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North Africa: Countering Violent Extremism - Why Is Prevention Elusive?

Countering violent extremism (CVE) has become a cottage industry in both the global North and South, as the so called Islamic State and other transnational armed terrorist groups continue to threaten the very foundations on which national and international peace and stability have rested for decades. For the countries of the Sahel-Sahara and North Africa regions, brutally affected by the terror scourge, CVE has been embraced as the new overarching framework for continued pursuit of the "war on terror".

Current approaches and their limitations

Under the CVE umbrella these countries have multiplied initiatives and adopted various measures both at the national and regional levels to address radicalization, violent extremism and terrorism. These range from adopting legal frameworks to control, and repress, and track its terrorist activities, to training, equipping and reorganizing national security forces and intelligence services, to enhanced border surveillance and check points and the use of imams to counter radical Islamic teachings. Some of these countries because of porous borders and the transnational nature of the terrorist threat have relied heavily on existing regional and international security cooperation arrangements or pushed for the creation of new ones such as the G-5 Sahel countries, grouping together Niger, Mali, Chad, Mauritania, Burkina Faso. Other countries, with the active participation of civil society organizations, have devised national action plans that included the organization of inter-religious and inter communal dialogue as well as sensitization campaigns aimed at encouraging citizen engagement in the prevention and the fight against violent extremism. Other countries still have included in their national CVE strategy the creation of socio-economic opportunities for youth and other marginalized group to prevent their radicalization.

Commendable as these efforts may be, they tend to be, with the exception of one or two countries, largely state-centric and security driven and do not go far enough in identifying and addressing the governance and economic deficits that are at the root of radicalization and violent extremism.

As Daech, (also known as the Islamic State or ISIS) tightens its fresh grip on the resource-rich northeastern part of Libya and consolidates its alliance with organized crime groups, the security driven approaches to CVE are becoming more prominent, as is the rush to adopt repressive, punitive laws that end up sacrificing fundamental human rights and freedoms on the altar of stability. This has already happened in Tunisia after the three deadly terrorist attacks of the past year. As of July 2015, a new counter terrorism law is now on the books, some provisions of which have been judged as inconsistent with international human rights standards, and counter to the spirit and letter of the new Tunisian constitution.

The atmosphere of fear created by terrorist acts seems to be giving sustenance to a long cultivated myth that people have to forego some of their rights in order to live safely. It is a myth, as there is no contradiction between security and human rights. They go hand-in-hand. Yet according to a recent poll in Tunisia, 78% of Tunisians

indicated that they were ready to sacrifice a little bit of liberty for more security. As a result, we are seeing greater militarization of public security and diminished equality before the la.

Despite the increasing public acknowledgment of the limitations of military responses and the recognition that responding to violence with more violence makes us all more insecure, there continues to be deliberate reluctance to dig deeper in diagnosing the problems that give rise to violent extremists. This apparent paradox conjures up in many minds what Jacques Benigne Bossuet, a 17th century theologian, said, "God laughs at men who complain of the consequences while cherishing the causes"

During a forum held in Tunis on 7-8 December 2015 which brought together a number of Francophone policy analysts, researchers, and civil society practitioners from the Sahel and North Africa regions, practical suggestions were put forward in order to give a more prominent place to prevention in the fight against violent extremism in these regions. It was forcefully argued that when a preventive lens is applied, the minds of policy makers are freed from the tyranny of the urgent and focus on long-term strategies that addresses not only the proximate causes of insecurity but also the underlying political, security, social and cultural factors that drive and sustain it. Among these factors the following were cited: weak or mistrusted states and elites, corruption and social injustice, lack of employment opportunities for youth, exclusive policies that marginalize minorities, the shrinking of safe spaces for meaningful public policy debates, the criminalization of legitimate political dissent and a broken educational system.

Regional and geopolitical considerations were also discussed as contributing or inhibiting factors in the fight against violent extremism. But they were not treated with the required candor, even though some of them are known as the "elephants in the room" accounting, in large measure for the reluctance of some governments to forego military solutions and pursue less violent measures.

Why Prevention is Elusive?

There are a number of reasons. One is that in digging deeper one might bring to light the real identity of the states and or powerful elites who finance many of the radical movements or control the poisonous religious media outlets.

A second reason is that an analysis of the root causes is likely to dredge up the strategic failures of wars in Iraq and Libya, which unwittingly allowed ISIS and other barbaric malignancies to emerge, in the wake of massive humiliation and subjugation of large segments of society during and after these military adventures. In his book "The Geopolitics of Emotions", Dominique Moisi cites humiliation as one of the key emotions that can help us understand international politics and geopolitical dynamics and behavior. He contends that its is in the Arab and Muslim world that humiliation is most felt and acted upon, dominated by a contrast of an idealized past and a hopeless present. ISIS brutality seems to draw, with vengeance and visceral anger on a bottomless reservoir of humiliation.

http://allafrica.com/stories/201601121326.html

Africa's terrorism threat growing

04 2016, 06:26

Malian soldiers display grenades and other supplies they said belonged to jihadists in front of the Radisson Blu hotel in Bamako, Mali.

A GROUP of light armoured vehicles skated over the moonscape of the Sahara, part of one of the largest detachments the French military has deployed in Niger since colonial times. Its mission is growing ever more urgent: to cut smuggling routes used by jihadis who have turned the inhospitable terrain into a sprawling security challenge for African and international forces alike.

Many of the extremist groups are affiliates of al-Qaeda, which has had roots in North Africa since the 1990s. With the recent introduction of Islamic State (IS) franchises, the jihadi push has been marked by increasing competition.

But, analysts and military officials say, there is also deepening collaboration among groups using modern communications and a sophisticated system of roving trainers to share military tactics, media strategies and ways of transferring money.

Their threat has grown as Libya — with its ungoverned spaces, oil, ports, and proximity to Europe and the Middle East — becomes a budding hub of operations for both al-Qaeda and IS to reach deeper into Africa. And as Africa's jihadis come under the wing of distant and more powerful patrons, officials fear that they are extending their reach and stitching together their ambitions, turning once-local actors into pan-national threats.

The November 20 assault on the Radisson Blu hotel that killed at least 19 people in Bamako, Mali's capital, was just one of the more spectacular recent examples of the ability of these groups to sow deadly mayhem. Across the region, hundreds of people have been killed in terrorist attacks in the past year.

Gen David Rodriguez, who heads US Africa Command, warned in a congressional statement last year of an "increasingly cohesive network of al-Qaeda affiliates and adherents" that "continues to exploit Africa's undergoverned regions and porous borders to train and conduct attacks".

"Terrorists with allegiances to multiple groups are expanding their collaboration in recruitment, financing, training and operations, both within Africa and transregionally," Rodriguez warned months before the Mali attack.

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THE transfer of expertise can be witnessed in the spread of suicide bombings in Libya, Tunisia and Chad, and in the growing use of improvised explosive devices in Mali, analysts and officials point out.

Such exchanges have been enhanced as groups shift shape, sometimes merge, and come under the wing of more powerful and distant patrons.

In one instance, two of the longest standing North African groups, al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and Al-Mourabitoun, after a long publicised split, announced that they had reunited and that the Bamako hotel attack was their first joint venture.

The leaders of the two groups — Abdelmalek Droukdel and Mokhtar Belmokhtar, As does Seifallah Ben Hassine, leader of Ansar al-Sharia in Tunisia, the organisation believed to be behind three deadly attacks in Tunisia last year including a massacre of 38 people at a beach resort in June and an attack on the Bardo Museum in Tunis in March that left 22 dead.

All three men are veterans of fighting in Afghanistan in the 1980s, swore allegiance to Osama bin Laden and now profess loyalty to al-Qaeda's current leader, Ayman al-Zawahri, who is based in Pakistan.

Droukdel, routed by French forces in Mali in 2013, is reportedly holed up in mountains in southern Algeria. Belmokhtar and Ben Hassine have made rear bases in Libya, where they have been targeted by US air strikes. Despite French and US efforts to disrupt their networks, they still stretch across the continent.

To keep the pressure on the jihadis and help resist the threat, France has installed 3,500 troops across 10 bases and outposts in five vulnerable countries — Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso and Chad.

The recent French patrol, tiny dots in the Sahara's expanse of dunes and blackened rock, included 30-tonne supply trucks carrying food and fuel and armoured vehicles mounted with 80mm cannons, as well as a medical truck.

Similarly, US special operations forces are working in Niger, and last year, US President Barack Obama ordered 300 US troops to Cameroon to help defend against the Nigerian Islamist movement Boko Haram, which has spread across borders.

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FRENCH troops have led repeated operations to break communication and supply lines from Libya that have fortified such groups. The November operation was part of co-ordinated manoeuvres in eastern Mali and northern Niger to try to disrupt jihadi links between the two nations.

The smuggling route patrolled by the French is one of the main arteries for jihadis, arms and drugs. French troops call it the "autoroute" to southern Libya, which they describe as a "big supermarket" for weapons. The route crosses one of the most remote places on earth. Devoid of human habitation or water for hundreds of kilometres, it is a treacherous terrain of unbearable heat in the summer and nearly impossible navigation. Yet small convoys of smugglers attempt the crossing several times a week.

For the French, it is like looking for a tiny craft in an ocean, said Lt-Col Étienne du Peyroux, commanding officer leading the Niger operation.

"It is like a naval battle," he says, sketching out the hunt on maps on the hood of his desert jeep.

"The zone of operations is 40,000 square kilometres, an area the size of Holland, for 300 men. We try to find them, to block, to constrain, to work out how they will be channelled by a particular piece of terrain."

The French rarely catch anyone — the last capture was of a drug haul in June. But, they say, their operations are disrupting the jihadis' movements, evidenced by a drop in traffic and tracks in the sand showing smugglers' vehicles having turned back.

"We want them to abandon the fight, until they cannot do it any more or until the effort is too great," the colonel says. That, however, seems unlikely.

"Weak government and chaos are always conducive to terrorism," says Hans-Jakob Schindler, co-ordinator of a United Nations Security Council committee that monitors the al-Qaeda sanctions list. "These groups do take advantage of that."

The development of jihadi training camps in Libya over the past four years represented a regional and international threat, with particular significance for Africa, Schindler warned in a recent report.

Especially worrying, he said, were "the growing numbers of foreign terrorist fighters and the presence of a globalised group of terrorists from different al-Qaeda backgrounds".

North Africa and the Sahel with its difficult geography, impoverished populations and weak states, is acutely vulnerable, military and civilian analysts say. Poverty, corruption, poor government and unfair elections are all making populations susceptible to Islamist propaganda.

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CERTAINLY, despite the interventions and improved security efforts, new groups and recruits continue to appear. Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb and its affiliates remain active in Mali and they have sponsored a new group, the Massina Liberation Front, which has emerged in the past few months.

"They do not need much, they just need to be determined," says Col Louis Pena, a commander of French troops in N'Djamena, the capital of Chad.

The deepening reach of al-Qaeda and the arrival of IS are raising fresh alarm. While the two groups are rivals, that competition can pose a significant challenge from a broader security standpoint — as extremists seek to prove their potency and rele-

vance, inspire and attract recruits, and play on a bigger stage.

The effect can be witnessed in Boko Haram's six-year insurgency in Nigeria that has killed 17,000 people and displaced more than 1-million. Boko Haram has been around for two decades. But money and training from al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb gave its leader, Abubakar Shekau, a substantial boost when he assumed control in 2010.

Last year, Boko Haram switched allegiance to IS, which claimed its West Africa division had killed more than 1,000 people since November, according to the Site Intelligence Group, which monitors jihadi websites. Despite setbacks in Nigeria, it has become a regional scourge by exploiting contacts in the wider jihadi network, and it has now spilled into Chad, Cameroon and Niger.

http://www.bdlive.co.za/

Ethnicity, Tribalism, And Pluralism In Middle East And North Africa: Solutions To Conflict? – Analysis

Middle East and North Africa (MENA)

JANUARY 7, 2016

Scholars, policy pundits, policymakers, and journalists have identified any number of reasons for a crisis in the Middle East and North Africa that, starting with the 2011 popular revolts, has swept the region; toppled leaders in four countries – Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen; prompted Saudi-led military interventions in Bahrain and Yemen; ignited brutal insurgencies and wars in Syria, Iraq and Libya; and sparked the rise of the Islamic State (IS) in Syria and Iraq, and the expansion of its territorial reach to the Gulf and Africa.

Identifying the root causes of the crisis that is shaking the roots of long-standing autocratic, un-democratic rule in the region, irrespective of whether regimes are monarchies or republics, is key to mapping out solutions, particularly ones that hold out hope for pluralism and respect for human, social, economic, cultural, and ethnic rights. Complicating the identification of root causes is the fact that analysts and policymakers were caught off guard by the challenges to autocracy and the Middle East and North Africa's long-standing nation state order, as well as the emergence of simmering ethnic, tribal and sectarian politics as centrifugal forces.[i]

Turkish Scholar Sener Akturk argues moreover that, on the basis of case studies of Turkey and Pakistan, Muslim-majority nations established with a secularist ideology have the potential for struggles over values including pluralism and human rights, between secularists, who are more prone towards universal principles and Islamists, and that these struggles are built at independence into their very nature. These states were "founded on the basis of an Islamic mobilization against non-Muslim opponents but having successfully defeated these non-Muslim opponents, their political elites chose a secular and monolingual nation-state model for these countries, which led to significant and recurrent challenges to the state in the form of Islamist and ethnic separatist movements. Secular nationalism faces a structural and path-

dependent crisis of legitimacy in these countries because of what could be described as a historical or "genetic" disjuncture located at the very origins of these nation-states," Akturk wrote.[ii]

Further troubling the waters is the rise of a public and private anti-terrorism industry [iii] that sees human rights as second to ensuring security and safety; has a vested interest in couching the problem in terms of law enforcement and counter-terrorism rather than notions of alienation, marginalization, socio-economic disenfranchise-ment, youth aspirations and rights; is abetted by autocratic Middle Eastern and North African regimes that define any form of dissent as terrorism;[iv] and is sup-ported by a public opinion that buys into support of autocrats and some degree of curtailing of rights as a trade-off for security.

Analysts and policymakers have identified a range of causes for the breakdown of the traditional order in the Middle East and North Africa, ranging from a desire for greater freedom and social justice[v] to the fragility of post-colonial regional states as a result of autocratic failure to engage in nation rather than regime building that gave rise to ethnic, tribal and sectarian strife,[vi] to inherent flaws in colonial border arrangements at the time of the demise of the Ottoman Empire such as the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Treaty of Sevres.[vii] All of those notions contain kernels of truth but they have contributed to it becoming common place to pay lip service to the need to tackle root causes of the crisis in the Middle East, and that can mean al-most anything. Many also merely embrace notions that are crucial to creating an en-vironment conducive to respect of pluralism and human rights.

Putting One's Money Where One's Mouth Is

Yet, translating the need to tackle root causes into policy is proving difficult, primar-ily because it is based on a truth that has far-reaching consequences for every mem-ber of the international community no matter how close or far they are from IS's current borders. It involves governments putting their money where their mouth is and changing long-standing, ingrained policies at home that marginalize, exclude, stereotype and stigmatize significant segments of society; emphasize security at the expense of freedoms that encourage healthy debate; and in more autocratic states that are abetted by the West, reduce citizens to obedient subjects through harsh re-pression and adaptations of religious belief to suit the interests of rulers.

The result is a vicious circle: government policies often clash with the state or regime's professed values. As a result, dividing lines sharpen as already marginal-ized, disenfranchised or discriminated segments of society see the contradiction be-tween policies and values as hypocritical and re-confirmation of the basis of their discontent. Western nations, for example, in the fall of 2015, deferred to Saudi Ara-bia's objections to an investigation by the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) into human rights violations by all sides during the Saudi-led military intervention in Yemen in which thousands of civilians were killed.[viii] Media re-ports documented, a day prior to the Western cave-in, a British pledge to support Saudi Arabia, one of the world's foremost violators of basic human rights and pur-veyors of sectarianism, in the Council.[ix] The kingdom, at the same time, objected to references to gay rights in the United Nations' newly formulated Sustainable De-velopment Goals.[x]

Creating a policy framework that is conducive to an environment in the Middle East

and North Africa that would favour pluralism and respect of human rights and counter the appeal of jihadism and emerging sectarian-based nationalism is not simply a question of encouraging and supporting voices in the region, first and foremost those of youth, or of revisiting assumptions of Western foreign policies and definitions of national security. It involves fostering inclusive national identities that are capable of accommodating ethnic, sectarian and tribal sub-identities as legitimate and fully accepted sub-identities in Middle Eastern and North African, as well as Western countries, and changing domestic policies in the West towards minorities, refugees and migrants.

Tribalism Meets Modernity

Tribal and sectarian identities and loyalty have been reinforced in Middle Eastern and North African nations as the fragility of nation states becomes increasingly evident and the future of nation states like Syria and Iraq in their post-colonial forms becomes ever more uncertain. Those identities are strengthened by youth bulges that see little prospect for social and economic opportunity and participation in politics against a backdrop of rising education levels. As a result, national identity is often an amorphous concept that positions the tribe with its traditional support mechanisms as a more responsive social and political entity. This trend is furthered by youth's greater access to information through the Internet. Educated and Internet-savvy youth are conscious of vast income differences in their country and the failure of governments to provide public goods and services. Mounting frustrations drive calls for an end to corruption and greater rights.

The persistence of tribalism is evident in hiring policies in various Middle Eastern and North African countries that officially adhere to non-discriminatory policies but take into account tribal affiliation. It also emerges in low tribal inter-marriage rates and official government emphasis on the concept of tribal values that focus on maintaining peace, enforcing order, protecting the weak, honouring authority, ensuring an equitable hearing and enforcing justice. Cultural events promoted by governments reinforce the trend towards tribalism.[xi] Saudi TV's popular poetry contest, Shaer al-Milyon, The Million's Poet, features exclusively tribal contenders whose participation raises their tribes' profile.[xii] Camel races and beauty contests serve a similar purpose. The emphasis on tribal values and culture is part of a larger focus on heritage intended to cement weak national identities.

Renewed emphasis on tribalism has forced tribes to redefine themselves in a 21st century world in which the issues they confront are no longer access to land and water but social and economic development as well as political stability. It involves striking a balance between being part of a national state and accommodating regional differences that often emulate tribal lines. Ironically, one of the most powerful national symbols that transcends tribal and other affiliations often is the national soccer team. "We all support the national team irrespective of who we are," said a young Saudi.[xiii]

"Young people are finding living conditions harsh and they are asking, where has the money gone? The younger generation has started to use social media and it is they that will cause human rights problems, as they want to be part of government decision-making. It is the young people who are going back to the tribes because they cannot see anything to be proud about in central government. The older generation is content with the government but they are richer than their children will

ever be and have benefited more from the country's development of the last 40 years," said a young Saudi.[xiv] "People are suddenly doing their family trees and looking for their origins. Their family lineages are being revived and they have family diwaniyyat (gatherings) every week with all the family who can come. This is happening right across Saudi Arabia, not just in the Hejaz. Tribalism is back now," added another Saudi.[xv]

To accommodate the trend and ensure that it strengthens rather than weakens national identity and promotes greater identification with the state, youth across the Middle East and North Africa are agitating, to various degrees, for more inclusive governance, by introducing free and fair elections, elevating the fight against corruption, and adopting more equitable social and economic policies.[xvi]This is particularly true in the Gulf states and countries like Syria and Iraq, whose future national borders are in question as a result of civil war that stems from the fragility of a state formed on the colonial legacy of minority rule. The same issues minus tribalism are prevalent in countries like Egypt, a country with a millennial history and a strong sense of national identity.

Northern Iraq exemplifies the significant setbacks the Middle East and North Africa has suffered as a result of sectarian policies by states and non-state actor and the scars of war. A Yazidi mechanic shop owner, who in 2014 survived the slaughter and mass deportation of members of his sect, Ibrahim Hajj returned in mid-2015 to his abandoned village of Sinouni. His return was to be short-lived. Unwilling to contemplate the return of his Arab neighbours on whom his business depended, Hajj was opting to again become a refugee.

"If they (the Arabs) try to come back, and we don't have weapons to kill them, we will tear them apart with our teeth and nails. I haven't made a single cent since I came back — with them gone, I have no customers. I have to go back to the refugee camps," he said.[xvii]

The picture repeats itself in Sunni Muslim towns like Rabea that are populated by tribes that supported the Kurds in their fight against IS. Authorities in the autonomous Kurdish region of northern Iraq have yet to connect the town to the power grid. Deep-seated distrust between Arabs and Kurds has replaced once close communal ties. A former Sunni Muslim policeman was rebuffed when he went to check on a Yazidi co-worker. "All of you Muslims are Isis," the policeman was told.[xviii]

Increased sectarianism and tribalism have significant consequences for stability, national security, pluralism and respect for human rights, particularly in countries whose armed forces are organized along tribal or ethno-religious lines. The potential risk involved is evident in the embattled militaries of Syria, Iraq and Yemen, and built into the dual structures of countries like Saudi Arabia that has a regular armed force tasked with protecting the kingdom's territorial integrity and a tribal-based national guard that builds on tribes like the Al-Qahtani, Al-Utaibi and the Anizah, for the protection of the regime.[xix] Middle Eastern and North African governments prefer to divert or prevent mushrooming anti-government dissent by encouraging tribal, ethnic or sectarian friction. One Saudi argued that the strategy would fail in the kingdom "because the army and the national guard are tribal. People say there will be no more tribal fighting but it is understood there was fighting near Al-Ha'il earlier in 2014 and trouble in Jouf and Tabuk."[xx]

Closely related to the issue of tribalism as well as rights, are differing concepts of justice. Rather than notions of justice or in Arabic, *'adl 'adāla',* that involve equality, inclusion, non-discrimination and fairness, Middle Eastern and North African tribal societies often employ concepts of *'adāt wa taqālīd,* or tribal customs and traditions to mediate issues of justice and injustice. *'Adat wa taqalid* involves traditions of customary rather than civil or Islamic law. One major difference is that justice in the Western sense of the word involves only parties to a dispute or conflict while tribal tradition can include parties' communities who may not have a direct material stake.[xxi]

In the case of the international community's effort to defeat IS, inclusiveness means, for example, that victory has to be secured as much in Raqqa and Mosul, IS's Syrian and Iraqi capitals, as in the dismal banlieues, run-down, primarily minority-populated, suburbs of French cities that furnish the group with its largest contingent of European foreign fighters;[xxii] the popular neighbourhoods in Tunisia that account for the single largest group of foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq;[xxiii] Riyadh, seat of a government whose citizens account for the second largest number of foreign fighters and whose well-funded, decades-long effort to propagate a puritan, intolerant, interpretation of Islam has been a far more important feeding ground for jihadist thinking than the writings of militant Islamist thinkers like Sayyid Qutb; [xxiv] and in Western capitals with Washington in the lead who view retrograde, repressive regimes like those of Saudi Arabia and Egypt as part of the solution rather than part of the problem.

Broadening the Debate

Focussing on root causes that are at the core of both the crisis and deteriorating, if not total disrespect of, human rights, means broadening scholarly and policy debate to concentrate not only on what amounts to applying Band-Aids that fail to halt the festering of open wounds but also to question assumptions made by the various schools of thought on how to solve the problem. The facts on the ground have already convincingly contradicted the notion that Western support of autocracy and military intervention primarily through air campaigns despite paying lip service to ideals of democracy and human rights could counter common enemies like IS. It has so far to produced only limited results. Respect for human rights has, in many Middle Eastern and North African nations, significantly deteriorated since the 2011 popular revolts and IS standing its ground a year into a US-led air campaign, a Russian bombing operation that began in the fall of 2015, and ground campaigns by the Iraqi government and the regime of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad.[xxv] The group continues to advocate a regime that celebrates its rejection of pluralism and human rights and metes out relatively transparent yet brutal justice, and it poses a fundamental threat to the existence of post-colonial nation states as the world knew them, first and foremost Syria and Iraq, but ultimately also others like Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt and Libya.

Yet, even a convincing defeat of IS would not solve the problem or promote notions of pluralism and respect of human rights. Al Qaeda was degraded, to use the language of the Obama administration. In the process, it weakened a jihadist force that, despite having no appreciation for concepts of pluralism and human rights, increasingly advocated a gradual approach to the establishment of its harsh interpretation of Islamic law in a bid to ensure public support.[xxvi] Instead of reducing the threat of political violence, the largely military effort to defeat Al Qaeda produced ever more

virulent forms of jihadism as embodied by IS. It may be hard to imagine anything more brutal than IS, but it is a fair assumption that defeating IS without tackling root causes would only lead to something that is even more violent and more vicious.

Nonetheless, defining repressive, autocratic rule and IS as the greatest threat to regional stability and security and the furthering of more liberal notions is problematic. In the case of IS, that definition elevates jihadism – the violent establishment of pan-Islamic rule based on narrow interpretations of Islamic law and scripture — to the status of a root cause rather than a symptom and expression of a greater and more complex problem. It is an approach that focuses on the immediate nature of the threat and ways to neutralize it rather than on what sparked it. It also neglects the fact that the ideological debate in the Muslim world is to a large extent dominated by schools of thought that do not advocate more open, liberal and pluralistic interpretations of Islam.

That is where one real challenge lies. It is a challenge first and foremost to Muslims, but also to an international community that would give more liberal Muslim voices significant credibility if it put its money where its mouth is. Support for self -serving regimes and their religious supporters, as in the case of Saudi Arabia and Egypt, reduces the international community's choices to one between bad and worse, rather than to a palate of policy options that take a stab at rooting out the problem and its underlying causes.

To be sure, change and progress towards the embrace of pluralism and universal human rights will have to originate from within Middle Eastern and North African nations. Saudi and UAE efforts to target political Islam as such that have also resonated in the West, were articulated by former British Prime Minister Tony Blair. Blair argued against "a deep desire to separate the political ideology represented by groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood from the actions of extremists including acts of terrorism." He acknowledged that it was "laudable" to distinguish "between those who violate the law and those we simply disagree with" but warned that "if we're not careful, they also blind us to the fact that the ideology itself is nonetheless dangerous and corrosive; and cannot and should not be treated as a conventional political debate between two opposing views of how society should be governed."[xxvii]

On that basis, it is hard to see why Wahhabism, Saudi Arabia's puritan interpretation of Islam that is the well-spring of much of contemporary jihadist thinking, does not top the list of ideologies that are "dangerous and corrosive." Saudi Arabia, like the Islamic State, was born in a jihadist struggle that married Islamist warriors led by an 18th century jurist Mohammed Abdul Wahab, with the proto-kingdom's ruling Al Saud clan.

The failure of the 2011 popular revolts and the autocratic counterrevolution that they provoked, the rise of IS, increased repression and the region's deterioration of respect for basic freedoms constitutes a wake-up call for many in the Middle East and North Africa. It has fuelled a long-overdue debate among Arabs and Muslims about the kind of world they want to live in.

In an essay entitled 'The Barbarians Within Our Gates,' prominent Washington-based journalist Hisham Melhem wrote: "The Arab world today is more violent, unstable, fragmented and driven by extremism — the extremism of the rulers and

those in opposition — than at any time since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire a century ago… The promise of political empowerment, the return of politics, the restoration of human dignity heralded by the season of Arab uprisings in their early heydays — all has given way to civil wars, ethnic, sectarian and regional divisions and the reassertion of absolutism, both in its military and atavistic forms…. The jihadists of the Islamic State, in other words, did not emerge from nowhere. They climbed out of a rotting, empty hulk — what was left of a broken-down civilization." [xxviii]

For his part, Turki al-Hamad, a liberal Saudi intellectual, questioned how Saudi religious leaders could confront the Islamic State's extremist ideology given that they promote similar thinking at home and abroad. Al-Hamad argued that the Saudi clergy was incapable of confronting the extremism of groups like the Islamic State "not because of laxness or procrastination, but because they share the same ideology."[xxix]

Neither Melhelm nor al-Hamad are Islamists. Yet, they reflect widespread soul-searching among Islamists and non-Islamists across the Arab world. Theirs is a debate that predates the rise of the Islamic State but has been pushed centre stage by jihadists, autocrats and misguided Western politicians alike. It is a debate that is at the core of tackling the root causes on which jihadist groups feed, and which in turn has become a primary alibi for autocrats to discount pluralism and greater freedoms. It is, however, also a debate that threatens to be squashed by a policy that focuses on military rather than political solutions and promotes status quo regimes whose autocracy chokes off opportunities for the venting of widespread discontent and anger, leaving violence and extremism as one of the few, if not the only, option to force change.

As a result, the Obama administration's alignment with the Middle East's counter-revolutionary forces and targeting of groups other than IS, risks identifying the US with efforts by Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt to target political Islam as such. The three Arab nations have cracked down on non-violent groups like the Muslim Brotherhood. The UAE particularly has since called for an expansion of the campaign against the Islamic State to include all non-violent expressions of political Islam. The US alignment prevents it from adopting a policy that would seek to contain IS militarily while focusing on removing the grievances on which the group feeds. It is a policy that is destined, at best, to provide a Band-Aid for a festering wound.

Medium-term Rather than Short-term

Moreover, in a globalized world, events in the Middle East and North Africa, and among minority populations elsewhere with roots in the region, often mutually reinforce one another. By the same token, there are no quick solutions or short cuts. The key is the articulation of policies that over the medium term can help generate an environment more conducive to more liberal change rather than the continuous opting for knee-jerk reactions to events and facts on the ground as was evident in Tunisia's response to a June 2015 attack on a tourist resort,[xxx] Kuwait's reaction to the bombing of a Shiite mosque at about the same time,[xxxi] and France's answer to an almost simultaneous assault on its territory by a lone wolf.[xxxii]

Tunisia deployed 1,000 armed policemen to tourist sites even as tourists left the country en masse, and closed 80 mosques suspected of hosting radical clerics; a

move that was likely to push militants further underground.[xxxiii] Kuwait, which displayed a remarkable degree of inclusivity with Sunnis and Shias joining hands in their condemnation of the bombing of a Shiite mosque that left 27 people dead and more than 200 others wounded, looked at adoption of a stringent anti-terrorism law [xxxiv] while France is passing legislation that would authorise sweeping surveillance.[xxxv] None of these measures address the sense of hopelessness and willingness to rebel that potentially pervades predominantly young Muslim minorities in Europe, and is reinforced by increased prejudice sparked by violence and brutality perpetrated by Muslim extremists. That hopelessness is matched by despair and existential fears among youth, minorities, and alienated sects in the Middle East and North Africa.

As a result, Al Qaeda's 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington DC, the 2011 Arab revolts, the rise of IS and lone wolf attacks like the assault in January 2015 on satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo in Paris as well as attacks in Paris, Ankara, Beirut, Tunisia and Kuwait, have served to undermine efforts at greater inclusiveness and assurance of equal rights and opportunity – such as Europe's pursuit of multiculturalism – and sparked violent counterrevolutionary efforts by Arab autocrats. The result has been, in the Middle East and North Africa, fractured states and increased repression that seemingly place pluralism and respect of human rights in the realm of wishful thinking. Autocratic and Western responses to jihadist attacks and propaganda play into the militants' hands by fuelling a sense of rejection among disenfranchised and marginalized youth as well as ethnic and religious minorities. All of that is fed by growing intolerance, suspicion of the other, stereotyping, and a feeling of not being welcome among minority groups, and it is strengthened by sectarian policies adopted by Middle Eastern and North African governments.

Afghanistan's President Hamid Karzai. *Photo: Reuters*

Ironically, US President George W. Bush's administration concluded, shortly after the 9/11 attacks, that Al Qaeda was as much a product of US support for autocratic Arab regimes as it was the result of politically bankrupt Arab leaders. The acknowledgement amounted to an admission of failure of a US policy designed to maintain stability in a key geostrategic and volatile part of the world and led to Bush's ill-fated initiative to promote democracy in the Middle East and North Africa.[xxxvi]

The argument in favour of pluralism and respect for human rights, as opposed to prioritization of security and criminalization of dissent as part of the survival strategy of Middle Eastern and North African regimes, was evident in responses to a video clip produced in 2014 by supporters of storied Moroccan soccer club Raja Club Athletic. At face value, the clip left little doubt about the fans' support of IS. [xxxvii] The clip shows fans of a club, that prides itself on its nationalist credentials dating back to opposition to colonial French rule and its reputation as the team of ordinary Moroccans, chanting: "Daesh, Daesh," the Arabic acronym for IS, and "God is Great, let's go on jihad."

The clip appeared to reaffirm IS's widespread emotional appeal to youth across the Middle East and North Africa rather than a willingness on the fans' part to actually become a foreign fighter in Syria or Iraq. To them, IS symbolized successful resistance for many who were disillusioned by the failure of popular revolts; the in-

transigence of autocratic regimes that fail to live up to their people's aspirations; the lack of prospects for economic advancement and political change; and the West's refusal to empower rebel groups opposed to Syrian President Bashar al-Assad as well as its perceived strengthening of Assad with its military campaign against IS, the foremost opposition to a regime that matches the jihadists in brutality.

The fans attempted to explain their pro-IS video by noting on the group's Facebook page with its 111,000 followers: "We are terrorists… Our goal is to bomb other clubs. We do not want land or oil, we want titles" below a mock picture of Islamic State fighters with the inscription, "Raja's Volunteer Championship." The supporters asserted elsewhere on their Facebook page that "we will not start to argue and beg people to believe that this is a sarcastic action and a joke." Some supporters dismissed the video as a public relations stunt. They insisted that they were demanding reform not radical change. To emphasize the point, the supporters posted two days after the appearance of the video, an image of Osama Bin Laden with the words: "Rest in Pieces Motherf*****r."[xxxviii]

The pro-pluralism and human rights argument as a way of solving conflict is also evident in the case of prominent Moroccan dissident rapper Mouad Belghouat, better known as Al Haqed, who was arrested, in 2014 on charges of having scalped game tickets, as he was entering a stadium to watch a soccer match. Al Haqed's music, like the chanting of pro-Islamic State slogans, reflected growing popular discontent and an increased willingness to challenge the government whom many see as having backed down on its promises for true political and economic reform.

The arrest occurred a day after he had mocked King Mohammed VI on Facebook because he passed a performing group of musicians on his way to Friday prayers. "In Islam, this would be highly disrespectful given the spiritual solemnity of Jumuah prayer, and an even bigger mistake to be made by the 'Commander of the Faithful' who claims part of the legitimacy of his rule from his religious status," wrote Moroccan blogger Zineb Belmkaddem[xxxix].

"Hope for a more democratic Morocco is fading, as the makhzen (the ruling group around the king) went back to relying on its old ways, reassured by the 'success' of its systematic crackdown that is responsible for disorganizing groups of protestors through repression and propaganda. Slowly dismantling the February 20th protest movement over the past years, the regime seems to have learned nothing and has chosen to walk backwards to its dysfunctional comfort zone," Belmkaddem added, referring to Morocco's 2011 anti-government protests.

Speaking to The New York Times earlier in 2015, activist Moroccan Maouanne Morabit warned that "a major part of the political class refused to discuss in public real issues concerning the ills of our society, namely the role of the monarchy, respect for human rights, the distribution of wealth, and the separation of powers… The kingdom discredited the left, trade unions, civil society and now the Islamists. It will soon face a direct confrontation with the people, and it will no longer have any safety valves."[xl]

By contrast to most reactions to political violence and expression of pro-jihadist sentiment, Norway's response to right-wing extremist Anders Behring Breivik's traumatic attacks in 2011 that killed 77 people stands as a model for how societies can and should uphold concepts of pluralism and human rights. Norway refrained from

declaring war on terror, treated Breivik as a common criminal and refused to compromise on its democratic values. In doing so, Norway offered a successful example of refusing to stigmatise any one group in society by adopting inclusiveness rather than profiling and upholding the very values that autocrats and jihadists challenge.

Conclusion

The result of exclusively security-focussed approaches, coupled with the exploitation of economic opportunity by autocratic Middle Eastern and North African regimes and Western governments, is an increasingly insecure region in which the creation of pluralistic societies that honour human rights seems ever more distant. Said an Egyptian Islamist militant, whose non-violent anti-government activism is as much aimed at opposing the regime of general-turned-president Abdel Fattah Al Sisi as it is designed to persuade increasingly frustrated youth that there are alternatives to nihilistic violence: "The strategy of brutality, repression and restricting freedom has failed to impose subservience. It hasn't produced solutions. Governments need to give people space. They need to prove that they are capable of addressing the problems of a youth that has lost hope. We have nothing to lose if they don't."[xli] The Egyptian's inclinations pointed towards peaceful protest in favour of a more liberal society, albeit bound by Islamic morality codes; his options, however, left him little choice but to drift towards jihadism.

Creating the kind of options that would give the Egyptian militant real choices is easier said than done and unlikely to produce immediate results. It would, among others, have to involve:

▪   Recognition that the Middle East and North Africa are in the throes of a brutal process of change that is likely to play out over years. Attempting to halt the process is futile; nurturing it with policies that encourage non-violent, non-sectarian change – even if it means a redrawing of the region's map and regime change – will ultimately far better serve the reestablishment of regional peace and security and the creation of an environment conducive to pluralism and respect of human rights;

▪   Tying political, military and economic support to governments in the Middle East and North Africa to progress towards support of human rights and greater equality for minorities through the adoption of inclusive, non-sectarian, and non-repressive policies;

▪   A halt to the global propagation of intolerant ideologies by some Middle Eastern governments and state-sponsored groups such as Saudi Arabia's interpretation of Wahhabism that contrasts starkly with that of Qatar, the world's only other Wahhabi state;

▪   Abolition of sectarianism in state rhetoric;

▪   Recognition of minority rights;

▪   Reform of brutal police and security forces that are widely feared and despised;

▪   Granting of greater freedoms to ensure the existence of release valves for pent-up anger and frustration and the unfettered voicing of grievances;

▪   A crackdown on corruption;

- Reform of education systems that produce a mismatch between market demand and graduates' skills.

Source:
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THE ISLAMIC STATE VS. AL-QAEDA: THE WAR WITHIN THE JIHADIST MOVEMENT

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The post-Arab Spring period has seen extraordinary growth in the global jihadist movement. In addition to the Islamic State seizing a vast swathe of territory spanning Syria and Iraq and al-Qaeda establishing itself as a potent military force in the Syrian civil war, instability and unfulfilled expectations in numerous countries — including Egypt, Libya, Mali, Tunisia, and Yemen — have presented jihadists with unprecedented opportunities.

But even as the jihadist movement experiences rapid growth, it has also endured unprecedented internal turmoil. The Islamic State's emergence marks the first time that leadership over the global jihadist movement has been seriously contested. Since that group's expulsion from the al-Qaeda network in February 2014, a fierce competition between the Islamic State and al-Qaeda has defined the militant landscape. The United States has an opportunity to exploit and aggravate fissures within the jihadist community, but to do so successfully, it is essential to understand the differences in the *modus operandi* of these two rival jihadist groups.

Two Models of Revolutionary Warfare

Though al-Qaeda and the Islamic State share the same ultimate goal — establishing a global caliphate ruled by an austere version of *sharia* (Islamic law) — each group maintains a distinct approach to revolutionary warfare. Al-Qaeda has come to favor covert expansion, unacknowledged affiliates, and a relatively quiet organizational strategy designed to carefully build a larger base of support before engaging in open warfare with its foes. By contrast, the Islamic State believes that the time for a broader military confrontation has already arrived, and has loudly disseminated its propaganda to rally as many soldiers as possible to its cause. The group combines

shocking violence with an effective propaganda apparatus in an effort to quickly build its base of support.

The Maoist and focoist schools of revolutionary thought provide a useful framework for understanding these groups' differing strategies. Al-Qaeda exhibits a revolutionary strategy that is both implicitly and explicitly based on the works of Mao Tse-tung, while the Islamic State's approach is more consonant with the focoist writings of Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Régis Debray.

Interestingly, in 2010 Kenneth Payne published an article in *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* arguing that al-Qaeda's strategy was focoist in nature, based on a review of the group's strategic literature and operations. Though al-Qaeda has exhibited both Maoist and focoist strands of thought, the fact that Payne's argument was published in 2010 is significant: He wrote just on the cusp of the "Arab Spring" revolutions, which, as this article details, provided al-Qaeda the opportunity to make its Maoist-style turn that focused on the population more apparent. Ryan Evans's argument, which was published in the *CTC Sentinel* the same year as Payne's piece, has held up better over time. Evans discerned a shift in strategy between the efforts of al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) and the later campaign of al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), and argued that AQAP's more population-centric approach was forged by the group's failures in Iraq. He noted that the shift in strategy in Yemen may herald "a larger turn for al-Qaeda globally toward a more Maoist attitude."

Mao's theory of revolution is rooted in the primacy of politics over warfare. In Mao's view, a steadfast political foundation is necessary to allow guerrilla forces to create bases for logistics and operations and slowly build strength and momentum for the final conventional stage of warfare. Thus, according to Mao, before guerilla forces can initiate military action, they must first focus on "arousing and organizing the people," and "achieving internal unification politically." This stage is followed seamlessly by a stage of progressive expansion, followed by a third and final stage of decision — the destruction of the enemy.

Maoist revolutionaries continue to emphasize the political stage of organization and consolidation even as they pursue progressive expansion. Consistent with Maoist theory, al-Qaeda and its affiliates have focused on maintaining and expanding the group's political support. Even in areas where al-Qaeda has engaged in open warfare, it has been somewhat restrained in its approach to civilian populations since the initiation of AQAP's campaign in 2009 that Ryan Evans noted was a departure from the group's Iraq model of insurgency. Thereafter, the group has adopted a phased implementation of its hardline version of *sharia* where it enjoys control or significant influence. The only one of al-Qaeda's branches that explicitly did not fit this new model was AQI, which later was expelled from al-Qaeda's network and adopted the new moniker of the Islamic State. (Al-Qaeda's approach toward civilian populations can only be considered "restrained" in very relative terms, juxtaposed with the more oppressive and publicly violent tactics of the Islamic State, and al-Qaeda's own previous approach.) Al-Qaeda's adherence to a largely Maoist framework was shaped by its experience of being hunted by the United States and its allies for a decade and a half, and — as Evans argued — particularly by the defeat of its Iraqi affiliate. Al-Qaeda's use of Maoist strategy is designed to be low-risk and to yield long-term results.

The focoist approach to revolutionary war contrasts sharply with the Maoist approach. First used successfully in Cuba in the early 1950s, focoism holds that the political foundation necessary for revolution can be crafted through violence. Guevara essentially flipped Mao's theory by arguing that the use of violence against the state would inspire the peasants to rise up. Unlike Mao's strategy, focoism accepts great risks in order to inspire support. The Islamic State has in many ways followed the focoist model; it believes in the power of violence to forge the political opinions of the Muslim masses. The Islamic State views al-Qaeda's more deliberate approach as too slow. It appears happy to win today and lose tomorrow, as long as today's win creates a large enough subject for propaganda.

This framework of Maoist versus focoist models of revolutionary warfare should not be seen as a complete explanation for either al-Qaeda or the Islamic State's behavior. Neither group is perfectly Maoist or focoist, but using these models provides a useful paradigm for interpreting the strategic competition between the groups.

Al-Qaeda's Population-Centric Approach

Al-Qaeda has taken advantage of two major opportunities driven by the unsuccessful revolution in Syria and the successful revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya. The first opportunity is that the regional upheaval created a growth environment for jihadism, and al-Qaeda has established a significant presence in places where it had previously been suppressed. The second opportunity is that as al-Qaeda expanded into new areas, it perceived an opening to repair its global image that had been badly damaged by AQI. Al-Qaeda has implemented a population-centric approach to increase its base of popular support by employing gradualism and cooperation with local actors. Al-Qaeda has also made use of popular front groups in its expansion. This is intended to reduce the organization's exposure to counterinsurgent forces, including the United States and the Middle East's Sunni regimes, and to avoid frightening or alienating local populations.

Popular support has become essential to al-Qaeda. While the group once conceptualized itself as exclusively a vanguard movement, it has come to view itself in recent years as a popular movement that needs the support or acquiescence of the populace. This transformation had begun prior to the Arab Spring. In 2005, then al-Qaeda deputy emir Ayman al-Zawahiri explained in a letter to Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, AQI's reckless emir, that "the strongest weapon which the mujahedeen enjoy … is popular support from the Muslim masses in Iraq, and the surrounding Muslim countries. So, we must maintain this support as best we can, and we should strive to increase it." As previously noted, AQAP's approach in its first year of operations reflected this paradigm. But the transformation of al-Qaeda into a more broad-based movement was supercharged by the Arab Spring, which provided a critical opening for jihadism.

In the wake of those revolutions, al-Qaeda's senior leadership pushed hard to regain the trust and support of local populations and avoid the mistakes that marred AQI's Iraq campaign. In an undated letter that al-Qaeda's *masul aqalim* (head of regions) Atiyah Abd al-Rahman wrote to Nasir al-Wuhayshi, AQAP's emir, he noted that "the people's support to the mujahedin is as important as the water for fish," referencing Mao's famous adage that "the guerrilla must move amongst the people as a fish swims in the sea." Wuhayshi in turn transmitted a similar message to the leader-

ship of al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, illustrating al-Qaeda's coordinated efforts.

The most significant example of these changes came in September 2013, when Zawahiri, who became al-Qaeda's emir following Osama bin Laden's death in May 2011, released a [document](#) entitled "General Guidelines for Jihad" that made public al-Qaeda's new population-centric approach. Zawahiri instructed affiliates to avoid conflict with Middle Eastern governments when possible, asserting that conflict with local regimes would distract from efforts to build bases of support. Zawahiri also instructed affiliates to minimize violent conflict with Shia and non-Muslim populations, and to abstain from attacks that could result in Muslim civilian casualties. Consonant with these changes to al-Qaeda's operations, the organization has also launched a "rebranding" campaign (a subject we have addressed previously at *[War on the Rocks](#)*) designed to present the group as a more reasonable — and perhaps controllable — alternative to the Islamic State, and as a potential bulwark against Iranian encroachment.

Al-Qaeda's strategy of covert expansion — its use of front groups and its embrace of a relatively low-key public profile — is another critical element in the group's post-Arab Spring approach. In a [letter](#) recovered from his Abbottabad compound, bin Laden explained the rationale for preferring a low profile. He noted that when a branch's affiliation with al-Qaeda "becomes declared and out in the open," the group's enemies escalate their attacks on it.

Al-Qaeda's efforts in Tunisia exemplified its early post-Arab Spring strategy. Its expansion was spearheaded by a [front organization](#) called Ansar al-Sharia in Tunisia (AST). Several high-profile salafi jihadists who had been released from prison when the regime of dictator Zine El Abidine Ben Ali was overthrown established the group. AST initially [focused](#) its resources on *dawa* (evangelism) by organizing *dawa* events, holding public protests, and dominating physical spaces near places of worship. AST also provided services, including food, clothing, and medical care, to impoverished communities, and developed a social media apparatus to publicize its *dawa* activities.

AST's emphasis on *dawa* was characteristic of al-Qaeda's early post-Arab Spring strategy. The group's ideologues understood that they would have unprecedented opportunities to disseminate salafi jihadist ideology to the public. While the old dictators placed strict restrictions on religious expression, strategists foresaw fewer restrictions in post-autocratic environments. This strategic logic was expressed by Atiyah, who in February 2011 exhorted jihadists in post-revolutionary states to "spring into action and initiate or increase their preaching, education, reformation and revitalization in light of the freedom and opportunities now available in this post revolution era."

As AST's *dawa* gained traction, the group also began to [engage](#) in *hisba* violence targeting those who violated salafist religious norms. AST was initially methodical in its use of violence, striking targets such as prostitutes and establishments that served alcohol — which would be widely considered acceptable by those inclined toward religious fundamentalism. Moreover, AST refrained from claiming responsibility for these *hisba* attacks, creating the perception that this violence was organic to the Tunisian people. Through this approach, AST ensured that its use of violence did not cross a line that would provoke a government crackdown.

As it became more entrenched, AST eventually embraced jihadist violence, first facilitating Tunisians' travel to foreign battlefields like Syria, Libya and Mali before eventually turning its guns against the Tunisian state. AST members were implicated in the 2013 assassinations of secularist politicians Chokri Belaïd and Mohammed Brahmi. Less than a week after Brahmi's July 2013 death, a jihadist ambush in Jebel el-Chaambi killed eight Tunisian soldiers, five of whom had their throats slit. These bloody incidents constituted a point of no return, and in August 2013 the government designated AST a terrorist organization and cracked down on the group.

It is not clear that AST's leadership wanted the group's violence to escalate so quickly. Indeed, it seems the group had not progressed far enough through Mao's stages of revolutionary warfare by July 2013 to justify the initiation of open warfare. AST gave its local branches considerable autonomy, which may have contributed to violence escalating faster than the leadership wanted or anticipated. Despite this, al-Qaeda's blueprint for Tunisia nonetheless demonstrates how its plans for the post-Arab Spring environment followed Maoist insurgent principles.

The Islamic State's Bold, Boisterous Growth Model

The Islamic State's strategy for supplanting al-Qaeda centers on two techniques. First, the group sought to portray al-Qaeda's slower and more deliberate strategy as weakness and indecisiveness. Second, the Islamic State appealed to al-Qaeda's affiliates by emphasizing its momentum and expansion with the aim of poaching groups, members, and potential recruits. In essence, the Islamic State's approach is the opposite of al-Qaeda's: While al-Qaeda has sought to minimize the amount of attention it receives in order to reduce its exposure to counterinsurgents, the Islamic State constantly seeks the spotlight, and touts its victories (real or invented) at every opportunity. The Islamic State is trying to transform al-Qaeda's strategic methods into weaknesses.

One way the Islamic State has tried to distinguish itself from al-Qaeda is its approach to governance, particularly its implementation of *sharia*. The Islamic State's ability to impose governance where it enjoys military power is essential to the caliphate's legitimacy. Following its capture of territory in Iraq and Syria, the organization quickly set up governance structures and showcased its efforts to provide social services to local populations. Rather than building public support prior to fully enforcing its austere version of *sharia*, the Islamic State quickly implemented *hudud*punishments (*sharia*-prescribed corporal punishment). As such, coercive violence is a major component of the Islamic State's governance. The organization has thrown people suspected of being gay off of roofs, beheaded those it deems traitors or apostates, cut off the hands of thieves, and stoned to death women accused of adultery.

By contrast, al-Qaeda and its affiliates have chosen a slower, more methodical imposition of *sharia*. The group's guidelines emphasize a somewhat pragmatic approach aimed at winning over the population. Al-Qaeda leaders have instructed affiliates to tailor the implementation of *sharia* to local conditions, taking into consideration local customs and religious practices, and to implement *sharia* flexibly in its initial phases, forgiving minor transgressions during that period. Al-Qaeda's gradualist approach has been on display in Syria, where its affiliate Jabhat al-Nusra

has repealed bans on cigarette smoking, and has made public displays of punishing fighters who unjustly harm local residents. This approach should not be mistaken for moderation on Nusra's part — there are compelling reports of the group's continuing extremism, especially in its treatment of religious minorities — but Nusra has done a masterful job of concealing its atrocities and maintaining its local image as a populist entity.

Al-Qaeda's population-centric approach has been a major target of derision for the Islamic State, which accuses al-Qaeda of abandoning true Islamic principles by giving "preference to popularity and rationalization."

Overt and Covert Expansion

Military strategy is another area where the Islamic State and al-Qaeda differ. The Islamic State employs an aggressive approach to territorial conquest. The group's willingness to employ force-on-force warfare enabled it to take major territory quickly: Overall, this tactic has borne fruit for the organization, but has also increased the Islamic State's rate of attrition. As the Islamic State has experienced military setbacks, it has moved toward greater use of irregular warfare, a strategic shift that illustrates the group's capacity for adaptation.

The Islamic State's hybrid warfare strategy does not necessarily distinguish it from al-Qaeda, which has employed similar tactics in some theaters. What makes the Islamic State unique is the way it showcases its military operations, using virtually all of them as propaganda pieces. While one function of the Islamic State's military actions is to showcase the group's strength, al-Qaeda has systematically sought to conceal the size of its network and downplay its capabilities. The group has masked its involvement in emerging theatres of conflict and established covert relationships with unacknowledged affiliate organizations like AST.

Consequently, many analysts underestimate al-Qaeda's strength, and counterinsurgent forces have allowed al-Qaeda front groups to thrive in some theaters. Concealing affiliates' relationships with al-Qaeda allows these groups to gain public support and attract resources from individuals and entities that might otherwise be wary of assisting an overt al-Qaeda entity.

Al-Qaeda's military approach and preference for more covert activities is shaped by its patient worldview. Ostentatious, tactical victories that expose the network to attack and undermine its long-term prospects are of little value to the organization from a strategic perspective. In an article published in al-Qaeda's online magazine *Resurgence*, jihadist strategist Abu Ubaydah al-Maqdisi explained the rationale behind this policy of restraint:

A guerilla force may possess the capacity of inflicting huge blows on the enemy, but it may be better for it to restrain from doing so in situations when the reaction of the enemy may be overwhelming.

Essentially, al-Qaeda's senior leadership wants the organization to slowly develop its capabilities and resources in preparation for a longer campaign. At the same time, al-Qaeda leadership instructs its affiliates to begin destabilizing state regimes. This two-pronged strategy of enhancing its capabilities and destabilizing enemy regimes positions al-Qaeda to capitalize on state weakness and collapse in the long term.

A New Jihadist Era

The Islamic State's rise has reshaped the global jihadist landscape, which for nearly two decades was dominated by al-Qaeda. With the Islamic State seizing the world's attention, the age of unipolarity within the jihadist movement is over, replaced by intense internal conflict. Each group is firm in the belief that its organizational model is superior to that of its opponent.

The transnational jihadist movement is likely to be shaped in the coming years by this competition. It is essential that the United States understand the two groups' strategies and pay close attention as their approaches continue to evolve. The United States has tremendous opportunities to exploit the cleavages between the Islamic State and al-Qaeda. But if we fail to understand the two organizations' strengths, weaknesses, and strategic and tactical postures, the jihadist movement may emerge from this period of competition stronger than before.

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http://warontherocks.com/2016/01/the-islamic-state-vs-al-qaeda-the-war-within-the-jihadist-movement/

Analysis: Can Kenya's Security Keep Up With Trade?

15 January 2016

everything254.tumblr.com

By Cameron Evers | From Global Risk Insights

On 17th December 2015, Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta announced that the country will host the second convening of the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation. The meeting, slated for November of next year, aims to align development goals between governments.

On the same day, militants ambushed a police vehicle in the northern city of Lamu, killing two civilians in the process. Al-Shabaab, a Somali terrorist organization, claimed responsibility for the attack.

 Two narratives are unfolding out of the country: one of growth opportunity attractive to foreign investors, and another of terrorism and the Kenyan government grappling with its fight against the Somali *jihadis*.The benefits of Kenyan economic growth are at risk of the fallout over continued terrorism, raising the stakes for how the Kenyans proceed in their national defense measures.

Broad international efforts to assist in Kenya's nonproliferation and counter-terrorism are ongoing, but require necessary final steps in implementation by the Kenyans themselves.

The First East African 'Tiger' Economy Harnesses the Power of Trade

Kenya is a regional trading power on its way to becoming a critical component of African economic resurgence. The liberalization of Kenyan trade policy during the 1980s and 1990s has narrowed the trade deficit overall and exports increased from $500 million in 2000 to $1.25 Billion in 2010.

Manufacturing is the third largest sector of the economy and makes up 11% of GDP. The sector's performance is likely to contribute to Kenya becoming one of the 'post-China 16' manufacturers. Moreover, with the annual GDP growth rate of 5.7%, the nation is facing an overall positive economic outlook. According to the International Monetary Fund, this rate will hit 6% by 2016.

Mombasa, "the city of merchants," is the largest seaport of Kenya, and is a key driver of Kenya's economy. Government initiatives towards infrastructure modernization have maintained the city's status as a trading hub for East Africa as well as parts of Central Africa. Mombasa's strategic location, halfway between the Gulf of Aden and South Africa, has made the city a regional gateway: it sees roughly five million tons of goods coming through its harbors a year, handling 80% of the region's trade. Mombasa is directly connected, via shipping routes, to over 80 ports around the world and is connected inland via a railway that runs to Uganda and Tanzania.

Within Kenya, the port is also connected by rail to two inland container ports, at Nairobi and Kisumu. A larger East African rail-line is planned, beginning in Mombasa and eventually extending to Uganda, South Sudan, and Burundi. The planning of this rail-line is part of a greater project also including the construction of a port and three international airports.

The Threat from the North

The positive factors of growing trade and manufacturing capabilities underscore the impact of security challenges on further growth and the potential for terrorists to exploit Kenya. Since 2011, when the Kenyan Defense Forces entered into the Somali conflict on behalf of the African Union, al-Shabaab has sought retribution by conducting a well-orchestrated near-weekly terror campaign across the country.

Al-Shabaab has organized car-bombings, targeted assassinations, kidnappings, and shootings. The slaughtering of hundreds of civilians in the Westgate Mall attack in September 2013, and the Garissa University College attack in April 2015, were Kenya's largest incidents of terrorism since the 1998 Al-Qaeda bombing of the US embassy.

In 2014, al-Shabaab suffered major setbacks. "Operation Indian Ocean" clamped down on rebels throughout Somalia's countryside and shortly thereafter, a US airstrike in Somalia killed al-Shabaab's top leader, Moktar Ali Zubeyr (*nom de guerre* "Godane"). This was followed by a pledge from the European Union to train 1,200 Somali soldiers, enabling the Somali government to conduct incursions against al-Shabaab.

Yet, the worsening scenario for al-Shabaab inside Somalia has encouraged the organization to spread its terror franchise into Kenya. As the situation worsened for al-Shabaab in Somalia, its attacks intensified further south.

Beyond Kenya's internal security issues lies regional instability in East Africa. Decades of war have left scores of armed groups roaming the frontiers and hinterlands. Both South Sudan and Somalia share borders with Kenya, making transshipment and border control issues critical. Small arms and explosives proliferation from Somalia into Kenya is presently a major security challenge facing Kenyan officials, along with smuggling from South Sudan and Ethiopia.

Alarmingly, Kenya's first report to the United Nations' 1540 Committee (nonproliferation committee) revealed incidents of nuclear smuggling and noted the potential risk that Kenyan territory could be used to illegally transfer WMD-related materials.

The proximity of one of the world's most able terror organizations to Kenya's trade infrastructure, coupled with East African instability at large, raises serious concerns about the security of the growing supply chains that connect the Kenyan economy together.

As former Director of the Center for International Trade and Security (CITS), Dr. William Keller, noted in 2012: "The potential exists [in Kenya] at any time for violence or sabotage, perhaps perpetrated by sub-state groups located near the borders with Somalia or Ethiopia."

Robust International Efforts Signal Resolve, but Require Follow-Through

There are currently several cooperative international efforts underway. The US State Department, in conjunction with CITS, hosted several training sessions with key Kenyan delegates regarding strategic trade controls in Nairobi and Washington DC.

Many governmental, non-governmental, and private sector chemical and biological organizations have likewise cooperated with Kenya to further the creation of a strategic trade control system. Such a regime would require the involvement of a network of government ministries and trained government officials, supported by a comprehensive legal framework.

On the counterterrorism front, similar efforts have been required, but met by both Kenya and its partners in much more tangible ways. American military and counter-terror assistance programs are currently in effect, mandated to train, arm, and advise Kenyan counter-terrorism.

According to the Security Assistance Monitor, a project of the US-based think-tank the Center for International Policy, Kenya received $42.5 Million in military aid, $23.2 Million in weapons transfers, and the instruction for 264 trainees in 2014 and 2015.

The end-game is in favor of Nairobi, owing to the wearing down of Al-Shabaab which contrasts with the continued, strengthened international support delivered to Kenya. Moreover, while Kenyan institutional effectiveness will be tested and challenged by Al-Shabaab in the next years, the setbacks faced by the core structure of Al-Shabaab indicate a shorter lifespan for the insurgents than for the resilient Kenyan economy.

The effectiveness of assistance efforts will ultimately depend upon Kenya's political will and institutional capability to maintain these initiatives long after international partners have returned home.

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Pourquoi Boko Haram a perdu la bataille militaire mais pas la guerre

L'armée nigériane a vaincu les insurgés islamistes. Mais la crise n'est pas résolue au Nigeria.

le 06/01/2016

Des femmes manifestent pour la liberté des lycéennes de Chibok, le 1er janvier 2016. Photo: REUTERS/Afolabi Sotunde

Au Nigeria, le président Muhammadu Buhari a voulu endosser le costume de père Noël et déposer un gros cadeau au pied du sapin pour ses concitoyens (et électeurs). Mais en déchirant l'emballage surprise, le jouet n'est plus aussi attrayant que prévu.

A lire aussi: Boko Haram est au bord de l'explosion

Le 24 décembre, Buhari a annoncé dans une interview à la BBC que l'armée nigériane avait *"techniquement vaincu"* les combattants de Boko Haram, après plusieurs mois de luttes intenses dans le nord-est du pays. Le président a ajouté que le groupe terroriste ne pourrait désormais plus mener *"d'attaques conventionnelles"* contre les forces de sécurité où des villes. Le gouvernement envisage même de fermer les camps de réfugiés sur son territoire, arguant que le Nigérians qui ont quitté certaines zones du nord-est peuvent aujourd'hui y retourner en toute sécurité.

Mais si, il est indubitable que Boko Haram est aujourd'hui considérablement affaiblie d'un point de vue militaire, l'organisation n'a pas disparu.

"Le gouvernement ne peut pas s'autoriser à considérer la défaite militaire de la secte comme une résolution de la crise dans le nord-est du Nigeria", analyse le site d'informations Quartz.

Multiplication d'attaques suicides

Le groupe terroriste qui a perdu le bras de fer avec l'armée nigériane dans la confrontation directe sur le terrain, n'est plus aujourd'hui dans une logique de contrôle d'un territoire, comme l'Etat islamique en Syrie-Irak, mais est revenu à une tactique d'attaques éclairs menées contre des populations et les forces de sécurité. Boko Haram a ainsi multiplié ces derniers mois les attentats suicides qui visent uniquement à faire un maximum de victimes. Rien que ces derniers jours, deux kamikazes ont fait 30 morts à Maiduguri et 25 à Madagali dans des attaques à la bombe.

"En matière de sécurité dans le nord-est, une définition plus large de la "sécurité" doit être adoptée", écrit le site Quartz. *Ce n'est pas suffisant d'affaiblir les capacités opérationnelles de Boko Haram, les citoyens du nord-est doivent aussi être assistés pour rebâtir leurs maisons, pour revitaliser leur économie et réétablir les routes commerciales".*

En définitive, pour vaincre Boko Haram, il faut appauvrir le terreau favorable à l'existence de l'organisation: la pauvreté, l'exclusion des populations rurales du boom économique, et combattre par l'éducation la propagande idéologique de la secte islamique.

http://www.slateafrique.com/641999/boko-haram-perdu-la-bataille-militaire-mais-pas-la-guerre

La jonction Boko Haram - Daesh est-elle probable?

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Le monde redoute une jonction de deux organisations terroristes, Boko Haram et Daesh sur les terres africaines

La jonction redoutée en territoire africain entre les deux groupes terroristes alliés,

Boko Haram et Daesh, est "improbable", selon Léon Koungou, auteur du livre "Boko Haram, le Cameroun à l'épreuve des menaces", dans un entretien avec Anadolu.

L'improbabilité de ce scénario est à chercher dans les bases fragiles qui rattachent **Boko Haram**à **Daesh**, mais également dans "la détermination" occidentale à prendre "le problème à bras le corps", selon des sources concordantes.

"Cette alliance ne risque pas d'avoir de conséquences immédiates en termes de collaboration et d'opérations conjointes. En réalité, il pourrait même s'agir d'un appel à l'aide, vu la série de défaites essuyées par Boko Haram" prédisait déjà en mars l'éditorialiste du Guardian, Simon Tisdall dans un article "l'alliance Daech-Boko Haram n'est rien de plus qu'une propagande superficielle".

En mars 2015, Boko Haram prêtait allégeance au groupe terroriste Daesh, alors au summum de sa puissance et étendant ses tentacules sur de vastes territoires en Syrie et en Irak. Boko Haram devenait la "Province" de Daesh en Afrique de l'Ouest, alors que les armées de 4 Etats (Cameroun, Niger, Nigéria, et Tchad) guerroyaient contre ses troupes depuis le début de l'année en leur infligeant de lourdes pertes.

Pour Léon Koungou, l'improbabilité de la jonction réside déjà dans la nature de l'alliance prêtée, à caractère "purement opportuniste" et qui "intervient au moment où la stratégie de lutte intégrée des Etats (...) se met partiellement en marche sur le plan opérationnel."

Dans la même période, souligne cet expert, le partenariat bilatéral entre le Cameroun et le Tchad s'est déclenché avec l'opération Logone qui a vu un contingent tchadien arriver au Nord-Cameroun pour soutenir les forces camerounaises (6000 hommes). Une "inflexion de la souveraineté" a en outre permis au Tchad d'intervenir en territoire nigérian et de reprendre certaines localités occupées par Boko Haram.

"Tous ces aspects ont vu le renversement du rapport de force, alors devenu défavorable à Boko Haram, d'où l'allégeance à Daesh. De la guerre presque conventionnelle observée dès janvier 2015, on est revenu au registre du terrorisme classique avec les attaques kamikazes. Il convient alors de souligner que l'allégeance à Daesh n'augurait pas une montée en puissance sur le plan conventionnel", poursuit Koungou.

Pour autant, la jonction interpelle les analystes après les défaites infligées au groupe terroriste Daesh en Syrie et en Irak. Fin décembre dernier, il se faisait déloger de la ville irakienne de Ramadi (Centre), par les troupes irakiennes aidées des forces américaines. Par ailleurs, l'intervention russe entamée fin septembre dernier se proposait pour objectif de "rayer" ce groupe de la carte. D'où la crainte de voir la Libye, où Daesh a ouvert sa première succursale en juin 2014 à Syrte, se transformer en base arrière du terrorisme daechien, avec un Boko Haram qui accourrerait à la rescousse.

De fait, un nombre évoluant entre 80 et 200 membres de Boko Haram seraient déjà dans la ville Libyenne de Syrte, à en croire l'analyste nigérian Jacob Zenn dans un article publié par "The Sentinel magazine" édité par la Jamestown Foundation, basée à Washington. A ce constat s'ajoutent des rapports de presse, relayés notamment par le New York Post, faisant état de "milliers de suspects arrêtés alors qu'ils étaient en train de quitter le Nigéria", probablement vers le sol libyen.

Ce scénario de jonction est certes "redouté" car la zone s'érigerait alors en base-arrière du terrorisme international dont les actions seraient prioritairement portées vers les intérêts occidentaux, selon Koungou. D'autant plus qu'un foisonnement avec d'autres organisations terroristes pourrait s'opérer en raison de l'opportunisme de ces groupes qui n'excluent pas les volte-faces.

"Pour ces acteurs, Al-Qaida et Daesh, sont d'abord des labels qui peuvent être mis à contribution pour des entreprises purement crapuleuses", explique Koungou. Il s'en suit que ces groupes "nouent des alliances en fonction des intérêts et des conjonctures."

Mais l'improbabilité du scénario tient également pour Koungou à l'attitude occidentale, notamment française, qui aurait "pris le problème à bras-le-corps."

"La France a installé à Madama (Nord-Niger, sur les frontières libyennes) une base avancée de sa force régionale Barkhane. Du point de vue géographique, la Base de Madama tout comme le territoire nigérien sous contrôle de l'opération Barkhane, est une zone tampon", analyse-t-il.

Ainsi, tant la montée en puissance de Barkhane, la mise en oeuvre de la force régionale mixte des Etats de la région, la reprise de la coopération militaire, gelée en 2014, entre les puissances occidentales (Etats-Unis, France) et le Nigeria, le déploiement annoncé de 300 militaires américains au Cameroun pour aider à la lutte contre Boko Haram, la mise en oeuvre de l'initiative G5-Sahel (échange d'information et de renseignement) "rendent difficiles toute jonction entre groupuscules djihadistes évoluant dans la zone sahélo-saharienne."

"La stratégie de lutte intégrée dans le cadre sous-régional et l'action opérationnelle de la France ne permettent pas la jonction des forces djihadistes. L'Occident a pris conscience de la dangerosité d'un tel scénario", résume l'expert camerounais.(AA)

News Analysis: Boko Haram still a hard nut to crack for Nigeria

2016-1-1

ABUJA, Dec. 29 (Xinhua) -- Nigeria's fight to end the Boko Haram insurgency with billions of U.S. dollars committed is yielding results this year, but the Islamist group has proved to be a hard nut to crack.

President Muhammadu Buhari said last week Nigeria had "technically" won the war against Boko Haram.

"Boko Haram has reverted to using improvised explosive devices... Boko Haram as an organised fighting force, I assure you, that we have dealt with them," said the president.

The president said Boko Haram had been degraded compared to the near-war situation the sect subjected the country to same time last year.

The army has retaken many areas previously controlled by Boko Haram in the northern region where normalcy is returning with students going back to schools, burned houses being built, markets being reconstructed and hustling and bustling taking place.

In an interview with Xinhua, Defense Chief Gen. Gabriel Olonishakin said the ongoing operations against Boko Haram was "satisfactory" and "well on course".

"The army has made so much progress and their assessment has been fair so far. Of course, we recorded some losses and these losses are inevitable in operations," he said.

However, just in the past four days since Dec. 25, at least 70 people have been killed in attacks, including suicide blasts, carried out by Boko Haram.

And in the last six months, more than 2,000 people have been killed by the militant group as it intensified its assaults.

There are also fears the group is actually growing stronger given the scale of the recent waves of bloody attacks.

From killing and abducting more people to attacking military bases, from carrying out blasts in the Nigerian capital Abuja to spreading to neighboring Chad, Cameroon and Niger, the group has made strong statements it is unwavering in its goal of establishing an Islamic State.

Following its allegiance to the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) in March this year, Boko Haram's tactics have changed as the group has launched various social media channels to spread its propaganda for its campaign of violence, according to Adeyinka Arowolo, a security expert.

The expert said the group had become more active after it was referred to as the ISIL's West Africa Province (ISWAP) and grown stronger in its attacks.

He said since terrorism is a global issue, Nigeria needs to get support in terms of

military industrial complex, weaponry and intelligence in order to eliminate Boko Haram's source of development.

"Nigeria needs a sophisticated and technological system of surveillance which will, first of all, give the government an upper hand militarily, then after having the upper hand militarily, the country can begin to address the genuine issues of socio-economic development," he said.

Due to the peculiarities of terrorism, Nigeria will continue to seek help from neighboring countries in order to overcome Boko Haram, says a recent presidency statement.

It adds Nigeria would also need the assistance of other nations and multilateral institutions to rehabilitate displaced people and rebuild areas that have been badly affected by the Boko Haram insurgency.

http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-12/30/c_134962584.htm

CHIBOK GIRLS: BETWEEN PRESIDENTIAL BLUNTNESS AND PUBLIC DELUSION

Chibok girls: Between Presidential Bluntness And Public Delusion

Andrew Oota

— *Jan 9, 2016 5:49 am* | Leave a comment

One issue that has remained in the public domain and which is not likely to fizzle out soon is the over 200 secondary school girls who were kidnapped from Chibok in Borno State in 2014. President Muhammadu Buhari has said his government is yet to obtain a credible intelligence report on the missing School girls and, this has elicited much reactions from the public. ANDREW OOTA takes a look at the mixed reactions and the efforts of the present administration to resettle displaced inhabitants of the North East.

President Muhammadu Buhari in an honest point of view stated that he was still expecting a credible intelligence report on the missing school girls from Chibok in Borno State. This has elicited much reactions even as a departure from the promises of the previous government that it had located the missing girls and was closing in on their abductors.

To some people, the President's response was honest and sincere; there are those that have questioned the capacity of the intelligence gathering agencies of the country at a time the nation is being faced with various degrees of challenges particularly insecurity; others are using the President's position to cover some political millage and there is also a sections of the society that strongly believes that the best opportunity to rescue the missing girls was bungled by the last administration when the world powers moved in immediately to provide both intelligence and personnel but

met a brick wall due to lack of political will and commitment on the part of the then Nigerian government under President Goodluck Jonathan.

It is important to recall that several expert's opinion on cases similar to the unfortunate scenario of the abduction of the Chibok school girls by the Boko Haram extremists points to the fact that once there is a window of reasonable time in between the time of abduction of such nature and the commencement of a rescue mission, the chances of possible successful mission are very slim.

It would be recalled that former President Jonathan had confessed during one of his Presidential media chats, that even as President and Commander In Chief, he did not believe the information presented to him by his intelligence personnel that the girls were actually taken away from a school in Chibok and that accounts for the lateness in the rescue mission ; but the mission itself was not predicated on sincerity and commitment which led to withdrawal of support, intelligence, training and equipment that the world powers such as United States of America, USA ,Germany, China , United Kingdom, UK and others, had pledged.

The situation deteriorated to a point that the USA took a swipe on the Jonathan government as one that was not interested in the fight against the dreaded Boko Haram.

While it is pathetic and unacceptable that two years after, there is no credible intelligence report regarding the whereabouts of the missing girls as anchored by the Bring Back Our Girls convener, Dr Oby Ezekwesili, the President's position was what a responsible government must always uphold, which is honesty, integrity and transparent about developments giving the realities of such situations; this to many analysts , did not foreclose the search, what it only did was to present the true position while those charged with the responsibility of providing the credible intelligence information that the President needs to work with, will continue the search and this was abundantly made clear when President Buhari said "I could recall that so many leadership of Boko Haram existed."

He continued, "But we insisted on establishing the bonafide leadership of the so-called Boko Haram leadership before we can agree to negotiate with them on what terms will be of interest to us before we can take them to their schools. Secondly, we want to ensure that they are complete, 209 and they are safe and sound. But what we also found out talking to a lot of sources is that, no Chibok girl has been recovered, they must have dispersed them all over the place, and we wanted as far as humanly possible.

"Although some of their parents are desperate they would rather see their graves or the conditions some of them should be in. We are still keeping our options open, that if a credible leadership of Boko Haram can be established and they tell us where those girls are we are prepared to negotiate with them without any pre-condition.

"This we have made it absolutely clear, but where they are keeping the Chibok girls, they must not get away with the idea that we will not attempt to secure the rest of Nigeria, " said President Buhari.

The missing Chibok school girls were a price the country had to pay for inefficiency, incompetence and lack of political will on the part of the previous administration under President Goodluck Jonathan, the inability of the past administration to take

decisive measures in containing the insurgency at its very tender stage despite advises from past leaders and security experts, snowballed into what became formidable and could take over parts of the Nigerian state and hoist flags.

It is important to note that the contents of the President Olusegun Obasanjo's private-public letter to former President Jonathan where Chief Obasanjo stated that President Jonathan's refusal to take decisive actions to halt the spread of Boko Haram and tackle it with commitment and patriotism, was for political reasons, particularly the 2015 general elections, are some of the revelations that should automatically qualify President Jonathan as candidate for crime against humanity by the International Court of Justice , giving the number of lives that were lost to activities of the insurgents in the country.

The seemingly deliberate refusal of the former President to activate his foreign policy and run a ring of neighbouring countries to rout the insurgents were some of the inefficiencies that led to the alarming rate of destruction and havoc that the Boko Haram wrecked on the country, particularly the North East region of Adamawa, Borno, Yobe, Gombe, Taraba and Bauchi States.

The most unfortunate developments were the wrong assumptions where the neighbouring countries saw the Boko Haram insurgents as a Nigerian problem while the former President viewed it as political and a problem of the northern states that were mostly in opposition at that time.

Suffice to say that the steps taken by the present administration when the President stated during his maiden Presidential media chat that, "I'm working with Niger, Chad and the Cameroon and I assure you that the question of Chibok girls is only on our minds for even humanitarian reasons, but there is no such intelligence reports of where those girls are physically are and in what condition they are in, but what we believe in from our intelligence, is that they keep shifting them around so that they are not taken by surprise until the girls are freed, and they are not kept in one place," was what the former President needed to do, particularly when the leader of Boko Haram had said in a well circulated video that the girls were married out to his members and that they were not within the country.

The questions before President Buhari during the Presidential media chat as far as the issues of the missing Chibok school girls was concerned, were just scratching the surface of the price that Nigerians collectively had to pay for ineptitude of the last administration and this can be located in the direction of the destruction of economic fortunes of the North East region where millions of innocent Nigerians, young and the old, were made refugees in their own country, where many in their millions were mindlessly slaughtered , maimed and in some cases, burnt to death.

This quantum destructive collateral damage that the Boko Haram insurgents melted on Nigerians through bombing of places of worship, military and Police bases, institutions , motor parks, abduction of both school and other innocent Nigerians , destruction of means of livelihood of Nigerians and homes, which either forced many to their early graves, left many orphans and some refugees , unfortunately again, became a conduit for some Nigerians under the guise of arms procurement through the office of the former National Security Adviser, NSA, Sambo Dasuki.

It would be recalled that aside from the controversy surrounding the arms deal where monies meant for procurement of weapons to defeat insurgents were be-

lieved to have been diverted into other things as revealed in the cause of prosecution of the former NSA, huge sums of cash were intercepted by the South-African government, which the present administration has not commenced investigations.

These and many more, are responsible for the over two million people presently displaced as casualties of the activities of insurgents across the country and, it was on this grounds that President Buhari stated that, "there are about two million internally displaced persons in different camps in the country, with mostly in Borno State, with over 70 per cent of those being women and children. Over 65 per cent of the children are orphaned, their parents have been killed some of them don't even know from where they are, this is how pathetic the situation is today.

"The federal government came in and met efforts where some Nigerians contributed money, the Dangotes, the Lt. General TY Danjuma and a number of people and about N25 billion was raised, there was a committee that would supervise how the monies could be utilized to rehabilitate the IDPs. You could recall that the week I was sworn in, I went to Chad, Niger, I was to go to Cameron when I was asked by the G-7 to meet them in Germany within the week I went and saw them and I was impressed with the goodwill they have for Nigeria on this issue, and my coming back we sent our shopping list in terms of the infrastructure destroyed, burnt schools, burnt health centres, towns and so on, and they promised to help.

"Remember that the G-7 has sent teams on ground, they have given some hard and soft military wares and that we have directed them to meet with mostly the Borno State government officials who can take them to affected local governments where there were these problems. And what I deliberately did that so that we do not create the impression that we want cash, but what we recommend is for those countries that intend to help to send people to verify and quantify the damage done to infrastructure and volunteer what they will do, at least some coordination is created, " Buhari disclosed.

It is worthy of mentioning that soon after expressing the need for coordination of funds for the rehabilitation of the devastated North East and reintegration of the millions of Nigerians presently internally displaced, the President named General Theophilus Yakubu Danjuma, who would supervise every presidential interventions and initiatives aimed to rehabilitate Internally Displaced Persons, (IDPs), in Nigeria.

Vice President Yemi Osinbajo revealed this during the Northern Reawakening Forum organised to rebuild the 19 northern states affected by the insurgency Osinbajo said there was need to streamline all interventions including the Presidential Initiative on IDPs for better impact.

The Vice President, who stated that about 10 northern states remained the poorest in the country, emphasised that the new administration is committed to repair the damage. He said the social safety nets, Conditional Cash Transfer, (CCT), one meal daily for school children should be top priority among all the interventions, stressing that the north bears most consequence of poverty.

His words, "We have been working on interventions in the north east due to immediacy of the crisis in that axis but the problem of diseases and poverty were exacerbated by the Boko Haram insurgency , close detailed, analysis and plans on the north east has been done in collaboration with some development organisations.

"We have government interventions such as presidential initiative on the north east, victims support group among others. Now that all the federal government initiatives are now under the chairmanship of General TY Danjuma. We hope that streamlining these efforts this way will help control immediate deliveries of succour to many of the problems currently in the north east," Osinbajo disclosed.

It is imperative to stress further that the disposition of the executive arm of government to rehabilitate the North East and streamline coordination of all interventions for proper and judicious application calls to mind the source of funding for the North East Commission, if eventually signed into law by the President after the harmonised version of the Bill would be passed by the two chambers of the National Assembly.

The Senate is proposing the equivalent of 15 per cent of the total monthly statutory allocation due to all the states in the North-East from the Federation Account as federal government contribution to the North-East Development Commission, when the agency fully comes on board anytime this year.

The upper legislative chamber is also asking for 3 per cent of the total annual budget of any Solid Minerals extraction mining company operating in the troubled North-East states including agricultural processing companies as a source of funding of the commission as well as 50 per cent of monies due to member states of the Commission from the Ecological Fund.

If the bill is passed and signed into law, the Commission will have such monies granted or lent to , or deposited with the commission by the federal government or a state government , any other body or institution, whether local or foreign.

While the Commission, which would have a legal backing to rehabilitate the North East region, is still in the making, but above all its sources of funding, the Danjuma Committee would effectively hold forth and, this underscores the level of damage caused in the region and the country at large, largely because of the ineptitude and lack of political will to do what is right.

The wait for a credible intelligence report on the whereabouts of the missing Chibok school girls is quite unacceptable , but the overall havoc caused by the insurgents is even more devastating and the measures announced by the present government in the twin approach of fighting insurgents and at the same time it commitment to rehabilitating the region are quite encouraging.

http://leadership.ng/features/s

International Organisations

EU

Africa: New EU-Funded Project to Help Counter Transnational Organised Crime in Africa

12 January 2016

Over the next three years, the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) and its partners will be working across Africa to better understand transnational organised crime, and how to deal with it. In November 2015, the European Union (EU) Commission awarded the ISS, UN Office on Drugs and Crime and INTERPOL a grant to enhance African capacity to respond more effectively to transnational organised crime.

Using evidence-based analysis of its scale and impact on security, governance and development, the project will improve understanding of transnational organised crime in Africa. Its key contribution will be strengthening the ability of government and civil society to counter the problem and mitigate its effects.

Transnational organised crime includes the trafficking and sale of illicit commodities such as drugs, weapons, human beings, wildlife products, oil, etc. as well as emerging threats like cybercrime. Operations are run by fluid networks of local and international individuals and groups, working in both legitimate and illegitimate spaces, and who may profit at vastly different scales.

'Transnational organised crime is globally recognised as a critical threat to security, development and governance', says Cheryl Frank, head of the Transnational Threats and International Crime division at the ISS. 'In Africa, the impact is especially crippling'.

Policy must be guided by an evidence-based analysis of the scale and impact of organised crime

The link between organised crime and political power can become so entrenched that states may themselves serve the narrow interests of a criminal and political elite. Key institutions, including those responsible for upholding the law, can become weak or immobilised.

Dealing with the problem is a priority for the Joint Africa-EU Strategy - the EU's partnership with Africa to strengthen economic cooperation and promote sustainable development. At the 4th Africa-EU Summit in April 2014, leaders from both continents reaffirmed their commitment to fight international threats to peace and stability, including transnational organised crime.

'Organised crime is undeniably linked to other threats to continental peace and stability, including terrorism and conflict', says Frank. The local contexts bring further challenges, not least when institutional capacity is limited and more immediate problems such as poverty and unemployment may dominate. 'In fact, organised crime may offer short-term solutions to these problems where the state and legitimate business are unable to do so.'

Given its complex nature, African and international actors need evidence-based information about transnational organised crime in order to develop policies that can work. Effective responses will depend not only on governments but also on the active involvement of African citizens, the media, organised civil society and business.

'Each of our organisations will contribute their unique capacity, networks and continental reach to ensure that the project achieves its objectives', says Frank. Work will be carried out from several bases across the continent namely Pretoria, Addis Ababa, Nairobi, Dakar, Abidjan, Yaoundé and Harare.

http://allafrica.com/stories/201601121332.html

Le terrorisme à l'ombre du capitalisme financier : un business qui rapporte gros

  Le complexe militaro-industriel américain a besoin de conflits pour vendre ses armes. Ici un soldat US sur la statue de Saddam Hussein.

La mondialisation qui a signé la victoire de l'Economie de marché suite à l'effondrement de l'Union soviétique et du Bloc de l'Est en 1991, s'est en fin de compte transformée en cauchemar pour les travailleurs et les peuples du Sud. Elle n'a apporté que désillusions et pauvreté pour la majorité et un enrichissement sans fin pour une minorité. Cette mondialisation se fait aujourd'hui à l'ère du capitalisme financier, en crise, qui a du mal à cacher son agressivité et qui fait bon ménage avec le terrorisme, ce nouveau business qui rapporte gros.

Inédit : un Etat illégal, prétendu islamique (EI) ou Daech, contrôlant une superficie de près de 90.000 km2 (en Irak, Syrie), s'accapare de puits de pétrole par l'usage de la force. Il semble servir de bras armé à des groupes financiers puissants, dans leur guerre secrète et/ou apparente pour le contrôle des ressources énergétiques (pétrole et gaz) au Proche-Orient et en Afrique. Ces guerres exacerbent les luttes d'intérêt économique au niveau mondial qui sont les véritables enjeux de ces nouveaux conflits.

Guerre contre le terrorisme ou guerre du pétrole ?

"La lutte contre Daech" et les autres groupes terroristes ne doit pas cacher le fait que les actions de ces derniers, servent les intérêts de puissances impérialistes et de leurs alliés, dans leurs plans pour s'assurer des ressources à bon marché et le contrôle des voies d'accès et de transport de l'énergie (gazoducs), afin d'empêcher les économies concurrentes des BRICS (Brésil, Russie, Inde, Chine, Afrique du Sud) d'y avoir accès et celles des pays du Sud de pouvoir les utiliser souverainement pour leur propre

développement.

Les conflits autour du pétrole ont certes toujours existé, mais cette fois, en cette période de diminution des ressources et de crise du système capitaliste, de nouvelles guerres de reconquête ou de recolonisation, au profit des forces de l'Argent (multinationales et rente), sont menées non pas directement par les armées qu'il devient coûteux et difficile de lever pour les pays impérialistes, mais par le mercenariat, avec un habillage politico-religieux (islamisme wahhabite) qui sert de caution morale aux actions terroristes les plus barbares, pour terroriser les populations, obliger les gouvernements des pays ciblés à adopter une politique économique et énergétique à leur profit exclusif et les rendre impuissants face aux plans de démembrement de toute la région.

Si dans les années 1970/90, les actions des islamistes armés visaient à provoquer des changements politiques dans un sens favorable au capitalisme, après la victoire de celui-ci, suite à la chute du communisme et du Bloc de l'Est en 1991, l'impérialisme américain avait besoin de désigner un autre ennemi à "abattre" pour justifier son hégémonie sur le monde. L'islamisme fut alors un bon alibi et le 11 Septembre 2001, une bonne occasion pour commencer l'invasion de l'Irak en 2003, qui sera suivie de celle d'autres régimes laïcs et nationalistes (Syrie, Libye, Yémen), avec le soutien actif de ses alliés des pays du Golfe.

"Le terrorisme : stade suprême de la mondialisation"

Tout comme le 11 septembre américain, "le 11 Septembre français" (attentats de Paris du 13 novembre 2015), ne signe-t-il pas lui aussi le début de nouvelles guerres d'invasion, de reconquêtes coloniales, de pressions, de menaces, pour satisfaire les besoins – sans limite - du capital, des multinationales, surtout celles de l'armement et de l'énergie ? "La guerre mondiale contre le terrorisme" déclarée à Washington et à Paris, ne vise-t-elle pas à faire oublier la nécessaire lutte contre les monopoles oligarchiques ? Car au fond, le capitalisme semble faire bon ménage avec le terrorisme, un nouveau business qui rapporte gros!

Les rapports capitalisme-terrorisme ont été mis en évidence par des analystes comme Richard Labévière, qui dans un entretien à "L'Orient Le Jour", soutient que "Daech et le terrorisme sont indispensables au capitalisme", que "le terrorisme"» est devenu le stade suprême de la mondialisation", qu'il est "nécessaire à l'évolution du système capitaliste lui-même en crise, mais qui se reconfigure en permanence en gérant la crise", pour permettre le redéploiement du Capital.

Il ajoute que "le terrorisme est organiquement lié à l'évolution du capitalisme mondialisé" et que "si Daech n'existait pas, il faudrait l'inventer", car il "permet de maintenir une croissance du budget militaire, des millions d'emplois de sous-traitance dans le complexe militaro-industriel américain, dans la communication, dans l'évolution des contractors. La sécurité et son maintien est devenue un secteur économique à part entière" et l'on assiste à "la gestion du chaos constructif", où "Daech n'est donc pas éradiqué mais entretenu parce que cela sert l'ensemble de ces intérêts".

Abondant dans le même sens, le journaliste et analyste américain Caleb Maupin, cité par Sputink, affirme que si "la défaite de l'Etat islamique est souhaitée par tout le monde, aussi bien aux Etats-Unis qu'en Russie (...) Cependant, le gouvernement américain continue d'être hostile aux forces qui combattent activement l'EI sur le

champ de bataille. Cette politique pernicieuse est dictée par l'oligarchie financière, (…) qui n'est dévouée ni aux Etats-Unis, ni au peuple américain, ni à la paix universelle". Cette oligarchie est formée par «les élites financières qui ont surgi au sein du capitalisme mondial(…) Quand ISIS devient plus forte, ils regardent leurs profits monter en flèche", à Wall Street, souligne t-il.

Il ajoute que "les terroristes se fournissent en armes auprès des pays du Proche-Orient, comme l'Arabie Saoudite, les Emirats arabes unis, le Bahreïn et le Qatar "qui coopèrent étroitement avec de grandes compagnies pétrolières américaines" comme "Exxon Mobile et d'autres groupes pétroliers influents des Etats-Unis". Ces derniers ont d'ailleurs augmenté leurs ventes d'armes en 2014, de près de 10 milliards $ en 2014, soit 36,2 milliards $ (contre 26,7 milliards $ en 2013), selon le "Washington Times". Ces hausses sont liées à des accords de plusieurs milliards de dollars avec les monarchies du Golfe en particulier, ce qui permet aux Etats-Unis de confirmer leur première place de marchands d'armes, avec plus de 50% du marché mondial.

Les complicités de certains pays avec Daech, ont par ailleurs été mises à nu par le Président de la Russie, dont le retour en force sur la scène proche-orientale a bousculé et freiné les projets de ce groupe et de ses commanditaires. Vladimir Poutine a dénoncé cette duplicité lors du sommet du G20 à Antalya (Turquie), au lendemain des attentats de Paris du 13 septembre, affirmant que son pays détient «des informations concernant le financement de différentes structures de Daech par des personnes physiques» et «que ce financement provenait de 40 pays, dont certains pays membres du G20". Il s'est avéré que le pétrole de Daech est vendu à très bas prix au marché noir à la Turquie, la Jordanie et Israël et bien d'autres encore.

Selon le centre de recherche IHS cité par l'agence Sputink, "les revenus mensuels de Daech à la fin de l'année 2015 sont estimés à environ 80 millions de dollars", précisant que "la plupart des revenus, environ 50%, proviennent des impôts sur l'activité commerciale des organisations situées sur les territoires sous contrôle de Daech et de confiscation des terres et de propriétés, alors que 43% proviennent des impôts sur la vente de pétrole. Le reste provient du trafic de drogues, de la vente illicite des antiquités, de la fourniture d'énergie et des donations". Pour sa part le ministère russe de la Défense avait déclaré lors d'une conférence de presse le 2 décembre que "les frappes russes avaient permis de diviser par deux les revenus journaliers des terroristes provenant du pétrole, les faisant passer de 3 à 1,5 millions de dollars par jour".

Mais la lutte contre le terrorisme, a servi encore une fois, lors des attentats de Paris, de prétexte pour déclencher des actions islamophobes en Europe et aux Etats Unis (où le candidat aux Présidentielles Donald Trump est allé jusqu'à proposer l'interdiction d'entrée aux musulmans). L'islamophobie, après chaque attentat, ne sert-elle pas à détourner les enquêteurs et l'opinion publique des véritables commanditaires de telles actions pour les braquer sur les exécutants, les seconds couteaux, facilement identifiables, pour jeter l'opprobre sur les musulmans et aussi diviser entre ces derniers et les autres croyants et citoyens !

"Pourquoi mène-t-on une campagne de haine contre les musulmans ? s'est interrogé le Prof Michel Chossudovsky (CA Mondialisation) avant de répondre : "Comme par hasard, plus de 60 % des réserves mondiales de pétrole brut se trouvent dans des pays musulmans. Et les projets impérialistes US consistent à s'approprier le contrôle de ces réserves mondiales de pétrole". Il poursuit : "La diffamation des musulmans à laquelle se livrent les pays occidentaux sert des visées impérialistes, elle est un

moyen permettant de justifier la déstabilisation des pays musulmans sous prétexte humanitaire. Citons le cas de l'Iraq, de la Syrie, de la Libye, du Nigéria et du Yémen. La diabolisation sert des objectifs géopolitiques et économiques" et de souligner : "Les pays qui possèdent de grandes réserves de brut sont destinés à être déstabilisés".

Le terrorisme évolue aujourd'hui à l'ombre du capitalisme financier qui traverse une crise financière depuis 2007- 2008 (Subprimes) d'abord aux USA, puis en Europe où sévit depuis 2011 la crise de l'endettement. Ce système cherche par tous les moyens à accroître ses profits au détriment de l'investissement productif et de la création d'emplois. Contrairement au capitalisme industriel, producteur de richesses et d'industrie (Allemagne, Japon, Chine), le capitalisme financier (anglo-saxon) s'oriente, lui, vers des produits spéculatifs (Bourse, Fonds d'investissements), sources de bénéfices pour les propriétaires et les actionnaires des sociétés.

Concentration des capitaux et déshumanitation

Les capitaux se concentrent de plus en plus entre les mains de quelques banques privées et quelques entreprises, surtout celles de l'armement, de l'énergie, des TIC, comme l'illustre la liste Forbes des 400 personnes les plus riches aux États-Unis, dont les fortunes s'élèvent à 2290 milliards de dollars en 2014. Une partie de ces capitaux ne prend t- elle pas la direction des paradis fiscaux, comme révélé par le scandale de la Banque anglaise HSBC par "Swissleaks" ? Pourquoi ces banques et les entreprises qui traitent ou sous traitent avec les groupes terroristes ne font t elles pas l'objet d'enquêtes de la part de l'ONU ?

Le développement du capitalisme depuis ces 30 dernières années est marqué par le "capitalisme des oligopoles ou monopoles généralisés", selon l'économiste Samir Amin. "On assiste a-t-il dit, dans une interview au journal "Le Grand Soir", à une centralisation du capital sans commune mesure" avec "aujourd'hui 500 oligopoles dont les décisions contrôlent toute l'économie mondiale, dominant en amont et en aval tous les secteurs dont ils ne sont pas directement propriétaires".

Les fusions- acquisitions de sociétés, ont enregistré en 2015, selon Reuters, près de 4.600 milliards de dollars, soit un record depuis 1980, avec des transactions supérieures à 5 milliards de dollars, qui ont bondi de 54%. Les Etats-Unis à eux seuls totalisent 2.300 milliards de dollars, soit la moitié du marché mondial de ces transactions, réalisées par les banques d'affaires, dont l'américaine Goldman Sachs, en tête, avec 1.728 milliards de dollars d'opérations.

Si le socialisme avait été vilipendé par les libéraux, pour son absence de liberté, le capitalisme qui règne aujourd'hui sur la planète, a quant à lui, relégué l'être humain au rang de marchandise et de la seule valeur qu'il connaisse : L'Argent ! La crise morale qui sévit aujourd'hui n'est- elle pas celle de la société capitaliste, suite à la substitution de l'Argent dans les relations humaines ? Il ne s'agit pas d'un «choc de cultures ou de civilisations», mais d'une crise de valeurs du système capitaliste financier, qui n'a plus rien à proposer aux gens que de gagner de l'argent, toujours plus d'argent, plus vite et par tous les moyens, quitte à tuer et à massacrer !

L'Argent, est devenu le symbole de la réussite, la base de toute relation dans la société consumériste où les citoyens sont vus comme de simples clients, de simples numéros de cartes de crédits ! Même la sphère culturelle censée véhiculer des va-

leurs non matérielles, n'échappe pas à la "marchandisation". L'Argent est devenu roi, il est devenu Dieu et ceux qui ne peuvent en gagner sont culpabilisés et poussés au désespoir.

L'Argent sert aussi à une corruption généralisée, aussi bien de simples individus, que des entreprises, des banques, des organisations sociales, des partis, des médias que des Etats qui ont érigé cette pratique en mode de Gouvernance. Pour l'obtention de marchés, de contrats et d'avantages, on n'hésite pas à sortir le chéquier pour écarter les concurrents. La corruption est devenue une véritable arme de destruction massive, tout aussi nocive que Daech, qui permet de tout acheter et de tout vendre, même son âme, au Diable !

Pour l'organisation anti-corruption Transparency International, "la corruption est un mal qui affecte tous les pays. Il incombe aux grandes places financières d'Europe et des États-Unis de travailler main dans la main avec les économies à croissance rapide pour empêcher les corrompus de s'en tirer impunément". José Ugaz, le président de cette organisation, a déclaré que : "L'Indice de perceptions de la corruption 2014 montre que les abus de pouvoir des responsables politiques et des hauts fonctionnaires entravent la croissance économique et les efforts de lutte contre la corruption. Certains élus corrompus font passer des capitaux d'origine frauduleuse dans des territoires pratiquant le secret bancaire par l'intermédiaire de sociétés offshore en toute impunité".

Le capitalisme financier en contradiction avec les valeurs humaines

"L'American way of life", dont le Président Bush avait dit qu'il "n'était pas négociable", a t-il cédé la place au projet "Daech" ? Beaucoup de jeunes qui aspiraient à ce mode de vie américain ou occidental, sont aujourd'hui réduits au chômage, à la précarité, sans perspectives. Ils sont sacrifiés sur l'autel du capitalisme financier et jetés dans les bras des «salafistes» qui leur proposent de faire "œuvre utile" pour "l'intérêt de la communauté islamique», moyennant salaires et autres avantages. A l'âge de la révolte, du "don de soi", de partage, de sacrifice, plusieurs jeunes sont attirés par la propagande «djihadiste" surtout ceux issus du lumpenprolétariat, pour lesquels les capitalistes n'auront pas besoin de créer des emplois, puisque Daech va s'en charger, en les rémunérant avec leur butin de guerre (pétrole, objets archéologiques, rançons) et la drogue.

Le terrorisme qui se reproduit tant que les conditions de son financement existent, permet aux détenteurs du Capital d'opérer une diversion sur les revendications sociales et démocratiques aussi bien dans les pays capitalistes développés que ceux de la périphérie et d'imposer une restriction des Libertés, au nom de l'union sacrée contre le terrorisme, pour empêcher ou juguler la contestation sociale. Le terrorisme sert les partis de l'Extrême droite et nationalistes en Europe, qui érigent de nouveaux murs (après la destruction du mur de Berlin symbolisant la chute du communisme). Opposer "les valeurs traditionnelles européennes", à la "barbarie" de l'islam, c'est oublier que c'est la barbarie du système capitaliste financier qui a servi à enfanter Daech !

En 2012, Samir Amine décrivait le capitalisme comme étant dans une phase "sénile", qui "peut inaugurer une nouvelle ère de massacres" et de "mouvements sociaux amenant des changements politiques, pour le meilleur et pour le pire : fascistes ou progressistes". Il compare la crise actuelle à celles des années 1930 qui a "mené

au Front populaire en France, mais aussi au nazisme en Allemagne". Son analyse a été confirmée par la suite des évènements dans certains pays avec la percée de la Gauche radicale (Grèce, Espagne) et la montée de l'Extrême droite (France).

En 2015, selon Dimitri Konstantakopoulos (Réseau Voltaire) "une alliance entre les classes supérieures "uropéennes et un "Empire mondial de l'Argent" a "utilisé la crise pour lancer une offensive contre les conquêtes fondamentales des peuples européens" et les soumettre à "la dictature des forces monstrueuses et insensées, obscurantistes et totalitaires d'un Argent lié de moins en moins à la valeur, à la production, à la société et à l'Homme".

Le capitalisme financier et rentier est devenu un blocage pour le développement économique et l'épanouissement des être humains. Il est en contradiction avec les valeurs positives que l'Homme a crée et préservé tout au long de sa tumultueuse histoire et qui ont fait sa richesse : Solidarité, justice, égalité, tolérance, démocratie, paix, amitié. Il est devenu fou. Il faut le stopper avant qu'il n'entraîne toute l'Humanité dans sa chute!

http://www.lematindz.net/news/

Crise migratoire : 2016 sera encore une année difficile pour L'Europe

2016-01-09

BEIJING, 9 janvier (Xinhua) -- Le 3 janvier, un garçonnet de deux ans périssait dans un naufrage en mer Egée au large de la Grèce, inaugurant tristement les statistiques 2016 des victimes de la migration de masse vers l'Europe. Un drame qui vient rappeler la gravité de cette crise qui n'a cessé d'enfler jusqu'à ce qu'elle prenne une ampleur record depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale sur le continent.

Selon un récent bilan de l'Organisation internationale pour les migrations (OIM), plus d'un million de migrants ont pu rejoindre les pays d'Europe occidentale en 2015, dont 50 à 60% sont d'origine syrienne.

Pour rappel, deux ans avant le déclenchement de la guerre civile libyenne, l'Europe avait admis en 2009 seulement 3.000 demandeurs d'asile, tandis que la Syrie abritait à l'époque plus d'un million de réfugiés, fuyant pour l'essentiel la guerre en Irak.

Cet afflux de migrants vers l'Europe en 2015 a été le fruit de cinq années d'escalade des tensions au Moyen-Orient.

Il est à noter qu'en 2008, la Libye avait conclu un accord de coopération avec l'Italie pour le contrôle des migrants tentant gagner l'Europe via la Méditerranée. Trois ans plus tard, sous la houlette des Etats-Unis, les forces de l'OTAN attaquaient le régime de Moammar Kadhafi, provoquant sa chute le 20 octobre. Dans la foulée, on a assisté à une augmentation spectaculaire du nombre des réfugiés.

Selon le bilan 2011 du Haut-commissariat de l'ONU aux réfugiés (HCR), 150.000 Libyens ont quitté leur patrie. Beaucoup ont gagné Lampedusa, cette petite île italienne qui a accueilli environ 20.000 clandestins d'Afrique du Nord depuis l'intervention de l'OTAN en Libye.

L'autre facette de cette crise migratoire réside dans la détérioration de la situation au Moyen-Orient. La Syrie, une nation en proie à cinq années de guerre civile et aux tiraillements entre puissances mondiales, est devenue le pays d'origine de la plupart des réfugiés en 2015.

Avant l'ingérence des Etats-Unis et de l'Europe dans les conflits internes arabes en 2011, la Syrie jouissait de la meilleure situation tant sur le plan économique que social dans le monde arabe, en faisant l'un des pays les plus accueillants pour les réfugiés. Cependant, le régime alaouite n'était pas en mesure de faire face à la montée en puissance des groupes rebelles.

En 2012, les Etats-Unis ont officiellement apporté leur soutien à l'opposition syrienne, tandis que la France se prononçait presque dans la foulée en faveur de l'opposition modérée. Ce soutien occidental a exacerbé des tensions déjà fortes en Syrie, aggravant la situation dans ce pays où le HCR estimait en 2012 que la guerre avait poussé à l'exil 647.000 habitants.

La guerre civile a été un terreau fertile pour le terrorisme, qui a explosé en Syrie en

2014. L'Etat islamique a ainsi pu conquérir près de la moitié du territoire syrien. Une progression fulgurante qui a offert un contraste notable avec la réaction tardive et insuffisante des Occidentaux. En dépit de la campagne aérienne menée par ces derniers contre l'EI, 1,5 million de Syriens ont fui leur pays, dont 79.700 ont obtenu l'asile admis en Europe en 2014.

A l'orée de cette nouvelle année, l'Europe n'en a pas fini de gérer cet afflux de migrants. Feng Zhongping, vice-président de l'Institut chinois des relations internationales contemporaines, estime que l'année 2016 posera de nombreux défis à l'Europe. Tout d'abord, l'arrivée en masse des réfugiés a déjà entraîné des problèmes sociaux, notamment parce que l'arrivée de ces migrants en inquiète beaucoup alors que le marché du travail reste atone dans bien des pays depuis la crise financière de 2008.

D'autre part, étant donné le fait que beaucoup de pays européens ont déjà mis en oeuvre l'an dernier des politiques visant à endiguer un trop grand nombre de migrants, ces mêmes pays seront encore moins enclins à en accueillir en 2016.

M. Feng souligne également que le dénouement des tensions au Moyen-Orient est la clé pour résoudre les problèmes migratoires, même si les politiques et les interventions des pays occidentaux ne devraient pas connaître d'ajustement considérable en 2016. Or, il est primordial pour l'Europe de tout faire pour que l'on puisse trouver un terrain d'entente entre les parties au conflit.

Parallèlement, compte tenu de son impossibilité d'accueillir une migration si nombreuse, l'Europe va subventionner les pays voisins de la Syrie (Turquie, Jordanie, Liban) afin que les réfugiés qu'ils abritent y restent. Enfin, davantage de concertation est prévue cette année au sein de l'Union européenne à propos d'une meilleure répartition des réfugiés.

Shen Xiaoquan, expert au Centre de recherches sur les problèmes internationaux de l'agence de presse Xinhua, rappelle en effet que l'afflux de migrants a causé des divisions au sein de l'UE, les pays d'Europe centrale et orientale contestant la clé de répartition de ces réfugiés.

Les pays membres du groupe de Visegrad (Pologne, Hongrie, République tchèque et Slovaquie) ont ainsi protesté contre les quotas de Bruxelles pour coordonner l'accueil des migrants, estimant que ce flux migratoire serait préjudiciable à leur identité et leur souveraineté.

Ce question migratoire a fait figure d'électrochoc l'an dernier au sein de l'UE. Au lieu d'unir leurs efforts pour y faire face, il est évident que certains pays européens ont privilégié leurs propres intérêts au moment crucial. Or, l'afflux de migrants va se poursuivre en 2016, selon M. Shen, renforçant d'autant plus la nécessité pour les Européens de développer une meilleure synergie.

Enfin, pour le régime de Bachar el-Assad, cette année 2016 s'annonce également pleine d'incertitudes. D'un point de vue positif, on a toutefois noté que les Etats-Unis et certains pays membres de l'UE s'étaient assouplis sur la question de l'avenir d'Assad, ne faisant plus de son départ un préalable. Surtout, des négociations de paix inter-syriennes sous les auspices de l'ONU s'ouvriront le 25 janvier à Genève.

http://french.xinhuanet.com/2016-01/09/c_134993349.htm

Avons-nous les moyens d'assurer notre sécurité ?

06/01/16

Le renforcement de la lutte contre le terrorisme coûtera bien plus que les 800 millions annoncés. Voici comment le financer.

Cette année, au [Salon de la sécurité (Milipol)](#) , qui s'est tenu à Paris moins d'une semaine après les attentats du 13 novembre, les exposants ont fait des affaires en or. "Nos téléphones n'ont pas arrêté de sonner", confie-t-on chez Visiom, un fabricant de portiques. Musées, salles de spectacle, stades, grands magasins… Les demandes d'information affluaient de partout, et cela n'a pas cessé depuis. Résultat, en moins d'un mois, cette PME a vu ses commandes plus que tripler. Et ce n'est qu'un début. "Nous sommes en discussion avancée avec une dizaine de stades", assure Jean-Jacques Métayer, le responsable du service marketing.

Ce n'est guère étonnant. Depuis que les terroristes ont frappé le centre de Paris et que notre pays est officiellement "en guerre", les Français paraissent prêts à tout pour assurer leur protection. Tous les sondages le confirment, la sécurité est devenue la priorité numéro 1 pour 40% d'entre eux, loin devant le chômage (30%). Et les pouvoirs publics, comme les entreprises, semblent les avoir pris au mot. La SNCF et la RATP, par exemple, ont accru d'environ 25% le nombre de leurs vigiles, et 3.000 soldats sont venus prêter main-forte aux 7.000 militaires qui étaient déjà déployés en France dans le cadre du plan Vigipirate. Idem du côté des municipalités, qui renforcent l'équipement de leur police. "Depuis quelques semaines, nous avons beaucoup de demandes concernant des gilets pare-balles de classe 4, qui protègent plus que ce qu'on vendait jusqu'à présent", constate-t-on chez Sentinel, l'un des leaders du secteur. Plus cher ? Sans doute, mais l'heure n'est pas aux additions. François Hollande n'a-t-il pas clamé que le "pacte de sécurité" primait sur le pacte de stabilité – autrement dit sur l'objectif de 3% de déficit en 2017 ? Le problème, c'est qu'à ce petit jeu la facture risque d'être bien plus élevée qu'on ne le pense.

D'abord, pour les contribuables. Officiellement, le coût pour l'Etat du renforcement de la sécurité atteindra à peine 800 millions d'euros en 2016 (372 millions pour le ministère de l'Intérieur, 267 millions pour la Justice, 42 millions pour les douanes, 34 millions pour les services de renseignement rattachés à Matignon et 100 millions pour les opérations militaires en Syrie). Mais cette somme ne représente en réalité qu'une partie de la note à payer. Il faut en effet y ajouter :

1. les 240 millions de dépenses programmées chaque année sur trois ans après les attentats de "Charlie" ;

2. le prix de l'opération Sentinelle (déploiement de militaires dans l'Hexagone pour faire face à la menace terroriste) qui devrait avoisiner 280 millions par an ;

3. le coût du maintien des effectifs militaires qui devaient être réduits de 9.000 d'ici 2019 ;

et 4. les dérapages budgétaires qui seront probablement générés par l'intervention militaire en Syrie. Une seule bombe guidée laser, comme on en lance tous les jours sur les camps de Daech, coûte plus de 50.000 euros. Au total, l'addition, pour les contribuables, devrait plutôt atteindre 1,5 milliard.

Mais ce ne sera sûrement pas tout. Car les créations de postes annoncées d'ici 2017 ont beau être importantes (8.500 en deux ans, dont 5.000 dans la police, 2.500 à la justice et 1.000 dans les douanes), elles auront du mal à combler les besoins sur le terrain. Aux douanes, par exemple, les effectifs ont tellement diminué ces dernières années (– 14% depuis 2005) que les agents ne parviennent plus à assurer leurs missions aux postes-frontières restants. Aussi incroyable que cela puisse paraître, celui d'Annemasse, à la frontière avec la Suisse, reste ainsi sans surveillance après 1 heure du matin, alors qu'il est censé être contrôlé 24 heures sur 24. "L'Hexagone est un vrai gruyère ! Même avec les renforts promis, on n'y arrivera pas", se désole Vincent Thomazo, le secrétaire général de l'Unsa-Douanes, qui estime les besoins à plusieurs milliers d'agents. D'autant qu'il faudra sans doute renforcer tôt ou tard Frontex, l'agence européenne de surveillance des frontières, dont les effectifs (900 personnes) viennent d'être multipliés par six pour gérer l'arrivée des migrants en Grèce (630.000 depuis début 2015).

Notre arsenal antiterroriste, pour qui travaillent quelque 13.000 fonctionnaires, n'est guère mieux loti. "Les effectifs ont été un peu renforcés, mais le dispositif a été paramétré pour quelques dizaines de djihadistes, alors qu'il faut en surveiller aujourd'hui plusieurs milliers", déplore Thibault de Montbrial, président du Centre de réflexion sur la sécurité intérieure. Pas étonnant que la police judiciaire – qui travaille main dans la main avec les juges antiterroristes – soit débordée. "Il n'est pas rare de devoir attendre des mois pour obtenir une perquisition", se désole-t-on à Alternative Police. Pire : elle manque de moyens pour analyser et recouper l'information.

Au total, impossible de chiffrer les besoins humains nécessaires. Mais si l'on voulait

vraiment limiter les trous dans la raquette, il y en aurait pour plusieurs centaines de millions d'euros en plus des annonces. La situation est d'autant plus absurde que des milliers de policiers sont aujourd'hui affectés à du simple gardiennage de ministères, d'ambassades et même de détenus à accompagner à l'hôpital. Rien qu'en Ile-de -France, cela représenterait 1.400 postes selon une étude d'Alliance de 2014. "En recentrant les forces de l'ordre sur leur cœur de métier, on pourrait récupérer plusieurs milliers de policiers", estime ce syndicat. A condition d'accroître le recours à des sociétés privées de gardiennage pour compenser, ce qui alourdirait de facto la facture.

À cela s'ajoute un gros problème d'équipement. Le croira-t-on ? D'après un rapport récent du Sénat, le Service départemental du renseignement territorial (SDRT), qui a remplacé les RG, ne dispose que d'un poste Internet pour… treize agents ! Et ce n'est guère mieux pour les forces de l'ordre. De nouveaux gilets pare-balles plus protecteurs, des casques et des boucliers balistiques ont certes été commandés après les attentats de janvier, mais ils arrivent au compte-gouttes dans les commissariats. Si bien que la plupart des agents doivent se contenter de leurs vieux gilets –certains tiennent avec des épingles à nourrice. "Nous avons besoin d'équipements qui protègent mieux, mais aussi d'armes plus performantes", tonne Denis Jacob, à la tête d'Alternative Police.

Et ne parlons pas du parc automobile. Il est dans un état déplorable, avec certains véhicules totalisant jusqu'à 300.000 kilomètres au compteur. Compte tenu des critères d'âge, près de 11.000 d'entre eux devraient être renouvelés sur la période 2015 -2017. Mais, d'après un rapport de l'Assemblée nationale, les 30 millions par an budgétés ne permettront d'en racheter que… 4.100 ! Et le nombre de voitures et de fourgons (un peu plus de 28.000 au total) est inférieur de 5% à ce qu'il était en 2010. "On a parfois une seule voiture pour huit communes, ce n'est pas acceptable !", dénonce-t-on au syndicat Alliance. Il faut dire que, pressée de faire des économies, l'administration a sabré dans ses frais de fonctionnement ces dernières années.

D'après les calculs de Philippe Dominati, la part des équipements ne représente plus aujourd'hui que 12% des dépenses pour la sécurité, contre 16% en 2009. "Si l'on voulait ramener ce ratio au niveau d'il y a six ans, il faudrait débourser près de 340 millions", assure-t-il. Mises bout à bout, les dépenses publiques nécessaires dépassent ainsi largement 2 milliards, deux fois et demie le montant prévu !

Voilà pour le contribuable. Mais les Français vont aussi devoir régler la note de nombreux investissements du privé. Car si notre administration est sur le pied de guerre, les sociétés ne sont pas en reste. Président de l'Union des entreprises de sécurité privée (USP), Claude Tarlet en sait quelque chose. Entre les demandes des grands magasins, des salles de spectacle ou des sièges sociaux, les sociétés de gardiennage ont vu leur activité bondir d'environ 20% depuis début novembre. La demande d'agents de sécurité a été si brutale que les professionnels peinent à suivre. "Il nous manque près de 10.000 agents pour satisfaire les clients", assure l'USP. Même inflation du côté des équipements. Regroupés au sein d'Ignes, les fabricants de système électronique (badges, vidéosurveillance…) ont vu leur activité bondir de 10 à 15%. "Je pense qu'on aura une croissance à deux chiffres pour 2016", pronostique Pascal Le Roux, son vice-président.

Au total, combien les entreprises vont-elles devoir investir pour améliorer leur sécurité ? A vrai dire, il est encore trop tôt pour chiffrer l'accroissement des dépenses.

D'autant que les directions n'aiment pas beaucoup parler de ce sujet. Interrogées par Capital, les Galeries Lafayette ont botté en touche, tout comme la SNCF, qui a été contrainte par le gouvernement d'installer des portiques aux abords du Thalys à la gare du Nord à Paris. "Tout ce qu'on peut dire, c'est que les budgets vont augmenter, car il y a une vraie prise de conscience, y compris dans les PME", reconnaît Alain Juillet, président du Club des directeurs de sécurité des entreprises.

>> *En vidéo : en Afrique du Sud, le secteur de la sécurité privée emploie plus de personnes que la police et l'armée réunies.*

D'après les estimations de Patrick Haas, expert du secteur et responsable de la publication "En toute sécurité", la hausse pourrait atteindre 500 millions pour 2016. Mais sans doute ce chiffre est-il très sous-estimé : appliqué aux seuls vigiles (plus de 3,3 milliards d'euros par an), une progression de 20% représente en effet 660 millions. Les entreprises risquent donc de le sentir passer… Bref, en mettant bout à bout toutes les dépenses du public et du privé, on peut estimer que la facture naviguera entre 2 et 3 milliards, dont près des trois quarts financés par les contribuables. Trop lourd pour pouvoir tenir l'objectif annoncé d'un déficit de 3% en 2017 ? A priori, il n'y a pas de quoi s'alarmer. "C'est un alibi ! On peut tout à fait réaliser des économies pour compenser", assure Gilles Carrez, le président de la commission des Finances. De fait, en cherchant bien, il y aurait de quoi faire. Le rétablissement du jour de carence pour limiter les absences dans la fonction publique permettrait par exemple d'économiser 300 millions d'euros.

De même, la Cour des comptes estime dans un rapport récent que l'alignement de la durée effective du temps de travail des fonctionnaires d'Etat (1.594 heures par an) sur la durée légale (1.604 heures) rapporterait 700 millions par an. Enfin, pourquoi ne pas plafonner le supplément familial accordé aux agents de la fonction publique (qui coûte 1,5 milliard au total) au-delà d'un certain niveau de revenu, comme on l'a fait pour les salariés du privé ? Cela reviendrait certes à raboter quelques acquis. Mais pour la bonne cause…

«C'est qui ce monsieur Charlie Hebdo qui a été tué?»

07-01-2016

Une fillette arbore un «Je suis Charlie» lors du rassemblement du 11 janvier 2015 à Paris.Nina Carel / RFI

L'attentat contre *Charlie Hebdo*, il y a un an jour pour jour, a provoqué une onde de choc au sein des 64 000 établissements scolaires français. Les réactions ont été diverses parmi les élèves, allant de la compassion et du soutien jusqu'au rejet et à la colère. Chez les collégiens, c'est avant tout l'incompréhension qui a pris le dessus. Des professeurs d'établissements « sensibles » et des élèves de province se souviennent.

Le 7 janvier 2015, la rédaction du journal satirique ***Charlie Hebdo* est décimée**. N'ayant pas cours le mercredi après-midi, jour de l'attentat qui a tué douze personnes, c'est en rentrant chez eux à l'heure du déjeuner que les collégiens découvrent le drame. Les chaînes d'infos en continu font défiler sous leurs yeux des images tout droit sorties de leurs jeux vidéos les plus violents. Sauf que cette fois, c'est la réalité.

Le lendemain, dans les collèges dits « sensibles » ou en grande difficulté, de retour sur les bancs de classe, nombre d'élèves n'y comprennent plus rien et les professeurs sont assaillis de questions. « *C'est qui ce monsieur Charlie Hebdo qui a été tué ?* », s'interrogent des enfants de 6e d'un collège du Blanc-Mesnil, en Seine-Saint-Denis. « *Il faut alors tout leur expliquer*, raconte François*, professeur d'histoire-géographie dans cet établissement classé prioritaire, *et tout d'abord ce que c'est qu'un journal papier. Ils se posaient des tas de questions et étaient plutôt à l'écoute. Il a fallu recadrer les choses, raconter tout depuis le début et entre autres l'histoire des caricatures.* » Et ce jeune professeur de confier que lui comme ses collègues s'est senti bien seul à ce moment-là où il fallait se « *prendre dans la figure toutes leurs émotions* ».

Claire*, professeure d'histoire-géographie à Bondy dans un collège où les élèves sont d'origine asiatique, maghrébine ou africaine, ajoute que globalement, ils étaient

tous contre la publication des caricatures. « *De là à penser que les dessinateurs méritaient de mourir, non, ils ne le pensaient pas et étaient en majorité contre cet acte.* » Au Blanc-Mesnil, il n'y a pas non plus que des musulmans, les chrétiens et les évangélistes sont aussi très nombreux, « *et très proches de leur dieu,* témoigne François. *Aucun d'eux ne comprenait qu'on puisse ainsi se moquer de la religion. Et ceux qui étaient les plus virulents, c'était ceux qui allaient à la confrontation sur tous les sujets, et pas seulement sur l'attentat à Charlie Hebdo.* » « *Dans l'une de mes classes, les élèves ont été étonnés quand je leur ai expliqué que les musulmans n'étaient pas majoritaires en France. Ils ont alors pensé qu'ils vivaient tous à Bondy !* », se souvient Claire.

Autre lieu, autre vision

En province, loin des banlieues « chaudes » des grandes villes, l'attentat à Charlie Hebdo est souvent vécu différemment. « *On a eu trois cours pour nous expliquer ce qui s'est passé, et beaucoup d'entre nous voulaient s'exprimer,* se souvient Raphaël*, 12 ans en 2015 et collégien dans un quartier populaire d'Orléans. *Mes copains musulmans pensaient que Charlie Hebdo se moquait seulement de l'islam et pas des autres religions.* » En Seine-et-Marne, le collège Louis Braille a réalisé au lendemain de l'attentat une série d'articles dans le journal du collège, *Le P'tit Braillard.* « *Des articles qui ont été primés et qui se sont retrouvés dans des manuels d'éducation civique à la rentrée dernière* », raconte l'un des professeurs.

Clémence, en classe de 3e cette année à Albi dans le sud-ouest de la France, raconte que le lendemain de l'attaque, certains des professeurs de son collège étaient en larmes. « *Ils nous ont expliqué ce qu'était Charlie Hebdo, même si nos parents l'avaient déjà un peu fait la veille, la laïcité, les caricatures, la liberté d'expression.* » Puis après avoir parlé, ils ont dessiné des crayons devenus le symbole du célèbre « Je suis Charlie ». Clémence et ses camarades, tous ont condamné l'attentat, estimant que « *c'est la France qui avait été attaquée* ».

« *Le lendemain, les profs de mon collège avaient des espèces de badges* "Je suis Charlie", raconte Arthur, 13 ans et demi aujourd'hui, en 4e dans un collège de Morlaix, en Bretagne. *Mes parents m'avaient expliqué précisément ce qui s'était passé, parce que je ne savais pas trop ce que c'était Charlie Hebdo même si je l'avais déjà ouvert. A l'école, les profs d'histoire et de français nous ont aussi expliqué l'attentat. A cette époque, on étudiait l'islam en plus. Alors on a discuté de la religion, des religions, et de la liberté d'expression, que Charlie faisait de l'humour, etc.* » Là-bas, le soutien à Charlie est unanime. Si la minute de silence organisée en hommage aux victimes à midi le jeudi 8 janvier dans tous les établissements de la République est respectée dans le collège d'Arthur, il en va différemment dans les banlieues.

Une minute de silence… parfois bruyante

Un silence trop assourdissant pour certains élèves français puisque, officiellement, les services académiques dénombrent une centaine d'incidents, mais ils seraient bien plus nombreux. « *Dans ma classe, il n'y a qu'un camarade qui n'a pas voulu respecter la minute de silence,* raconte Raphaël. *Il disait qu'on ne fait pas de minute de silence pour les morts en Palestine donc ce n'est pas la peine de faire le silence pour ce qui s'est passé à Paris.* »

Les amalgames sont nombreux. Et les plus jeunes, qui ignorent pour la plupart tout

de l'affaire, ont souvent tendance à répéter ce que les « grands » disent, et à croire toutes les publications, même les plus sordides, alors diffusées sur Facebook. « *Il n'y a que quand les enfants pénètrent dans l'école qu'ils sont confrontés à des idées différentes des leurs* », analyse François. « *Quand notre professeur nous a demandé de faire une petite lettre, certains on écrit : "*Je ne suis pas Charlie, ils n'avaient pas à faire ce qu'ils ont fait" », poursuit le jeune Raphaël.

Très vite après les faits, des élèves se retrouvent malgré eux dans la théorie du complot suite à tout ce qui circule sur les réseaux sociaux. « *Quand j'ai demandé à l'un de mes enfants pourquoi il arborait un "*Je ne suis pas Charlie" *sur son mur Facebook,* dit Claire, *il m'a répondu que c'était parce que tout le monde mettait des "*Je suis Charlie" *et que lui il voulait se démarquer. Ils n'ont vraiment pas compris le fond des choses. Au collège, et principalement en zone difficile, ils sont encore très petits ! Il n'y a rien de maîtrisé...* »

Des incompréhensions multiples

Pour les professeurs de collèges situés dans des zones démunies, il est grand temps de parler davantage de la religion, mais aussi de l'athéisme. Bien souvent, les familles vivant dans ces quartiers sont renfermées sur elles-mêmes et dans leur vision du monde, et la religion prend une place considérable. « *Mes élèves ont été choqués de constater qu'en France, on avait le droit de critiquer les religions* », raconte ainsi François. Et Claire de renchérir : « *Dans les collèges difficiles comme celui où j'enseigne, les enfants sont très réactionnaires. Par exemple, ils sont tous favorables à la peine de mort, ils ne sont pas libertaires* ». « *Ils ne sont pas conscients de la liberté de parole que nous leur donnons* », poursuit François.

Si des élèves ne se sont pas sentis visés par les attentats de janvier, à la différence de ceux de novembre, c'est également parce que le drame semblait loin de leur monde et de leur culture. Dans ces zones bien souvent délaissées par l'Etat et où les aides peinent à suffire pour créer un environnement plus agréable au quotidien, « *c'est compliqué de se sentir appartenir à un territoire, à un pays, culturellement on ne peut pas s'identifier, c'est très fragile* », conclut François.

Un an après l'attentat, beaucoup d'élèves en grandes difficultés pensent toujours que Charlie est une personne qui a été tuée, mais qu'il y a encore d'autres Charlie qui sont en vie et qui continuent à dessiner. Depuis le 7 janvier 2015, dans la classe de François au Blanc-Mesnil, est dressé un squelette utilisé pour les cours de SVT. Il l'a appelé Charlie et depuis un an, chaque matin, les élèves disent « *bonjour Charlie* » lorsqu'ils arrivent en cours.

http://www.rfi.fr/

MIGRANTS : LA GRÈCE A BESOIN DE PLUS D'AIDES

LESBOS Cette île a obtenu des renforts depuis qu'elle a créé un «hot spot» pour trier les réfugiés et les migrants économiques. Mais elle manque d'ordinateurs et d'appareils pour les empreintes (Eurodac).

GRÈCE

TURQUIE

Lesbos

Chios

LE PIRÉE, ATHÈNES Pour gérer l'afflux de migrants (plus de 600 000 depuis janvier), Athènes a créé un QG pour coordonner les «centres de tri» du pays. Mais les 30 millions promis par l'Union européenne manquent sur le terrain.

Athènes
Le Pirée

Samos

Léros
Kos

LÉROS L'un des kamikazes du Stade de France le 13 novembre a été enregistré sur cette île le 3 octobre dernier.

CHIOS, SAMOS, LÉROS, KOS Comme Lesbos, ces îles viennent de créer des «centres de tri» de migrants. Mais les moyens humains et matériels promis par les Européens tardent.

Centre de tri de migrants.

CRÈTE

EURO 2016 : QUI ASSURERA LA SÉCURITÉ DANS LES FAN-ZONES ?

image: http://www.capital.fr/var/cap/storage/images/media/images/photos/reprise-capital-divers/supporters-football/16265483-1-fre-FR/supporters-football_medium.jpg

Malgré les attentats du 13 novembre à Paris, les fan-zones seront maintenues lors du Championnat d'Europe de football 2016, qui se tiendra en juin dans dix grandes villes de l'Hexagone. L'ennui : personne ne sait encore qui en assurera la sécurité. Avant même le drame, le Conseil national des activités privées de sécurité (Cnaps) avait prévenu qu'il aurait du mal à mettre à disposition des agents, vu la pénurie dans le secteur. Il est désormais catégorique : "Nos effectifs ne nous permettront pas de fournir les 20.000 à 25.000 agents nécessaires pour sécuriser les zones", confie Alain Bauer, le président de cet organisme. Il faudra donc que les forces de l'ordre s'y mettent… Ce qui reviendra à déshabiller Pierre pour habiller Paul. Et qui paiera la facture ? Rien que pour Bordeaux, la douloureuse devrait avoisiner 180.000 euros.

RENFORCER LA SÉCURITÉ VA COÛTER CHER AUX ENTREPRISES ET AUX CONTRIBUABLES

Policiers : 370 millions d'euros

image: http://www.capital.fr/var/cap/storage/images/media/images/policiers-gare/16265525-1-fre-FR/policiers-gare_small.jpg

Les 5.000 postes prévus d'ici 2017 (sur 8.500) permettront de ramener les effectifs policiers à leur niveau de 2007. Mais d'après les syndicats, c'est insuffisant pour les besoins de la lutte antiterroriste.

Équipements : 340 millions d'euros

D'après le sénateur Philippe Dominati, il faudrait investir 340 millions en véhicules, armes et gilets pare-balles pour retrouver le ratio d'équipement de 2009.

Soldats en France : 280 millions d'euros

La facture de l'opération Sentinelle, qui a permis de déployer 10.000 militaires sur l'ensemble du territoire, sera sans doute aussi élevée cette année qu'en 2015.

Systèmes électroniques : 140 millions d'euros

image: http://www.capital.fr/var/cap/storage/images/media/images/photos/autres/vide-osurveillance/16265596-1-fre-FR/vide-osurveillance_small.jpg

Caméras, badges… D'après Ignes, le syndicat du secteur, les ventes de systèmes électroniques augmenteront d'au moins 10% en 2016.

Intervention en Syrie : 100 millions d'euros

Au vu des moyens déployés pour l'intervention en Syrie (26 avions dont 18 Rafale à bord du porte-avions "Charles de Gaulle"), le surcoût des "opérations extérieures" pourrait dépasser de 100 millions le budget initialement prévu (un peu plus de 1 milliard).

Agents de sécurité : 330 millions d'euros

Depuis les attentats, les agents de sécurité sont très demandés (+ 20%). Même en comptant une hausse de seulement 10% sur 2016, la facture dépassera 300 millions.

Sandrine Trouvelot

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Jakarta attack evidence of Isis franchises in Southeast Asia

15 January 2016

People holding placards during a rally at the scene of Thursday's gun and bomb attack in central Jakarta yesterday. Indonesian police arrested three suspected militants in a pre-dawn raid and hunted down others across the country a day after an attack by Islamic State suicide bombers and gunmen. – Reuters pic, January 16, 2016.The deadly Paris-style attack in Jakarta has thrown a spotlight on a shadowy Southeast Asian faction of the Islamic State of Syria and Iraq (Isis) group and offers new evidence of the spread of Isis franchises.

Under growing pressure in Iraq and Syria from the United States-led bombing campaign, the extremist group is spreading its tentacles, metastasising into new regions.

Isis already has affiliates in Libya and Nigeria, and has targeted a host of other countries, such as Yemen, Somalia and Afghanistan, using its signature brutality to lure disaffected fighters from other jihadists like the Taliban.

Now, with its claim of responsibility for Thursday's suicide bomb and gun attacks in Jakarta – which left five attackers and two other people dead – the grouping appears to be getting a foothold in Southeast Asia.

"Isis is changing strategy," said Jakarta police chief Tito Karnavian, the former head of Indonesia's anti-terrorism unit.

"They are establishing branches of Isis across the world – in France, Europe, Africa, Turkey as well as Southeast Asia," he told reporters this week.

Indonesian police have pointed the finger at Katibah Nusantara, a militant unit of Malay-speaking Isis jihadists fighting in Syria.

While there has as yet been no direct Katibah Nusantara claim, the group has loomed ever larger on the radar of Isis-linked groups.

Its extended name translates roughly as "Malay Archipelago Unit for the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria".

Its goal: a Southeast Asian outpost for its global caliphate.

The faction's fighters, primarily from Indonesia and Malaysia and who coalesced along shared lines of language and culture, rose to prominence in 2015 after distinguishing themselves on the battlefields of Syria and Iraq, helping to capture territory.

Those victories were a Southeast Asian publicity coup for Isis, which trumpeted them in glowing terms on social media in the Malay language, publicity aimed squarely at potential jihadists across the region.

'Jihadi intellectual'

Police say Katibah Nusantara is led by Bahrun Naim, who they accuse of orchestrating Thursday's attacks from Syria, where he is believed to be instructing Southeast Asian militants and organising recruitment.

He has been described in some media reports as a former Internet cafe employee.

Analysts say he was previously imprisoned briefly in Indonesia on suspicion of terrorism involvement, and has been linked with other extremist groups in the past.

"He is an active player," said Joseph Chinyong Liow, an expert on Southeast Asian Islam at Singapore's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies.

"He has a website which celebrates Isis and its successes, and more specifically, he celebrated the Paris attacks."

Sidney Jones, a regional terrorism expert, has called him an "ex-prisoner and jihadi intellectual", saying he was involved in a previous plot last year to carry out an attack in Indonesia, which appears not to have gone ahead.

Indonesia suffered several large and deadly bomb attacks by Islamic radicals between 2000 and 2009, but a subsequent security crackdown weakened extremist networks, and there had been no major attacks for years.

If Katibah is responsible, the Jakarta violence marks its first high-profile strike in its home region, and will challenge Indonesian authorities to once again tame the extremists in their backyard.

Thinking big

"One of the saving graces for Indonesia over the last five years is that local terrorists have thought small," Jones said in a recent analysis of Katibah Nusantara.

"Bahrun Naim and some of his friends think bigger."

Some fighters from Southeast Asia have returned from the Middle East with tales of disappointment at being given little respect or responsibility there, analysts said.

But the language and cultural commonalities of Katibah Nusantara followers could help keep fighters in the fold and provide an enduring tool for coordinating attacks across Southeast Asia and recruiting more fighters to Syria, analysts said.

Isis "is very sophisticated and professional in their militancy, in every sense of the word", said Liow.

"It does appear to be able to capture and captivate the imagination of many Muslims in this part of the world." – AFP, January 16, 2016.

http://www.themalaysianinsider.com/

The Syrian peace process: An analysis from UN Resolution 2249 to 2254

January 4, 2016

Displaced Syrian girl walking puddles of water amid a refugee camp in the Hama countryside, Syria.(Reuters Photo)

Peace talks for Syria's future, which have, since the conflict started, been a main topic in multiple actors' foreign policy, gathered under the roof of the two major resolutions 2249 and 2254

One of the major hindrances to install mechanisms for peace in Syria is the absence of cohesion and divergence of interests among the actors involved. Trans-national terrorist, rebel groups, regional actors and global players are all involved in the country's civil war and the gravity and complexity of situation has undermined several attempts for peace so far. The United Nations, however, expedited its mechanism and the U.N. Security Council (UNSC) passed two major resolutions, 2249 and 2254, on Syria, setting a precedent for the peaceful resolution of the conflict.

The UNSC's accelerated and highly motivated moves are fueled by the series of events pertaining to Syria both directly or indirectly. The catalyst for the UNSC's advanced approach are Russia's decision to rescue the regime of President Bashar Assad in Syria in October, the carnage of the attacks in Paris in mid-November and, last but not least, Turkey's downing of the Russian Su-24 fighter plane in the last week of November. Perhaps most important is the growing public opinion in Syria and the Middle East about Russia as a guarantor for peace and stabilizing force in the region.

RE-RESOLUTION

Neither Russia nor the United Sates are moved by the human catastrophe in Syria. Emotions, ethics and morality are of the least or no concern to statehood. Interestingly, masses believe these moral principles are applicable in international politics. Presumably, it is neither wrong nor unjustified to visualize an international system and network of actors that practice foreign policy in compliance with settled and agreed upon rules, norms and values based on ethics and morals. People are, however, simply unaware of the fact that states do not have emotion. Indeed, space for emotions in statehood does not exist.

Notable realist Hans J. Morgenthau argues that politics, as an autonomous driving force for statecraft, utilizes ethics or moral principles to achieve its political objectives, which are not objectives of ethics and morals . Similar are the views of his predecessor in the field such as Machiavelli found in "The Prince, Hobbes in "Leviathan," Chanakya and ancient Roman and Greek thinkers. If it is so, then why we are witnessing a sudden wakeup call from the UNSC and back-to-back resolutions while it paid lip service to the killing of 250,000 and millions of displaced Syrians both internally and externally.

It has been 40 years since the Soviet Union fought in Afghanistan, a war out of soviet border expansion. Intervention in Syria is the first military engagement from Moscow in the post-Soviet era. It is pertinent to analyze Russia motives, intentions and objectives in Syria. The Kremlin offers a prime explanation of its objective in Syria saying that its entrance into the conflict is to restrict and root out DAESH and prevent its domino effect in Central Asia, which is believed to be a special zone of post-Soviet Russian interests. Moreover, DAESH's success would empower extremist ideologies and their alleged links to Chechen separatists. So, to nip this evil in the bud is in Russia's national interest.

Contrary to this, Western scholars criticize these explanations and given objectives of Russian intervention in Syria and tend to believe that Russia wants to change the focus of global panorama from Ukraine, and the situation in Syria rescued Russia to this end. If the assumption is true, it is interesting to say that Moscow has succeeded in this campaign. Ukraine is mentioned less now and Syria has replaced global panorama.

Having bitter experiences in Afghanistan and Iraq the United States refrained from intervening effectively in Libya and Syria. This negated the myth of the global hegemon's reputation of resolve and commitment to the world's peace and security. Annoyed by Russia's unilateral intervention in favor of the Assad regime in Syria, the Paris attack allowed the West and the United States to reassess their policies on the Syrian conflict. France hastily made a decision and started attacking DAESH, perhaps to pacify its people's resentment in the capital and elsewhere.

Followed by the UNSC Resolution 2249, the United Kingdom, too, jumped in the conflict zone and started bombing DAESH. The resolution declared DAESH a source of an "unprecedented" threat to international peace and security and called the member states to take "all necessary measures" to prevent and destroy it and its capacity to wreak violence and acts of terrorism. Thus, the United States and its allies are on one side and Russia and the Assad regime are on the other, all fighting in

Syria, presumably for different goals.

CAN'T SPEAK ARABIC

One might not disagree that Russia escaped the international row over its involvement in Ukraine and annexation of Crimea by involving itself in Syria. At the same time, one must accept the West and UNSC's back-to-back resolutions as credit-seeking diplomatic moves that aim to increase the popularity of Russia in Syria, as shown on the television station Russia Today (RT), and to negate the resonance of failures of Western solutions to the conflict. It can be argued that the UNSC resolutions are not possible without Russia's vote, yet it does not nullify the logic of consequence to take such resolutions in such an efficient manner.

Does Resolution 2249 significantly impact DAESH and other rebel groups? The answer to this is not hopeful. In asymmetrical conflicts carpet bombing is not very successful, as seen by the failure of this method against the Vietcong in the Vietnam War, nor did it help substantially in defeating the Taliban in Afghanistan. DAESH, however, claims to be a state by exercising certain attributes of a state. However, unlike any nation-state, its formal structure is rather informal and different enough to be rendered dysfunctional by aerial bombing. Consequently, it is not safe to assume that terrorist attacks like those in Paris, the Sinai and Beirut are less likely in future.Coming to the most recent development, the UNSC unanimously adopted Resolution 2254, which endorses a road map for a peace process in Syria and sets a timetable for talks in early January. Peace talks between the Syrian government and members of opposition groups would be facilitated by the United Nations and would cover the outlines for a nationwide cease-fire to begin as soon as the parties concerned take the initial steps toward a political transition. Endorsement of the Geneva Communique and the Vienna statements in pursuit of the communique's implementation as the basis for a Syrian-led, Syrian-owned political transition to end the conflict appears optimistic

The question then is not about text for peace or the United Nations calling for such measures, but rather how it would be implemented. Russia criticized the resolution as an externally imposed solution to the Syrian problem. To appease Russia and the Assad regime's apprehensions, the resolution does not deprive them of participating in U.N.-facilitated peace talks or in future elections. Similarly, it is naive to consider a nationwide cease-fire, assuming DAESH and other rebels are party to the peace talks and opt for a cease-fire within six months.It seems the conflict has gone drastically out of control. The many actors and their pursuits for divergent objectives is the central obstacle to de-escalating the conflict. The unanimous resolutions exist, but the reality on the ground is different. Even if Resolution 2254 is successfully implemented it needs a minimum of six months for peace talks and a further one-and -a-half years for elections. Although human advancement in technology has experienced rapid change, the modus operandi to solve conflicts is more or less a decade-longprocess, as in Afghanistan, Iraq and now Syria.

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Collapse of a peace presidency: Obama's speech highlights foreign policy failures

13 January 2016

President's final State of the Union serves as an epitaph for a tenure that began with a promise to halt the Iraq war but ended with capitulation to the status quo

 US soldiers patrol in Afghanistan. President Barack Obama announced last year that thousands of US troops will remain in the country past 2016, retreating from a major campaign pledge. Photograph: Noorullah Shirzada/AFP/Getty Images

Barack Obama's final State of the Union marked the beginning of the end of his time in the White House and stands as an epitaph for the dream of a peace presidency.

Obama swept into office on a pledge to end the Iraq war and, less heralded, achieve some semblance of success in the Afghanistan one. He vaulted into serious contention for the Democratic nomination by picking a first-principles fight with Hillary Clinton about ending not only the Iraq war but "the mindset that got us into war in the first place".

The expectations for Obama from a war-weary west were so high he received a Nobel peace prize within months. Never a pacifist, and always one to embrace complexity, he accepted the award with a speech defending the use of military force.

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As a wartime president, he has resembled his hated predecessor George W Bush, in execution if not design. He will leave office as Bush did: passing on to his successor two wars – one the longest in American history, the other a reboot of the conflict he promised to end. Unlike in previous speeches, Obama did not boast in the State of the Union of ending either.

While Obama's claim to a peace presidency may have failed – "the tide of war is receding" is a now-forgotten 2012 re-election theme – the men and women looking to succeed him do not seem to want the mantle.

Bernie Sanders, the most leftwing candidate, emphasizes his economic message. Clinton, who was perhaps the most hawkish member of Obama's cabinet, has pledged to escalate Obama's war in Iraq and Syria. Ted Cruz, the leading Republican most inclined to question familiar conservative militarism, still calls for the "carpet-bombing" of Isis.

"If the pronouncements of presidential candidates are any indication, with the exceptions of Rand Paul and Bernie Sanders, Obama's successor will likely expand and deepen US military commitments and operations around the world," said Micah Zenko of the Council on Foreign Relations.

To Obama's advisers, the choice has always been between his relatively restrained uses of force and the ground invasions launched by Bush. They consider an important aspect of Obama's legacy to be his rejection of even more extensive military

adventures proposed by Republicans. Obama's foreign policy mantra is Don't Do Stupid Shit, and he tends to set the bar for Stupid Shit at Ponderous Ground Warfare.

"American leadership in the 21st century is not a choice between ignoring the rest of the world, except when we kill terrorists; or occupying and rebuilding whatever society is unravelling," Obama said in his speech on Tuesday night. He practically dismissed the bloodshed in the Middle East as a tragic inevitability, calling it a "transformation that will play out for a generation, rooted in conflicts that date back millennia", as if US choices, including the wars that have become part of the regional landscape, make no difference.

His lasting contribution to the world, aides contend, will be a diplomatic accord designed to prevent a nuclear Iran and an end to the embargo of Cuba. The rest they tend to treat as footnotes, asterisks or good-faith efforts to make the best of a poor situation he inherited.

Of course, Obama is not responsible for every conflagration in the world. But the combination of a bleeding Syria, an escalated Iran-Saudi contest for domination of the Middle East, an irredentist Russia, a global umbrella of counter-terrorism and the inability of Obama to bring his own global priorities to successful conclusions risks marginalizing peace as a geopolitical objective. The next president may look at Obama and decide ending wars is Stupid Shit.

The Afghanistan war Obama inherited had a 32,000-troop footprint. The war he will bequeath will have somewhere between 5,500 and 9,800. In between, Obama escalated US troop levels to around 100,000 in hopes of dealing the Taliban a blow sufficient to force a peace that never materialized. Instead, the Taliban have defied over 14 years of war and Obama's own promises that at least US "combat" has ended. Last week, the Taliban launched an hours-long assault in Helmand province that killed a US special forces soldier – the seventh US casualty in Afghanistan since 21 December – and forced the Pentagon to acknowledge it was a "clearly a combat situation". Obama offered no substantive mention of Afghanistan in his speech.

Obama pulled all but a rump troop presence out from Iraq in 2011, although he attempted without success to negotiate a residual force of up to 5,000. Historians will have to determine whether Obama could have convinced the Iraqi parliament to accept that force.

But the pullout briefly closed a chapter in a string of military actions in and over Iraq since 1991 more than it ended a war. Obama returned in summer 2014 to war in Iraq, this time prosecuted primarily from the air and also across the border in Syria, against Islamic State.

The anti-Isis war has shown evidence of confusion within the administration. Obama and aides present maximalist rhetoric, pledging to "ultimately destroy" Isis, but the troop commitment has been minimal, growing by degree to 3,500 "advisers" and, most recently, a special operations raiding force. The war that Obama ended now costs, according to a Pentagon estimate released Monday, $11.5m every day. Over

the 18 months Obama has waged it, the two-country war has cost over $5.5bn. In Syria, where Obama openly abandoned his own improvised "red line" against chemical-weapons usage, the president rejected a plan to back Syrian militants fighting dictator Bashar al-Assad, then two years later, in 2014, accepted a plan to arm and train Syrian militants fighting Isis, which failed at great expense.

"The Obama administration is careful in its use of language to sell warfare as something less: the Libya regime change intervention was 'a time-limited, scope-limited military action'; the open-ended bombing of Isis 'a very significant counter-terrorism operation'; and US troops are never 'in combat', but rather deployed to 'dangerous places'," said the Council on Foreign Relations' Zenko.

"This is all intended to define-down warfare so it appears like less of a military commitment, less costly, and less deadly."

While renewing his pledge to "destroy" Isis, Obama struck more sanguine tones about Isis in his speech. He described a force that has ruled territory home to six million people for 18 months as "masses of fighters on the back of pickup trucks and twisted souls plotting in apartments or garages".

Since Isis does not "threaten our national existence" – a high bar for any non-nuclear country – Obama warned against trying to "take over and rebuild every country that falls into crisis", though he neglected to mention his elective 2011 war in Libya that traded the dictator Muammar Gaddafi for a vacuum. "It's the lesson of Vietnam, of Iraq, and we should have learned it by now."

The persistence of the Afghanistan and Iraq-Syria wars stands alongside Obama's well-known proliferation of global drone strikes and counter-terrorism raids, which received only oblique references in the State of the Union.

The pace of the "shadow wars" on undeclared battlefields in the Middle East, South Asia and Africa ebbs and flows: US strikes in Pakistan sank to 13 in 2015, the lowest of Obama's tenure, while the US launched more strikes in Yemen and Somalia in 2015 than 2014. The architecture of drone strikes is more permanent: the US military recently opened drone launchpads in Cameroon and Niger, whileshuttering one in Ethiopia. For much of the world, the drone strike, not the Iran deal, is Obama's legacy.

Whether the Iran deal itself amounts to a measure for peace is, like everything else about the historic accord, open to debate.

Tehran is slated to enjoy its first wave of sanctions relief within days, after it finishes decommissioning a heavy-water reactor at Arak. The gamble the nuclear deal represents is Obama's most aggressive attempt at something like peace. Preventing a nuclear Iran without war lowers the stakes of a mass-casualty event in the Middle East substantially and eliminates the prospect for nuclear blackmail from a regime with a decades-long record of regional destabilization.

Yet the deal is something less than a gamble for peace. The administration has relentlessly insisted that the deal is surrounded by a sort of geopolitical hermetic seal, designed to tackle Iran's nuclear development without addressing any of the broader portfolio of US grievances with Iran, from regional destabilization to sponsorship of terrorism. Any talk of detente is premature, as Iran has vowed to continue ballistic

missile tests that are outside the scope of the deal, and Obama is said to be readying new sanctions in response.

But the deal is a step away from both containment and war, leading the administration's most diehard supporters to consider it peaceful and its most diehard opponents to consider it capitulation.

Advertisement

The US's traditional allies in Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf petro-monarchies, aligned with Israel in their relentless fear of Iran, believe it to be in breach of a decades-old US security guarantee. As client states often will, they have raised the political cost to Obama, to the frustration of administration officials who bristle at Saudi intransigence over a deal designed to take the world's most powerful weapon away from Riyadh's premier enemy.

The clearest signal Obama has sent to accommodate Saudi Arabia has sacrificed Yemen, already the locus of an intense, secretive campaign of drone strikes for years. For a year, the Saudis have relentlessly bombed Yemen to oust the Iran-aligned Houthi movement that overthrew a US-backed regime. It has done so with US backing.

That campaign has been anything but discriminating. The Saudi strikes have killed nearly 2,800 civilians, according to a United Nations estimate, and wounded 5,300 more. Yet in March, the White House announced the establishment of a planning cell with the Saudis to coordinate "US military and intelligence support". In November, as international humanitarian condemnation of the Yemen bombing was rampant, the State Department approved the sale of $1.3bn worth of air-to-ground weapons. The Saudis have even bombed hospitals, as the US did in Kunduz in October, and Human Rights Watch last week documented evidence of the Saudis using old US-provided cluster bombs, weapons that most of the world has banned because they can remain deadly for years after a conflict ends.

The Yemen war received no mention in the State of the Union.

Obama tends to pride himself on his aversion to the hysteria that often characterizes foreign affairs discourse, an asset at the core of his anti-Stupid Shit doctrine. But a lesson of his presidency is that there are many varieties of stupidity. Some of it involves embracing, escalating or restarting conflicts without an ability to achieve their result. Other varieties involve rejecting Stupid Shit only to reluctantly embrace it past the point it might have made a difference, as in Syria, or helping overthrow a government without any plan for the day after, as in Libya.

Perhaps the most tragic legacy is how an effort to delicately calibrate a precise use of deadly force – the endeavor animating Obama's reliance on drones and special operations forces – still looks indiscriminate to those caught up in its power. A young Yemeni activist educated in the US had little patience for Obama's rationalizations about drone strikes after one hit his village. In 2013 congressional testimony that helped place Obama's legacy in context, Farea al-Muslimi told a Senate panel how drone fears are so entrenched that Yemeni parents use the threat of them to get unruly children to go to bed.

"When they think of America," Muslimi testified about a method of war champi-

oned by a president with a Nobel peace prize, "they think of the terror they feel from the drones that hover over their heads, ready to fire missiles at any time."

http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/13/obama-wars-iraq-afghanistan-syria-foreign-policy-peace-failure

War, Terrorism and the Global Economic Crisis in 2015: Ninety-nine Interrelated Concepts

January 8, 2016

'If you threaten America, you will find no safe haven': Obama vows to destroy ISIS with Syria airstrikes in televised address – but insists there will be 'no boots on the ground'

- Obama brands the 'Islamic State' as 'a terrorist organization, pure and simple'
- 'We will degrade, and ultimately destroy' ISIS 'through a comprehensive and sustained counter-terrorism strategy'
- Four-point plan includes airstrikes, support for Iraqi army units, counter-terrorism activities to hamstring ISIS, and renewed humanitarian aid
- President wants $500 million from Congress to arm Syrian rebels
- 'We have not yet detected specific plotting against our homeland,' he cautioned

Everything is interrelated: war, terrorism, the police state, the global economy, economic austerity, financial fraud, corrupt governments, poverty and social inequality, police violence, Al Qaeda, ISIS, media disinformation, racism, war propaganda weapons of mass destruction, the derogation of international law, the criminalization of politics, the CIA, the FBI, climate change, nuclear war, Fukushima, nuclear radiation, crimes against humanity, The China-Russia alliance, Syria Ukraine, NATO, false flags, 9/11 Truth, ….

An overall understanding of this Worldwide crisis is required: the last section deals briefly with reversing the tide of war, peace-making, instating social justice and real democracy.

This article includes a compendium of relevant citations (from my writings) pertaining to different dimensions of this global crisis. Citations from other authors are indicated in italics.

The Globalization of War. America's Long War against Humanity

1. The US has embarked on a military adventure, "a long war", which threatens the future of humanity. US-NATO weapons of mass destruction are portrayed as instruments of peace.

2. Major military and covert intelligence operations are being undertaken simultane-

ously in the Middle East, Eastern Europe, sub-Saharan Africa, Central Asia and the Far East. The US military agenda combines both major theater operations as well as covert actions geared towards destabilizing sovereign states.

3. "[The] Five-year campaign plan [includes]… a total of seven countries, beginning with Iraq, then Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Iran, Somalia and Sudan." General Wesley Clark in "Winning Modern Wars" (page 130)

4. In 2005, former Vice President Dick Cheney hinted, in no uncertain terms, that Iran was "right at the top of the list" of the "rogue enemies" of America, and that Israel would, so to speak, "be doing the bombing for us without being asked", i.e without US military involvement and without us putting pressure on them "to do it". This foreign policy stance still prevails under Obama.

9/11 and The Global War on Terrorism (GWOT)

5. The "war on terrorism" is a war of conquest. Globalization is the final march to the "New World Order", dominated by Wall Street and the U.S. military-industrial complex.

6. September 11, 2001 provides a justification for waging a war without borders. Washington's agenda consists in extending the frontiers of the American Empire to facilitate complete U.S. corporate control, while installing within America the institutions of the Homeland Security State.

7 "The forbidden truth" is that Western governments including US, UK, France, NATO and Israel –while waging a self-proclaimed "Global War on Terrorism"– routinely provide covert support to the same terrorist entities which are the object of their "humanitarian wars" and "counter-terrorism operations".

War and the Economic Crisis

8. In all major regions of the world, the economic recession is deep-seated, resulting in mass unemployment, the collapse of state social programs and the impoverishment of millions of people.

9. The economic crisis is accompanied by a worldwide process of militarization, a "war without borders" led by the United States of America and its NATO allies. The conduct of the Pentagon's "long war" is intimately related to the restructuring of the global economy.

10. "The Pentagon's 'black' operations, including the intelligence budgets nested inside it, are roughly equal in magnitude to the entire defense budgets of the UK, France or Japan, and ten percent of the total." (Tom Burghardt)

11. An outright "economic war" resulting in unemployment, poverty and disease is carried out through the free market. People's lives are in a freefall and their purchasing power is destroyed. In a very real sense, the last twenty years of global "free market" economy have resulted, through poverty and social destitution, in destroying the lives of millions of people.

12. Vast amounts of money wealth are acquired through market manipulation. Often referred to as "deregulation", the financial apparatus has developed sophisticated instruments of outright manipulation and deceit.

13. With inside information and foreknowledge, major financial actors, using the instruments of speculative trade, have the ability to fiddle and rig market movements to their advantage, precipitate the collapse of a competitor and wreck havoc in the economies of developing countries.

14. What is at stake is a process of "financial cleansing" whereby the "too big to fail banks" in Europe and North America (e.g. Citi, JPMorgan Chase, Goldman Sachs, et al) displace and destroy lesser financial institutions, with a view to eventually taking over the entire "banking landscape".

15. The underlying tendency at the national and global levels is towards the centralization and concentration of bank power, while leading to the dramatic slump of the real economy.

Greece: Austerity Measures

16. The creditors will use Greece's multibillion debt obligations as means to impose deadly macro-economic reforms which will serve to destabilize the national economy and further impoverish the population. These are referred to by the IMF as "policy conditionalities', which enable the creditors to essentially dictate economic and social policy.

17. The creditors are largely interested in acquiring real wealth within the national economy, namely the acquisition of Greece's national banking institutions, its public enterprises, its agricultural land, etc.

Disinformation, Media Propaganda and the CIA

18. Disinformation is routinely "planted" by CIA operatives in the newsroom of major dailies, magazines and TV channels. Outside public relations firms are often used to create "fake stories".

19. "A relatively few well-connected correspondents provide the scoops, that get the coverage in the relatively few mainstream news sources, where the parameters of debate are set and the "official reality" is consecrated for the bottom feeders in the news chain." (Chaim Kupferberg in relation to 9/11 media coverage)

20. To sustain the war agenda, these "fabricated realities", funneled on a day to day basis into the news chain must become indelible truths, which form part of a broad political and media consensus. In this regard, the corporate media –although acting independently of the military-intelligence apparatus, is an instrument of this evolving totalitarian system.

"Islamic Terrorism" and the Human Mindset

21 Al Qaeda-ISIS concepts, repeated ad nauseam have potentially traumatic impacts on the human mind and the ability of normal human beings to analyze and comprehend the "real outside World" of war, politics and the economic crisis.

22. Al Qaeda constitutes a stylized, fake and almost folkloric abstraction of terrorism, which permeates the inner consciousness of millions of people around the World.

The Islamic State Caliphate Project (ISIS/ISIL/Daesh)

23 Those who ordered the bombing campaign are those who are behind the Caliphate Project.

24. The Islamic State militia, which is currently the alleged target of a US-NATO bombing campaign under a "counter-terrorism" mandate, is supported covertly by the United States and its allies.

25. The ISIS terrorists are the foot soldiers of the Western alliance. While America claims to be targeting ISIS, in reality it is protecting ISIS. The air campaign is intent upon destroying Syria and Iraq rather than "going after the terrorists".

26. A complex network of Al Qaeda affiliated terrorist organizations overseen by US and allied intelligence agencies has unfolded, extending across the Middle East, North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, Central Asia, Western China, South and South East Asia.

27. The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) is a creation of US intelligence.

Washington's "Counter-terrorism Agenda" in Iraq and Syria consists in Supporting the Terrorists.

28. The incursion of the Islamic State (IS) brigades into Iraq starting in June 2014 was part of a carefully planned military-intelligence operation supported covertly by the US, NATO and Israel.

29. Without Western support, according to Vladimir Putin, the terrorists would not have been able to gain control over entire regions of the country. "The so-called Islamic State [ISIS] has taken control of a huge territory. How was that possible? (Vladimir Putin's speech to the Valdai Conference, October 2015)

Western Special Forces are Assisting the Terrorists in Syria

30. Western special forces and covert intelligence agents including British SAS, French Parachutistes, CIA, MI6 and Mossad have integrated rebel ranks.

31 Their activities are not limited to training. They are routinely involved in overseeing the conduct of terrorist operations on the ground together with Turkish and Qatari special forces, as well thousands of mercenaries recruited from Muslim countries.

32.The French have been actively involved in Syria since the outset of the insurgency on the ground in liaison with their US, British and Israeli counterparts. In February 2012, 13 French military officers were arrested in Homs pointing to the presence of foreign troops on Syrian soil inside rebel ranks.

America's Allies: Support to the Islamic State by Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Turkey

33 Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Pakistan, Qatar, Jordan, et al. have been involved in recruiting, training and financing Islamic terrorists.

34. A large number of ISIS mercenaries are convicted criminals released from Saudi prisons on condition they join the ISIL. Saudi death row inmates were recruited to join the terror brigades. (January 23, 2013)

35 The practice of beheading civilians by ISIS operative in Syria emanates from

Saudi Arabia.. The ISIL's practice of beheadings is part of the US sponsored terrorist training programs implemented in Saudi Arabia and Qatar.

Israel and the Islamic State

36 Netanyahu does not deny that his government's support of the terrorists in Syria. The IDF top brass has acknowledged that "global jihad elements inside Syria" are supported by Israel

37 The State of Israel collaborates with the French authorities in the Charlie Hebdo counterterrorism operation, while also supporting the two main terrorist entities in Syria: the Islamic State (ISIS) and Al Nusrah.

The Criminalization of the State

38 The "Criminalization of the State", is when war criminals legitimately occupy positions of authority, which enable them to decide "who are the criminals", when in fact they are the criminals.

Wars of Aggression are in Violation of International Law and the UN Charter

39 The US, France, Britain are the aggressor nations against Syria. They cannot under any circumstances invoke the Right of Self-defense.

40 In contrast, Syria is the victim of foreign aggression and has the Right to Self-defense under Article 51 of the UN Charter which states that: "Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of collective or individual self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations"

War Crimes

41 The US-NATO led war applied Worlwide is a criminal undertaking under the disguise of counter-terrorism. It violates the Nuremberg Charter, the US constitution and the UN charter.

42 According to former chief Nuremberg prosecutor Benjamin Ferencz, in relation to the 2003 invasion of Iraq: "a prima facie case can be made that the United States is guilty of the supreme crime against humanity — that being an illegal war of aggression against a sovereign nation." Ferenz was referring to "Crimes against Peace and War" (Nuremberg Principle VI)

43 Nuremberg Principle III relates directly to president Obama and the heads of State and heads of government of the US-NATO led coalition: "a person who committed an act which constitutes a crime under international law acted as Head of State or responsible government official does not relieve him from responsibility under international law."

The Clash of Civilizations: Worldwide Campaign against Muslims

44. A good versus evil dichotomy prevails: a "Clash of Civilisations".

45. The West has a "Mission": "We must fight against evil in all its forms as a means to preserving the Western way of life." The perpetrators of war are presented as the victims.

46. The "Global War on Terrorism" (GWOT) directed against Al Qaeda launched in the wake of 9/11 is evolving towards a full-fledged "war of religion", a "holy crusade" directed against the Muslim World.

47. A "war of religion" is unfolding, with a view to justifying a global military crusade. In the inner consciousness of many Americans, the "holy crusade" against Muslims is justified.

48 While President Obama may uphold freedom of religion, the US inquisitorial social order has institutionalized patterns of discrimination, prejudice and xenophobia directed against Muslims.

49. Ethnic profiling applies to travel, the job market, access to education and social services and more generally to social status and mobility.

50. The wave of xenophobia directed against Muslims which has swept across Western Europe is tied into geopolitics. It is part of a military agenda. It consists in demonizing the enemy.

51. Muslim countries possess more than 60 percent of total oil reserves. In contrast, the United States of America has barely 2 percent of total oil reserves. Iraq has five times more oil than the United States.

52. A large share of the World's oil lies in Muslim lands. The objective of the US led war is to steal and appropriate those oil reserves. And to achieve this objective, these countries are targeted: war, covert ops, economic destabilization, regime change.

US-NATO Threatens Russia and China

53. The "Communist threat" of The Cold War era has been replaced by the worldwide threat of "Islamic terrorism".

54. Whereas Russia and China have become capitalist "free market" economies, a first strike pre-emptive nuclear attack is nonetheless contemplated.

55. China and Russia are no longer considered to be "a threat to capitalism". Quite the opposite. What is at stake is economic and financial rivalry between competing capitalist powers.

56. The China-Russia alliance under the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) constitutes a "competing capitalist block" which undermines U.S. economic hegemony.

57. In May 2014, the Russian Aggression Prevention Act (RAPA) was introduced in the US Senate (S 2277), calling for the militarization of Eastern Europe and the Baltic States and the stationing of US and NATO troops on Russia's doorstep

58. In Asia, the U.S. has contributed under its "Pivot to Asia" to encouraging its Asia-Pacific allies including Japan, Australia, South Korea, The Philippines and Vietnam to threaten and isolate China as part of a process of "military encirclement" of China, which gained impetus in the late 1990s.

The Dangers of Nuclear War

59. In the wake of the Cold War, an understanding on the dangers of nuclear war (MAD) no longer prevails. Publicly available military documents confirm that pre-emptive nuclear war is still on the drawing board of the Pentagon. Compared to the 1950s, the nuclear weapons are more advanced. The delivery system is more precise.

60. In addition to China and Russia, Iran, Syria and North Korea are targets for pre-emptive nuclear war. Let us be under no illusions, the Pentagon's plan to blow up the planet using advanced nuclear weapons is still on the books.

61. With an explosive capacity varying between one third and six times a Hiroshima bomb, mini-nukes are said to be "harmless to civilians". Pre-emptive nuclear war is portrayed as a "humanitarian undertaking". Scientists on contract to the Pentagon have endorsed the use of tactical nuclear weapons: they are "harmless to civilians because the explosion is underground."

62. The Pentagon has confirmed its policy of a nuclear first strike against the Russian Federation in response to Russia's alleged aggression against Ukraine. If these US nuclear strikes were to be implemented, humanity would be precipitated into a Third World War, which could potentially be the "final war" on planet earth.

63. Should we be concerned? The people at the highest levels of government who decide regarding the use of nuclear weapons haven't the foggiest idea as to the implications of their actions. Blowing up the planet through the use of nuclear weapons is fully endorsed by presidential candidate Hillary Clinton, who believes that nuclear weapons are instruments of peace-making. Her election campaign is financed by the corporations which produce WMDs.

Fidel Castro on the Dangers of Nuclear War

64. "The conventional war would be lost by the US and the nuclear war is no alternative for anyone. On the other hand, nuclear war would inevitably become global"

65. "I think nobody on Earth wishes the human species to disappear. And that is the reason why I am of the opinion that what should disappear are not just nuclear weapons, but also conventional weapons. We must provide a guarantee for peace to all peoples without distinction

66. "In a nuclear war the collateral damage would be the life of humankind. Let us have the courage to proclaim that all nuclear or conventional weapons, everything that is used to make war, must disappear!"

67. "It is about demanding that the world is not led into a nuclear catastrophe, it is to preserve life." Fidel Castro Ruz, Havana, October 2010. (Recorded by Michel Chossudovsky, Havana, October 2010, image right, Fidel Castro, Michel Chossudovsky)

Fukushima: Worldwide Nuclear Radiation

68 The Fukushima disaster in Japan has brought to the forefront the dangers of Worldwide nuclear radiation. The crisis in Japan has been described as "a nuclear war without a war".

69. In the words of renowned novelist Haruki Murakami: "This time no one dropped a bomb on us … We set the stage, we committed the crime with our own hands, we

are destroying our own lands, and we are destroying our own lives."

70. Nuclear radiation –which threatens life on planet earth– is not front page news in comparison to the most insignificant issues of public concern, including the local level crime scene or the tabloid gossip reports on Hollywood celebrities.

71. The shaky political consensus both in Japan, the U.S. and Western Europe is that the crisis at Fukushima has been contained. The truth is otherwise. Known and documented, the ongoing dumping of highly radioactive water into the Pacific Ocean constitutes a potential trigger to a process of global radioactive contamination.

72. This water contains plutonium 239 and its release into the Ocean has both local as well as global repercussions. A microgram of plutonium if inhaled, according to Dr. Helen Caldicott, can cause death

Geo-engineering: Modifying the Weather for Military Use

73. Environmental modification techniques (ENMOD) for military use constitute, in the present context of global warfare, the ultimate weapon of mass destruction.

74. Rarely acknowledged in the debate on global climate change, the world's weather can now be modified as part of a new generation of sophisticated electromagnetic weapons. Both the US and Russia have developed capabilities to manipulate the climate for military use.

75. Weather manipulation is the pre-emptive weapon par excellence. It can be directed against enemy countries or even "friendly nations", without their knowledge. Weather warfare constitutes a covert form of pre-emptive war. The manipulation of climate can be used to destabilize an enemy's economy, ecosystem and agriculture

The Resurgence of Nazism in Ukraine

76. The forbidden truth is that the West has engineered in Ukraine –through a carefully staged covert operation– the formation of a proxy regime integrated by Neo-Nazis.

77. Unknown to most Americans, the US government is channeling financial support, weapons and training to a Neo-Nazi entity –which is part of The Ukraine National Guard– The Azov Battalion (Батальйон Азов). Canada and Britain have confirmed that they also are providing support to the National Guard.

78. The Azov Battalion -which "officially" displays the Nazi SS emblem is described by the Kiev regime as "a volunteer battalion of territorial defense". It's a National Guard battalion under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the equivalent of America's Homeland Security.

79. The Azov battalion supported by its Western partners is not only involved in para-military operations in Eastern Ukraine. it is also running a Summer Camp military training project for young children as part of its broader training and Nazi indoctrination program.

80. With Svoboda and Right Sector political appointees in charge of national security and the armed forces, a real grassroots protest movement directed against the IMF's deadly macroeconomic reforms, will in all likelihood be brutally repressed by

the Right Sector's "brown shirts" and the National Guard paramilitary led by Dmitri Yarosh, on behalf of Wall Street and the Washington consensus.

The Police State

81. Rather than addressing an impending social catastrophe, Western governments, which serve the interests of the economic elites, have installed a "Big Brother" police state, with a mandate to confront and repress all forms of opposition and social dissent.

82. The Department of Defense now authorizes the domestic deployment of US troops in "the conduct of operations other than war" including law enforcement activities and the quelling of "civil disturbances".

83. The repeal of democracy is portrayed as a means to providing "domestic security" and upholding civil liberties.

84. An FBI department established in 2004 under the Bush administration was conducive to the integration of law enforcement and domestic spying. Its mandate was essentially political, directed at curbing all forms of social and political dissent in America.

85. According to a 2004 Report of the Homeland Security Council, these domestic "conspirators" are said to be acting in coordination with "foreign terrorists". The Report identified "domestic radical groups" and "disgruntled employees".

The November 13, 2015 Paris Terror Attacks

86. The November 13 attacks were immediately followed by the enactment of a State of Emergency, the closing of France's borders and the suspension of civil liberties as a means — according to president François Hollande– to safeguarding democratic values.

87. The tragic loss of life has been used by the Hollande government (with the support of the media) to harness the public into accepting the implementation of police state measures in the interest of French Republic, namely protecting France's national security against an illusive self-proclaimed "Islamic State" based in Northern Syria, which happens to be a creation of US intelligence.

88. The measures also included procedures which enable the police to conduct arbitrary arrests and house searches without a warrant within the Paris metropolitan area opening up the development of a potential hate campaign directed against France's Muslim population.

89. These drastic police state measures (including the repeal of habeas corpus) ordered by president Hollande were decided upon prior and in the absence of a police report.

Reversing the Tide of War, Building Peace, Democracy and Social Justice

90 War propaganda has become increasingly pervasive. War is upheld as a peacemaking operation.

91 When war becomes peace, the world is turned upside down. Conceptualization is no longer possible. An inquisitorial social system emerges. The consensus is to wage

war. People can longer think for themselves. They accept the authority and wisdom of the established social order.

92 War however is not an inevitable process.

93 War can be prevented through mass social action.

94. The issue is not whether the war will inevitably take place but what are the instruments at our disposal which will enable us to shunt and ultimately disarm this global military agenda.

95. War criminals occupy positions of authority. The citizenry is galvanized into supporting the rulers, who are "committed to their safety and well-being". Through media disinformation, war is given a humanitarian mandate.

96. The legitimacy of war must be addressed. Antiwar sentiment alone does not disarm a military agenda. High ranking officials of the Obama administration, members of the military and the US Congress have been granted the authority to uphold an illegal war.

97. A significant segment of the antiwar movement has been co-opted. We are against war but we support the "war on terrorism". We can rely on an ambiguous political discourse.

98. How does one effectively break the war and police state agendas?

99. Essentially by refuting the "war on terrorism" and America's holy crusade against the "Islamic jihad" which constitute the very foundations of America's national security doctrine.

100. Without the "war on terrorism", politicians in high office do not have a leg to stand on. Once the Big Lie is fully revealed, their legitimacy collapses like a deck of cards.

101. How best to achieve this objective? By fully uncovering the lies behind the "war on terrorism" and revealing the fact amply documented that Western governments are supporting the terrorists, i.e. they are State sponsors of terrorism.

102. Media propaganda sustains the legitimacy of "war on terrorism". "Evil folks are lurking", the jihad is said to be threatening the Western World

103. The corporate backers and sponsors of war and war crimes must also be targeted including the oil companies, the defense contractors, the financial institutions and the corporate media, which has become an integral part of the war propaganda machine.

Regime Change in the West

104. What is required is a grass roots antiwar network, a mass movement at national and international levels, which challenges the legitimacy of the main military and political actors, as well as their corporate sponsors, and which would ultimately be instrumental in unseating those who rule in our name.

105. This is no easy task. The first step is to break the consensus, and that is done through what we might describe as counter-propaganda. It is in this context that

Truth becomes a powerful weapon.

106. The construction of this type of network will take time to develop. Initially, it should focus on developing a firm antiwar stance within existing citizens' organizations (e.g. trade unions, community organizations, professional regroupings, student federations, municipal councils, etc.). In many of these, organizations, however, – which include NGOs such as Amnesty International–, the leadership has been coopted; many of these organizations are generously funded by corporate foundations. In turn, since 2003, the antiwar movement in Western countries is virtually at a standstill.

107. Breaking the Lie means breaking a criminal project of global destruction, in which the quest for profit is the overriding force.

108 .This profit-driven military agenda destroys human values and transforms people into unconscious zombies.

109. Let us reverse the tide by breaking the consensus, namely by breaking the propaganda apparatus.

110. Swaying public opinion is not enough what has to be undertaken is to break the process of internal propaganda within government, the judicial system, law enforcement, the military, intelligence, etc. Because ultimately these are the areas where decisions are taken.

111. The doctrine of the US Armed Forces is the "war on terrorism". It is deeply entrenched. It provides a "Just Cause" to war. It is the driving force behind the troops. It is used to provide legitimacy to the bombing raids. What needs to done is to break the decision making process within the military through counter propaganda.

112. William Shakespeare's rightfully describes in our contemporary World the architects of the New World Order: "Hell is empty and all the devils are here."

113. Our indelible task is to send the "devils" of our time, the self-proclaimed architects of "democracy" and the "free market", "down" to where they rightfully belong.

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