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**ACSRT / CAERT**

African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism

# Terrorism

## Bi-weekly Press Review

### 1 - 15 June 2014

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**1—15 June 2014**

**Table of Contents**

	<b>Pages</b>
<b>African Union</b>	
- Sommet mondial de 2014 sur l’abolition de la violence sexuelle perpétrée par temps de conflits	4
- Ending Sexual Violence in Conflict 2014 Global Summit	5
- AMISOM hands over four wells to Banadir administration, Mogadishu	6
- The AU investigates reports about the involvement of MISCA soldiers in human rights violations	8
- The AU Commission and the EU hold the 9th meeting of the APF Joint Coordination Committee	9
- 9th Meeting of the Joint Coordination committee of the APF, Addis Ababa, 3rd June 2014	12
- Réunion du Comité Tripartite sur le soutien international au Soudan et au Soudan du Sud	15
- Tripartite Committee Meeting on International Support to Sudan and South Sudan	16
- AU launches five-year Gender Peace and Security Programme 2015-2020	17
- Seminar on <i>Anti-Terrorism for English Speaking African Countries organized by Shandong Police College in Jinan, Shandong Province</i> from 6-26 May 2014.	18
<b>Terrorism in Africa</b>	
- Severity of Crisis in Maghreb/Sahel Region Intensifies, Says MEA-Risk	21
- Internet, catalyseur de la radicalisation des jeunes musulmans ?	24
- Lutte contre le terrorisme et aide au développement en Afrique: quels liens pour quels enjeux?	27
<b>Algeria</b>	
- LAMAMRA lors du forum sur les menaces en Afrique du Nord	31
<b>Djibouti</b>	
- TERRORISM INCIDENT REPORT: Attack on Djibouti Restaurant	33
<b>Egypt</b>	
- Égypte et Arabie saoudite : tous contre les Frères	35
<b>Libya</b>	
- Libya’s violent slide	38
- Fighting between militias intensifies in Libya	40
- General Haftar’s plans and Libya’s future	44
<b>Mali</b>	
- Les témoignages d’alerte, décembre 2011-février 2012	46
<b>Nigeria</b>	
- The rhetoric of civilisation and the logic of Boko Haram	49
- Getting to Boko Haram's roots might have surprising implications	57

<b>Somalia</b>	
- C4 Survey: Somali Terrorism Prompts Kenyan Border Upgrade	59
- Al-Shabab: Mediation Matters	62
<b>Rwanda</b>	
- The pendulum swings back	65
<b>Terrorism in the World</b>	
<b>Belgium</b>	
- Filières djihadistes: «Partir dans le tout sécuritaire serait une victoire pour le terrorisme»	69
<b>France</b>	
- Le Jihad made in France	71
<b>India</b>	
- Indian Mujahedeen Arrests: Lessons learnt and future directions	75
<b>Iraq</b>	
- 13 years into war on terror, Islamic militants as bold as ever across region	78
<b>Pakistan</b>	
- What the Karachi airport attack says about the Pakistani Taliban	82
<b>Russia</b>	
- Exploring Al Qaeda's Murky Connection to Russian Intelligence	86
<b>USA</b>	
- Terrorist Groups Rise 58% since 2010	94
- The consequences of the U.S. war on terrorism in Africa	97
- Al-Qaida Decentralized, but Not Necessarily Weaker	99
- Targeted Killing of Terrorists	102

**DIRECTORATE OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION**

**Communiqué de presse N°138/2014**

**Sommet mondial de 2014 sur l'abolition de la violence sexuelle perpétrée par temps de conflits – La Présidente de la Commission de l'Union africaine invite à un meilleur engagement politique et à des actions concrètes**

**Londres, Royaume-Uni - 10 juin 2014** : La Présidente de la Commission de l'Union africaine, S.E. Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, dirige une délégation de l'Union africaine à Londres pour assister, du 10 au 13 juin 2014, au Sommet mondial de 2014 sur l'abolition de la violence sexuelle perpétrée lors des conflits.

Tout en mettant en lumière les initiatives de l'Union africaine, Dr Dlamini Zuma invitera à un meilleur engagement politique et à des actions concrètes sur le terrain visant à éliminer la violence sexuelle, qui détruit la vie de millions de filles en Afrique et dans le monde. Elle participera à la séance plénière d'ouverture d'une réunion ministérielle. Cela lui permettra de comprendre directement, à partir des discussions menées par les experts, la nature et l'impact de la violence sexuelle perpétrée lors des conflits.

Accueilli par S.E.M. William Hague, Ministre britannique des Affaires étrangères, et l'actrice Angelina Jolie, Envoyée spéciale du haut Commissaire des Nations-Unies pour les réfugiés, le sommet devrait traduire en actions concrètes l'engagement politique exprimé par les 148 pays ayant approuvé la déclaration d'engagement visant à éliminer la violence sexuelle par temps de conflits, formulée en septembre 2013 à l'Assemblée générale des Nations-Unies.

Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma est accompagnée de Madame Bineta Diop, Envoyée spéciale de l'Union africaine pour les questions relatives au genre, à la paix et à la sécurité. La nomination de Madame Diop en janvier 2014 visait à apporter un poids politique et diplomatique sur l'amélioration de la condition féminine dans le cadre des opérations de paix et de sécurité.

Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma aura des rencontres officielles au Parlement britannique et des réunions bilatérales respectivement avec S.E.M. William Hague, Ministre britannique des Affaires étrangères ; S.E. Madame Zainab Bangura, représentante spéciale du Secrétaire général des Nations Unies pour la violence sexuelle par temps de conflit, et avec Madame Angelina Jolie, Envoyée spéciale du haut Commissaire des Nations-Unies pour les réfugiés. Elle aura également des réunions informelles avec des délégations de jeunes participant au sommet.

## **DIRECTORATE OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION**

**Press Release N°138/2014**

### **Ending Sexual Violence in Conflict 2014 Global Summit – AUC Chair to call for more political commitment and concrete action**

**London, United Kingdom -10 June, 2014:** The Chairperson of the African Union Commission, H.E. Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma is leading an AU delegation to attend the London 2014 Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict taking place in London, United Kingdom from 10-13 June 2014.

While shading lights on the efforts of the AU, Dr. Dlamini Zuma will call for more political commitment and concrete actions on the ground to ending sexual violence destroying millions of girls in Africa and around the world. She will participate in the opening plenary session of a Ministerial meeting, during which she will hear directly from the experts' discussion about the nature and impact of sexual violence in conflict.

Hosted by H.E. William Hague, British Foreign Secretary and Angelina Jolie, actress and Special Envoy of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the summit is expected to translate into practical action the political commitment expressed by the 148 countries endorsing the declaration of commitment to End Sexual Violence in conflict, launched at the UN General Assembly in September 2013.

Accompanying the Dr. Dlamini Zuma is the AU Special Envoy for Women, Peace and Security, Mme Bineta Diop. Mme Diop's appointment in January 2014 was aimed at bringing to bear a powerful political and diplomatic weight to raising the plight of women around issues of peace and security.

Dr. Dlamini Zuma will hold a series of official engagements at the British Parliament, bilateral meetings with the British Foreign Secretary, H.E. William Hague, UN Secretary General's Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, H.E. Zainab Bangura; and Angelina Jolie, Special Envoy of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. She will also hold informal meetings with youth delegates attending the Global Summit.

## **AMISOM hands over four wells to Banadir administration, Mogadishu**

Mogadishu, 5 June 2014: The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), through its Humanitarian Liaison Unit, today handed over four water wells to the Banadir Administration in Mogadishu. The four wells located in Hamarweyne, Dharkenly, Wadajir and Hamaarjajab, will benefit over 260,000 households.



Mogadishu, 5 June 2014: The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), through its Humanitarian Liaison Unit, today handed over four water wells to the Banadir Administration in Mogadishu. The four wells located in Hamarweyne, Dharkenly, Wadajir and Hamaarjajab, will benefit over 260,000 households.

The construction and rehabilitation of the wells was funded by the Swedish Government and supported by AMISOM and implemented by Hadaf Humanitarian Relief Organization (HADAF), a local Non-Government Organization.

Speaking during the handover ceremony on behalf of the African Union Special Representative for Somalia Ambassador Mahamat Saleh Annadif, AMISOM Political Officer James Gadin said the donation would uplift the living standards of the people by providing basic social services in the areas that have been recovered.

“The wells will provide affordable and reliable clean water to the residents of the Mogadishu districts” he said adding that the Civilian Component of AMISOM is complementing military and Police efforts on the ground by trying to improve the lives of the Somali people.

On his part Senior Humanitarian Liaison officer, Abdul Diagabate said that the project will greatly help improve individual as well as public health, and enable parents to spend more time working to provide for their families’ needs.

Acting Mogadishu Mayor Ismail Maalim Abdi thanked AMISOM and the Swedish Government for the continued support to the Somali people and its Government saying that the water wells will provide basic humanitarian assistance to the people of Somalia and alleviate suffering of the people.

The handover exercise was attended by Representatives from AMISOM, Acting Mayor of Mogadishu Ismail Maalim Abdi, District Commissioners from the four Districts and the representative from the local community.

## **The African Union investigates reports about the involvement of MISCA soldiers in human rights violations**

**Addis Ababa, 3 June 2014:** The Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union (AU), Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, has learnt with concern of the reports by Human Rights Watch that soldiers of the African-led International Support Mission to the Central African Republic (MISCA) have been involved in the forced disappearance of eleven people in the locality of Boali, about 80 km north of Bangui.

The Chairperson of the Commission stresses that an investigation has been jointly initiated by the MISCA Human Rights component and judicial police officers of the Mission to shed light on these allegations. Based on the findings of the investigation, the AU will take the required action in accordance with the rules governing the functioning of MISCA.

The Chairperson of the Commission recalls that since its deployment on 19 December 2013, MISCA has carried out its mandate in a dedicated and proactive manner. The Mission has contributed greatly to the improvement of the situation on the ground, protecting the civilian population as well as the transitional institutions and key infrastructures of the country in particularly difficult conditions. She further recalls that the AU has a zero tolerance policy for any abuse against civilians and other violations of human rights and international humanitarian law. Any transgression of the principles that guide the functioning of MISCA will be treated with utmost severity.

The Chairperson of the Commission reiterates her appreciation to the leadership, as well as to the MISCA civilian and uniformed personnel, for their work, and encourages them to persevere in the efforts towards the effective implementation of the mandate of the Mission so as to facilitate the promotion of lasting peace, security, stability and reconciliation in the CAR.



## **The African Union Commission and the European Union hold the 9th meeting of the Africa Peace Facility (APF) Joint Coordination Committee**

**Addis Ababa, 3 June 2014:** A two-day meeting of the Joint Coordination Committee (JCC) of the African Peace Facility (APF) started today at the African Union (AU) Headquarters in Addis Ababa. The meeting brings together representatives of the AU Commission, the European Union (EU) and the following Regional Economic Communities/Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (RECs/RMs): the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Community of Sahelo-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), the East African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the North Africa Regional Capability (NARC) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

The JCC meeting was opened by the AU Commissioner for Peace and Security, Ambassador Smail Chergui, and the European External Action Service Managing Director for Africa, Nick Westcott. In his statement, Commissioner Chergui expressed AU's appreciation to the EU for its unwavering support to peace and security efforts in Africa. "We acknowledge the EU's continued support through the APF to our mission in Somalia (AMISOM), the African-led International Support Mission to the Central Africa Republic (MISCA), as well as support to our efforts against the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA)," he said.

On his part, Director Westcott said this meeting gives the opportunity to design programmes and plan their implementation. He noted that the EU had committed 750 million Euros for the APF under the new Three-Year Action Programme (2014 – 2016) to contribute towards the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts in Africa. We do so, he said, because "the APF had proved its relevance, efficiency and impact to tackle peace and security issues around the continent."

The JCC meeting will provide an opportunity to look at the achievements and challenges encountered by the APF stakeholders based on the evaluation that was conducted and finalized in 2013. In this respect, the meeting will consider operations currently benefiting from the APF support (AMISOM and MISCA mainly), as well as the support programme for the operationalization of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), a blueprint for the promotion of peace, security and stability in Africa. The JCC meeting will also discuss the APF perspective for 2014 and beyond, with a view to finalizing a three-year work programme, which is expected to contribute to the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts in Africa through support to the operationalization of APSA, financing of African-led peace support operations and enhanced political dialogue between the AU and the EU.

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## **NOTE TO THE EDITORS**

***About the African Peace Facility and the Joint Coordination Committee:*** The Joint Coordination Committee (JCC) was established as the highest decision-making level to review the implementation of the African Peace Facility (APF) and give strategic focus and orientation. It is premised on the principles of African ownership and solidarity, which also underpin the Africa-EU Partnership. It would be recalled that the APF was established by the EU in 2004 in response to a request by the AU Heads of States and Government at their Summit in Maputo in July 2003, and became operational in May 2004, with an initial envelope of Euro 250 million drawn from the 9<sup>th</sup> European Development Fund (EDF).

The aim of the APF was to provide funding to support Africa's peace and security agenda. This initial APF allocation contributed to the financing of the African Mission in the Sudan (AMIS), the CEMAC peace support operation in the Central African Republic (CAR) and capacity building within the AU Peace and Security Department. It has since proved to be a useful instrument, supporting Africa's peace and security efforts, particularly African-owned and led peace operations, as well as strengthening capacity of the RECs/RMs.

The first meeting of the JCC was held in Addis Ababa on 18 January 2005. The meetings are usually co-chaired by the AU and the European Commission (EC). The JCC has often reaffirmed the important role that the APF plays in the implementation of initiatives agreed upon under the AU-EU partnership.

Today's JCC meeting is the ninth, with the last one having been held in November 2012 in Addis Ababa.

***About the Africa-EU Summit:*** The 9<sup>th</sup> JCC is particularly important considering that it is taking place immediately after the fourth Africa-EU Summit that was held in Brussels from 2 to 3 April 2014, during which a new Roadmap (2014-2017) was adopted to guide implementation of commitments agreed upon under the Africa-EU partnership. The Summit re-affirmed peace and security as one of the five key areas of cooperation under the partnership. The others are Democracy, Good Governance and Human Rights, Human Development, Sustainable, inclusive development and Continental Integration, and Global and Emerging issues.

The key priorities under the peace and security partnership were identified as the operationalization of APSA, particularly the African Standby Force and the Continental Early Warning System, enhanced political dialogue and continued financing of African-led peace support operations for the period 2014-2017. However, with some follow-up structures such as the iJEGs (informal Joint Expert Groups) having been abolished at the Summit, the JCC stands out as one of the main avenues for coordination and follow-up of the Africa-EU partnership on peace and security.

***About the Three-Year Action Programme:*** The new Three-Year Action Programme for the African Peace Facility with a financial envelope of €750 million drawn from

the 11<sup>th</sup> EDF is expected to contribute to the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts in Africa through support to the operationalization of APSA, financing of African-led peace support operations and enhanced political dialogue between the AU and the EU. Support to conflict prevention and mediation efforts through the Early Response Mechanism will also be continued with a further €15 million.

There is need for the programming of APF actions to focus on results and impacts on the African peace and security landscape. The new APF should be able to finance new initiatives by the AU and RECs/RMs that are not peace support operations in strict sense, such as the LRA mission and the AU Mission in the Sahel (MISAHEL).

**About African-led Peace Support Operations (2013 – 2014):** Since the last JCC in 2012, the APF continued to support the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) with increased funding. In 2013 alone, a total of about €200 million was committed to AMISOM. The APF also supported the African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA) before the mission was handed over to the UN and the Mission for the consolidation of peace in the Central African Republic (MICOPAX), which was later transformed into the African-led International Support Mission in Central African Republic (MISCA). The operation will be handed over to the UN in September 2014. As earlier indicated, the AUC should emphasize the need for the APF to be expanded to include new possible missions such as the LRA, MISAHEL and the Commission of Inquiry in South Sudan among others.

**About the APSA Support Programme:** The APF's support to capacity building through the APSA support programme continued in 2013-2014, with support to AMANI Africa II, and the Command, Control, Communication and Information System (C3IS) structure for the AU. The Training Centres Programme, which was to come to an end in 2013, was extended to 31 December 2014. Considering that this is a pilot project which is meant to improve capacities for Peace Support operations in Africa, the Commission looks forward to future consultations towards development of long-term and sustainable capacity building activities through the African Training Centers.

**About the Early Response Mechanism:** The Early Response Mechanism (ERM) established in 2009 was increasingly used to address crises urgently across Africa in 2013, including the IGAD-led mediation efforts in South Sudan. It financed first stages of mediation activities, fact-finding missions and ad-hoc reinforcement of peace support operations planning cells. In 2013, the APF funded about seven new AU/RECs activities in the field of mediation, diplomacy or deployment preparation at the AU and RECs/RMs level, with a total amount of EUR 232 million contracted. Since the inception of the ERM, about 21 initiatives have so far been financed.

## 9th Meeting of the Joint Coordination committee of the African Peace Facility, Addis Ababa, 3rd June 2014



The meeting brought together representatives of the AU Commission, European Commission, and the European External Action Service, as well as the Representatives of the following Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and Regional Mechanisms (RMs) for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution: Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), East African Community (EAC), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), the Eastern Africa Standby Force Coordinating Mechanism (EASFCOM) and the North Africa Regional Capability (NARC).

Representatives of the European Union (EU) Delegation to the African Union (AU) as well as EU Delegations to RECs and RMs also attended the meeting.

The meeting opened with a briefing on the results of the EU-Africa Summit, which has provided a new momentum in Africa-EU relations and has in parallel renewed joint and strong commitment to Peace and Security as one of the five key areas of cooperation of the Africa-EU partnership. Africa and EU representatives recognized the important results achieved so far, in particular by African-led peace support operations and by missions and operations deployed in Africa by the EU. It was noted that the capacity building programmes supported by the APF have significantly con-

tributed to developing capacities of AU and the RECs/RMs in planning and deployment of Peace Support Operations (AFISMA, ECOMIB, AMISOM and MISCA among others). Both sides also underlined the need to address the root causes of conflict and the security development nexus as well as to enhance dialogue, to implement common approaches and to strengthen coordination in crisis management.

The meeting also illustrated the overall orientations of the EU future support under the 2014-16 APF action programme. The EU reiterated its intention to continue funding the APF and to utilise the full range of EU instruments to support peace and security in the continent. It was agreed to discuss ways of enhancing the consultative process to prepare actions under the APF and to ensure proper coordination, coherence and efficiency of the capacity development activities to be conducted in the coming years. Both sides stressed the need for close cooperation between the continental and regional levels and for APF support to remain under continental coordination and management to ensure coherence, continuity and sustainability of the operationalization of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) as the main continental peace and security framework. The EU and the AU, in line with the EU-Africa Summit Roadmap, called for the mobilization of additional African and alternative international resources, in order to improve the predictability and financial sustainability of African peace and security activities, especially African Peace Support Operations.

The meeting noted the presentation of the APF evaluation (2013) which confirmed that the instrument has been a game changer in many ways, enabling collective African security actions anchored in the political role of the AU Peace and Security Council (AU PSC). It was further noted that some recommendations of the external evaluation have been taken into account to inform the upcoming APF action program for the period 2014-2016.

On Capacity development, the meeting noted the progress achieved so far. The APF evaluation echoed the importance of further strengthening the APSA; ensuring a clear, long-term, sustainable and focused strategic orientation which links more effectively with Peace Support Operations. It was noted that there will be continuity in financing of APSA support programmes. The APF support to APSA will be even more focused on building lasting capacities and will benefit from the recommendations of the upcoming APSA assessment. Furthermore, it was agreed that increased coherence and complementarity between the APF and the 11<sup>th</sup> EDF regional indicative programmes and other relevant instruments should be promoted without compromising the thrust of the APF as a continental facility in support of APSA.

The meeting further received a review of Peace Support Operations (PSOs) funded under the APF. The meeting noted that African-led PSOs have proven added value and that close cooperation between the AU and RECs/RMs is key to the success of regional initiatives. Both sides agreed on the need for the APF to consider sup-

porting new types of responses to emerging threats including trans-boundary issues initiated by the AU and the RECs/RMs and to conduct regular joint assessments of the missions aiming at providing a common framework to enable exit strategies and sustainability.

The meeting exchanged views on the Early Response Mechanism (ERM), which has facilitated increased crisis prevention and early crisis management efforts in more than 21 initiatives since 2009. It was acknowledged that ERM flexibility and rapid decision-making has proved to be effective in providing immediate support to specific urgent activities, first stages of mediation activities, fact-finding missions and ad-hoc reinforcement of PSO planning cells. The meeting recalled the short-term nature of this Mechanism to be used for emergency needs, bearing in mind that there are other instruments that can be used for the medium and long term. The EU announced the intention to provide longer support of up to 12 months for ERM actions in the new APF action program. The EU noted the need to further reinforce monitoring of the individual actions, as well as funding disbursements. Consequently, a revision of the ERM guidelines to enhance implementation will be further discussed.

The meeting underlined the importance of having regular meetings of the JCC at appropriate level. In line with the Roadmap of the Africa-EU summit, the meeting noted the need to widen the consultations on Peace and Security issues to other stakeholders including civil society organizations. These consultations could be organized in the margins of the JCC meetings or of the joint annual forums foreseen under the Africa-EU summit.

The AU, the RECs/RMs and the EU expressed deep appreciation for the common achievements the APF continued to promote to foster the advancement of peace and security in Africa.

## Réunion du Comité Tripartite sur le soutien international au Soudan et au Soudan du Sud

**Addis Abéba, le 3 juin 2014:** Le Comité tripartite pour une approche conjointe de la communauté internationale a conclu une réunion à Addis Abéba, le 3 juin 2014.

Le Comité tripartite a été créé dans le cadre de l'Accord sur certaines questions économiques conclu dans le cadre de l'Accord de coopération de septembre 2012, signé entre le Gouvernement de la République du Soudan et le Gouvernement de la République du Soudan du Sud. Ce Comité comprend des représentants de haut niveau des deux pays et un représentant du Groupe de mise en œuvre de haut niveau de l'Union africaine pour le Soudan et le Soudan du Sud.

Le mandat du Comité technique est de développer les modalités d'une approche conjointe de la communauté internationale pour aider les deux pays dans quatre domaines: (a) l'assistance financière transitoire au Soudan, (b) le soutien au développement du Soudan du Sud, (c) l'effacement total de la dette, et (d) la levée des sanctions économiques imposées au Soudan.

Après l'évaluation de la campagne de sensibilisation menée à ce jour et des résultats enregistrés, le Comité technique s'est accordé sur une stratégie et une feuille de route révisées, ainsi que sur d'autres documents connexes, pour guider l'interaction future avec la communauté internationale.

Le Comité technique a souligné que le soutien de la communauté internationale aidera les deux pays à améliorer leurs perspectives économiques et, partant, facilitera l'émergence de deux États viables, un objectif dont la réalisation a sous-tendu la négociation de l'Accord de coopération.

La réunion a été constructive et a renforcé le niveau élevé de coopération auquel les deux pays sont parvenus, dans le cadre de la mise en œuvre de l'Accord de coopération de septembre 2012.

## **Tripartite Committee Meeting on International Support to Sudan and South Sudan**

**Addis Ababa, 3 June 2014:** The Tripartite Committee (TC) for the Joint Approach to the International Community concluded a meeting in Addis Ababa on 03 June 2014.

The Tripartite Committee was established within the framework of the Agreement on Certain Economic Matters [ACEM] under the September 2012 Cooperation Agreement signed between the Government of the Republic of the Sudan and the Government of the Republic of South Sudan. It is composed of high-level representatives from the two countries and a representative of the African Union High Level Panel on Sudan and South Sudan.

The mandate of the TC is to develop modalities to be utilized for the Joint Approach to the international community for assistance to the two countries in four areas: (a) transitional financial assistance for Sudan, (b) development support for South Sudan, (c) comprehensive debt relief, and (d) the lifting of economic sanctions imposed on Sudan.

After evaluating the outreach to date and its outcomes, the TC completed a revised strategy and roadmap, together with ancillary documents, for future engagement with the international community.

The TC recognized that support from the international community will help the two States to improve their economic prospects towards the achievement of the objective of two viable States, which was the overriding guiding principle in the negotiation of the Cooperation Agreement.

The meetings were constructive and reinforced the high level of cooperation that has been established between the two countries in the implementation of the September 2012 Cooperation Agreements.



## **African Union launches five-year Gender Peace and Security Programme 2015-2020**

**Addis Ababa, 2 June 2014:** A major five-year Gender, Peace and Security Programme has been launched today at the African Union (AU) headquarters in Addis Ababa by the AU Commission. The Programme is designed to serve as a framework for the development of effective strategies and mechanisms for women's increased participation in the promotion of peace and security. It is also designed to enhance protection of women in conflict and post-conflict situations in Africa.

In his opening remarks to launch the Programme, the AU Commissioner for Peace and Security, Ambassador Smail Chergui, highlighted the role of women on issues of peace and security in Africa. Addressing conflict-related sexual violence and the targeting of women in armed conflict, he said that this has "attained proportions such that they have become a security concern in some areas of the continent." He added that "men can no longer take a back seat in the process of fighting against sexual violence, thinking this only an issue for women."

Also speaking at the launch, the Special Envoy of the Chairperson of the AU Commission on Women Peace and Security, Madame Bineta Diop, said "We have to send strong messages that impunity will not prevail. We must mainstream gender issues for institutions, and for laws against harassment and abuse, and hold perpetrators of abuse to account."

The five year (2015-2020) Gender Peace and Security Programme is funded by the Austrian Development Corporation, following an agreement signed with the AU Commission in November 2013. This morning's launch began a two-day workshop to review and endorse the Programme. Among other outcomes, the workshop seeks to draft a work plan for the period January to December 2015. Participants at the workshop include representatives from Regional Economic Communities (RECs), the United Nations, civil society organisations, development partners and relevant AU Commission Departments.

**seminar on *Anti-Terrorism for English Speaking African Countries* organized by Shandong Police College in Jinan, Shandong Province from 6-26 May 2014.**



**Group Picture**

In the context of the People's Republic of China's commitment to strengthen global cooperation and exchange of information in the fight against terrorism, and, with the view of promoting closer collaboration between the African Centre for the study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT) and the Chinese Authorities, two ACSRT staff, together with representatives of 9 African countries, attended, from 6-26 May 2014, a seminar on *Anti-Terrorism for English Speaking African Countries* financed by the Ministry of Commerce of People's Republic of China and organized by the Shandong Police College in Jinan, Shandong Province.

The ACSRT delegation consisted of Ms. *Nashwa Kamel* (webmaster, Database Unit) and Mr. *Elias Benyu* (Training Specialist, Training and Equipment Unit). Other invited participants were 18 senior officers from the police, gendarmerie, armed forces, internal security and intelligence agencies, from Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Mauritius, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe.

The subject of discussion in this seminar was a platform for the sharing of experience, strengthening co-operation, coordination and mutual assistance on counter terrorism issues between China, the ACSRT and the English speaking countries of Africa.

It is also worth noting that the annual exchanges under which this seminar has taken place, fall within the context of an agreement signed in 2008 between the Chinese Government and the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT). Since then, 25 officials from AU Member States, on average, have been



Public Safety Bureau in Qing Zhou City



Command Centre in Weifang City

benefiting from this 3 week type of training, fully funded by the People's Republic of China. These trainings have proven to be of extreme usefulness to the Continent.

They have provided African counter terrorism practitioners with solid technical and operational skills allowing them to be more effective in the theatre of operations.

This Shandong training course was carried out in two stages: the first stage consisted of a series of lectures on different counter terrorism subjects. The second stage consisted of study tours designed to familiarize the participants with China's Culture and History.

The training topics included:

- China counter terrorism Policy;
- Anti-terrorism in finance;
- Anti-terrorism law in China;
- Basic knowledge of terrorism;
- Overview of intelligence in the anti-terrorism;
- Anti-terrorism intelligence;
- Public Security management system in China;
- Public Security prevention and control system in China;
- Police combating skills;
- Policing command system;
- Anti-terrorism countermeasures;
- Anti-terrorism Negotiation;
- Cyber terrorism.

The study tours consisted of visits to Chinese cultural and historical places in Xining

and Beijing.

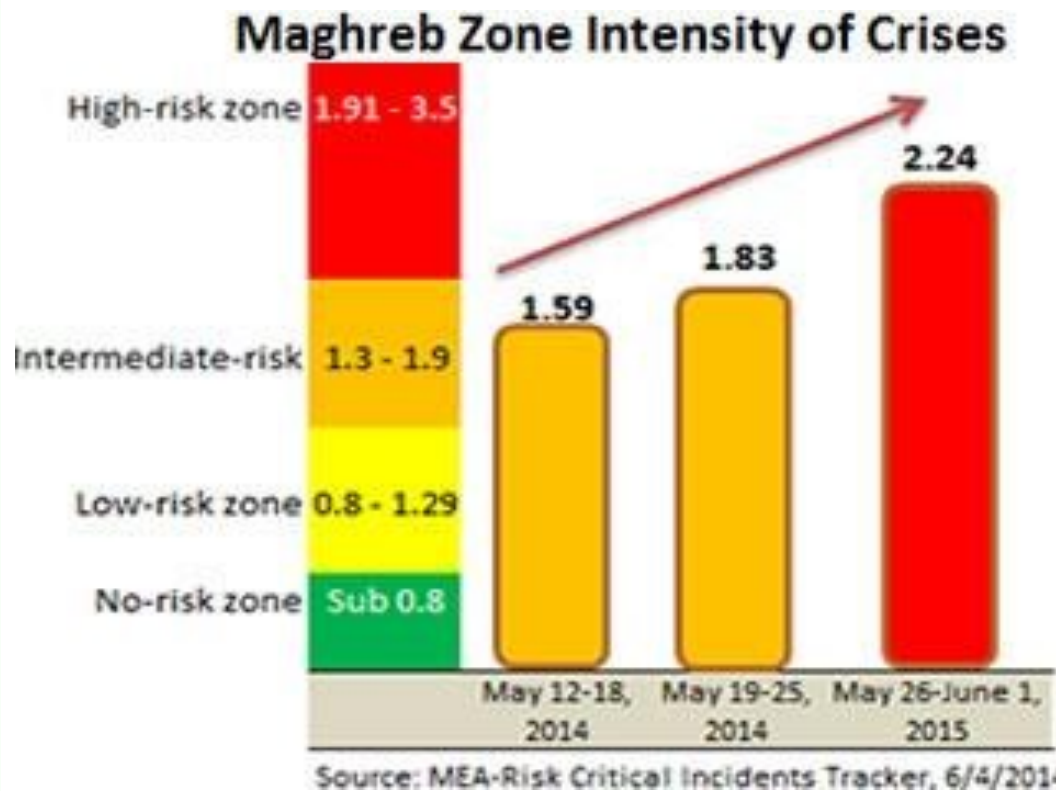
As a part of the training, participants also visited the Command Centre Building and Public Safety Bureau in Weifang City and Qing Zhou city respectively in Shandong Province. During the visit, participants were able to discuss a number of issues with the Chinese officials and gather a wealth of information on different type of communication systems and technology. They were able to identify which tools worked well, how technological innovations are assisting them in their security efforts and where gaps still exist. The participants were profoundly impressed by the commitment and dedication of the officials in ensuring that the public is safe and well protected. Their leadership and expertise in discharging their responsibilities were simply remarkable.

[www.caert.org.dz](http://www.caert.org.dz)

## Terrorism in Africa

### Severity of Crisis in Maghreb/Sahel Region Intensifies, Says MEA-Risk

03 June, 2014



The North Africa Journal: Sister company MEA-Risk issued its weekly analysis on the multi-faceted crisis affecting the whole Maghreb and Sahel region. The findings show while the number of incidents for the week ending June 1, 2014 dropped by about 10% from the previous cycle, the intensity of the crises rose at an alarming 22.4%. Casualties in the Maghreb/Sahel region rose 11% to 83 deaths, mostly concentrated in the Mali/MLNA conflict and in Libya.

MEA-Risk reports that for the week ending June 1, 2014, while there have been fewer “critical incidents” in the Maghreb/Sahel zone, the intensity of the events that took place during the week intensified.

Firstly, the Trackers of MEA-Risk witnessed a reduction of 10% of actual events that they define as critical to the stability of a nation. The number of incidents dropped from 69 in the previous week to 62 during the week ending June 1, 2014. It is an improvement, mostly coming from Libya, which has seen the entry into the conflict of a Western/Algeria-backed General Hafter. Hafter used to be an ally of Muammar Gaddafi in the 1980s when he led a Libyan military operation in nearby Chad. After a defeat in Chad, Hafter went to the United States where he lived as an opponent of Gaddafi, until his sudden return to Libya as a renegade General. Hafter’s impact

on Libya security has been immediate, with broadening of the crisis, leading a spike in terror and conflict-related events and deaths. Over the past week, we witnessed a reduction of such events, however, there has been an increase in the intensity of the remaining events, as if the conflict in Libya is showing greater concentration.

Other regions also showed spikes in intensity of events, including Mali where the defeat of the Mali government soldiers in Kidal has led to a spike of violence and increase in intensity of violent acts.

For the whole region, the crises intensity has increased by 22.4% to a level of 2.24. This is the mid-point between stable and completely failed region, putting now the entire zone as a **HIGH-RISK ZONE (see diagram)**. Terrorism as a single category was at a near 3-point high, but most other categories saw a spike in their level of severity. The exception was the economic/business category, which rated at the reasonable 1.8, equivalent to Intermediate Risk.

As noted above, Libya has been the most single important source of trouble. Among the most important developments leading to the worsening intensity level is the killing of a key media editor, the attack on the Prime Minister's house, the bombing by Haftar's airforce of Ansar Al-Sharia positions in the east, a growing list of assassinations and abductions, the announcements made by several foreign nations that they are pulling their citizens, including more alarmingly Algeria and Tunisia, etc.

In Algeria, we noted the resumption of hostilities between tribes in Ghardaia. Arab and Berber communities have been facing each others for some time with deadly consequences. The anti-terrorist campaign of the government continued with the killing of alleged terrorists in Ain Defla, as an improvised bomb exploded in Tizi Ouzou. On the health and human front, we took note of two MERS cases reported by authorities involving two men who return from Umrah in Saudi Arabia.

The events in Mali were dominated by the defeat of the army in its battle against the pro-autonomy MLNA Touareg movement in the northern town of Kidal. Some 50 soldiers were killed, forcing the resignation of the defense Minister. Even among the Touaregs, infighting has broken out between rival groups with deadly consequences.

The crisis in Mali continues to affect humanitarian organizations. Two aid workers from Norway died from a mine explosion, while French hostage Serge Lazarevic appeared on a video.

Tunisia also had its growing share of pain, starting with a Jihadist attack against the Interior Minister's home in Kasserine, causing the death of four security forces. Terrorism activity and anti-terror offensives were on going, while the data on the economic front remained negative. Amid declining foreign direct investments (-19.3% in 1Q14), the government announced a decrease in fuel, sugar and bread subsidies.

In Morocco, the week's events were dominated by anti-terror and narcotics related

events. On the anti-terror front we note the arrests of individuals accused of recruiting Jihadists, with 26 having been picked up for recruiting fighters for Mali. Six other people were referred to the Royal Attorney General for terrorism affairs in Rabat. On the narcotics front, arrests and seizures were made related to cannabis and cocaine. A Brazilian national was among those arrested. On the economic front, the Moroccan government announced price increases for basic commodities starting August 1, a decision that is likely to increase social tension in the summer and fall seasons.

We note the entry of Niger at above level 2, driven by the mass arrests of political figures and their supporters.

In all casualties for the week ending June 1 reached 83, with most death occurring in Mali, then in Libya. Casualties for this most recent week saw a near 11% increase after a major drop of 55% in the previous weekly cycle.

[http://www.north-africa.com/naj\\_news/news\\_na/1junefour49.html](http://www.north-africa.com/naj_news/news_na/1junefour49.html)

## Internet, catalyseur de la radicalisation des jeunes musulmans ?

06-06-2014

**Contrairement aux idées reçues, internet est rarement à l'origine de la radicalisation d'un individu. La toile ne sert en général qu'à nourrir et valider ses convictions déjà solidement ancrées. Pour autant, le rôle d'internet reste central dans le processus.**

Pour quelqu'un qui n'y connaît rien, Il n'est pas facile d'accéder aux sites djihadistes sur la toile. Il faut en savoir un minimum pour savoir où chercher. Car si on tape le mot al-Qaeda dans un moteur de recherche comme Google, Yahoo ou Bin, etc... on est plus souvent renvoyé vers des articles de presses que sur des sites aux contenus radicaux.

### **Le mythe du « loup solitaire »**

Il est très dur de prouver que ceux qu'on qualifie un peu facilement de « loups solitaires » n'ont aucun passif radical. Et encore moins qu'Internet a joué un quelconque rôle dans leur radicalisation. Malgré l'ampleur de la couverture médiatique et l'impact psychologique provoqués par leurs actions souvent spectaculaires, ils ne sont responsables « que » de moins de 1,5% des victimes du terrorisme sous toutes ses formes en Occident. A titre d'exemple, entre 2000 et 2013, 11 attaques ont été attribuées à des « loups solitaires » au Royaume-Uni faisant deux morts et trois blessés\*; sur la même période, il y a eu deux attaques du genre en France faisant 8 morts et 6 blessés.

Les mosquées peuvent servir de catalyseur à la radicalisation d'un individu, à travers la constitution de petits groupes en marge des fidèles. En marge pour des raisons évidentes de sécurité, mais aussi car les imams sont dans leur grande majorité des étrangers risquant l'expulsion à tout moment. On constate d'ailleurs que ces derniers sont davantage dans une logique d'intégration, à l'inverse des convertis ou des jeunes de deuxième voire troisième génération d'immigrés qui trouvent dans l'Islam radical un outil de rébellion contre la société. Ceux là, à défaut de trouver les réponses dans les mosquées, vont les chercher sur internet.

Les prisons sont un autre incubateur de musulmans radicaux, essentiellement à cause de la détresse humaine qui s'y concentre.

Sans oublier le rôle que jouent les médias via leur traitement de l'information :

- L'image négative de l'Islam et des musulmans crée et alimente un sentiment d'injustice et de frustration chez une partie de la population, qu'elle soit d'origine musulmane ou pas.

- Les titres sensuels et « vendeur » : comme le « djihad du sexe », dont il a été démontré que c'était de l'intox, y contribuent aussi.



- L'amalgame entre terrorisme et Islam : Anders Breivik a été par exemple d'abord décrit comme terroriste dans les médias avant d'être rebaptisé « le tireur fou » une fois dévoilées son identité et son appartenance à l'extrême droite.

A défaut d'être l'initiateur du processus de radicalisation, Internet joue un rôle dans l'endoctrinement et à des personnes ayant les mêmes convictions d'établir des liens. La toile crée un monde « idéal » dans lequel ces jeunes « idéalistes » évoluent librement.

### **Les réseaux sociaux**

#### **YouTube**

Le but des vidéos exaltant les exploits des groupes djihadistes qui sont partagées via YouTube est de choquer, d'interpeller et de susciter des émotions.

Sauf que ces vidéos, malgré l'usage d'images officielles de groupe donné, sont souvent produites et mises en ligne par des « supporters », qui n'ont aucun lien direct avec telle ou telle organisation. Elles sont le fait de sympathisants souvent très éloignés du théâtre des événements : des jeunes occidentaux, qui ont entre 18 et 35 ans, qui les destinent à un public occidental du même âge.

Ces vidéos font la « promotion » de la notion de martyr et des opérations kamikazes, tout en glorifiant une organisation donnée. Mais elles servent aussi à valider et à documenter des actions militaires. Aujourd'hui elles sont de plus en plus nombreuses en anglais et en français, ce qui n'était pas le cas il y a encore quelques années. Certaines vidéos dépassent les 100.000 vues, ce qui est exceptionnel.

#### **Twitter**

Twitter est un outil de travail formidable, il permet d'avoir des discussions en temps réel entre et avec les protagonistes d'un conflit et d'avoir des rapports détaillés sur l'état des lieux en temps réel.

L'intérêt des différents groupes djihadistes pour cet outil est grandissant. Une tendance qui se confirme en Syrie et en Irak, mais également sur d'autres théâtres comme se fut le cas lors de l'attaque d'un centre commercial à Nairobi au Kenya en septembre 2013. L'État Islamique en Irak et au Levant (EIL) a même commencé à coordonner les efforts de ses supporters sur Twitter en créant « Willayat Twitter » (le governorat de Twitter), avec un émir désigné et une organisation qui lui est propre.

Il est à noter que les britanniques sont les plus actifs sur ce réseau. Mais il faut désormais compter avec quelques français dont certains n'ont pas tardé à exprimer leur soutien à Mehdi Nemmouche, principal suspect dans la tuerie du Musée Juif de Bruxelles fin mai.

#### **Facebook**

Facebook est peu utilisé chez les groupes djihadistes. Le logiciel de reconnaissance facial dont il est équipé et sa capacité à établir les liens entre les personnes et les groupes expliquent en grande partie son impopularité. A cela s'ajoutent la faible sécurité du réseau et sa vulnérabilité au piratage.

Dans le cas des djihadistes occidentaux, Facebook, et dans une moindre mesure Twitter et YouTube, sont utilisés surtout comme vitrine. Ils permettent de montrer à ceux qui sont restés au pays qu'ils sont bien entrain de faire la guerre, tout en les encourageant à les rejoindre en « terre de djihad ». Les djihadistes britanniques en Syrie sont passés maître dans ce procédé et c'est eux qui ont inventé la notion du « 5-star-Jihad » ou le djihad 5 étoiles, pour montrer à leur compatriotes qu'ils ne vivent pas dans des grottes – contrairement à la grande époque du djihad afghan - et qu'ils bénéficient de tout le confort nécessaire à eux et à leurs familles.

### **Un djihad audible et accessible... grâce aux réseaux sociaux**

Cela dit, il ne faut pas minimiser ou banaliser le rôle de ces photos et des vidéos de « frime » partagées tous les jours, car elles facilitent le passage à l'acte suivant la logique : « si mon voisin de palier l'a fait, je peux très bien le faire » ; surtout quand l'appel au djihad se fait dans la langue et même le dialecte d'un pays, d'une ville ou d'un quartier donné.

Les réseaux sociaux ont rendu le djihad audible et accessible pour toute une part de la population qui n'y avait pas accès auparavant. Quand un jeune européen entend l'appel au djihad dans sa langue, il est certainement beaucoup plus réceptif qu'à un appel en pachtoute sous-titré et tourné dans une grotte en Afghanistan !

Aujourd'hui, les démarches du candidat au djihad se sont simplifiées. Cette question d'effort est primordiale, car il y a encore quelques années une personne s'intéressant au sujet, pour les bonnes ou les mauvaises raisons, devait faire un vrai travail de recherche, de lecture et d'analyse ; aujourd'hui il suffit de visionner la multitude de vidéos proposées par YouTube !

Suivant cette même logique, les forums et les sites djihadistes sont devenus obsolètes pour la nouvelle génération occidentale de djihadistes et d'aspirants djihadistes.

*\*Source : Colloque « Preventing Terrorism in Europe : Aspects, Effects, Critique », CERI/SciencesPo, 25 octobre 2013.*

**Ce texte a fait l'objet d'une présentation dans le cadre d'un séminaire sur le phénomène de radicalisation organisé à Lyon les 24 et 25 mai par l'Institut français de civilisation musulmane (IFCM) et le Fondation d'aide aux victimes du terrorisme**

<http://www.france24.com/fr/>

## **Lutte contre le terrorisme et aide au développement en Afrique: quels liens pour quels enjeux?**

Publication: 08/06/2014 08h00

Depuis les années 1990, les opérations sous mandat des Nations Unies (ONU) prenaient principalement la forme d'opérations de maintien de la paix (OMP). Ce concept, s'il ne figure pas dans la Charte, a pour autant permis aux Nations Unies, organisation non militarisée, d'intervenir sur des théâtres en proie à l'instabilité. Les récents évènements en [Afrique](#) (Lybie, Mali, RCA) n'ont pas permis la mise en place d'OMP. En effet, leur déploiement se doit d'être neutre, impartial, et implique le consentement des parties au conflit. Les opérations de maintien de la paix n'ont, en outre, pas vocation à intervenir dans les affaires intérieures d'un état, ce qui est clairement le cas des opérations susmentionnées, même si leur cadre juridique est valable au regard du droit international.

### **Une nouvelle disponibilité de la France à intervenir en Afrique**

La France qui a eu tant de mal à s'affirmer en tant que leader d'une OMP en Afrique francophone du fait de son passé colonial, semble avoir dépassé ce complexe en devenant nation-cadre de trois opérations militaires sur le continent africain (Lybie 2010, Mali 2011, RCA 2013). Jusqu'alors, nous étions dans une posture héritée de la décolonisation avec des implantations historiques, les positions permanentes étant alors principalement des éléments de dissuasion.

Suite à ces interventions toutes adoptées sous le chapitre 7 de la Charte des Nations Unies (le plus coercitif), nous allons aujourd'hui vers un redéploiement des forces françaises sur le continent dans le but de pouvoir agir sur les foyers de crise (projet de centre de commandement opérationnel pour la zone sahélo-saharienne basé à Ndjamena au Tchad). Quel est le principal vecteur de cette rupture? Le lien entre ces interventions, qu'il apparaisse à la suite de l'opération militaire (Lybie), en amont (Mali) ou en tant que risque majeur (RCA), apparaît être la lutte contre le terrorisme.

### **Groupes terroristes et continent africain**

Le fondamental de la menace terroriste est son caractère transnational. Le terrorisme ne puise pas ses racines dans un Etat donné mais se déplace au gré de l'opportunité des conditions. Si l'on en croit les théâtres d'interventions depuis 2001, nous sommes face à un déplacement de la menace terroriste du Moyen Orient vers l'Afrique (Somalie à l'Est, Lybie au Nord, Sahel à l'Ouest), or cette tendance est bien plus ancienne.

Les facteurs qui expliquent la vulnérabilité du continent face à ce fléau ne sont pas nouveaux, et personne ne peut se cacher derrière un effet de surprise: pauvreté, mauvaise gouvernance, corruption, appareils étatiques défaillants. Nous entendons parler de ces maux depuis des décennies. Au regard des récentes interventions, nous pourrions donc penser qu'être (ou avoir été) principalement

bailleur de fonds n'a pas permis d'amélioration notable. Les interventions militaires le pourront-elles?

### **Les interventions militaires suffisent-elle pour lutter contre le terrorisme?**

L'action militaire permet d'étouffer les bastions terroristes mais pas de les faire disparaître (nous l'avons vu en Afghanistan, au Mali). Une action militaire peut par ailleurs créer de l'instabilité au sein d'un Etat et en faire (re)surgir le potentiel terroriste (Irak, Lybie). Pour empêcher le déplacement, la résurgence ou le retour des terroristes, il faut donc endiguer les conditions de leur existence. C'est alors qu'entre en jeu le concept phare du moment: l'approche globale.

Selon le rapport d'information du Sénat daté de juillet 2013, l'approche globale consiste à articuler « sécurisation militaire, réforme de la gouvernance politique et promotion d'un développement économique à l'échelle régionale." Il n'est pas trop s'avancer que de dire que cela correspond aux besoins des théâtres d'intervention contemporains. Cela rejoint en outre la position des Nations Unies qui a adopté en 2006 une stratégie mondiale de lutte contre le terrorisme et appelle une réponse plurielle, et plus uniquement militaire. Le 13 mai 2013, le Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies (CSNU) a par ailleurs affirmé que la lutte contre le terrorisme nécessitait de s'attaquer aux conditions qui en favorisent le développement. Une réponse plurielle pourrait alors prendre la forme d'une action civilo-militaire, soutenue par l'aide au développement.

### **Typologie des groupes terroristes**

Il est important d'identifier la typologie des groupes terroristes afin d'en évaluer les points faibles et ainsi d'articuler une politique de sécurité et de défense adéquate. Les modalités d'action des terroristes ne correspondent pas à une approche Clausewitzienne du conflit. Ils tentent en effet de se fondre dans la population, d'utiliser les personnes et les biens protégés comme des boucliers sans arborer de signes distinctifs. Leur but est de créer une insécurité permanente pour les forces régulières, cherchant à généraliser la suspicion.

En s'implantant au cœur d'un état dit "failli", les groupes terroristes montrent que les gouvernements ne sont capables, ni de protéger, ni de se faire obéir, et peuvent ainsi prendre en charge la population jusqu'à ce qu'elle se transfère à leur allégeance (de gré ou de force). Les combattre sur le volet humanitaire peut donc être le moyen de les affaiblir, en sponsorisant par exemple la construction d'écoles ou de centres de soins. L'idée est de se substituer à eux tant qu'ils ne sont pas encore trop implantés au niveau des populations (comme c'est le cas au Sud-Liban avec le Hezbollah par exemple).

### **Un besoin d'interventions civilo-militaires?**

Depuis les années 1990, les armées nationales ont eu tendance, sous pression budgétaire, à se concentrer sur des missions purement militaires. Une évolution idéologique en a découlé sur la place de l'armée dans nos sociétés amenant à la

professionnalisation. Les missions civiles ont été progressivement confiées à l'Union européenne (UE) ou aux Nations Unies. Elles consistent à réformer l'assistance à la police; renforcer l'état de droit; l'administration civile; réformer le secteur de la sécurité; surveiller et contrôler des frontières; observer et appuyer les processus électoraux; supporter les processus de désarmement, démobilisation et réintégration...

En définitive, ces missions civiles consistent à appuyer la création d'un état souverain, et cela n'est réalisable que lorsqu'a été au préalable instauré un climat de sécurité. Il semble pour autant primordial d'aborder le plus tôt possible le processus de sortie de crise, et d'amorcer un développement social et économique du pays. L'aide au développement prend alors toute sa place.

### **Place de l'aide au développement dans la lutte contre le terrorisme**

Les Etats-Unis semblent avoir compris cette leçon et leur aide est aujourd'hui principalement dirigée vers l'Irak et l'Afghanistan. Dans le livre Blanc de la défense et de la sécurité d'avril 2013, ce point est également retenu (Chapitre 7). L'aide au développement permettrait "d'éviter l'apparition de foyers de crise, notamment dans notre environnement proche". L'aide au développement semble donc clairement être un moyen pour être sur place et permettre de "détecter et analyser au plus tôt les indicateurs annonciateurs de crise".

On pourrait alors parler d'aide au développement comme instrument de politique extérieure, tout comme à l'époque du Plan Marshall et de la lutte contre le communisme. Si ce constat semble clair, l'aide publique au développement a pour autant baissé de 4% entre 2011 et 2012 soit la plus forte baisse depuis 2007 selon l'OCDE. Au Mali, que ce soit avant ou après l'intervention française, un ménage sur 5 souffre toujours de malnutrition aiguë.

### **Pour conclure...**

Avons-nous donc les moyens de porter à terme les opérations au sein desquelles nous sommes engagés? Si nous sommes capable de gérer la partie militaire de la lutte contre le terrorisme, avons-nous les moyens de gérer le "jour d'après"? L'enjeu pourrait se trouver là, dans le développement économique et social des états concernés et en l'espèce dans le traitement des problèmes de fonds. La Libye, le Mali et la RCA sont trois bonnes illustrations. Au Mali par exemple, l'intervention militaire n'a pas permis la réconciliation nationale et les problèmes de gouvernance n'ont pas été réglés, notamment avec certaines attitudes politiques qui perdurent. Le terreau qui nourrit le terrorisme est toujours présent.

Il est tout de même cocasse de se rendre compte que sont menées des opérations extérieures au nom d'un concept non défini: la lutte contre le terrorisme. Le Conseil de sécurité est en effet dans l'impossibilité de s'arrêter sur une définition commune du terme. Cela pose en définitive un grave problème car les acteurs de la lutte contre le terrorisme marchent en ordre dispersé, sans une solide vision stratégique. Il est alors important de garder en tête qu'une intervention au nom

de la lutte contre le terrorisme n'est au final possible qu'à un moment de convergence des intérêts des 5 membres permanents. L'adage primauté des seigneurs prend une fois de plus tout son sens

[http://www.huffingtonpost.fr/fanny-jourdan-gal/lutte-contre-le-terrorisme-et-aide-au-developpement-en-afrique-quels-liens-pour-quels-enjeux\\_b\\_5451102.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.fr/fanny-jourdan-gal/lutte-contre-le-terrorisme-et-aide-au-developpement-en-afrique-quels-liens-pour-quels-enjeux_b_5451102.html)

## Algeria

### LAMAMRA LORS DU FORUM SUR LES MENACES EN AFRIQUE DU NORD

#### "Le printemps arabe a revigoré le terrorisme"

04 Juin 2014 -

«L'Algérie avait mis en garde»

**Un forum sur les menaces transnationales dans la région de l'Afrique du Nord se tient depuis hier et ce jusqu'à jeudi à Alger.**

Objectif de cette rencontre: analyser les menaces sécuritaires dans cette région et leurs causes politiques, économiques et sociales.

A cette occasion, le ministre des Affaires étrangères, Ramtane Lamamra, a précisé dans une allocution lue en son nom lors de l'ouverture des travaux par le directeur général Amériques au ministère des Affaires étrangères, Ahcene Boukhelfa, que «ce qui



LAMAMRA

est communément appelé le (printemps arabe) a permis aux groupes terroristes locaux d'accroître leur influence idéologique et leur force matérielle, aggravant l'ampleur des défis à relever» ajoutant «la relocalisation des réseaux d'Al Qaïda en Afrique et l'extension des activités de Boko Haram jusqu'en Afrique centrale nous interpellent à propos de la vulnérabilité des Etats subsahariens, d'où l'urgence de l'évaluation réelle de la menace et d'une prise en charge effective et soutenue des besoins des Etats et des populations de la région».

Organisé par le Centre américain des études stratégiques pour le Proche-Orient et la région de l'Asie du Sud (Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies, Nesa) en collaboration avec le ministère des Affaires étrangères (MAE), le forum tend à constituer un cadre de réflexion sur les moyens d'endiguer ces menaces. Ayant déjà fait l'objet de mise en garde de la part de l'Algérie, M.Lamamra a souligné que «aujourd'hui, le nouveau front d'instabilité lié à la situation libyenne a eu des répercussions régionales qui étaient prévisibles et contre lesquelles l'Algérie avait mis en garde». Relevant par la suite que «la zone d'insécurité s'est élargie à l'ensemble de l'Afrique du Nord, du Sahel et de l'Afrique de l'Ouest où prospèrent des activités criminelles et terroristes». Il n'a pas manqué de noter que «les conséquences directes de la guerre en Libye se sont manifestées notamment par le flux de tous types d'armes en grand nombre en Afrique du Nord comme au Sahel». A son avis «devant l'absence d'alternatives économiques, notamment pour les jeunes, l'Afrique subsaharienne est devenue une série de zones de non-droit où tous les trafics ont droit de cité». «Dans un contexte économique désastreux, les défis so-

ciaux auxquels font face les Etats subsahariens ne peuvent être relevés sans le soutien conséquent de la communauté internationale» a-t-il ajouté. Le ministre des Affaires étrangères a mis l'accent sur la nécessité «impérieuse» de conjuguer les efforts de tous les partenaires pour faire face à la «montée en puissance» des réseaux terroristes, ajoutant que «la coordination des actions et l'échange d'informations devraient caractériser l'action quotidienne de tous les acteurs nationaux, régionaux et internationaux». Dans ce sens, M.Lamamra a indiqué que «l'Algérie encourage toutes les parties concernées, qu'il s'agisse du Mali, de la Libye ou tout autre pays, à favoriser le dialogue inclusif qui rejette la terreur». Pour lui, ce dialogue «s'inscrit dans l'objectif d'une transition politique sereine devant aboutir à la prise en charge réelle et efficace des problèmes politico-sécuritaires et économiques des pays concernés et des besoins sociaux et éducatifs de leurs populations les plus défavorisées». Pour le chef de la diplomatie algérienne «la guerre contre le terrorisme et ses crimes connexes doit être permanente et coordonnée car les groupes terroristes disposent de relais qui leur permettent de s'adapter à toute évolution de la situation».

S'agissant du forum, il a indiqué que ce dernier «permettra aux participants de se pencher durant trois jours sur une série de questions très sensibles en relation avec les menaces terroristes».

Lors de la journée d'hier, deux sessions plénières sous le thème «motivations politiques et économiques des menaces transnationales» ont été animées par le professeur Tyler Rauert et Larry Velte, avec le Dr Mustapha Fetouri, Bassem Bouguerra, et Mourad Preure comme conférenciers.

Le forum qui regroupe une soixantaine d'experts et d'éminents professeurs algériens, américains, tunisiens, marocains, libyens, mauritaniens et égyptiens, est le 4e du genre après ceux de Bangkok, Amman et Rome dédiés aux thèmes spécifiques à chacune des régions concernées.

La partie algérienne participera avec son expertise «avérée et reconnue» en la matière avec des académiciens spécialistes et des cadres des ministères des Affaires étrangères et de la Défense nationale, ainsi que des anciens responsables algériens de haut niveau.

Les causes politiques et économiques, ainsi que la familiarisation avec le secteur de la sécurité figurent parmi les thèmes débattus.

Le rôle des réseaux illicites et du phénomène de la radicalisation de certains mouvements dans la dégradation de la situation en Afrique du Nord et l'étude des facteurs positifs ou négatifs que le développement économique et l'inclusivité politique peuvent donner à la stabilité de cette région, sont également au programme, tout comme la coopération régionale et internationale dans la sécurité des frontières et la lutte contre les réseaux illicites.

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



## Djibouti

### **TERRORISM INCIDENT REPORT: ATTACK ON DJIBOUTI RESTAURANT**

2 June 2014

On Saturday, 24 May 2014, the La Chaumiere restaurant in Djibouti city, a popular venue for Western military personnel and tourists, was attacked with grenades by two suicide bombers. The two terrorists, a man and a veiled woman, were killed in the attack as well as one other person in addition to 15 civilians injured. Of the injured, three were German, three Spanish, and six soldiers of the Dutch military detachment. The remaining were of French and other undisclosed nationalities.

The Djibouti Ministry of Interior said in a statement that the two terrorists were of Somali origin and Alshabab has claimed responsibility for the attack.

Djibouti is very strategic. It is venue to the only US military base in Africa as well as to a French military base. The port of Djibouti is used by the EU CAP anti-piracy naval force. Djibouti is increasingly becoming an attractive port to a number of land locked countries in East and Central Africa. Djibouti is a troop-contributing country for the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). Djibouti hosts several thousands of western military personnel and their families. Furthermore, Djibouti is also used as a base for US drone operations in Yemen and parts of Africa as far as counter-terrorism operations are concerned.

The attack at La Chaumiere restaurant was the first of its kind in Djibouti. Given the prevailing situation in Somalia since 2011 where the AMISOM and Somali defense Forces have steadily gained ground and made significant progress in countering terrorist operations, Al Shabaab is now concentrating more on asymmetric warfare characterized by the use of Improvised Explosive Devices (IED), Vehicle-borne Explosive Devices (VBIED), Remotely-controlled Explosive Devices (RCIED), Explosive Formed Projectiles (EFP), suicide bombings, grenade attacks, ambushes and targeted assassinations. The change in tactics was developed hand-in-hand with the change in leadership in Al Shabaab during 2013 when Ahmed Godane assumed leadership of the group. Godane restructured the group operationally to prepare Al Shabaab for protracted insurgency activities in urban areas, thereby ensuring the survival of the group for longer and putting them on the path of a more radical, hard-line, violent, anti-Western and anti-AMISOM approach. In several statements since 2013, Al Shabaab has said that it will take the war beyond Somalia, particularly to Troop-contributing countries of Kenya, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia, Djibouti and Burundi.

In fact, Kenya has seen an increase in attacks by Al Shabaab since 2013 with the Westgate Mall attack being the bloodiest. Ethiopia has foiled attacks by Al Shabaab in the capital city, Addis Ababa both in 2013 and 2014, and Uganda has had similar experiences of foiled attacks. Somalia has experienced a dramatic increase in IED

attacks and threat of attacks. Suicide bombings and grenade attacks have been taking place in Mogadishu, Puntland region, Barawe, Jubbaland and Kismaayo during 2014.

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[www.caert.org.dz](http://www.caert.org.dz)

## Egypt

### Égypte et Arabie saoudite : tous contre les Frères

10/06/2014

Craignant que les Frères musulmans égyptiens n'apportent la révolution en Arabie saoudite, Riyad soutient aveuglément le régime militaire d'al-Sissi. Analyse.



Le roi Abdallah ben Abdelaziz al-Saoud d'Arabie saoudite a été le premier à féliciter le maréchal égyptien al-Sissi pour son investiture à la présidence. © JOSEPH EID / AFP

Pourquoi l'Arabie saoudite et les pays du Golfe se montrent-ils aussi généreux envers le régime militaire du maréchal Abdel Fattah al-Sissi ? En juillet 2013, au lendemain du coup d'État contre le président égyptien élu Mohamed Morsi, membre des Frères musulmans, Riyad et Abu Dhabi avaient annoncé l'octroi d'une aide financière de 12 milliards de dollars au nouveau régime. En octobre, 50 % de l'aide avait été décaissée, sous forme de livraisons de pétrole et de gaz, de dons pour des projets et d'un important dépôt bancaire. Début janvier 2014, son montant était passé à 16 milliards de dollars. Sans compter les accords passés depuis un an entre l'armée égyptienne (premier entrepreneur du pays) et des entreprises privées saoudiennes et du Golfe pour des contrats atteignant 40 milliards de dollars d'ici 2020.

Le soutien des Saoudiens au maréchal al-Sissi vient d'être renouvelé. Son élection à la tête de l'Égypte fin mai et sa prestation de serment le 8 juin ont été l'occasion pour le roi Abdallah d'Arabie saoudite de se précipiter pour le féliciter en premier. Il a aussi annoncé qu'il entendait réunir une conférence des donateurs amis de l'Égypte pour soutenir financièrement le pays, qui vit sous perfusion saoudienne depuis un an.

Protecteur et banquier des Frères

L'alliance entre le roi Abdallah d'Arabie saoudite, dont le trône s'appuie sur le wahhabisme - la tendance la plus conservatrice de l'islam -, et le maréchal égyptien - il est devenu maréchal en janvier - semble de prime abord étrange. Un point les rapproche : leur égale détestation des Frères musulmans. Pourtant, les Saoudiens n'ont pas toujours été les ennemis de la confrérie. Jusqu'à la crise du Golfe de 1990-1991, Riyad finançait largement les mouvements et associations liés aux Frères à travers le monde arabe, aidant la "maison mère" égyptienne à ouvrir des branches dans la quasi-totalité du Maghreb et du Machrek.

L'invasion du Koweït par l'Irak de Saddam Hussein, en août 1990, a changé la donne et bouleversé l'échiquier moyen-oriental. Les Frères musulmans se sont refusés à prendre parti pour le Koweït et son allié saoudien. Riyad a coupé les vivres à la confrérie. Les Frères se sont retournés vers le Qatar, le petit mais richissime rival de l'Arabie saoudite, pour trouver un nouveau protecteur et banquier. C'est le Qatar qui a financé l'Égypte de Mohamed Morsi, le président islamiste, jusqu'à sa destitution.

Islam rétrograde

À partir de 2011, les Printemps arabes et la victoire des partis liés aux Frères musulmans en Tunisie, en Égypte, au Maroc, ont fait souffler un vent de panique sur le royaume saoudien et ses voisins des Émirats arabes unis, de Bahreïn et du Koweït. Les Frères musulmans sont alors considérés comme des forces déstabilisatrices dans ces royaumes largement despotiques (sauf au Koweït) qui imposent l'application d'un islam rétrograde. D'autant plus que les Frères sont financés par le Qatar qui, par Al Jazeera interposée - la chaîne de télévision par satellite, totalement iconoclaste dans le monde arabe -, s'est fait un malin plaisir à accroître leurs peurs en ouvrant ses studios aux opposants islamistes ou libéraux.

Que des Frères musulmans l'emportent aux législatives tunisiennes ou marocaines passe encore, mais qu'ils dirigent l'Égypte, 90 millions d'habitants au coeur du monde arabe, et c'est l'ensemble du Golfe et ses richesses pétrolières qui se sentent en danger. L'inquiétude est d'autant plus grande que la crise syrienne déstabilise également la région. Là aussi, l'affrontement entre le Golfe et les Frères se manifeste : le Qatar soutient financièrement le mouvement armé lié aux Frères au sein de l'opposition syrienne reconnue par les Occidentaux, tandis que les Saoudiens et le Golfe arment et financent des groupes salafistes. Les deux groupes s'affrontant sur le terrain. Autre sujet d'inquiétude, religieuse celle-là : la peur des Saoudiens wahhabites de voir les Frères musulmans réinstaller à partir du Caire le "califat islamique" et devenir leurs concurrents directs.

Fardeau égyptien

En Égypte, Riyad a donc applaudi et donné un coup de pouce à l'armée lorsque le ras-le-bol des Égyptiens face aux erreurs répétées du gouvernement de Mohamed Morsi a accru le mécontentement. Puis Riyad a applaudi quand, au lendemain du renversement de Mohamed Morsi, le général al-Sissi s'est lancé dans une terrible répression contre les Frères musulmans. À Riyad comme au Caire, le mouvement des Frères musulmans a été déclaré "organisation terroriste". Les Saoudiens poussent les Égyptiens à éradiquer la confrérie.

C'est peut-être jouer avec le feu en Égypte. Les Frères musulmans sont nés en 1928, ont subi la répression de tous les régimes égyptiens, en particulier celui de Gamal Abdel Nasser, et sont toujours debout. Les Égyptiens en majorité n'en voulaient plus au pouvoir, mais ils sont aussi nombreux à ne pas vouloir de l'armée, et encore moins d'une telle répression. Or, le nouveau chef de l'État est pieds et poings liés par les Saoudiens alors que la dette publique intérieure et extérieure explose, et que les réserves de change ont fondu. Son régime sera fort tant que l'Arabie saoudite le soutiendra financièrement. Mais Riyad aimerait partager le fardeau de l'Égypte. Au fil du temps, il risque de lui sembler de plus en plus lourd alors qu'il a aussi des problèmes domestiques (chômage des jeunes en particulier).

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

## Libya

### Libya's violent slide

06/2/2014

- Libya is in the throes of its worst violence since the 2011 revolution, thrusting the country into a new phase of its troubled transition and posing new challenges for the United States.

A retired general, Khalifa Haftar, leading a diverse coalition of eastern tribes, former army officers and secular-leaning politicians, launched an attack against Islamist militias in Benghazi. Entire air force units and the city's charismatic special forces commander defected to his side.

The violence soon spread to Tripoli. Haftar's allies in the capital attacked the country's elected legislature, the General National Congress, demanding its closure. Tribal militias from Zintan, in western Libya, who are hostile to the Islamists, joined Haftar's forces. The Islamist-dominated congress, however, called on its militia allies from Misurata for defense.

For now, however, the country appears to have avoided full-scale civil war. The powerful Misurata militias, always a wild card, are sitting on the fence. In an apparent compromise, elections for a new legislature will be held June 25.

But a dangerous precedent has been set, as Libya drifts toward coup politics and a military takeover. And Haftar's campaign opens up profound challenges for U.S. policy, which until now has been dominated by hand-wringing over Benghazi, a focus on counter-terrorism and a commitment to building up a new Libyan army.

Libya's divisions are deep and multidimensional — the liberals-versus-Islamists narrative should not be taken at face value. In Benghazi, friends of mine speak of exhaustion and terror at the city's daily grind of violence. Others are indeed disenchanted with the

Islamist-dominated congress, which has done little to move the country forward. Haftar is seen as either a hero ridding the country of a violent scourge and setting it back (if his promises are to be believed) on a democratic path, or a strongman in waiting, like so many other Arab leaders, ready to ride to power on a populist wave.

The parallels to Egypt's Abdel Fattah Sisi are clear, although they should not be overplayed. In Benghazi in November, I heard multiple calls for a Sisi-like figure to save the country from Islamists. Haftar appears to be answering this appeal: In news statements, the gray-haired general has declared his goal to "purge" Libya of the Muslim Brotherhood and terrorists. He recently spoke on behalf of a "Supreme Military Council" whose name seems directly borrowed from Egypt. He has introduced a dangerous discourse of "cleansing" and no compromise into a country that has a history of consensus-building. The results do not bode well for Libya's stabil-

ity.

The United States' focus on rebuilding the army as a response to Benghazi and a hedge against Islamist terrorism needs to be recalibrated. Today in Libya it is no longer possible to speak of an army versus militias but rather of many armies, each claiming legitimacy and authority. Even before the latest violence, a plan by the U.S. — along with Britain, Turkey, Morocco and Italy — to train what is known as a "general purpose force" was plagued with unknowns about the force's inclusivity, mission and civilian oversight. Given Libya's polarization, it could've easily ended up becoming a palace guard or the private militia of an ambitious leader such as Haftar.

What is needed now is a shift to a more holistic approach toward Libyan security. Stability is not simply about training and equipping a new army; it requires the creation of a national security council-type body, stopping under-the-table payments to militias, salary increases for the regular army and police, and other infrastructural improvements to ensure that the new force does not dissolve along factional or regional lines.

But the ultimate solution for Libya's security woes resides in the political realm — specifically, the drafting of a constitution, reform of the congress, and a broad-based national reconciliation under the auspices of the ongoing "national dialogue" process. This is an area where the United States and other outside actors can lend advice and measured assistance, but where the ultimate burden must be borne by Libyans themselves.

Most important, Washington must not turn a blind eye to the country's authoritarian drift, embodied in the figure of Haftar, regardless of any possible but uncertain short-term benefits. This would be a Faustian bargain damaging not only to Libya's long-term future but also to U.S. values and credibility.

*Frederic Wehrey is a senior associate in the Middle East Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He wrote this for the Los Angeles Times.*

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

## Fighting between militias intensifies in Libya

5 June 2014



Three weeks before a general election set for June 25, Libya is at the point of disintegration. Militias supporting rival interim prime ministers are battling it out for control of Libya's energy resources in the east of the country and its huge currency reserves based on oil and gas.

There is the very real possibility of a military coup and civil war in a country already devastated by the NATO-led war to overthrow Col. Muammar Gaddafi, followed by three years of infighting among hundreds of rival militias.

On Wednesday, a suicide bomb attack on the home of former general Khalifa Hifter, who has been leading an offensive against the Islamist-backed interim prime minister, Ahmed Maitiq, killed four of Hifter's guards. Hifter himself was unharmed. The attack took place in Abyar, 60 kilometres east of the Eastern port city of Benghazi, close to Benghazi's military command.

Hifter, who broke with Gaddafi in the 1980s and lived for years in Langley, Virginia, close to the CIA's headquarters, has emerged as a would-be strong man, reportedly with backing from the US, Egypt, Algeria, and the United Arab Emirates.

Following the line of Egypt's military leader Abdul Fattah al-Sisi against the Muslim Brotherhood, he has accused the government headed by Ahmed Miitig of fostering terrorism and called for it to step down in favour of an emergency government supervised by Libya's Supreme Court.

Miitig, a 42-year-old businessman, was elected by an Islamist-dominated parliament that has been boycotted by the secularist parties for months. Last February, his government arbitrarily extended its mandate until the end of the year. His appointment is now being challenged through the courts.

The previous prime minister, Abdullah al-Thani, resigned in April following an armed attack on his family.



Hifter and his so-called National Army have support from some militias in the east of country that control the key oil export terminals, as well as some members of the air force and some of al-Thani's supporters, if not al-Thani himself. He also appears to have support among a population opposed to the hundreds of armed militias whose intimidation, extortion and kidnapping have caused widespread insecurity and hardship.

He has focused his attacks on the Islamist militias Ansar al-Sharia, now designated a terrorist group by the US, the 17th Brigade, the Libya Shield Force and Al Qaeda-linked forces that the US and NATO had backed in their fight against Gaddafi in 2011.

The Islamists, for their part, accuse Hifter of seeking to restore former regime figures to power. Ansar al-Sharia warned Washington against interfering in Libya, accusing the Obama administration of backing Hifter and threatening to "open the gates of hell" if Hifter continued his assaults on Islamist groups. The authorities in Tripoli have denounced Hifter as an outlaw.

The suicide attack follows fierce clashes between Hifter's forces and Islamist fighters in Benghazi on Monday. These battles erupted after three Islamist groups attacked one of Hifter's bases. Helicopters from the air force loyal to Hifter hit back at the attackers, causing widespread panic. Residents said that Monday's fighting was the worst they had seen since March 2011.

The education minister ordered the closure of schools and universities amid end-of-year examinations, and shops and businesses were shuttered. The airport remains closed. Twenty people were reported to have been killed and nearly 70 wounded.

Fighting was also reported in al-Marj, east of Benghazi, where eighteen were wounded. On Sunday, one of Hifter's warplanes bombed a university building during a raid on an Islamist camp nearby, wounding two people. On Tuesday, the Prime Minister's headquarters in Tripoli was attacked, causing minor damage but no casualties.

The ongoing power struggle has halted all attempts to reopen two key oil terminals in eastern Libya, depriving the government of the revenues on which it depends. At the same time, strikes at the oil refineries have led to petrol shortages. While the government had struck a deal with the rebels and retaken control of the oil, production is little more than 10 percent of its capacity.

Some 1.5 million of Libya's 6 million population are employed by the state, including an additional 400,000 taken on after the NATO-led war against Gaddafi and 250,000 armed militiamen ostensibly under the Ministries of Defence and the Interior. Many Libyans depend upon food and energy subsidies to eke out an existence.

According to Sadiq al-Kabir, the governor of the Central Bank, Libya earned only \$6 billion from energy exports in the first four months of this year, less than a quarter of the \$18 billion budgeted and less than the state salaries. This has led to friction

between the Central Bank and parliament, which has been unable to set a budget and had to call on the bank to release cash from its \$110 billion reserves to keep the country running.

Former prime minister al-Thani accused Kabir of acting like “Libya’s absolute ruler” by blocking even spending approved by parliament. Deputy Governor Ali Mohamed el-Hebri has called for the number of state employees to be slashed. With the premiership itself a matter of legal dispute, tensions are running high.

Libya’s currency is under pressure as a result of the collapse of oil revenues and the widespread insecurity. The dinar has fallen 7 percent against the dollar on the black market, leading to calls for the dinar to be devalued. Any devaluation would hit Libya’s \$30 billion import bill for basic foodstuffs from Europe, Tunisia and Turkey.

The disruption to Libya’s oil production comes at a particularly crucial time, when the European powers are looking to minimise their dependency on Russia’s energy resources and secure the oil and gas pipelines of ENI-Italy from Libya for their needs.

But the instability in Libya is the direct result of the NATO-led war to overthrow the Gaddafi regime and replace it with a puppet regime that would enable Washington to control Libya’s oil reserves and use the strategically located country to project US power into Europe, the Middle East and Africa.

The instability now threatens to spread beyond Libya’s borders and destabilise its neighbours in resource-rich North Africa and the Sahel, as the proliferation of weapons paid for by NATO and its Gulf allies permits its neighbours’ opponents to arm themselves, while Libya’s vast deserts provide bases for them to launch their attacks. Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia have all closed their borders with Libya.

Under these circumstances, the US, in a move reminiscent of the build-up to the 2011 intervention, has deployed the warship USS Bataan, with 1,000 troops, off the Libyan coast “in case the US embassy needs to be evacuated,” and sent nine planes and 250 soldiers to its base in Sicily. The State Department also issued a travel warning advising Americans in Libya to “depart immediately.” But this time, unlike 2011, there will be no popular backing for any US intervention.

The private intelligence firm Stratfor in a March 19 analysis noted that “France, the US and NATO had sent small groups of technical experts to help with military and intelligence organisation and structuring, including some military training in Libya.” In other words, under the guise of “training”, the major powers already have boots on the ground in Libya.

Statfor noted that at the same time, Western intelligence agencies were “actively monitoring Libyan territory and collecting data on militant movements, including surveillance with unarmed, unmanned aerial vehicles.” It said that US special operations forces in a covert operation had captured suspected Al Qaeda member Anas al-Libi. Warning that such covert operations had only limited usefulness, Stratfor

said that “A much more coordinated, comprehensive security plan for the region needs to be in place to constrain regional militias such as Al Qaeda affiliates.”

The escalating clashes in Libya and the US response come just a week after Egypt’s former military leader Abdul Fattah el-Sisi assumed the presidency with Washington’s support, pledging to “root out terrorism”—a euphemism for a reign of terror against all opposition to the plans of the Egyptian bourgeoisie to slash public subsidies upon which the impoverished working class and rural poor depend.

There have been reports of potential Egyptian intervention in Libya. On Sunday, a gang of arms traffickers killed six Egyptian border guards after crossing into Egypt from Libya.

<http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2014/06/05/liby-i05.html>

## **General Haftar's plans and Libya's future**

Monday, 2 June 2014

Libya's General Khalifa Haftar, the leader of Operation Dignity, is making small and important strides against opposition voices and militias in Libya. His forces have struck at the Libyan parliament, hit Islamist groups and targeted rebel militias. General Haftar is commanding a growing force of perhaps thousands of men with the core group of 500-1000 who received special forces operations training "somewhere in Eastern Europe" according to an Arab official.

Interestingly, Haftar's forces are using sophisticated weapons, air raids, and urban tactics. Haftar stated recently "Operation Dignity is multiple battles, it's not just one battle, it's not a normal battle" that illustrates he is using network attacks in small forces, using close air support and information operations to shape the battle environment. Indeed, Operation Dignity is the very tip of the operational and tactical spear. There is no guarantee of the results but the point is that Haftar is creating the conditions necessary for a Libyan nationalist revival to wipe out the disorder of the post-Qaddafi security environment.

### ***Haftar's comments***

Haftar's comments last week regarding the enemy in Libya sounded much like Syria's battlefield where thousands of foreign fighters are going to receive live action training for future operations:

"We see that confrontation is the solution. What is the discussion? They are armed, I do not think talks will work with them. These are criminals, international criminals from Europe and Asia and Africa. Unfortunately, we are not defending only Libya but we are now defending the entire world in this way because the escapists and killers they move from place to place. If we expel them from Libya they will go to another place, but if we are following them everywhere the situation will be different for all countries who fight terrorism."

*General Haftar's actions curry favor with those who support a future Libyan state with a stronger hand much like Egypt today*

*Dr. Theodore Karasik*

General Haftar's analogy to Syria is important. He sees that Libya is, just like Syria, a terrorist and criminal incubator that could impact all of Northern Africa and Europe as well as the rest of the MENA region. A Libyan analyst commented that "General Haftar's actions are already having an impact on the illegal arms flow out of Libya by halting the movement of weapons to the Syrian battlefield." Clearly, mitigating "the Libyan effect" is a key goal of Operation Dignity.

### ***Currying favor***

In addition, General Haftar's actions curry favor with those who support a future

Libyan state with a stronger hand much like Egypt today. He does not want to just rout the “terrorist” threat, he wants to crush it. General Haftar’s persona and character lend themselves to other robust leaders such as President al-Sisi. And that is where the relationship between Egypt and Libya may get interesting. It may very well be that President Sisi’s first action will be to give General Haftar support by sending in Egyptian special operation forces to give Operation Dignity a boost and strangling the Islamist forces and militias from behind. Such a move by President Sisi would help not only protect Egypt’s Western region but also send a message to Libya’s neighbors about the seriousness of Cairo’s intentions to calm Northern Africa, specifically Chadian, involvement in Libya. Moreover, the pending historical agreement between Hamas and Fatah regarding a unity government is setting the stage for halting too the arms flow from Libya to other salafist-jihadist groups who benefit from the illegal pipeline of weapons.

General Haftar may not reveal exactly what he has in mind for Libya’s future at this juncture. But one can see an emerging trajectory that suggests he has big designs given his desire to have the world stand by his mission to restore peace in Libya. Egyptian President Sisi already called on the United States to help fight jihadist terrorism and warned that Libya was becoming a major security threat, with militants infiltrating across the Egyptian-Libyan border. General Haftar, if successful, will be seen as a champion who can unite the country across tribal lines.

America is already responding by getting ready to evacuate American citizens and embassy officials as General Haftar makes progress. Remarkably, it seems that President Obama’s new national security doctrine is at work: Egypt, along with General Haftar, are taking the lead on reversing Libya’s decline with back-up support from America. This move should be interpreted for exactly what it is: Egypt and allies are helping General Haftar first and foremost and relying on America for partnership through a stand-by position in this particular case. America has no appetite to get involved fully in Libyan and Egyptian affairs in North Africa.

Will General Haftar be the next charismatic, nationalist leader of Libya? General Haftar’s vision for Libya seems to be already in place and his appeal to a good number of Libyans is evident. With additional victories and the wiping out of the opposition, General Haftar’s portrait will soon be posted not only on buildings and streets but across cyberspace. General Haftar has already congratulated President Sisi for his victory. Will President Sisi congratulate a President Haftar in the near future? Only time will tell, especially with a pending legislative election on June 25, 2014.

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

## Mali

### Les témoignages d'alerte, décembre 2011-février 2012 : Lettre à mon confrère; insécurité dans le Nord; le chaos généralisé.



La situation qui prévaut dans le Nord du Mali appelle à un devoir d'intervention conséquent sur fond d'analyse et de livraison d'informations puisées au cœur du même Nord.

Je rentre de cette zone à la suite d'un voyage qui m'a permis, encore une fois, de vivre la chaude température d'une partie du Mali livrée à toutes les exactions possibles et toutes les frustrations inimaginables.

Avant le déversement des mercenaires de Kadhafi sur lequel je reviendrai plus loin, en région de Gao, la messe était déjà dite. Les unités Méharistes mises en place pour sécuriser les populations civiles, notamment en zones pastorales, se sont réduites en groupes de bandits et de pillards. À leur actif, enlèvements de bétail, revendu par eux-mêmes et leurs relais sur les marchés d'Ayorou au Niger et de Markoye au Burkina Faso. Des Peulh sont brutalisés avant d'être dépossédés. Cela reste le quotidien du Gourma. Le silence coupable de l'autorité donne du vertige aux populations locales... Le Chef de l'État le sait parfaitement, lui qui fut signataire des accords d'Alger en 2006 qui prévoient ces méharistes au Nord, sur fond de désengagement de l'armée régulière déjà vétuste.

L'insécurité au cœur même de Gao (enlèvements de véhicules, braquages et assassinats...) n'est plus d'actualité. C'est le vécu quotidien d'une population apeu-

rée et résignée. Les menaces d'attaques armées permanentes sur Ansongo donnent le tableau d'alerte permanente de la Garde Nationale, seule force présente le long du fleuve... quand bien même l'on y note des désertions, d'enlèvements de véhicules, d'armes, faits et actes signés les intégrés touaregs de l'armée.

Voilà qu'aujourd'hui, l'actualité bascule du côté de la région de

Kidal, haut lieu de l'insécurité armée. Terre de frondaison et de défiance devant l'État, pays des déserteurs récidivistes et capricieux touaregs de l'Armée malienne, lieu d'accueil d'AQMI via sa tendance qui « emploie » le seigneur Iyad Ag Ghaly.

Aujourd'hui, Kidal et ses dépendances sont devenues les symboles vivants du retour au pays de mercenaires de Kadhafi après la grande débâcle de leur dieu employeur qui a mérité son sort. Un retour qui marque la psychose générale de la classe politique et militaire du Mali ; le désarroi lisible du Président de la République puis la confusion entre la puissante présence militaire de l'Armée perdue de Kadhafi et les terroristes d'AQMI...

Cependant, je peux affirmer ici, que le vrai danger pour le Mali, est moins le terrorisme larvé de la zone Saharo-sahélienne que la présence d'une Armée complète et organisée sur son sol seul.

Entendu que les autorités des pays voisins (Niger, Mauritanie et Algérie) se distinguent par leur fermeté face au déversement de la légion verte de Kadhafi. L'Armée nigérienne, avec le professionnalisme et le sérieux que l'on lui connaît et reconnaît, a dès le départ coupé l'avancée des nigériens de la légion. Le 7 novembre dernier, jour de l'Aïd El Kébir, cette armée détruisait une colonne de mercenaires nigériens venus de Libye. Les rescapés feront route vers le Mali pour se fondre dans les rangs de ceux qui occupent aujourd'hui l'ensemble des anciennes bases d'Ibrahim Ag Bahanga dont Tin Assarat, le cauchemar de l'armée malienne.

L'armement lourd (missiles de courte portée, BM 21, BTR 60, missiles sol air) et autres gros calibres, ont fini de faire de la légion, un régiment complet à cet endroit. Il y en a d'autres dans les montagnes de l'Azawad, prêts à en découdre avec l'armée malienne au nom d'un projet d'indépendance qui frise le rêve. La désertion d'officiers touaregs de l'armée malienne avec hommes et matériels pour rejoindre le Commandement du MNLA fait du projet déjà un programme. Les Colonels Bah Moussa, Assalat Ag Haby, El Hadj Gamou dont le cas mérite le détour épistolaire vers Koulouba, constituent les maîtres de l'irréductibilité annoncé. Les Colonels de la légion verte, Ewanzag, Sidi Lama et Mohamed Lamine, les techniciens de la guerre; les uns et les autres en constituent le commandement. Le Consul du Mali en Algérie, Colonel (lui aussi), Abderhamane Ag Galla, ancien maître de l'ARLA du temps de la rébellion active se mue en idéologue organisateur.

Aussi, vous avez observé la mobilisation d'État pour « recevoir » ceux que le Président de la République a osé qualifier de « compatriotes ». Non, je dirais des apatrides formés dans tout et à tout ce qui oppose l'homme au sentiment patriotique

et à ses multiples visions positives. Ces hommes débarqués dans le Nord, il y a lieu de le signaler, ne sont pas que ceux de la région de Kidal qui, en février dernier, avaient accouru pour sauver leur maître en danger, mais des soldats de l'armée propre et personnelle du « guide ». Les 2/3 ne sont maliens que d'origine. Ils sont nés dans les casernes de Misrata et de Sébha. Leur seule école : l'Armée. Leur seul repère : Kadhafi. Leur seule vision : la guerre.

Alors, lorsque les soldats de l'armée républicaine libyenne avaient déserté, dès les premières heures du soulèvement parti de Benghazi laissant l'armement lourd dans le centre et le sud libyen, Touaregs (Mali et Niger), Toubous (Tchad) et autres Djindjawid (Soudan), au demeurant pourchassés par les militaires libyens au moment où le cours de l'histoire de la Libye tournait le dos au maître de ce pays, se sont servis. À chacun de fuir l'hécatombe qui attendait ces hommes perçus, et c'est juste, comme des mercenaires à la solde de Kadhafi par les enfants du pays. Ils y étaient pourchassés... Seule voie possible : dévaliser les bases et les casernes abandonnées, tout comme les banques... Ainsi donc, armement, véhicules de toutes sortes et malles de

Billets de banques (dollar et euro), constituent l'intendance des « hôtes » du Président et de ses ministres qui avaient – et le ridicule ne tue pas – accouru vers Takalot et autres lieux, avec une triste mallette de 50 millions de FCFA. Quasiment qui valent de l'argent de poche pour un Colonel de la colonne toute proportion gardée et tout étant relatif, après la débâcle libyenne.

Quant à l'armée malienne, c'est un flou artistique qui ramène au discours incolore et inodore du Président de la République.

Curieuse attitude face au seul et unique vrai danger militaire que le Mali connaît à ce jour....

<http://maliactu.net/>



## Nigeria

### The rhetoric of civilisation and the logic of Boko Haram

07/06/2014



THE evil presentments of Boko Haram in Nigeria are not just an isolated story of tragedy in one corner of the world. For cash or for whatever cause, a group that uses the innocent lives of school girls to gain attention from the world deserves more than condemnation. Something is rotten in a world that can live in peace with the violation of innocent children anywhere.

But my present article is not in actuality about the evil extremism of Boko Haram or the tragedy of the disappearance of a multitude of Nigerian school girls. It is about the 'live and let die' modern world in which we are living, a world whose condition has made the actions of Boko Haram and Joseph Kony a normality, and such trauma, as the Nigerian girls and their parents are going through, a rule rather than an exception. It is my emphatic gesture that the spectacle of pain and the economy of cruelty being suffered by the unfortunate people of Nigeria now is only an explosion of the violence that all Africans in one way or another are going through in their daily lives.

I would also want to argue here that the barbarity of Boko Haram being visited on the innocent children of Nigeria is not in any way an African problem, but a world problem, a civilisational crisis, which like many global crises is playing out its deadly effects in Africa. It would be my invitation to the thinking world that a need is present for us to go beyond Facebook and Twitter solidarities with Nigeria and reflect on this throw away world where in reality both Boko Haram and 'Our Girls' are vic-

tims of a modernity that has made claims to such furnitures as Civilisation, Enlightenment, Renaissance and Globalisation while on the other hand it has exercised the cruelty of slavery, colonialism and coloniality on the other fraction of humanity. It is not a historical accident that in 2014 we are witnessing an increase in the globalisation of terror and war, from the so-called Arab Spring to this kidnapping of school children in Nigeria; we should be able to read the worsening of the African condition because of its entanglement in a decadent modernity.

### **Coloniality and borrowed names of ourselves**

Artisanal Ugandan political scientist Mahmood Mamdani, in his book, *Saviors and Survivors* asks a fundamental question why the atrocities by the United States of America in Iraq were called in the global media, a counter insurgency, while those of groups backed by the Khartoum regime in Darfur were called genocide in spite of the similarities in the two mass killings. It would be profitless here to examine the wealth or the poverty of Mamdani's argument, what immediately enriches my observation is that there is toxic politics of naming in the world where, in the global media and entire knowledge economy, America and its allies decide who a terrorist is and who a freedom fighter is to be. A vivid tyranny of naming exists, and once one is called a terrorist he is banished from rational discourse and must not be listened to. Critically missing in most literature on terrorists and terrorism is an examination of how those who claim to fight terror are actually imbricated in terrorism.

I recently was among many who were part of an epochal audience in South Africa where leaders of the world came not only to bury Nelson Mandela but to tell Africans that Nelson Mandela was a legendary statesman who must be emulated. This happened not even a decade since Mandela's name was removed from the list of terrorists in the world. Far from it, however, is that the rulers of the world changed their view on Mandela, it is Mandela who changed from a fiery freedom fighter who was "prepared to die" for the black poor to a humble conciliator who was willing to turn the other cheek to imperialism.

That the shinning legacy of Nelson Mandela left the violence of capitalism and imperialism in South Africa still intact is witnessed by that official terrorism in South Africa where poorly paid police officers gunned down forty four poorly paid miners in Marikana. The dead miners and the dead police officers are in my argument no different from "our girls" in Nigeria and Boko Haram. In Africa, fundamentally, we are all tools and objects in the service of global capital and coloniality.

Africans, the concerned among them, will remember that the menace that Jonas Savimbi visited on Angola abruptly ended in 2002 with his demise after decades of evading death. And concerned Africans will remember that the well-funded Savimbi died at the hands of government forces not a long time after Bill Clinton had a conciliatory meeting with Eduardo dos Santos and mended the bruised relations between Luanda and Washington. Savimbi's Israel supplied radio system that he had used for years was finally the one that led his killers to his bush base. It is every

bread eater's guess who had protected Savimbi for years and who finally gave him away when it suited their interests. Whatever names Africans are called, Jonas Savimbi, Boko Haram, Joseph Kony or "Our Girls", they are all objects in a vulgar global power play.

### **The World in Africa and Africa in the World**

In the African media and in academia, there are two compelling schools of thought on the enduring legacy of colonialism and imperialism. There exists in the first hand, journalists, politicians and some scholars who think Africa must be done blaming colonialism and European imperialism for her ills. On the other hand we have those concerned Africans whose argument is that Africa is yet to fully recover from the perils of continuing coloniality and imperialism. Only a casual scrutiny of such disasters as the Marikana Massacres in South Africa and Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria confirm beyond doubt, that Africa is still a vivid site of Western colonial and imperial designs among other technologies of economic control and political domination. Marikana in particular represents that spectacle where capitalism sets to terrify all those in future who might entertain the idea of confronting it by using deadly force and using one victim against another.

For the reason that Boko Haram is an affiliate of Al-Qaida, it is important for the thinking world to take a close look at the genealogy of Al-Qaida and related organisations. In 1979 when the Russians invaded Afghanistan, America actively trained and funded Al-Qaida militants that fought off the Russians until they withdrew. Under what was code-named "operation cyclone" in 1986 the CIA trained, according to John Pilger, more than 10 000 Islamist fighters for Al-Qaida. On the other hand in Pakistan the British M16 trained hundreds of Mujahedeen fighters in the art of making bombs.

In an attempt to assassinate long-term enemy Muammar Gaddafi, in as late as 1996, the CIA enlisted trusted allies, Al-Qaida. And not far from now in 2011, concerned Africans will remember that Al-Qaida was one of the groups that ganged up against the Libyan strongman alongside NATO allies, without a single sense of irony and paradox. The thousands of militants that America and allies have trained and armed for the many proxy wars around the world are scattered all over the globe, some have turned around to fight America itself and to pursue other causes, in the process making the entire globe a very uncertain and unsafe place.

Concerned Africans have good reasons to be alarmed when, on the invitation of the Nigerian establishment, it is the NATO allies that have been trusted to provide the technology and expertise that is needed to track down the insurgents and recover the missing girls. The invitation, understandable as it is, sends a clear message that the safety of Africans can only be guaranteed from Europe; symbolically it is a desperate invitation for smart recolonisation. Another way of looking at it is that the Europeans are the best to come and fix the enduring problems that they have in history created for Africa. It is a historical misfortune of some extents that

African Muslims are pronouncing jihad on African Christians on Nigerian soil, when both religions as we know well came as accompaniments of colonialism and slavery from Europe and Asia respectively. The fundamental question to ask is whose creature is Boko Haram?

The Boko Haram onslaught in Nigeria, in all respects, is not fundamentally different from the insurgency of Joseph Kony and the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda who is keeping thousands of innocent school children in the dark forests and has been evading capture for years now. Both groups brandish new weapons and ammunition, top of the range modern military vehicles and are evidently well funded. Recently, the closest Africa came to solid evidence of how Europe continues to under-develop Africa is when self-confessed British dog of war Simon Mann disclosed in a book that the coup they intended to carry out in Equatorial Guinea in 2004 was a well sponsored operation of the British and some Asian oil barons. Jailed Liberian warlord, Charles Taylor, himself a CIA accessory, confessed before his country that the war on the side of which he fought against insurgents was the handiwork of the West, before he left the country for exile in Nigeria.

Most of what are called African problems that require African solutions are actually problems that the world has created in Africa and which require a radical transformation of the world system and the world order. It is a futile exercise for Africa to try to decolonise when Europe continues to resist to de-imperialise. Kenyan historian and political scientist, Ali Mazrui has likened this African historical condition to the incident in the United States where a little girl had the heart of a baboon transplanted onto her. The little girl survived a few weeks before her human body eventually rejected the foreign organ. In Africa such organs as the state, the judiciary and even the legislature, including systems of governance are foreign and colonial organs, their continued failure and collapse in Africa must be understood as they are the failure of the European colonial project in Africa and not the failure of Africa.

### **Who Gave Birth to Boko Haram?**

So called terrorists and tyrants do not fall from the sky. They are a product of concrete historical and political conditions, or sometimes a figment of the criminal imagination of those who seek to benefit from the terror or the tyranny. The world's public intellectuals like Noam Chomsky have observed how the USA used the unfortunate events of 9/11 as an excuse to impose a tyrannical security regime in the entire globe that has allowed them and their allies to invade any country and bully any state that stands on the way of their interests, using the war against terror as an excuse. Observably, in the entire crusade of the war against terror, the United States of America and their NATO allies are both the arsonists and the firemen.

Besides the knowledge that is now in the public domain that America and allies have severally financed, trained, armed and used Al-Qaida militants, concerned Africans would remember that in the height of the attacks against Gaddafi in Libya, NATO allies distributed money, military training and weapons wantonly to anyone

who claimed to be against Gaddafi. Nigerian statesman, Olusegun Obasanjo warned about this scattering of military skills, weapons and financial resources to all sorts of militants in the desperation to topple Gaddafi. True to Obasanjo's wise concerns the rebels that have caused instability in Mali and the Boko Haram that are currently terrorizing Nigeria are brandishing new weapons, advanced military vehicles, trained militants and other modern instruments of war that came straight from the hands of NATO, the leaders of the war against terror. John Pilger has repeatedly pointed to this paradox where America and allies irrigate terror and tyranny in the world and then work up in the morning claiming to be leaders in the global war against tyranny and terror. The thinking world now knows that the weapons of mass destruction that America and allies were searching for in Iraqi are actually nuclear reactors that they had supplied to Saddam Hussein in happier times.

Boko Haram is not made out of accidental demons that have come from the abyss to haunt Nigeria and the earth, but are a product of a world history that the so-called mature democracies in the world have manufactured and conditioned. The group is using money, weapons and military skills that they have received from the best armies of the world that make up NATO. Boko Haram is also made out of poor and homeless refugees who have lost families and homes in conflicts in other countries, people with nothing to lose, the living dead who are angry with life and society and whose cause is to kill God himself and then die.

These are people that nobody has listened to in a longtime and that nobody looks at, and they have found a way to get attention, kidnap our children, murder our women and visit chaos on society. The richest and the happiest people in the world do not sleep now because of otherwise useless people. The prosperous people of the world who live in super-power countries of the world that are protected with unmanned drones and nuclear arsenal are the most unsafe and unhappiest people of the world because of long bearded little men who have nothing to lose. The fundamental question is how and why has our world produced so many people with nothing to lose and who wish the world dead?

### **Can we listen to a terrorist?**

Legendary drug lord, Patrick Lane, once claimed that the greatest causality of the menace of drug trade and drug abuse is the war against drug trade. It is that war which gives drugs the serious illegality that makes them profitable and an article of adventure. The attention that Boko Haram is receiving from the world now is exactly what they are looking for; to be noticed, to be in the headlines and in the agenda of important people in the world is a relish of the outlaw. Besides this, the war against terror, as we have seen, has done a lot to cultivate terror and to promote tyranny in the globe. Recently, Nafeez Ahmed suggested that America might be very happy about the ghoulish activities of Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria as they give an excuse for American occupation of the region and the eventual frustration of Chinese oil interests in that part of Nigeria. Ahmed alleged intricate American intelligence and covert operations in Algeria, Chad and Niger Delta that are de-

signed to secure American access to cheap oil at whatever cost to humanity.

Given that those who claim to fight terror appear to be in the main the cause of terror, if not to be terrorists themselves, I invite the thinking world to the taboo event of listening to a terrorist. What goes on in the mind of an Al-Qaida jihadist or that of a Boko Haram militant? Scrutinising the mindsets of terrorists is as important as studying the agendas of those who claim to protect us from terror. This is so because terrorists and those who claim to fight them are almost always safe from violence and the trauma that ensues. It is defenceless innocents who suffer the violence of war and terror. The innocent Nigerian school girls are neither an evil super power nor terrorists, but just dispensable lives caught in between the dark forces of global terror.

On the 29th of October 2004, Osama bin Laden, in a speech that has since been classified by Bob Blaisdell as one of the most “infamous speeches” in the world, opened up to explain to the Americans why Al-Qaida conducted the 9/11 attacks that shocked humanity. Al-Qaida, according to Bin Laden, “had not considered attacking the towers, but things reached the breaking point when” they “witnessed the iniquity and tyranny of the American-Israeli coalition against our people in Palestine and Lebanon.” Al-Qaida was moved by “those moving scenes of blood, torn limbs and dead women and children” in Lebanon. As an individual, Bin Laden says he could not stomach in Lebanon “ruined homes everywhere, and high rises being demolished on top of their residents, bombs raining down mercilessly on our homes.” Most noteworthy is that “in those critical moments” Bin Laden says “I was overwhelmed by ideas that are difficult to describe, but they awakened a powerful impulse to reject injustice and gave birth to a firm resolve to punish the oppressor.”

The argument that Bin Laden advanced was summarised in that “Just as you violate our security, we violate yours.” America must never, in the thinking of Bin Laden “toy with the security of others, deluding himself that he will remain secure.” In the global media and even in the academy, no one has seriously taken time to tell the world that 9/11 was revenge by those who were angry at the aggressions of America and her allies in Palestine and Lebanon. What the world is being told is that Islamic extremists who hate freedom and democracy are attacking America, and that the whole world should gang up against this terror, “you are with us or against us” said George Bush Junior.

Al-Qaida, in the words of Bin Laden, sought to draw the world’s attention to what “Bush senior did, causing mass slaughter of children in Iraq, the worst that humanity has ever known.” To Bin Laden and Al-Qaida, America does not stand for freedom and democracy, “it stands for dropping millions of pounds of bombs and explosives on millions of children in Iraq” in order to “depose an old agent and to appoint a new agent” in the Iraq government “to help steal Iraq’s oil, and other sorts of horrible things.” Bin Laden insisted that powerful politicians in America benefit financially from wars that America fights in different places of the world, from re-

construction contracts that private companies connected with the elite in America get in countries like Sudan, Afghanistan and Iraq.

The principal question that Bin Laden asked is “should a man be blamed for protecting his own?” Or “is defending oneself and punishing the wicked, an eye for an eye ... is that reprehensible terrorism?” There is clearly a war of interests and that of values between America and her allies and Al-Qaida and those they claim to represent and protect. The misfortune that I wish to observe in this short article is that this understandable war has spilled into Africa; innocent children have been caught up in the web of foreign violence in Africa. America and allies have managed to universalise their own wars and turned them into global wars.

Africa has become a battle ground for those who are fighting their own wars, wars that in reality have very little to do with Africa. The Oil resources and other rich pickings of Africa have also attracted the attention and the violence of powerful global forces that see war and conflict as a fertile opportunity to siphon as much wealth as possible from Africa. The ancient clashes of the Christian and the Islamic faith have also found a stage for their theatres in Africa. Listening to Bin Laden’s testimony vividly indicates that terrorists, even the venal and the rabid among them, are not born, they are produced by events of war and violence in the world. “As I was looking at those destroyed towers in Lebanon” says Bin Laden “I was struck by the idea of punishing the oppressor in the same manner and destroying towers in the USA, to give it a taste of what we have tasted and to deter it from killing our children and women.”

### **Terror and the War against Terror as colonialism In Africa**

In the same manner that Cold War European skirmishes of the Communist Block and the Capitalist Block vividly plaid themselves out in Africa, dividing Africans between communists and capitalists, the violence of terror and the war on terror is increasingly becoming a principal challenge in Africa; from Kenya to Nigeria. In the same way that the violence of the slave trade and that of colonialism was violence that visited Africa and became an enduring burden whose effects continue to be felt, Africa will bleed for a long time from the injuries of European wars whose spectacles explode in Africa and where Africans become the primary casualties. The ‘holy’ war between the two colonial religions of Christianity and Islam are costing Africans in Nigeria a wealth of innocent lives and pulling Africa backwards in terms of development and stability. Not only in the many global financial crises, but also in political catastrophes that have begun in Europe, Africa ends up taking the burden of symptoms of a diseased European civilisation that has effectively globalised its problems.

In the erudite analysis of Mahmood Mamdani, the 1994 genocide in Rwanda which imperiled more than a million African lives had its roots in the divisive colonial legacy and global history of imperialism that divided the people of Rwanda into warring “settlers” and “natives.” The entire enmeshment of Africa with its own traditional

history, the Christian legacy and the Islamic legacy was supposed to be, in the canonical observation of Ali Mazrui, a “triple heritage.” As a “triple heritage” this contact of civilisations under ideal circumstances would have enriched Africa and made her a convivial harmony of modernities. Far from it, with slavery, colonialism and globalisation, it turned out to be a violent clash of civilisation where Africa’s harvest has been entanglement in crises, wars, terror and underdevelopment. The war on terror and terror itself are in Africa, a presentment of imperialism and alien visitation. As Africans, both Boko Haram militants as perpetrators of violence and the Nigerian school girls as victims are just objects and human raw materials in the brewing of a decadent global civilisation championed by imperial Europe.

### **Imagining Africa from Africa**

One of the bestselling books published in 2014 in South Africa is *The Fall of the ANC: What Next?*, authored by two brilliant African intellectuals. The book draws from Patrick Chabal and Doloz to critique the ANC as a failed party that is chaotic and corrupt. Patrick Chabal and Doloz’s argument that corruption and chaos is the normal state of affairs in Africa is magnified with amazing gusto in this book that is also littered with taxi rank invectives against ANC politicians. Ironically, in 2012 Chabal wrote *The End of Conceit*, repenting of his misplaced judgement of Africa and pleading with other European scholars to rethink their conceit against Africa. So, two brilliant African academics are resurrecting European insults to Africa that the Europeans themselves have repented of? This is not only in academia but also in culture and politics and religion. Africa duplicates European knowledges and mimics European sensibility in everything to catastrophic ends. From Europe’s trash can, Africa’s fine scholars are retrieving what they believe to be the leading ideas of the day.

African thinkers are proving incapable of inventions as they diagnose African problems and prescribe solutions using European terms and lens of thought. After decades of disastrous borrowing and inheriting from Europe, Africans should now learn from the failed economies, collapsed states and borrowed wars that Africa has to be imagined from Africa and in African terms. The terror of Boko Haram in Nigeria is just a symptom of a diseased European global order that urgently needs recall. An African order can be imagined whose politics, economies and culture are decolonised and can allow Africa to contribute her unique gifts to humanity. The persuasive rhetoric of us living in a modern civilisation thanks to Europe is a monumental falsehood, our reality is that of the colonialities of terror and the war against terror as represented in Boko Haram and its violent presentments in Nigeria presently.

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



## Getting to Boko Haram's roots might have surprising implications

Is the militant group a self-styled Islamic insurgency, or part of a protracted civil war? The answer to that question matters.

By Jim Sanders, *Guest blogger* / June 5, 2014



There is much to think about [Boko Haram](#) and [Nigeria](#) during the current crisis.

One thought that occurred to me recently is that as long as Boko Haram is viewed as an insurgency or terrorist group, the policy implications that flow from this will tend to cluster around counter-terrorism operations.

However, if Boko Haram is seen or regarded as an element in a civil war that is raging in northeast Nigeria, and which threatens to spread more widely, a different approach to treating with the group might be needed.

The latter viewpoint would mean an initiative more in line with [President Barack Obama](#)'s commencement address at West Point on May 28 is required.

Mr. Obama told cadets to get ready to work as a team, side-by-side with diplomats and development organizations.

That kind of multi-pronged "offensive" makes sense in a situation such as that in Nigeria.

Boko Haram is probably well aware that they do not need to fear the current efforts against them. Their leaders and members can be killed or jailed. But as long as nothing is done to improve the deteriorating socio-economic soil in which their roots

grow, there will always be replacements for their fallen members and the group itself is not likely to be eradicated.

**RECOMMENDED:** [Think you know Africa? Take our geography quiz.](#)

Yet the current analysis of the group usually does not address roots and soil, at least not from the perspective of ordinary people. The origins of long term grievances that sustain the movement are not explored.

Where, for example, are Nigeria's inquiring journalists like Katherine Boo, or its poets and author's like James Agee, or its anthropologists like Oscar Lewis?

Interestingly, some treatment of the context of ordinary lives in Nigeria appears in some Nigerian science fiction -- hardly a staple of the foreign policy community.

In her recent novel *Lagoon*, [Nnedi Okorafor](#)'s character Ayodele (an alien) says to Agu, a soldier, "You come from a family of yam farmers; they are the salt of the earth to you. They represent the heart of Nigeria. You joined the army to protect them. Now you understand your army is corrupt. You need a people to join."

How many real life soldiers at the bottom of Nigeria's military hierarchy feel this way?

As long as our analysis of Boko Haram remains within customary channels, we will not know.

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

## Somalia

### C4 Survey: Somali Terrorism Prompts Kenyan Border Upgrade

Published June 5, 2014



#### Repeated attacks and a neighbor in chaos result in planned improvements

*Editor's Note: This month in its C4 Survey, BNN presents an examination of the needs and responses of different countries in border command, control, communications, computing, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance (C4ISR).*

MOMBASA, KENYA, BNN -- With terrorist attacks and a rocky relationship with neighboring Somalia, Kenya has no choice but to upgrade its border security, including its C4ISR.

In November 2013, Joseph Ole Lenku, Kenya's Cabinet secretary for Interior and National Coordination, said that closed-circuit television would be installed to monitor activities on the Kenya-Somalia border. Beyond the border, President Uhuru Kenyatta has announced that the country will be installing surveillance cameras in major towns and broadband connectivity at entry points.

The parameters of Kenya's border build-up and its defense plans are laid out in a January 2014 private sector report, *The Future of Kenya Defense Industry-Market Attractiveness, Competitive Landscape and Forecast* by the market analysis firm of Strategic Defence Intelligence, based in London, UK.

According to the report, along with a defense capital expenditure budget that is expected to grow roughly 12 percent from US \$149.2 million in 2014 to US \$234.1

million in 2018, Kenyan investment in border security along with other homeland security capabilities including are expected to rise as well. This is expected to include the purchase of helicopters, armored vehicles, unmanned aerial vehicles and surveillance, monitoring and C4 equipment.

Driving this buildup is the Kenyan intervention in neighboring Somalia and an ongoing war with the Somalia-based Al Shabaab Islamist terrorist organization. Since 2011, Kenya has endured more than a hundred bomb, grenade and homemade improvised explosive attacks from the Al Qaeda-affiliated group.

Kenyan defense forces first entered Somalia in September 2011, in pursuit of Al Shabaab terrorists who had invaded the Kiwayu Safari Lodge and killed David Tebutt, a British tourist, and captured Judith, his wife, taking her to Somalia.

Al Shabaab aimed its attacks at Kenyan churches, crowded streets, public vehicles and shopping centers. In September 2013, four members of Al Shabaab attacked Westgate Shopping Mall in Nairobi, killing 67 people and injuring over a hundred others. In February 2014, the group attacked a church in Mombasa; in April, it killed and injured several people in a stationary bus in a gas station and in May, it attacked Nairobi's Gikomba open air market with two bombs and killed more than 10 shoppers.

On May 14 the British government warned its citizens against visiting Kenya due to security concerns. Specifically, it warned against visiting Mombasa, Eastleigh, Garissa, Nairobi's slums and about a hundred kilometers of Kenya's territory along the [800 kilometer-long](#) Kenya-Somalia border. Hundreds of tourists left Kenya and potential tourists cancelled their travel plans. This was a big blow to Kenya's economy because it receives about 200,000 visitors from United Kingdom annually.

Al Shabaab extremists enter Kenya either secretly or disguised as refugees, through the porous Kenya- Somalia border. The four Westgate Mall attackers planned the attack from Dadaab refugee camp, where they had been hosted by the Kenya government after "fleeing" Somalia.

The Kenya-Somalia border lies in a semi-arid region dominated by shrubs and acacia. It is a hardship post for border guards who often lack for food and water. Under the British colonial administration it was called the Northern Frontier District.

Herdsmen graze their livestock on both sides of the border and sometimes cross the border without being aware of it since there is no clear-cut demarcation. Somali migrants take advantage of it and illegally sneak to major Kenyan cities like Nairobi, Garissa, Mandera and Wajir where they bribe government officials and get Kenyan identification cards.

The Kenyan government blames the migrants and fake refugees for the sporadic attacks it suffers. It also blames Al Shabaab for recruiting Kenyans, sneaking them to Somalia and training them as terrorists who sneak back into Kenya for further attacks. On May 25, Al Shabaab militants crossed over to Kenya at night and killed

two soldiers in Lamu County -- 45 kilometers inside the Kenyan border.

Al Shabaab announcements have stated that it will only stop attacking Kenya if Kenya withdraws its military from Somalia but Kenyatta of Kenya has regularly said that Kenya will only recall its army from Somalia when Somalia becomes peaceful. To him, a chaotic Somalia negatively affects Kenya's social and economic development, forcing Kenya to continue being its brother's keeper – and that will continue to require greater Kenyan border capabilities, particularly in C4ISR.

<http://bordernewsnetwork.com/>

## **Al-Shabab: Mediation Matters**

*Jun 1, 2014*

A series of deadly explosions echo in Mogadishu killing dozens of innocent people and wounding many more every day. Even Villa Somalia, the presidential palace, and the parliament building have not been spared. These car bombings are the latest in a campaign by al-Shabab militants seeking to undermine the African Union peacekeeping mission and fragile government's efforts to maintain security across the country.

Some Somali political analysts claim that the al-Shabab's frequent car bombs and suicide attacks, part of a series of stepped-up attacks since last year, aim at undermining Somali's led government ahead of a crucial vote in 2016. Today the group is targeting public areas and government buildings more than ever.

Many political pundits argue the violence has surged in Mogadishu because the Somali government's unyielding stand on al-Shabab has never changed. The deliberate labeling and continued military force created physical obstacles to solving Somali problems. Although the foreign troops brought relative security to some certain areas in and around Mogadishu, their presence generated additional barriers to the Somali owned solution, escalated deadly attacks and truncated the chance for Somalis to resolve their own problems. Given all these attacks, what steps that need to be taken to reduce the scourge of al-Shabab? Are there other alternative methods to mitigate the constant daily deadly blasts?

In order to find a solution to al-Shabab problem, one should understand the core ideology and the composition of this group. The al-Shabab militancy has multifaceted agendas. Some members principally covet for power, positions and prestige while others desire economic gains. Some militants are secretly supported and financed by external spoilers such as neighboring countries whose main objective is to disrupt peace and continue the chaos in Somalia. Some radicals are transnational jihadist groups while others are unemployed and uneducated Somali youth who were forced or brainwashed to join the network.

Since the Somali government came to power in 2012, no formal or informal mediation was held so far. Instead of calling for mediation, the Somali government requested the international community for military assistance to defeat al-Shabab. Has the continued military force brought a sense of peace and stability back to Somalia? To answer this question, the military force has not yet brought sustainable peace. The presence of regional troops rendered the Somali government to heavily rely on African Union (AU) troops in maintaining security. This dependence forced the government not to resort to the use of the traditional mechanics of conflict resolution and customary practices in mediation.

In order to break the cycle of vicious violence and series explosions, the Somali government should allow the elders to steer locally owned peace initiatives and medi-

ate between the government and al-Shabab. The current military force has not mitigated the threat of the radical group to the country and the region. Some critics might argue that Somali clan elders have been a part of the conflict in the past two decades. Although some elders were accused of being drivers of the conflict in some regions, a council of elders known as “*Guurti*” brought sustainable peace to Somaliland and Puntland. The *Guurti* had the total ownership, and their mediation was based on a bottom-up approach. In contrast, elders who hail from the Southern regions of Somalia in the past didn’t have had freedom to reach a decision or launch independent mediation efforts. The main challenges they faced were a foreign intervention, lack of resources and mediation ownership. To address and mediate between Somali government and al-Shabab, mediation should be locally driven, locally owned and be based on a bottom-up formula.

### **Legitimacy of Somali Elders**

In order to address the al-Shabab conflict in Somalia, a local third party intervention between the government and al-Shabab is crucial. Why are Somali elders considered as legitimate mediators in the eyes of Somali people?

The Somali elders should be the core mediators between warring parties because they are considered as neutral and impartial. The local clan elders are familiar with the conflict settings, and can employ indigenous conflict management mechanisms. The elders are elected and entrusted by their respective community because of their immense expertise in bringing peace. These attributes give them a reputation for fairness, hold an immeasurable amount of power and influence in Somali society. Thus, elders’ mediation is a voluntary effort in which the consent of the parties is critical for a viable process and a durable outcome. The role of Somali clan elders unlike external mediators is influenced by the nature of the relationship with the parties.

Another factor that makes Somali clan elders enjoy legitimacy to steer mediation is that they utilize an indigenous mediation that continues for a while until a solution is found, and the solutions are often satisfactory to all parties. One of the most successful mediation that yielded a result was Borame Peace conference.

In Somalia, elders have had traditional jurisdiction in facilitation, arbitration, and monitoring outcomes. During the mediation, the elders possess moral status, seniority, neutrality and respect of the community. Another reason why elders are important in mediation is they are acceptable to the parties in conflict and demonstrate competent leadership capacity. In order to ensure elders are incorporated in mediation, it is important for the international community, regional and local authorities to respect the roles clan elders can play in mediating the parties in conflict. Therefore, Somali government should acknowledge the role and reliability of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms. These clan elders are local actors who can organize meetings with al-Shabab. The government should develop a strategy for identifying conflict intermediaries within the community and generating opportunities for their interaction with other parties in conflict.

Somali government should prioritize the stability and progress of the country and hold an informal mediation with al-Shabab through the good offices of elders. The Somali government should refrain from the reliance of military force that has so far destabilized the country. Today the world realized the use of military force is not a solution.

In order to reach free and fair election in 2016, the Somali government should prioritize mediation instead of militarization and call for peace dialogue with al-Shabab. Moreover, Somali government should re-humanize and incentivize members of al-Shabab who are willing to engage in peaceful dialogue.

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



## Rwanda

### The pendulum swings back

12 June 2014



After the Rwandan genocide, the United Nations was berated for not doing enough to protect civilians. Now some nations are criticising it for doing too much. But do they have ulterior motives?

Since the Rwandan genocide, in particular, when UN peacekeeping failed the Rwandan people so badly, the UN has steadily bolstered its peacekeepers' ability to protect civilians, including by giving them more robust mandates. The most important example of the new breed of UN peacekeeping operations has been the Force Intervention Brigade (FIB), structured as part of MONUSCO, the UN peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC).

Staffed by South African, Tanzanian and Malawian troops, the brigade was given a

robust mandate – under UN Security Council Resolution 2098 – to conduct offensive operations to neutralise all of the many ‘negative forces’ or ‘non-state actors’ (i.e. armed rebels) threatening state authority and civilian security in the eastern DRC.

Last year, it successfully achieved its first big objective of defeating the Rwandan-backed M23 rebels, which had been fighting the DRC army. Since then it has been fighting lesser and more dispersed militias such as the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), established by Rwandan Hutus who had helped perpetrate the genocide – and so its achievements have been harder to assess.

That it is still fighting, though, became apparent when the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) reported a few weeks ago that three of its soldiers in the FIB had been wounded in battle. Almost immediately after the UN Security Council mandated the FIB last year, it also adopted Resolution 2100, establishing the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in Mali (MINUSMA). The mission was mandated – alongside the French force already in Mali – to use all necessary measures to stabilise the turbulent north especially, including preventing the return of the jihadist and separatist militias whom the French had driven out.

But now these two operations, in particular, have brought to a head a set of concerns – opposite to those that prevailed after the genocide – that have been simmering among some member states about the UN’s more aggressive posture.

On Wednesday this week, the Security Council held an open debate on peacekeeping in which these concerns and others were aired. Russia, one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, called for the debate and articulated these concerns in a letter circulated to the Secretary-General, saying that the increasing deployment of UN peacekeeping missions in intrastate conflicts, where there is little or no peace to keep, is placing peacekeepers in ever-growing danger.

India, one of the countries that historically contributed a large number of troops to these peacekeeping missions, strongly supported Russia’s concerns. ‘By mandating UN peacekeeping operations to deal with such internal conflicts, the Council is effectively compromising the principles of the UN Charter, on which the principles of UN peacekeeping operations are firmly rooted,’ India’s UN ambassador, Asoke Kumar Mukerji, said in the debate. ‘These principles are the consent of the parties to the operations, impartiality, and non-use of force, except in self-defence.’

He also complained about ‘the emerging proclivity’ of the Security Council to mix traditional UN peacekeeping mandates with new interventionist mandates for a small portion of the troops in the same operation – citing the example of the FIB and MONUSCO, in which India has more than 4 000 troops. This mixing of mandates was ‘exposing traditional peacekeepers to unnecessary threats from armed internal conflicts which the UN has not itself instigated.

He added: ‘Further, by being asked to be party to the internal armed conflict, all UN

peacekeepers, and not only the interventionist "peace enforcers," become liable to be treated as "enemy combatants" under international law, and thus effectively forgo both their impartiality and their immunity from prosecution.'

Rather paradoxically, the Security Council also debated a report by the UN's Office of Internal Oversight Services, that there has been a persistent pattern of UN peacekeepers not intervening with force to protect civilians under attack, even when they have strong mandates to do so. The Council also discussed the concerns of some members – again, Russia seemed to be at the fore – about the use of unarmed, unmanned aerial vehicles (UUAVs, or drones) in peacekeeping missions.

They were first deployed in the eastern DRC in December last year to monitor the movements of armed groups, and have proved to be a partially successful tool for gathering intelligence economically over large areas. But Russia is concerned about the possible unintended misuse of the intelligence gathered by the UUAVs and possible violations of national sovereignty when they fly over border areas.

Gustavo de Carvalho, a senior researcher in the Conflict Management and Peacebuilding Division at the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), says that the concerns articulated by Russia and other countries about the dangers of giving UN peacekeepers more robust mandates are not invalid. 'But the trouble is these concerns don't address the complex reality of peacekeepers on the ground and how they should respond to that reality.'

He also believes that how UN peacekeepers deal with threats often has more to do with the rules of engagement or the ethos of particular national contingents, than with the overall mission mandate. He cites the Chadians in MINUSMA, who have a reputation of readiness to fight – unlike some other national contingents that are prone to 'hide in their barracks' when trouble looms.

The lay person might suppose that the African Union (AU) could obviate some of these mandate ambiguities by getting its proposed interim rapid response force – the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises – up and running. Those rapid response forces would be formed by coalitions of willing AU member states and so would not have to agonise over ambiguous UN mandates.

De Carvalho disagrees, saying that UN peacekeeping missions and African rapid response forces are intended to operate in different environments, where the AU force is intended to fill the vacuum in a conflict zone until there has been an agreement. Nonetheless, he acknowledges that it is becoming increasingly difficult to draw such a neat distinction as conflicts, especially in Africa, grow ever more complicated.

To Annette Leijenaar, Head of the Conflict Management and Peacebuilding Division at the ISS, these problems essentially stem from the fact that the UN Charter is outdated and needs to be addressed to deal with current realities.

More cynically, some also question the motives of those countries that criticise the

increasingly robust mandates of UN peacekeeping missions. Are they really concerned that the missions could be jeopardised? Or are they much more worried that a precedent is being set that may one day come back to bite them?

Some of the regular troop-contributing countries use UN peacekeeping missions as a handy way to pay some of their troops and keep them out of mischief at home, while giving them strict national mandates to stay out of harm's way. Are they perhaps more concerned than anything else about losing these sinecures?

**Peter Fabricius, Foreign Editor, Independent Newspapers, South Africa**

<http://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/the-pendulum-swings-back>

## Terrorism in the World

### Belgium

#### Filières djihadistes: «Partir dans le tout sécuritaire serait une victoire pour le terrorisme»



Les ministres de l'Intérieur belge, Joëlle Milquet, et français, Bernard Cazeneuve, le 1e juin 2014 lors d'une conférence de presse à Paris *THOMAS SAMSON AFP*

**TERRORISME - Le spécialiste du terrorisme Alain Rodier décrypte la coopération entre les états membres de l'Union européenne en matière de surveillance des filières djihadistes...**

«Les Etats membres doivent renforcer leur coopération et mieux utiliser le service d'information de Schengen, Europol et Interpol», [a déclaré, le 2 juin 2014, Gilles de Kerchove, le coordinateur européen pour la lutte contre le terrorisme](#). Il a notamment insisté sur la mise en place d'un système européen de données des passagers (PNR) pour les voyages en avion. Un projet qui est toutefois bloqué par le Parlement européen.

De leur côté, [Bernard Cazeneuve, le ministre de l'Intérieur, et ses homologues européens, dont la ministre de l'Intérieur belge, Joëlle Milquet, doivent se réunir](#) à nouveau, ce jeudi 5 juin au Luxembourg. Le but: examiner le rapport de Gilles de Kerchove et notamment améliorer la circulation des informations entre les services de renseignements. Alain Rodier, spécialiste du terrorisme au Centre français de

recherche sur le Renseignement analyse la situation pour *20 Minutes*.

Qu'est ce qui va être fait ou renforcé au niveau européen pour lutter contre les filières djihadiste?

Concrètement, il n'y a rien et il n'y aura rien de nouveau à part davantage de réunions. Certes la classe politique annonce des mesures ou des renforcements dans la surveillance et la lutte, mais ils expliquent au public ce qui se fait déjà. La coopération entre les services de renseignement et les polices des pays membres n'est pas une affaire nouvelle et fonctionne de manière permanente depuis plusieurs années. Ils ont toujours travaillé ensemble quand la menace était commune en matière de criminalité et de terrorisme et ça fonctionne globalement bien.

Pourtant, les derniers événements semblent montrer des faiblesses?

Oui, mais le vrai problème est le manque d'harmonisation dans la législation entre les pays membres. Par exemple, les contenus sur Internet pouvant alimenter ces filières djihadistes sont supprimés au Royaume-Uni. En France, ce n'est pas le cas car cela touche à la liberté d'expression. Autre exemple, en Allemagne, au Royaume-Uni ou encore aux Pays-Bas, les autorités peuvent refuser le renouvellement ou confisquer les pièces d'identité à une personne qui représente une menace pour la sécurité. Enfin un autre problème majeur repose sur les conditions d'extradition de suspects qui diffèrent selon les pays. Mais arriver à une législation européenne commune en matière de lutte contre le terrorisme est très compliqué.

Donc pour vous, le renforcement de la coopération et de la surveillance n'est pas une solution?

La coopération est indispensable, mais il n'y aura jamais une sécurité à 100% et des individus arriveront toujours à passer entre les mailles du filet. Il ne faut pas qu'un ou des pays européens partent dans le tout sécuritaire, ce serait une victoire pour le terrorisme. En fait, nous sommes pris entre le marteau et l'enclume. Nous devons arriver à garder une balance entre un souci de sécurité et une garantie de liberté des citoyens. Ce qui est pour le moment très compliqué à mettre en place.

<http://www.20minutes.fr/>

## France

### LE DJIHAD MADE IN FRANCE



En 2007 (à g.), Mehdi a 22 ans et vit à Tourcoing chez sa grand-mère. En 2011, (à dr.), il est transféré au centre pénitentiaire de Toulon. © DR

Le 06 juin 2014 | Mise à jour le 06 juin 2014

JACQUES DUPLESSY, EMILIE BLACHÈRE ET LAURENCE NHEK

Après un passé de délinquant, la prison a transformé ce jeune en fanatique religieux... puis en assassin

«La personne qui a tiré sur les Juifs n'était pas censée se faire prendre, encore moins avec le drapeau de la Dawla [abréviation arabe pour EIL, l'Etat islamique en Irak et au Levant]... C'est pas bon pour nous ici, en Syrie. Il devait mourir les armes à la main comme Mohamed Merah. Enfin, j'en sais rien, mais moi c'est ce que j'aurais fait ! » Abou Oussamah est un combattant belge, en Syrie depuis près de deux ans. Il critique... mais il se dit « fier » de Mehdi Nemmouche, « le tueur du musée juif ». Bien sûr, il le connaît. Bien sûr, ils ont « combattu ensemble ». Pourtant, Abou Oussamah reste mitigé quant au rôle de son organisation dans cette tuerie. Si elle revendiquait les assassinats, une énorme fenêtre médiatique s'ouvrira sur elle. C'est tentant... « Tremblez, bientôt le monde entier connaîtra le retour du califat », lâche Abou, amusé.

Comme lui, tous les djihadistes affirment de nombreuses choses, puis se repren-

nent systématiquement. « Ici, en Syrie, on dit que ça fait des semaines que des frères, partout en France, repèrent les synagogues. Nemmouche devait faire un véritable feu d'artifice, il était bien entraîné ! C'est ce qu'on m'a dit... Je n'en sais pas plus... Seul Allah peut dire si c'est vrai », explique l'un qui, aussitôt, ajoute : « Je me demande bien pourquoi il avait notre drapeau, on ne lui a rien demandé. » D'excitation, ils débattent. Par prudence, ils se ravisent. Les contradictions se multiplient, la légende avance : on prête déjà à Mehdi des liens avec Fouad, la sœur de Mohamed Merah, fraîchement partie en Syrie, ses enfants sous le bras. Mais on ignore encore s'il a agi seul, et si le musée juif de Bruxelles était le début d'une série d'attentats visant l'Europe. « Que le EILL s'en prenne aux Juifs n'est pas vraiment une surprise », analyse Romain Caillet, chercheur spécialisé dans les questions islamistes. L'Etat islamique en Irak et au Levant se veut une organisation régionale qui inclut la Palestine. Deux groupes de combattants palestiniens viennent de lui faire allégeance. Dans cette logique, ils veulent être en confrontation avec Israël. S'en prendre à des Juifs en Europe, qui constituent des cibles plus vulnérables, pourrait donc entrer dans leur stratégie. »

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### **DANS L'ENTOURAGE DE MEHDI, PERSONNE J'AURAIT PRÉDIT UNE TELLE DÉRIVE MEURTRIÈRE**

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Dans l'entourage de Mehdi Nemmouche en France, par contre, c'est la stupéfaction. Personne n'aurait prédit une telle dérive meurtrière. « Je vais bien. Ne vous inquiétez pas », disent les rares lettres envoyées à sa tante Danielle et à sa grand-mère Tessadit, domiciliées à Tourcoing. Des mots souvent rédigés sur des pages de cahier, avec une écriture enfantine et appliquée, saisis par les enquêteurs de la DGSI. Lors de la perquisition chez sa grand-mère, où Mehdi avait encore une chambre, les enquêteurs ont trouvé un Coran et quelques livres religieux. Il y avait passé quelques jours début 2013, avant son départ en Syrie à la fin du mois de janvier. Tessadit est née en Kabylie et ne parle pas français. Mehdi Nemmouche a perdu tout contact avec sa mère à l'âge de 3 mois. Né le 17 avril 1985 à Roubaix d'un père inconnu, séparé de ses deux sœurs, Myriam et Nejma, il connaît une enfance chaotique, ballotté entre trois familles d'accueil avant d'être repris par sa grand-mère à 17 ans. Mais il découche fréquemment, dort chez des connaissances ou dans une voiture. Poli et renfermé avec ses proches, il avait enchaîné plusieurs cambriolages, un vol et un recel pour la seule année 1999, à 14 ans. Puis c'est l'escalade : vols de véhicules, vols avec violences, dégradations... En 2002, il agresse une enseignante, « avec usage ou menace d'une arme », à Tourcoing.

En parallèle, Mehdi mène une scolarité étonnamment classique. Il va jusqu'à un bac pro électrotechnique. Mais hospitalisé après un accident du travail, il ne passe pas l'examen en juin 2006. En septembre, il s'inscrit à la fac pour tenter la «



capacité en droit ». Comme s'il cherchait les moyens de se protéger de la justice. Car le délinquant est monté en grade, et condamné pour des faits graves : trois vols avec armes – dont deux qu'il a toujours niés. Incarcéré en 2007, il ne ressortira qu'en 2012. Il passe par la maison d'arrêt de Grasse, puis de juin 2008 à décembre 2010 par le centre pénitentiaire de Salon-de-Provence, où il est qualifié de « détenu lambda », et par celui d'Avignon-Le-Pontet pendant quatre mois. Enfin, il est transféré à la prison de Toulon-La Farlède. David Manton, adjoint régional du syndicat pénitentiaire Ufap, l'y a connu. « Mehdi Nemmouche est arrivé en mars 2011. C'était un détenu calme, très sportif, athlétique. Les six premiers mois de sa détention ont été normaux. Puis on a vu un changement, et il est parti dans l'islam radical. Son comportement est devenu plus agressif et il a eu quelques altercations avec les surveillants. »

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### **“A L'ÉPOQUE DE L'AFFAIRE MERAH, MEHDI NOUS A RÉCLAMÉ UNE TÉLÉ DANS SA CELLULE”**

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Le 20 septembre 2011, il est poursuivi pour « violence à dépositaire de l'ordre public ». Il a vraisemblablement agressé un gardien ; on le place en quartier disciplinaire, puis à l'isolement. L'administration pénitentiaire note son emprise religieuse sur les autres détenus. « Il devenait très insistant pour obliger les prisonniers à faire leurs prières. » A l'isolement, Mehdi s'est calmé. Il se laisse pousser la barbe et porte la djellaba. « Il était devenu peu bavard, inexpressif, mais poli. Plus une insulte. Il était dans son monde, dans sa religion. Il ne ratait plus une prière. C'était sa seule activité. » Mehdi n'a qu'une radio. Il ne veut pas de télévision, qu'il considère comme contraire à l'islam. Un fait marque le gardien : « A l'époque de l'affaire Merah, Mehdi nous a réclamé une télé. Il a tout suivi dans sa cellule, puis lorsque ça a été terminé, il nous l'a rendue. » Difficile de ne pas voir là une source d'inspiration pour le jeune homme... Soulifa Badaoui, son avocate, ne comprend pas ce qui a pu se passer dans la tête de son ancien client : « On ne peut même pas dire qu'il était musulman. Il n'avait aucune culture religieuse. Sa mère est née en France. Il a passé sa vie dans des familles d'accueil françaises qui n'étaient pas musulmanes. On dit qu'il avait la double nationalité mais je ne suis même pas sûre qu'il soit allé une seule fois en Algérie. Mehdi ne m'a jamais parlé de religion. Avec moi, il a toujours été très respectueux. Je le voyais comme quelqu'un qui voulait s'en sortir. »

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### **APRÈS UNE ANNÉE À ALEP, IL REVIENT EN EUROPE PAR DES CHEMINS DÉTOURNÉS**

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A sa libération, en décembre 2012, l'administration pénitentiaire le signale à la DCRI pour prosélytisme religieux et radicalisation. Il est alors fiché S, « sécurité de l'Etat ». Il passe voir brièvement ses oncles et tantes, sa grand-mère et ses sœurs. Mais pas sa mère avec qui il n'a aucun contact. Au cours de ce séjour, jamais il n'évoque le moindre départ. Trois semaines plus tard, il entreprend son périple vers la Syrie. Mais les services de renseignement n'ont pas eu le temps de relever sa trace. Il part d'abord à Londres, où il fréquente la mosquée radicale de Kingston Road, puis au Liban. Il s'envole ensuite vers la Turquie pour pénétrer en Syrie, où il rejoint le EIL. D'après un membre de l'organisation, son nom de guerre est Abu Omar Al-Firansi, « le Français ». Après une année dans la région d'Alep, il repart vers l'Europe par des chemins détournés, sans doute pour brouiller les pistes. La Malaisie, Singapour. Repéré par les services allemands sur un vol en provenance de Bangkok en mars 2014, il est sommairement interrogé et relâché. Sa fiche Schengen est transmise à la DGSI. Il vit alors en Belgique « de vols et d'expédients », selon le procureur. Il aurait été hébergé par plusieurs personnes à Bruxelles. Est-il en mission commandée par le EIL ?

Vendredi 30 mai, les douaniers qui l'arrêtent à la sortie d'un bus Eurolines en provenance d'Amsterdam, via Bruxelles, agissent officiellement pour un simple contrôle de routine antidrogue. Mais dans les bagages de Mehdi, ils trouvent la kalachnikov enroulée dans un drap blanc avec deux inscriptions en arabe : « Etat islamique en Irak et au Levant » et « Dieu est grand », ainsi que la caméra GoPro avec laquelle il voulait filmer ses meurtres – comme Mohamed Merah – et qui n'a pas fonctionné. Et un appareil photo. Dans une courte vidéo où l'on voit les armes et le drapeau du EIL, une voix qui pourrait être la sienne revendique l'attentat de Bruxelles et déplore que la caméra soit tombée en panne. « Si le EIL est derrière Nemmouche, c'est fini pour les Français qui veulent rentrer, commente un djihadiste sur Internet. Les autorités ne vont plus nous lâcher. Jusqu'ici, c'était un jeu d'enfant de revenir en Europe. » Quelque 700 Français ont combattu ou combattent actuellement en Syrie.

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

## India

### INDIAN MUJAHIDEEN ARRESTS: LESSONS LEARNT AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS – ANALYSIS

JUNE 9, 2014

Just a few days before the swearing-in ceremony of India's newly elected Prime Minister, four Indian Mujahideen (IM) operatives were arrested by the National Investigation Agency (NIA) in Jharkhand. These arrests claim to have unraveled the entire conspiracy behind the Bodh Gaya (July 7, 2013) and Patna (October 27, 2013) blasts. The four arrested include Numan and Taufiq Ansari, Mojibullah and importantly the key IM operative Haider Ali, alias 'Black Beauty'. Ali – the main accused in the two blasts – was reportedly recruiting youth in Jharkhand, Bihar and UP before he was arrested. He is, allegedly, the principal link between the Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) and the IM, and is therefore considered an important catch after arrests of prominent IM operatives like Tehseen Akhtar alias Monu and Waqas in March 2014, and Yasin Bhatkal along with aide Asadullah Akhtar in August 2013.

These arrests have been a great success for the Indian Intelligence and law enforcement agencies. Their sustained efforts in analyzing the modus operandi and establishing links to secure intelligence breakthroughs played an important role in initiating these successes. Consecutive arrests of key IM operatives helped in attaining information and locations of the rest and the security agencies bear credence for acting quickly to nab the others. Significant cooperation from the international community in the form of deportations of important catches, willingness to share information and other counterterror initiatives, also played an important part in aiding these successes.

While the success of these arrests has come as a major breakthrough in the fight against terrorism, there are a few causes of concern that needs to be addressed. To begin with, despite repeated emphasis on ensuring synergy between the central agencies and state police forces to fight terrorism, on ground coordination between these agencies remains quite dismal. This lack of coordination is manifested by inter-agency competition, confusions over operational jurisdictions and disputes over investigations and custodies of the operatives. For example, the NIA and Delhi Police have been engaged in a series of turf wars over the investigation of terror cases and custodies of operatives – be it a brawl inside the Delhi High Court for the custody of IM operatives Tehseen Akhtar and Waqas, or a two year court case over confusions in probing the Syed Maqbool and Imran Khan case. Along with this, the fight against terrorism has been hindered by the tenuous relationship between the Centre and the States, highlighted by instances where the State has shown reluctance to handover terror cases to the Central agencies. The denial of Central government's offer to order a NIA probe into the train blasts at the Chennai Central railway station by the Tamil Nadu government, being one recent example.

It is largely believed that intelligence is vital for any fight against terrorism. Likewise, the role of the Indian Intelligence agencies has been significant in the continuous successes against IM; however it is not without its shortcomings. It has been generally observed that intelligence sharing among the agencies at the ground level has not been optimum/effective. Allegedly, sharing of intelligence, particularly in organizations such as the Subsidiary Multi Agency Centres (SMAC), has become a paper contribution exercise instead of a platform where agencies share daily information. There is also a lack of a mechanism to filter any poor or inaccurate information that gets integrated in these Centres and subsequently passed on to all agencies. This aspect is problematic since it leads to the creation of a faulty information base.

Therefore, a serious effort to improve inter-agency coordination and cooperation along with a removal of Centre State differences is the primary need. Perhaps, establishment of a federal anti-terror agency, akin to the National Counterterrorism Centre (NCTC), and fully operationalizing the National Intelligence Grid (NatGrid) could be a good start.

Where organizational reforms might prove to be of great importance in ensuring synergy to counter IM's existing terror structures, reforms in the social sphere would be useful in curtailing the revival of these terror structures in India. The recent arrests of key operatives have created a crucial void in the operational leadership of Indian Mujahideen. It is believed that whenever an organization is in crisis, significant efforts have been made by its leaders to revive it. Likewise, it is feared that efforts will be made to revive IM, broadly through a combination of internal and external factors.

Internally, this could be done through a focus on radicalization aiming to renew the indigenous cadres and boost group resilience. This process of radicalization would, most likely, involve – (a) tapping potential individuals or groups dissatisfied with the socio-political context in which they live, (b) translating their real or perceived grievances into extreme ideas, (c) consolidating their views via indoctrination, propaganda, brainwashing, etc., (d) presenting the enterprise as representing an honourable and prestigious response, (e) motivating them to commit acts of terror, and (e) using ideology to reduce moral inhibitors and justify course of action, etc.

To counter such efforts, the government should focus on a novel de-radicalization programme to ensure that the numbers of IM's homegrown operatives do not rise. An important point to bear in mind is that contrary to the existing narrative of radicalization that charges the poor and economically backward classes as the major constituents of terror organizations, most arrested IM operatives are young, educated, middle-class individuals with a technical know-how. Thus, it would be important to investigate as to why these educated youth are increasingly getting drawn towards terrorism. Maybe the answer to this is the effectiveness of propaganda by the terror ideologues, frustration pushing identity assertion among the Muslim youth, etc. The government should take steps to examine such factors and

also conduct careful analysis of increasing activities/alignments of IM operatives with existing terror structures and crime syndicates. For that matter, analysing the network of front organizations linked to the banned Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) could be an effective counter-measure.

Further it would be right to say that although for the time being, IM's operational capacities in India have suffered a setback, however, the real masterminds still thrive. Most of them are said to be operating from Pakistan. As noted above, the efforts to keep the terror architecture indigenous in character would focus attention on recruitments within India; however, these indigenous troops are usually complemented by a set of trained cadres from Pakistan, which has been the case so far. The government should significantly focus on intelligence to keep track of these trainers and also build greater cooperation with regional countries. In addition to strengthening synergism among the internal and external Intelligence agencies, creating inter-agency task forces with specific objectives will help in bringing out a clearer picture.

In conclusion, these recent arrests have led to a belief in some quarters that it is the end of IM in India. Such beliefs are at best naïve given that the top leaders are still safe in Pakistan. The government should focus on greater inter-agency cooperation and strengthen defenses to a threat that is aiming to rebuild using resources both within and abroad. This could be achieved by: (a) building structures, such as NCTC, to improve coordination among central and state law enforcement organizations as well as internal and external intelligence agencies, and (b) initiating a new de-radicalisation programme along with a careful monitoring of IM's linkages. Unless the necessary reforms – both in the administrative and the social sphere – are made, the vicious circle of terrorism will perpetuate in the country.

*Views expressed are of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the IDSA or of the Government of India.*

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

## Iraq

### AP Analysis: 13 years into war on terror, Islamic militants as bold as ever across region

June 11, 2014



FILE - In this Tuesday, June 10, 2014 file photo, refugees fleeing from Mosul head to the self-ruled northern Kurdish region in Irbil, Iraq, 350 kilometers (217 miles) north of Baghdad. The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, the al-Qaida breakaway group, on Monday and Tuesday took over much of Mosul in Iraq and then swept into the city of Tikrit further south. An estimated half a million residents fled the economically important city.

CAIRO — It has been a week of stunning advances by Islamic militants across a belt from Iraq to Pakistan. In Iraq, jihadi fighters rampaged through the country's second-largest city and swept further south in their drive to establish an extremist enclave stretching into Syria. Pakistan's largest airport was paralyzed and rocked by explosions as gunmen stormed it in a dramatic show of strength.

More than a decade after the U.S. launched its "war on terrorism," Islamic militant groups are bolder than ever, exploiting the erosion or collapse of central government control in a string of nations — Syria, Iraq and Pakistan — that are more strategically vital than the relatively failed states where al-Qaida set up its bases in the past: Somalia, Yemen and 1990s Afghanistan.

#### ADVERTISEMENT

Most galling to Washington, the crumbling state power has come in countries that the United States has spent billions of dollars to try to strengthen over the past 13 years.

Policy failings by those governments have contributed to giving militants an opening.

Iraq's prime minister, Nouri al-Maliki, has alienated the country's Sunni community, which feels sidelined by his Shiite-led government. That has pushed some Sunnis into supporting the militants and undermined the military, which includes many Sunnis.

Notably, the military and police fell apart, abandoning their posts and arsenals of weapons, when Islamic extremist gunmen overran the city of Mosul earlier this week, then swept south into other Sunni-dominated areas Wednesday.

For years, Pakistan has supported militant groups to promote its interests in Afghanistan and against its bitter rival, neighboring India. Now it faces a bloody insurgency by the Pakistani Taliban, an offshoot of the Afghan Taliban that has vowed to topple a government it accuses of being a tool of the Americans.

Islamabad's authority has always been tenuous in Pakistan's rugged, tribal-dominated and underdeveloped northwest, near the Afghan border — and for years that was where militant groups, from al-Qaida to the Taliban, operated. Now, the Pakistani Taliban have expanded to develop a strong presence in the country's largest city, Karachi, where the airport attack took place and where police are gunned down almost daily.

The Afghan Taliban won a diplomatic victory of its own when the U.S. freed five Taliban detainees last month in a swap for the release of the only remaining U.S. prisoner of war in Afghanistan, Bowe Bergdahl.

U.S. policies have shrunk its options in all these regions. American forces left Iraq more than two years ago without winning agreement on a longer presence from Maliki's government, ending Washington's hand in security and virtually robbing it of influence over al-Maliki. Combat troops are on their way out of Afghanistan by the end of the year, which could have a similar effect as the Afghan government takes the lead in fighting the Taliban insurgency.

In Syria, the Obama administration has resisted calls to more strongly arm and finance rebels fighting against President Bashar Assad, in part due to fears of taking on the burden of another war in the Mideast and inadvertently aiding Islamic radicals rather than moderate forces. As a result, better-armed and better-funded extremists have risen to prominence anyway.

"A common theme is the inability of the international community ... to help local actors, local leadership to create more viable institutionally based societies, especially on the security side," said Salman Shaikh, director of the Brookings Doha Center in Qatar.

As a result, "weak and fragile states" have been unable to create "viable political systems of government, a political culture which is able to manage diversity and pluralism, and a security environment which is there to ... protect rather than to

intimidate and impose order," he said.

Nothing illustrates the potential for Islamic militants to rearrange the region's map more than the rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, the al-Qaida breakaway group that this week took over much of Mosul and then swept into the Iraqi city of Tikrit further south.

Its ambition to carve out an Islamic emirate bridging Syria and Iraq would create a source of instability in the heart of the Arab world. To celebrate the Mosul victory, the militants bulldozed a sand barrier along the long Syrian-Iraqi desert border, a symbolic gesture of erasing a line drawn nearly a century ago by Western powers.

Originally al-Qaida's branch in Iraq, the group has used Syria's civil war to vault into something more powerful. It defied orders from al-Qaida's central command to expand its operations into Syria, ostensibly to topple Assad. But it has turned mainly to conquering territory for itself, often battling other rebels who stand in the way.

Earlier this year, it captured the Syrian provincial capital of Raqqa, where it imposed strict Shariah rule, carrying out executions in public squares, smashing liquor stores and extracting "taxes" from local businesses. This month, it waged an offensive to expand its zone, making its way toward the Iraqi border.

On the Iraqi side, it captured the city of Fallujah in western Anbar province in January and parts of a second city — and has now seized the bigger prize of Mosul. Its successes have won it rich arsenals of weapons and ammunition, as well as a reputation that has drawn veteran jihadi fighters from as far away as North Africa and Chechnya, and recruits from Europe willing to serve as suicide bombers.

The Arab Spring uprisings that began in late 2010 have also given a boost to militants, toppling autocratic regimes in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Yemen, that had kept a lid on extremist groups. Since then, armed jihadi factions have multiplied, particularly in Libya and Egypt. Chaos in Libya opened a flood of heavy weapons that are freely smuggled to militants in Egypt's Sinai Peninsula, Syria and elsewhere.

In a backlash, the Middle East has seen a rise of strongmen building their power on vows to crush extremism. Egypt's new president, former army chief Abdel-Fattah el-Sissi, ousted an Islamist president and has led a ferocious crackdown on his supporters. In Libya, a renegade general, Khalifa Hifter, has launched a campaign against militant groups and many of the country's politicians have rallied around him.

And Syria's Assad, trying to fend off the rebellion against his rule, has wrapped himself in the same mantle: Like el-Sissi and Hifter, he depicts himself as mired in a war against terrorists and says the world should support him to destroy jihadis who threaten everyone.

Pakistan presents a host of separate, complicated issues for the United States. A nominal ally against al-Qaida and the Afghan Taliban, its military-backed governments have bristled at U.S. pressure to fight militants in the border regions and



have railed against American drone strikes on insurgent hideouts.

Successive governments have been reluctant to move against Afghan Taliban and other insurgents in its border regions, a legacy of Pakistani intelligence's close ties to the groups. A dizzying array of militant groups operate in the country, carrying out attacks on Shiites and other minorities and, in the case of the Pakistani Taliban, outright battling the government. The military has fought them to some extent, at the price of thousands of soldiers killed. But the government has been unclear on whether its policy is to negotiate with them or try to defeat them.

Over the weekend, militant gunmen stormed Karachi's airport and while the fighters were ultimately killed, the attack — and another like it in the city afterward — illustrated the confidence of the Pakistani Taliban, which claimed responsibility, along with the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan.

The Pakistani Taliban "has powerful friends that it can turn to," said Michael Kugelman, the Woodrow Wilson Center's senior program associate for South and Southeast Asia. He attributed its strength to operational ties with other militant groups, such as al-Qaida — still believed to be holed up in the border region — and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan.

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

## Pakistan

### What the Karachi airport attack says about the Pakistani Taliban

June 10, 2014 -- Updated 1521 GMT (2321 HKT)



Smoke rises from Jinnah International Airport in Karachi, Pakistan, on Monday, June 9, after militants launched an attack in the cargo area. The Pakistani Taliban claimed responsibility for the five-hour-long assault that killed at least 28 people and injured more than 20 others.

#### STORY HIGHLIGHTS

Airport attack was not Pakistan's first security lapse

Military has taken the lead in responding to the strike

Pakistan's government has struggled to negotiate with Taliban

TTP used recent terror incidents to show cohesion, despite major faction split

**Editor's note:** [Raza Rumi](#) is a policy analyst, columnist and consulting editor at *The Friday Times, Pakistan*. He is also the author of *"Delhi By Heart: Impressions of a Pakistani Traveller,"* (Harper Collins). The views contained in this opinion piece are solely his.

**(CNN)** -- It would be an understatement to say that Pakistan is under attack.

This week, the Pakistani Taliban bypassed all security checks at the country's largest airport in southern port city of Karachi.

A few hours earlier, another affiliate of the Pakistani Taliban massacred nearly 30 members of Pakistan's minority Shiite community in Balochistan province.

A few hours after the Karachi airport was reclaimed by Pakistan's security agencies, a suicide bomber rammed a truck into a military checkpoint in North Waziristan, close to the Afghanistan border, killing at least three soldiers.

The attack on Karachi's international airport resulted in the deaths of 29 people, including security personnel. The bodies of another seven cargo workers were recovered Tuesday from a cold storage facility at the airport. All 10 terrorists died during the assault.

Even after those attacks, for the second time in two days, Pakistan's largest and busiest airport was forced to shut down after militants launched a brazen attack on airport security forces. Tuesday's assault targeted the Airport Security Forces academy near Karachi's Jinnah International Airport, the airport's manager told CNN's Saima Mohsin in Karachi. The attackers fled, and no one was killed in the attack, officials said.

The obvious question is: How did the militants manage to enter the airport premises with heavy arms and ammunition?

### **Major security lapses**

This security lapse however is not new. In 2009, [militants breached an otherwise impregnable fortress](#) -- the General Headquarters of the Army in Rawalpindi -- and continued their operation for hours.

Similarly, the Pakistani Taliban also [attacked Karachi's naval base in 2011](#), destroying expensive equipment and killing 10 soldiers.

In 2012, they were also successful in carrying out suicide attacks at Peshawar's International airport, resulting in more loss of life.

Despite these major lapses, Pakistan's system of intelligence gathering and sharing has been reformed. The new internal security policy, agreed in December 2013, aims to centralize the intelligence sharing process, but it is yet to be implemented.

In the case of the Karachi airport attack, the military's swift response helped salvage the situation. Within five to seven hours the airport had been cleared and, given the high-value targets there, major damage was prevented.

### **Military seizes initiative**

Another key feature of the operation was the decisive role of the military, as the civilian government apparently took a backseat.

Under Pakistan's constitution, federal ministries are responsible for aviation and airport administration, but the ministers were nowhere to be seen.

Even in terms of media management, the military seized the initiative as the head of inter services public relations (ISPR), a major general, was live tweeting and informing about the progress of the operations.

In any other country this would not seem extraordinary. But, given Pakistan's peculiar history and the recent civil-military tensions, these developments were meaningful. There was a clear public message that the Army was at the forefront and in control of security policy and operations.

### **Negotiations with the TTP**

In the weeks before the attack, Pakistan's civil and military branches of government had been struggling to find a way out to deal with the TTP.

**Civilians are afraid of the reprisal attacks, and the military is in no mood to allow the TTP to continue killing its soldiers.**

Formal talks with the TTP commenced in February 2014 but these disintegrated a fortnight ago. Concurrently, the military had been launching airstrikes and the Karachi attack came in the midst of policy shift in Islamabad. The airstrikes resumed after the airport attack was foiled.

Since Pakistan's new Army Chief Raheel Sharif assumed charge in November 2013, the military has given clear signals of its intent to tackle the TTP militarily. The TTP is believed to have killed between 5,000 and 15,000 Pakistani soldiers including generals in recent years. Pakistan's Army did not suffer such losses in three wars against India (1965, 1971 and 1999).

Civilian leaders are worried about the potential backlash of such military operations.

What complicates the issue further is that some of the factions of TTP are in league with the (Pakistan-friendly) Afghan Taliban, and an all-out operation would hit them as well.

The Pakistani Taliban are not in a position to take over the country. However, the three terror incidents in the past 48 hours underscore their capacity to launch attacks on multiple fronts. They gained media attention and reminded everyone of their cohesion, weeks after reports that the TTP was in disarray after a major faction split from the group in May.

### **Is the TTP in crisis or cohesive?**

In its official statement accepting the responsibility for this attack, TTP cited the Karachi attack as a revenge for the martyrdom of its leader Hakimullah Mehsud, who was killed in a U.S. drone strike last year.

Since then the TTP -- a loose umbrella of various militant groups -- has been in a crisis of sorts. Its leader Fazlullah reportedly operates from Afghanistan and, according to Pakistani official sources, gets support from the Afghan authorities. For the latter, Fazlullah's presence is a lever to get even with Pakistan for its purported support to the Afghan Taliban, who launch frequent attacks and are contenders for the power pie after NATO's drawdown in 2014.

It is unclear if the recent attacks will lead to the emergence of a coherent policy and civil-military consensus in Pakistan. Civilians are afraid of the reprisal attacks; and the military is in no mood to allow TTP to continue killing its soldiers.

And with the withdrawal of foreign troops, soon the neighboring Afghanistan may turn into an easier space for Pakistani Taliban and their affiliates.

It is time for Pakistan to make a hard choice.

In its strategic calculus, it needs to address mending relations with the Afghan government and viewing terrorism as a shared problem.

<http://edition.cnn.com/>

## Russia

### Exploring Al Qaeda's Murky Connection To Russian Intelligence

12 June 2014



*fotosinteresantes via Flickr*

By: [John Schindler](#) is a Professor at the Naval War College; Chair, PfP CT Working Group; Senior Fellow, Boston University, and former NSA & NAVSECGRU. All writings here represent the author's views alone, and certainly not those of the Naval War College or the U.S. Department of Defense.

[Note: This is an unusually controversial piece, even for my blog, for reasons that will quickly become obvious. Linkages between Al-Qa'ida and Russian intelligence have been discussed in hushed tones among spies in many countries, for years, and this matter has been a "hobby file" of mine for some time. Here is a think-piece on it, in the hope of spurring additional discussion and research into this important yet murky matter. This is particularly necessary given rising tensions between Moscow and the West at present. Considering the subject, I have eschewed my usual hyperlinks in favor of proper end-notes.]

*"There are two histories: The official history, mendacious, which is given to us; and the secret history, where you find the real causes of events, a shameful history."*

The history of al-Qa'ida has been extensively documented in many languages. Since

the 9/11 attacks on the United States, massive research has been devoted to uncovering the origins of the global jihad movement, its strategies, concepts of operations, and ultimate aspirations.[\[1\]](#)

Such works have been assisted by the willingness of al-Qa'ida to talk openly about some parts of its narrative. While many aspects of al-Qa'ida's almost thirty-year history have been examined in impressive detail, other parts of the story remain shrouded in mystery. In some cases, gaps are caused by a lack of information available to analysts and researchers. However, other underreported stories in the development of the global jihad movement remain untold, or unexplained, by apparent design.

No greater example exists of this "blank page" in the al-Qa'ida story than its connections to foreign intelligence services. While it is generally known that bin Laden's legionaries have fostered ties, at times, with secret services as varied as the Saudi, Pakistani, Sudanese, Iranian, Iraqi, and Bosnian, few details have emerged, thanks to the desire on all sides to keep the saga out of the media spotlight.[\[2\]](#)

The murkiest of these relations, however, has been the connection between al-Qa'ida and Russian intelligence. While the outlines of the story have been known for years, and even admitted by Moscow and the mujahidin, details remain elusive. Moreover, asking important questions about this relationship seems to be an issue few appear interested in probing deeply, even in the United States.

That Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri, bin Laden's right-hand man and the leader of the global jihad movement since bin Laden's death in May 2011, spent almost a half-year in the mid-1990s in the custody of Russian intelligence is admitted by both sides and is a matter of public record.[\[3\]](#)

Just as significant, Zawahiri's Russian sojourn occurred at a pivotal point in the development of al-Qa'ida; the shift in strategy, resulting in attacks on the "far enemy" (i.e. the United States), the road leading to 9/11, occurred after Zawahiri's imprisonment by the Russians.

The outline of the story is clear.[\[4\]](#) At about 4 am on December 1, 1996, Zawahiri was detained in southern Russia while attempting to enter Chechnya, the breakaway province of Moscow recently roiled by war. Accompanying the doctor in the van were two other radicals from Egypt and a Chechen guide.

The Egyptians, wanted men in their home country and several others, were traveling under aliases; Zawahiri was "Abdullah Imam Mohammed Amin," according to the Sudanese passport he carried, which had stamps from many countries – among them Yemen, Malaysia, Singapore – he had visited in the 20 months before his arrest.

Zawahiri's two Egyptian companions were veteran mujahidin from Egyptian Islamic Jihad (EIJ), the group Zawahiri had been associated with for years and had headed since 1993. Ahmad Salama Mabruk ran EIJ's activities in Azerbaijan under the cover of a trading firm called Bavari-C, while Mahmud Hisham al-Hennawi had extensive experience on jihad in parts of Asia.

The three Arabs were extensively interrogated by the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB), which noted the inmates' religious fervor, and the surprising support they received from Islamic organizations around the Muslim world. Twenty-six imams signed an appeal for the release of the three "businessmen"; others denounced Russian authorities of doing "the devil's work" by detaining the hard-praying Muslims.

The FSB had ample reason to doubt the Arabs' cover story. Among the items confiscated from the trio included details about bank accounts in Hong Kong, mainland China, Malaysia, and the U.S. (specifically St. Louis), plus substantial cash in seven currencies. Their laptop computer was seized and subjected to forensic analysis by the FSB.

"Mr. Amin," whose Sudanese passport depicted a Western-dressed middle-aged man with a very short beard, arrived in Russia possessing two forged graduation certificates from Cairo University's medical faculty, with differing dates. FSB investigation of Bavari-C, the EIJ front company in Baku, quickly determined that no such firm existed in Azerbaijan.

Radical Muslims in Russia, including one member of the Duma, pleaded for their release, explaining that the Arabs had come to Russia to "study the market for food trade." Various activists from across the region likewise wrote letters on the men's behalf, claiming they embodied "honesty and decency"; the advocates included leading Arab mujahidin, among them Tharwat Salah Shehata, later head of EIJ.

When Shehata got permission to visit "Mr. Amin" in his prison cell, he was given an encrypted letter by the inmate; after the visit, the FSB claimed to have found \$3,000 in the cell occupied by the Arabs.

When the case finally went to court in April 1997, "Mr. Amin" prayed hard and lied effectively, claiming that he had entered Russia "to find out the price for leather, medicine, and other goods." Rejecting the prosecution's request for a three-year sentence, the judge gave them six months each; almost immediately they were released, time served.

The FSB returned the men their possessions, including the cash, communications gear, and the laptop. After their release, Zawahiri spent ten days clandestinely



meeting with Islamists in Dagestan, which presumably had been the original purpose of his trip to the region.

Shortly thereafter, he headed for Afghanistan to establish his fateful alliance with bin Laden, which was cemented in the mid-February 1998 announcement of a new partnership between the men and their organizations in a Global Islamic Front for Jihad against Jews and Crusaders. Thus was al-Qa'ida officially born and the path to 9/11 was established.

Zawahiri has been tight-lipped about his half-year in Russia; his numerous writings and pronouncements about his life barely mention the tale. "God blinded them to our identities," he explained. The FSB agrees that they failed to identify the leading holy warrior. "In 1997, Russian special services were not aware of al-Zawahiri," elaborated an FSB spokesman in 2003: "However, later, using various databases, we managed to identify this former detainee." [\[5\]](#)

There are many reasons to doubt the official story told by both sides in the affair. In the first place, Zawahiri was one of the world's most wanted terrorists in 1996, having played a leading role in the assassination of President Anwar Sadat in 1981; the doctor's role in the subsequent public trial was televised in many countries.

He was hardly a secret mujahid. Furthermore, it is difficult to believe that a security service as proficient and thorough as the FSB did not have its interest piqued by the appearance of three Arab mystery men, bearing multiple identities and cash, in the middle of a warzone.

It is equally difficult to accept that the FSB was unable to uncover the mysteries contained in Zawahiri's laptop – as the Americans would do after many such laptops belonging to al-Qa'ida leadership were captured in Afghanistan after 9/11 – had the Russians really wanted to.

Last, it can be assumed that the FSB would have tortured the Arabs to obtain information, had that been deemed necessary; and Zawahiri's breaking by the Egyptian security service through torture in the 1980s is a matter of public record, and a subject of some remorse by the al-Qa'ida leader.

What, then, is to be made of Dr. Zawahiri's Russian sojourn? Few have bothered to ask the question in any detail. [\[6\]](#) While some conspiracy theorists have touched the issue, they have shed little light on the real story. [\[7\]](#)

While the idea that Russian intelligence may have developed a relationship with Zawahiri sounds fantastic to most in the West, the notion is far from implausible, and is consistent with known Soviet/Russian espionage practices. During the Cold War, the KGB had robust ties with many terrorist groups, including several from the Middle East.

Its links to the PLO, including arms and training for cadres, were substantial for decades, while Palestinian groups like PFLP-GC were, in effect, wholly owned subsidiaries of the KGB. It would be naïve to think such ties evaporated with the Soviet Union.

Moreover, anyone acquainted with the Russian practice of *provokatsiya* (provocation) as Moscow's preferred counterterrorism technique, finds the idea of a Russian relationship with al-Qa'ida to be entirely plausible. Indeed, such is the easiest explanation for Zawahiri's six months in Russian custody and sudden release back to wage jihad.

Hard evidence about what Zawahiri was doing in Russian custody has not been forthcoming. Dissident FSB Colonel Aleksandr Litvinenko made explosive claims. In a 2005 interview, Litvinenko asserted that Zawahiri actually underwent training by the FSB in Dagestan during his half-year in Russian custody, and that Russian intelligence then dispatched him to Afghanistan to become bin Laden's right-hand man. "I worked in the same division [of the FSB]," he stated, "I have grounds to assert that al-Zawahiri is not the only link between the FSB and al-Qa'ida."[\[8\]](#)

Litvinenko's assertions are impossible to substantiate, though his assassination in London a little over a year after giving that interview, apparently at the hands of Russian intelligence, gives the claims perhaps more believability than they might otherwise warrant.[\[9\]](#)

Just as important, it is known that Russian intelligence had ties to Islamist extremists in Chechnya long before Zawahiri entered the region. From the early 1990s, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russian intelligence formed discreet ties with radical Islamists in the Caucasus, including men who would later become leading mujahidin.

In perhaps the best example, Shamil Basayev, the long-serving emir of the mujahidin in Chechnya, was an agent of Russian military intelligence (GRU) in the 1990s. In 1992-93, he and his brother Shirvani fought in Abkhazia against Georgian forces, leading fighters as surrogates for Moscow's policies in the breakaway region.[\[10\]](#)

Although Basayev was for many years Russia's most wanted man and alleged to be behind dozens of terrorist attacks on Russian soil, his collaboration with Russian intelligence has long been something of an open secret. Not long before Basayev's death in July 2006, apparently at the hands of the FSB, a GRU officer cryptically noted to the media, "We know everything about him."[\[11\]](#)

Secular elements of the Chechen independence movement have long alleged collaboration between Moscow and the mujahidin, with the aim of discrediting the

nationalist cause by tarring it with extremism and terrorism. Moderate imams in Chechnya have been reluctant to have ties to more radical Muslims, fearing them to be Russian *agents provocateurs*.[\[12\]](#)

Collusion between radical Islamists and Russian special services in the Caucasus would be fully consistent with traditional Soviet/Russian counterterrorism techniques; it also adds a very different dimension to understanding the Chechen wars of the last fifteen years, and their links to the global jihad.

The mujahidin-led invasion of Dagestan in August 1999 in brigade strength that helped trigger the Second Chechen War was led by Shamil Basayev. Moscow publicly blamed “Al-Qa’ida-Wahhabite aggression” for that event, using it as justification to restart the war on terms more favorable to Moscow.

But what, then, is to be made of Basayev, who has been memorably described as “a GRU staff member with a great deal of work experience?”[\[13\]](#) The other direct cause of the Second Chechen War, the bloody apartment bombings around Moscow in August 1999 that killed over 300 civilians, likewise remain shrouded in mystery.

Basayev was blamed for those atrocities, too, but what really happened continues to be hotly controversial. The case for some FSB involvement in the bombings, always strong, has grown stronger over the past decade, yet remains a highly taboo topic in Russia.[\[14\]](#)

What, then, can we conclude about al-Qa’ida’s murky Russian connection? Unsurprisingly, Dr. Zawahiri has had little to say about his half-year adventure with the FSB. He has often criticized Russia and its policies, sometimes in vehement terms. Yet he speaks of Iran with equal venom, and al-Qa’ida’s discreet yet detectable relationship with Iranian intelligence goes back to at least 1996, and apparently continues to the present day.

His two Egyptian cellmates aren’t available to add details. Mahmud Hisham al-Hennawi stayed in the Caucasus, was convicted in Egypt in 1998 on terrorism charges in absentia, receiving a ten year sentence, and was reportedly killed in action in Chechnya in 2005.[\[15\]](#)

Ahmad Salama Mabruk was arrested in Azerbaijan in 1998 on terrorism charges, and was extradited to Egypt, where he was convicted on numerous charges and sent to prison.[\[16\]](#) The FSB, to no one’s surprise, has said nothing publicly about this case except for a brief press release in 2003.

It is fanciful to suggest that any formal alliance exists between Moscow and al-Qa’ida; bin Laden’s mujahidin have worked with several foreign security agencies in

the service of the jihad, but have never been willing to put themselves fully at the disposal of any of them.[\[17\]](#)

Nevertheless, it seems justified, based on the available evidence, to suggest that Dr. Zawahiri reached *aquid pro quo* with Moscow while he was in FSB custody. That he underwent FSB training appears plausible; that there may be some kind of relationship even today between Russia and al-Qa'ida exists within the realm of possibility.

Russia, with its large, growing, and potentially restless Muslim minority, would have ample motivation to reach terms with al-Qa'ida, in the hope of stemming radicalism.

Might Moscow have suggested that it would look the other way about al-Qa'ida's activities in Chechnya as long as bin Laden and Zawahiri left Russia alone otherwise? It surely appears significant that Zawahiri led bin Laden down the path of global jihad, and direct confrontation with the United States, after emerging from his half-year as a guest of the FSB.

As President Vladimir Putin has repeatedly made clear, a unipolar, American-led global system is not in Russia's interests. To this day, Russia has endured many attacks by Chechen militants, but no confirmed acts of terrorism perpetrated by al-Qa'ida Central. This vexing issue continues to offer more questions than answers, and needs additional research, particularly considering the state of relations between Moscow and the West.

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### **Terrorist Groups Rise 58% Since 2010**

A new report destroys the Obama administration's claim that terrorism is "on the run."

June 5, 2014

One of the principal narratives of the 2012 Obama re-election campaign – as in al Qaeda has been “decimated” and put on a “on the path to defeat” – has itself been decimated. According to a study released yesterday by the RAND Corporation, there has been a 58 percent increase in the number of jihadist groups over the last four years. Even more troubling, the number of jihadist fighters has doubled, and the number of worldwide attacks has tripled. The report further notes that terrorist groups operating in Yemen, Syria, Afghanistan and Pakistan pose the greatest threat to the United States.

“Based on these threats, the United States cannot afford to withdraw or remain disengaged from key parts of North Africa, the Middle East and South Asia,” states Seth G. Jones, author of the study and associate director of the International Security and Defense Policy Center at RAND. “After more than a decade of war in Afghanistan and Iraq, it may be tempting for the U.S. to turn its attention elsewhere and scale back on counterterrorism efforts. But this research indicates that the struggle is far from over.”

The raw numbers are stark. The number of groups have increased from 31 to 49, the number of fighters to a high estimate of 100,000 and the number of attacks from 392 to approximately 1000.

In an article for the Wall Street Journal, Jones points out that America also faces significant threats in addition to Islamic jihadism, including the invasion of Ukraine by Russia that threatens our NATO alliance; China's flexing of its economic, military and cyber muscles in East Asia; and the instability of North Korea. He also puts Iran and their dedicated pursuit of nuclear-weapons in this category.

Jones's analysis pokes a giant hole in the leftist ideology that posits America's forays into Iraq and Afghanistan caused an increase in jihadist activity. In fact it is quite the opposite. As America has retreated from the Middle East – completely from Iraq in December of 2011, combined with a highly-publicized schedule of winding down combat operations in Afghanistan at the end of this year – terrorism is surging.

According to Jones the epicenter of that surge is Syria. The ongoing civil war there has produced the largest increases in both the number of groups and the number of terrorists, and they now comprise more than half the number of groups worldwide who are al Qaeda sympathizers. “It's become a breeding ground for jihadist activity,” he explains. He also notes there were substantial gains in North Africa in

general, and Libya in particular.

The study further reveals that terrorist leadership has become more decentralized. It is

*diffused among four tiers: (1) core al Qa'ida in Pakistan, led by Ayman al-Zawahiri; (2) formal affiliates that have sworn allegiance to core al Qa'ida, located in Syria, Somalia, Yemen, and North Africa; (3) a panoply of Salafi-jihadist groups that have not sworn allegiance to al Qa'ida but are committed to establishing an extremist Islamic emirate; and (4) inspired individuals and networks.*

The terror groups themselves are divided into three categories. "Category one," and the top priority for U.S. counter-terror efforts according to the author, should be groups with both the "interest and ability" to perpetrate attacks in the United States. They include al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula based in Yemen, al Qaeda's core elements along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, homegrown jihadists such as the Boston Marathon-bombing Tsarnaev brothers, and the growing number of radicalized Americans fighting the Assad regime in Syria.

"Second category" terror groups are those incapable of mounting a domestic terrorist attack, but who remain committed to attacking U.S. and other Western targets abroad. They emanate from countries such as Somalia, Iraq, Libya and Nigeria, and include al-Shabaab and Boko Haram. "Third category" terrorist groups are those with little interest or capacity to target America or American interests overseas. Jones cites the East Turkestan Islamic Movement in China, and "numerous others with parochial interests across Africa, the Middle East and Asia."

Different military strategies are offered for coping with each category. Groups in the first category should be subjected to "clandestine special operations, intelligence, diplomatic and other capabilities to target al Qa'ida groups and their financial, logistical and political support networks." The U.S. should also assist local governments with training, advice and assistance in attacking terror's root causes, which he claims range from incompetent security forces to collapsing economies. (The latter root cause is a largely specious assumption, as this [list](#) of middle class and wealthy high-level terrorist indicates).

Jones posits that groups in the second category should engender U.S. support for local governments, but no direct action on our part. For the third category, he suggests an approach that relies on counter-terror operations by allies and local governments while keeping American air, naval and rapidly deployable ground forces assets in close proximity "offshore."

Unfortunately for an Obama administration seemingly determined to squander painfully bought gains in the Middle East, Jones offers a most inconvenient assessment of reality. "Al Qa'ida was born along the Afghanistan-Pakistan frontier in the late 1980s, and it will not disappear just because U.S. forces leave," he insists, adding that our imminent departure from Afghanistan "will most likely be a boost for

insurgent and terrorist groups dedicated to overthrowing the Kabul government, establishing an extreme Islamic emirate, and allowing al Qaeda and other groups to establish a sanctuary." He further warns that just as in Iraq, the withdrawal of U.S. troops "does not make the terrorism problem go away," but has rather allowed al Qaeda and other groups "breathing space to expand their attacks and spread to neighboring countries like Syria."

The most inconvenient reality of all? The current trends outlined in the study suggest that "the struggle against extremism is likely to be a generational one, much like the Cold War."

In other words, no matter how desperately the American left, the isolationist factions on both sides of the political divide, and those Americans unduly influenced by the Democrats' odious anti-war presidential campaign of 2004 want the war on terror to end, the terrorists themselves have other ideas. To believe otherwise is a fool's errand based on the same kind of fatuous, faculty-lounge thinking engaged in by an Obama administration that precipitates such follies as the easing of sanctions on Iran, the latest announcement by the State Department that they will work with a Palestinian "unity" government that includes terrorist-designated Hamas, and the release of five high-level terrorist thugs from Guantanamo Bay.

On the last page of the report, Jones cites a poem entitled "Mujahid's Wish." It was published in the Spring 2013 issue of al Qaeda's Inspire magazine, and as Jones rightly explains, reveals the mindset of those who consider the U.S. "a bitter enemy." The last four lines are more than enough to understand what we are really up against:

*Brother residing in the West, grab you (sic) chance and*

*Walk steadfastly towards your goal.*

*As for me here in Yemen, whenever I move around with*

*Explosives around my waist, I wish I am in America.*

<http://patriotpost.us/opinion/26353>



## The consequences of the U.S. war on terrorism in Africa

03 Jun 2014

Source: [Al Jazeera](#)

*The American military's expansion to the continent poses significant challenges to democratization and domestic security*

On May 5, President Barack Obama [hosted](#) his Djiboutian counterpart, Ismail Omar Guelleh, at the White House. The two leaders signed a 20-year lease agreement for the Djibouti-based Camp Lemonnier, the biggest U.S. military base in Africa. Covering 500 acres, the installation is a crucial launching site for U.S. military operations against militant groups in the Horn of Africa and Yemen. The U.S. agreed to pay an annual fee of \$70 million for the site, which now hosts more than 4,000 U.S. military personnel and civilians.

The base is a key part of Pentagon's plans "to maximize the impact of a relatively small U.S. presence in Africa," according to the [2014 Quadrennial Defense Review](#), a congressional panel that conducts assessments of U.S. defense strategy and priorities. All African countries except Eritrea receive some form of U.S. military assistance, according to data from the [U.S. State Department](#). Most of this assistance is channeled through the department's [International Military Education and Training](#) program, which facilitates professional relationships with African militaries. The Obama administration is looking to invest in "new, effective and efficient small footprint locations and developing innovative approaches to using host nation facilities or allied joint-basing" as part of its focus on security in Africa. A handful of African nations — including [Ethiopia, South Sudan, Niger, Uganda, Kenya, Mauritania, Mali, the Seychelles and Burkina Faso](#) — already host U.S. drone sites, shared bases and military surveillance facilities. Also, the U.S. maintains a secretive program [training counterterrorism commandos in states that straddle the vast Sahara](#), whose ungoverned spaces provide a rear base for terrorist groups.

The Pentagon's military footprint in Africa is indeed small compared with other parts of the world. For example, in 2012, U.S. military aid and arms sales to Africa accounted for a mere 4.25 percent of the global total. ([The Near East received 67.7 percent.](#)) These military outlays were just 5.5 percent of the [\\$7.8 billion the U.S. allocated for foreign assistance](#) in the African region, with health care (\$5.6 billion) getting the lion's share. Regardless of the size of the U.S. military footprint in Africa, its expansion of has [serious implications](#) for the continent's security, the consolidation of democracy and the professionalization of its militaries as well as for respect for human rights across the region. Unfortunately, these concerns do not rank high on the Pentagon's agenda.

### [U.S. Africa command](#)

The U.S. geographic command responsible for Africa is overseen by U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM), based in Stuttgart, Germany. In 2009, two years after it was

created, AFRICOM had an operating budget of [about \\$400 million and more than 1,000](#) staffers. Unlike other similar U.S. operations, it is fully integrated with other U.S. agencies in Africa — including USAID and the State, Commerce and Treasury departments. This arrangement informs AFRICOM's focus on a 3-D approach — [defense, diplomacy and development](#) — in the region.

At the core of the U.S. military engagement in Africa is the war against Al-Qaeda affiliates: Somalia's Al-Shabaab and Al-Qaeda in the Maghreb (AQIM), as well as armed groups such as Uganda's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and Nigeria's Boko Haram. To help conduct AFRICOM's counterterrorism operations in the region, the U.S. has recruited a motley crew of African allies, including those that face direct threats from these groups. Kenya, Uganda, Burundi, Djibouti and Ethiopia are key partners in the war against Al-Shabaab, and Niger and Burkina Faso have emerged as critical hosts of U.S. operations against AQIM. But Washington's strategic calculations and the interests of African leaders who sign on to these arrangements do not always converge with the interests of the majority of African people.

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

## AP Analysis: Al-Qaida Decentralized, but Not Necessarily Weaker

AP ANALYSIS: AL-QAIDA DECENTRALIZED, BUT NOT NECESSARILY WEAKER

1 Jun 2014



WASHINGTON (AP) — Al-Qaida has decentralized, yet it's unclear whether the terrorist network is weaker and less likely to launch a Sept. 11-style attack against the United States, as President Barack Obama says, or remains potent despite the deaths of several leaders.

Obama said in his foreign policy speech last week that the prime threat comes not from al-Qaida's core leadership, but from affiliates and extremists with their sights trained on targets in the Middle East and Africa, where they are based. This lessens the possibility of large-scale 9/11-type attacks against America, the president said.

"But it heightens the danger of U.S. personnel overseas being attacked, as we saw in Benghazi," he said, referring to the September 2012 attack on a U.S. diplomatic outpost in Libya that killed the U.S. ambassador and three other Americans.

Experts argue that this restructured al-Qaida is perhaps even stronger than it has been in recent years, and that the potential for attacks on U.S. soil endures.

"We have never been on a path to strategically defeat al-Qaida. All we've been able to do is suppress some of its tactical abilities. But strategically, we have never had an effective way of taking it on. That's why it continues to mutate, adapt and evolve to get stronger," said David Sedney, former deputy assistant secretary of

defense for Afghanistan, Pakistan and Central Asia.

Decentralization does not mean weakness, he said.

"I think Americans think al-Qaida is no longer a threat — that Osama bin Laden's death means al-Qaida is not a big thing anymore," Sedney said.

He believes al-Qaida is gaining strength in Pakistan, is stronger in Iraq than it was three or four years ago and is stronger in Syria than it was a year or two ago.

"This is a fight about ideology. Al-Qaida is not this leader or that leader or this group or that group," he said.

The experts say al-Qaida today looks less like a wheel with spokes and more like a spider web stringing together like-minded groups. But they believe there are several reasons that those who track al-Qaida warn against complacency.

While bin Laden was killed and his leadership team heavily damaged by U.S. drone strikes in Pakistan, the drawdown of American forces in neighboring Afghanistan will dry up field intelligence and restrict the effectiveness of U.S. counterterrorism operations. There is a worry that a pullback could allow al-Qaida to regroup.

Moreover, they worry about the thousands of foreign fighters flocking to the civil war in Syria, which has emboldened the al-Qaida breakaway group known as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant to expand its cross-border operations into neighboring countries such as Iraq.

U.S. officials also are concerned about Westerners who have joined the Syrian fight because they may be recruited to return home and conduct attacks.

When the U.S. counterterrorism strategy was conceived, it was thought that if al-Qaeda's core leadership was dismantled or killed, then affiliated groups would simply become localized threats, said Katherine Zimmerman of the conservative American Enterprise Institute.

At that time, there wasn't a network of connections among all the groups, said Zimmerman, who specializes in the Yemen-based group, Al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula, or AQAP, and al-Qaida's affiliate in Somalia, al-Shabab.

"As the network has become more decentralized, it's become much more reliant on these human relationships and the sharing of resources, advice and fighters, which means that you no longer need bin Laden sitting in Pakistan dispersing cash to various affiliates," Zimmerman said. "They have developed their own sources. ... You can't simply pound on part of the network and expect to see results."

Tom Joscelyn, a senior fellow at the Foundation for Defense of Democracies and senior editor of The Long War Journal, a website that tracks how al-Qaida and its affiliates operate around the globe, said he thinks the Bush and Obama administrations mistakenly defined al-Qaida as a top-down pyramid with a hierarchal structure — that "if you sort of lop off the top of the pyramid, the whole thing crum-

bles."

Al-Qaida leaders have scattered to other parts of the world, he said, noting that Al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula is headed by a former aide to bin Laden, who is now general manager of al-Qaida globally.

More recently, the Treasury Department penalized a senior al-Qaida operative on al-Qaida's military committee who relocated from Pakistan to Syria and is involved with a group plotting against Western targets, he said. U.S. officials have tracked communication traffic going back and forth between Syria and Pakistan and Afghanistan, he said.

"This shows, to my mind, that we're not dealing with this sort of discrete core entity in Pakistan and Afghanistan that can be droned to death, but in fact an international network that poses a lot graver challenges," Joscelyn said.

While Obama is keen to burnish his legacy as a president who ended U.S. involvement in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and killed bin Laden, even he has softened his rhetoric on terrorism.

Two years ago, on a trip to Afghanistan, Obama said, "The goal that I set — to defeat al-Qaida, and deny it a chance to rebuild — is within reach."

His administration's most recent terrorism report, released by the State Department in late April, uses a less definitive voice.

"The al-Qaida core's vastly reduced influence became far more evident in 2013," the report said. "Al-Qaida leader (Ayman) al-Zawahiri was rebuffed in his attempts to mediate a dispute among al-Qaida affiliates operating in Syria, with the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant publicly dissociating their group from al-Qaida."

Michael Sheehan, a terrorism expert at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York, said the top two groups he fears could attack the U.S. are "al-Qaida central" in Afghanistan and Pakistan and AQAP, which has attempted several attacks on the United States, including a failed airline bombing on Christmas Day in 2009 and the attempted bombing of U.S.-bound cargo planes in October 2010.

"The other organizations right now — although potentially very, very problematic — are currently focused on the local fight," said Sheehan, the Obama administration's former assistant undersecretary of defense for special operations and low-intensity conflict. "Whether eventually they shift to Europe first, then the U.S., we'll see. But certainly a potential is there."

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

## TARGETED KILLING OF TERRORISTS – ANALYSIS

JUNE 3, 2014

The struggle against terrorism—more specifically, the effort to prevent terrorist attacks—has raised difficult legal and policy issues including so-called targeted killing, or the killing of specific individuals because of their involvement in terrorist organizations and operations. As we shall see, this form of targeted killing involves domestic and international legal authorities and policy and prudential issues. A substantial number of countries confronting what they consider to be terrorist attacks and threats engage in targeted killings. Each has to resolve questions about authorities and prudence because, while terrorists are always criminals, they also may be lawful military targets. The dual character of terrorists leads to the conclusion that, as a matter of policy, a state should weigh the totality of the circumstances and conclude that no other action is reasonable to prevent a terrorist attack before engaging in the targeted killing. Careful analysis in advance may preempt problems later.



This essay addresses the question principally from the American perspective. It examines the authority, as a matter of U.S. law, for the United States to kill individual terrorists and the international legal context for such operations. The operating premise is that the targeted killing of al Qaeda leaders is emblematic of the subject under review in contrast to such domestic police action against terrorists as the arrest, prosecution, conviction, and execution of Timothy McVeigh, who was principally responsible for the bombing of the Federal office building in Oklahoma City in April 1995.<sup>1</sup> The essay concludes that authority in domestic and international law exists for such operations and that, as a policy choice, the United States would do well to apply the Geneva Conventions of 1949 in the conflict with terrorists whether or not it is legally required. In any event, policymakers need to weigh the conse-

quences of targeted killing operations because, like all military operations, unforeseen results—positive and negative—are likely.

### **Authorities for Targeted Killing**

As spokesmen for the U.S. Government have emphasized,<sup>2</sup> America's use of force against terrorists takes place in the context of "armed conflict." For practical and legal reasons they distinguish the conflict with al Qaeda and similar organizations from counterterrorism law enforcement at home or in other countries, which principally involves the police. This delimitation is commonsensical. It is also important. One does not want the U.S. Government engaging in military operations on American soil absent extraordinary circumstances. Authority for using the military instrument abroad against terrorists in the context of "armed conflict" comes from the Constitution and statute, and the use of armed force needs to comply with the international law of armed conflict (also known as the laws of war or international humanitarian law).

More than 200 years of practice have confirmed that the President has the responsibility to direct the Armed Forces to defend the country. The President accordingly had constitutional authority to order counterattacks by U.S. forces against terrorists who had engaged in attacks against the United States and its citizens even before September 11, 2001.

Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama have not had to rely on their constitutional authority alone. After September 11, 2001, Congress gave the President broad authority "to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations, or persons."<sup>3</sup> This statute provided explicit authority for U.S. military operations in Afghanistan and against those the President determined were involved in the September 11 attacks. The words "necessary and appropriate" limit the use of the military instrument to those situations where police action, by the United States or the state in which the terrorist is found, is impossible. Had the perpetrators resembled Timothy McVeigh and been subject to arrest inside the United States, the use of the Armed Forces would have been neither necessary nor appropriate. One therefore should not expect drone attacks in London.

In states unable or unwilling to take action to prevent their territories from being used by terrorists, the legal and practical situation is different. A use of force, as against Osama bin Laden, may be lawful as well as the only practicable course, especially when a host government withholds its cooperation. On balance, it became more important to the United States and to the international multilateral effort to suppress terrorism to capture or kill bin Laden than to be sensitive to a breach of Pakistan's territorial integrity and *amour propre*.

The conduct of military operations pursuant to these constitutional and statutory authorities has to conform to U.S. legal obligations regarding armed conflict. In the main, the rules for American use of force are contained in the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and subsequent treaties to which the Nation is a party or, as in the case of some articles of the 1977 Protocols Additional to the 1949 Geneva Conventions, which Washington regards as accurate statements of the customary international law of armed conflict. In 2010 the State Department Legal Adviser stated that the United States applied “law of war principles,” including:

*First, the principle of distinction, which requires that attacks be limited to military objectives and that civilians or civilian objects shall not be the subject of the attack; and*

*Second, the principle of proportionality, which prohibits attacks that may be expected to cause incidental loss of civilian life, injury to civilians, damage to civilian objects, or a combination thereof, that would be excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated.<sup>4</sup>*

In other words, if the target is lawful under the laws of armed conflict, a state may use weapons, including weapons delivered by remotely piloted, unmanned aerial vehicles, against such targets. In this sense, targeted killing is high technology sniping.

This analysis rests on the premise that the United States is in an armed conflict with al Qaeda as a result of the attacks of September 11, 2001, a conclusion that itself reflects a process of analysis. Under longstanding principles of international law, a state bears responsibility for uses of force from its territory about which it knew or should have known. That responsibility includes a duty to prevent and, if prevention proves impossible, suppress. When a state is unable or unwilling to discharge such international legal obligations, the victim state presumptively has rights of self-defense. Thus, when Afghanistan was the base from which the 9/11 attacks were conducted and when Afghanistan was unwilling or unable to take action against the perpetrators, the United States enjoyed the right to use force in self-defense to attack those actors in Afghanistan. This legal analysis provides the basis for the U.S. use of force in Afghanistan commencing in 2001.

### **Laws of War and Targeted Killing**

Confusion has bedeviled discussion of the conflict between the United States and al Qaeda. Assuming that al Qaeda is a true non-state actor, governments have had to decide whether the United States is in international armed conflict with al Qaeda and, if so, what rules apply. These questions are rooted in the language of the four Geneva Conventions of 1949.

By their terms, the Conventions apply to conflicts among the “High Contracting Parties” or to “armed conflict[s] not of an international character occurring in the territory of one of the High Contracting Parties.”<sup>5</sup> This language means, respectively, conflicts between or among states and civil wars.<sup>6</sup> Based on that language, the U.S.



Supreme Court determined that the conflict with al Qaeda was a global, non-international armed conflict to which Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 applied because that seemed to be the only part of the Conventions that could apply to non-state actors.<sup>7</sup> While the effort to avoid placing alleged terrorists in a legal no-man's-land is laudable, the Supreme Court's effort in this regard involved intellectual incoherence. As it must, the executive branch adheres to the Supreme Court decision. At the same time, without violating that decision, the U.S. Government may follow an intellectually coherent and simpler approach than the Supreme Court's by following the Geneva Convention lead.<sup>8</sup>

### **The Geneva Convention Approach**

The Geneva Conventions, binding as they are on all states, provide a useful guide to governments. They do so whether one uses military or law enforcement instruments against terrorists. If a government treats terrorists outside its jurisdiction or the jurisdiction of a state capable of using the criminal law against terrorists as subject to the Geneva Conventions, then its course is clear. If it captures a terrorist fighter, that fighter may be prosecuted for violations of the Geneva Conventions and then returned to prisoner of war status once a sentence, if any, is served. Prisoner of war status ends with the end of the conflict. Today it is difficult to foresee an end to the U.S. conflict with al Qaeda notwithstanding the deaths of so many al Qaeda leaders and followers.

Treating terrorists as if they are not combatants and are not entitled to prisoner of war status may be legally correct; it nonetheless puts a government in a policy and legal straitjacket. Terrorists inevitably fail the requirements set forth in the third Geneva Convention to wear a uniform, carry weapons openly, obey the laws of war, and operate in an organized fashion under a commander responsible for his or her subordinates, with rigorous systems of command and control, in order to enjoy the privileged status of combatant and prisoner of war upon capture.<sup>9</sup> The terrorists' failure in these respects does not make it easier to deal with detainees, as the American experience during the past 11 years demonstrates. As a result, a new approach is needed. That approach should be rooted in the law and in common sense. The Geneva Conventions provide both.

For the United States, acting as if terrorists captured in battlefield conditions are combatants and therefore prisoners of war would have a number of benefits. First, it would limit challenges to the legal status of detainees because they would not be held in what might appear to be legal limbo. As a result, whether they were held in prisoner of war facilities within the United States or at Guantánamo Bay would not matter in legal terms. Detainees would not acquire more rights by being held as a prisoner of war within the United States than they do in Guantánamo Bay, and the administration should be able to close the prison facilities there without increasing its legal exposure. Second, it would clarify the status of prisoners for prison guards by making clear that the prisoners were not in a penitentiary status unless convicted of a crime. Third, it could improve the international reputation of the United

States, which stands sullied as a result of allegations of torture and questions about its authority to hold alleged terrorists indefinitely, even those who might be acquitted at trial.

### **Conclusion**

Since 9/11, the United States has traveled far in its quest to diminish, if not eliminate, the risk of terrorist attack. In the process it has revealed much about its willingness to engage in targeted killing and the conclusion that this tactic is useful and “wise” as well as legal.<sup>10</sup> The argument for wisdom is that technology permits such a high degree of accuracy that collateral damage — the killing of bystanders — and the risk to American lives are reduced. The third test of wisdom is an act’s consequences. The wise strategist will weigh consequences of chosen tactics. For example, the negative consequences of the frequent U.S. use of remotely piloted aircraft—drones—to attack al Qaeda in Pakistan in 2011 led to an intense “Pakistani animus toward unilateral U.S. action [with] huge implications for America’s counterterrorism aspirations in the country.”<sup>11</sup> To avoid negative consequences does not require inaction, but rather an effort at forethought and foresight. It is something that cannot be guaranteed even if one abides by the law. So far the United States has followed U.S. and international law by engaging in targeted killing as a combat tactic against military targets. Keeping to this line will be clarifying and simplifying even though one may argue that the law does not require treating terrorists as if they were military targets. Lawfulness by itself does not guarantee wisdom. But it is a good starting place.

### **About the author:**

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### **Notes**

1. See generally, Nicholas Rostow, “The Laws of War and the Killing of Suspected Terrorists: False Starts, Rabbit Holes, and Dead Ends,” *Rutgers Law Review* 63, no. 4, Summer 2011, 1215.
2. See Harold Hongju Koh, “The Obama Administration and International Law,” Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law, Washington, DC, March 25, 2010; Eric Holder, Remarks at the Northwestern University School of Law,

March 5, 2012.

3. Joint Resolution, "Authorization for Use of Military Force," September 18, 2001, P.L. 107-40 [S.J. Res. 23].

4. Koh.

5. Common Article 3 to the Four Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, reprinted in Documents on the Laws of War, ed. Adam Roberts and Richard Guelff, 245 (New York: Oxford University Press, 3rd edition, 2000).

6. Rostow, 1231 (relying on Dinstein).

7. Hamdan v. Rumsfeld, 548 U.S. 557, 630 (2006).

8. See Rostow, 1231–1232.

9. Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, August 12, 1949, in Documents on the Laws of War, 246 (Art. 4A(2)).

10. Compare Chris Toensing and Ian Urbina, "Israel, the US and 'Targeted Killings,'" Middle East Report Online, Middle East Research and Information Project, February 17, 2003, to John O. Brennan, transcript, "The Ethics and Efficacy of the President's Counterterrorism Strategy," Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, April 30, 2012.

11. Thomas F. Lynch III, The 80 Percent Solution: The Strategic Defeat of bin Laden's al-Qaeda and Implications for South Asian Security, National Security Studies Program Policy Paper (Washington, DC: New America Foundation, February 2012), 15.

<http://www.eurasiareview.com/03062014-targeted-killing-terrorists-analysis/>

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