Haram insurgency. It was the real terror connected to the abduction of our men, women and children and for the displacement of persons from their abodes.

#DasukiGate is the world most deadly terrorist group in 2014 not Boko Haram.

With the #DasukiGate in place, government actions and decisions only benefitted a

set of people close to the presidency while public interest came second. Scarce resources meant for all were diverted away from the poor and disadvantaged and shared among a few elites.

Meanwhile, while the investigations and the prosecution go on, I hope this prosecution will be different from many other investigations and prosecutions we have had in the past that ended up in trash bins.

Nigeria is Africa's most populous nation, largest economy and biggest oil producer, but astounding levels of corruption have left it without basic developments and infrastructures.

It is high time we called on our politicians and public officials to be accountable for their actions. Hence, starting with #DasukiGate is not a bad start.

God Bless Nigeria

<http://www.informationng.com/>

Somalia

Galkayo and Somalia's Dangerous Faultlines



The silhouettes of armed men, some pirates and some homegrown security forces, appear on the horizon in the early morning in the semi-desertic plains near the central Somalia town of Galkayo on 18 August 2010. AFP/Roberto Schmidt

Clashes between clan militias in Somalia's historically divided city of Galkayo that broke out on 22 November have killed at least 40 people, injured hundreds and displaced thousands. The fighting raises fears that the Galkayo dispute could escalate into a national conflict, and shows how fragile Somalia remains during its incomplete transition to a new constitutional order and peace.

The Galkayo clashes symbolise the folly of the Somali Federal Government (SFG) and its international backers – an extraordinarily wide range of actors including the UN, the African Union, the European Union, the U.S., UK, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar and Saudi Arabia – who are pushing for the top-down establishment of Interim Federal Administrations without parallel reconciliation processes between clans at a local and national level.

As long as these multiple administrations are not fully constituted and without their specific local political compacts in place, there will be fierce clan competition over their control and undecided borders. Galkayo is a clear example of what happens when peace is neglected over a desire to show progress. To complete Somalia's transition, a greater focus on bottom-up peace processes rather than driving through top-down short-term political fixes is needed.

A History of Clan Conflict

Galkayo (population 137,000) is divided between two federal states, the Galmudug Interim Administration (GIA), just established in 2015, and Puntland, formed in 1998. Its local divisions also mirror the larger divide between two dominant and historically rival clan families, the Darod and the Hawiye. The Darod (specifically Majerteen-Omar Mahmood sub-clan) dominate Galkayo's Puntland-administered north, the Hawiye (specifically Habar Gidir-Sa'ad sub-clan) dominate the GIA-ruled south.



The divided city of Galkayo at the border between Puntland and the the Galmudug Interim Administration. CRISIS GROUP

Italian colonial administrators divided Galkayo and its environs into clearly demarcated clan-based zones – via the “Tomaselli” line – as a solution to inter-clan conflict over land. Even the nationalist and declared enemy of clannism President Siad Barre could not overcome this divide during his 22 years in power. After Barre’s regime collapsed in 1991, Galkayo became a deadly flashpoint between mainly Darod and Hawiye militia. In 1993, clan warlords signed the Mudug Peace Agreement to divide the city and its key revenue sources – including the airport and main market – between the two main clans. This brought relative peace for the next two decades.

Now neighbouring Puntland feels that the new GIA threatens its authority over populations (especially clans) and the territory (the former Mudug region) it claims to control. It therefore rejected the formation of the GIA, claiming that it was unconstitutional, since it is based on just one-and-a-half states (Galgadud and the southern half of Mudug), while the Somalia Federal Government’s provisional constitution stipulates that two or more regions are needed to form a federal state. When Puntland declared itself a regional state in 1998 prior to any federal constitution it was based on two-and-a-half regions (Bari, Nugal and the northern half of Mudug). Both GIA and Puntland, however, are mostly an expression of the territorial claims of

their respective dominant clans, the Hawiye-Habr Gedir and Darod-Majerteen.

Tensions between Puntland and GIA flared up again in September during consultative meetings on the 2016 national elections. Puntland's President Abdiweli Gaas walked out in protest, claiming the GIA was not a legitimate federal entity. In October, arguments escalated over disputed landing rights when an aircraft landed in GIA-controlled south Galkayo instead of the north Galkayo airport under Puntland's control – as per the Mudug agreement. But it was Puntland's construction of a new road, which encroached upon the agreed lines of clan control between north and south Galkayo, that sparked the latest and most serious conflict.

Federal Intervention Generates a Truce – But Not Stability

A week after the clashes in November, SFG Prime Minister Omar Abdirashid Sharmake travelled to Galkayo with a delegation including traditional elders, representatives of the international community and presidents of other interim administrations – Ahmed Mohamed “Madobe” of the Juba Interim Administration and Sharif Hassan Adan of the Interim South West Administration.

By 2 December they had negotiated a fragile truce. The agreement stipulated an immediate ceasefire, withdrawal of militia from the front lines, return of displaced persons, and, optimistically, a solution to the “Galkayo question”. This first ceasefire collapsed after just one day amid heavy fighting.

Another truce agreed on 5 December is holding, but the situation remains tense. It has national ramifications. Puntland President Abdiweli Gaas accuses federal forces of providing military support to the GIA, whose president, Abdikarim Guled, was a former federal minister and remains close to the SFG president.

Galkayo and Somalia's Future

In the short term, the SFG must continue to prioritise mediation in cooperation with their international and regional backers to ensure the parties respect the most recent ceasefire. Further violations could undercut its ability to mediate conflict in the future – a critically useful role fulfilled by the otherwise weak Mogadishu government.

In the long term, the SFG – with support from the international community – must work to clarify the status of Galkayo and the numerous other locations nationwide that are disputed between federal entities and their clan constituents. These are issues that the authors of the provisional federal constitution – including Puntland President Abdiweli Gaas, when he was still the federal prime minister – had left deliberately vague.

If the ceasefire is violated for a second time, this clan dispute could escalate into a wider national conflict between related Darod and Hawiye clans, especially because the two clan families remain political rivals on the national stage and are competitors for control of the presidency in 2016.

Even though the SFG's mandate theoretically ends in August 2016, such targets time-tabled by national politicians and international diplomats are not worth the lives recently lost and potentially others elsewhere. The violence in Galkayo should serve as a reminder that any rush to finalise the federalisation process – without pause over particularly conflict-prone regions, or at the very least planning for deep-

er reconciliation processes where old disputes still fester – risks undermining the limited progress made in Somalia since 2012.

Crisisgroup.com

Al-Qaeda Or Islamic State: Al-Shabab's Struggle Of Loyalty – Analysis



Al-Shabaab logo.

BY **JTW** DECEMBER 15, 2015

By Yasin Ismail and Fraz Siddiqui*

At first glance, the differences between al-Shabab, the extremist militant group based in Somalia, and the self-proclaimed Islamic State that currently governs parts of Syria and Iraq may seem inconsequential. Both groups thrive by leveraging religious sensibilities and socio-political grievances to justify extreme atrocities in their pursuit of authoritarian power. The April 2015 massacre of 148 Kenyan university students at the hands of al-Shabab militants and the most recent coordinated attacks throughout the city of Paris, murdering 130 and wounding hundreds more, are tragic examples of this affinity. Yet, the recent killings of pro-ISIS al-Shabab members demonstrate that shared convictions and tactics are not enough to prevent jihadi militants from turning on one another.

Over the past few months, Islamic State recruiters have been wooing al-Shabab's leadership to cut ties with al-Qaeda. In May 2015, the Islamic State, popularly known as ISIS, released a short video in which members of Somali origin referred to al-Shabab fighters as "truthful mujahideen" and urged them to join their transnational state. However, last month, al-Shabab killed their former Deputy Governor of the Juba Region, Sheikh Hussein Abdi Gedi, after he joined over 100 al-Shabab fighters who defected to a pro-ISIS faction. In response to a number of other such targeted killings, the head of al-Shabab in the Lower Shabelle, Abu-Abdalla, said that his organization has made "a clear decision to defend unity" among their ranks. He warned that "If you belong to another group, go where you belong. If you have a different flag, take it with you. It doesn't work here, and you will be beheaded, even if you have a big beard." Such preemptive measures should prompt us to question the strategic considerations for militant groups such as al-Shabab, as they navigate

the increasingly dangerous rivalry between ISIS and their predecessor, al-Qaeda.

In the decades following the anti-Soviet resistance in Afghanistan in the 1980s, al-Qaeda represented the primary face of the global jihadi movement. Daniel Bynum, a Senior Fellow at the Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings Institution, argues that Osama Bin Laden sought to capitalize on the network of fighters they had built in Afghanistan to “create a vanguard of elite fighters who could lead the global jihad project and bring together the hundreds of small jihadist groups struggling, often feebly, against their own regimes under a single umbrella.” By the mid-1990s the orientation of this network shifted from local regimes to what they perceived to be their source of sustenance: the United States and the West.

Over the next decade, al-Qaeda employed a franchising strategy, which was most attractive to smaller groups on the brink of failure who required much needed financial assistance, a steady stream of recruits, training and logistical support. In return, franchises provide a potential local haven for al-Qaeda members and enable them to remain relevant. This franchise model continues to be attractive for al-Shabab despite the rise of ISIS.

Officially known as Harakat al-Shabab al-Mujahideen, meaning the “movement of youths waging jihad”, al-Shabab began by branding itself as a local militia group whose aim was to ‘liberate’ Somalia from the invasion of Ethiopian forces. In fact, Al-Shabab’s initial strategy, which resonated far more with ISIS’s current model, consisted of fighting against Somalia’s Transitional Federal Government and their Ethiopian counterparts, governing controlled territories with their reductive understanding of Sharia, and broadcasting their brutal tactics to project tangible victories and inspire recruits.

However, months shy of merging with al-Qaeda in 2012, al-Shabab cited a change in strategy to explain their abrupt withdrawal from Mogadishu. They also presented the same rationale after their withdrawal from Kismayo, a strategic sea-port town that served as a major source of revenue for the group. As al-Shabab continued to either withdraw or lose key territories to joint Somali and AMISOM forces, their strategy changed from one of controlling and governing Somali territory to al-Qaeda’s model of sustained guerrilla attacks on both local and regional targets. In recent years, the group has increasingly executed such guerrilla attacks on soft targets in Somalia and Kenya, which primarily consist of hotels, schools, and establishments frequented by both Westerners and Somali government officials. Despite being militarily degraded, these attacks have managed to increase the international stature of al-Shabab as one of the continent’s most powerful and ruthless jihadi organizations.

While ISIS seeks to build upon this stature, their recruitment will seriously put al-Shabab’s current strategic allegiance to al-Qaeda to the test. What sets ISIS apart from other jihadi groups is that their apocalyptic ideology renders only their self-styled “Caliphate” as the legitimate authority to govern the global Muslim population. In addition to traditional enemies such as “apostate” Arab regimes and western countries, this leaves no room for territories controlled by other jihadi groups not associated with ISIS and clearly positions them as adversaries vis-à-vis their al-Qaeda rivals. For ISIS’s current leader, Abu Baker al-Baghdadi, and his supporters, a model of fighting locally against Arab regimes, instituting limited governance, conducting outreach, and broadcasting their brutal tactics to project fear is far more effective in establishing a transnational state than al-Qaeda’s more muddled ap-

proach of waiting for the long term outcomes of complex external operations.

This stance actively challenges al-Qaeda's authority, and essentially aims to dethrone its current leader, Ayman al-Zawahiri. Nevertheless, ISIS cannot accomplish this bold aspiration by forcefully conquering Muslim majority countries, especially when they are currently suffering serious territorial setbacks as a result of multinational coalition airstrikes. Thus, as part of its international expansion plan, which also attempts to obscure battlefield losses, ISIS seeks to appropriate the allegiance and territory of other jihadist militant groups to create regional provinces. In March, Boko Haram, the West African jihadist group that controls territory equal in size to the state of Massachusetts, joined ISIS and rebranded itself as the "Islamic State of West Africa". As the only major jihadi group in Africa to resist ISIS allegiance, al-Shabab poses a serious obstacle to ISIS's vision of a transnational jihadi state.

Unlike Boko Haram and other smaller jihadi groups that have pledged allegiance to ISIS, there are a number of factors that are influencing this resistance among al-Shabab's leadership. As previously mentioned, not only has al-Shabab already employed the ISIS model with only limited success, it is unlikely that returning to such tactics against a regionally bolstered Somali government will produce a different result. Furthermore, while al-Shabab could certainly leverage the current ISIS brand, the benefits of this affiliation do not outweigh the decades-long relationship between al-Shabab and al-Qaeda central. For example, Osama Bin Laden funded Al-Itihaad Al-Islamiya, a Salafi Islamist group responsible for attacks in Ethiopia during the 1990s, whose leaders went on to join what later became al-Shabab. Al-Shabab's first commander, Aden Hashi Ayro, as well as other former leaders such as Mukhtar Robow and Ahmad Godane, had all reportedly trained and fought alongside al-Qaeda leadership in Afghanistan.

Additionally, unlike ISIS's fledgling province in Yemen, al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula's (AQAP) recent resurgence has the potential to provide al-Shabab with a powerful and resourceful local ally. AQAP has successfully exploited the ongoing civil war to capture the coastal city of Mukallah, a military base in the Shabwa province, several districts in the strategic port city of Aden, and territory in a number of other provinces. Interestingly, AQAP has distanced itself from ISIS attacks on Shi'i mosques and other civilian targets in Yemen as part of its strategy of building support amongst some Yemeni tribes, which it needs to extend its power in the country. Fueling recent defections however, are many young al-Shabab fighters who are disillusioned with al-Qaeda's softer approach. Nevertheless, al-Shabab's leadership is facing an existential crisis: crush internal discord at the expense of young recruits, or risk losing their ability to leverage these strategic gains in Yemen.

With AQAP's recent success and the decades long relationship with al-Qaeda, al-Shabab has strong reasons to remain loyal to al-Qaeda central for the foreseeable future. For al-Shabab's leadership, the choice is ultimately between a trusted partner with a vast network in East Africa and a rising jihadi state, which despite its popularity, has fractured the jihadi landscape and offers little footprint in the region. For the rest of us, whether these intra-jihadi dynamics aid in further degrading jihadi groups from within or sparking a rivalry of whose brand of terrorism kills more innocent civilians requires close attention.

<http://www.eurasiareview.com/>

South Africa

Les leçons de Nelson Mandela pour dépasser les conflits



Le 5 décembre 2013, mourrait Nelson Mandela. Prix Nobel de la paix en 1993 pour avoir contribué à sortir l'Afrique du Sud de l'apartheid, il a toujours cherché à saisir la pensée de ses proches, alliés, détracteurs ou adversaires.

Il y a deux ans, mourrait Nelson Mendela. Honoré du prix Nobel de la paix en 1993 pour avoir contribué à sortir l'Afrique du Sud de l'apartheid, il a su tuer dans l'oeuf la guerre civile qui s'annonçait. Un "savoir-relier" transposable dans l'entreprise.

Avocat, activiste, prisonnier et... premier président noir de l'Afrique du Sud, celui que tout le monde appelait là-bas [Madiba](#) - du nom de son clan tribal - a réussi le tour de force de désamorcer les graves conflits internes au sein de son parti l'ANC (African National Congress) et ceux, toujours plus virulents, d'une société meurtrie par la ségrégation, pour bâtir une nation multiraciale et démocratique. Il est parvenu à pacifier les esprits et à rapprocher oppresseurs et opprimés en considérant les individus pour ce qu'ils sont, humainement. Le décryptage de Guillaume Pigeat*, historien et conseiller culturel chez Traits d'Unions.

Leçon n°1 : comprendre ce que ressentent les autres

Mandela a toujours observé, cherché à saisir la pensée de ses proches, alliés, détracteurs dans l'ANC ou adversaires. Il passe des heures au téléphone ou en réunion avec eux pour se pénétrer de leurs idées jusqu'à épuiser ses arguments (et les leurs). Durant ses 27 années de captivité à Robben Island, il s'imprègne de la culture blanche en lisant les ouvrages que lisent ses gardiens. Et s'interroge sur le chemin de pensée qui les a conduits à avoir des a priori sur l'ANC, "un repère de terroristes". La méconnaissance du contexte ? L'ignorance de la réalité des conditions de vie des Noirs ? La facilité ? Une analyse en profondeur qui lui permet de canaliser sa colère

et d'entrer en contact avec toutes les parties.

En pratique : dépasser ses blocages et préjugés pour mieux détecter ceux des opposants ; analyser les points de tension de façon ponctuelle ; trouver les mots qui feront écho chez l'autre : faire l'effort de le comprendre, c'est lui permettre de vous comprendre en retour.

Leçon n°2 : avoir confiance en la capacité des gens à évoluer

Elu président en 1994, Mandela ne lance aucune chasse aux sorcières. Ses premiers mots sont pour le personnel du palais, à qui il propose de rester s'il le désire. La majorité accepte. Lors de la coupe du monde de rugby de 1995, disputée pour la 1ère fois par l'équipe nationale des Springboks - écartée jusque là pour cause d'apartheid- il persuade le staff de l'ANC de conserver l'ensemble des joueurs blancs ainsi que leur drapeau historique. Et parle d'homme à homme avec le capitaine en place, François Pienaar, y mettant de la chaleur et de l'empathie pour lui expliquer l'enjeu capital de ce moment sportif : la victoire d'une nation. Tout le pays en vient à soutenir ses champions qui remportent le titre. Les uns et les autres ont su se rapprocher, se souder, en vue d'un objectif plus grand qu'eux.

En pratique : mobiliser les bonnes volontés malgré les divergences d'opinion ; proposer un projet commun pour dépasser les clivages ; garder les symboles positifs de chaque partie (le drapeau, le maillot, etc.).

Leçon n°3 : rester dans son authenticité

Le père de la nation Arc-en-ciel a incarné et respecté toute sa vie chez ses interlocuteurs, l'honnêteté, la sincérité, la simplicité, la générosité. En particulier lors des négociations avec le gouvernement De Klerk entamées dès sa sortie de prison en 1990, en vue d'obtenir l'égalité politique entre Blancs et Noirs, il tient ferme ses valeurs : discuter sans se diminuer, sans manipuler non plus. Face aux provocations du chef zoulou du mouvement Inkhata, qui voulait l'autonomie économique de son territoire, il joue sa vérité. Par ailleurs, c'est lui qui propose de monter la commission "Vérité et réconciliation" en vue d'apaiser les rapports entre les ennemis d'hier.

En pratique : mettre cartes sur table en exposant les désastres que peuvent causer l'entêtement ; faire raconter les faits pour crever l'abcès ; favoriser l'écoute mutuelle et l'émergence du pardon.

Leçon n°4 : valoriser les "griefs positifs" des dissidents

Madiba, sait retenir et agréger les positions opposées quand il juge que c'est utile ou que c'est le moment. Il est en désaccord avec le PAC (Pan Africanist Congress) créé en 1959 par un membre de l'ANC, et qui claironne qu'en quatre ans l'Afrique du Sud sera libérée des Blancs, quels que soient les moyens employés ou les dégâts collatéraux. Mais face à ces discours agressifs, face à la conscience noire qui s'exacerbe (des militants sont massacrés par le gouvernement lors d'une manifestation), et après l'échec d'une grève générale, en 1961 Mandela finit par faire un pas de côté en décidant de créer une branche armée de l'ANC. Et il la place sous son contrôle afin de contenir toutes ces violences potentielles. Pragmatique et fin tacticien, le leader reconnaît ainsi que la non-violence n'est pas efficace face à un gouvernement campé sur la ségrégation raciale et hostile. Il coupe ainsi l'herbe sous les pieds du PAC belliciste, rassure les populations qu'il incite à ne pas s'armer, et agit sur des cibles pré-

cises (bâtiments publics), afin d'épargner le sang des individus.

En pratique : être le porte-voix des tensions internes afin de réfréner les débordements ; savoir changer de pied sans excès et menacer du pire (dans certaines limites) en poussant les acteurs du conflit (ou son contradicteur) à bouger.

<http://lentreprise.lexpress.fr/>

Terrorism in the World

France

Attentats de Paris : pourquoi l'attitude des musulmans face à l'horreur n'est pas la même qu'après Charlie

08 décembre 2015



Leurs réactions aux attentats du mois de janvier avaient pu paraître exagérément prudentes et ambiguës. Cette fois, leur condamnation des massacres jihadistes du 13 novembre est sans réserve.

«Je me sens Charlie Coulibaly. » En un post et vingt-cinq caractères, l'activiste Dieudonné avait résumé à sa manière provocatrice et souvent douteuse le malaise de ses compatriotes français musulmans après les drames du mois de janvier. Il se sentait Charlie, parce que révolté par l'horreur du massacre des journalistes de Charlie Hebdo. Et Coulibaly, parce que c'est ainsi que les autres ont tendance à voir – et à stigmatiser – les gens dans son genre : noir, banlieusard et musulman. Ce détournement de slogan avait valu à son auteur, [le 15 mars, une condamnation à deux mois de prison pour apologie du terrorisme](#) (il a fait appel). Cette suite judiciaire illustre la difficulté de toute distanciation critique face au traumatisme national.

Le malaise était pourtant bien réel : minutes de silence perturbées dans certaines écoles, réactions embarrassées de nombreux responsables musulmans, faible mobilisation desdits musulmans lors de [la grande marche du 11 janvier](#), pourtant placée sous la bannière de la fraternité et du refus des amalgames... Être Charlie – donc cautionner des caricaturistes qui heurtent profondément ses propres convictions religieuses ? Ou refuser de l'être, au risque de passer pour solidaire des terroristes ? En janvier, les Français musulmans avaient été incapables de prendre clairement position. Et leur image en avait beaucoup pâti.

Les attentats de Paris et de Saint-Denis, le 13 novembre, ont suscité des réactions bien différentes. Peu de voix dissonantes se sont fait entendre. Même Dieudonné s'est abstenu de tout dérapage ! Détail qui peut paraître anecdotique, mais qui, en réalité, en dit long, les internautes musulmans n'ont eu aucune difficulté à habiller de bleu-blanc-rouge leur photo de profil Facebook. Un mimétisme inédit et rassurant ? Les mots de François Hollande n'y sont peut-être pas étrangers. Le chef de l'État n'a pas hésité à nommer l'ennemi, Daesh, et à lui déclarer la guerre par des mesures vigoureuses à l'intérieur (instauration de l'état d'urgence) comme à l'extérieur (bombardement de Raqqa, la « capitale » jihadiste en Syrie). Ce faisant, il a déplacé le curseur du débat de l'islam vers le terrorisme.

Une situation dans laquelle aucune ambiguïté n'est possible

Autant les attaques de janvier avaient pu apparaître à certains comme une sorte de vendetta religieuse et/ou politique – que l'on songe à la tentative bien peu convaincante d'Amedy Coulibaly de relier sa tuerie antisémite au conflit israélo-palestinien -, autant, cette fois, aucune ambiguïté n'est possible. Personne n'a demandé aux musulmans français de se démarquer de Daesh : ça allait de soi. Younès M., 60 ans, n'est pas choqué par le brusque virage sécuritaire de François Hollande. Originaire du Maroc, cet ancien soldat qui servit quinze ans durant sous le drapeau français estime que « ce sont les terroristes qui créent l'amalgame en tuant au nom de l'islam, alors qu'ils sont une perversion de l'islam ».

L'un des textes les plus partagés sur les réseaux sociaux de la diaspora maghrébine aura été un article d'Olivier Roy sur les causes de la radicalisation paru dans le quotidien français *Le Monde*. L'islamologue y explique que le jihadisme doit être analysé comme une révolte générationnelle et nihiliste qui touche certains milieux marginaux déjà entrés en dissidence par rapport à la société. « Si les causes étaient structurelles et tenaient à l'islam, comment expliquer que ce phénomène soit circonscrit à quelques milliers de personnes sur une population de plusieurs millions de Français musulmans ? » s'interroge le chercheur.

En janvier, la menace était à la fois lointaine et localisée. En novembre, chacun a senti qu'il aurait pu être parmi les victimes des criminels, explique Ahmed Yousfi. Par ailleurs, le caractère aveugle des fusillades du vendredi 13 novembre a contribué à un phénomène d'identification avec les victimes. Les journaux ont publié d'innombrables photos et portraits des malheureux tombés ce soir-là. Parmi eux, les Franco-Tunisiennes Halima et Houda Saadi, l'architecte marocain Mohamed Amine Ibnolmobarak, ou encore Asta Diakité, la cousine du footballeur Lassana Diarra. Autant de vies brisées de manière absurde, atroce, injustifiable. « Janvier ou novembre, le choc est le même, explique Ahmed Yousfi, patron d'une société de conseil en relations publiques et en communication. La différence est au niveau du vécu. En janvier, la menace était à la fois lointaine et localisée. En novembre, chacun a

senti qu'il aurait pu être parmi les victimes des criminels. La réaction de rejet a été sans appel, et plutôt saine. On n'a pas vu refluer les habituelles et nauséabondes théories du complot qui avaient inondé la toile au début de l'année. J'ai le sentiment que les valeurs de la République ont regagné un peu de terrain. »

L'influence des représentants de l'Islam en France

Parallèlement à cette communion dans la douleur, les appels à un examen de conscience venant d'intellectuels ou de penseurs réformistes se multiplient. Les textes du [philosophe Abdennour Bidar](#), porte-étendard de l'existentialisme musulman et chantre d'un islam recentré sur son message spirituel, trouvent davantage d'écho. Les imams, qui, longtemps, ont eu tendance à se réfugier – ou à se cacher – derrière des discours soporifiques et lénifiants (« l'islam est une religion de paix »), semblent enfin admettre que la radicalisation doit être prise à bras-le-corps et combattue idéologiquement. Le 29 novembre, en présence de Bernard Cazeneuve, le ministre de l'Intérieur et des Cultes, quatre cents responsables musulmans venus de toute la France se sont réunis à l'Institut du monde arabe (IMA), à Paris, pour afficher leur unité et leur rejet absolu du terrorisme... Reste l'éternelle question de l'audience réelle des représentants de l'islam de France. Il n'est par exemple un secret pour personne que le Conseil français du culte musulman (CFCM) n'a jamais réussi à s'imposer.



La propension des médias et des responsables politiques à se tourner systématiquement vers les religieux musulmans après chaque drame suscite d'ailleurs incompréhension et agacement. « Pourquoi toujours interroger des imams dont beaucoup sont davantage des bricoleurs de sourates que des autorités spirituelles reconnues ? Et pourquoi presque jamais des musulmans laïques insérés dans la société civile ? se demande Fatma Bouvet de la Maisonneuve, une psychiatre franco-tunisienne membre du Conseil économique, social et environnemental. Cette démarche est très réductrice, car elle enferme les Français d'origine ou de tradition musulmane dans

un stéréotype fort éloigné des canons de la laïcité. Et elle est contre-productive, car elle empêche toute identification. La plupart de ceux qu'on fait parler au nom de l'islam de France ne représentent pas les musulmans, au contraire ! »

Il y a des crispations très fortes, c'est indéniable, mais la France sait intégrer ses immigrés, commente Hakim El Karoui

Comme Olivier Roy, l'essayiste Hakim El Karoui, fondateur du Club XXI^e siècle, suggère d'éviter les raccourcis communautaires et propose de recentrer le débat sur la désagrégation du lien social dans les quartiers de relégation, phénomène qui, à ses yeux, constitue le plus grand échec de la République. « Il y a des crispations très fortes, c'est indéniable, dit-il, mais la France sait intégrer ses immigrés, toutes les données démographiques en témoignent, notamment celles qui concernent les mariages mixtes (une union sur quatre, désormais). Les Français savent faire la part des choses, sinon ce serait la guerre civile depuis longtemps, car cela fait vingt ans qu'ils sont confrontés au terrorisme islamiste. »

Ahmed Yousfi se montre moins optimiste : « Une sourde anxiété s'est installée dans la communauté musulmane, notamment chez les plus âgés, qui craignent maintenant la réaction des Français. Pour résumer, en schématisant, on pourrait dire qu'ils ont peur à la fois de Daesh et du Front national. »

L'ISLAMOPHOBIE REPART À LA HAUSSE

330 agressions et menaces visant les musulmans ont été recensées en France au cours des 9 premiers mois de 2015 (110 pendant la même période de 2014). 35 l'ont été depuis les attentats du 13 novembre à Paris. Soit plus que la moyenne, mais nettement moins qu'après les attentats du mois de janvier

Sources : Observatoire national contre l'islamophobie, Dilcra, Délégation interministérielle à la lutte contre le racisme et l'antisémitisme.

<http://www.jeuneafrique.com/>

France And Its War On Terror And Intellectuals

December 2, 2015

Parisian intellectuals and artists are violently beating the French government's war-drums. What's happened to critique in the home of intellectuals? In Paris, Nick Riemer is following the debate.

With the immediate trauma of the Paris attacks receding, the West's latest war on terror remains the object of [substantial public consensus in France](#), both in its military and its domestic 'security' components. Fear, shock and panic are not the only reasons.

The government's choice to throw further oil on the fires of the Middle East, and exacerbate already inflamed community tensions in France itself entails serious risks.

Given the freshness of the lessons of recent US wars and their calamitous civil liberties aftermath, and given extremely [low levels of confidence in the French political system and its actors](#), the government's decisions have necessitated the strong support of opinion leaders – the public intellectuals, artists, academics, and writers with access to the mainstream press.

There has been no shortage of such support. In the ideological rallying of the middle class behind the 'national' – or sometimes even 'sacred' – Republican union decreed by the Assemblée nationale, French social democracy has demonstrated its incapacity to offer any effective counterweight to a politics of bombs abroad and authoritarian crackdowns at home.

Western imperialist violence in the Middle East, or the deepening of social fractures domestically, are both to be tolerated, since they can be presented as the consequence of 'Republican' ideals of human rights, equality, liberty, or culture.

Against the widespread propagandizing for these ideals, critique and disturbance of certainties, the stereotypical duties of intellectuals and artists, have also been discharged – up to a point. But, as a local commentator recently [noted](#) in relation to the media's coverage, criticisms of government policy “rarely get the top spot. They come out in the corners, as a bonus or surplus, drowned out by the salvos of Marseillaises.”

Intellectuals' after-sales service for the government's war offers a reminder of the strength of the illiberal, martial and chauvinistic tendencies latent in the upper echelons of civil society, including in the intellectual and cultural worlds.

Rage and war

After November 13, François Hollande's government adopted a series of authoritarian state of emergency measures that massively amplify police powers and restrict public liberties, including the right to protest. The laws permit the dissolution of groups deemed a threat to public security, allow the closure of theatres and meeting places and the banning of meetings.

In certain circumstances, they make it legal to strip bi-nationals of French citizenship.

These measures command consensus throughout politics. The reformist Front de Gauche and the Parti Communiste both voted to extend the state of emergency for three months; only six deputies out of 577 refused. Already, there is [talk](#) of extending it. As the far-right Front National (FN), widely tipped to win control of two of the 13 French regions in elections on December 6 and 12 has itself noted, the measures represent a wholesale mainstreaming of the politics it has been demanding for years.

For years, too, French intellectuals have spread, and defended, the dissemination of far-right positions under the cover of respect for ‘Republican’ prerogatives. In the France of 2015, these public intellectuals are no spent force. Intellectual authority constitutes an autonomous domain of state power, memorialized in the streets and parks named after the protagonists of France’s official cultural history.

Philosophers, writers and academics dominate the opinion columns of the serious press. After November 13, they have deployed the full ideological arsenal of Republican values in order to justify the government’s adoption of a far-right policy agenda.

Being attacked, even as bloodily as France has been in 2015, does not entail that a country is at war. Especially when waged against a state’s own citizens, war is incompatible with democracy.



A vigil at Le Republique monument in the wake of the Paris terror attacks. (IMAGE: Thom Mitchell)

Nevertheless, novelists, essayists and philosophers have taken to the pages of the

mainstream press to echo Manuel Valls and Marine Le Pen's calls for a war to 'annihilate' Islamic State. In the name of the highest values of Western civilisation, public intellectuals have emphasized the necessity of '[war](#)', '[rage and war](#)', or '[destruction](#)'. Foreigners, often Americans, have been enlisted in support.

Ayaan Hirsi Ali has [recommended](#) that not just France, but all Europe put itself on a "war footing" to destroy Islamic State; to combat terrorism, she says, France should learn lessons from Israel.

Having decried them for years, many intellectuals are now finding that the US' actions after 9/11 weren't perhaps that bad after all: a political philosopher, for instance, has [demanded](#) a local Patriot Act, and called for an undefined category of 'enemy' to be 'systematically locked up' in French-style Guantánamos, "for as long as the war lasts – for life, if necessary".

The calls for the 'rearmament' of France, to use the FN's Marine Le Pen's expression, are regularly expressed through the ordinary mythology of French Republicanism. [According](#) to novelist and journalist Marc Lambron, elected to the Académie française last year, France represents 'a culture of refined warriors': battle is inscribed in the nation's very essence. War need not even be militarily effective to be justified: a historian [notes](#) in *Libération* that, whether they succeed not, military strikes have the advantage of "not encouraging the idea that the enemy is invincible".

Any attempt to bring the categories of empirical academic analysis to bear on the situation France finds itself in is rejected. In *Marianne*, the editorialist Joseph Macé-Scaron [poured](#) scorn on what he called a 'learned' sociological explanation of Islamist radicalisation, centred on Western social breakdown. His sarcastic dismissal: 'The West: what a bastard'.

On radio the week after the attacks, the Parti socialiste (PS) deputy Malek Boutih likewise [discounted](#) 'sociological' explanations for Muslim youth's turning to jihadism. Paul Berman [explained](#) to *Le Monde* that 'there are no sociological causes of jihadism'. For the far-right, trying to understand the terrorists is '[the role of a social worker, certainly not that of the Justice Minister](#)'.

Marcel Gauchet, a distinguished philosopher and historian, [sees](#) economic and social factors as mere triggers: the basic cause of the attacks is a religious one. It is entirely characteristic of this kind of idealism that Gauchet does not mention the obvious implication: as a basically religious or cultural problem, France does not have to engage in any deep soul-searching about the material effect of its domestic or foreign policies.

For [Eric Marty](#), professor of French literature at a major Parisian university, 'believing that the meaning of Islamic State lies in the failings of Western politics in the Middle East is as ridiculous, and no doubt as self-interested, as believing that the meaning of Auschwitz lies in the treaty of Versailles'.

Culture versus the jihad

To a political interpretation of the attacks, centred on the West's interventions in the

Muslim world, and the effects of France's disastrous domestic policies to Muslims, an idealist fantasy is preferred. 'These attacks,' the Egyptian novelist Alaa El Aswany [wrote](#) in *Le Monde*, "symbolize the combat between civilization and barbarism, between culture and fanaticism, between tolerance and terrorism".

This analysis is ubiquitous: since the day after the attacks, the government's cheerleaders have alternated ringing calls to arms with indiscriminate self-congratulation on the achievements of French civilization.

In the [analysis](#) of a former minister of culture, Jean-Jacques Aillagon, the attacks emanated not from a bloody history of Western bombs, invasions, and domestic exploitation, but from "islands of resistance to civilization, to modernity, to critical thought".

Alain Finkielkraut has [read](#) the social problems of Moelenbeek, the area of Brussels heavily implicated in the launching of the attacks, as the result of a "cultural secession".

Such cultural analysis is pervasive and, apparently, inexhaustible. The *Figaro* [opened its columns](#) to a historian attributing France's failed social integration to the lowering of 'national and cultural requirements'. A philosopher [explained](#) the terrorists as "kids that video games weren't enough to distract from the cosmic void of their existence". The PS's Malek Boutih [identified](#) French Republican culture with libraries: the 'human securitization' of the French population, he added, has to be accomplished through education and culture, against the domination of rap music and iTunes. A literary critic explained on radio that the attacks left him with no choice but to speak of literary prizes, as a signal emblem of French civilization, citing a [spurious](#) translation of Boko Haram as 'ban on opening books'.



Rescuers and residents gather at the charred scene following a bomb blast at Termini-

nus market in the central city of Jos on May 20, 2014. Twin car bombings on Tuesday killed at least 46 in central Nigeria in the latest in a series of deadly blasts that will stoke fears about security despite international help in the fight against Boko Haram Islamists. (IMAGE: Diariocritico de Venezuela, AFP PHOTO/STR, Flickr)

This cultural chauvinism has an overt link with class antagonisms, and has real political consequences. Valérie Pécresse, the head candidate in the Ile-de-France region for Sarkozy's right-wing Les Républicains (LR), [linked](#) Islamists with youth who paint graffiti in public transport, thereby stigmatizing popular culture as both criminality and terrorism. As she [told](#) the *Journal du dimanche* on November 22,

I remain persuaded that it's by bringing culture and artists' message everywhere, to every area, to the whole population, from the earliest age, that we will reconcile our society.

When it comes to governments' funding priorities, however, 'culture' overwhelmingly refers to the preferred artistic expressions of the middle classes, as 2013 figures from the French Observatory of Inequalities [show](#). In a context where the right is insistent that higher security must not aggravate the national deficit, the 20 per cent increase in cultural spending Pécresse is promising could only come at the expense of social programs. The traditional role of cultural spending – reinforcing class divides – is thereby compounded.

Celebration of the achievements of French culture goes hand-in-hand with a bald nationalism. For *Marianne*, internationalism is a [confabulation of miserable intellectual and cultural elites](#). The respected novelist Christine Angot, winner of this year's December prize, [celebrated](#) the dissolution of individual identity in French Republicanism, with Muslims the first group to be stripped: "We're not Muslim, we're not Jewish, we're not Catholic, we're not white, we're not male, we're not female. We play in a team, and our team is France."

As a totalizing vision, this national identification brooks no scepticism. Any doubts about French culture – "our linguistic fatherland, our saints and heroes, our culture", as the novelist and diplomat Daniel Rondeau [put](#) it – is seen as a factor of weakness that empowers the 'enemy'.

The singer Magyd Cherfi [told](#) *Libération* that there are days "where you'd like to be called Dupont when your name's Magyd"; "days where even if you're an anarchist you wear a flag because that's all there's left to wave after the fire and it's blue, white and red". He then declared himself ready to accept a number of well-known right-wing intellectuals and politicians, including the National Front and Marshal Pétain – simply because, like him, they are French.

This goes along with a blatant Islamophobia. "Islamic civilization" as a whole "is the sick man of global civilization, and Islamic State is just its worst symptom," claimed Abdennour Bidar [in](#) *Libération*. French Muslims have repeatedly been [called on](#) to prove they don't support jihad, or [to abandon 'non-secular' clothing](#). Logically, the rechristianisation of France has also been [demanded](#).

As forthright opponents of Islamophobia, it follows that the far left have also found themselves the object of ferocious criticism: nothing less than the 'liquidation' of

‘Islam-leftism’ has been [called](#) for by the lawyer and writer Gilles-William Goldnagel, president of the France-Israel association. The violence of this call was not confined within one of the boutique organs of the far right, but published by the major right-wing daily *Le Figaro*. Raids and house-arrests against climate activists [occurred](#) around France in the lead-up to the opening of the climate summit.

A range of media, from *Marianne* and *Charlie Hebdo* to *atlantico.fr*, claimed, [entirely falsely](#), that far-left groups like the *Nouvel parti anticapitaliste* (New anticapitalist party) and *Lutte ouvrière* (Workers’ struggle) have legitimated, excused, or refused to condemn the attacks. Given that it is *only* on the far-left that concrete resistance to war and the security state is being organized – 58 activists who participated during the banned refugee demonstration on November 22 have been [summonsed](#) by the police, and some charged; 174 were charged at Sunday’s climate demonstration – these condemnations reveal the insistence with which the media has closed ranks behind the PS/LR/FN political consensus.

Republicanism – the all-purpose ideology of the French ruling class

At the very moment that, in the name of fighting terror, the French state is devastating Raqqa, arresting refugee activists, banning climate demonstrations, and giving police the power to conduct home-invasions without a warrant at any hour for three months, the political classes’ propagandists have rallied French society behind them under the banner of defence of Republican ‘values’ – liberty, equality, fraternity, democracy, civilization, human rights.

In this situation, the nature of Republicanism as the all-purpose ideology of the French ruling class emerges clearly. Republicanism can be harnessed to justify anything that aligns with the interests of French state power. In the name of Republican values, France can [criminalize BDS](#), hold up racist caricature as an exemplary exercise of free speech, or [seriously contemplate](#) censorship of the media. The present wholesale and [disproportionate](#) extension of the state’s coercive powers, [opposed](#) even by the Human Rights League, can be justified as guaranteeing the ‘greatest human right’ – security.

Already numerous left climate activists have been [placed under house arrest](#). It is no surprise that criticisms of these measures do not themselves typically mobilize Republican discourse: unsupported by the authority of the state, this kind of rhetorical gesture would ring hollow.

In his important study *Neither right nor left: Fascist ideology in France*, Zeev Sternhell traces the spread of fascist positions in the 1920s and ‘30s through the complicity, indifference or active support of the major institutions of liberal democracy. It is not an exaggeration to say that related processes can be observed today.

It would not be right, however, to tar all artists and public intellectuals indiscriminately as the ‘[guard dogs](#)’ of elite hegemony, ready to countenance serious affronts to democracy. Like other social categories, intellectuals and artists are not unified, and are characterized by numerous ideological and other differences. As any survey of the French press demonstrates, acquiescence to the Elysée’s political line is far

from universal.

On the institutional level, however, any contestation *has* been largely dampened. Media outlets strengthen their support for politicians' domestic and foreign warmongering precisely by entertaining, and mainly rejecting, serious criticism of it. Invited by *Le Monde* as the expert respondent in an online forum titled 'Are liberties threatened by the state of emergency?', the historian François Saint-Bonnet hosed down concerns about the measures in response to readers' questions. In miniature, this is typical of the role that the press has played so far.

It has, of course, every reason to do so. Serge Halimi has extensively [documented](#) French journalists' collusion with political power. The major papers are, furthermore, [heavily subsidized](#) by the state. The *Figaro*, the most rightwing of the major French dailies, belongs to the arms dealer and industrialist Serge Dassault, who owns the company that makes the Rafale fighter-bombers currently deployed in the Middle East. Twenty-four more planes have just been sold to Qatar, one of the principal funding sources for radical Islamism. Dassault will no doubt profit handsomely from any escalation in France's engagement in Syria.

Spectators to politics

There is a further level on which the profusion of opinionering in the mainstream media functions to inhibit opposition to the disastrous course set by the French political classes.

Analysis and opinion can most directly engage with the levers of social change if they are construed as preludes to *action*. Such an orientation is largely alien to the modes of political commentary disseminated in the mainstream press.

Even strong condemnation of politicians' decisions is typically couched in a confessional mode, as the isolated reasoning *or cri de cœur* of an individual conscience. As such, analysis or opinion takes on a purely *expressive* role which *substitutes* for concrete opposition, rather than functioning as a prelude for it.

The reader, like the writer, is cast as a spectator to politics, not as a potential participant. Only a handful of figures from the intellectual world have [openly called](#) for defiance of the bans on the climate demonstrations: doing so aligns them with the disreputable – in mainstream terms – far left; most intellectuals, accordingly, have not registered any protest at the state's assaults on a fundamental right.

In their collective reluctance to link contestation with material possibilities of political resistance – demonstrations, petitions, other forms of collective action – critics of France's national union for war are a symptom of the same idealism – the belief in the importance of abstract ideas, considered as valuable independently of their material consequences – that fuels faith in Republicanism itself.

Conviction in the utility of political analysis as an end in itself is a manifestation of the same mindset for which affirmations of the abstract principles of 'liberty', 'equality' and 'fraternity' are what count most, regardless of their actual political

consequences.

In the months before the attacks, the opinion pages of the media had contained numerous rehearsals of the ideological manoeuvres that went into overdrive after November 13. The leading debates of September and October were focused not on the Middle East or Islamism, but on domestic politics and the likely electoral victories of the Front National.

A few weeks before the attacks, the magazine *Marianne* – vehicle of a reformist left nationalism – held a public meeting to defend what it saw as threats to free debate in France. The trigger was a controversy aroused by the position on the refugee crisis taken by the philosopher Michel Onfray, a major public celebrity.

Onfray had been [attacked](#) in the newspaper *Libération* by its editor, Laurent Joffrin, for a variety of reactionary comments on refugees – including casting doubt on the authenticity of the viral image of the drowned Syrian child Aylan Kurdi – and their relation to the economic and political empowerment of the French ‘people’. These positions, Joffrin correctly noted, played straight into the hands of the virulently Islamophobic and anti-refugee FN.

Joffrin excepted, speakers at the *Marianne* meeting defended intellectuals’ right not to have their opinions ‘stigmatized’ as reactionary. They did so using familiar Republican themes: freedom of expression, rationality, disagreement, intellectualism. The moral was that intellectuals must always be given free reign to pursue public political discussion; the ‘quality’ of the national debate depends on any convergences between their views and those of the far-right not being criticized.

Soon after the *Marianne* meeting, a new controversy broke out when the Front de Gauche’s Jean-Luc Mélenchon [called](#) on the publisher Fayard to abandon its plans to issue a revised critical edition of *Mein Kampf* in 2016.

Now it was Mélenchon’s turn to find himself the object of [sharp criticism](#) in *Libération* and elsewhere. In the eyes of his critics, publishing a scholarly edition of Hitler’s manifesto, with all the media fanfare that would be entailed, was an entirely responsible and, indeed, praiseworthy decision – even as the long-term accommodation of the major parties to the FN was poised to bring the far-right to significant positions of national power for the first time since Vichy.

The conclusion was clear: just as, with Onfray, philosophy must not be held accountable for its obvious effects in the real world, so too historical research must not be called into question on the grounds of the political fallout it may generate. The rightwards trend of French politics is to be deplored, except when it is driven by intellectual elites in the name of the ideals of ‘intellectual progress’, ‘scholarship’ or ‘knowledge’.

Before November, these positions were plainly motivated by the belief that, despite their proponents’ insistence on the sacrosanctity of debate, ideas, for them, actually *don’t* matter: they float in magisterial purity above the actual world, with which they never engage. As a result, the question of whether they help or hinder the FN cannot be seriously posed. The main function of this idealism was to insulate a caste of official experts from responsibility for their public interventions, and to ensure

that no political considerations interfered with the freewheeling course of public intellectual life. The pen must be allowed to err where it chooses, regardless of whose ideological sword is sharpened.

After November, the feverish insistence on Republican 'values' as the excuse for war rests on an equivalent idealism. Commitment to the abstract principle of democracy, equality, and human rights provides cover for the next round of wholly concrete bombs on the Middle East, and the continuing deepening of class and racial divides in French society.

In a familiar pattern in political history, artists' and intellectuals' fealty to established power, and to a spectatorial mode of political intervention decoupled from protest movements and other social forces, ensure their role, even against their will, in strengthening the hand of political elites.

<https://newmatilda.com/>

Considering the threat from global jihad to businesses and travellers



Simon Garrett CFIOSH, a threat analysis specialist, looks at the way in which the risks to businesses and staff travellers has changed, and what we should be doing now that the scale and the nature of the terrorist threat has fundamentally changed.

Amongst the mayhem in Paris on Friday 13th of November the armed assault on the Bataclan Theatre and the murder of 89 occupants brings home the reality of just how vulnerable public events and spaces are to attacks of this nature. The frequency and ferocity of these attacks mean that we need to examine the nature of this threat to our staff both at home and overseas. More specifically global companies need to look at their operational footprint and profile and assess their exposure to risk generally. Many companies already have robust plans and planning processes in place and train staff to deal with a crisis. These arrangements need to be reviewed to ensure they remain fit for purpose.

Under threat

Threat is defined as a combination of intent to harm and capability to do so. Terrorist outrages are not new and in previous decades we have had the Red Brigade, Baader-Meinhof, the IRA and others who bombed public places and fought gun battles on our city streets. The capability of ISIL in particular cannot be doubted. Since 31 October they have destroyed a Russian passenger jet, bombed a street in Beirut, and carried out six simultaneous assaults on targets in Paris amounting to three attacks of mass murder in three different countries inside a fortnight. No terrorist group in modern history, including Al-Qaeda, have demonstrated such operational breadth and direct reach in terms of destructive capability or the ability to inspire other terrorist groups to commit similar atrocities. In summary we face a terrorist threat in

terms of intent and capability which is more destructive and far reaching than ever before.

Most European countries have well trained counter insurgency police and troops that can respond quickly to an attack and contain it. Notwithstanding, since the attackers do not usually fear death or capture they are prepared to mount bold assaults in public places. The Bataclan Theatre is a case in point. Even against the famously aggressive and well-trained French anti-terrorist police three ISIL gunmen armed with assault rifles held them off for two hours and forty minutes whilst inside the building, firing into the tightly-packed audience of 1,500. It begs the question as to how effectively any business can plan or prepare for such an eventuality.

At board level and for key investors the essential question is whether the analysis of the threat changes the viability of any business undertaking in terms of whether the commercial benefits are worth the risk, particularly the risks to staff. In some cases the question is academic as official government advice against travelling has invalidated travel insurance which was the case in Sharm el Sheikh. The same has been seen with cancellations from those planning to take part in business conventions in Paris in the next few weeks. Insurers or other controlling stakeholders have simply vetoed participation.

More likely the problem will be passed down to an operational level to review risk assessment, planning processes and security arrangements. Traditionally worst case scenario planning envisages a serious fire or an explosive device causing multiple loss of life. In either case the drill is to use the fire exits to get away from the hazard with the assumption that the emergency services would be quickly on the scene. We now face the problem that the drill of making one's way quickly and calmly to the nearest fire exit may be the very opposite of the best course of action in the face of, for example, marauding gunmen with assault rifles. The question is how we nuance our emergency drills to take account of the change in threat without over complicating them. What is the response if, as seems more likely, employees are caught up in an attack on their hotel or multiple attacks close by in the city in which they happen to be staying?

The threat to staff abroad

In sub Saharan Africa the threat from groups like Boko Haram in Nigeria and Al Shaabab in Kenya is typified by the latter's activities killing 67 in Nairobi's upmarket Westgate shopping mall which Kenyan security forces took four days to control. In April four members held hostage over 500 students for ten hours at Garissa University. It took seven hours for a response to be deployed, long after the media had already arrived, and another three hours to mount a rescue by which time 148 students had been killed. The growing threat in African states is exacerbated by the apparent weakness of their anti-terrorist security forces and their failures in intelligence and response. It is not certain that a group like Al Shaabab would be capable of attacking an international airport but it is reasonable to assume that they could successfully attack a much more lightly protected convention centre or an executive hotel in the style of the attack on the Taj Hotel in Mumbai in 2008 and now in Mali. Business executives spend a great deal of their time in these places and companies should ask themselves whether they even fully understand the true nature of the threat to their staff in some of the countries in which they operate.

In conclusion, it is important not to lose our sense of perspective or indeed become fixated with the events in Paris since global businesses are exposed to a range of threats and other risks. Perhaps the key issue here is that the scale and the nature of the threat has fundamentally changed. Even in the worst case scenarios for which we train, the emergency and security services are quickly on hand to take control and yet we have seen that, depending on where you are in the world, that can take hours or even days. The unpalatable conclusion is that following the events in Paris our worst case scenarios for planning and training just got worse by some measure.

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<http://www.shponline.co.uk/>

Germany

Germany: Salafist "Aid Workers" Recruiting Refugees

December 9, 2015

- ✦ Salafists disguised as aid workers are canvassing German refugee shelters in search of new recruits from among the nearly one million asylum seekers who have arrived this year from Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Some Salafists are offering gifts of money and clothing. Others are offering translation services and inviting migrants to their homes for tea.
- ✦ "The absolutist nature of Salafism contradicts significant parts of the German constitutional order. Specifically, Salafism rejects the democratic principles of separation of state and religion, popular sovereignty, religious and sexual self-determination, gender equality and the fundamental right to physical integrity... The movement also has an affinity for violence." — Germany's domestic intelligence agency.
- ✦ "Come to us. We will show you Paradise." — Salafist literature distributed in Schleswig-Holstein.
- ✦ Many young Muslims in Germany "believe in conspiracy theories, cherish anti-Semitic thoughts and do not think democratically." For these people, "Islam is their only identity." — Ahmad Mansour, former Muslim Brotherhood member, author and expert on Islam.
- ✦ The main Muslim groups in Germany all adhere to fundamentalist interpretations of Islam and are anti-Western in outlook. — Ansgar Mönter, editor, *Neue Westfälische*.

A local preacher addresses Muslim refugees in Münster, Germany. Local authorities later cut off con-



tact with the preacher's organization due to suspicions of radical Islamism. (Image source: Westfälische Nachrichten video screenshot)

The revelations by Hans-Georg Maassen, the director of the Germany's domestic

intelligence agency, the *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz* (BfV), come amid growing fears that jihadists linked to the Islamic State have infiltrated Germany by posing as refugees.

In a December 3 [interview](#) with the Berlin newspaper, *Der Tagesspiegel*, Maassen said that the number of Salafists in Germany has now risen to 7,900. This is up from 7,000 in 2014, 5,500 in 2013, 4,500 in 2012, and 3,800 in 2011.

Although Salafists make up only a small fraction of the estimated six million Muslims living in Germany today, intelligence officials say that most of those attracted to Salafi ideology are impressionable young Muslims, male and [female](#) alike, who are willing to carry out terrorist acts in the name of Islam at a moment's notice.

Salafists — who follow what they say was the original Islam practiced in the 7th and 8th centuries — openly state that they want to replace democracy in Germany (and the rest of the world) with an Islamic government based on Sharia law.

In its annual [report](#) for 2014, released in June 2015, the BfV said that Salafism is the "most dynamic Islamist movement in Germany." It added:

"The Salafist scene constitutes a considerable recruitment field for jihad. Salafist ideology purports to be based exclusively on the principles of the Koran, and the example of the Prophet Mohammed and the first three generations of Muslims. The movement also has an affinity for violence. Almost without exception, all of the people with links to Germany who have joined the jihad [Islamic State] had prior contacts with Salafist structures. Also in 2014, Salafists tried to draw attention to themselves with rallies and provocations, including the READ! campaign and the Sharia Police."

The BfV was referring to an effort by Salafists to [enforce](#) Sharia law on the streets of Wuppertal, a city in North Rhine-Westphalia, the state with the largest Muslim population in Germany. Salafists have also [organized](#) a mass proselytization and recruitment campaign — Project READ! — aimed at placing a German translation of the Koran in every household in Germany, free of charge.

A previous BfV report [stated](#):

"The absolutist nature of Salafism contradicts significant parts of the German constitutional order. Specifically, Salafism rejects the democratic principles of separation of state and religion, popular sovereignty, religious and sexual self-determination, gender equality and the fundamental right to physical integrity."

Speaking to *Der Tagesspiegel*, Maassen also defended himself against accusations that his agency has failed adequately to vet incoming refugees to ensure that jihadists are not infiltrating Germany. He [said](#):

"My agency has repeatedly pointed to this possibility. Looking at the overall situation, I am advocating a differentiated approach. It would be wrong to see all asylum seekers as a terrorist threat. It would also be shortsighted to act as if the flow of refugees will not have any impact on our security. Salafists are trying to win new followers in the vicinity of refugee camps."

Critics say that Maassen is downplaying the migrant-jihadist threat to Germany to

protect German Chancellor Angela Merkel and her open-door migration policy.

The editor of *Tagesspiegel's* editorial page, Malte Lehming, has accused Maassen of trying to "influence the political discourse for the benefit of the government." In a scathing [editorial](#), entitled, "German Intelligence Has Been Discredited," Lehming wrote that three of the jihadists who carried out the November terrorist attacks in Paris entered the European Union posing as refugees and holding false passports.

According to Lehming, this development is "highly inconvenient" for German intelligence, which has been "disgraced to the core." This is because up until the Paris attacks, Maassen had insisted that the possibility that terrorists could enter the country by posing as refugees was, at best, an "abstract danger."

Lehming continued:

"The assessment of the German secret services has been discredited ever since the Paris attacks. The question remains, why did they lean so far out on this point?

"Possibility One: They really did not know. This would be appalling. Hundreds of thousands of refugees have entered Germany unchecked. If the security services have no idea who has come here, this country will have a massive problem.

"Possibility Two: The secret services know more than they are publicly saying, but they do not want to stir up panic among the general public that Islamists could be among the refugees."

Some are [attributing](#) the fact that Germany has not suffered a major jihadist attack to sheer luck.

According to Ahmad Mansour, an Israeli-Arab expert on Islam who has lived in Germany for more than a decade, the German government is not doing nearly enough to combat Islamism.

Mansour, the author of "*Generation Allah*," a new [book](#) about the radicalization of young German Muslims, says that the number of Islamic radicals in Germany is likely to grow to such an extent that German authorities will no longer be able to keep track of them.

In an [interview](#) with *Die Welt*, Mansour — a member of the Muslim Brotherhood for more than a decade until he abandoned Islamism in the late 1990s — said that many young Muslims in Germany "believe in conspiracy theories, cherish anti-Semitic thoughts and do not think democratically." For these people, "Islam is their only identity."

Mansour said the German government "lacks a plan" to deal with the problem. He added that much of the blame lies with "highly problematic" Islam teachers who are radicalizing German youth. Commenting on the question of why jihadists have not yet carried out a major attack in Germany, Mansour said: "So far Germany has been lucky."

This assessment has also been voiced by German Interior Minister Thomas de Maizière, who has [conceded](#): "So far we have been lucky. Unfortunately, this may not always be the case."

India

Battle Of Minds: Radicalization Growing In Kashmir Valley – Analysis

DECEMBER 2, 2015



Kashmir Valley. Photo by Saad siddiqui56, Wikipedia Commons.

Radicalisation in Jammu & Kashmir has three dimensions: regional, ethnic and religious. The theme of this article is limited to religious radicalisation because its growing influence is considered as a threat to national security. The disturbing trend is that Hurriyat, on the directions of its masters in Pak, is trying to spread Salafism/Wahhabism in the region South of Pir Panjal; a region which has been peaceful ever since the terrorism was rolled up the Pir Panjal into the Valley and was contained there by the security forces (SFs) more than a decade ago.

The youth in particular is being targeted. “If the youth in J&K become victims of new Salafised version of Islam, the consequences for entire India would be grave.” This warning has been sounded by M.K. Narayanan, a former National Security Advisor in his recent widely published article. He further goes on to say, “that radicalisation is gaining ground is no longer a secret. Radicalisation, rather than militancy and alienation, should thus be seen as the new threat in Kashmir. The danger is real.”

On the other hand the Indian Army commander in Kashmir, Lt Gen Subroto Shah, in an interview on the eve of his departure stated “radicalisation is getting unnecessary hype in Kashmir.” What is the truth? Is the situation critical as perceived by the former NSA or there is a ray of hope as seen by the former military commander?

Radicalisation is not new to Kashmir. Ever since the advent of Islam in Kashmir

Valley, it has been through phases of radicalisation depending upon the attitude of the ruler. But the silver lining is that every time it emerged out of that phase successfully without causing immense damage to its social fabric. The major credit for this goes to the Muslim Rishis (a Sufi order in Kashmir) and Pirs of the Valley who preached pluralism and tolerance towards other religions. The net consequence was the emergence of Kashmiriyat, the backbone of the philosophy of co-existence in the Valley.

Sufism is the mainstay of Kashmiriyat. Kashmiri Islam, a variant of Sufism, differs from the mainstream fanatical Islam in that the former is based on the teachings of its famous Rishis. The Rishis were Muslim and the spread of Islam was their prime motive yet they raised their voice against political oppression by the tyrant Kings.

Kashmir is also known as Rishi Waer or Pir Waer (the land of Rishis and Pirs). Kashmiriyat is the confluence of its land and people following different faiths: Sufism, Shaivism, Sikhism and Buddhism. The current phase of radicalisation in the Valley has a few distinct features; Sufism is being replaced by Salafism, more youth is being radicalised, polarisation among the Sunni Muslims, encourages separatism, the free-flow of Wahhabi literature and petro-dollars and the proxy war unleashed by Pakistan through ISI sponsored jihadist terrorist outfits. It also coincides with the growing radicalisation internationally and growth of deadly global jihadist terror outfits like Al Qaeda and ISIS.

Salafism, as the readers should know, is alien to Kashmir but is gaining ground in Kashmir at the cost of Hanafi school of thought, which is mainly a moderate version of practice of Islam with a tinge of Sufism in it. Drawing parallels, Salafism/Wahhabism is akin to Deobandi school of thought and is a more puritanical form of Islam practised in Arab world and Sufism is akin to shrine-going Barelvi school of thought.

The main cause of spread of Salafism, radicalised Islam, was the disenchantment of the younger generations with Sufism practised by their elders. The continued violence and finding no end to their political struggle, the cadre of jihadist terrorist organisations like LET and JEM were able to convince the educated Kashmiri youth that Sufism portrays an image of tolerance, meekness and pacifism taking the Kashmiris for granted.

As it is, the Kashmiri youth has been disillusioned with the state for a variety of reasons. Growing unemployment, perceived denial of political empowerment, alleged excesses of SFs, the fear of losing unique Kashmiri Muslim identity through engineered demographic changes, poor governance, frequent bandhs and hartals leading to long confinements, crumbling infrastructure, faulty strategies of the governments in Delhi, perceived neglect of the Kashmiris by the Centre and patronisation of Jammu and Ladakh regions by New Delhi, has fostered a sense of alienation among the Kashmiri youth; a feeling of them versus us, and which is doing nothing good to the Indian cause of unity and harmony.

Initial indoctrination of the youth took place in jails and prisons outside Kashmir where the captured hard-core Jihadist terrorists and the young Kashmiris were imprisoned together. A few of the disenchanting youth was attracted to Salafism by them on release from jails. Its further spread was also aided by free flow of petro-dollars from Saudi Arabia resulting in mushrooming of Madrasas espousing Wahabi

ideology, easy availability of Wahabi literature, construction of new modern well equipped Wahabi mosques and the lure of free higher studies in Saudi theological universities. Printed literature, cell phones and social media, the main sources of Salafi literature, also attracted the unemployed educated youth who spent lot of time in confinement due to frequent Bandhs. Easy availability of Video clips featuring popular Salafi clerics and ISIS literature on YouTube is another contributing factor. Unfortunately, Salafi clerics did not confine themselves to merely spreading their school of thought but also launched a tirade against Sufism and Kashmiriyat thus poisoning young Kashmiri minds against pluralism and tolerance leading to radicalisation. Salafism became epitome of separatism.

Fortunately, the situation is alarming but not critical. Most Kashmiris and other Muslims still revere mausoleums and shrines and consider them to be part of their cultural heritage. “Kashmiriyat may be down; it is not out”, according to Dr. Vijay Sazawal, a Kashmiri writer. As evident, spread of Salafism has political, social and economic reasons. According to JamatAhl-e-Hadith, only 16% of Kashmir’s population is under its fold. There lies the ray of hope. Bulk of its 8 million Muslim-populations is still not radicalised.

To prevent any further erosion, the government needs to address the socio-political and economic concerns of the Kashmiris. Some suggested measures are: revival of Kashmiriyat and Sufism, creation and promotion of inter-faith tourist circuits(Shiv Khori-Shahdra Sharief-Buddah Amarnath-Gurudwara Nagali Sahib in Jammu and Mattan-Charar-i-Sharif, Kheer Bhawani-Shankracharya-Gurudwara Chatti Padshahi-Hazartbal in Kashmir), restoration of mutual trust, job creation, modernisation of Madrasas, application of “Prevention of Misuse of Religious places and shrines Act” in J&K, check free-flow of funds from Saudi Arabia, projection of Pakistan as a failed state and sell India’s success story, counter Pak propaganda through Kashir channel by its complete overhaul, female education and empowerment of women, return of Kashmiri Pundits, opening of IT parks, modernisation of police and develop it into a well-trained, equipped and motivated people-friendly force so that foot fall of Army and CAPFs can be reduced, prevent misuse of social media and empowerment of Panchayati Raj Institutions.

Tackling radicalisation is a battle of minds. Hence, a sustained effort with new approach and outlook to win the hearts and minds needs to be launched. De-radicalisation is like detoxification and would require a sustained and continuous effort. I am positive that true Kashmiriyat will return sooner than later, if the issue is addressed without any vested interests and gradually, Sufism will soften the followers of Salafism as well.

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A poll published on December 3 by the newsmagazine *Stern* [found](#) that 61% of Germans believe jihadists will attack their country in the near future. The poll shows that 58% think the German military should be attacking the Islamic State, although 63% believe this would lead to retaliation in the form of terrorist attacks in Germany. Overall, nearly 75% of Germans believe the government needs to do more to prevent terrorism in the country.

The head of the Federal Criminal Police Agency (*Bundeskriminalamt, BKA*), Holger Münch, has [acknowledged](#) that German intelligence lacks the human resources necessary to track all of the most dangerous Islamists in the country. "Given the number of potential attackers, we must prioritize," he said.

According to the newspaper *Bild*, at least 60 police officers are necessary to [monitor](#) just one German jihadist around the clock.

Meanwhile, some German Salafists are posing as aid workers and are offering gifts of money and clothing in efforts to recruit asylum seekers. Others are offering translation services and inviting migrants to their homes for tea. Still others are handing out leaflets with information about local Salafist mosques. In an interview with the *Rheinische Post*, BfV Chief Maassen [said](#):

"Many of the asylum seekers have a Sunni religious background. In Germany there is a Salafist scene that sees this as a breeding ground. We are observing that Salafists are appearing at the shelters disguised as volunteers and helpers, deliberately seeking contact with refugees to invite them to their mosques to recruit them to their cause."

In the northern German state of Schleswig-Holstein, Salafists are [distributing](#) literature with the message: "Come to us. We will show you Paradise."

In Frankfurt, city officials are now [sending](#) teams of police, translators and social workers to refugee shelters to warn asylum seekers of the dangers of Islamic radicalism. The teams are also educating migrants about the German legal system, religious freedom and the equal rights for men and women.

In Bielefeld, a city in North Rhine-Westphalia, Salafists are [infiltrating](#) refugee centers by bringing toys, fruits and vegetables for the migrants.

According to the editor of the newspaper *Neue Westfälische*, Ansgar Mönter, "naïve" politicians are contributing to the radicalization of refugees by inviting Muslim umbrella groups to reach out to the migrants.

Mönter [points](#) out that the main Muslim groups in Germany all adhere to fundamentalist interpretations of Islam and are anti-Western in outlook. Some groups have ties to the Muslim Brotherhood, while others want to implement Sharia law in Germany. According to Mönter, politicians should not be encouraging these groups to establish contact with the new migrants.

<http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/>

Pakistan

The deadly link between San Bernardino and Pakistan

The link between California shooters and Pakistan has once again highlighted the danger the country poses as a terror exporter. US-based Islamism expert Arif Jamal tells DW why Washington can no longer ignore the threat.



DW: What sort of links did San Bernardino shooters Tashfeen Malik and Syed Farook have with radical Islamist groups in Pakistan, and how much did they influence the killings?

Arif Jamal: We still do not have authentic information on the links between the San Bernardino mass shooters and radical Islamist groups in Pakistan or elsewhere. Tashfeen Malik was a relatively liberal and modern woman for her family in Pakistan's Punjab province until a couple of years ago. Several members of her family



Jamal: The Wahhabist and Salafist interpretations of the Quran are at the root of the rise of modern jihadism

reportedly belong to the terrorist outfit Ahlay Sunnat Wal Jamaat - formerly known as Sipah-e-Sahaba (the Army of the Prophet's Companions) - but there is so far no evidence that she was also an ASWJ member.

Also, the Bahauddin Zakariya University in the city of Multan, where Malik had studied, is a hub of Islamist groups. Although indoctrination must have started much earlier, we see a radical change in her a few years ago, particularly after she moved to the United States. It seems the couple was actually indoctrinated by American Islamic organizations. Islamic organizations conveniently blame Western foreign policies for the rise of jihadism.

How do you analyze the claim by the "Islamic State" (IS) that its "supporters" carried out the attack in the US? What does IS mean by "supporters"?

It is highly plausible that the San Bernardino shooters were influenced by the IS call to take up arms against the infidel West without the practical support from the Middle Eastern militant group. In fact, the available evidence is clearly leading to this conclusion. The IS call for jihad against the West is actually directed at people who are already indoctrinated and need a push to carry out violence. The IS seems to be succeeding in its strategy to destabilize the Western countries.

DW RECOMMENDS

Obama: US won't be intimidated

President Obama has insisted that the US "will not be terrorized" and renewed calls for tighter gun control laws. His address followed an "Islamic State" claim that it inspired the deadly San Bernardino shooting. (05.12.2015)

Investigators believe San Bernardino shooter pledged allegiance to 'IS' leader

Pakistan's educated jihadists

It's been reported that Tashfeen Malik had met with IS supporter and cleric Maulana Abdul Aziz in Islamabad. Why do Pakistani authorities continue to ignore the threat posed by pro-IS clerics and organizations in the country?

The reports of her links with Aziz of Islamabad's Red Mosque, which is affiliated with the IS, do not seem to be authentic. They are attributed to nameless sources in London and appear to be mere speculation. US officials do not seem to have any such knowledge. As we know that the shooters were influenced by IS and its ideology, it is quite possible that they had had some links with the Red Mosque clerics. If there were any links between the shooters and the Red Mosque, they were more likely ideological.

What is driving Muslims living in the US toward groups like IS?

The most important reason behind the Muslims' fascination with jihadism in the US and elsewhere is their victimhood syndrome. Jihadism teaches them that the failures of Muslims as individuals and as an ummah (community) are caused by the infidels, who must be fought against, as Islamic scriptures order them.

To what extent is Saudi Wahhabism, which many experts believe provides ideological impetus to global jihadi groups, influencing American Muslims?

The Wahhabist and Salafist interpretations of the Quran and hadith are at the root of the rise of modern global jihadism. Unlike other Islamic denominations, Wahhabism and Salafism teach the literal interpretation of the Islamic scriptures. Salafism aims at establishing a caliphate similar to the earliest time in the Islamic history, when the Muslims were constantly at war with the rest of the world. The three biggest jihadist organizations - IS, Jamaat ud-Dawa (or Lashkar-e-Taiba) and Boko Haram - are Salafist.

What, in your opinion, would be the repercussions of the San Bernardino killings on Pakistanis and Muslims living in the US?



The shooting in southern California killed 14 people

Muslims in America have come under severe pressure from the society. There have been some attacks on mosques and Islamic centers. Muslim Americans have reported that the atmosphere in their offices has become tense. Some have told me that they never faced such backlash since the 9/11 attacks. Since one of the two shooters was a woman, Muslim women have also become suspect in the eyes of non-Muslim Americans. Muslim women were not subject to such hateful treatment before.

Will the Obama administration pressure Islamabad to crack down on Islamist radical groups or will it continue with its softer approach toward its ally?

The Obama administration is likely to increase pressure on Pakistan to rein in jihadist groups and close the jihadist factories, but it is highly unlikely it will work in the absence of some sort of economic and military sanctions. The verbal pressure has not worked in the last 15 to 25 years. We may see some halfhearted action by Pakistani authorities against the Red Mosque group if there is enough evidence of

their involvement in this shooting. Nothing more.

Arif Jamal is an independent US-based journalist and author of several books, including "Call For Transnational Jihad: Lashkar-e-Taiba, 1985-2014."

The interview was conducted by Shamil Shams.

<http://www.dw.com/>

Taking the lead: The Muslim anti-terror alliance

15 December 2015

Even the Germans, who have since World War II adopted a policy of avoiding wars, have decided to engage in the battle against terrorist organizations and send a military force to Syria. Prior to this, the Russians had declared they would get involved in Syria, thus daring to impose their political vision on the region and the world.

Due to this international and regional vacuum, certain countries have decided to act against terrorist organizations that consider themselves Muslim, such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). The damage these groups cause is no longer limited to conflict zones, as extremism and terrorism have become a threat to Muslims and the international community.

We are glad that Riyadh, the capital of the Muslim world, has taken the initiative amid this vacuum, and to fight this germ that is spreading quickly on all continents. The world's primary enemy today is the terrorism of Islamist organizations. It is very important that action is taken, and that we do not let others assume our responsibilities, thus allowing them to decide and draw the world's political and ideological map.

For example, we will not agree with Russia on the categorization of terrorists, and we will not accept the sectarian categorization that we have been recently hearing from Washington. It is impossible to sit on the sidelines and watch as each party claims it is the one that will fight terrorist organizations in the region and the world.

Implementation

The good thing about this Muslim anti-terror alliance, announced by Saudi Deputy Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman, is that it is not simply an idea or suggestion, but an integrated project. So far, 34 out of 52 Muslim countries have joined. Therefore, the first military alliance of Muslim countries - which can say they are the legitimate ones to fight groups that use Islam to spread chaos and threaten societies - has been born.

Saudi Arabia's success in establishing this alliance is an important development that is based on international legitimacy and will produce major results

Abdulrahman al-Rashed

It is a must to move forward and not yield to others. Saudi Arabia's success in establishing this alliance is an important development that is based on international legitimacy and will produce major results. Iran has tried to establish a grouping that represents it in its war in Syria and Iraq, but it failed because its project was hostile and sectarian. In the end, it turned out to be a gathering for militias, not states.

There are plenty of things the Riyadh-based alliance can do, but I do not believe it will fight other countries' wars if they do not ask for help. If Egypt desires, it will get military support to confront armed extremist groups in Sinai.

The coalition will also help if international organizations such as the United Nations, or regional ones such as the Arab League, seek its assistance to fight terrorism in countries where there is no legitimacy such as Libya and Syria, or where legitimacy is weak such as in Yemen and Mali.

<http://english.alarabiya.net/en/>

The cost of terrorism keeps on rising

DEC. 10, 2015

The recent attacks in Paris by the Islamic state (ISIS) has again turned the spotlight onto terrorism. The Islamic state group which has emerged from Iraq and taken over large portions of Iraq and Syria is also threatening Europe and other regions. The invocation of terrorism has never gone away regionally, with almost daily reports of killings, bombs, and suicide missions. But now terrorism has become ubiquitous, and reaches nations which typically resolve conflicts through peaceful means.

Since 2001, apart from many local killings, there have been separate large scale attacks on the United Kingdom, Spain, India and Russia. Where we used to differentiate our analysis from a philosophical, existential, and economic perspective between the “civilized” and the “uncivilized” world, we now have to cast our vote between barbarous and non-barbarous adversaries.

One major impact of terrorism will be on travel and tourism. The New York Times recently reported that current numbers of tourists are already showing a slight decrease to areas that have experienced terrorist attacks. This is especially significant for France which had 84 million foreign visitors last year and for which travel and tourism accounts for nearly 9 percent of its economy. Flight cancellations to Paris were felt days after the attack. Bookings for future trips has dropped by a third as compared to last years numbers. A similar situation occurred in the United States after the Sept 11, 2001 attacks and according to statistics from the United States Office for Travel and Tourism, it took five years for international visits to exceed their 9/11 numbers.

Tight security regulations and very strict border control are some of the factors that contributed to the decrease in foreign visits. Europe which relies heavily on tourism may be heavily affected by the recent Paris attacks if movement across the 26 countries in the Schengen region will be restricted. Already, we are seeing temporary border controls being erected in light of the migration crisis in the Middle East and Africa. Once in place, new security measures might be hard to dismantle again.

With the Euro zone experiencing the slowest growth in years, the Paris attacks may do great harm to the already weak economies in the region. Last month, Forbes reported that spending during the busiest business month of the year may be curbed. The transfer of goods across boundaries could greatly affect the manufacturing industries in the region. And with businesses poised to expand to countries in the Middle East, the recent attacks may halt those plans.

Another outcome of the terrorism threat has been a rise of public-private partnerships, in which governments and firms collaborate to counter terrorism. For example, global police agencies now partner regularly with private firms to combat cyber crime and attacks on critical computer infrastructure. Governments and activist groups now use social media to organize campaigns fighting against threats ranging from dictators to disease. But nations also have begun to curtail social media when they are contrary to government interests.

Policy measures intended to increase security may lessen the efficiency of global

transportation and logistical systems. The unintended consequences of such actions may increase market imperfections and raise business costs further, and may alter the environment in many ways more harmful to business interests than the terrorist events that provoked them. While everyone can agree on the need to guard against terrorism a key question is always: Who pays?

From a global perspective, terrorism's effects are present for many firms, even those who see themselves as quite remote from any location affected by terrorism. Today's climate of global commerce involves extensive interaction with countless distributors and customers. Producers and marketers rely on suppliers and suppliers' suppliers to obtain goods and components. Such extensive networks increase the exposure of firms to events that take place at a far distance. Even firms perceived as having little international involvement may depend on the receipt of imported goods and are therefore subject to shortages or delays of inputs and the disruption of company operations.

In an article by Professor Sheffi of MIT, he cites the importance of having to understand that in today's business climate of global competition and rapid response, firms no longer have the luxury of just aiming for "survival" in case of a terror attack. Instead, firms need to be flexible in order to be able to withstand shocks. They must offer assured continuity to their suppliers, their clients, their employees, and other stakeholders in order to inspire confidence in the relationship. Flexible firms will recover more quickly and can more readily sustain performance in the aftermath of terrorism's direct and indirect consequences. Firms need to develop continuity plans to deal with crises. Such plans may, for example, facilitate a shift of production to different regions of the world in the wake of unanticipated disruptive events. Particularly for firms that engage in massive outsourcing, the reliance on a single or even limited number or locations of suppliers, is quite risky. Ongoing business relationships after a terrorist incident need to be a principal goal of any firm. Apart from the importance of such an achievement for the viability of the firm, business continuity also denies terrorists their achievements.

Especially small and medium-size enterprises, have limited resources and competing priorities. Managers are disinclined to plan for contingencies that (a) may occur at some distant future time (e.g., not this quarter); (b) involve high levels of uncertainty and are therefore difficult to measure and plan for; and (c) shareholders and stakeholders view as relatively unimportant. A key challenge for policy makers, therefore, is to stimulate managers to invest the time and money to deal with the threat and possible effects of terrorism and other emergencies.

<http://www.japantoday.com/>

There Have Been Six Successful Acts of Islamic Terrorism on American Soil Since 9/11

Five happened after 2008

December 7, 2015



The killings in San Bernardino, California, on Wednesday mark the sixth successful attack motivated by Islamic extremism in America since September 11, 2001, according to a *Washington Free Beacon* analysis.

The analysis counts attacks conducted by people espousing a radical Islamist ideology, and which resulted in at least one murder. The six incidents were carried out across the country from Boston to Tennessee to California. The terrorists involved employed either firearms, explosives, or a combination of the two during their attacks. Five of the six attacks have occurred since 2009.

The first of the post-9/11 attacks on American soil occurred at Los Angeles International Airport on July 4th, 2002, where an Egyptian national, Hesham Mohamed Hadayet, murdered two Israelis and injured four others at the El Al ticket counter before being killed by security.

“Federal investigators determined that the shooting at the El Al ticket counter at Los Angeles International Airport on July 4, 2002, was a terrorist act carried out by a lone gunman bent on becoming a martyr,” [CNN reported at the time](#). “They characterized the shooting as an act of terrorism because Hadayet espoused anti-Israeli views and was opposed to U.S. policy in the Middle East, the sources said.” After the El Al attack there were no successful Islamic terrorist attacks in America

until 2009, when two were carried out within six months of one another. The first occurred at a military recruiting center in Little Rock, Arkansas, on June 1st, 2009, when Abdulhakim Mujahid Muhammad shot and killed an Army private and wounded another soldier. Muhammad told investigators he converted to Islam as a teenager and said he carried out his attack because he “was angry about the killing of Muslims in Iraq and Afghanistan,” [according to *The New York Times*](#).

The next attack happened on August 5, 2009, in Fort Hood, Texas. Nidal Hasan, a U.S. Army major who had been radicalized after communicating with al Qaeda propagandist Anwar al-Awlaki, attacked troops at the base, killing thirteen while shouting “Allahu akbar!” Hasan justified his actions by arguing in court that the United States was conducting “illegal and immoral aggression against Muslims” in Iraq and Afghanistan, [according to *The Washington Post*](#).

On April 15, 2013, Tamerlan and Dzhokhar Tsarnaev set off two bombs at the Boston Marathon, killing three and injuring 264 others, before later killing a police officer. “The portrait investigators have begun to piece together of the two brothers suspected of the Boston Marathon bombings suggests that they were motivated by extremist Islamic beliefs but were not acting with known terrorist groups,” [the *New York Times* reported at the time](#). “They may have learned to build bombs simply by logging onto the online English-language magazine of the affiliate of Al Qaeda in Yemen, law enforcement officials said Tuesday.”

Thus far in 2015 there have been two successful Islamic terrorist attacks on American soil. The first occurred on July 16, 2015, when Muhammad Youssef Abdulazeez killed five in a shooting attack on a military recruiting center and another military facility in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Though the FBI still [hasn’t made an official announcement](#) on whether the attack was an act of terror, Abdulazeez described others who engaged in Islamic jihad “the best human beings that ever lived” on his personal website, and had recordings of speeches by Anwar al-Awlaki, the same American cleric linked to the Fort Hood shootings, who was killed in an airstrike in Yemen in 2011.

The FBI has announced that it is investigating the attack in San Bernardino, California, as an act linked to terrorism. Syed Rizwan Farook and his wife Tashfeen Malik killed 14 and injured 21 others last week. Malik pledged her support for Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the leader of the Islamic State, on Facebook during the shooting, [the *Washington Post* reports](#). “The investigation so far has developed indications of radicalization by the killers and of potential inspiration by foreign terrorist organizations,” FBI Director James Comey said on Friday.

There have been a number of unsuccessful terrorist attacks inspired by radical Islam in the same time period, including a failed effort [to blow up a trans-Atlantic flight](#) with a “shoe bomb,” an [attempt to set off a bomb in Times Square in 2010](#), and an [attempt to murder attendees at an event featuring cartoons of the prophet Mohammed](#) in Texas this year.

<http://freebeacon.com/>

Yemen

With region in turmoil, West pushes for Yemen peace

14 December 2015



A tribesman loyal to the Houthi movement holds a machine gun as he attends a gathering to show support for the group in Yemen's capital Sanaa December 14, 2015. REUTERS/Khaled Abdullah

- * War locked in stalemate, Islamic State thrives in chaos
- * Both sides score successes in battle
- * U.S. fears Gulf Arabs preoccupied with Yemen, not IS fight

By Mohammed Ghobari and Noah Browning

DUBAI, Dec 14 (Reuters) - Alarmed by the rise of Islamic State, under pressure from the West and with stalemate on the battlefield, Yemen's civil war foes are expected to launch their most serious peace efforts so far at U.N.-mediated talks in Geneva starting on Tuesday.

The nine-month-old conflict between a Saudi-led Arab alliance and the Iranian-allied Houthis has outlasted two earlier U.N. attempts at peace making, caused one of the world's worst humanitarian crises and pushed Yemen towards total chaos.

Fuelling the urgency behind Tuesday's talks is a perception in the West that the war, in part a proxy contest between rivals Saudi Arabia and Iran, is a dangerous distraction diverting regional attention from what should be the pre-eminent task of

fighting IS on its home turf and ending Syria's larger war.

"There is an opportunity now more than at any of the previous talks and negotiations to stop this war ... to confront terrorism and challenges," a spokesman for the Saudis' adversary, the Houthi militia group, Mohammed Abdul-Salam, said.

According to officials in the government of President Abd-Rabbu Mansour Hadi, Western countries are keen to avoid a power vacuum that could give jihadist militants the haven they now enjoy in the southern port of Aden and other lawless areas.

The newest branch of Islamic State has exploited the chaos to launch spectacular attacks in Yemen on both the Shi'ite mosques of the Houthis and senior officials and troops loyal to the government.

"In recent weeks, Washington and London have exerted intense pressure on President Hadi and the government side to make concessions and not to be extreme in terms of executing the Security Council Resolution," one senior Yemeni government official told Reuters.

"GULF STATES PRE-OCCUPIED"

The official was referring to a U.N. Security Council Resolution in April that called on the Houthis to quit the capital, Sanaa, and other cities they seized in late 2014 and early 2015.

"There's an international inclination toward preserving the Houthis and allowing them to continue having an active political role, especially in terms of ... confronting terrorism," the official said.

Unstable ever since a 2011 revolt toppled veteran president Ali Abdullah Saleh, Yemen finally plunged into civil war last year when the ex-leader joined forces with the Houthis to seize power, triggering a Gulf Arab military intervention.

Neither side has prevailed militarily and in the wake of a rash of attacks claimed by Islamic State, the United States has increased calls for the Gulf to divert their diplomatic and military attention away from Yemen back toward the militants' main base in Syria and Iraq.

"Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states joined the air campaign in the early days, but have since been pre-occupied by the conflict in Yemen," U.S. Defense Secretary Ash Carter told the Senate Armed Services Committee this month.

"I, too, wish that particularly the Sunni Arab nations of the Gulf would do more," he added.

Yemeni analyst Farea al-Muslimi said officials on both sides were cautiously optimistic about Geneva, amid unprecedented diplomatic pressure for peace, but hopes were not high of quick progress.

"Expectations are low in terms of finding a way for the Yemeni state to be put back together and finding an authority that could run the country," analyst al-Muslimi said.

"A longer-lasting ceasefire, the removal of the Saudi-led blockade on Yemeni ports

and even a rough framework to keep the talks going is about as much as can be hoped for right now."

AIR STRIKES

The United Nations says at least 5,800 people, nearly half of them civilians, have been killed since Saudi-led air strikes began in March against the Houthis, who say they are conducting a revolution against what they call Hadi's corruption. More than 21 million people in Yemen require some kind of humanitarian assistance to survive - about 80 percent of the population.

Saudi and Emirati forces fighting alongside Hadi's loyalists in Yemen's south and east have made few significant gains since grabbing the port city of Aden.

Meanwhile, Houthi and Saleh forces have hit back by launching missiles at Gulf forces and held their own on the battlefield, although they appear unable to impose their writ on the whole country.

Previous talks have stumbled over Hadi's insistence that his foes immediately heed the United Nations and quit Yemen's population centres - an unlikely prospect given their dominance there.

But with Yemen so divided and its political classes polarised, few in the country expect the Geneva talks to hammer out a political transition and even pausing the daily killings would be considered a major accomplishment.

<http://www.trust.org/>

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