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Terrorism in Africa

Known unknowns and the fight against violent extremism

18 February 2016

Peter Fabricius on Australia's Ambassador for Counter-Terrorism Miles Armitage recent presentation to the ISS

The question 'can violent extremism be prevented?' was a 'fairly challenging proposition,' Australia's Ambassador for Counter-Terrorism Miles Armitage conceded at a seminar this week at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), which asked exactly that.

The question took one into the realm of Rumsfeldian logic, Armitage said. He was referring, of course, to former United States secretary of defence Donald Rumsfeld's famous reply in February 2002, when asked about the lack of evidence linking the government of Iraq with the supply of weapons of mass destruction to terrorist groups.

There were 'known knowns ... things we know we know. We also know there are known unknowns, things we know we do not know,' he said. 'But there are also unknown unknowns; the ones we don't know we don't know,' he added. These last were the difficult questions. Armitage suggested the ISS seminar topic 'Can violent extremism be prevented?' belonged to Rumsfeld's second category, of 'known unknowns.' Nevertheless, Armitage then went on to suggest that there would always be some minority support for some form of violent extremism.

So, rather than fixating on whether the scourge could be eliminated absolutely, one should rather just focus on trying to prevent and counter it.

Does Rumsfeld's epistemology provide a useful framework for examining violent extremism? Certainly Armitage and ISS senior researcher Anneli Botha went on to describe what one would think are 'known knowns' in this field. One is that preventing radicalisation of vulnerable people is clearly better than trying to cure those already radicalised and recruited into violent extremist groups.

Armitage spoke of al-Qaeda very much in the past tense, saying its core capabilities had been downgraded and the threat it posed greatly diminished by intelligence and law enforcement.

Now, in addition to more efficient security strategies, the international community also had to do much better in countering the 'poisonous ideology,' of the Islamic State (ISIS), which has been penetrating ever deeper and wider into society, to much younger people, through slick propaganda efficiently delivered by social media. Countries had to counter this by promoting social cohesion and community resilience.

'We need to address the legitimate grievances of the marginalised and excluded. We need to contest the extremist narrative, promote alternative messages,' said Armitage.

He noted that this was starting to happen globally, citing the White House's Countering Violent Extremism process launched last year, and now more recent the

launch of the United Nations Secretary-General's Action Plan for Preventing Violent Extremism.

Botha provided useful nuances to these broad prescriptions, much of it derived from her ground-breaking research on violent extremist groups in Africa, including interviews with members of al-Shabaab and other groups in Kenya and Somalia.

She emphasised the importance of the particular rather than the general, the way peculiar regional, national, religious, familial and personal attributes of organisations and individuals drove them to violent extremism. She did, however, offer three common drivers. First she noted how 'relative deprivation' – the sense that one was being marginalised compared to others in one's society on unjust grounds – was a bigger driver of radicalisation than pure poverty.

Police brutality against certain groups was a second big cause of radicalisation, she said, referring particularly to the way the Nigerian violent jihadist group Boko Haram had been propelled to greater violence by the assassination of its founding leader, Mohammed Yusuf, by Nigerian security forces. And thirdly, Botha identified corruption as another important driver of radicalisation, stressing more broadly the importance of good governance in countering and preventing extremism.

But even these preventative measures, though they seem like common sense, may in fact still be 'known unknowns' as the task of countering terrorism is still in its infancy. It's an educated guess, for example, that greater social cohesion will counter, not increase radicalisation. And even if we assume that addressing socio-economic deprivation and promoting social inclusion are helpful, we don't know how far they might go in preventing radicalisation.

Armitage described how surprised Australia had been by the extent of its foreign fighter problem, with about 110 Australians now fighting in Syria and Iraq for the likes of ISIS, and another 190 in Australia under investigation for supporting it. Over the past four years, Australia had about five times the number of foreign fighters than it did during the previous 25 years, when about 30 had gone off to fight in Afghanistan, he said.

Australia is a wealthy country, and it would seem that most of those fighters didn't come from deprived backgrounds, though perhaps Botha's notion of relative deprivation might come into play. Perhaps also Muslims don't feel entirely included in wider Australian society, though it must be said that the country makes a conscious and concerted effort to foster its policy of 'multiculturalism.'

Another known unknown is whether Canberra's geo-political stance might partly explain the surprisingly high number of Australian foreign fighters.

Australia is an active member of the international coalition against ISIS, participating in airstrikes against its positions in Iraq. Armitage concedes that such geo-political issues might be a driver of radicalisation, though not a major one.

He says that some young Muslims in Australia have asked his colleagues; if Australia has the ability to take out ISIS, 'why don't you take out the Assad regime?'. And for al-Qaeda, the issue of Palestine is obviously a driver (among international issues).

Armitage added, '[But] I think it's also fair to say that if we were to remove all the

conflict in the world, if we were to remove all these grievances from the past, would we be living in a world free of violent extremism? I don't think so. They are a factor but I don't think we should over-emphasise that.

'I think the Australian fighters were going at quite a fast rate before Australia joined the coalition and begun the air strikes in Iraq. So I think the correlation between those is not well established. But it's difficult to generalise. In some places those factors probably are more significant.'

The flip side of this known unknown, of course, is whether non-participation in the anti-ISIS coalition – and indeed quite vociferous criticism of, say, Israel's occupation of the West Bank and of Western militarism in the Middle East – provides any sort of immunity to violent extremism.

This appears to be the thinking of some in the South Africa establishment. Armitage cautioned against such complacency, saying 'no one is totally immune.' South Africa had many strengths; being a democratic and open society and a competitive economy 'has been very helpful in terms of building that immunity and acting as a form of inoculation.' But in an era of lone wolf attacks, of individuals being radicalised and inspired by ISIS, maybe just by surfing the Internet in their bedrooms, it was hard to be certain of safety, he suggested.

Using the Arab term for ISIS, he said analysts had described a spectrum of influence of the organisation on individuals – 'Daesh-inspired, Daesh-enabled and Daesh-directed,' covering the range from exhortation and encouragement and inspiration on one side to direction and instruction on the other. Across that spectrum, it was hard to be sure that South Africa was not vulnerable.

Ultimately, the question whether or not participation in the fight against ISIS inoculates a country from attack is an academic one.

At the point where violent extremism is overrunning large swathes of Iraq and Syria, leaving mounds of headless bodies in its wake, whether to fight and destroy it is not a preventive option but an existential necessity – and a global responsibility.

Prevention, then, becomes a luxury for those not in Daesh's crosshairs.

Some people are undoubtedly beyond the reach of sociology, morality and reason. They are killers in search of a cause. That might be called an 'unknown known,' something we instinctively sense but don't care to admit.

And what about Rumsfeld's 'unknown unknowns'? One might say that one of the great unknown unknowns when he was speaking in 2002 was the future emergence of ISIS, as a jihadist group even more violent and extremist than al-Qaeda. What about: did the United States itself create ISIS, to undermine and control certain Middle East states, especially those opposing Israel? That view is apparently widely held, even high up, in the Arab world, especially Iraq.

Although the US presumably did not deliberately create ISIS, only Rumsfeld himself, and a very few others, could tell us for sure whether that is in fact a known known. Otherwise it will have to be placed, like Rumsfeld's own belief that Saddam Hussein was supplying terrorists with nuclear weapons, in a new category, the 'known unknowables' – fantasies we claim to believe because they serve our purposes.

Peter Fabricius is ISS Consultant.

This article first appeared in ISS Weekly, the online newsletter of the Institute for Security Studies.

<http://www.politicsweb.co.za/news-and-analysis/known-unknowns-and-the-fight-against-violent-extre>

Why Bombing Investigations Should Focus on the Bomb-maker

Analysis

FEBRUARY 20, 2016 | 14:10 GMT

By Fred Burton

Editor's Note: *The following piece is part of an occasional series in which Fred Burton, our vice president of intelligence, reflects on his storied experience as a counterterrorism agent for the U.S. State Department.*

It's been two and a half weeks since the bombing of an Airbus 321 in Somalia, and though notorious terrorist group [al Shabaab](#) has finally stepped up to claim responsibility for the attack, investigators have yet to trace the person responsible for building the explosive device. That, and not the organization responsible, should be the authorities' focus as they uncover more details surrounding the explosion on Daallo flight D159.

The flight itself was an unlikely target, devoid of high-ranking officials or any apparent political significance. Moreover, the bombing was arguably a failure; though one passenger — likely the bomber — was killed, the aircraft landed safely after the attack Feb. 2.

But if the flight's low altitude limited the bomb's effectiveness, that does nothing to change its level of sophistication. Whoever constructed the device managed to conceal military-grade TNT in an ordinary-looking laptop without arousing any suspicion when it went through the X-ray machine at Mogadishu airport. That is assuming there wasn't inside help involved: The Somali government released a video allegedly showing two airport employees handing the laptop to the bomber, in plain view of a CCTV camera. Either way, if the device had detonated at flight altitude, the initial explosion would likely have set off another blast in the fuel tank, which would undoubtedly have brought the entire plane down. The whole affair is reminiscent of another case I worked years ago: the downing of TWA flight 840.

The New Reign of Terror

In 1986, my colleagues and I were caught up in two intertwined wars behind the scenes: One, we were constantly monitoring and countering the operations of Soviet intelligence operatives; two, we were dealing with a growingly complex web of non-state terrorist organizations, many of which had state sponsors. In the 1980s, one particularly [troublesome state sponsor](#) was Libya, whose now-infamous president, Moammar Gadhafi, actively supported Palestinian terrorist Sabri al-Banna, also known as Abu Nidal.

At the time, Libya and the U.S. government were in a quarrel over the Gulf of Sidra, on the northern Libyan coast, and in March 1986 Libyan and U.S. security forces clashed in the disputed waters. Days later, on April 2, Trans World Airlines flight 840 was nearing its destination in Athens when an explosion ripped a hole in the plane's side. Four American passengers, including an 8-month-old child, were ejected through the hole to their deaths below. Seven others on the aircraft were injured by shrapnel as the cabin suffered a rapid decompression, but the pilots managed to land the damaged aircraft. The bodies of three of the four victims were later recov-

ered from a meadow; the fourth was found in the sea.

Soon after authorities cited a bomb (hidden beneath a seat) as the cause, someone publicly claimed responsibility: a group calling itself the "Arab Revolutionary Cells," a cover name for the militant pro-Palestinian Abu Nidal Organization. Abu Nidal, not so incidentally, was the very pro-Palestinian figurehead whose close ties to Libya had helped bring Gadhafi into conflict with Washington. Indeed, when a man claiming to represent the Abu Nidal Organization made three calls to the Western press to take responsibility for the attack, he explicitly cited the Gulf of Sidra incident as one of the triggers of the operation.

Tracking Down the Bombmaker

In the Somali aircraft bombing, much attention has been paid to the man who carried the explosives-laden computer on board. Security personnel at Mogadishu airport in fact handed Abdullahi Abdisalam Borle the laptop on his way through security, which raises even more concerns about the level of background investigation these employees undergo.

But the focus, rather than being on the attacker himself, should be on the person who constructed the explosive. My peers and I learned the hard way in the hunt for the master bomber Ramzi Yousef — linked to the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, the bombing of Philippine Airlines flight 434, and a co-conspirator in the [Bojinka aviation plot](#) — that tracking down not just the attacker but the bombmaker is critical to stopping and disrupting future attacks. In the wake of the TWA flight 840 bombing, as part of that effort, the U.S. government offered an enormous reward for any information that could lead to the source of the bomb.

Surprisingly, there actually aren't that many people in the world capable of constructing and using sophisticated explosive devices properly. Bombmaking is a highly sought-after skill that, for a terrorist group, can make the difference between spewing impotent rhetoric and causing massive, headline-generating casualties. Some modern groups are doing better than others — al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, for example, for years utilized the talents of Ibrahim al-Asiri, [an innovative bombmaker](#) who adapted his designs to evade ever-improving security measures. It was his creativity behind such plots as the [2009 Christmas Day bombing attempt](#).

If it really was al Shabaab that orchestrated the Feb. 2 attack, it would be the first sign that the group has access to a highly skilled bombmaker like al-Asiri. Given the limited number of people who have those skills and the disproportionate damage they can cause, tracking down that individual should be a top priority for those doing the follow-up investigation.

Production Editor: Margaret Fox

<https://www.stratfor.com/analysis/why-bombing-investigations-should-focus-bombmaker>

How the changing media is changing terrorism?

25 February 2016

Mohamed Merah, a 23-year-old petty criminal, spent much of the last 36 hours of his life crouched over a laptop in his small apartment in the south-western French city of Toulouse. It was March 2012. Outside, armed police and journalists gathered. Merah reheated frozen food in a microwave and checked his weapons. He spoke with negotiators and described how he had travelled to Pakistan a few months earlier to receive some desultory training from a faction linked to al-Qaida. He also explained, incoherently, why he had killed seven people over the previous two weeks in a series of shootings. But most of the time, Merah worked on his computer.

Just a few hours before he was killed by armed police after a sustained firefight, Merah finished editing a 24-minute video clip. It was a compilation of images from the GoPro camera that he had attached to his body armour before [each of his killings](#). GoPro primarily caters to practitioners of extreme sports who wish to obtain point-of-view footage of their adrenalin-charged exploits. Merah had filmed his preparations, the murders themselves and his motorbike getaways. His first three victims were off-duty soldiers, two Muslims and a Catholic. The others, a rabbi and three children, had died when he had attacked a Jewish school. The images showed how Merah had chased and caught one of those children: eight-year-old Miriam Monsonego, who had hesitated for a second when others ran, reluctant to abandon her school bag. Merah grabbed her by the hair, changed his weapon when the first jammed, and then finally shot the girl in the head.

Roughly 24 hours after police located Merah and surrounded his building, he managed to slip through a gap in the security cordon. He did not take the opportunity to escape. Instead, he walked to a postbox, deposited a package containing a USB stick with the video on it, and then returned to his home [to await his own death](#).

The package he dropped into the postbox [was addressed to al-Jazeera](#), the Qatar-based TV network. Merah was confident that al-Jazeera would broadcast the material because, in his words, it constantly showed “massacres and bombs and suchlike”. In fact, al-Jazeera did not show any of the clip because, the network said in a statement, Merah’s images did not “add any information” not already in the public domain and breached its ethical code.

The network’s decision did little to diminish the stream of horrendous violence that has been disseminated by Islamic militant groups and individuals in recent years. Since Merah’s death, the use and broadcast of graphic and violent images has reached an unprecedented level. Much of this is due to the emergence of the [Islamic State](#) (Isis), which launched its campaign to carve out an enclave in eastern Syria and western Iraq at around the time Merah was planning his killings. But much is also a result of the capabilities of the new technology that Isis has been able to exploit.

New technologies have not only made it possible to produce propaganda with astonishing ease – they have also made it far easier to disseminate these films and images. Isis videos include the executions of western aid workers and journalists, Syrian government soldiers, alleged spies and suspected homosexuals, a Jordanian pilot, Christian migrant workers, and others. Some have been decapitated, others shot,

blown up, hurled from tall buildings or burned alive. A representative sample can be viewed, entirely uncensored, with a few simple clicks on the device in your pocket or on which you may be reading this. One such video appears on a popular British newspaper's website after an advertisement for family holidays. The scenes of actual killing have been removed but little else.

Though it accounts for only a fraction of the overall propaganda output of Isis, this material has had a disproportionate impact, just as planned. Many of the clips serve a dual purpose, inspiring one group of people while disgusting and frightening another. One recent video opened with TV news coverage of the aftermath of the attacks in Paris in November, which left 130 dead. It then segued into footage of some of the men who were responsible, filmed in Syria before the operation. Wearing lapel microphones, they made threats against the west and then executed prisoners with knives. Another video showed a child, possibly the son of a Briton currently in Syria, detonating explosives that destroyed a car in which four alleged spies were seated. A third recent video showed a competition involving young children who raced through a labyrinth to reach captives, who they then shot. The violence depicted in these clips is becoming ever more baroque, the choreography of the savagery increasingly elaborate.

As such material began to reach our screens around 18 months ago, many expressed shock that Isis had exploited modern media technology for the purposes of propaganda. Such surprise appears rooted in the expectation that a supposedly “medieval” organisation would use “medieval” means. The group's use of social media marks it out from predecessors such as al-Qaida. So, too, do the high production values and visual language derived from video games and Hollywood blockbusters. But terrorists have always exploited the latest technologies, whether dynamite or digital communications. And the group's exploitation of cutting-edge contemporary media falls squarely within the long tradition of terrorist organisations rapidly adapting to change.

The new wave of violent propaganda has prompted much debate about the role of Isis videos in attracting militants, as well as the degree to which the media itself is responsible for providing terrorism with the “oxygen of publicity”.

But certain crucial elements have received less attention. One is the way in which new technology has shaped both the media itself and terrorist organisations in ways which are strikingly similar. A second is the role we may be playing – albeit unthinkingly and against our better intentions – in the evolution of the media strategies of the very groups we so abhor. Neither of these possibilities is particularly comfortable to contemplate.

On the eve of the 9/11 attacks, Osama bin Laden left Kabul and headed south-east to a remote valley in eastern Afghanistan. Among the small convoy of vehicles in which he travelled was a “media truck” that had been prepared on his orders a few months earlier. A young follower had managed to equip a minivan with satellite television receivers and radio antennae to monitor broadcasts. Bin Laden's aim was to follow news coverage of the operation in the US as the planned strikes unfolded

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/25/how-changing-media-changing-terrorism>

Afrique: le terrorisme change la donne



22.02.16 - Les attaques terroristes se multiplient en Afrique. Même si l'optimisme n'est pas de rigueur, rien n'est perdu. Et les Eglises ont un rôle à jouer.

«Les faits parlent d'eux-mêmes: le terrorisme gagne du terrain sur le continent africain. La menace est réelle et n'épargne aucun pays». Est-il trop pessimiste, le journaliste nigérien Illia Djadi, engagé à *World Watch Monitor*? Il faut admettre que les événements récents sont inquiétants. Le 15 janvier, le Burkina Faso, un pays plutôt paisible, a été frappé par un attentat. Bilan: une trentaine de morts, dont un missionnaire. Au Mali, il y a eu non seulement l'enlèvement de la missionnaire Béatrice Stockly, mais aussi l'assassinat de trois personnes dans une radio chrétienne, et d'autres attentats sanglants. Si l'on ajoute les sauvageries de Boko Haram au Nigeria et au Cameroun, le détournement d'un avion en Egypte, les

attaques du Bardo à Tunis ou les atrocités d'Al-Shabaab au Kenya et en Somalie, on en déduit que l'Afrique traverse des temps troublés.

Des Etats instables

Doit-on être surpris? Même les événements de Ouagadougou ne sont pas tombés de nulle part.

La démission du président Campaoré à l'automne 2014 a créé une instabilité, explique Rémy Moret, missionnaire au Burkina Faso depuis des années avec l'organisation Asaren. Le régiment de sécurité présidentielle (RSP) - sorte de milice d'élite - qui avait joui de privilèges pendant trente ans, s'est radicalisé et a provoqué le coup d'Etat de septembre 2015. Vaincu, le RSP a été dissous. *«Or ce RSP faisait du trafic d'armes et de drogue avec les islamistes»*. Pour faire court: *«Les islamistes étaient déjà là sous la forme de cellules dormantes, mais ils se contentaient de leur sort tant qu'ils pouvaient réaliser leur trafic.»*

De prime abord, un tel terrorisme, mû aussi par des motivations économiques, semble bien éloigné d'un djihadisme idéologique de type Daech. D'ailleurs, les enlèvements d'Occidentaux au Mali ou au Burkina ne relèvent-ils pas aussi d'une volonté d'obtenir des rançons?

La réalité est complexe, relève Illia Djadi: *«Tous ces groupes prétendent agir au nom de l'islam et militent en faveur d'un califat islamique. Mais en plus de cette interprétation rigoriste de l'islam, il y a des motivations économiques: évoluant dans des régions prospères qui échappent au contrôle de l'Etat, ils se livrent à des trafics pour s'autofinancer»*. L'Afrique est même devenue une zone de transit entre l'Amérique latine et l'Europe.

Le manque de stabilité et le peu d'efficacité des Etats de la région, alliés aux grandes ressources financières de ces groupes, leur permettent de s'étendre sans être réellement inquiétés et, pire peut-être, de recruter facilement des combattants. *«Ces mouvements terroristes prospèrent sur le terreau de la pauvreté, de l'ignorance et de l'analphabétisme»*, soupire le pasteur burkinabé Josias Sanogo, directeur de l'ONG Credo. Le 15 janvier, il était avec son fils à cinq minutes du lieu de l'attentat à Ouagadougou. *«La plupart des candidats aux attentats-suicides sont issus des milieux défavorisés et désespérés, et les prêcheurs de l'islam radical trouvent en eux un auditoire attentif»*. Un phénomène qui n'est pas l'apanage du Burkina: *«La population africaine est jeune et désœuvrée, et ces groupes offrent des perspectives, des moyens économiques, la promesse du paradis et de femmes. Ils comblent le vide.»*

Réseau terroriste global?

Mais pourquoi tuer des Occidentaux dans des hôtels de Bamako ou de Ouagadougou? Pourquoi assassiner 152 personnes dans une université de Garissa au Kenya?

(...)

<http://www.christianismeaujourd'hui.info/articles.php/afrique-le-terrorisme-change-la-donne-14133.html>

Burundi

Burundi: Time for Tough Messages

24 Feb 2016



REUTERS/Jean Pierre Aime Harerimama

Amid continued violence and a dangerous polarisation between the Burundi government and opposition, a delegation of African Union (AU) heads of state will visit Bujumbura on 25-26 February. Mandated by the recent AU summit and led by South African President Jacob Zuma, the five heads of state need to deliver tough messages to both President Pierre Nkurunziza and the armed opposition. These should include insistence on a credible dialogue outside the country, an end to the armed opposition's provocative attacks, a halt to impunity and ongoing killings, and respect for the Arusha Peace Agreement that brought an end to the country's twelve-year civil war.

Recent Crisis Group research in Bujumbura, Kigali, Nairobi and Brussels, points to an increasingly volatile situation. Since the attacks on military installations in the capital on 11 December 2015, the regime is further cracking down on the few dissenting voices that have not fled the country, and its Imbonerakure militia is taking an ever more prominent position in the fracturing security forces. With no plan but to stay in power as long as possible, the regime and its hardline supporters are increasingly turning to an ethnic rhetoric that unjustifiably paints all opposition as a plot by the minority Tutsi community.

To contain the crisis and put the country on track to a sustainable peace, the AU, European Union (EU), UN and other international partners need to focus on four key demands, backed up by pressure in four key areas.

Four actions the AU High-level Delegation and international partners should insist on:

1. Genuine dialogue.

The government of Burundi is persuaded that it does not need to talk to the opposition, the vast majority now driven abroad. It is therefore pushing ahead with a “national dialogue” in Burundi. This is dangerous and short-sighted. Both within the country and outside, there is anger at government corruption, lack of development and violence. Without real talks starting soon this will translate into further armed resistance. Because most of the opposition is afraid to go home, and with good reason, the dialogue should be held outside the country, without preconditions, and with appropriate security measures for all parties.

2. An end to the incipient insurgency.

By militarising the crisis the armed opposition is fuelling the regime’s siege mentality and ensuring that hardliners keep the upper hand. Its members and backers need to understand that their actions could lead to even greater violence against the populations they purport to protect. The AU delegation and other international actors need to put pressure on the armed opposition to stop its attacks and provocations.

3. A halt to impunity and an end to the killings.

The government made some cosmetic improvements in anticipation of various high-level visits this week, including that of the UN Secretary-General on 22 February. It cancelled international arrest warrants for those alleged to have taken part in the failed May 2015 coup, including fifteen political exiles. During the visit of the UN Secretary-General it promised to release 2,000 prisoners, though it is not clear if this means government opponents. It has also allowed two media outlets to reopen. However, killings on the streets of Bujumbura, which spiked following the mid-December attacks, have continued. The extent of the violence remains contested, but available evidence indicates a pattern of violence and counter-violence, with many dozens dead already this year. Aside from the need to clarify the scale of casualties and respective responsibilities, there is clear risk of a cycle of violence setting in, with killings driven by revenge and fear – a pattern Burundians are all too familiar with. A climate of impunity has been established, which can only lay the ground for more violations and atrocities.

4. Protection for the Arusha Agreement and the gains of the peace process.

As in neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo, the Burundi government is the result of a power-sharing agreement to end a civil war, enshrined in the 2000 peace deal struck in Arusha. The relative peace that the country has enjoyed since then is a result of this accord, which guarantees the Tutsi minority a significant place in the country’s institutions. Yet Crisis Group research has found that regime hardliners increasingly portray opposition as a Tutsi conspiracy to grab more power, and call for the compromises of Arusha to be undone. They mistakenly believe that through ever greater repression they can dismantle the political aspects of the peace deal, but keep the peace.

A national debate on how to adapt the Arusha peace deal to changing times would be perfectly legitimate (if freedom of expression could be ensured). But unilaterally

dismantling the gains of the last fifteen years through demagogical rhetoric is inflammatory. Burundi's international partners, who invested so heavily in the peace process, should be bold enough to say so.

Four pressure points for the AU and other international partners:

The Burundian government has already shown its determination to continue its repressive course in the face of international outcry. To stop the spiral of violence and bring about the changes needed, the AU High-level Delegation, as well as Burundi's international partners, should use leverage in four key areas.

1. Diplomacy: stronger, more consistent, better coordinated.

International pressure on Burundi has been inadequate, and attempts at mediation since the start of the crisis, have been fragmented and faltering. The government has been able to play one institution off another. It is therefore vital that the AU, the East African Community and the UN speak with one voice. Whoever plays the role of lead international mediator needs to have the full backing of all three organisations, devote considerable energy to the task, and be willing to pass tough messages to the government and the opposition.

2. Sanctions: targeted and benchmarked.

Like the diplomatic effort, sanctions on Burundi have been uncoordinated and half-hearted. In particular, the AU, which has the greatest leverage given that regime and opposition leaders travel and have assets in the region, has delayed implementing the decision taken by its Peace and Security Council (PSC) in the communiqué of 17 October 2015 to impose targeted sanctions in the hope the situation would improve. Despite the government's efforts to appear in full control, it is not. The AU should therefore revisit individual sanctions against those blocking negotiation or inciting violence – government and opposition alike. International partners should also find creative ways of shutting down the illicit economy controlled by hardliners and probably used to pay the Imbonerakure militia that has grown up around the country.

Burundi's civil war in the 1990s was brought to an end only after strong pressure from African countries on the belligerent parties, including an exceptionally tough sanctions regime. Prompt action in a similar vein could help avoid prolonged pain this time. Sanctions must be clearly benchmarked against reducing violence, ending impunity and starting dialogue.

3. International presence: increased, keeping an intervention force on the table.

The recent announcement that the small contingent of AU observers in Burundi will be increased is welcome. But it should be only a beginning. More observers are needed, at least the proposed 100 envisaged by the AUPSC in its 17 October 2015 communiqué. They should be fully empowered to travel freely and monitor events, which should help discourage violence and abuse of power. It is vital that they provide a clearer picture than is currently available of levels of, and responsibilities for, violence by regime supporters and opposition, in order to better inform international positions. A commitment to peaceful resolution necessitates welcoming the observers and facilitating their work. They should report fully to their superiors in Addis Ababa and the public should be made aware of their primary findings.

The option of a UN police component, considered by some UN Security Council members, should remain on the table. Collectively, the AU and UN must make clear that if violence escalates, they will be prepared for a rapid intervention of some form to stem the bloodletting.

In addition, the AU and UN should put in place robust monitoring in refugee camps in neighbouring countries, where reportedly most recruitment is taking place. Rwanda is alleged to be backing the armed opposition according to a recently leaked UN Group of Experts Report, as well as other research. The Rwandan government denies this, but is concerned about Tutsis being targeted in Burundi.

4. Funding: responsible, accountable.

Burundi's army makes a significant contribution to the AU's peacekeeping mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and also contributes to the UN mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA). Funds for these missions are paid directly to the government, which takes a large share before paying its soldiers. This money provides a vital lifeline to the regime enabling it to resist international pressure – including from the organisations paying its troops. Crisis Group research indicates that the government is rewarding Imbonerakure militia for their participation in violent acts with posts in the police and even the army. The risk of them being further rewarded with much prized spots in AMISOM is apparent, reinforcing the need for effective vetting prior to deployment.

This situation, in which donors are funding the government as it restructures the security forces around its loyalist militia, is unsustainable. Preparations should be made immediately for the gradual and controlled withdrawal of Burundian military contingents from all AU and UN peacekeeping operations. To avoid leaving the mission in Somalia without sufficient forces, serious effort is needed to find other troop contributors. AU staff should also conduct a thorough review of the risks for stability in Burundi as a result of the repatriation of these AMISOM soldiers, which in any case should be gradual. The credibility of such efforts will be vital to ensure that the government gets the message – move to real dialogue, or have your last major source of licit funding cut off.

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/publication-type/statements/burundi-time-for-tough-messages.aspx>

Terrorisme au Mali : à la rencontre des « jihadistes présumés » détenus dans le Sud

23 février 2016

Par François-Xavier Freland



Aucun n'a encore été jugé, mais tous sont détenus dans le sud du pays pour d'évidentes raisons de sécurité. Jeune Afrique a pu rencontrer certains de ces hommes accusés de terrorisme. Reportage.

Ils sont cinquante et un, des hommes, tous, âgés de 20 à 75 ans. Maliens, algériens, burkinabè, nigériens ou sénégalais, ils ont été placés par groupes de cinq dans « les dortoirs fichés » de la Maison d'arrêt centrale de Bamako-Coura. Dans cette prison qui accueille plus de 2 000 détenus, ils sont des cas à part : accusés de détention illégale d'armes de guerre, d'atteinte à la sûreté de l'État, de terrorisme ou d'assassinat, ils encourent de lourdes peines de prison – de dix ans à la perpétuité selon les cas.

À presque 60 ans, Ahmed Kaoul est l'un des plus vieux. Bougon, facilement irritable dans son français approximatif, cet Algérien raconte avoir été arrêté par l'armée malienne début 2015 dans la région de Niafunké, au sud de Tombouctou. « Je n'ai jamais été jihadiste, proteste-t-il. Je n'étais qu'un boulanger qui vendait du pain à tout le monde, y compris à Aqmi [Al-Qaïda au Maghreb islamique]. » Par terre, dans sa cellule, une simple natte pour dormir. La télévision résonne à tue-tête. Les détenus comme lui sont parfois autorisés à marcher dans la cour. « Ils n'ont pas encore été jugés et ne sont pour l'instant que des jihadistes présumés, insiste le lieutenant Mamadou Sacké, l'un des gardiens. Nous veillons à leur équilibre psychique et nous essayons d'entretenir de bons rapports avec eux. C'est notre manière d'empêcher les mutineries et les évasions. »

Le bâtiment, construit dans les années 1950 par l'ancienne puissance coloniale, montre des signes d'effritement : des fils électriques pendent ici et là et les murs sont décrépis. À l'entrée, près de la grande porte blindée, des hommes procèdent à

une fouille minutieuse des visiteurs, mais les trois miradors censés permettre de surveiller l'enceinte sont vides. Au Mali, aucune prison n'a aussi mauvaise réputation. C'est ici qu'a été détenu **Mohamed Ali Ag Wadoussène**, l'homme accusé d'avoir organisé l'enlèvement des Français **Serge Lazarevic** et **Philippe Verdon à Hombori**, dans le nord du Mali, en novembre 2011. Arrêté en 2013, Wadoussène s'est évadé en juin 2014, avant d'être de nouveau capturé puis relâché en échange de la libération d'un otage (Lazarevic) en décembre de la même année. Il est mort en juillet 2015 lors d'une opération des forces spéciales françaises au nord du Mali.

J'ai fait mon boulot, j'ai obéi. J'ai amputé moi-même mon jeune frère Moktar au couteau parce qu'il avait volé

Mohamed Dicko, l'ancien procureur de la République à Bamako chargé de l'instruction des crimes et délits commis lors de l'occupation du Nord, n'a pas oublié cette période. En poste de septembre 2012 à juin 2014, il raconte : « L'armée nous ramenait des gens qui avaient parfois été arrêtés pour simple détention d'armes alors que nous recherchions des hommes accusés de crime de guerre. En deux ans, je n'ai pas vu beaucoup de hauts responsables derrière les verrous, à part Wassou-dène et Aliou, le chef de la police islamique de Gao. »

Le quotidien en prison de Aliou Mahamar Touré

Aliou Mahamar Touré est toujours détenu ici. L'homme est grand et costaud, et il lui faut se baisser pour entrer dans le bureau exigü du chef de peloton, Len-Tite Sidibé. Il salue avec le sourire de celui qui sait que son prénom faisait trembler tout Gao pendant l'occupation islamiste, en 2012. Il était alors un cadre important du Mouvement pour l'unicité et le jihad en Afrique de l'Ouest (Mujao) et revendiquait le titre de « commissaire islamique » de la ville. Ses hommes et lui effectuaient des rondes dans des 4x4 flanqués du drapeau des jihadistes pour veiller au strict respect de la charia. De cette époque, ce Songhaï de 46 ans, père de huit enfants, qui travailla un temps dans une tannerie de Gao, a gardé un surnom : la Main coupante – en référence aux amputations qu'il a ordonnées, voire lui-même pratiquées.

« Aujourd'hui, sa conduite est irréprochable », assure Len-Tite Sidibé, qui échange avec lui quelques blagues sur le dernier match de foot des Aigles du Mali. « J'ai adhéré au Mujao pour chasser les voleurs du MNLA [rébellion touarègue du Mouvement national de libération de l'Azawad, qui contrôla la ville pendant quelques mois, début 2012]. Ils étaient venus piller nos biens et nos mobylettes, se justifie Aliou. Abdul Hakim, mon responsable, nous demandait d'obliger les femmes à se couvrir et de sécuriser la ville. J'ai fait mon boulot, j'ai obéi. J'ai amputé moi-même mon jeune frère Moktar au couteau parce qu'il avait volé. »

Pour occuper ses journées, Aliou Mahamar Touré prie, lit le Coran ou écoute RFI

Il se souvient aussi de ce jour où **Iyad Ag Ghaly**, le redouté chef d'Ansar Eddine, est venu à Gao (« un type sympa qui aimait rigoler ! ») et raconte sa propre fuite, plus au nord, vers Anefis, au début de l'intervention militaire française, en janvier 2013. De là, il se réfugie au Burkina, puis revient au Mali où il est finalement arrêté, en décembre 2013, par une patrouille de l'armée malienne près du cercle de Bourem. Malgré tout, il dit ne pas avoir « agi contre [son] pays » : « J'ai fait ré-

gner la loi lorsque l'administration était absente. Je suis pour un Mali uni, mais avec la loi divine. »

Aujourd'hui, pour occuper ses journées, Aliou Mahamar Touré prie, lit le Coran ou écoute RFI, et, paradoxalement, le détenu qui franchit à présent la porte du bureau du chef de peloton a l'air bien moins sympathique que lui. Al Hussain Dadi Ould Chouraïb est originaire de Ménaka. Imposant lui aussi, il ne sourit pas et s'assied sans un mot. « Je n'ai rien à dire », lâche-t-il en français, avant de marmonner quelques mots en arabe. Arrêté début 2015, il est accusé de détention illégale d'armes en relation avec une entreprise terroriste et d'atteinte à la sécurité de l'Etat. « Lui, il ne parle jamais, précise un gardien. La seule fois où je l'ai entendu s'exprimer, c'était au moment de [l'attaque de du Radisson, en novembre 2015](#). Il a explosé de joie avec un autre codétenu qui répétait en boucle : « Ces gars-là, ils iront au paradis ! » »

Des jihadistes détenus dans le Sud

Aucun « jihadiste présumé » n'est plus détenu dans le Nord. « Nous avons préféré les rassembler dans le Sud pour éviter les risques d'attaque », explique Yaya Koné, le directeur de l'administration pénitentiaire du Mali. Ceux qui ne sont pas incarcérés à Bamako le sont dans un deuxième centre de détention, situé à la périphérie de Koulikoro, à quelque soixante kilomètres de la capitale. Construite au milieu d'un terrain vague, la prison de la ville est moins suffocante. Les bâtiments, plutôt en bon état et récents, abritent 150 détenus, dont 16 Rwandais condamnés par le TPIR pour leur participation au génocide de 1994. Un mortier, deux miradors et un mur d'enceinte de trois mètres surmonté de barbelés... Une quarantaine de jihadistes présumés sont détenus ici. Des surveillants, fusil-mitrailleur à la main, assis sur des sièges en plastique sous le manguier, se relaient pour faire des rondes. Ici, les fouilles sont systématiques et se font souvent la nuit par surprise. Le lieutenant Amadou Maïga, directeur de l'établissement, reçoit en boubou et fait entrer avec un sourire, comme un maître d'école, quelques détenus dans son bureau : « Nous avons beaucoup de gens de Kidal, ici. »

Adaï Ag Atta, justement, est originaire de la grande ville du Nord. À tout juste 20 ans, il ressemble à n'importe quel jeune branché avec ses baskets et son jean. « Je me suis battu avec un de mes codétenus hier », dit-il, pour expliquer le coquard qui lui ferme l'œil. Il a été arrêté par [les soldats de Serval](#) pour avoir hébergé Wassou-dène et Ag Ghaly. Avant de manipuler une kalachnikov, il cousait des vêtements. À ses côtés, Mustapha Ag Mohamed Issa Al Ansari joue les interprètes. Lui est originaire de Tombouctou et est soupçonné d'avoir combattu aux côtés d'Aqmi. « J'étais juste bibliothécaire », se défend-il. « Je suis un lettré, ajoute-t-il avant d'écrire sur une feuille, pour preuve de sa bonne foi, une sourate en parfait arabe. Je n'ai jamais tenu une arme. Mais j'ai dû fuir, au moment de Serval, pour éviter les lynchages anti-Touaregs. Les soldats français sont arrivés dans mon campement en hélicoptère pour venir me chercher [il a été arrêté près de Tombouctou en août 2014]. Des gens qui n'aimaient pas les « peaux rouges » comme moi ont dit n'importe quoi sur mon compte. »

Je suis pour Ansar Eddine, car je suis contre la fornication, la dégénérescence sexuelle et les adultères, explose Aounaf Ag Hamad Ahmad

Comme la plupart des détenus de Koulikoro, il a la barbe bien taillée et porte le qamis, l'ample vêtement qu'affectionnent les salafistes. « Je suis innocent », affirment-ils tous en s'asseyant dans le bureau. Seul le plus vieux d'entre eux, Aounaf

Ag Hamad Ahmad, 72 ans, assume avoir prêché un « islam pur auprès des combattants d'Iyad ». « Je suis pour Ansar Eddine, car je suis contre la fornication, la dégénérescence sexuelle et les adultères », explose-t-il en levant un doigt menaçant vers le ciel.

À Koulikoro, la plupart de ces jihadistes présumés préfèrent se revendiquer du MNLA, pour brouiller les pistes, en espérant sans doute être disculpés. Mais aucun ne sait pour combien de temps il est là. « L'enquête aurait dû se faire de manière plus intelligente dès le début car les dossiers sont squelettiques, déplore Daniel Amagoui Tessougué, ancien procureur général près la cour d'appel de Bamako. À l'époque, aucun ne se réclamait de tel ou tel mouvement. Tous disaient : « Nous sommes des bergers. » On ne précisait même pas le type d'arme avec lequel ils avaient été arrêtés, ni leurs antécédents. Il est difficile maintenant de les juger parce que, bien souvent, nous n'avons pas de preuves ! » Comme les détenus de Bamako-Coura, ceux de Koulikoro ont pour la plupart été présentés à un magistrat. Mais aucune date de procès n'a été fixée.

DES PRISONS PLUS HUMAINES

DEPUIS 2013, une quarantaine de prisons ont été ou sont en cours de rénovation – vaste chantier dont le coût total est estimé à plus de 2 milliards de F CFA (3 millions d'euros). Bamako n'y échappera pas : la ville devrait se doter d'ici à 2018 d'une nouvelle maison d'arrêt et de correction, dont les capacités d'accueil seront deux fois supérieures à celles de l'actuel pénitencier de Bamako-Coura, obsolète et surpeuplé. Plusieurs projets pilotes ont aussi été lancés, comme à Sévaré : en plus de locaux rénovés et mieux sécurisés, certaines prisons sont désormais pourvues de parcelles réservées au maraîchage. L'objectif ? Répondre aux besoins alimentaires des détenus, leur fournir des subsides et, le cas échéant, une possibilité de réinsertion professionnelle. Coût du projet : 50 millions de F CFA (environ 76 000 euros).

<http://www.jeuneafrique.com/mag/301935/politique/terrorisme-mali-a-rencontre-jihadistes-presumes-detenus-sud/>

Nigeria

Why Boko Haram is the world's deadliest terror group

17 FEB 2016 08:50

VINCENT HIRIBARREN

The African terror group has been weakened, but it's now wreaking a new kind of havoc.



On Christmas Eve 2015 the Nigerian president, Muhammadu Buhari, was publicly confident that his country had “technically won the war” against the Islamist group Boko Haram. Less than two months into 2016, and the group is still wreaking havoc across northern Nigeria and beyond.

Since the beginning of the year, the group has killed more than 100 people and continued to drive many more from their homes as they flee for their safety. Its most recent atrocity was the February 10 [suicide attack on a refugee camp near Maiduguri](#) that killed 58 people.

From any reasonable angle, the situation hardly looks resolved. According to UN assistant secretary general and regional humanitarian co-ordinator for the Sahel, Toby Lanzer, Boko Haram has become the [deadliest terrorist group](#) in the world. As of the beginning of 2016, [2.8-million people](#) living in the Lake Chad region have been displaced, including [more than a million children](#); a million children are [out of school](#), and hundreds of thousands are at risk of starving to death.

All this despite the fact that 2015 was supposed to bring an end to the chaos and carnage of 2014, when the [kidnapping](#) of 276 girls in Chibok – many of whom are still missing – and the campaign [Bring Back Our Girls](#) made the “People Committed to the Prophet’s Teachings for Propagation and Jihad”, as the militants used to call themselves, infamous around the world. According to [Human Rights Watch](#), the

members of Boko Haram were directly responsible for the deaths of more than 3 750 people in 2014.

When newly elected, Buhari promised to get rid of Boko Haram [before the end of 2015](#). Many high-ranking army officers were replaced, and Buhari appointed Major-General [Tukur Yusuf Buratai](#) (from Borno State) as force commander of the [international task force](#) set up to tackle the group. The Nigerian army recaptured large parts of Boko Haram-held territory in north-eastern Nigeria, apparently with the help of [South African mercenaries](#) and even a few [Ukrainian helicopter pilots](#). Meanwhile, Boko Haram underwent something of a rebranding, first [swearing allegiance to Islamic State](#) (IS) and then calling itself “Islamic State West Africa Province”. As a result, the group now adopts the rhetoric and symbols of IS. The connection to IS has worried many Western media and politicians who see this as the opening up of a new front in a global jihad.

As of the beginning of 2016, there are still no signs of an operational connection between Boko Haram and IS. Nonetheless, Boko Haram clearly seems to be switching tactics.

New methods

Harassed by the Nigerian army and the troops of the international coalition, its ranks have started to dwindle. Its forces now tend to hide in the [Sambisa forest](#) and in the islands of Lake Chad which are reputedly difficult to access. Instead of relying only on quick attacks with the help of their motorbikes, they are increasingly using [suicide bombings](#). And while those tactics reflect the group’s thinning numbers, they are also having notable effects on the societies they’re targeting.



Troops from Niger guard an anti-Boko Haram summit. ([Reuters](#))

On June 15 2015, two female suicide bombers killed 38 people in N'Djamena, the capital of neighbouring Chad. As a result, the Chadian government chose to [ban the wearing of the burqa](#) and to order that any being sold in markets be burned.

The conflict is now genuinely international, and the populations of the whole of the Lake Chad basin are now threatened by the attacks of either Boko Haram members or sleeper cell agents. The Multinational Joint Task Force created in early 2015, which comprises Nigeria, Niger, Chad, Cameroon and Benin, is partly responsible for this phenomenon. The Chadian army, in particular, has sent troops to localities in the Cameroon-Niger borderland in order to recapture the territory occupied by Boko Haram but also to prevent the group from obtaining new supplies and weapons.

Help is coming from outside Africa, too. The French Operation Serval has tried to prevent Boko Haram from obtaining weapons from Mali, while American aerial surveillance and French interventions in Niger have attempted to intercept weapons coming from Libya. The coalition aims to suffocate the terrorists but there are still funding and co-ordination issues.

All in all, Boko Haram has been weakened – but there's a long way to go until it's defeated.

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This article was originally published on [The Conversation](#). Read the [original article](#).

<http://mg.co.za/article/2016-02-17-why-boko-haram-is-the-worlds-deadliest-terror-group>

Boko Haram: It's About Human Lives, Not Territories

By Ahmad Salkida

Nigeria has been known with a rather disturbing attitude of placing a deplorable value on the lives of her citizens. It seems to run in the veins of successive administrations.

BY AHMAD SALKIDA FEB 17, 2016

Nigeria has been known with a rather disturbing attitude of placing a deplorable value on the lives of her citizens. It seems to run in the veins of successive administrations. And none has been more disturbing than the inclination to celebrate the much hyped technical defeat of Boko Haram over and above the continual massacre of defenceless citizens in the war ravaged North East Nigeria as well as in camps holding numerous distressed internally displaced persons, IDPs.



Yes, 'Boko Haram or the 'Islamic' State West Africa Province (ISWAP) as they preferred to be called, may no longer lash out and hold territories' as it used to do in the recent past, but this should not be the imaginary straw Nigerian officials should proudly hold unto to make public celebrations of having 'technically defeated' the group. For sure, the group still operates, and kills at will almost as freely as it can get in these areas. Is it the priority of government to protect deserted territories from being reoccupied by Boko Haram or, end further massacres and sufferings visited on

civilian populations in the region? If the two are one and the same, then, Nigeria and the rest of the West African countries confronted with the Boko Haram conundrum are years from celebrating any victory.

Apparently, Boko Haram's priority is not to spare the lives of the people in the communities they overrun in the Lake Chad area. They have come to realise the hard way that, it is rather implausible to enforce their model of the 'Sharia' as against those of the kaffirs, which is what they allege has become the scene of the larger Nigerian society, so why is government officials focusing on the diminished expanse of territories under the group as an indication of a war won and settled?

Anyone that says Boko Haram is holding any territory or having a field day in Borno state, like the now ruffled Senator Baba Kaka Garbai, suddenly becomes the enemy of the 'all is well' Buhari's government. What is more tolerable to say nowadays in Nigeria is; 'Boko Haram is on the run and can only attack soft targets' (as if the hapless Nigerians in those so called soft targets could never attract the pre-emptive security cover of their government). This official line seems more acceptable because the value Nigeria place on the lives of citizens is one of the lowest in the world. One can imagine how citizens waiting for help to come from government in besieged communities will feel if they hear from their president on radio saying 'there is NOT a single territory occupied by Boko Haram.'

Yet, what is most worrying in several parts of the region plagued by war, as much the brutal massacres of Boko Haram, is the escalating cases of starvation. Entire communities have been exposed to a lack of essential medicines, food and water, and are therefore dying of starvation. We have alarming cases of gross human tragedies right before our very eyes in the North East. For many, there are no livelihoods, there is a complete blockade of the area by military authorities, an area that is poor even before the war. Many, in these besieged communities, especially those that can't escape to the internally displaced camps either depend on Boko Haram for food or do the unimaginable just to survive. Women and girls sadly, are driven to prostitution merely to be able to bring a meal to their dependants or selves.

In the recent past, we dwell on a one sided analysis of bombing and gun attacks in a multiple sided tragedy. We are not paying attention to increasing cases of starvation, even in areas fully under government control. Sadly, some are still celebrating Boko Haram inability to control large territories and have started talking about rebuilding the region. My take in respect of rebuilding the North East is that we cannot rebuild, if we are unable to save those whose lives are hanging on the precipice.

The debate over Boko Haram's vanishing territories, instead of a focus on saving lives, seems to have forgotten that, the group only declared their first territorial control in the sixth year of their terror onslaught. In those five years before their territorial control, the violence and bloodletting activities were no less revolting. So why are many Nigerians using Boko Haram's failure to hold large territories in their eight years as the yardstick to measure their end? A nation that values the lives of her citizens will only celebrate or go to sleep only when none of its citizens is under the daily threat of an enemy's invasion by any group, be it Boko Haram, cattle rustlers or any other violent groups.

Even the international community is also untroubled when bomb after bomb blasts kill and maim hundreds in Nigeria because never was there time; Nigeria's President

cancelled his trip or officials of government cancelled meetings with diplomats to attend to emergencies or disasters in the domestic front. Apparently life is so cheap, where Boko Haram operates.

The army has also done very little to improve its relationship with the civilian population, with continuing cases of high-handedness by the military. Independent voices are continually being stifled or bullied into silence. Security forces also play down the level of human sufferings and worse of all cover ups on the deaths of soldiers that have sacrificed their lives for their country.

Many informed observers were, however, delighted when the Nigerian government saw reason and made a U-turn from relocating hundreds of thousands of people to their communities from IDP camps across the country. The ill-informed initial plan was for no other reason other than to prove that it had defeated Boko Haram. In fact, Boko Haram is as deadly today as it can ever be. This time around, thousands of them are not in their caliphate that is known to all, they have dispersed to the most unlikely places developing cells and creating new platforms to launch surprise attacks, whether on soft targets or not. It remains the responsibility of government to ensure that the lives of every Nigerian deserve sanctuary at the best.

Salkida is a freelance journalist and a conflict analyst

<http://saharareporters.com/2016/02/17/boko-haram-it%E2%80%99s-about-human-lives-not-territories-ahmad-salkida>

Insécurité en Afrique de l'Ouest : Le terrorisme, une menace sous-régionale

Mbaye GUEYE

26 February 2016

Malgré les multiples arrestations d'hommes religieux et de présumés djihadistes, le Sénégal n'est pas à l'abri d'une menace terroriste à l'image du Burkina Faso et du Mali. Hier, plusieurs experts en sécurité se sont retrouvés autour d'une table pour identifier les meilleures conditions possibles de mise en œuvre de politiques de prévention de la criminalité et de l'insécurité en Afrique de l'Ouest.

La menace terroriste ne faiblit pas en Afrique de l'Ouest comme le prouvent les attentats qui ont frappé le Mali et le Burkina Faso dernièrement. Cette situation d'insécurité a inspiré le Partners West Africa- Sénégal (Pwa-Sénégal) et le Centre de recherche pour le développement international (Crdi) qui ont mené un projet de recherche intitulé «Promotion d'une approche inclusive de la sécurité en Afrique de l'Ouest». Selon le général Lamine Cissé, il faut renforcer la démocratie afin de prévenir les troubles et imposer la démocratie là où il n'y en a pas et assurer une formation de pointe des forces de sécurité. «Il faut structurer les outils de défense et de sécurité pour pouvoir faire face aux menaces», conseille l'ex-ministre de l'Intérieur. Cette bataille ne sera gagnée que de manière inclusive en nouant des coopérations stratégiques avec les alliés du Nord pour profiter de leurs puissances technologiques. Cela permet de prévenir les risques du fait que les terroristes frappent de manière inopinée. «Avec ce qui se passe dans notre continent, à travers la bande saharienne, les forces de défense et de sécurité et les acteurs de sécurité, d'une manière générale, ont des limites objectives liées à un problème de ressources humaines et financières. Il faut que la population elle-même puisse participer à la gestion de sa propre sécurité», déclare Adjaratou Wakha Aidara Ndiaye, directrice exécutive de Partners west africa- Sénégal. Elle met l'accent sur le renseignement humain qui reste toujours très fiable. Pour cette première rencontre, le Sénégal, la Guinée Conakry et la Côte d'Ivoire ont été retenus dont la situation et le contexte social traduisent en même temps la réalité de la «sous-région». De son côté, le Sénégal est présenté comme un modèle de stabilité et de démocratie. La Côte d'Ivoire, qui sort d'une crise post-électorale, est en train de mener une réforme du secteur de sa sécurité. Alors que la Guinée présente les symptômes d'un pays en post-crise même si la situation n'est pas comparable à celle de la Côte d'Ivoire. Par contre, la réforme du secteur de la sécurité en Guinée est un exemple en Afrique francophone. Les experts vont, au sortir de cet atelier, formuler des recommandations pour une meilleure gestion de la sécurité en Afrique de l'Ouest.

<http://www.lequotidien.sn/>

Somalia

Daallo Air Attack has Shifted the Dynamics of Aviation in Somalia

February 26, 2016



Istanbul (HAN) Aerial Piracy and International Terrorism News. Opinion and ANALYSIS by Ahmedei Cheik Gurei*, a senior fellow at SIRAD Institute. Somalia has been isolated more than two decades, from the outside world and terms used for it was a 'containment policy'. The world announced the most dangerous city ever until the brave intervention of the president of Turkish Republic in 2011. Which the rest of the world forced them to follow suit. That couldn't have been achieved without the leadership of Turkish government.

Much needed infrastructures was put in place. Roads were repaired, the dark streets of Mogadishu was lighting up, a new modern airport terminal was build and managed, Mogadishu port is navigating to be a gate way to Africa, security sector re-

formed supported and participated and very much needed flight routes from Mogadishu to the outside world was set in motion by Europe's best airline carrier (Turkish airlines).

For security prospective, Southern Somalia faces daily or weekly insurgency perpetrated by the extremist group Al-Shabaab, which is responsible for many deadly attacks across the Southern Somali cities, villeges and specialy car bombs in Mogadishu.

All above mentioned and more couldn't have been achieved without support and participation of Turkish government and other friendly countries, with great costs, life and resources.

Ali Ahmed Jama Jangeli, the federal Somali minister for air transport, said that the explosion was not the result of a technical failure but a "deliberate terror attack". "After intensive investigation into Daalo Airline incident Flight 3159, it has been revealed that a crude device caused the explosion. The intent was to harm the passengers on the plane. This was not a technical fault, but a deliberate terror act." Jangeli said. Passenger Abdullahi Abdisalam Borleh has been named by officials from both Somali government and Daallo Airlines as the passenger who died, and confirmed as the suicide bomber.

Having said, there were many actors, local or external who were not happy about all these progresses and would do anything to jeopardize this progress -and using even Al-shabaab tactics to derail peace and stability in Mogadishu, and the attempted attack on Daallo airlines, will only serve the interests of those who wished to prevent Somalia becoming fully functioning state in the world and disconnecting from the rest of world. This is very serious situation and needed not to be cosidered lightly. The situation no doubt has significant security, political, social and economical implications.

According to Geeska Afrika Online security reporter in Djibouti, "The Somali own plane, operated by Daallo Airlines and headed to Djibouti, was forced to land minutes after taking off from the Mogadishu International Airport." In terms of the security implications, suffice to say that such attack was bound to happen as a result of the poor security operation of the Adden Adde International airport -Mogadishu International Airport. The security of the Mogadishu International Airport is a total sham to say the least due to chronic corruption combined with complete incompetency at all levels.

The Serbian commercial pilot, Vladimir Vodopivec, was quoted by Geeska Afrika Online reporter in Djibouti Belgrade daily Blic as saying he believed the explosion was caused by a laptop bomb.

There are only two things that could have caused a hole in the plane — a bomb or a pressurization blowout caused by a flaw or fatigue in the plane's skin, said by an American John Goglia, a former member of the US National Transportation Safety and aviation safety expert.

Mitigation Plan

According to Ali Ahmed Jama Jangeli, the federal Somali minister for air transport, “The security authorities have arrested a number of people who are suspected of taking part in this terror act organized by Al-shabaab affiliates.” Jangeli said his government has introduced additional security measures at the airport to strengthen security at the country’s main international airport.

The Impact of terror Attack

The social implication is that the public confidence is very low as far as the airport security is concerned. This will cause a major halt in the recent economic boom that Mogadishu was experiencing. Of course the economic as a result of the downturns in the flights to Mogadishu will mean less passengers leading to less flights which also leads to less investments and opportunities coming to the country. I assume that this attack has completely shifted the dynamics of the aviation in Somalia, which has discouraged many airlines carriers to consider bringing their business to Mogadishu, as well as impacting the emergence of the diaspora, that can be classified as a moneyed class which played a significant role in shaping to pursuit a stable and peaceful community. Copyright 2016 The Horn of Africa news Line (HAN) and Geeska Afrika Online approval 2016.

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THE CONFERENCE ON MARITIME SAFETY, LOME, TOGO: THE REAL CHALLENGES AHEAD!



By Dr. Mehenou Amouzou

In recent years, major international Media organizations have been constantly talking about Piracy and the potential and subsequent relative problems to Boaters, Trawlers, and Cargo Carriers. Meanwhile, no reference is made to what could possibly cause and or drive such apparent desperate behavior or the current demands placed upon these alleged perpetrators of criminal acts.

This article is not intended to defend the ideas behind any alleged wrong doing (*Piracy*) but to critically and rationally analyze the possible causes of the resurgence of this ancient work and activity that had been used for Century's in the world and in particular in the Western World. During the American Revolution, George Washington and America's founding fathers did not hesitate to pay Pirates to protect America's territorial waters on the basis there was no navy or coastguard to protect themselves. At that time, the majority of the American population supported this initiative. How is this situation different from the case of small developing countries? (*Of course serious consideration needs to be given to the intention of the Act of Piracy at any given time - In today's world Defending ones territory is considered acceptable regardless of the method used and an Act of Piracy on the grounds of pure theft, Tyranny or persecution is considered morally wrong*)

History indicates that Piracy was probably the initial concept of an individual's ability to rebel against injustice and exploitation whilst in the employment of others. They mutinied against Tyrannical Captains and Sea Lords hence creating an entirely different method and approach to "Working at Sea" on behalf of Employer and Em-

ployee. Once a vessel had been over turned in favor of the Pirates, the then Pirates would elect a Captain and the decision making process thereafter would be made collectively. *(An Egalitarian Democracy maybe?-questionable acquisition, cause and effect methods-does the end justify the means?)*

According to Marcus Rediker, *(Renowned historic Maritime Author and Writer-www.marcusrediker.com)* Pirates shared equally their booty *(Rewards)* and claims it is a method and plan of egalitarian ideas for the disposition of wealth and resources. Pirates would even accept into their ranks the likes of escaped African slaves whom would then live and work with them as equals. Pirates have shown historically that they do not share the brutal way that sovereign Merchant or Royal Navy's ran their nautical endeavors. Any booty was shared equally amongst the members of the crew. Hence why, despite their status as thieves, they were popular within the circles of the common man and ordinary sailor. *(Could be considered the Robin Hood Effect)*

During the past 25 years, it is argued that the country of Somalia is directly to blame for the Piracy resurgence. However, the actual causes of these behaviors maybe deliberately concealed and could in real terms be classified via reasons of third party influence and or conspiracy. The objective of this article is not to relieve the developing countries from their responsibilities or obligatory behavior, but to highlight that the northern countries maybe playing a role in helping create or facilitate the current situation of developing countries like Somalia. *(George Washington and the founding fathers!!!)*

Somalia's capital Mogadishu has a population estimated by the World Bank at 10.5 million. The coast line is extensive. It extends over 3300 km and is located in the Horn of Africa and has a very important geo-strategic position: it is the commerce route for large oil tankers and container ships alike. Historically Somalia has been both Italian and English colony wise. Under the chairmanship of Mohamed Siad Barre and between 1969 and 1991, many social programs were undertaken in the areas of Health, Education, Agriculture and Infrastructure. Good Literacy programs were also established in the 1970's. Somalia has untapped reserves of numerous natural resources, including uranium, iron ore, tin, gypsum, bauxite, copper, salt and natural gas. Due to its proximity to the oil-rich Gulf Arab states such as Saudi Arabia and Yemen, the nation is also believed to contain substantial unexploited reserves of oil.

What are the external forces that contributed to the destruction of the Somali state?

Somalia was a prosperous and self-sufficient country in the field of agriculture whose economy was sabotaged in the 1980s. This massacre has been accentuated by the ten years of presence of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which through the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) has contributed to socio-economic problems and famine of 1980s and 1990s. Thus, Somalia as was fell apart and into the general social chaos of today.

According to the New York Times, before the coup that ousted President Mohamed Siad Barre in 1991, four major US oil companies Conoco, Amoco, Chevron and Phillips were listed and controlled 2/3 of Somali oil.

Albeit the Administration and the US State Department did not publicly affirm that American military presence at the time in Somalia was strictly justified by and for the protection of the Oil and exploration personnel, official documents and US oil companies have largely proven that American troops were there to ensure the safety of US lead explorations and not for reasons of Humanitarian protection as alleged at the time.

According to Michel Chossudovsky, Professor Emeritus of Economics at the University of Ottawa, the experience of Somalia shows that the famine in the late 20th century is not the consequence of a lack of food by any means, but rather that famines are the result of a global cereal overproduction and greed.

Since the 1980s, grain markets have been deregulated by grain surpluses from the World Bank and the United States who do not hesitate to use this surplus, as in the case of Somalia, to destroy the local peasantry and destabilize national food agriculture. The latter becomes, under these circumstances, vulnerable to the vagaries of drought and environmental degradation.

Across the African continent, the pattern of "sectoral adjustment" in agriculture under the auspices of the Bretton Woods institutions has led to the destruction of food security. The dependency of the world market has been strengthened; "food aid" to sub-Saharan Africa increased by more than seven times since 1974 and commercial grain imports more than doubled. These imports are thus increased from 3.72 million tons in 1974 to 8,470,000 tons in 1993. Food aid increased from 910,000 tons in 1974 to 6,640,000 tons in 1993 and is constantly to increase.

In 2009, the United Nations and the United States accused Al Shabab of imposing "a ban on foreign assistance in their territories", but what has not been said or mentioned in this report is that Harakat al Shabaab al-Mujahideen (HSM) is funded by Saudi Arabia and supported latently by the services of the West.

The support of the Islamic militia by Western latent driven service is part of a larger historical pattern of covert support to Al-Qaeda and its affiliated branches in countries such as Libya, Syria. One can legitimately think that this support also extends to Boko Haram.

Who would have thought that in 2009 the Governments of the United States, Europe, and China would declare war on the Pirates? The British Royal Navy ships supported by more than two dozen countries sailing in Somali territorial waters in search of Somali pirates, with the aim of combating them. They do not hesitate also to continue to the interior of Somali land.

A young British man called William pirate Scott, said just before being hanged in Charleston (South Carolina): "What I did allowed me to survive and I had to hack for a living."

In 1991, the collapse of the government of Somalia has led to a general destabilization of the country and famine conditions. Nevertheless, some Western countries have found grace in this situation, the opportunity to use for free the country's natu-

ral resources while discharging nuclear and other toxic wastes into the sea.

The civil war has had the effect of removing the central government (President, Government and various offices in charge of national affairs), as soon as it began, mysterious European ships appeared off the Somali coast and dumped in ocean barrels of nuclear waste. The coastal population began to sicken. At first it was strange rashes, nausea and malformed babies. Then, after the 2005 tsunami, hundreds of barrels that are found on the coast of Mogadishu and other questionable liquids came from the barrels. People began to suffer from radiation and there were more than 300 dead. Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah, the UN envoy for Somalia, said: "Someone is responsible for the unloading nuclear waste on the coast, there is also Lead and other heavy metals such as Cadmium, Mercury and others." Much of this waste can be traced to hospitals and factories in Europe, which seem to have made "provision" of the Italian mafia mentality. The question was put to Mr. Ould-Abdallah: *"Do you know what the European governments are doing about it?"* He replied with a sigh: *"No cleaning, no compensation, and prevention or treatment has been done."* At the same time, the European media are quick to show pictures of children and women with diseases that their States are allegedly responsible for.

Several European and Asian vessels have looted the greatest resource of the Somali seas and its catch; Europe after destroying its own fish stocks by overexploitation, has now turned towards Africa and especially to countries that have no ratified sovereignty such as Somalia. In the Western media, Somalia "is one of the poorest countries in the world and also one of the most barbaric." However, this country provides more than \$500 Million dollars' worth of tuna, shrimp, lobster, and other seafood each year. These natural resources are taken by big trawlers illegally sailing in unprotected waters of Somalia. Since the civil war was declared in 1991, Somalia suffered a loss of annual revenue of \$ 500 million in fishing alone. Hence for 24 years, Somalia has lost a minimum of 12 Billion dollars. It is therefore understandable why Somalia is still in this disastrous situation. Somalia really needs help? Africa needs help? Where is the help? This causes the local fishermen to lose their livelihoods, and they are hungry. Mohammed Hussein, a fisherman living in a city 100 km south of Mogadishu, told Reuters: "If nothing is done, there will soon be no big fish in our coastal waters."

October 2016 - Conference on Maritime Security in Togo, Africa

The Organizing of a conference on maritime safety is obviously an excellent initiative. However, what decisions need to be taken there?

Firstly, is to prohibit Western countries imposing their laws and visions on the world by trying to give carte blanche to fish and pollute the maritime waters of poor countries.

Secondly, research the sources of the real problem which forced some people to react on the basis they were doing no more trying to protect their water's edge.

Thirdly, the opportunity for discussion at the summit of the global growing insecurity due to the wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Libya, Syria, etc. and also less severe conflicts in the unstable areas like Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Niger, Mali, etc. Also to address the problem of Mercenaries who are paid outlaws, which could be

the real threat to maritime safety? Albeit Mali is not a coastal State it has been destabilized by armed men who have managed to compromise its territorial integrity.

Fourthly, the willingness of all attendees and their respective governments to apply faith and courage to the concept of “doing the right thing”.

It would be desirable to invite one or more Somalia representatives to the summit to talk about what really is happening and what is really needed for a legitimate, safe, ally going onmmore proper and achievable “local humane” solution to be found.

The problem is the same for Libya, despite of the personality of its former leader, Libya was a stable state. This stability has enabled Libya to prevent the current carnage caused by the migration of thousands of Africans trying to cross the Mediterranean. This stability also initially helped prevent the North African region becoming a base for terrorists. It should be noted, that it was only after the death of the "Libyan Guide" that Libya became a stronghold of terrorists, radicals, and mercenaries of all kinds who gradually extended their sway over the Middle East (Iraq), Chad, Nigeria, Cameroon, CAR, etc.

When one looks closely at the war in Libya, national belligerents in this conflict account for only about 10%. And of those 10%, we can consider 2% as disgruntled. 4% are moderate and remaining 4% are radicals. The remaining 90% are mercenaries, jihadists; moderate or radical terrorists recruited from different countries and are paid by agencies belonging to foreign States. These mercenary and other converted businessmen gradually take control of the petroleum fields and refineries in conflict states. It is important to ask where such individuals obtain their weapons. Who informs or provides their intelligence? Who advises on logistics? Who buys the products from oil wells and refineries they control? Who profits from this situation?

Continuing the reflection, one must ask about how our governments work to protect us against terrorism and the growing insecurity that grows in our cities, our regions and our countries. However, we must remember that there are countries that do not hesitate to sponsor terrorism by financing and arming such terrorists. As the Russian President said at the G20 summit in Turkey, November 2015, 40 countries fund and help equip international terrorism. At the forefront of these countries, we can count 20 Western countries.

Also, in the fight against terrorism, it is important to first identify the countries that finance, arm, train, and give air cover to terrorists. By simply declaring war on all terrorists will not solve the problem. We must focus on the countries sponsoring the terrorism. Strange also that when considering these sponsoring countries of terrorism continue to be welcomed on the red carpet around the world.

For many months, the Chadian Minister of information publicly stated that 40% of the weapons used by Boko Haram are of French origin. However, no investigation has been launched by the French Government to determine the real origin of such. Meanwhile, the French Government has not denied the words of the Chadian Minister of information.

In a video clip James Corbett shows three cases clearly demonstrate that the war

against terrorism is a fraud and is actually a series of made shots created for a specific political purpose.

The First case :

James Corbett begins with what he calls "unlikely source" Washington Post, with title "The absurdity of the war in Syria," accompanied by a video which clearly shows an American anti-tank missile guide, used by a fighter FSA (free Syrian Army) to destroy what is clearly an American-made Humvee driven by ISIS. In other words, a US-backed army pulling a US missile on a US target, likely driven by an American soldier trained fighter for ISIS.

For months James Corbett declared simultaneously with Mr. Edmonds, a Turkish-Azerbaijani FBI Whistleblower, how many ISIS fighters were trained in Jordan in the last few years, via a covert operation, prior to the big traditional media organizations finally reporting on such he said.

The second case:

In the video, for 5 seconds, Corbett sums up the absurdity of all-out war in Syria, which was officially represented for years as an "internal type of civil war conflict", despite the fact that all the players and all their equipment, all military action weapons, funds, logistical and everything concerned is provided by foreign countries, and in association with finance also borne by foreign countries. And all is regarded in the media as an alleged Syrian internal conflict and accordingly want the population of other foreign countries to believe such?

Corbett then continues with a little heartwarming story about how PBS "News Hour" has used the image of an air strike on an alternative target as the images of air strikes on oil infrastructures held by the Islamic State. Rigging is increasingly difficult to stop when the deceit of people is the intended ethos. (*Smoke and Mirrors*)

The third case

Colbert goes on to show how an alleged terrorist plot in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, was recently tried by a judge of the Supreme Court of this province, Catherine Bruce who oke and Mirrors)osage of thnconcluded that there was close link between unlawful acts by the RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police, aka "RCMP") and those accused of a crime, hence it could be argued the RCMP were guilty of supporting an "abuse of process" at best.

The policemen in civilian clothes, posing as jihadist warriors, provided the associated accused with not only groceries, cigarettes, bus cards, cell phones, phone cards, clothes, cash, and a portable hard drive, they also provided them with a place to work on their terrorist plot and activities and a location to build explosives. Also a "driver" to lead them to different stores to buy bomb-making equipment and also led them to Victoria and its surrounds during the four months in mention to assemble the operation in full. In other words, the "Royal Canadian Mounted Police, aka" the RCMP" were actively involved throughout the various stages of the terrorists plots. Without the active involvement of "RCMP", potentially, terrorists would not be successful in executing these attacks. However, Canada is not the only country to use

these unfortunate actions in the fight against terrorism. These types of procedures are becoming normal practices around the world.

The conference on Maritime Security was in the days of Colonel Gaddafi, 70% funded by Libya. However those days are history.

It is very difficult if not impossible to organize an international conference when one (*a country and or region*) does not have the financial means or international weight required to be taken seriously. More importantly, basic infrastructure such as hospitals, education and personal well-being or security may be missing in the country hosting or coordinating such an event.

On the basis the conference will be secured largely via external funding, the turn of events and agenda will probably be purely a pre-determined formality. Ultimately all and any contributions to the host country and Africa as a whole are more than uncertain. It is likely the conclusion of events as a result of the "third party funded" conference will be on an "our way or no way basis". Topics and issues for discussion and hopeful resolution will be "progressive" at best and certainly not conclusive and assistance of certainty for the benefit of the African nations and its Maritime reform!!

In the case of the Somali Pirates, the so-called "pirates" do not identify with that name. All Somalis agree that they were ordinary Somalian fishermen whom took their speedboats to try to dissuade foreign trawlers and vessels from illegally poaching their catch. They call themselves the "Volunteer Coastguard" of Somalia - and it's not hard to understand why. In a surreal telephone interview, one of the pirate leaders, Sugule Ali, said their motive was "to stop illegal fishing and dumping in our waters" ... We do not see ourselves as bandits of the sea. We consider sea bandits those who illegally fish and dump in our seas, nuclear waste, and carry weapons in our seas." (*Irony*)

The war against piracy was best summarized by another Pirate, who lived and died in the fourth century BC. He was captured and brought before Alexander the Great, who demanded to know *"what the Pirate meant by taking to own the sea-The pirate smiled, and responded,-What do you Sir mean by taking to seize and own the entire earth,-because I take to the sea and do such with a little ship, I am called a Pirate, when you do such with a great fleet, you are called an emperor"*. Like in Alexander's time, "The great imperial fleets' sail on today.

In Conclusion:

Are you fishing illegally in the waters off Marseilles in France, on the Italian coast etc.? Do you dump nuclear waste in the Russian waters, American or French?

Be certain in advance that your actions will contribute to a major catastrophe. Please spare a thought for countries like Somalia and other African nations whom are suffering at the hands of global and corporate governance, greed, deception, legerdemain and sleight of hand!!!

CONTRIBUTIONS:

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DR. MEHENOU AMOUZOU – PUBLICATIONS ON WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

– « LA CONFERENCE SUR LA SECURITE MARITIME DE LOME, TOGO ET LES VERITABLES ENJEUX! »

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« LA CRISE FINANCIERE BANCAIRE GLOBALE ET SON IMPACT SUR LES PAYS EN DEVELOPPEMENTS : CAS DE L’AFRIQUE »

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”CORRUPTION AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES”

“THE WORLD FINANCIAL HONEY MOON IS OVER: DEBT CRISIS CONTINUES TO WAGE WAR ON ECONOMY POLICY”

“EUROPEAN CENTRAL BANK’S OUTRIGHT MONETARY TRANSACTION

<http://www.maravipost.com/national/opinions/general-scope/10379-the-conference-on-maritime-safety,-lome,-togo-the-real-challenges-ahead.html>

Terrorism in the World

Australia

Sharing strategies, involving communities, enhancing counter-terrorism

22 FEBRUARY 2016



Sharing strategies, involving communities, enhancing counter-terrorism

A Melbourne conference has heard examples of how various countries are dealing with the threats posed by terrorism.

22 FEB 2016

Academics and experts on terrorism from around the world have been meeting in Melbourne to discuss ways to stop the spread of militant groups globally.

And the conference has heard examples of how various countries are dealing with the threats posed by terrorism now.

Deakin University's Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation organised the summit.

The Institute's director, Professor Fethi Mansouri, says much of the discussion and debate around terrorism up to now has lacked nuance and adequate academic research.

"Our role as academic institutions is to make sure that we create those platforms on the basis of research and to bring informed experts who are willing to share their analyses and their studies with the wider community. And I think that can only be a positive thing."

Professor Mansouri says involving the communities is crucial.

"It's counterproductive not to involve the communities concerned in general, but in particular in the case of Australia, the various Muslim communities. So that's, if you like, something that will add value to whatever various agencies and departments are trying to achieve, so that is, if you like, something that makes sense. But in terms of a broader, ethical point of view, I think it doesn't really do us any good if we were to essentially paint the whole community of Muslims -- which is, in Australia, for instance, half a million now -- with the same brush of certain radical, violent groups, and I think that is not really an ethical approach to the situation either. And also, because there's a strong belief that is backed by evidence that the best way to understand, the best way to prevent in some cases, some of these problems is to work in meaningful, respectful partnerships with communities."

Among the international voices contributing to the discussion was the Danish Institute for International Studies' Ann-Sophie Hemmingsen.

Denmark introduced what it called "countering violent extremism" measures, or CVEs, in 2014.

Dr Hemmingsen detailed how the programs work, including in dealing with returning foreign fighters.

"The Danish approach is, of course, there is the possibility of prosecuting individuals if they have committed crimes in Syria or Iraq, and that will, of course, be investigated, but, in the cases where no such prosecutions are relevant, there is an attempt to receive returnees in ways that, I would say, are designed to minimise the risk that they become frustrated with their own country and turn against their own country."

She says, so far, it has been difficult to measure how effective the program has been.

"Like so many other CVE initiatives, there are no evaluations of effectiveness. So this is the way that returnees are dealt with, is a continuation of a more general Danish approach to preventing radicalisation into violent extremism, and that's something that's been going on for nearly 10 years by now. But this focus on returnees from conflict areas, that's a relatively new thing. We've seen in the past Danes returning from other conflict areas -- for example, Afghanistan and Somalia -- but there's never been that much of a focus on receiving them, on rehabilitating them, so this focus on returnees is a relatively new thing, and there are indications that some parts at least have been successful."

But Dr Hemmingsen says it is difficult to say whether those experiences are relevant.

"In the municipality of Aarhus, they have been receiving up to 30 individuals who have travelled to Syria who then return back to Denmark, and they've managed to sort of stop the traffic of individuals travelling. So it's a much smaller number travelling today. And you could say that they've been successful, in the sense that none of these individuals who've returned have committed any violent acts in Denmark. But the question is if that is relevant today, because these individuals were individuals who travelled in 2013, so prior to the establishment of the so-called caliphate of the so-called Islamic State, and, without having done evaluations, it's my impression that these individuals who travelled and returned back then were not necessarily

joining ISIS."

Professor David Cook is from Rice University in the United States.

He says, although much of the world's focus is on groups like IS, Boko Haram in Nigeria is also a threat.

The group formed an alliance with IS and has since helped IS with attacks in Libya.

Dr Cook says the group is deadlier than IS but he doubts it could have the same global reach of IS.

"It has not succeeded in jumping ethnic boundaries, it has not succeeded in suborning or even beginning to convince Muslim elites to join its cause, and so I think that, although Boko Haram is an extremely deadly group, that it has not succeeded in making itself a global mass movement."

<http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2016/02/22/sharing-strategies-involving-communities-enhancing-counter-terrorism>

Y a-t-il une menace totalitaire en France ?

24 février 2016

La démocratie française prendrait-elle le chemin totalitaire ?

Par Claude Robert.



Dans son analyse magistrale [Le système totalitaire](#), [Hannah Arendt](#) démontre la place importante de l'idéologie dans l'avènement de tels régimes (stalinien et hitlérien). L'atomisation et l'isolement des individus en masses soumises, l'installation d'un système complètement irrationnel dont le seul but est d'assurer le pouvoir du leader, la pratique du mensonge et de la propagande, la destruction du droit et de la morale, le déplacement du pouvoir vers la police, l'instabilité, la dissimulation, la duplication et l'atomisation de la hiérarchie, tous ces marqueurs totalitaires se sont chaque fois accompagnés d'un « *idéalisme, c'est-à-dire d'une foi inébranlable en un monde idéologique fictif* » sans lesquels de tels régimes n'auraient certainement pas atteint la dimension qui fut la leur. Selon l'auteure, ce dernier élément serait même le but ultime « plutôt que l'appétit de pouvoir »¹ de tout régime totalitaire. C'est dire la dangerosité de l'idéologie !

Pour Hannah Arendt, toute pensée idéologique contient trois éléments de nature spécifiquement totalitaires² :

- 1) La prétention à tout expliquer,
- 2) Dans cette prétention, la capacité à s'affranchir de toute expérience,

-3) La capacité à construire des raisonnements logiques et cohérents permettant de créer une réalité fictive à partir du résultat attendu du raisonnement, et non pas à partir de l'expérience.

À la lecture de ces trois marqueurs toxiques, de ces trois facteurs favorables au totalitarisme³, comment ne pas faire immédiatement le lien avec la France ? Son inclination socialiste si ce n'est marxiste⁴ n'obéit-elle pas à ces trois critères ? Par conséquent, la France serait-elle en danger ? Et ce danger serait-il en voie de résorption, ou au contraire en phase d'expansion ?

La France, un pays à risque élevé

Nos voisins étrangers le disent et le répètent au gré de leurs étonnements successifs : la France est un pays qui préfère théoriser, s'abstraire plutôt que de discuter des faits concrets, et de leur chercher des solutions adaptées. Et même s'il s'agit probablement d'un trait culturel, force est de constater que ce penchant français pour le concept est très fortement idéologisé. Le phénomène est connu : à cette abstraction théorique hexagonale s'ajoute une dimension idéologique de nature politique particulièrement développée.

Les preuves tangibles de ce refus des faits pour des raisons purement idéologiques sont légion et continuellement renouvelées. On pourrait toutefois ne citer que les plus criantes, les plus factuelles et les plus gigantesques d'entre elles, parmi lesquelles :

– La France abuse du keynésianisme depuis le milieu des années 1970 environ. Le keynésianisme est efficace lorsqu'il s'agit de traiter une insuffisance de la demande. Il sert notamment de tampon pendant les crises d'ajustement de l'économie, en aidant les ménages le temps nécessaire, etc... Or la part de marché mondiale française a été divisée par deux depuis cette même période, ce qui prouve qu'il existe un problème de compétitivité, ou plus exactement, un problème d'offre, problème que cette succession presque ininterrompue de politiques de relances de la demande n'a bien évidemment pas réussi à enrayer (la France a d'ailleurs disparu ou presque de la plupart des secteurs à forte croissance actuels, les secteurs de l'innovation tels que l'informatique, l'électronique, les biotechnologies).

Toutes ces données sont pourtant connues. Si la France a refusé de contrecarrer ce recul, ce n'est donc pas faute de ne pas être informée des faits, mais pour des raisons idéologiques. Quelque soit le gouvernement en place d'ailleurs (à quelques exceptions assez courtes près), la primauté a été donnée à la redistribution, à la protection des acquis sociaux (des insiders donc), au partage du travail (tocado unique au monde), avec pour conséquence la fuite en avant dans la vie à crédit et dans l'endettement...

Aucune justification qui ne soit pas d'origine idéologique permet d'expliquer un tel évitement du réel sur une période d'une quarantaine d'années. Un pays ne peut persévérer dans l'erreur aussi longtemps sans de bonnes raisons. Certes, on peut toujours avancer le manque de courage de nos décideurs. Mais l'idéologie ne les a-t-elle pas considérablement aidés, en fournissant aux plus velléitaires d'entre eux les meilleures raisons à leur inaction ? N'est-il pas devenu inconvenant de parler d'effort et de restrictions ? N'est-il pas devenu grossier de suggérer de lancer des réformes ? Toucher au revenu minimum n'est-il pas devenu criminel ? Assouplir le droit du tra-

vail humainement dégradant ? Se battre contre la concurrence mondiale inconvenant ? Quel que soit l'angle par lequel on analyse le problème, l'idéologie en est toujours l'épicentre...

– Tandis que la quasi-totalité de la planète se livre au commerce, à la course à l'innovation et à l'enrichissement, tandis que des pays pauvres émergent et que des pays riches nous ont doublé (cf. analyse ici présentée [Déclin économique français : mythe ou réalité ?](#)), la France continue d'accepter que son système scolaire et universitaire façonne le plus souvent possible des bataillons de citoyens qui ne connaissent que la vision étatique, socialiste, marxiste de l'économie. L'aveuglement idéologique qui justifie le non traitement des problèmes économiques du pays se reproduit donc sur les générations à venir. Il a de beaux jours devant lui. Car tout a été fait pour en pérenniser les dégâts. Le discours politique mensonger (autre marqueur du totalitarisme) assure ainsi pour longtemps sa crédibilité auprès des consciences car celles-ci ont été préparées à cet effet (cf. analyse ici présentée [Le long travail militant de l'université](#)).

– Et comme si l'Éducation Nationale ne suffisait pas à entretenir la flamme idéologique, il faut compter sur [les médias français, très majoritairement du même bord](#). Les sondages *sortie des urnes* de la Présidentielle de 2012 ont fait apparaître que 74% des journalistes avaient voté pour F. Hollande, dont le programme de réforme fiscale s'annonçait pourtant d'autant plus dangereusement contre-productif et contra-cyclique que rien par ailleurs n'était proposé pour relancer la compétitivité française et diminuer ses blocages historiques (droit du travail, charges sociales, poids de l'État, etc...). Pour ne citer que les principaux médias chargés de cette éducation des masses : [Nouvel-Obs](#), [Libération](#), [Alternatives Économiques](#), *Marianne*, *Le Monde*, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, *Courrier International*, *France Info*, *France 24*, *Arte*, *France 2*...

Ce chiffre de 74% est effarant. Il démontre l'incroyable tropisme gauchisant des moyens d'information. Actuellement, [seule une poignée de médias est à même de relater sans détour ni litote, ni novlangue, la gravité de la situation économique, sociale et sécuritaire hexagonale](#). Ceci n'est pas une anecdote mais au contraire la preuve inquiétante de la vulnérabilité de notre pays face à un éventuel glissement totalitaire.

Encerclé comme il l'est par le discours politique, le formatage scolaire et le traitement médiatique des informations, le citoyen français apparaît donc particulièrement bien manipulé d'un point de vue idéologique⁵.

Maintenant, qu'en est-il de l'évolution de ce phénomène ?

Un début d'aggiornamento en vue !

La situation actuelle montre à la fois une sérieuse aggravation du « délire idéologique », et l'apparition d'une véritable révolte intellectuelle de nature à le combattre efficacement.

D'un côté, la situation se détériore car, en effet, [la crise des migrants](#) et la série d'attentats sanglants apportent la preuve que le déni du réel, le refus des faits se portent d'autant mieux que ceux-ci sont particulièrement rudes. Le traitement de la vague d'immigration tout comme celui des attaques terroristes ont suscité des débats véri-

tablement abscons quant aux raffinements linguistiques mis en branle pour ne pas nommer les problèmes. Les risques de non intégration des émigrés, tout comme la raison de leur venue ou leur violence une fois sur place ont fait l'objet d'une méchante censure dans la plupart des rédactions.

Il en est de même pour l'origine ethnico-religieuse des terroristes. Quant à la stratégie de l'EI, elle a été présentée avec toutes les pincettes diplomatiques requises afin d'éviter de froisser les éventuelles susceptibilités des populations de confession musulmane. Certains analystes français vont jusqu'à expliquer le terrorisme qui a sévi dans l'hexagone comme le résultat nauséabond d'un racisme anti-islam, comme le fruit d'une écrasante domination judéo-chrétienne sur des populations « dominées et dans le besoin ». La crainte des amalgames a subi une hypertrophie telle que l'on peut se demander s'il n'est pas devenu préférable de défendre le bourreau de peur d'aller trop loin, de l'autre côté.

Pour autant, des motifs d'espoir apparaissent depuis que les tenants du réalisme, les pourfendeurs de la réalité des faits, les chevaliers blancs de l'objectivité font la Une des médias, et sèment la zizanie dans le camp adverse. Quand bien même on peut ne pas être toujours d'accord avec la solidité de ses démonstrations, il faut rendre mérite à la [ténacité d'un Eric Zemmour](#), devenu la bête noire de la bien-pensance actuelle par son mauvais goût (celui d'évoquer ce que l'on n'a plus le droit d'évoquer).

Il faut tout autant rendre hommage au [cynisme provocateur d'un Houellebecq](#). Tous deux ont joué un immense rôle de désinhibiteur des discours, de bulldozer de la liberté d'expression. Parallèlement à ce travail brutal façon électrochoc, il faut citer l'incroyable courage d'un philosophe comme Alain Finkielkraut, qui se paie le luxe de déballer sa franchise intellectuelle sur tous les écrans cathodiques ou presque, de façon mesurée quand ce n'est pas humoristique, dans l'héritage logique du si regretté Philippe Muray. Ce travail de fond, de moins en moins austère, et de plus en plus réjouissant, porte ses fruits de façon évidente.

Depuis peu, le niveau de désobéissance idéologique a même atteint des sommets inespérés. Nombreux sont les porte-voix brillants qui s'y sont mis, du journaliste Kamel Daoud à la fondatrice de *Causeur*, Elisabeth Levy, de l'essayiste Pascal Bruckner à l'historien Marcel Gauchet, avec la bénédiction de médias de moins en moins rares, et des insultes du camp adverse de moins en moins audibles. À cela, il faut ajouter la vague de nouveaux médias (*Causeur*, *Atlantico*, *Contrepoints*, *Lesobservateurs.ch*, etc...) et bien évidemment les réseaux sociaux, avec des groupes de quasi révolte intellectuelle extrêmement nombreux sur Facebook grâce auxquels les informations (images, statistiques) circulent d'autant plus vite qu'elles sont interdites dans les médias dominants.

Ainsi se met peu à peu en place un système de réaction de défense contre une doctrine politique ultra-dominatrice (l'idéologie socialiste, elle-même composée d'anti-libéralisme et de tiers-mondisme) devenue inaudible et insupportable. Ce système de défense multiforme, composé d'intellectuels lucides, de média contraints et forcés (d'arrêter de se pincer le nez), et de sondages à démoraliser la cléricature gauchiste (qui du coup, se dispute), devrait finir par rendre la vie de plus en plus difficile à l'idéologie française actuelle...

Il est plus que temps. Car, ainsi que l'on peut l'observer, la situation de l'hexagone

apparaît particulièrement vulnérable du point de vue de la démocratie.

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<https://www.contrepoints.org/2016/02/24/240260-totalitarisme-la-france-en-danger>

Attentats du 13 novembre : l'incroyable coïncidence qui a trompé les enquêteurs

le 23 février 201

Pendant plusieurs semaines, les enquêteurs ont exploité une piste selon laquelle deux terroristes accompagnaient les commandos de Daech dans leurs tueries.

"Les coïncidences sont les pires ennemies de la vérité", assurait le célèbre auteur de romans policiers, Gaston Leroux. Les enquêteurs [des attentats du 13 novembre](#) lui ont donné raison. Pendant plusieurs semaines, ils ont exploité une piste selon laquelle deux terroristes accompagnaient les commandos de Daech dans leurs tueries. Une piste reposant sur une incroyable coïncidence : au moment précis où les terroristes frappaient alternativement les quatre coins de la capitale, les téléphones de deux individus bornaient dans les mêmes secteurs, au même moment, révèle [Le Parisien](#).

Un conducteur qui part de Belgique, comme les terroristes. Le 13 novembre au soir, alors que les auteurs des attentats de Paris [viennent de se diviser en deux groupes répartis en banlieue parisienne](#), un véhicule quitte la Belgique, où les attaques ont été orchestrées. Selon l'analyse des bornes relais, le conducteur belge passe à 18h15 devant la gare de Bruxelles-Midi. Une heure plus tard, il traverse la frontière, direction Paris. A 21h10, le véhicule est repéré sur l'autoroute, [à proximité du Stade de France](#), où se massent 70.000 supporters venus assister au match France-Allemagne.

Le duo se retrouve dans le 11ème arrondissement. A hauteur du Stade de France, le conducteur mystère reçoit un appel. Dix minutes plus tard, [un des deux kamikazes se fait exploser](#) devant la porte D du Stade de France. S'en suit une autre explosion, à 21h30, au niveau de la porte D. A ce même moment, le véhicule belge est déjà loin. Après avoir pris la route de la place de la Nation, dans l'est de la capitale, il convoie vers l'avenue Philippe-Auguste, dans le 11ème arrondissement, où son interlocuteur téléphonique l'attend. Les deux individus se retrouvent précisément au moment où débute l'équipée meurtrière devant les terrasses du 10e et 11e arrondissement de Paris : Le Petit Cambodge, Le Carillon, La bonne bière et la Belle équipe.

[Le commando des terrasses](#) sévit durant vingt minutes, avant de déposer l'un des terroristes à la terrasse du Comptoir Voltaire, où ce dernier meurt le dos arraché par son gilet explosif. Le couple se trouve alors à trois minutes à pied du lieu de l'explosion, rapporte [Le Parisien](#).

Avant de se retrouver à deux pas d'Abdeslam. Plus confusant encore, [alors que Salah Abdeslam](#), le dernier membre vivant du commando des terrasses, gare sa voiture Clio place Albert-Kahn, les téléphones de deux individus mystère bornent à un kilomètre au sud, près de Barbès, dans le 18ème arrondissement de Paris. C'est là que le chemin des deux individus se dissocie de celui des terroristes des attentats de Paris. Alors que Salah Abdeslam prend la route de Montrouge, où il est récupéré par des complices, le duo reste jusqu'au dimanche dans le quartier de Barbès/Château-Rouge. Le 15 novembre, dans la soirée, le conducteur belge repart vers la Belgique, où il arrive vers 22h15.

Une prostituée partie retrouvée son ami. Les enquêteurs prennent alors la piste d'un commando bis très au sérieux, d'autant que dans un communiqué, l'Etat islamique avait revendiqué des attentats dans le 18eme arrondissement de Paris. Les deux lignes téléphoniques qui ont borné aux endroits des attaques sont placées sous surveillance. L'enquête menée en lien avec la justice belge est fructueuse. La police fédérale connaît bien le propriétaire de la ligne téléphone pour des faits de prostitution. Le numéro est attribué à une femme, une prostituée connue des services de police, rapporte [Le Parisien](#).

Le numéro français, lui, correspond au profil d'un homme de 26 ans, habitant le 18eme arrondissement de Paris. Convoqués par les enquêteurs séparément, le "couple" apporte la même version : ils se sont retrouvés le temps d'un week-end "dans l'une des plus belles villes du monde". Logiquement, la femme est arrivée de Bruxelles, par le Nord de Paris, au niveau du Stade de France. Le duo s'était ensuite donné rendez-vous dans le très fréquenté 11eme arrondissement, avant de regagner le domicile de Monsieur.

Une coïncidence qui retire un élément à charge contre Bendaoud :

Cette piste, définitivement écartée par les enquêteurs, permet de retirer un élément à charge pour Jawad Bendaoud. Mais à ce stade, il reste mis en examen pour avoir mis à disposition l'appartement de Saint-Denis où le cerveau présumé des attaques, Abdelhamid Abaaoud, s'était réfugié, avant de mourir dans l'assaut du Raid. Interrogé sur cette ligne téléphonique belge lors de sa garde à vue, Bendaoud avait indiqué tout ignorer de cet interlocuteur, avec qui il avait un contact en commun dans son téléphone. Il était entré "dans une rage folle", jusqu'à casser l'ordinateur du policier qui menait l'audition, selon une source proche du dossier.

<http://www.europe1.fr/faits-divers/attentats-du-13-novembre-lincroyable-coincidence-qui-a-trompe-les-enqueteurs-2675269>

Iraq

Defeating Islamic State requires unified global effort



The West and its Middle East partners have confronted the IS terror threat mostly from a domestic, not a global, approach

On 24 January, the Islamic State (IS) group uploaded a 17-minute video to its Telegram account featuring nine perpetrators of the terrorist attacks that killed 130 people in Paris on 13 November last year. The footage suggests that the attacks were not planned by an independent jihadist cell but commanded by IS's central leadership in Syria and Iraq.

This theory is in line with the conclusions of Europol's latest assessment on the modus operandi of Europe-based operatives linked to IS.

In its [report](#), entitled "Changes in Modus Operandi of Islamic State Terrorist Attacks," the law enforcement agency of the European Union states that the Paris attacks, as well as IS's foiled attacks on EU soil, indicate a shift in IS's strategy towards a broader, more global, plan of action.

US officials have also warned of the potential threat posed by IS's evolving strategy.

During their annual [threat assessment](#) to the Senate Armed Services Committee, Director of National Intelligence James Clapper and Defence Intelligence Agency Director Vincent Stewart pointed to recent terrorist attacks perpetrated by IS or its affiliates in territories outside of their control as evidence of IS's operational capabilities abroad. According to Stewart, IS "will probably attempt to conduct additional attacks in Europe, and attempt to direct attacks on the US homeland in 2016".

So far, however, the West has not been the primary target of IS's terror campaign. Last year, the organisation expanded the scope of its operations to North Africa and

the Gulf, where IS and its affiliates have claimed responsibility for a series of attacks against religious minorities, including the Shia community.

These attacks, which aim at inciting further regional instability and inflaming the Sunni-Shia sectarian divide, fall within IS's broader strategy and showcase IS's threat's global character.

Nevertheless, both the West and its partners in the Middle East have mainly confronted the terrorist threat posed by IS from a domestic, rather than global, approach, failing to address IS's expanding terror as a united front.

The efforts of each bloc

The EU has focused its efforts on limiting IS's capacity to operate in EU territory, resulting in an increase in spending by the EU and member states on domestic counter-terrorism. Although EU members remain primarily responsible for ensuring their own internal security, the EU supports them in their fight against terrorism through different instruments, including a legal framework to help coordinate cross-border law-enforcement actions.

Amid the security challenge posed by IS following the Paris attacks, EU leaders set a June deadline for establishing an European border force to control the bloc's external frontiers, and promised enhanced intelligence sharing and cooperation in domestic counter-terrorism.

In order to accomplish this last goal, the European Counter Terrorism Centre (ECTC), which became operational on 1 January 2015, provides analysis for ongoing investigations and contributes to a coordinated EU reaction in the event of major terrorist attacks.

For its part, the US has mainly focused its counter-terrorism efforts on neutralising terrorist threats abroad. These efforts have been particularly effective against the so-called al-Qaeda core.

After 9/11, the US built a national security structure to fight the jihadist organisation, adapting US military, intelligence, and law enforcement agencies to the tasks of counterterrorism and counterinsurgency. By focusing on this goal, the US has failed to embrace a broader set of strategies that could have prevented the rise of IS. Yet so far, again, IS has not directly orchestrated any attacks on US soil.

Partners in the Middle East, led by Saudi Arabia, have opted for a counter-terrorism strategy markedly different from that of its Western allies.

On 14 December 2015, Saudi Arabia [announced](#) the creation of a 34-state Islamic coalition to fight terrorism. While the apparent objective of this coalition is to counter terrorism in Muslim countries, Saudi Arabia's determination to forge a regional alliance against terrorism is reflective of its desire to maintain its regional hegemony.

The conflicts in Iraq and Syria, as well as the adoption of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on the Iranian nuclear programme, have undermined Saudi influence in the Middle East.

In response to this situation, the new Saudi Cabinet, headed by King Salman, is as-

suming a more assertive role within the region.

The new government is determined to position the House of Saud as the guarantor of regional stability by actively participating in proxy wars.

First, in Syria, where the Islamic Republic of Iran is providing support to the regime of President Bashar al-Assad, Saudi Arabia and other Sunni regimes are funding the Syrian opposition and other moderate forces. Second, in Iraq, Saudi Arabia has significantly contributed to relief operations, easing the living conditions of Iraqi refugees.

Finally, in Yemen, the Saudi Arabia-led coalition backing President Abd Rabbuh Mansour Hadi is fighting the Iranian-backed Houthi movement.

Furthermore, Saudi Arabia is resolved to counter any ideology in the region that is against its interests, particularly at home.

The beginning of 2016 was marked by the execution of prominent Shia cleric Sheikh Nimr al-Nimr, who was a vocal supporter of the anti-government protests that erupted in the Eastern Province in 2011, and 46 other prisoners, most of them belonging to al-Qaeda, who had been sentenced to death after being convicted of terrorism offences.

Saudi Arabia's counter-terrorism initiatives, as well as those of its Middle Eastern partners and the West, are a step behind IS's evolving strategy. IS's terrorist threat is now cross-regional, and, consequently, global security is highly dependent on inter-regional cooperation.

A common counter-terrorism approach

In a recent [statement](#), EU High Representative Federica Mogherini argued that unity is the key to defeat IS: "There is a global threat we need to tackle as a global coalition, with some territorial focus on Syria, Iraq, Libya and Afghanistan. It is a battle for hearts and minds. To win it, we need to unite, and avoid exacerbating the sectarian divide [between Sunnis and Shias]."

Yet little has been done to achieve this unity in the counter-terrorism front. It is time to evaluate the prevailing weaknesses that characterise current counter-terrorism cooperation and address IS's terror campaign as a threat that requires the urgent adoption of a common counter-terrorism strategy.

Inter-regional cooperation has been achieved on the military front against IS. With more than 9,000 airstrikes to date, the US-led alliance is checking IS's territorial advances in Iraq and Syria. In addition, the coalition is working with the Iraqi military to retake IS's territory inside Iraq, and providing military assistance to anti-IS local forces in Syria.

Furthermore, some EU member states have intensified their participation in the US-led military campaign against IS. In the aftermath of the Paris attacks, French President Francois Hollande invoked the until-then-untested collective defence clause of the EU's charter in an attempt to strengthen Europe's contribution to the existing military coalition.

Unlike the collective defence clause of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

(NATO), which holds that an attack on one NATO ally is an attack on all members and requires concrete military action by allies, the EU measure taps into no common defence infrastructure.

Nevertheless, it triggered significant commitments from EU members, particularly from the United Kingdom. The House of Commons authorised – by a large margin of 397 votes to 223 – to expand the UK’s anti-IS bombing campaign in Iraq into Syria, positioning the UK as a strong security contributor in the EU and within the transatlantic alliance.

Unfortunately, military unity is not enough. Amid IS’s expansion, the countries affected by IS’s terror campaign will have to work to deepen their alliance. The existence of a global threat presents new opportunities for cooperation, and these opportunities should be seized, starting with the design of a common counter-terrorism approach.

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The views expressed in this article belong to the author and do not necessarily reflect the editorial policy of Middle East Eye.

Photo credit: An image grab taken from a video released by the Islamic State (IS) group media office in Iraq's Nineveh province on January 30, 2016, purportedly shows a French-speaking jihadist addressing the camera before executing hostages (AFP)

- See more at: <http://www.middleeasteye.net/columns/defeating-islamic-state-requires-unified-global-effort-893660841#sthash.UJTDaEAC.dpuf>

Islamic hate preacher who recruited ISIS poster girls travelled through Europe 'like a popstar on tour as he brain-washed teenagers'

Mirsad Omerovic aka Ebu Tejma is on trial in Austria

Recruited Samra Kesinovic and Sabina Selimovic, who became public face of jihad

He was also involved in 166 defections of European youngsters to ISIS

Had YouTube channel aimed at Muslims aged between 14 and late twenties

See full news coverage on ISIS at www.dailymail.co.uk/isis

By [GIANLUCA MEZZOFIORE FOR MAILONLINE](#)

PUBLISHED: 16:30 GMT, 22 February 2016 | **UPDATED:** 02:12 GMT, 23 February 2016

An alleged Islamic hate preacher reported to have been the terror mastermind who recruited the Austrian jihad 'poster girls' and more than 160 others was travelling Europe 'like a popstar on tour', a court heard.

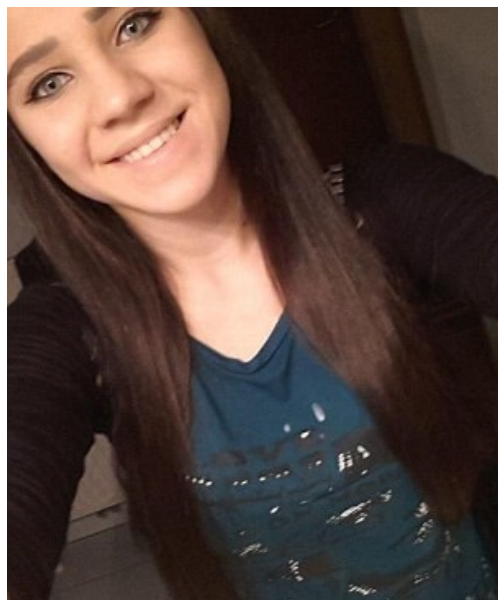
Mirsad Omerovic, 34, known by the Islamic name of 'Ebu Tejma', was arrested in November last year at the council flat he shared with his pregnant wife and five children.

Authorities believe Omerovic, originally from Bosnia now on trial in Austria's southern city of Graz, recruited Samra Kesinovic, 17 and Sabina Selimovic, 16, who became the public face of jihad.

He was also involved in a further 166 defections of European youngsters to fight in holy war.



Tejma's 'main message was that Islam needed to be spread to the world through jihad,' a prosecutor said. He added that Ebu Tejma was travelling through Europe 'like a popstar on tour'.



Poster girls: Samra Kesinovic, 17, (left) and Sabina Selimovic, 16, (right) became radicalised through the cell led by Ebu Tejma



A picture believed to show Sabina Selimovic, 15, with jihadi fighters in Syria. A United Nations official revealed the girl may have died fighting in Syria

Omerovic flat was stuffed with jewellery, cash and savings books worth a fortune when it was stormed by Austria's elite heavily-armed police special forces team WEGA. He had also been spotted driving top-of-the-range sport cars.

Opening his trial in Austria, the prosecutor told the court that Omerovic's 'main message was that Islam needed to be spread to the world through jihad.'

He added that Ebu Tejma was travelling through Europe 'like a popstar on tour'.

And he added that the popstar analogy was particularly appropriate because Omerovic even had his own YouTube channel aimed at young Muslims aged between 14 and their late twenties.

He added it offered 'to carry out brainwashing on those that viewed it'.

The two Austrian teens became the terror organisation's latest PR coup when they turned out to be poster girls for the death cult, and featured on ISIS websites carrying AK-47s and surrounded by groups of armed men.

Neither however has been seen for almost a year, with a Tunisian ISIS returnee telling investigators that Samra had been forced to become a sex slave who was offered as a present to new fighters, and that she was later stoned to death when she tried to escape.

With regards to Sabina, a United Nations official revealed a girl 'of Bosnian origin from Austria' - believed to be Sabina - had died fighting in Syria.

Both had allegedly become radicalised by Omerovic. When they had left their homes, they left a note for their families which read: 'Don't look for us. We will serve Allah and we will die for him.'



Authorities believe Omerovic, originally from Bosnia now on trial in Austria's southern city of Graz, recruited Samra Kesinovic, 17 and Sabina Selimovic, 16, who became the public face of jihad

As well as the two girls, Omerovic has also been linked in with the recruitment of more than 160 others who eventually joined ISIS.

The valuables that were seized at his home had all been provided by Muslims radicalised by the preacher and his cronies in a network that reportedly extended across the country and into the rest of Europe.

The prosecutor also claimed that on his computer a file that was a guide to making an explosive device was found. It was a guidebook to making an explosive device that could be detonated by mobile phone.

His arrest has been seen as a major blow against the terrorist group's activities and now the trial under judge Stephan Mertens is taking place in part behind closed doors to protect the identity of witnesses.

It is the first time a Muslim has been charged with murder through terrorism in Austria and he is also accused of inciting a co-accused in the murder of 'infidels' which could result in up to 20 years in prison.



As well as the two girls, Omerovic has also been linked in with the recruitment of more than 160 others who eventually joined ISIS



Austria has been concerned for years over fears that the country was becoming a hub for terrorist activities after inviting thousands of Muslim refugees into the country during the breakup of the former Yugoslavia

The co-accused is a 28-year-old Russian who was targeted by police because of his violence as the right-hand man of Omerovic.

He is accused of carrying out numerous murders of civilians in Syria as well as the shooting of sex slaves and forcing others out of their homes.

Security service insiders claim that he was not only one of 200 leading jihadists, but was also one of the leaders of the so called 'Bosnian cell' based in the Meidling district of Vienna that it was 'one of the most important logistic and financial support centres for jihadist activities in Europe', according to the 'Vecernje novosti', a local newspaper in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Austria has been concerned for years over fears that the country was becoming a hub for terrorist activities after inviting thousands of Muslim refugees into the country during the breakup of the former Yugoslavia.

It meant Vienna provided a fertile breeding ground for Omerovic and his network. The Austrian newspaper the Krone claimed that 'there was scarcely a single recruit in Europe for Jihad in which he and his group were not involved'. In preparing the case, the prosecutor also asked German Islam expert Guido Steinberg to analyse YouTube videos that Omerovic had made.

Originally from the small Serbian town of Tutin, Tejma was known in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a preacher of hatred and intolerance, who very soon found himself allied with the extreme form of Islam known as Wahhabism – an ultra-conservative, Saudi brand of Salafism.

According to Austrian anti-terrorism authorities, Tejma appeared on their radar more than three years ago, when he began uploading videos onto his YouTube channel.

His arrest followed two years of investigation by intelligence officials that had been tapping his communications, monitoring his phone calls and building up a picture of his network - which then prompted the arrests on November 28.

One of those connections is allegedly a direct line to the caliph of ISIS terrorism, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.



Tejma appeared on their radar more than three years ago, when he began uploading videos onto his YouTube channel



The two girls in their new life in a pic posted online. They attended sermons given by Tejma

Investigators saw a constant stream of Salafist Muslims during their operation on Tejma.

Salafism is the fastest-growing Islamic movement in the world. It is rooted in the 19th century where it emerged as a way of combating the spread of European ideas and values.

But in recent years, it has come to be associated with the jihad of extremist groups that advocate the killing of innocent civilians. Lawyers for Omerovic told the court that he would claim to have done nothing more than teaching Islam as he had been trained to do so in Saudi Arabia.

Security services recorded a constant stream of Salafist preachers, often accompanied by Mujahedin fighters travelling up from Bosnia and Herzegovina, to the mosque and the imam has been appearing in online videos revealing that it is every Muslim's duty to join jihad if an Islamic state is under attack from non-believers.

Opening the case, the prosecutor in Graz added in conclusion that there were 'so many already from Austria who were young men and women who went to Syria and have been killed'. They added: 'The ISIS ideology is an enormous danger to our society that needs to be seriously tackled.'

Source: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/>

Comment l'Etat islamique obtient les composants pour fabriquer ses bombes

LE 25/02/2016



Une étude commandée par l'Union européenne montre qu'une cinquantaine de sociétés de 20 pays fournissent, sans forcément le savoir, les composants nécessaires à la fabrication des engins explosifs utilisés en Syrie et en Irak.

L'inventaire a de quoi faire frémir. Selon le rapport réalisé par Conflict Armament Research (CAR) pour le compte de l'UE publié ce jeudi, l'Etat islamique n'a guère de mal à trouver les composants nécessaires à la fabrication de bombes. Au terme de vingt mois d'enquête en effet, les auteurs du rapport affirment qu'une cinquantaine de sociétés de 20 pays différents sont impliquées à un degré ou un autre, et le plus souvent à leur corps défendant, dans la fourniture des composants nécessaires.

Les plus de 700 composants, câbles, produits chimiques et autres utilisés par l'EI pour fabriquer des engins explosifs improvisés ont transité par 51 sociétés turques, chinoises, brésiliennes, russes, américaines, indiennes, japonaises, suisses, autrichiennes ou néerlandaises précise l'étude qui estime que ces explosifs sont désormais produits à une « échelle quasi-industrielle ».

Pour parvenir à se fournir et passer outre les embargos et autres interdictions, l'EI évite dans la mesure du possible d'utiliser des composants sensibles ou militaires et s'est tourné vers des composants autorisés et à usage civil tels que les engrais chimiques, les téléphones mobiles ou bien encore les câbles et autres transistors électroniques. Et pour cause, le commerce de ces petits composants bon marché, dont certains n'ont pas besoin de licences à l'exportation, est bien moins surveillé que les transferts d'armes.

Les sociétés turques et indiennes très présentes

Et de fait, dans la liste dressée par CAR on trouve quelques sociétés occidentales connues telles que Nokia (le modèle 105 étant particulièrement prisé pour déclen-

cher les bombes à distance), STMicroelectronics, Solvay ou bien encore l'américain Microchip et le japonais NEC. Mais le pays le plus représenté dans la chaîne de fabrication reste la Turquie avec un total de 13 sociétés.

Une prédominance que les auteurs du rapport expliquent avant tout par des raisons géographiques. « La proximité est la principale raison pour laquelle la filière d'approvisionnement de Daech en produits servant à fabriquer des explosifs provient de l'Irak et de la Turquie. Ces deux pays possèdent une agriculture et une industrie minière bien développées qui utilisent les matières chimiques requises », précisent les auteurs du rapport, qui ont analysé l'origine des composants découverts dans des fabriques d'explosifs de l'Etat islamique ainsi que des bombes non explosées retrouvées sur place ou sur les champs de bataille.

De fait, sur les 13 sociétés turques identifiées, 8 étaient pour l'essentiel des intermédiaires pour des produits fabriqués au Brésil, en Chine, en Inde, aux Pays-Bas, en Roumanie et en Russie.

L'Inde arrive en seconde position avec sept sociétés. Ces dernières ont fabriqué l'essentiel des détonateurs et autres cordons de mises à feu destinés le plus souvent à l'industrie minière. Tout ce matériel a été exporté légalement dans le cadre de licences émises en Inde et a été réceptionné par des sociétés installées au Liban et en Turquie.

Manque de coopération

Reste, une fois ce constat établi, à savoir quoi faire. Selon James Bevan, directeur exécutif de CAR, inciter les fournisseurs à avoir des systèmes de comptabilités efficaces pour établir le lieu de destination des marchandises aurait un effet dissuasif. Mais les réticences ou tout simplement l'absence de suivi reste un obstacle

Selon lui, le gouvernement turc a refusé de coopérer avec l'enquête menée par CAR, de sorte que le groupe n'a pas pu déterminer l'efficacité de la législation turque sur le suivi des composants. De même, les auteurs du rapport affirment avoir tenté de contacter les sociétés liées aux composants, mais ajoutent qu'elles ne répondaient pas ou n'étaient pas capables de dire où étaient passées les marchandises une fois vendues.

Pour établir son rapport et avoir accès aux composants, l'organisation a donc été obligée de se tourner vers les milices kurdes YPG soutenues par Washington en Syrie, la police fédérale irakienne, le Conseil de sécurité de la région du Kurdistan ou bien encore les forces du Gouvernement régional du Kurdistan. Les composants ont été récupérés lors de grandes batailles en Irak à Al Rabia, Kirkouk, Mossoul et Tikrit et dans la ville syrienne de Kobani.

Et, dernier détail inquiétant, les auteurs du rapport ont constaté que l'Etat islamique était très rapide dans sa capacité à se procurer les composants dont il avait besoin : entre le moment où un composant a été légalement importé et est arrivé chez le client final, et celui où il est entre les mains de l'organisation terroriste il s'écoule en effet entre 1 et 6 mois.

Source : <http://www.lesechos.fr/c>

United Kingdom

Majority of Muslim nations ignoring threat of extremism, Hammond warns

Patrick Wintour Diplomatic editor

Tuesday 16 February 2016 01:10 GMT

UK foreign secretary's speech to security conference calls on Islamic leaders to lead fight against extremism in their countries

Philip Hammond, the UK foreign secretary, at the Munich security conference. Photograph: Sven Hoppe/EPA

The UK foreign secretary, [Philip Hammond](#), has accused a majority of Muslim nations of either ignoring the threat of Islamic extremism altogether or turning a blind eye to what is going on in their mosques, schools or prisons.

Hammond said Islamic leaders had to lead the fight against extremism in their countries, but tackling extremism by security measures alone was simply dealing with the symptoms of a disease.

“While the west is facing a security problem, the Islamic world is facing an existential challenge,” he said. “Fundamentalism and moderate [Islam](#) are incompatible and only one of them can survive.”

His unusually frank criticism, likely to startle many political elites in the Middle East and elsewhere, reflects a Foreign Office view that too many Islamic countries are failing to combat the internal threat of extremism in their society, or instead depend too much on repression.

Hammond did not name any individual countries, but Saudi Arabia has been repeatedly accused of allowing an extremist Wahhabism to be taught in its schools.

Hammond, speaking at the Munich security conference, said some Islamic countries had taken up the challenge through effective counter-radicalisation and counter-fundamentalist programmes, but he added: “Speaking very frankly, I think they are in a minority. Some are more or less ignoring the problem. Others still insist it is an external threat that is imported from outside and decline to look closely at what is going on in their own schools, their own mosques and their own prisons. Others are relying too heavily, almost exclusively, on a security solution.

“Sometimes it is right to lock people up, but locking people up does not stop people thinking and for many it strengthens the extremist narrative.”

He added the world was “spending a huge amount of effort dealing with the symptoms of a problem and not addressing the problem itself”.

This failure was critical, he said, since “the heaviest burden of fighting the underlying Islamic fundamentalism will fall on the Islamic world itself”. He warned moderate Islamic leaders: “While the extremists preach hatred against the west and any version of Islam apart from their own, their main objective is to enforce every Mus-

lim to submit to their distorted interpretation of Islam.”

Hammond argued the fight against Islamic extremism would continue even if [Islamic State](#), “the current fashionable manifestation of Islamic extremism”, was defeated on the battlefield. The problem would simply appear somewhere else, meaning the only sustainable long-term solution was to address the fundamental causes of extremism.

With the UK government currently revising aspects of its counter-extremism strategy through a review being conducted by Louise Casey, Hammond argued the two fundamental causes of extremism worldwide were a lack of a hope, such as a lack of jobs, and also a framework into which that lack of hope could be channeled. “Fundamentalism was this framework,” he said.

“We have all confronted extremist ideologies in the past in the 20th century, such as communism and fascism, but the threat of fundamentalist Islam is different,” Hammond argued. “Its ideology is different to communism or fascism. It is not an invention. It is rooted in a corrupt interpretation of one of the world’s great religions and because of that it has deeper roots and wider reach.

“It is harnessing the power of the internet and social media to extend its view across the world in a way which has not been possible with any previous extremist ideology.”

He said the UK counter-extremism strategy could be a model for other countries. The UK strategy includes a unit that analyses extremists, a review of the misuse of sharia law in British Muslim communities, contesting dangerous ideologies on the internet and countering a narrative of apartheid that says Muslims cannot live alongside Christians. It also encourages voting in elections, seeking to make the positive case for the nation state and to demonstrate that it is possible for Islam to be compatible with economic growth.

<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/15/phiip-hammond-islamic-extremism-munich-security-conference>

Home Secretary: International action needed to tackle terrorism

16 February 2016

Theresa May calls for successful cooperation on national security

I am delighted to be able to be in Washington and speaking at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. For more than half a century this think tank has been at the forefront of international research and analysis, helping decision makers navigate our volatile and unstable world.

In the five years since the start of the conflict in Syria, millions of people have lost their livelihoods, their loved ones, the country they call home. Syria's neighbours have provided sanctuary to the vast majority of those who have fled the country. But when more than a million people, from Syria and elsewhere, sought to travel to Europe last year the debate changed.

The problems of failed and fragile states, not just in Syria, but across the Middle East and Africa, are no longer confined to those regions. Not only has this created one of the greatest humanitarian challenges in decades, it has also sparked a political crisis within the European Union. It has forced countries to re-examine their approach to migration and border security. And it has made the threat from terrorism more complex than ever before.

According to last year's Fragile States Index a terrorist or insurgency campaign was being waged in nine out of the top ten failing states. These power vacuums provide a conducive environment for terrorists, organised criminals and insurgent groups. Groups that do not play by international norms or humanitarian laws.

They are able to exploit the lack of effective governance in these countries, unchallenged by corrupt and weak law enforcement agencies. And they are able to manipulate populations resentful of widespread abuse of human rights, promising an alternative to the dysfunction and injustice they already suffer in their daily lives.

Exacerbating this changing picture are the same technologies that we all use, exploited by terrorists and organised criminals. Today there is no need for face-to-face, or even direct contact: a cyber-criminal sitting in Moldova can attack the online bank account of a pensioner in Minneapolis, while a terrorist sympathiser in Raleigh, North Carolina can communicate with Daesh in Raqqa.

In the UK, we've seen a 15-year-old boy, inspired by terrorists in Syria, jailed for encouraging violent extremists in Australia to commit a terrorist attack on Anzac Day.

This then is the new reality: a web of global threats that feed off the instability of conflicts overseas, that exploit modern technology, and which – sadly – are all too often supported by misguided individuals at home.

A constantly changing threat

Last week a sickening video was released online by the terrorist group Daesh. That video featured a small child who in full view of an audience was seemingly made to kill others.

You may not have heard about this video. Just as you may not have heard about similar videos with gruesome content often targeted at western leaders including our Prime Minister and your President. But there will be some people from across America who will have watched this video, and been captivated by the twisted message.

Daesh is an organisation that revels in its own depravity. It has killed hostages in the most horrific way possible. It has murdered hundreds of thousands of men, women and children – the vast majority of them the same practicing Muslims it purports to represent.

The threat from terrorism is not new. When I first sat down at my desk, as Home Secretary, nearly six years ago, the main threat was from Al Qaeda. Today, Al Qaeda's senior leadership may have been weakened, but that threat has not gone away.

Its affiliates in Yemen and in North West Africa remain a serious concern. Al Shabaab in Somalia recently claimed an attack on a plane flying out of Mogadishu airport, while Boko Haram in Nigeria continue to wage a brutal insurgency against the Government.

But the hard truth is Daesh is operating in a way that we have never seen before. At the start of the conflict in Syria and Iraq, some likened this to the Spanish civil war, or fighters that went to Bosnia and Afghanistan. But the reality is we have never seen this number, demographic, or range of ages travelling to take part in a conflict. Nor have we seen this scale of territorial ambition before.

From the UK we believe that around 800 people of interest to the security and intelligence agencies have gone to Syria and Iraq, including women and families. Independent organisations estimate that up to 11,000 foreign fighters have travelled to Syria from the Middle East. To this we can add the thousands from Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe, Russia and the former Soviet Union.

In 2014, in its bid to establish a global Islamic Caliphate, Daesh in Syria and Iraq directed, inspired or enabled around 20 attacks in other countries worldwide. In 2015, there were almost 60 such attacks – from Paris to Sydney– as well as over 200 attacks carried out by Daesh branches including those in Libya and Egypt.

There have been 16 attacks in Europe over the past two years, the majority inspired or directed by Daesh. A number of the terrorists that carried out the attacks in Paris last November received training in Syria. And in Sousse in Tunisia, a young man murdered 38 people at a beach resort, 30 of whom were British holidaymakers. It was an evil and senseless attack, and the largest loss of British life from a terrorist attack since the London bombings in 2005.

The domestic response

In the UK, over the past 18 months, the police and the security and intelligence agencies have disrupted seven terrorist plots to attack the UK – all either linked to or inspired by Daesh and its propaganda.

The number of people arrested for terrorism-related offences has increased by over a third in the last year – a total of 315.

And as the threat has continued to morph and adapt, the strength of our security at home has prompted terrorists to seek out new methodologies, new evasive methods and new spaces in which to carry out their crimes.

And we must, in turn, adapt our response.

In the UK, we recently announced that we will make new funding available to our security and intelligence agencies to provide for an additional 1,900 officers – at MI5, MI6 and GCHQ – to better respond to the threat we face from international terrorism, cyber-attacks and other global risks.

To ensure they have the powers they need to do their jobs in a digital age, we are committed to introducing legislation that both protects the security of our nation and the public's private lives.

Our draft Investigatory Powers Bill brings together all of the powers already available to law enforcement and the security and intelligence agencies to obtain communications and data about communications; it introduces a double-lock on the way these powers are authorized – using Secretary of State approval, backed up by the decision of a judge; and it ensures these powers are fit for the digital age.

The Government has now received three Parliamentary committee reports on the draft legislation. We are carefully considering their recommendations. However, I want to make one thing clear on a subject that resonates on both sides of the Atlantic.

The British Government believes encryption plays a valuable role in today's society. It helps keep people's personal data and intellectual property safe from theft by cyber criminals. It helps our economy grow and prosper.

But as President Obama has said, we cannot be in a situation where technology is also used by terrorists and criminals to escape justice. The government has a responsibility to protect national security and ensure public safety. Communications service providers have a responsibility to their customers to ensure their privacy. Together we can find a way that achieves both.

But the Investigatory Powers Bill is not the only new legislation we have introduced to keep our citizens safe.

We have introduced a power to temporarily seize passports of those suspected of travelling to engage in terrorism overseas. And we have extended our ability to refuse airlines the authority to carry people to the UK who pose a risk.

This legislation is designed to underpin the delivery of CONTEST, our world leading counter-terrorism strategy. Pursuing terrorists, protecting people and infrastructure and preparing in case of an attack are three pillars of that strategy.

But crucially, it contains a fourth pillar – aimed at preventing people from becoming radicalised in the first place. Because unless we address the circumstances in which radicalisation and terrorism thrives, we will always be fighting a rearguard action against it.

To do this we work with sectors and institutions where people are at risk of radicalisation or where there are opportunities to intervene. We work in prisons, with educational institutions, in communities and online. We support community based initiatives up and down the country that aim to challenge terrorist propaganda and communicate an effective counter-narrative. We work with internet companies to remove terrorist propaganda online. And we have established a programme, Channel, designed to protect and divert vulnerable people who we know are at risk of becoming radicalised.

This work can be controversial, but it's too important to ignore – and it is vital not only for our national security, but in safeguarding vulnerable people from harm.

Since Channel was rolled out nationally in April 2012, there have been more than 4,000 referrals to the programme. Of those referrals, hundreds have been provided support, by trained intervention providers, to help lead them away from radicalisation.

However, we want to go further than preventing people from becoming terrorists and focus on a broader approach to counter-extremism – both violent and non-violent.

Because where non-violent extremism goes unchallenged, the values that bind our society together fragment. Women's rights are eroded, intolerance and bigotry become normalised, minorities are targeted and communities become separated from the mainstream. So while by no means all extremism leads to violence, it creates an environment in which those who seek to divide us can flourish.

The fight at home and abroad

As I have said, our approach needs to continually adapt. That is why the British Government is currently reviewing CONTEST – to ensure the highest priorities are given the right resources, that government departments and agencies have a unified approach, and that we ensure we are making an impact on our counter terrorism priorities overseas.

Because this is a fight that cannot just be won at home.

So we must go well beyond traditional counter-terrorism policy. We can no longer afford to see our counter terrorism work at home and our counter terrorism work overseas as two separate entities.

In the UK we are forming a new joint unit for International Counter-Terrorism,

which brings together existing expertise in the Home Office and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

This new joint unit will drive our counter-terrorism agenda abroad, our work with partners such as the Five Eyes, as well as influencing and supporting our work with multilateral organisations such as the EU and the UN.

Because it is no good arresting a person in your own country, if they cannot be brought to justice in theirs ... it is no good ensuring world class aviation security at home, if people are not properly screened at airports abroad... and it is no good sharing intelligence with another country, if they cannot act on it effectively... and it is no good fighting terrorism in and from Syria, if we can't help stabilise that country and its neighbours.

What needs to change

I am in Washington to attend the Five Country Ministerial with my counterparts in the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Together, we will expand upon the successful cooperation between our countries on issues of national security which we have built over the past decades.

Faced with the growing threat I have described, we must act with more urgency and with greater joint resolve than we have before.

We must be more open to sharing intelligence with our partners, and more proactive in offering our expertise to help others.

We must counter the twisted narrative peddled by Daesh and show it for what it is – a perversion of Islam built on fear and lies. And we must organise our own efforts more effectively if we are to bring order to those failed states most beset by disorder and disarray.

So at this week's Five Country Ministerial I will be calling for action on three key fronts, action I believe to be essential if we are to defeat extremism and keep our people safe from terrorism.

Building capacity where it is needed most

We need to work with vulnerable states to improve their ability to respond to the threat from terrorism. This includes providing advice on crisis management to helping them combat the extremist narrative, from improving their investigative capacity to strengthening aviation security.

For example, following the downing of the Russian Metrojet plane last year, we have been working with the Egyptians on improving security at the airport at Sharm Al Sheikh.

In Pakistan and Nigeria, we have well-established programmes to strengthen investigatory and prosecutorial frameworks for dealing with terrorism, underpinned by clear human rights principles. That includes zero tolerance for torture and mistreatment. Not only because that reflects our principles, but because we must reduce op-

opportunities for extremists to feed grievance narratives.

We would like to do more in fragile states, and draw on the expertise of our partners. Because we need to be working together with these countries to prevent atrocities happening – not just reacting in response to them.

Stopping the message of hate from spreading

We also need to do more to stop the message of hate from spreading, and prevent people from becoming radicalised.

I have already mentioned that in the UK we are working with civil society groups who seek to challenge extremist messages and provide credible alternatives.

And I am pleased that last week the UN endorsed the UN Secretary General's Preventing Violent Extremism Plan, encouraging a whole system approach to counter-terrorism. This is a welcome step and the UK stands ready to support other countries with this work.

Together, with other European Union member states, we continue to build capabilities at the European Internet Referrals Unit at Europol to secure the removal of terrorist propaganda from the internet. The Unit has expanded its language capabilities which now includes Arabic, Russian, German, Dutch, and French. But we need other like-minded groups to come on board and reduce the scope for terrorist groups to spew their hate online.

I would like to see the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia – Britain's Five Eyes Partners – taking the same approach in working with communications service providers to tackle this propaganda. We need other like-minded groups to come on board from all corners of the world to reduce the scope for terrorist groups to spew their hate online and to undermine their twisted narratives.

Working together, creating lasting impact

Finally, and most importantly, we need to bring much greater order and joint resolve to the disparate work taking place internationally, and a comprehensive and coherent response to the common threat.

It is great to see the potential of capacity building initiatives in many countries – whether that's sharing intelligence between European agencies, training law enforcement in Tunisia, or counter violent extremism projects with civil society groups in Kenya. These measures can have real impact.

But governments and organisations often undertake similar things in the same place with too little join up. Likeminded nations too often work in parallel rather than in partnership. And we need a much better understanding of what really works.

Bodies such as the Global Counter Terrorism Forum and the Radicalisation Awareness Network regularly convene policymakers, practitioners and experts from governments, multilateral organizations and NGOs, to discuss their approaches and share best practice. But we must now focus on practical delivery and translate this

expertise into action.

There has been some useful progress in the past year.

In December last year the UN held the first meeting of Security Council finance ministers in its 70-year history. Together with our allies we agreed on new measures to update the UN counter-terrorism sanctions regime to focus on Daesh in order to deny it the access to the resources they need and to identify and exploit the vulnerabilities in their financial network.

In the EU, after many years of negotiations, we reached agreement on the sharing of passenger name records on flights to, from and within Europe, a crucial step in supporting our fight against terrorism. Further measures to raise the deactivation standards for firearms across Europe were agreed at the same meeting.

But across the board there is scope for more action: better information sharing between countries, more active use of passenger data to identify persons of interest, more thorough exchange of terrorist finance information, as well as work to improve protective security and crisis response. For the EU to deliver on the security of its members, it must be a forum for taking action and garnering a collective response.

And then, there is the opportunity we have together, as Five Eyes countries, to garner collective action. We enjoy the deepest, longest lasting security relationship in the world. The innovation of the Five Eyes Ministerial in 2013 provides us with a forum not just to share collective lessons on security and counter terrorism, but to take collective action.

Conclusion

So this evening I have spelt out three of the most important priorities in our efforts: building the capacity of those governments that need support to counter terrorism; preventing the pernicious spread of extremism and ensuring that we, collectively, match international cooperation with coordinated international action that has real, lasting impact on the ground.

Because I am clear that defeating terrorism requires a global response, and we will not succeed by acting in isolation.

This is the challenge of our generation. Extremism is spreading, threatening and taking lives, not just in our countries but in other lands. It thrives in the disorder created by fragile and failing states. It is contributing to, and in some cases exploiting, mass migration. It is turning the benefits of modern technology to its twisted ends.

If we are to deal with this threat effectively, we can no longer look simply for domestic solutions. There must be international cooperation, a common approach, free flows of intelligence and information, and the closing of technological gaps which the extremists exploit.

Together, we can defeat terrorism. We can stop the spread of extremism. We can save lives not only from terrible attacks, but from the damage and destruction which is wrought.

It is a challenge for our generation, and it is a challenge that we must win.

Thank you.

SOURCE UK Home Office

<http://en.starafrica.com/news/home-secretary-international-action-needed-to-tackle-terrorism.html>

USA

U.S. Asks Tech and Entertainment Industries Help in Fighting Terrorism

FEB. 24, 2016



The White House summoned technology executives to a meeting at the Justice Department. Megan Smith, the national chief technology officer, was among the speakers as were officials from national security and counterterrorism. CreditJ. David Ake/Associated Press

Obama administration officials met with executives of major technology and entertainment companies in Washington on Wednesday to discuss combating the activities of violent extremists online, according to industry and government officials.

The meeting was called by the White House, according to a person who attended and who spoke on the condition of anonymity. The session began with government officials admitting their shortcomings in tackling the explosion of activity by terrorist groups online.

John P. Carlin, assistant attorney general for national security, started the meeting by saying that federal law enforcement had struggled to reach audiences that were responding to recruitment by violent extremists, according to the participant. Nick Rasmussen, director of the national counterterrorism center, lauded some social me-

dia platforms for aggressively taking down accounts of suspected terrorists.

The hourslong meeting, which took place at the Justice Department, also included speeches by Megan Smith, the national chief technology officer; and Jen Easterly, the senior director for counterterrorism.

The event was another step toward coordinating government and private sector efforts on national security. After the mass shootings in Paris and San Bernardino, Calif., last year, the White House and presidential candidates have pushed for Internet firms to clamp down on the use of social media by extremists to recruit new members, organize and broadcast their demands.

Last month, the White House and tech chief executives held a security [meeting](#) in San Jose, Calif., to discuss the use of social media by terrorist groups and encryption practices by tech firms to keep consumer data private. Secretary of State John Kerry also met with Hollywood studio executives earlier this month, and entertainment firms have been asked by government officials to help create “counternarratives” to those of terrorists on social media networks.

Wednesday’s gathering was attended by company executives but few, if any, chief executives. Participants included representatives from Facebook, Google, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, Tumblr and Microsoft.

The meeting brought together tech companies in Washington at a time of heightened tension between the administration and Silicon Valley. [Apple and the United States government](#) have engaged in a public fight over access to the iPhone of one of the San Bernardino shooters. Some of the tech firms have expressed cautious support of [Apple](#).

Many of the tech companies are willing to work on ways to combat violent extremism on social media. The meeting on Wednesday, called the “Madison Valleywood Project,” in reference to the participation of marketing, tech and entertainment firms, focused on terrorists’ use of social media to organize and recruit members for violent extremism.

The subject of encryption and Apple’s resistance to being ordered to break through its encrypted software for law enforcement was not on the agenda.

Some social media companies have stepped carefully with counterterrorism efforts, saying it is technologically difficult to weed out true terrorist activity. They have also expressed fears of stifling the free speech of users. Others, including [Twitter](#), have started to more aggressively shut down the accounts of suspected terrorists. Twitter had a representative at the meeting.

“Over the past year, organizations and companies across a range of industries have asked how they might contribute to efforts to counter radicalization and recruitment activities by ISIL and other violent extremists,” said Marc Raimondi, the Justice Department’s national security spokesman, using a term for the Islamic State.

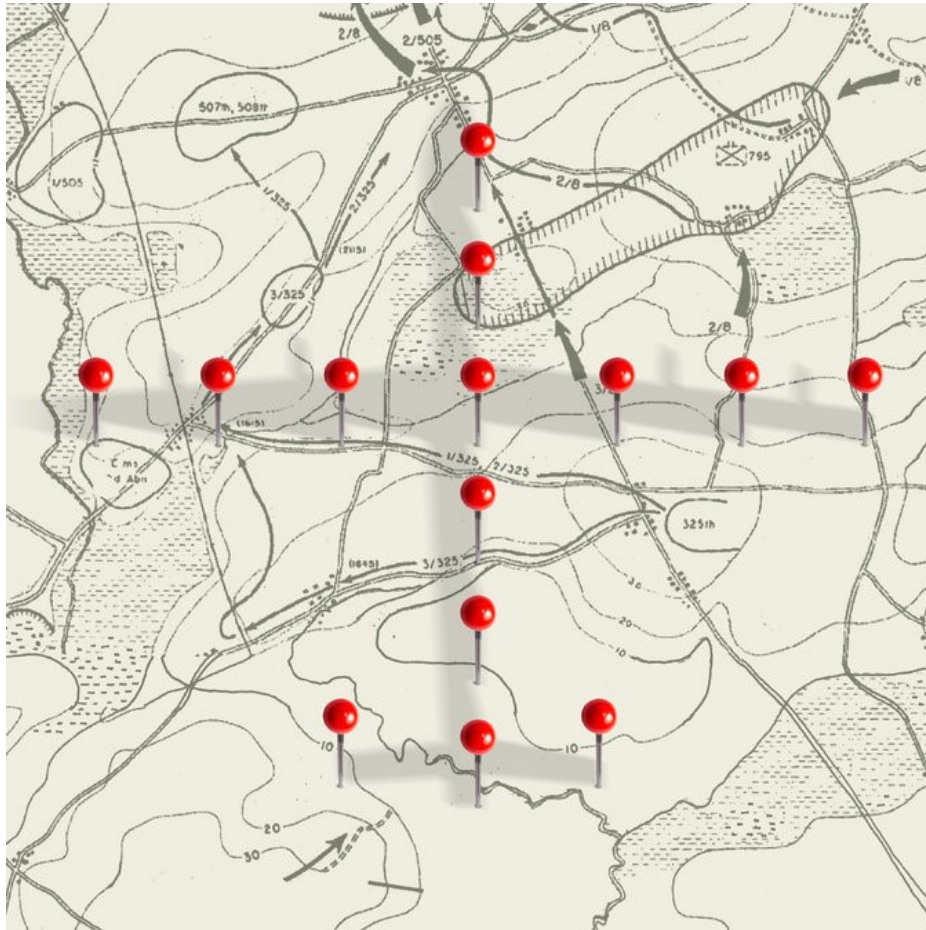
“The U.S. government recognizes that these private sector actors, which include

N.G.O.s, social media companies and content producers, have a crucial role to play in developing creative and effective ways to undermine terrorist recruiting and counter the call to violence,” Mr. Raimondi said.

http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/25/technology/tech-and-media-firms-called-to-white-house-for-terrorism-meeting.html?_r=0

To Keep America Safe, Embrace Drone Warfare

19 February 2016



“ARE you sure they’re there?” the decision maker asks. “They” are Qaeda operatives who have been planning attacks against the United States.

“Yes, sir,” the intelligence analyst replies, ticking off the human and electronic sources of information. “We’ve got good Humint. We’ve been tracking with streaming video. Sigint’s checking in now and confirming it’s them. They’re there.”

The decision maker asks if there are civilians nearby.

“The family is in the main building. The guys we want are in the big guesthouse here.”

“They’re not very far apart.”

“Far enough.”

“Anyone in that little building now?”

“Don’t know. Probably not. We haven’t seen anyone since the Pred got capture of the target. But A.Q. uses it when they pass through here, and they pass through here a lot.”

He asks the probability of killing the targets if they use a GBU-12, a powerful 500-pound, laser-guided bomb.

“These guys are sure dead,” comes the reply. “We think the family’s O.K.”

“You think they’re O.K.?”

“They should be.” But the analyst confesses it is impossible to be sure.

“What’s it look like with a couple of Hellfires?” the decision maker asks, referring to smaller weapons carrying 20-pound warheads.

“If we hit the right room in the guesthouse, we’ll get the all bad guys.” But the walls of the house could be thick. The family’s safe, but bad guys might survive.

“Use the Hellfires the way you said,” the decision maker says.

Then a pause.

“Tell me again about these guys.”

“Sir, big A.Q. operators. We’ve been trying to track them forever. They’re really careful. They’ve been hard to find. They’re the first team.”

Another pause. A long one.

“Use the GBU. And that small building they sometimes use as a dorm ...”

“Yes, sir.”

“After the GBU hits, if military-age males come out ...”

“Yes, sir?”

“Kill them.”

Less than an hour later he is briefed again. The two targets are dead. The civilians have fled the compound. All are alive.

TARGETED killing using drones has become part of the American way of war. To do it legally and effectively requires detailed and accurate intelligence. It also requires some excruciatingly difficult decisions. The dialogue above, representative of many such missions, shows how hard the commanders and analysts work to get it right.

The longer they have gone on, however, the more controversial drone strikes have become. Critics assert that a high percentage of the people killed in drone strikes are civilians — a claim totally at odds with the intelligence I have reviewed — and that the strikes have turned the Muslim world against the United States, fueling terrorist recruitment. Political elites have joined in, complaining that intelligence agencies have gone too far — until they have felt in danger, when they have complained that the agencies did not go far enough.

The program is not perfect. No military program is. But here is the bottom line: It works. I think it fair to say that the targeted killing program has been the most precise and effective application of firepower in the history of armed conflict. It disrupted terrorist plots and reduced the original Qaeda organization along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border to a shell of its former self. And that was well before Osama bin Laden was killed in 2011.

Not many years before, the targeted killings were fairly limited. But by 2008, we knew that the terrorist threat had increased to intolerable levels, both to American forces in South Asia and to the United States itself. From our surveillance platforms, we could observe training camps where men leapt off motorbikes and fired on simulated targets. Early that year, the C.I.A. and I began recommending more aggressive action.

We were confident that the intelligence was good enough to sustain a campaign of very precise attacks. To be sure, it was not, is not, always error-free. In late 2006, for instance, a strike killed a one-legged man we believed was a chieftain in the Haqqani network, a violent and highly effective group allied with Al Qaeda and the Taliban. It turned out that the man was indeed affiliated with the Haqqanis, but he wasn't the leader we wanted. With all the land mines in the region, there were many one-legged terrorists in South Asia.

I demanded a full explanation for the misidentification. There were no excuses. People were thoroughly, maybe even excessively, contrite.

But even if I was convinced that we could routinely provide high-quality intelligence to enable precision targeting, we still had to convince policy makers in the government that they should take advantage of it.

We had one thing going for us. I got to talk to President George W. Bush directly every week without filters. I briefed him every Thursday morning and began to use the sessions to underscore Al Qaeda's growing footprint and brazenness in the tribal region of Pakistan. My chief analyst on this, a lanky Notre Dame graduate, met with me almost daily and stressed that as bad as this might be for Afghanistan and our forces there, the threat could also come to our shores.

If we had boiled our briefings down, the essence would have been: "Knowing what we know, there will be no explaining our inaction after the next attack."

So the United States began to test some limits. In early 2008, a charismatic Qaeda operations chief was killed along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. The strike was clean and the target so important that even regional reaction was muted. Local people knew who he was and did not mourn his passing.

Later in the year another senior Qaeda operative, active in planning attacks in the West, was killed along with several lieutenants in a similar strike that resulted in a similar reaction.

By midsummer, when Hellfire missiles killed a senior Qaeda operator who was active in its weapons of mass destruction program, it was clear that the United States had launched a campaign of targeted killings in South Asia.

Publicly available sources document nearly three dozen attacks in the last seven months of the Bush administration, almost three times the total of the previous four years. According to those sources, 18 senior and midlevel Taliban and Qaeda leaders were killed.

The intelligence used for these strikes was based on human reports, surveillance technology and the near unblinking stare of the Predator itself. The strikes were particularly damaging to Al Qaeda's operational leaders, who couldn't afford to hunker down like Bin Laden and his deputy, Ayman al-Zawahri, whose main contribution to the movement was pretty much just staying alive. Those front-line operators had to move and communicate — and that made them vulnerable.

Other attacks were intended to disrupt known Qaeda locations and activities even when the identities of the people present were not known. Critics said these so-called signature strikes were indiscriminate. They were not. Intelligence for signature strikes always had multiple threads and deep history. The data was near encyclopedic.

Many such strikes killed high-value targets whose presence was suspected but not certain. And we made no excuses about killing lower-ranking terrorists. The United States viewed these attacks as legitimate acts of war against an armed enemy — and in warfare it is regrettably necessary to kill foot soldiers, too.

The signature strikes drastically shrank the enemy's bench and made the leadership worry that they had no safe havens. Almost inadvertently, these strikes also helped protect intelligence sources and methods since the strikes seemed more random than they actually were.

It wasn't long before intelligence reporting began to confirm our success. We learned there was a widespread sense of helplessness among the Qaeda leadership. Years later, documents proved just how anguished they were.

In 2015, [an American court case](#) against a Qaeda member prompted the government to release eight documents from the trove of Bin Laden letters captured when he was killed in Abbottabad, Pakistan, in 2011. Bin Laden's correspondence with his chief lieutenants, in 2010, is remarkable in its candor.

The letters show the stress within the organization. "I convey my condolences regarding our great brother Sheikh Sa'id" who died "as a martyr during a spy plane attack," read [one from June 2010](#).

"The strikes by the spy planes are still going on," it continued. A member named al-Sa'di Ihsanullah was the "latest to become a martyr: He was killed about a week ago, also by air raids." It noted, "The midlevel commands and staff members are hurt by the killings."

Signature strikes were also taking a toll. In November, [the same Bin Laden lieutenant complained](#), after 20 fighters were killed in one place on Eid al-Fitr, the Muslim feast celebrating the end of Ramadan, that the men had "gathered for the holidays, despite our orders."

Al Qaeda gained a healthy respect for American intelligence. “Based on our analysis, they are constantly monitoring several potential or possibly confirmed targets,” the June letter said.

The frightened underlings in the field beseeched Bin Laden to help. “We would like your guidance,” the June letter said. “Especially on this idea: reduce the work, meaning stopping many of the operations so we can move around less, and be less exposed to strikes.”

“There is an idea preferred by some brothers to avoid attrition,” it continued. “The idea is that some brothers will travel to some ‘safe’ areas with their families, just for protection. They would only stay for a time, until the crisis is over, maybe one or two years.”

Two months later another Bin Laden deputy agreed to their taking refuge and “calming down and minimizing movement.”

All this correspondence was from 2010, but it is consistent with the intelligence picture we were gathering in 2008. Al Qaeda along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border was spending more time worrying about its own survival than planning how to threaten ours.

The correspondence also confirmed our intelligence showing that attacking Americans on American soil was central to their plotting.

The letters are filled with references to recruits from a host of countries, including the United States. One correspondence emphasized that “operations inside America are some of the most important work of the Organization, as long as they are possible, because they affect the security and economy of the American people as a whole.”

Throughout the campaign, civilian casualties were a constant concern. In one strike, the grandson of the target was sleeping near him on a cot outside, trying to keep cool in the summer heat. The Hellfire missiles were directed so that their energy and fragments splayed away from him and toward his grandfather. They did, but not enough.

The target was hard to locate and people were risking their lives to find him. The United States took the shot. A child died, and we deeply regret that he did. But his grandfather had a garage full of dangerous chemicals, and he intended to use them, perhaps on Americans.

We tried to get better. Carefully reviewing video of one successful strike, we could discern — as a GBU was already hurtling toward an arms cache — a frightened woman responding to another weapon that had just detonated. She was running with young children square into the path of the incoming bomb, and they were killed. We realized, once our after-action review was done, that we needed to put even more eyes on targets as they were being struck to try to avoid any future civilian casualties.

For my part, the United States needs not only to maintain this capacity, but also to be willing to use it. Radical Islamism thrives in many corners of the world — Pakistan, Somalia, Yemen, Syria, Libya, Mali, the list goes on — where governments cannot or will not act. In some of these instances, the United States must.

And unmanned aerial vehicles carrying precision weapons and guided by powerful intelligence offer a proportional and discriminating response when response is necessary. Civilians have died, but in my firm opinion, the death toll from terrorist attacks would have been much higher if we had not taken action.

What we need here is a dial, not a switch.

Michael V. Hayden, a retired Air Force four-star general, was director of the Central Intelligence Agency from 2006 to 2009. He is the author of the forthcoming book, “Playing to the Edge: American Intelligence in the Age of Terror.”

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Les Etats-Unis bombardent la Libye mais ne veulent pas y mettre les pieds



Décombres après un raid américain contre un site d'entraînement jihadiste près de la ville libyenne de Sabratha, le 19 février 2016

afp.com - MAHMUD TURKIA

20 FÉV 2016

Par Thomas WATKINS

Le bombardement américain d'un camp d'entraînement du groupe Etat islamique en Libye a démontré que Washington entendait chasser les jihadistes même au-delà de leurs bastions syriens et irakiens, mais ne présage pas forcément d'une volonté de s'engager dans un pays plongé dans le chaos.

Lors de cette frappe aérienne, qui n'était que la deuxième offensive américaine contre des cibles de l'EI en Libye, des avions et des drones ont détruit tôt vendredi un camp des jihadistes près de Sabrata, à l'ouest de Tripoli, faisant quelque 50 morts selon les autorités locales.

Le Pentagone, qui n'a pas donné de bilan, a expliqué qu'à l'issue de plusieurs semaines de surveillance il avait dénombré une soixantaine de jihadistes qui s'entraînaient dans ce camp, dont la cible prioritaire du raid aérien: Nouredine Chouchane, un cadre opérationnel de l'EI, qui a "probablement" été tué.

Cette seconde offensive intervient seulement quelques jours après que le président Barack Obama eut estimé qu'il fallait s'en prendre aux jihadistes également en Libye, où ils se sont implantés notamment sur la côte méditerranéenne, à Syrte. Le Pentagone estime à quelque 5.000 le nombre de combattants de l'EI dans le pays livré au chaos depuis la chute de Mouammar Kadhafi en 2011.

Mais à moins d'un an de la fin de son dernier mandat, le président Obama, déjà critiqué pour les résultats de la campagne anti-jihadistes menée par les Etats-Unis en Syrie, n'entend pas s'enfoncer dans ce qui pourrait être un bourbier libyen en envoyant des troupes dans le pays.

"Je ne vois aucun appétit aux Etats-Unis pour retourner en Libye d'une façon continue", analyse l'ancien ambassadeur américain en Irak, Christopher Hill, désormais enseignant à l'université de Denver. L'opinion publique n'y est de toutes façons pas favorable, selon lui, après 18 mois d'une campagne de bombardements qui n'a pas permis de déloger l'EI de Syrie et d'Irak.

"Nous allons assister à ces bombardements aériens de temps en temps quand les occasions se présenteront, mais je ne pense pas que cela présage un quelconque engagement à long terme en Libye à l'avenir".

Aux bombardements pourraient s'ajouter quelques missions ponctuelles menées par des commandos américains avec des partenaires locaux.

En décembre, déjà, le Pentagone avait reconnu qu'un groupe des forces spéciales américaines s'était rendu en Libye, d'où il avait été vite chassé.

"Nous espérons que les bombardements d'aujourd'hui représentent le début d'un nouvel engagement de l'administration Obama pour mettre la Libye au centre d'une stratégie globale pour vaincre le jihadisme international", a réagi dans le camp républicain Devin Nunes, qui préside la commission du renseignement à la Chambre des représentants.

- L'EI gonfle ses rangs -

Au moment où la coalition internationale remporte des succès en Irak et en Syrie, de nombreux combattants viennent gonfler les rangs de l'EI en Libye, originaires pour la plupart de la Tunisie voisine.

D'ailleurs, Nouredine Chouchane est soupçonné d'être derrière deux attaques en 2015 en Tunisie revendiquées par l'EI qui avaient choqué la communauté internationale: contre le musée du Bardo à Tunis en mars (22 morts) et sur une plage et dans un hôtel près de Sousse en juin (38 morts).

Ce cadre de l'organisation ultra-radical a été la cible d'un bombardement car lui et les autres combattants du camp "préparaient des attaques contre des intérêts américains et ceux d'autres pays occidentaux dans la région", selon le porte-parole du Pentagone, Peter Cook.

Entreprendre des bombardements en Libye ne marque pas un changement fondamental de stratégie militaire, l'intérêt étant avant tout d'envoyer aux jihadistes le message qu'ils ne "peuvent pas gagner", ou que ce soit, et qu'ils feraient mieux de quitter les rangs de l'EI, estime Jon Alterman, directeur des programmes pour le Moyen-Orient au Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Pour cet expert, les Etats-Unis devraient concentrer leurs efforts sur une solution diplomatique à la crise profonde dans laquelle est plongée la Libye, terreau de l'implantation de l'EI.

Sinon, prévient-il, "vous finissez par avoir une stratégie militaire plutôt qu'un effort

diplomatique efficace parce que l'effort diplomatique semble trop difficile (tandis que) l'effort militaire est relativement plus simple".

"Le danger grandissant", explique M. Alterman, "est que les bombardements servent de prétexte pour ne pas mettre en place les politiques fortes qui sont nécessaires".

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