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African Union

Press Release issued by the Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers of Libya's Neighbouring Countries on the side-lines of the 17th Ministerial Meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)



Algiers 27-28 May 2014 : The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of neighboring countries of Libya held a consultative meeting on 27-28 May 2014, on the sidelines of the 17th Ministerial Meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), with the participation of the Secretary General of the League of Arab States, Dr. Nabil El-Arabi, and the Chairperson of the African Union Commission, Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, on the current unfolding of events in the country of Libya and its grave repercussions on neighbouring countries. A discussion took place on adequate frameworks and mechanisms to provide support to Libya so that it can overcome the difficult stage it is undergoing.

The consultative meeting was chaired by Mr. Ramtane Lamamra, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, with the participation of:

HE Moussa Faki Mahamat, Minister of Foreign Affairs and African Integration of Chad

HE Kamel-Eddine Ismail Sahid, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Sudan

HE Mohamed Abeldaziz, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation of the State of Libya

HE Nabil Fahmi, Minister Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt

HE Mohamed Bazoum, Minister of State, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Cooperation,

African Integration and Diaspora of the Republic of Niger

HE El Mongi Hamdi, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tunisia.

The Foreign Minister of Libya, HE Mr. Mohamed Abdelaziz, delivered a statement on the current situation in Libya and expressed hopes that the neighbouring countries of Libya would quickly help the various parties of Libya to push forward the national dialogue. Heads of participating delegations delivered statements in which they exchanged views on the appropriate approach that can be adopted to encourage and help all the parties in Libya to engage in serious and inclusive dialogue.

The Participants expressed their deep concern about the situation experienced by Libya and the repercussions on its security and stability and direct effect on neighbouring countries. They also expressed their entire solidarity with the Libyan people and for the safeguarding of the sovereignty, territorial integrity of Libya, rejecting all forms of interference in its domestic affairs.

Participants called on all Libyan parties and actors to stop violent acts of all kinds, to resort to dialogue, and respond to the legitimate demands of Libya, which aspires to stability, security, peace, and development. All efforts must be made to prevent further bloodshed, to preserve Libyan national security, to prevent bloodshed, preserve local peace to ensure the safety and peace of Libyan citizens and foiling all forms of attempts to destabilize Libya.

The Participants reaffirmed their support to the Libyan efforts, endeavours and initiatives to lay the groundwork for national dialogue, concord, national reconciliation, transitional justice, and the strengthening of the pillars of the State institutions, the processes in a safe and stable environment.

As part of the efforts to support this process, the Participants reaffirmed the concerted efforts to help Libya to build bridges through a joint mechanism of the neighbouring countries in coordination and cooperation with the Secretary General of the Arab League and the Chairperson of the African Union Commission Chairperson; inviting them to speedily elaborate a common vision and roadmap based on the will of the Libyan people and to submit the this for adoption at the next meeting of Ministers of the Neighbours of Libya.

It was agreed, upon the proposal the Head of the Tunisian delegation that the next ministerial meeting of neighbours of Libya be held in Tunisia.

Furthermore, the Participants discussed the possibility to dispatch a high level delegation from Neighboring countries to Libya, in coordination with the Libyan authorities, to express the solidarity of neighboring countries with the Libyan people, and encourage all parties to push forward an inclusive national dialogue amongst Libyans without foreign interference.

The Participants insisted on the paramount importance that the neighbouring countries attach on securing the borders with Libya, the necessity of cooperation and coordination in the fight against terrorism, arms and drugs trafficking and ille-

gal immigration. Participants welcome the offer of Egypt to host a Ministerial meeting of Neighbours of Libya and with Libya, dedicated to border security.

Concerning the information coverage of the situation in Libya by various media, Participants stressed the need for objective journalism, accuracy and the protection of the national interests of Libya.

Participants expressed their thanks and appreciation to the countries, regional and international organisations, concerned by the situation in Libya and their support for its stability and security during this difficult period. They also stressed the importance of building partnerships among all these countries, international and regional organisations and bodies and Libya's neighbours.

Finally, Ministers and Heads of delegations expressed their profound thanks and appreciation to Algeria for having hosted this meeting.

La troisième Conférence des États parties du traité de la zone exempts d'armes nucléaires en Afrique s'ouvre aujourd'hui à Addis-Abeba



Addis Abéba, le 29 mai 2014: La troisième Conférence des États parties au Traité sur la Zone exempte d'armes nucléaires en Afrique, également dénommé Traité de Pelindaba, a ouvert ses travaux aujourd'hui au siège de l'UA. La Conférence s'achèvera demain 30 mai 2014.

Les États parties au Traité de Pelindaba et à ses Protocoles, ainsi que les organisations régionales et internationales compétentes, y compris l'Agence internationale de l'Énergie atomique (AIEA), la Commission préparatoire de l'Organisation du Traité d'interdiction complète des Essais nucléaires (CTBT) et le Forum des organismes de Réglementation nucléaire en Afrique (FNRBA) participent aux travaux de la Conférence.

La Conférence examinera les activités de la Commission africaine de l'Énergie nucléaire (AFCONE), y compris la mise en œuvre de son programme de travail et son budget. La Conférence discutera également de l'état d'opérationnalisation du Secrétariat de l'AFCONE et d'autres questions connexes.

La Conférence a été ouverte par le Commissaire de l'UA à la Paix et à la Sécurité, l'Ambassadeur Sma?l Chergui. La cérémonie d'ouverture a également été marquée par les allocutions prononcées par le Président de l'AFCONE, l'Ambassadeur Abdul Samad Minty ; ainsi que par le Président du FNRBA, M. Augustin Simo, le Directeur pour l'Afrique au Département de la Coopération technique de l'AIEA, M. Dazhu Yang, et le Directeur des Relations extérieures et de la Division juridique de la Commission préparatoire de la CTBTO, M. Genxin Li.

NOTE AUX RÉDACTEURS

Au sujet du Traité de Pelindaba : Le Traité sur la Zone exempte d'armes nucléaires en Afrique (Traité de Pelindaba) a été adopté par la 31^{ème} session ordinaire de l'Organisation de l'unité africaine (OUA), tenue à Addis Abéba du 26 au 28 juin 1995, et a été signé au Caire le 11 avril 1996. Le Traité est entré en vigueur le 15 juillet 2009.

Le Traité de Pelindaba est l'aboutissement d'efforts qui se sont étalés sur plus de trois décennies, et ce dans le prolongement de la Déclaration sur *la dénucléarisation de l'Afrique* adoptée par la 1^{ère} session ordinaire de la Conférence des chefs d'État et de Gouvernement de l'OUA, tenue au Caire, du 17 au 21 juillet 1964.

Le Traité fait obligation aux États parties à renoncer aux dispositifs explosifs nucléaires, en particulier à ne pas entreprendre de recherche, à ne pas mettre au point, fabriquer, stocker ni acquérir d'une autre manière, posséder ou exercer un contrôle sur tout dispositif explosif nucléaire, ainsi qu'à ne pas encourager, à ne pas chercher ni recevoir une aide à ces fins. Le Traité interdit également le stationnement et les essais de dispositifs explosifs nucléaires dans la Zone, ainsi que le déversement de déchets radioactifs. Le Traité fait en outre obligation aux États parties à déclarer, démonter, détruire ou transformer les dispositifs explosifs nucléaires et les installations permettant leur fabrication; et à utiliser la science et la technologie nucléaires à des fins exclusivement pacifiques et de façon vérifiable, tout en assurant la protection physique des matières et installations nucléaires. Le Traité interdit également les attaques armées contre des installations nucléaires.

Le Traité de Pelindaba est un pilier important des efforts déployés à l'échelle mondiale, afin d'éliminer complètement les armes nucléaires et d'empêcher leur prolifération, tel que prévu dans le Traité de 1968 sur la non-prolifération des armes nucléaires (TNP).

38 États sont présentement parties au Traité de Pelindaba. Il s'agit des pays suivants: Algérie, Bénin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroun, Tchad, Côte d'Ivoire, Comores, Congo, Guinée équatoriale, Éthiopie, Gabon, Gambie, Ghana, Guinée-Bissau, Guinée, Kenya, Libye, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mali, Malawi, Mozambique, Mauritanie, Maurice, Namibie, Nigeria, Rwanda, République arabe sahraouie démocratique, Sénégal, Afrique du Sud, Swaziland, Tanzanie, Togo, Tunisie, Zambie et Zimbabwe.

Les États suivants ont signé le Traité mais ne l'ont pas encore ratifié: Angola, République centrafricaine, Cap-Vert, Djibouti, République démocratique du Congo, Égypte, Érythrée, Libéria, Maroc, Niger, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalie, Sao Tomé et Príncipe, Soudan et Ouganda.

À propos des Protocoles au Traité de Pelindaba: Le Traité a trois Protocoles. Les Protocoles I et II engagent les États parties à ne pas utiliser ou menacer d'utiliser un dispositif explosif nucléaire contre tout territoire dans la Zone, ainsi qu'à ne pas entreprendre, aider ou encourager l'essai de tout dispositif explosif nucléaire partout dans la Zone. Les Protocoles I et II sont ouverts à signature par les cinq États

suivants possédant des armes nucléaires: Chine, France, Fédération de Russie, le Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord et les États-Unis. La Chine, la France, la Fédération de Russie et le Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et d'Irlande du Nord ont signé et ratifié les Protocoles I et II, tandis que les États-Unis, qui ont signé ces Protocoles, ne les ont pas encore ratifiés.

Le Protocole III, qui est ouvert à signature par la France et l'Espagne, concerne les territoires pour lesquels ils sont *de jure* ou *de facto* internationalement responsables, et qui sont situés dans la Zone. Le Protocole les engage à ne pas contribuer à aucun acte qui constitue une violation du Traité. La France a signé et ratifié le Protocole III, tandis que l'Espagne ne l'a ni signé ni ratifié.

À propos de la Commission africaine de l'Énergie nucléaire (AFCONE): Le Traité de Pelindaba crée la Commission africaine de l'Énergie nucléaire (AFCONE) aux fins d'assurer le respect par les États parties de leurs engagements. Le Traité donne mandat à l'AFCONE, entre autres, de collationner les rapports annuels des États parties, d'examiner l'application des garanties de l'Agence internationale de l'Énergie atomique (AIEA) aux activités nucléaires pacifiques, d'engager les procédures de plainte, d'encourager la coopération régionale et sous-régionale, ainsi que de promouvoir la coopération internationale avec des États extérieurs à la Zone pour des utilisations pacifiques de la science et de la technologie nucléaires. Le siège du Secrétariat de l'AFCONE est à Pretoria, en Afrique du Sud.

L'AFCONE joue un rôle clé dans la promotion des applications pacifiques de la science et de la technologie nucléaires en Afrique et dans la mobilisation du soutien si nécessaire aux États parties pour qu'ils bénéficient pleinement des applications de la science et de technologie nucléaires dans les domaines de la santé, de l'agriculture et de l'énergie. L'AFCONE est également activement engagée dans les efforts mondiaux et régionaux de désarmement et de non-prolifération.

L'AFCONE se compose de 12 États parties qui sont élus pour un mandat de trois ans. Les États parties membres de l'AFCONE sont élus par la Conférence des États parties, en tenant dûment compte de la représentation régionale équitable et de leurs nouveaux de développement en matière de science et de technologie nucléaires. La 1^{er} Conférence des États parties (CEP), qui s'est tenue à Addis Abéba le 4 novembre 2010, a élu les pays suivants comme membres de l'AFCONE pour un mandat de trois ans: Afrique du Sud, Algérie, Burkina Faso, Cameroun, Éthiopie, Kenya, Libye, Mali, Maurice, Sénégal, Togo et Tunisie.

Les membres de l'AFCONE sont représentés par des Commissaires, qui sont des personnalités hautement compétentes ayant une expérience avérée dans les domaines de la science et de la technologie nucléaires, de la diplomatie et de la sécurité. Les Commissaires actuels de l'AFCONE sont: M. Messaoud Baaliouamer (Algérie), M. Badiori Outtara (Burkina Faso), Dr Augustin Simo (Cameroun), M. Atnatiwos Zeleke Meshesha (Éthiopie), Professeur Shaukat Abdurazak (Kenya), Dr. Bulgasem Hammouda Ali El-Fawaris (Libye), M. Tezana Coulibaly (Mali), Ambassadeur Anund P. Neewoor (Maurice), Professeur Christian Sina Diatta

(Sénégal), Ambassadeur Abdul Samad Minty (Afrique du Sud), Lieutenant-Colonel Pidalatan Manzi (Togo) et Dr Mourad Telmini (Tunisie). L'AFCON est présidée par Amb. Minty.

Les Commissaires de l'AFCON se réunissent annuellement en sessions ordinaires pour discuter de tous les aspects relatifs à la mise en œuvre du programme de travail de l'AFCON. La 1^{ère} session ordinaire s'est tenue à Addis Abéba, le 4 mai 2011, la 2^{ème} à Addis Abéba, le 26 juillet 2012, la 3^{ème} à Pretoria, les 11 et 12 novembre 2013, et la 4^{ème} à Addis Abéba, le 27 mai 2014.

À propos de la 3^{ème} Conférence des États Parties: La CEP est le plus haut organe de décision pour la mise en œuvre du Traité de Pelindaba. La CEP se réunit au moins une fois tous les deux ans pour examiner la mise en œuvre du Traité, et adopter les décisions requises pour assurer le bon fonctionnement de l'AFCON.

La 3^{ème} CEP examinera l'état d'opérationnalisation du Secrétariat de l'AFCON et l'état des contributions des États parties au budget 2013-2015; et traitera d'autres questions relatives à la mise en œuvre du Traité de Pelindaba. La 3^{ème} CEP marquera également la fin du mandat de trois ans des membres de l'AFCON et devra, par conséquent, élire douze nouveaux États parties pour être membres de l'AFCON.

UN Women Executive Director Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, AU Special Envoy for Women, Peace and Security, Bineta Diop and the ECCAS Special Representative in the Central African Republic (CAR) emphasize that Women's rights, participation and leadership are vital to Peace and Stability in the CAR

We have just completed a three-day joint mission to the Central African Republic, 24-26 May 2014, where we saw firsthand the impact of the current crisis on women and girls and the efforts underway to protect the population and advance peace and stability.

We came here to meet with the different actors and stakeholders, and to support women's full participation and leadership in efforts for conflict resolution, peace-building, humanitarian response, and reconciliation and recovery.

We had an opportunity to discuss the situation with the Transition Head of State, Catherine Samba-Panza. She has a difficult and challenging task and we offered her our full support.

We met with the Prime Minister and other senior government officials, the UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the UN Stabilization Mission, and mission staff, along with the Special Representative of the Chairperson of the AU Commission and Head of MISCA. We also met with the High-Level Women's Advisory Group, seventeen civil society organizations, sixteen women's organizations, the Technical Follow-up Committee on the CAR crisis made up of the UN P5, CAR's neighbors, the African Union and the European Union, religious leaders, displaced women in the country and the United Nations Country Team.

One of our priorities is to ensure that women's and girls' needs are fully integrated into the UN system response, and especially into the operations of the newly-established United Nations Integrated Stabilization Mission in the CAR (MINUSCA).

We discussed the participation and leadership of women in local reconciliation, national dialogues, transitional justice, and elections. We discussed specific protection for women, services and justice for survivors, and the need for a clear commitment by all parties to refrain from sexual and gender-based violence.

With the new UN peacekeeping mission set to take over authority in military and police matters in September 2014, UN Women, the African Union and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) support the rule of law, women's access to protection and justice, and peacekeeper training to prevent sexual violence.

We are pleased to announce that training developed by UN Women and the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations will be provided to MINUSCA troop contributing countries.

This training has been tested in 17 nations and the aim is to ensure that all military

units of UN peacekeeping missions receive specialized, scenario-based training on the prevention of conflict-related sexual violence.

The ongoing crisis in the Central African Republic is of grave concern, and women, girls and children are particularly affected by the crisis.

The conflict has resulted in untold suffering and thousands of people have been injured or killed.

More than 554,000 people are estimated to be internally displaced. Of a total population of 4.6 million, some 2.5 million people are currently in need of immediate humanitarian assistance, the majority of whom are women and children.

Extremely high rates of violence against women continue to pose a serious threat to health, development and peace in the Central African Republic.

The international community has received numerous reports of rape, sexual slavery, and early and forced marriage perpetrated by armed actors.

This was confirmed by a UN fact-finding mission in December last year, led by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Access to health care, counseling, livelihoods and education remains limited. This situation is coupled with the breakdown of what was an already weak and malfunctioning judicial system.

Humanitarian access remains a major constraint owing to armed violence. We call on all parties to allow humanitarian access so that aid organizations can reach more people in need. Humanitarian activities must be protected and respected.

We call on all parties to protect civilians and not to harm them in any way. No person should be targeted or violated based on who they are, what they believe, or where they come from.

We call for greater action to prevent sexual violence, to provide support to survivors, and to bring perpetrators to justice.

At this time, stronger efforts are required to address the precarious situation faced by women and girls in the IDP camps and to bring their needs and interests to the centre of attention and international focus.

During our visit to camps for internally displaced persons, we spoke to women who had left their homes and belongings behind and are struggling to care for their children. They told us about their suffering, the violence they had endured.

What we heard and saw in the camp was devastating. Despite the incredible efforts and work of the United Nations, the African Union, countries of the region and International Partners, the reality is that the displaced people are in a desperate situation. While Partners are working to deliver food, water and services, durable solutions must be found, including the restoration of institutions and confidence in the rule of law, so that people can return to their homes when they feel

safe to do so.

Of US\$565 million in funding required for joint UN operations in CAR, only 32% has been funded as of 22 May 2014.

For millions of people, this assistance is a lifeline, and the response from the international community has so far been vastly insufficient. We urge the international community to respond and fully fund these efforts.

For peace and stability to take root in the Central African Republic, women, men and young people must play a full role in a national dialogue, peace negotiations, nation-building and strengthening social cohesion in the country.

We commend the women in this country for their various initiatives aimed at resolving the conflict. Women continue to make strong calls for peace, protection and participation. The women leaders of both Christian and Muslim faiths and from diverse socio-economic backgrounds that we met were clear in their desire to bridge differences to build a better future for all the people of the Central African Republic.

It is essential that the international community continue to support the Central African Republic in its peace and development efforts, with a special focus on women. As in too many places in the world, women and girls are still largely left behind.

We call for increased funding for the safety and protection of women and girls, for women's participation in peacebuilding and humanitarian response, for women's empowerment and education, and for women's access to justice.

We encourage all International Partners to adhere to the UN's policies on earmarking 15 percent or more of funding for women's empowerment and gender equality.

Together we must support women as agents of peace and development. UN Women, AU and ECCAS will continue to work with the UN peacekeeping mission, MINUSCA, to support its commitment to respond to the specific needs of women and girls in the implementation of its mandate.

We remain committed to the realization of a peaceful, just and prosperous Central African Republic.

Bangui, 27 May 2014

Situation Post-électorale au Malawi: La Présidente de la Commission de l'UA appelle au calme pour permettre à la Commission Electorale du Malawi de mener à bien son travail



Addis Abéba, le 25 mai 2014: La Présidente de la Commission de l'Union africaine (UA), Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, suit de près la situation post-électorale au Malawi; elle note l'inquiétude grandissante liée aux difficultés opérationnelles rencontrées dans l'organisation des élections et à l'annonce des résultats. Elle appelle la population et les dirigeants des partis politiques à maintenir le calme et à permettre à la Commission électorale du Malawi (MEC) de mener à bien son travail.

La Présidente de la Commission félicite les Malawites pour la paix et la tranquillité qui ont prévalu à ce jour, malgré les difficultés rencontrées, notamment le retard accusé dans le traitement des résultats. Elle note qu'à ce jour, la MEC n'a publié que les résultats de 31% des bureaux de vote, n'a reçu que 139 plaintes de la part des partis politiques et n'a détecté des anomalies que dans 19 centres de vote sur un total de 1.333. Elle note en outre que la MEC a pris des mesures pour sécuriser les données en sa possession, et qu'elle a initié des enquêtes sur les plaintes qu'elle a reçues.

La Présidente de la Commission saisit cette occasion pour appeler tous les responsables malawites, les partis politiques, les organisations de la société civile et toutes les autres parties prenantes à faire preuve de la plus grande retenue et à permettre à la MEC de s'acquitter de son mandat, en menant à son terme le processus électoral, et ce dans le respect scrupuleux de son indépendance et de l'impératif que revêt la préservation de l'intégrité du scrutin. Il importe de permettre à la MEC de conduire le processus électoral à sa conclusion logique, en gardant à l'es-

prit la nécessité pour le Malawi et les Malawites de préserver la paix et de renforcer la démocratie dans leur pays, ainsi que d'assurer le respect de l'état de droit.

La Présidente de la Commission encourage les partis politiques ayant des griefs électoraux à faire recours auprès des institutions compétentes, tel que prévu par la loi.

La Présidente de la Commission note qu'un Malawi en paix est important non seulement pour les Malawites, mais également pour l'Afrique tout entière. Elle souhaite aux Malawites une joyeuse Journée de l'Afrique.

Accord entre le Gouvernement du Mali and les Mouvements armés du Nord



Bamako, le 23 mai 2014 – M. Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz, Président de la Mauritanie et Président en exercice de l'Union africaine (UA) s'est rendu à Kidal, au Nord du Mali, ce vendredi 23 mai 2014 pour rencontrer au Camp 2 de la Mission multidimensionnelle intégrée des Nations unies pour la stabilisation au Mali (MINUSMA) les délégations du Mouvement national de libération de l'Azawad (MNLA), du Haut Conseil pour l'unité de l'Azawad (HCUA) et du Mouvement arabe de l'Azawad (MAA).

Les négociations ont abouti à l'acceptation par les mouvements armés de la cessation des hostilités sur toute l'étendue du territoire national ; la confirmation par les parties de leur attachement à l'Accord de Ouagadougou ainsi que la reprise immédiate du dialogue ; la libération des prisonniers ; la facilitation des opérations humanitaires et le respect du Droit international humanitaire (DIH) et enfin, la mise en place d'une commission internationale d'enquête conformément à l'Accord préliminaire, en commençant par Kidal.

Cette visite intervient alors que Kidal et d'autres villes sont occupées depuis le 21 mai 2014 par les mouvements armés. Le Président Ould Abdel Aziz était accompagné de M. Albert Gerard Koenders, Représentant spécial du Secrétaire général des Nations unies et chef de la MINUSMA et de M. Ntolé Kazadi, Chef de l'unité politique de la Mission de l'UA pour le Mali et le Sahel (MISAHEL).

Press Statement of the 436th Meeting of the Peace and Security Council on Libya

The Peace and Security Council of the African Union (AU), at its 436th meeting held on 23 May 2014, was briefed by the Commission on the evolving political and security situation in Libya. Council also listened to the statement made by the representative of Libya.

Council expressed deep concern at the prevailing situation in Libya, marked by a proliferation of armed militias that continue to undermine security, weaken state authority and impede economic recovery, as well as by escalating violence since the launching, on 16 May 2014, by military figures, of an offensive code-named “Operation Dignity”, with the stated aim of freeing the country from extremist and terrorist groups. Council strongly condemned all acts of violence in Libya, and called on those concerned to refrain from any further action likely to aggravate the situation.

Council also expressed deep concern at the increasing political and regional polarization in Libya. Council noted the resulting negative impact on the functioning of the transitional institutions and the conduct of the transition, which was initially scheduled to end in February 2014.

Council stressed the far-reaching consequences of continued insecurity and instability for Libya and its people, as well as for the region as a whole and the rest of the continent. Against this background, Council strongly appealed to all Libyan stakeholders to put the supreme interest of their country above any other consideration, resolutely commit themselves to settle their differences through peaceful means and embark upon the path of national reconciliation, in fulfillment of the legitimate aspirations of their people to democracy, the rule of law and socio-economic wellbeing. Council urged them to work together towards the early and successful conclusion of the current transition, in particular through the holding of the legislative elections now slated for 25 June 2014 and the finalization of the work of the Constituent Assembly which was elected on 20 February 2014.

Council expressed its support to the interim Government and urged it to spare no efforts towards the early resolution of the current crisis. In this respect, Council welcomed the 10-point crisis exit plan submitted by the Government on 19 May 2014, which provides a viable basis for a consensual way out of the crisis.

Council reiterated AU’s continued commitment and readiness to support the efforts of the Libyan people and Government to complete in earnest their democratic transition. Council encouraged the Chairperson of the Commission to urgently appoint a special Envoy who would undertake consultations with the Libyan authorities and other relevant stakeholders, as well as with the countries of the region, with the view to submitting to it a comprehensive report on the situation, including concrete recommendations on how best the AU can further support the stabilization process in Libya and the early completion of the current

transition. Council agreed to review that report at a ministerial meeting to be convened as soon as possible.

Council requested the Commission to keep it regularly informed of the evolution of the situation and related AU's efforts.

Press Statement of the 436th Meeting of the Peace and Security Council on Libya

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Council requested the Commission to keep it regularly informed of the evolution of the situation and related AU's efforts.

L'Union Africaine condamne fermement l'attaque terroriste de Jos, au Nigeria

Addis Abéba, le 21 mai 2014: La Présidente de la Commission de l'Union africaine (UA), Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, condamne énergiquement les deux attentats terroristes odieux perpétrés le mardi 20 mai 2014 dans un marché de la ville de Jos, au Nigeria, tuant des dizaines de personnes et blessant de très nombreuses autres. Elle exprime les condoléances les plus sincères de l'UA aux familles endeuillées, ainsi qu'au peuple et au Gouvernement du Nigeria, et souhaite prompt rétablissement aux blessés.

La Présidente de la Commission réitère le plein soutien de l'UA aux efforts du Gouvernement nigérian visant à lutter contre le terrorisme. À cet égard, elle se félicite des conclusions opérationnelles de la 5^{ème} réunion des chefs des services de renseignement et de sécurité des pays de la région sahélo-saharienne, tenue à Ouagadougou, les 19 et 20 mai 2014, qui prévoient une série de mesures visant à renforcer l'action collective de la région contre les groupes terroristes, y compris Boko Haram.

La Présidente de la Commission souligne, une fois encore, la nécessité pour tous les États membres de l'UA, en partenariat avec le reste de la communauté internationale, de redoubler d'efforts pour lutter contre le fléau du terrorisme. À cet égard, elle rappelle que les instruments pertinents de l'UA et les initiatives régionales existantes offrent un cadre approprié pour une coopération accrue entre les États membres.

La MISAHÉL condamne les assassinats perpétrés à Kidal

Bamako, le 19 mai 2014 – M. Pierre Buyoya, Haut représentant de l'Union africaine (UA) pour le Mali et le Sahel, Chef de la Mission de l'UA pour le Mali et le Sahel (MISAHÉL), suit de près l'évolution de la situation sécuritaire à Kidal et condamne fermement les assassinats perpétrés sur des représentants de l'Etat malien et des civils dans cette ville au cours des événements malheureux des 17 et 18 mai 2014. Ces actes ne doivent ni continuer ni rester impunis, tout comme les autres crimes commis au cours de ces événements. Les responsables de ces crimes doivent être rapidement identifiés et sanctionnés conformément aux lois en vigueur. Les observateurs des droits de l'homme de l'UA au Mali continuent à suivre l'évolution de la situation afin de contribuer à la manifestation de la vérité et à la prévention de ce genre d'actes.

L'Union africaine exige la libération immédiate et sans conditions de toutes les personnes détenues dans le cadre de ces événements.

Le Haut représentant présente ses condoléances et celles de l'UA les plus attristées aux familles éplorées, au Gouvernement et au peuple maliens. Il lance un appel aux uns et aux autres à la retenue et à éviter tout acte qui pourrait provoquer davantage de victimes. Le Haut représentant de l'UA pour le Mali et le Sahel réitère l'attachement de l'UA au principe du respect de la souveraineté et de l'intégrité territoriale du Mali, conformément à l'Acte constitutif de l'UA et à l'Accord préliminaire de Ouagadougou.

L'Union africaine condamne fermement l'attentat terroriste de Nairobi

Addis Abéba, le 17 mai 2014: La Présidente de la Commission de l'Union africaine (UA), Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, a appris avec consternation et tristesse l'attaque terroriste qui a eu lieu à Nairobi, hier 16 mai 2014, et a fait de nombreuses victimes. Elle condamne fermement cet acte odieux et lâche contre des civils innocents.

La Présidente de la Commission exprime les sincères condoléances de l'UA aux familles des victimes, ainsi qu'au Gouvernement et au peuple du Kenya, et souhaite un prompt rétablissement aux blessés. Elle réitère le plein soutien de l'UA aux efforts des autorités kényanes visant à combattre le terrorisme sous toutes ses formes.

La Présidente de la Commission souligne encore une fois l'impérieuse nécessité de redoubler d'efforts pour combattre le fléau du terrorisme, notamment à travers le renforcement de la coopération interafricaine dans le cadre des instruments africains et internationaux pertinents. Elle réaffirme l'engagement de l'UA à continuer à soutenir les efforts déployés par les États membres à cet égard.

The African Union strongly condemns the terrorist attack in Nairobi

Addis Ababa, 17 May 2014: The Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union (AU), Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, has learnt with shock and sadness of the terrorist attack that occurred in Nairobi, yesterday 16 May 2014, resulting in numerous casualties. She strongly condemns this heinous and cowardly act against innocent civilians.

The Chairperson of the Commission expresses the AU's sincere condolences to the families of the victims, as well as to the people and Government of Kenya, and wishes speedy recovery to those wounded. She reiterates AU's full support to the Kenyan authorities in their efforts to combat terrorism in all its forms.

The Chairperson of the Commission stresses once again the imperative need for renewed efforts to combat the scourge of terrorism, including enhanced inter-African cooperation within the framework of the relevant AU and international instruments. She reaffirms the AU's determination to continue supporting the efforts being deployed by Member States in this respect.

Terrorism in Africa

The Next 50 Years: Africa's obligation to posterity

26.05.14



The African Development Bank (AfDB) board of governors as compelled by law and custom are meeting this week for their Annual Meetings in Kigali, Rwanda. Running under the theme, “The next 50 years: The Africa we want”, it is fitting that this year's meetings are being held in the East African nation. Rwanda, East Africa's fastest growing economy most likely has been the poster child of the “Africa rising” narrative over the years.

Africa largely remains a continent of paradoxes. Basing on the continent's resource endowments, Africa is very wealthy.

Yet the levels of poverty on the continent are appalling. According to the latest World Bank Poverty Headcount Ratio (which measures the number of people living under US\$1,25 per day as a percentage of the total population) about 48,5 per cent of people in sub-Saharan Africa still live in poverty.

For a continent which boasts of six of the last decade's 10 fastest growing economies, this is a statistic that goes against the grain. This obviously raises questions as to the importance if any, of GDP figures, when they fail to translate positively into people's lives as evidenced by better living standards.

One gets the sense that overall, the sad realities of growth that has not been inclusive have struck the right chord among Africa's top decision makers. Recently, the World Economic Forum on Africa ran under the apt theme of, "Forging Inclusive Growth, Creating Jobs." Perhaps this signals the recognition that mere GDP statistics as indicative measures of development on the continent are not adequate and more needs to be done.

The Africa we want

In a statement on the AfDB website, the President Donald Kaberuka commenting on the seminal Annual Meetings said, "Now is the time to think out of the box, time for a step change. Fifty years after independence it is time for that step change - a step change with Africa taking ownership." This sums up what needs to be done. It need not be left to chance to create the Africa we want in the next 50 years.

Estimates show that by 2050, the African population is forecast to rise to at least 2,4 billion and will continue to grow to 4,2 billion; four times its current size in the next 100 years. This growing African population must grow in a society that is free from the threats of terror. The underlying structural issues such as political instability in the Sahel region and socio-economic inequalities fomenting extremists need to be adequately addressed.

If Africa is to deliver on its promise, an enabling environment for citizens and enterprises to operate in must be promoted by eliminating security threats such as those posed by groups like Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram.

A 2012 World Bank report titled, 'Financial Inclusion in Africa' revealed that only 23 per cent of the adults in Africa have an account with a formal financial banking institution. In some countries such as the DRC, the same report revealed that as much as 95 per cent of the country's population is still unbanked.

Mobile money

Mobile money platforms like Kenya's Mpesa need to be expanded to include more people in the financial system, particularly the rural folk. Though several reforms have been made in deepening Africa's financial services sector, more still needs to be done. Small enterprises need access to finance in order to grow; and access to financial services is vital in ensuring sustained development. Credit-to-GDP ratio (a main indicator of financial depth in an economy) stands at around 61, 4 per cent in Africa compared to 135 per cent in East Asia and the world average of 128, 8 per cent. Access to lines of credit for small businesses is thus essential for Africa's development going forward and must be increased.

Intra-African trade is vital in Africa's development drive and will be boosted by

closer regional co-operation and integration between countries. At present, the levels of Intra-African trade remain suppressed because of numerous structural bottlenecks. A joint report by the AfDB and the World Economic Forum notes cumbersome and non-transparent border administration, limited use of Information Communication Technologies (ICTs) and persistent infrastructure deficits as the major impediments of regional integration.

On average, African citizens require visas to visit 60% of African countries, with only five countries (Seychelles, Mozambique, Rwanda, Comoros and Madagascar) offering visa-free access or visas on arrival to citizens of all African countries.

Travel surge

This obviously speaks to the need for African countries to open up their borders to facilitate domestic trade between African countries more so now that there is a surge in intra-African travel.

Receiving up to 36 per cent of aid annually, the largest share of global aid than any other part of the world, Africa still remains heavily reliant on aid. Though a lot of aid has come into Africa in various forms, the effectiveness of that aid in combating poverty on the continent still remains subjective. For instance, real per capita income is lower than it was in the 1970s, and African countries still pay up to \$20 billion in debt repayments annually underlining the point that aid is never free.

No country has ever made the leap to being a developed economy, fuelled solely by aid money. While developmental aid may be necessary for a season, African economies cannot depend on aid to induce growth and development in the long run. Hence, moving forward, it is desirable that Africa be weaned off its reliance on aid, such that governments begin to focus on developing investor friendly policies that lure investment in their countries. The overtones of these and many more crude statistics about Africa, all point to the need for Africa to leverage its vast resource wealth and create sustainable development for posterity. With an increasingly youthful population, it is imperative that adequate jobs are created for Africa's youth going forward. Physical infrastructure and the necessary soft infrastructure (in the form of favourable tax laws, and respect of rule of law) need to be developed.

As policy makers are meeting in Kigali, one hopes that these fundamental issues are considered and steps taken to root out extreme poverty and set Africa on a path of growth and development for the next 50 years and beyond. Ultimately, the Africa we all want is one that is prosperous; people centred; integrated; at peace and globally influential.

<http://www.thezimbabwean.co/news/analysis/71795/the-next-50-years-africas.html>

La "porosité" des frontières favorise le terrorisme et le trafic d'armes et de drogue (UFL)

La "porosité" des frontières est l'un des facteurs favorisant le terrorisme, la dissémination "importante" des armes de guerre, les trafics de drogue et des être humains dans les pays de la région du Sahel, a indiqué dimanche à Alger le représentant de l'Unité de fusion et de liaison (UFL), Sidikou Soumana. "A l'heure où notre région est en lutte contre l'insécurité, entretenue par des groupes terroristes et autre criminels, l'atelier sur la sécurité des frontières est assurément le bienvenu, car l'un des facteurs favorisant le terrorisme, la dissémination importante des armes de guerre, les trafics de drogue et des êtres humains dans notre région est sans doute la porosité des frontières", a souligné M. Soumana, à l'ouverture d'un atelier sur la sécurité des frontières dans les pays de la région sahélo-saharienne.

L'atelier a pour objectif de débattre d'une approche sur les questions de sécurité transfrontalière et de convenir des mesures "concrètes visant à accroître la sécurité des frontières pour résoudre à l'avenir les problèmes liés à la porosité de ces dernières".

Pour M. Soumana, cet atelier se tient dans un contexte régional "marqué par une crise sécuritaire et humanitaire complexe, en témoigne entre autre, le regain de tension dans le nord du Mali et en Libye, ainsi que la prise en otage de plus de cent jeunes filles au Nigeria", soulignant qu'une telle situation "ne laisse personne indifférent et nous interpelle".

Il a relevé que l'atelier avait pour objectif de "renforcer" les capacités nationales et régionales, en matière sécuritaire pour "mieux prévenir et lutter efficacement contre le terrorisme et le crime transnational organisé".

La rencontre de cinq jours devrait permettre, selon M. Soumana, de "mieux" cerner "la problématique et défi spécifique sous-jacent", pour "mieux" gérer les question de la sécurité frontalière dans les pays de la région sahélo-saharienne.

M. Soumana a salué, en outre, le "gouvernement algérien et son peuple tout entier" pour les efforts "inestimables" qu'ils ne cessent de consentir à l'UFL, "somme nécessaire pour accomplir efficacement" les missions qui lui sont assignées, "au grand bénéfice de la région toute entière".

Cet atelier s'inscrit dans le cadre de la mise en œuvre du plan d'action de l'UFL, exercice 2014 et de la coopération particulièrement dynamique entre le Guardia Civil (corps de sécurité de l'Etat espagnol) et l'UFL, ainsi qu'en application des recommandations issues des réunions du processus de Nouakchott, lancé depuis plus d'une année.

L'atelier est organisé par l'UFL en partenariat avec la Guardia Civil, au profit d'une vingtaine d'officiers des pays membres de l'UFL (Algérie, Burkina Faso, Libye, Mali, Mauritanie, Niger, Nigeria et le Tchad), ainsi que des experts et analystes issus de plusieurs mécanismes sécuritaires régionaux.

Des experts des pays membres de l'UFL ont participé à cet atelier, ainsi des représentants du Centre africain d'études et de recherche sur le terrorisme (CAERT) et la mission de l'Union africaine pour le Mali et le Sahel (Misahel).

Des représentants de l'Union européenne et des Etats-unis d'Amérique notamment ont également pris part à cet atelier.

La rencontre devrait entre autre produire des recommandations ayant trait à l'évaluation des risques, l'identification des insuffisances dans le contrôle aux frontières aux points de passage et la formulation des suggestions concernant les mesures à appliquer pour lutter contre les activités criminelles dans la région, ainsi que l'identification des "insuffisances" dans la législation et les pratiques pour élaborer des stratégies d'application des lois frontières.

Par ailleurs, l'atelier a été organisé dans le cadre de la mise en œuvre du plan d'action de l'UFL, adopté par la 6ème réunion ordinaire des chefs des services de renseignement et de sécurité des pays membres de l'UFL tenue à Alger, les 23 et 24 février 2014, notamment dans le domaine du renforcement des capacités de ses services membres.

<http://www.letempsdz.com/content/view/122496/1/>

Cameroon

AFRIQUE, BOKO HARAM : QUE FAIRE ?

1- Ma petite vigilance vis-à-vis des forces de l'ombre en Afrique :

Lorsqu'un jeune Africain originaire du Nigéria tenta de détourner un avion de ligne aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique, en se réclamant de Al Qaïda, l'évènement m'apparut si révélateur que j'entrepris d'écrire une plaquette sur « l'Afrique et l'intégrisme islamique » pour tirer la sonnette d'alarme.



Je prévoyais en effet que le chômage des jeunes étant plus élevé et le niveau de culture générale et de culture islamique plus bas que dans les pays arabes, les jeunes musulmans d'Afrique, au sortir des écoles coraniques, seraient malléables à souhait par les groupes islamistes, et constitueraient donc un terreau favorable au prosélytisme terroriste.

Dans ce manuscrit, pour cerner l'ampleur de la menace terroriste, j'en étais arrivé à mettre en cause le « panafricanisme » du Guide libyen. Le Khadafisme, qui écartait toute solidarité avec les luttes populaires africaines, toute prise en compte des partis politiques progressistes et des intellectuels révolutionnaires, n'était en effet qu'un semblant de reprise du projet de lutte de Kwame Nkrumah pour les Etats-Unis d'Afrique. La vraie pensée du Khadafi véhiculait comme chacun pouvait facilement le constater une stratégie d'islamisation méthodique du Continent Africain, allant de l'obtention de la conversion des Chefs d'Etats (Bongo, Bokassa...) à coup de pétrodollars, au soutien discret des groupes islamistes terroristes sans oublier d'essayer de marginaliser et décrédibiliser les forces révolutionnaires de la mouvance du socialisme marxiste.

Sur le front idéologique, des intellectuels africains qui se gardaient d'afficher toute liaison apparente avec le Guide libyen menaient la lutte pour la dénonciation du christianisme et de ses crimes historiques, et pour l'élaboration du projet de société islamique idéal pour l'Afrique. L'étude minutieuse des deux volumineux ouvrages du Pr. Assani Fassassi, figure de proue de cet islamisme conquérant en Afrique m'amena à constater que son réquisitoire contre le christianisme pour sa collusion manifeste avec les pires crimes contre l'Humanité (l'esclavage, le colonialisme et l'impérialisme) ne permettait pas de conclure à la supériorité de l'Islam comme projet de société pour l'Afrique : les théorisations du professeur béninois du projet de société islamique pour l'Afrique n'étant qu'une reprise des poèmes de Léopold Sedar Senghor qui ne pouvait avoir lui-même qu'une maîtrise superficielle des sociétés traditionnelles africaines.

Sur cette lancée de l'étude des forces de l'ombre qui tentent de contrôler l'avenir de notre Continent, je fus amené à m'intéresser à la franc-maçonnerie et à ses loges. La lecture studieuse d'une douzaine d'ouvrages sur le sujet me permit d'en avoir une vue de synthèse et surtout de dégager deux constats majeurs pour les patriotes africains. Le premier étant que les rituels maçonniques ; comme ceux d'autres sectes philosophiques occidentales n'ont strictement rien de magiques (les pratiques spéciales dont on les habille çà et là, comme l'homosexualité, la zoophilie, ou l'anthropophagie et le rite des buveurs de sang, n'étant que des rajouts pour renforcer la solidarité et les rapports de domination). Le second étant que la seule

force de ces sectes philosophiques occidentale réside dans la solidarité qui lie leurs membres et les engage à se soutenir farouchement et cyniquement même dans le faux ou le mal. Notons au passage que ce dernier trait distingue fondamentalement ces sectes philosophiques occidentales avec certaines traditions africaines qui subliment l'honnêteté ou la loyauté au point de lier les initiés à défendre la vérité coûte que coûte, même en se pénalisant eux-mêmes ou en pénalisant leurs proches.

L'influence des loges maçonniques en Afrique était déjà énorme en 2010 : une douzaine de Chefs d'Etat en Afrique Centrale en étaient membres, soit comme Grands Maîtres coiffant une loge, soit comme membres influents relevant de d'obédiences maçonniques étrangères.

Au Gabon, situation qui retint particulièrement mon attention parce qu'elle était d'actualité, l'emprise générale des loges maçonniques sur le pouvoir comme sur les partis d'opposition était telle que les réseaux de la « Françafrique » par le biais de la franc-maçonnerie n'eurent aucun mal à contrôler de bout en bout le processus de la succession d'Omar Bongo après son décès par son fils et successeur maçonnique Ali Bongo.

C'est cette vigilance globale vis-à-vis des forces de l'ombre en Afrique dans mon manuscrit sur BOKO HARAM qui me permit de ne pas tomber dans le réflexe aveugle de la dénonciation de l'Occident pour soutenir dans la crise ivoirienne le Président Laurent Gbagbo. Je savais déjà que ce dernier avait fait le choix malheureux d'entraîner son peuple dans la guerre, en comptant sur la solidarité inconditionnelle de ses puissants frères Chefs d'Etat et les exhortations triomphalistes des Eglises réveillées.

Notre manuscrit disparut dans une arnaque digne des meilleurs romans policiers : il dérangeait beaucoup de monde. Mais qui vole un manuscrit ne vole pas le cerveau de l'auteur : nous pouvons aujourd'hui mieux qu'hier, cerner BOKO HARAM comme menace systémique, et proposer comment le combattre, avec l'éclairage des politiques erronées et contre-productives adoptées jusqu'à présent pour le défaire sans l'atteindre. De quoi s'agit-il ?

2.- La montée irrésistible de BOKO HARAM ;

En à peine une demie-décennie, la secte Boko Haram a vu le jour et est rapidement devenue une menace qui fait trembler la majorité des pays d'Afrique Occidentale et Centrale, au point de les obliger à étaler au grand jour leur impuissance, leur irresponsabilité et leur aliénation.

La rançon du paiement des rançons est la montée en force du terrorisme.

Le paiement des rançons aux preneurs d'otages est en fait la seule réponse que les régimes camerounais et nigérian peuvent donner au problème de Boko Haram.

De toute évidence cette situation assure au Président camerounais un rôle qui n'est pas fait pour lui déplaire : il apparaît comme un vrai démiurge, un faiseur de miracles, libérateurs des otages, plus que jamais « homme de la paix » (la paix explosive du Cameroun)....

Hélas, les rançons permettent aux preneurs d'otages d'amasser à peu de frais et en peu de temps d'importants moyens financiers. Des moyens qui leur permettent de développer leur logistique, d'intensifier leur recrutement et d'accroître leur armement.

En toute logique, si les enlèvements s'avèrent rentables, avec le paiement de justes rançons, n'est-il pas naturel que leurs auteurs les multiplient ? Il ne saurait donc faire aucun doute que la vraie rançon du paiement des rançons est la montée en force du terrorisme.

Pourquoi s'obstine-t-on faire semblant d'ignorer cette vérité ?

Tout d'abord parce que dans nos régimes à gouvernance cleptomane le passage d'une grosse somme d'argent permet toujours des retenues à tous les niveaux. Ensuite parce qu'il faut bien reconnaître que le dispositif donne satisfaction à tout le monde : quand un chef d'Etat est prêt à offrir ses bons offices, pour faire payer les rançons et faire libérer les otages, en recevant des ravisseurs comme du ou des pays dont les citoyens ont été enlevés, des manifestations de gratitude, tout le monde y trouve son compte, sauf les peuples qui s'exposent inévitablement à de plus grandes menaces terroristes.

L'impressionnant Sommet de Paris contre BOKO HARAM

Manifestement gonflé à bloc par les rançons qui lui ont été versées, le groupe terroriste semble déjà avoir dépassé tous les régimes d'Afrique de l'Ouest et d'Afrique centrale au point d'acculer ceux-ci d'appeler les occidentaux à l'aide.

Le Président français, François Hollande n'a pas trouvé mieux que d'organiser aussitôt un sommet pour déclarer la guerre à Boko Haram : on se serait cru , à Paris, à l'entrée en scène de l'équipe de Nouvelle-Zélande de rugby les «All Blacks» face à l'équipe adverse....

Or le principe même d'un Sommet à Paris pour la Sécurité en Afrique n'est plus acceptable par les patriotes et les peuples africains. M. Hollande conviendra qu'il traîne comme un relent de paternalisme et de colonialisme qui pourrait nuire à ses

nobles intentions supposées.

La mise en scène de ce sommet ne paraît pas en mesure de garantir son succès sur le terrain à la hauteur des objectifs annoncés avec une surprenante grandiloquence, alors qu'en matière de sécurité, la discrétion est toujours plus efficace que les rodomontades publiques. Et si malgré cette « déclaration de guerre » le groupe terroriste venait encore à faire durablement parler de lui ?....

3 .- Bref aperçu d'une politique anti-terroriste patriotique.

Que peut faire notre pays face à Boko Haram ? Il peut et doit, primo, sortir du confusionnisme idéologique, secundo, identifier en Boko Haram une menace systémique (et non circonstancielle ou ponctuelle), tertio agir d'abord au plan idéologique, et quarto, agir résolument au plan opérationnel. La nature délicate du sujet nous interdira d'entrer dans les détails techniques.

Sortir de la confusion idéologique

1°/ Pour combattre un phénomène, il faut d'abord clairement l'identifier. Si l'on commence par semer la confusion et le doute sur la nature même de Boko Haram, on brouille les pistes pour empêcher tout effort sérieux visant à le combattre.

C'est ainsi que, entre autres fantasmes qu'ils développent au sujet de la secte, les idéologues du régime et autres griots de la dictature, en sont venus à considérer Boko Haram comme une « mise en scène occidentale pour déstabiliser nos pays » Du délire.

L'Occident, le mot est lâché ! Et quand il l'est, on peut se permettre de se débarrasser de tout souci d'analyse des faits et même de toute logique scientifique.

Au nom du postulat selon lequel tous nos maux viendraient de l'Occident, on donne libre cours à la démagogie et même au mensonge, pour soutenir toutes les incohérences de la politique du régime (ou plutôt de l'absence de politique des régimes de Yaoundé et de Abuja) en matière de lutte contre le terrorisme. Or ce sont notamment les incohérences du pouvoir néocolonial camerounais qui ont permis à Boko Haram de prospérer de manière exponentielle. On explique le refus opposé à la demande nigériane du droit de poursuivre les bandes de Boko Haram en territoire Camerounais par la crainte que les Américains risqueraient d'en profiter pour s'infiltrer au Cameroun ! N'importe quoi !... Or, ce refus du droit de poursuite fait de notre territoire un sanctuaire pour la secte, dès lors que l'Etat camerounais n'a pas de politique de lutte contre le terrorisme et entretient avec la secte des contacts qui permettent des négociations pour les paiements des rançons et les libérations des otages...Un bon business...

Avec la fausse diabolisation de l'Occident, le confusionnisme idéologique est pratiquement le courant dominant dans la vie politique africaine. Nous parlons de fausse diabolisation parce que les principaux auteurs de celle-ci ont toujours les plus étroites relations économiques avec les Occidentaux : vers qui allait tout le pé-

trole libyen ? Où étaient logés les milliards de Khadafi ? A quelles menaces étaient exposés les intérêts français en Côte d'Ivoire sous Laurent Gbagbo ?

Il a suffi d'une timide et normale ouverture de notre pays à la République Populaire de Chine où Félix Moumié et Kingué Abel furent les premiers à stimuler l'intérêt pour le Cameroun et l'Afrique, pour que le régime néocolonial camerounais et ses griots cherchent à se poser en « nationalistes », pourfendeurs de l'Occident...

Tous ses frères et sœurs de la franc-maçonnerie africaine ont défilé à Abidjan pour manifester leur solidarité à Laurent Gbagbo, mais sous le masque du panafricanisme, pour en faire un héros de la révolution africaine... N'y a-t-il pas là une part d'escroquerie intellectuelle ? Mais on ne pourra pas camoufler définitivement à l'Histoire l'analyse critique des choix politiques du Président ivoirien.

Sous Khadafi, la diabolisation de l'Occident a permis momentanément aux islamistes militants d'Afrique de se poser en avant-garde de la révolution africaine. Peut-être sont-ils ouverts aujourd'hui à une vision ou approche plus objective de la lutte ?

Boko Haram est une menace systémique.

2°/ L'objectif stratégique de Boko Haram en tant que groupe intégriste islamique radical est d'œuvrer à l'islamisation totale de l'Afrique par la violence, de promouvoir par la violence, la pratique d'un Islam radical, appliquant la Sharia. La menace que représente ce groupe n'est donc pas ponctuelle, elle est stratégique : elle porte sur le long terme et vise le mode de vie des Africains. Elle est systémique. Et parce que la

nature de la secte est à la fois religieuse et militaire, il faut en situer la force et la combattre au double plan idéologique et opérationnel (militaire). On peut déplorer le fait que le régime croie qu'en faisant défiler de la brocante d'armement le 20 Mai, dont l'achat est l'occasion de détournements fabuleux comme le suggérait la dénonciation d'un journaliste aussitôt zigouillé, il calme réellement la profonde inquiétude des Camerounais.

Au niveau idéologique, il s'agit de maîtriser et critiquer les fondements religieux de la secte, pour les différencier, aux yeux des masses musulmanes des sains fondamentaux de l'Islam. Aussi longtemps que cet effort ne sera pas fait, celui d'une dissociation répulsive des théories malsaines de la secte par rapport aux vrais fondamentaux islamiques, tous les efforts qui seront déployés pour vaincre Boko Haram seront vains.

Au plan opérationnel, on pourra ensuite considérer Boko Haram comme un simple groupe militaire et mettre en œuvre une stratégie militaire efficace pour le neutraliser. Nous devons hélas constater que l'inconsistance dont les Etats-Majors camerounais et nigériens ont fait preuve jusqu'à présent face à Boko Haram est désolante.

L'action idéologique

3°/ L'action idéologique face à un groupe militaro-religieux est fondamentale. Mais avant d'en préciser les éléments, il nous faut souligner deux préalables de notre politique anti-terroriste patriotique, à savoir, d'abord qu'elle ne peut et ne doit compter que sur nos forces, et exclut donc tout recours aux occidentaux, ensuite, qu'elle ne peut être efficacement mise en œuvre qu'avec de nouvelles forces armées de défense camerounaises profondément réorganisées et mises en état d'opérationnalité optimale. En clair, ce n'est pas avec la bureaucratie militaire corrompue actuelle qu'on peut lutter contre le terrorisme : il faut sortir le pays de la gadoue.

a) La première mesure idéologique serait d'organiser dans notre pays une Conférence Africaine sur l'Intégrisme islamique et le Terrorisme, à laquelle prendraient part les principaux Imams du Cameroun et les grands Chefs religieux africains ayant des fidèles dans notre pays. Cette Conférence permettrait au peuple camerounais d'identifier les courants islamistes favorables au terrorisme et ceux qui n'acceptent pas de s'en faire les complices.

b) La deuxième mesure idéologique serait d'engager, après la conférence ci-dessus, une sensibilisation générale du peuple sur le terrorisme de Boko Haram, avec des dispositions spéciales en zones frontalières.

c) La troisième mesure idéologique (à la limite de l'opérationnel) serait de sécuriser les marchés et les lieux de grande fréquentation du public. Avec un dispositif spécial pour les grandes manifestations sportives culturelles.

L'action opérationnelle (militaire)

4°/ Primo : aucune rançon ne serait désormais payée à Boko Haram et toute relation avec le groupe serait interdite. Et il serait demandé aux expatriés de ne pas mettre pied dans les zones à risques. Et au cas où des étrangers devraient se trouver dans des zones à risques, ils seraient sous protection militaire renforcée.

Secundo : le droit de poursuite réciproque et la coopération militaire et sécuritaire seraient reconnus avec tous les pays limitrophes en matière de lutte contre le terrorisme.

Tertio : Des unités de réaction immédiate en état d'alerte permanent seraient stationnées aux zones frontalières sensibles.

Quarto : Des techniques opérationnelles de recherche du contact et du combat seraient appliquées pour neutraliser le groupe Boko Haram qui n'est en réalité qu'un recyclage d'anciens coupeurs de route et voleurs de bétail devenus enleveurs de civils et de jeunes filles sans défense, que nos soi-disant généraux bardés de médailles de pacotille craignent de combattre par pure lâcheté.

CONCLUSION

Camerounaises, Camerounais, Chers Compatriotes,

Boko Haram est une menace sérieuse. Vous le savez, notamment parce que cette secte ne cesse de nuire impunément à nos populations. Nous pouvons la combattre efficacement et la vaincre. Par contre, bien que disposant d'arsenaux pour lutter contre les populations, les régimes néocoloniaux avouent leur impuissance face à Boko Haram et appellent les Occidentaux à l'aide. Ce n'est pas la voie du salut.

Il faut nous débarrasser de ces régimes et assumer notre destin. ? Nous le pouvons et nous le devons.

VIVE LE CAMEROUN !

· Ngouo WOUNGLY-MASSAGA fut dans sa jeunesse, collaborateur du Président KWAME NKRUMAH pour les mouvements de Libération. Il a participé à la création des premières unités des forces armées populaires de libération de l'Angola (Commandant Gama), collaboré à la relance de la lutte au Congo Kinshasa des groupes Mitudidi, Mukuidi. Commandant en Chef Opérationnel du 11ème Front de l'Armée de Libération Nationale du Kamerun (ALNK), « Abé éne Ndjoum », le Commandant KISSAMBA est le tout dernier survivant des leaders de la lutte pour la Réunification et l'Indépendance du Kamerun. Membre du Comité Révolutionnaire de l'UPC présidé par Ernest OUANDIE, il a été le dernier Secrétaire Général de l'UPC unie

<http://www.camer.be/>

Djibouti

Djibouti: The truth about Africom; It does not create policy

Djibouti (HAN) May 29, 2014 – Expert Analysis, Your Power & Regional Influence Magazine. The Opinion note by Robert Moeller (FOREIGN POLICY), Admiral Moeller joined the Africa Center to pursue policy-directed research on African security issues. *Geeska Afrika Online Re-published article, a request of our readers.*



I feel fortunate that I can say that I was present at the inception of U.S. Africa Command (Africom), the U.S. military headquarters that oversees and coordinates U.S. military activities in Africa. Starting with just a handful of people sitting around a table nearly four years ago, we built an organization dedicated to the idea that U.S. security interests in Africa are best served by building long-term partnerships with African nations, regional organizations, and the African Union. At the same time, however, there has been a great deal of speculation and concern about Africom. We believe our work and accomplishments will continue to speak for themselves.

Still, many of these concerns raise important issues, and it is important to continue to address and clarify **Africom's position on these issues**. There is great work being done by and for Africa nations with Africom's assistance, and the success of the missions between these partner nations inevitably affects the security of the Unit-



ed States and the world as a whole. During our work in designing Africom and helping guide it through the early years of its existence, a number of lessons have helped inform our decisions and ensure we performed our job responsibly and

effectively.

The visit to Djibouti by US Defense Secretary Leon Panetta in late 2011 seems to be an omen foretelling the rebirth of the US African Command's AFRICOM base in Djibouti (the Horn of Africa).

The U.S. military is not trying to take over Africa. Here's what Africom actually doing: Djibouti on the Front-line

Lesson 1: Africom does not create policy.

One of the most serious criticisms leveled at Africom is that the organization represents a U.S. military takeover of the foreign-policy process. This is certainly not true, though I suspect some of our more outspoken critics have been so vocal about this that it is quite challenging for them to change course.

Let there be no mistake. Africom's job is to protect American lives and promote American interests. That is what nations and militaries do. But we also have found that our own national interest in a stable and prosperous Africa is shared strongly by our African partners. By working together, we can pursue our shared interests more effectively.

Africa's security challenges are well known. They include piracy and illegal trafficking, ethnic tensions, irregular militaries and violent extremist groups, undergoverned regions, and pilferage of resources. This last challenge includes oil theft, as well as widespread illegal fishing that robs the African people of an estimated \$1 billion a year because their coastal patrols lack the capacity to find and interdict suspicious vessels within their territorial waters and economic exclusion zones. As a military organization, most of our work consists of supporting security and stability programs in Africa and its island nations. Our focus is on building capacity, both with African national militaries and, increasingly, with Africa's regional organizations. One of our biggest success stories is the Africa Partnership Station, a Navy program that partners Africom with African and international sailors to put together a multinational staff aboard a U.S. or international vessel. This creates what some have called a "floating schoolhouse," where the staff share a host of ideas, ranging from basic search-and-rescue techniques to advanced concepts of maritime domain awareness.

Across the continent, we work closely within the framework of the overall U.S. government effort. As a military organization, we do not create policy. Rather, we support those policy decisions and coordinate our actions closely with the State Department, U.S. embassies in the region, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and other U.S. government agencies that have been trusted partners in Africa for decades.

Lesson 2: Africom must work hand in hand with the diplomatic corps.

It's no secret that Africom's early rollout was met by concern within some quarters of the foreign-policy community. We've worked hard to allay those concerns. Despite the warnings of skeptics, the past three years have not seen any dramatic increase in numbers of U.S. personnel or military funding directed at Africa. Depending on how you count the figures, the U.S. military represents between 5 and 10 percent of all U.S. government spending in Africa, and we do not anticipate significant future shifts. We believe diplomacy, development, and defense should work hand in hand — and in balance — to achieve long-term security. Defense Secretary Robert Gates has spoken eloquently about the need to increase funding for diplomacy and development and has warned of what he calls “excessive militarization.” The U.S. military has been working with African militaries for decades, but the work was not sustained and integrated as effectively as it probably could have been to complement and better support the activities of other agencies of the U.S. government. In many ways, Africom was devised as a test platform for helping the military as an institution to better understand its role in supporting diplomacy and development. State Department and USAID officials serve in senior billets on the staff, advising the military on the best way to support their agencies. And yes, they frequently send message traffic back to their home offices to help ensure the military understands its subordinate role in Africa.

All the U.S. military's work in Africa is done with the approval of U.S. ambassadors. We take that seriously. I have seen anecdotal stories of military personnel showing up in an African nation unaware that they ultimately report to the U.S. ambassador of the host nation in question. If you run across one of those stories, take a look at the date. There's a strong chance that incident took place before or not long after October 2008, when Africom formally became responsible for everything the U.S. military does in Africa. One of the reasons Africom was created was to help put an end to that kind of confusion.

Lesson 3: Keep our footprint in Africa limited.

We have also been accused of looking to establish military bases across the African continent. This was false when the rumors arose at the time of Africom's creation and remains false today. Africom's headquarters is in Stuttgart, Germany, and we are not looking for any other location. Misconceptions arose when, in the early months of 2007, some people in the U.S. Defense Department community considered the idea of positioning small teams regionally to better coordinate the command's day-to-day partnerships. However, there was never a formal search, and as soon as the command opened its doors in October 2007, we made it clear that we intended to stay in Stuttgart for the foreseeable future.

Our footprint in Africa remains purposefully limited. We have only one forward operating base, at Camp Lemonnier in Djibouti, established in 2002 under the U.S. Central Command. In 2008, Africom inherited the base, which is an ideal site for

supporting our military-to-military programs across eastern Africa and also serves as a key node in the Defense Department's global transportation infrastructure. We are not seeking any additional bases.

We also have a few dozen program officers and liaisons working across the continent, mainly in U.S. embassies. This hardly means, however, that we are building "mini-Africom headquarters" in U.S. embassies, as some have suggested. What we've done is send one or two staff officers to join embassy teams so that our diplomats do not have to spend their time coordinating military programs. It is common practice worldwide for a small number of military personnel to play a supporting role in a larger diplomatic mission. Our ambassadors continue to be the president's personal representatives within each nation.

Lesson 4: Africom is most effective when it listens to the concerns of its African partners.

We have spent the last three years meeting with African leaders, African media, and African people. Mostly, we have been listening. And what we have heard is that many people across Africa have an interest in long-term stability. The consistent message we hear from the leadership and the people of Africa is that they want to provide for their own security. Despite sometimes difficult histories, many African nations today are working to develop professional security forces that follow the rule of law and protect all their peoples. African nations today make up more than 40 percent of all international peacekeepers deployed throughout Africa with the United Nations and African Union. Their goal is for Africans to make up 100 percent of the peacekeeping forces within Africa. By building a regionally focused African Standby Force, the African Union seeks to play an ever-greater role in bringing peace and security to turbulent regions on the continent. Rather than deploying large numbers of U.S. military forces, we accomplish our goals by conducting hundreds of what we refer to as "capacity-building" events each year. Africom sends small teams of specialists to dozens of countries to offer our perspective on military topics such as leadership, the importance of civilian control of the military, the importance of an inspector general program, the finer points of air-traffic control and port security, aircraft maintenance, military law, and squad tactics for a unit preparing for peacekeeping deployment or patrols against violent extremist groups — the list goes on. Even though we are showing and explaining how we do business, we are not imposing U.S. methods upon our partners. After all, our practices might not be right for them — that is a question they must answer, based on the information they receive not only from us, but from their many international partners.

We also take part in military exercises that promote cross-border cooperation and coordination. We participated in Exercise Flintlock this May, which was designed to help nations in West and North Africa cooperate more effectively on cross-border

threats from illegal traffickers and violent extremist groups. Another exercise, Africa Endeavor, brought together 25 African nations in Gabon to coordinate their communications technology. This is a surprisingly challenging task, due to the fact that this diverse array of nations uses a hodgepodge of computers and radios made in different countries throughout the world. Not only do these exercises solve practical problems — they provide former adversaries or strangers with opportunities to develop a shared history of working together to solve problems. This year's Africa Endeavor exercise is scheduled to take place in Ghana, and we are expecting 30 nations to be involved.

Lesson 5: Don't expect instant results.

Our partners in Africa warn us that we must adopt an "African time" perspective. We should not expect quick results or approach the continent with a "make it happen now" mindset. At the same time, we do see slow, steady progress. Coups are decreasingly tolerated as a means of acceptable regime change, and in some cases, such as Mauritania, we have seen militaries take stock of the international community and make steady progress in restoring civil authority. Much of our work is aimed at reinforcing African success stories so that we can work together as capable partners to address regional and global concerns. Tensions in Sudan as next year's referendum on southern independence approaches can be reduced if regional neighbors build cooperative relationships with all parties in Sudan. Somalia remains a country in daily conflict, with a people so fiercely proud of their independence that any lasting security solution must be African-led. As I write this, the Ugandan People's Defense Force is operating deep inside neighboring nations, with an unprecedented level of intergovernmental cooperation, to end the decades-long reign of terror by the Lord's Resistance Army, an extremist group that has killed tens of thousands and displaced millions.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the U.S. military is one small player in a much larger international effort to help that nation reform its security sector. We have provided some funding to renovate medical facilities that provide support to survivors of sexual and gender-based violence, and we are currently conducting a six-month pilot project to train a model military unit in the Congolese Army. Although this program includes basic military skills training, it also emphasizes respect for human rights, the rule of law, and an understanding of the military's role in a civil society.

As we conduct our daily and weekly activities across Africa we believe we share a long-term vision with our African partners: Sustained security programs can, over time, help support the conditions for economic development, social development, and improvements in health — so that people will continue to see progress in their lives and growing prosperity in their communities.

That is how we support U.S. foreign policy in Africa, while also promoting the long-

term aspirations of the African people. It has indeed been a personal honor and a privilege to be a part of the creation of Africom.

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

Egypt

Mahmoud Hussein: "Les Egyptiens ont rejeté les Frères musulmans"

28/05/2014

Le pseudonyme Mahmoud Hussein réunit deux politologues et écrivains égyptiens, Bahgat El Nadi et Adel Rifaat. Pour L'Express, ils reviennent sur les événements survenus en Egypte depuis 2011, sur la prise de pouvoir du maréchal Al-Sissi, et nous offrent une analyse très éclairante.



Bahgat El Nadi et Adel Rifaat. Selon les deux politologues d'origine égyptienne, le rejet des Frères musulmans par le peuple, le 30 juin 2011, est capital pour comprendre la suite des événements.

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Sous le pseudonyme Mahmoud Hussein, leurs destinées sont indissociablement liées. L'un, Bahgat El Nadi, est né musulman; l'autre, Adel Rifaat, s'est converti à l'islam ; tous deux ont à coeur d'effectuer une lecture résolument nouvelle du Coran, aussi respectueuse de la foi que de la liberté de penser. Militants révolutionnaires marxistes sous Nasser, ils ont été incarcérés et détenus dans divers camps de concentration sous le régime du raïs. Arrivés en France, ils ont entrepris de sérieuses études et se sont spécialisés dans la connaissance de la spiritualité musulmane.

*Leur dernier livre, **Ce que le Coran ne dit pas** (Grasset, 2014), est une vraie réussite par son caractère succinct, limpide et courageux : on y découvre que la nature indiscutable du texte sacré est un dogme tardif, que certains versets doivent être resitués dans leur contexte historique et, partant, relativisés.*

Que signifie pour l'[Egypte le retour au pouvoir d'un militaire](#)?

Il faut commencer par s'interroger sur la configuration politique qui a rendu cet événement possible. Une grille de lecture simpliste, mais assez répandue, vou-

drait réduire la scène politique égyptienne à [un bras de fer entre l'armée et les Frères musulmans](#). Cette grille donne une image déformée de la réalité. Elle renvoie à l'Egypte de grand-papa. L'Egypte d'aujourd'hui est encore une société bouleversée par le véritable séisme qu'a été [la révolution de janvier 2011](#). A partir de là, la place publique égyptienne est devenue un protagoniste à part entière de la vie nationale...

La place publique, ce n'est tout de même pas la première fois qu'elle se fait entendre...

Vous avez raison, elle n'a pas cessé de se manifester dans les grands moments de l'histoire moderne de l'Egypte. Mais, jusque-là, c'était pour exprimer des griefs ou des espoirs, sans jamais remettre en question la légitimité du pouvoir autocratique. Le chef de l'Etat était le "zaïm", inspirant, tout à la fois, le respect traditionnel dû au père de famille et une peur informulée, quasi mystique, en tant que figure incarnée de l'identité nationale. Il commandait par là une allégeance qui le rendait intouchable. Ainsi le pouvoir de l'autocrate était-il légitimé par ceux-là mêmes qui le subissaient.

A partir de janvier 2011, c'est fini, le principe même de l'autocratie est disqualifié. Aux yeux des millions d'Egyptiens qui, rassemblés sur les places publiques, ont cessé d'avoir peur, la souveraineté nationale n'émane pas de la personne du chef, mais du peuple, dont le chef ne doit plus être que le mandataire. C'est une révolution copernicienne. Le chef n'est plus seulement critiquable, mais révocable. C'est ainsi que, en l'espace de trente mois, deux chefs d'Etat ont été successivement renversés, [Moubarak](#) puis Morsi...

Reste que la place publique ne peut rien résoudre par elle-même.

C'est vrai. Si la place publique peut, en cristallisant une volonté populaire massive, provoquer la chute de l'autocrate, elle ne peut pas, par elle-même, offrir au pays une alternative de pouvoir. Il s'agit bien d'une révolution, mais c'est une révolution culturelle, un soulèvement des esprits, un renversement du rapport psychologique entre gouvernés et gouvernants, mais qui ne débouche pas sur un changement de régime. Aucune force émanant de cette place et organiquement liée à elle n'a eu le temps de développer une pensée, une expérience, une force organisationnelle qui lui permette de briguer la direction du pays.

Un génial mot d'ordre anonyme, inscrit sur un mur du Caire en 2011, résume ce paradoxe : "Le régime n'a pas changé, mais le peuple a changé." Au bout du compte, la place Tahrir peut créer un vide au sommet, elle n'a pas les moyens de le remplir. Elle doit laisser ce soin à d'autres.

On en revient donc au bras de fer entre l'armée et les Frères musulmans.

Oui, mais les deux camps ont désormais une commune obsession : exorciser Tahrir. En février 2011, au moment où Moubarak jette l'éponge, le Conseil suprême des forces armées (CSFA) s'empare de tous les pouvoirs. Il engage alors, avec le Bureau

de guidance des Frères musulmans (BGM), une opération conjointe visant à casser l'élan de la place publique, à neutraliser sa charge explosive. Il s'agit, selon les termes utilisés par le BGM, de "recycler la légitimité révolutionnaire en légalité électorale".

C'est dans le cadre de ce partenariat conflictuel, où chacune des deux instances allait tenter de tirer la couverture à soi, que les Frères musulmans et leurs alliés salafistes allaient obtenir une majorité dans les urnes. Les Frères musulmans accédaient ainsi au pouvoir pour la première fois de leur histoire. Qu'en ont-ils fait ? Un formidable gâchis, non seulement par incompetence et impréparation, mais surtout par le fait qu'ils ont voulu monopoliser ce pouvoir, interdire toute possibilité d'alternance et remodeler la société égyptienne conformément à l'image qu'ils se faisaient de l'islam, rétablir la prééminence de l'oumma musulmane sur la nation égyptienne, s'immiscer dans la vie privée des croyants, terroriser et marginaliser les chrétiens, etc.



L'actuelle popularité d'Al-Sissi ne signe pas la fin de l'exigence citoyenne en Egypte.

Toutes les composantes de la société égyptienne, en dehors de la mouvance des Frères musulmans et de leurs alliés, se sentent alors agressées. C'est ce qui explique qu'en six mois un immense mouvement de rejet se dessine. Un petit groupe de jeunes, porteur de la flamme de Tahrir, fait alors circuler une pétition exigeant le départ de Morsi et la tenue de nouvelles élections. La flamme devient gigantesque incendie.

Dix, puis vingt millions de personnes, de toutes conditions, signent et font signer la pétition autour d'elles. Le 30 juin, c'est un raz-de-marée populaire qui signifie son congé à Morsi. On se condamne à ne rien comprendre à la suite des événements, y compris au "sacre annoncé" d'Al-Sissi, si on ne part pas de cette réalité, de ce rejet massif et profond des Frères musulmans par le peuple égyptien.

Mais qui a renversé Morsi? Ce n'est pas le peuple, c'est l'armée...

Le peuple l'a voulu, l'armée l'a exécuté. Elle avait évidemment tout intérêt à mettre fin à son alliance avec les Frères musulmans. Elle a trouvé, le 30 juin, l'occasion historique de le faire en "choisissant le camp du peuple". Et le maréchal Al-Sissi y a vu la chance de récupérer, à son profit, la vague populaire née du 30 juin. Il a demandé aux dizaines de millions de manifestants de redescendre dans la rue, cette fois pour lui donner personnellement "mandat de combattre le terrorisme".

Que vient faire le terrorisme là-dedans?

C'est là qu'intervient la lourde responsabilité historique de la direction des Frères musulmans. Lorsque l'armée fait destituer et arrêter Morsi, cette direction choisit la posture du martyr, se lance dans l'action violente et les attentats terroristes, offrant ainsi au maréchal Al-Sissi l'argument nécessaire pour récupérer l'élan populaire et le canaliser dans le sens de la "lutte antiterroriste".

La direction des Frères musulmans avait-elle un autre choix possible?

Oui, durant six semaines, du 30 juin au 14 août, il y a eu une période d'intenses négociations - dans lesquelles se sont d'ailleurs directement impliquées l'Amérique et l'Europe - pour tenter d'établir de nouvelles règles du jeu, d'instaurer un régime pluraliste, auquel les Frères musulmans étaient invités à participer, mais sous certaines conditions. Ils ont préféré défier frontalement les nouvelles autorités, se barricader dans le sit-in de la place Rabia al-Adawiyya, devenu un véritable camp retranché, d'où partaient quotidiennement des discours enflammés vouant leurs ennemis aux flammes de l'enfer...

Jour après jour, cette option jusqu'aboutiste n'a cessé d'affaiblir ceux qui, dans le nouveau régime, cherchaient un compromis avec les Frères musulmans et elle n'a cessé de renforcer la main de ceux qui cherchaient, au contraire, l'épreuve de force. Ces derniers entendaient non seulement donner le coup de grâce aux Frères musulmans, mais aussi, par la même occasion, rétablir toutes les prérogatives de l'Etat policier, affaibli depuis la révolution de janvier 2011 et qui attendait de prendre sa revanche.

Le 14 août, l'assaut est donné contre le camp de Rabia al-Adawiyya dans les pires conditions. L'intervention policière est sanglante. Le cycle terreur-répression est lancé, qui ne va plus cesser de s'élargir. Bientôt, ce ne sont plus seulement les Frères musulmans qui sont pourchassés, mais aussi de nombreux jeunes révolutionnaires qui, eux, ne font que manifester pacifiquement.

Faut-il dès lors redouter un pouvoir personnel, avec toutes ses dérives?

Le but est de tenter de rétablir la figure du père de la nation, du "zaïm" caractéristique de la période nassérienne. But dans lequel se reconnaissent tous ceux qui voudraient en finir avec Tahrir. Les forces d'ordre et celles de la tradition, les entrepreneurs, les tenants de l'ancien régime, etc. Mais aussi une masse de petites gens, désorientées ou exaspérées par la violence aveugle des attentats perpétrés par les Frères musulmans et leurs satellites, fatigués du désordre, de l'insécurité, de la dureté des temps, et qui se mettent à espérer qu'un homme providentiel pourra résoudre pour eux tous ces problèmes. Cela fait une majorité du peuple pour élire Al-Sissi.

Est-ce la fin de la place Tahrir?

Certainement pas. C'est un reflux provisoire de l'élan révolutionnaire, qui se comprend à la lumière du contexte que nous venons de décrire, mais qui ne durera pas. Parce que l'exigence citoyenne, ressentie par des millions de gens, est irréversible. Aujourd'hui, la lassitude aidant, ces millions croient pouvoir faire confiance à un homme providentiel, mais ils attendent de lui des miracles, qu'il ne pourra pas réaliser. Ils lui demanderont des comptes. Et la place publique reprendra tous ses droits. Elle ne peut plus être éradiquée.

Pourquoi ? Parce qu'elle constitue un contre-pouvoir installé dans les esprits, inscrit dans la conscience intime d'une nouvelle génération d'acteurs politiques. Une génération de jeunes, désinhibés et exigeants, rompus à l'usage des réseaux sociaux et branchés sur une information mondialisée. Ils sont libérés des servitudes mentales propres à une société traditionnelle et colonisée. Ils ne sont plus entravés par les mythes de la prédestination et de la fatalité, par le respect instinctif des hiérarchies.

Ils ne se méfient plus de ce qui tend à l'originalité, à la rupture. Ils n'ont plus peur de se distinguer, de s'affirmer individuellement. Chacun d'eux parle à la première personne, pense par lui-même, agit en son nom propre. Et ils savent désormais, par expérience, qu'ensemble ils constituent une force décisive.

L'Egypte a-t-elle encore le poids qu'elle avait naguère et son modèle peut-il s'étendre au-delà de ses frontières?

Elle n'a pas le poids de naguère, mais elle peut le retrouver. Du fait de son histoire, elle occupe une place centrale, dotée d'une force potentielle de rayonnement unique dans le monde arabo-musulman. Quand elle assume une position d'avant-garde, de nombreux peuples arabes sont portés à s'en inspirer. Ce fut le cas sous Muhammad Ali, au début du XIXe siècle, comme sous Nasser au milieu du XXe.

Elle peut retrouver ce statut, à condition de choisir d'être à nouveau à l'avant-garde. De constituer un exemple pour le XXIe. L'exemple d'un Etat qui ne sera ni celui de Moubarak ni celui de Morsi, ni militaro-policier ni fascisto-intégriste. Un

Etat de droit, démocratique et pluraliste, où le politique soit séparé du religieux et la sphère publique séparée de la chose privée. La place Tahrir en a rêvé en 2011. Ce qui a aussitôt fait d'elle une référence symbolique, à l'échelle non seulement arabe, mais mondiale.

En savoir plus sur <http://www.lexpress.fr/>

Agnad Misr officially labelled a terrorist group

Islamist militant group Agnad Misr (Soldiers of Egypt) has been officially designated a terrorist group by a court in Cairo

22 May 2014

The Court for Urgent Matters has officially labelled Agnad Misr (Soldiers of Egypt) a terrorist organization.

Lawyer Ahmed Soliman, who filed the lawsuit that led to the decision, said the group had claimed responsibility for a number of terrorist attacks in Egypt.

They include a bombing near Cairo University, shootings of police officers and two bombings against police targets in Giza.

According to a government tally, almost 500 people, mostly policemen and soldiers, have been killed in suicide attacks, bombings, and shootings since the ouster of Islamist president Mohamed Morsi in July last year.

Hundreds of Islamists have been killed and thousands detained in a clampdown.

Last month, the same court officially labelled another militant group, Ansar Beit Al-Maqdis, a terrorist organisation.

The group first emerged during the January 2011 uprising which toppled Hosni Mubarak.

These groups say their attacks are revenge for the state's crackdown on Islamists.

<http://english.ahram.org.eg/>

The Muslim Brotherhood's "Peaceful Conquest"

May 28, 2014 at 5:00 am

terrorism began with the birth of the Muslim Brotherhood..." — Farag Foda, Egyptian intellectual murdered by Islamists in 1992, in *Terrorism [al-Irhab]*

Islamist movements have different tactics... but their goal is always the same: Get in and impose sharia law to establish an Islamic state.

The problem is not so much the Muslim Brotherhood as the schizophrenia of governments that one day condemn them and the next day work with them.

"What I think is important about the Muslim Brotherhood," British Prime Minister [David Cameron said](#) on April 1, while announcing a long-overdue investigation of the activities of Muslim Brotherhood in the UK and its involvement in February's terror attack at the Egyptian resort of Taba, "is that we understand what this organisation is, what it stands for, what its beliefs are in terms of the path of extremism and violent extremism, what its connections are with other groups, what its presence is here in the United Kingdom. Our policies should be informed by a complete picture of that knowledge. It is an important piece of work because we will only get our policy right if we fully understand the true nature of the organisation that we are dealing with."



"The objective, then, is to strike terror into the hearts of God's enemies, who are also the enemies of the advocates of Islam..." — Sayyid Qutb, chief ideologue of the Muslim Brotherhood in the 1950s and 1960s.

The Egyptian Brotherhood's [reaction](#), published on its English website, was immediate:

The Muslim Brotherhood has always had a perfectly reputable and verifiable history record and a correct understanding of religion ever since it was founded, more than 86 years ago. The group is ready and willing to cooperate with all efforts to understand its beliefs, policies and positions. It also denounces all media campaigns that try to demonize the group and link it to violent incidents which it condemned in no ambiguous terms at the time, the most recent of which was the attack on a tourist bus in Taba (in Egypt's Sinai peninsula) in February 2014.[...]

The Brotherhood's press release also pointed out the long-standing relationship between the Muslim Brotherhood and the UK:

First: The Brotherhood was surprised at the latest remarks, since all successive British governments had always been the most expertly informed about the group's positions and peaceful approach. The group has not and will not change its principles or approach no matter how big or small it becomes, notwithstanding all the injustice it suffers, the cold-blooded murders and arbitrary arrests of its members.

Second: The group's principles and ideology, which it has been teaching its members for more than eighty years in all parts of the world, from East to West, have been announced, published and thoroughly researched and studied by many Muslim and non-Muslim scholars, researchers and research centers all over the world – all of which affirmed, time and time again, that the group's approach is perfectly peaceful and that all its methods are non-violent.

Third: The behavior and actions of all those who subscribe to the group's principles and teachings, all those who belong to the Brotherhood, are evidently exemplary in compliance with the laws and regulations of the countries where they reside, and even in serving the countries where they are raised [...]

The Muslim Brotherhood has indeed had a long history of relations with Britain. In 2010, Mark Curtis published [Secret Affairs: Britain's Collusion with Radical Islam](#), a well documented essay that could save David Cameron a lot of research work. Curtis [writes](#),

By 1942 Britain had definitely begun to finance the Brotherhood. On 18 May British embassy officials held a meeting with Egyptian Prime Minister Amin Osman Pacha, in which relations with the Muslim Brotherhood were discussed and a number of points were agreed. One was that 'subsidies from the Wafd [Party] to the Ikhwani el Muslimin [Muslim Brotherhood] would be discreetly paid by the [Egyptian] government and they would require some financial assistance in this matter from the [British] Embassy.

...

A British embassy report from Cairo in late 1951 stated that the Brotherhood 'possess[es] a terrorist organisation of long-standing which has never been broken

by police action', despite the recent arrests. However, the report otherwise downplayed the Brothers' intentions towards the British, stating that they were 'planning to send terrorists into the Canal Zone' but 'they do not intend to put their organisation as such into action against His Majesty's forces'. Another report noted that although the Brotherhood had been responsible for some attacks against the British, this was probably due to 'indiscipline', and it 'appears to conflict with the policy of the leaders'. (emphasis added)

Curtis's analysis therefore emphasizes the cooperation and, more importantly, the relativistic approach of the British government to movement founded by Hasan al-Banna.

The Muslim Brotherhood's astonishment at the British Prime Minister's decision is therefore justified. The Prime Minister, MI5 and MI6 should presumably know the history and aims of the Muslim Brotherhood in Britain. Islamist movements have different tactics and ways to act, but their goal is always the same and has always been clear: Get in and impose sharia law to establish an Islamic state.

In 2007 Yusuf al-Qaradawi -- the Brotherhood's most important and well known theologian, president of the Dublin-based [European Council for Fatwa and Research](#), invited several times to London when Ken Livingstone was its Mayor -- openly [declared](#): "The conquest of Rome, the conquest of Italy and Europe means that Islam will return to Europe once again. Must this conquest necessarily be through war? No, it is not necessary. There is such a thing as a peaceful conquest. The peaceful conquest has foundations in this religion. So I imagine that Islam will conquer Europe without using violence. It will do so through predication and ideology."

In 2010, Iraqi journalist Walid al-Qubaysi interviewed, in a [documentary film](#) aired by Norwegian television, the former Supreme Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, Mahdi Akef, who bluntly stated: "The dream of the Muslim Brotherhood is to establish a unified Islamic state. Establish it where? I do not know. We Muslims are now everywhere, in many countries and different groups. The project of the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe is to introduce this religion in Europe. This is our religion. With all its beauty, grandeur, purity and progress. Nothing more."

Al-Qubaysi then asked Refaat al-Said, the leader of the Egyptian Socialist Party al-Tagammu' Refaat, to comment on Akef's statements. Al-Said explained: "Mahdi Akef and I were friends. What happened? We were together in Wahat prison. He spent there seventeen years, while I spent fourteen years. When he later became the Supreme Guide he started coming to me trying to open a channel of communication. Once I whispered him: "You will never rule this country, do not think about it." He replied: "You are naive. I do not want to be the leader [of the country], but when all the women will wear the veil and all men will wear the beard, they will pray me to be their leader."

That passage represents the "moderate" side of the Muslim Brotherhood; that is,

moderate and gradual in getting results.

To go back to the "true nature" of the Muslim Brotherhood, the first word of a Koranic verse appears in the [official logo](#) of the Brotherhood: "And prepare against them whatever you are able of power and of steeds of war by which you may terrify the enemy of Allah and your enemy and others besides them whom you do not know [but] whom Allah knows. And whatever you spend in the cause of Allah will be fully repaid to you, and you will not be wronged" (*Surat al-Anfal*, 60). Incidentally, the term "terrify" (*turhibuna*) has the same root as the Arabic word *dirhab*, that is "terrorism." The meaning of the verse for the Muslim Brotherhood is explained in the Koranic commentary [In the Shade of the Koran](#) by Sayyid Qutb, the chief ideologue of the Muslim Brotherhood:

The objective, then, is to strike terror into the hearts of God's enemies, who are also the enemies of the advocates of Islam throughout the world, be they open with their hostility and known to the Muslim community, or others who may be discreet with their real feelings, not openly stating their hostile attitude to Islam. God is certainly aware of their true feelings and sympathies. Such people are intimidated by the might of Islam even though they may not suffer its consequences directly. The Muslims are required to gather all the strength they can have so that they remain feared by other people. This is essential so that God's word remains supreme and all submission is to God alone. [...] Acquiring such forces and having them ready can only be done if the resources are there. Since the Islamic system lays much stress on collective responsibility and mutual support, the duty of jihād goes hand in hand with the duty of spending money for God's cause: 'Whatever you may spend in God's cause shall be repaid to you in full, and you shall not be wronged.' (Verse 60) Both jihād and spending money for God's cause are thus purged of all worldly and personal aims and purposes as well as all national and community feelings and aspirations. They must always be pure, undertaken 'for God's cause,' to establish His authority and to earn His pleasure.

The link of this Koranic verse with jihad, which is the main argument of the Qur'an's *Surat al-Anfal*, should remove any doubt, if there was any, about the meaning of the expression "terrify."

The Egyptian intellectual Farag Foda, murdered by Islamists in 1992, [wrote](#) in his book *Terrorism [al-Irhab]*: "Political and religious terrorism began with the birth of the Muslim Brotherhood, when the oath of allegiance to [the organization] was recited on the Koran and on the 'gun' as pointed out by the Supreme Guide Abu Nasr in his memoirs published in the newspaper al-Ahrar where he told that, when Abu Nasr drew his pistol saying that the gun was the solution, Hasan al-Banna brightened and cheered immensely. " (p. 39)

This is, like it or not, the background and the "true nature" of the Muslim Brotherhood. If there are shades, and there are, they are mere adaptations, adjustments based on pragmatism, but its final aim is the one expressed above by the former Supreme Guide Mahdi Akef.

On April 4 Ibrahim Munir, who has been living for twenty years in London and is considered the head of the movement in Europe, was interviewed by the Egyptian daily, [Al-Masry al-Yom](#). "The British government," he said, "knows that I am a member of the Office of the Guidance of the Muslim Brotherhood, and I'm not ashamed of being described as such. The British government knows who comes and visits us, who shares our way of thinking, because, either directly or indirectly, it follows and controls us, contacting me and the movement, and in many other ways."

Munir was also very clear in his description of the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe: "The Islamic method in Europe is different, it is a completely different and independent structure which is called the [Federation of Islamic Organisations in Europe](#) (FIOE). It is registered at the European Union, it has an office in Brussels and is known at the European level. On this basis, they cooperate. We must obey the laws of our countries and they must obey the laws of their countries. In all European countries, there are Islamic organizations that convey the message of the Muslim Brotherhood and others that do not. All of these organizations are working for the benefit of their country and according to the laws of that country."

As for the London office, Munir insists that it is "a research association registered with the British government."

The message is clear: the Muslim Brotherhood is an established reality recognized by European institutions.

The problem is not so much the Muslim Brotherhood as the schizophrenia of governments that one day condemn them and the next day work with them. Just as Saudi Arabia, for example, considers the Brotherhood an internal enemy, but a possible ally in Syria, so, similarly, David Cameron accepts sharia law in [British civil courts](#) and then starts an investigation into the Muslim Brotherhood. The United States and Great Britain place Hamas, whose charter in Article 2 states clear affiliation with the Brotherhood, on the list of terrorist organizations, but not its parent organization, the Muslim Brotherhood.

The global Muslim Brotherhood is once again taking advantage of the relativism of West to impose, in a smart and silent way, its own absolutism, as predicted by Yusuf al-Qaradawi.

The Brotherhood is ready to react in a "democratic" way, that is, in legal terms, to the possibility of being defined as a "terrorist organization" by the British government. They are "lawyering up." Approximately \$31 million has already been paid to a team of local lawyers, according to the journalist Adel Darwish in [Al-Sharq al-Awsat](#) on April 5.

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

Guinea Bissau

Elections in Guinea-Bissau: will history repeat itself?

16 May 2014



On 13 April, more than 80% of voters in Guinea-Bissau went to the polls, hoping to move on from the political instability and poverty that have come to characterise their country.

The final results were announced by the National Electoral Commission on 23 April, confirming the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) as the leading political force, with 57 members out of 102 in the National People's Assembly.

The Social Renewal Party (SRP) has 41 representatives, the Democratic Convergence Party two and the New Democratic Party and the Union for Democratic Change each have one representative.

There will be a presidential run-off vote on Sunday, 18 May. José Mário Vaz of the PAIGC, who received 41% of the votes in the first round, will compete with Nuno Gomes Nabiam, who won 25% of votes. Nabiam is an independent candidate supported by the late former president Kumba Yalá and the Army Chief of Staff, General António Injai.

These results do not bode well for real political change in the country. The seeds of instability that were present two years ago are still there, and one wonders if these elections could truly meet the expectations of the citizens who want peace, security and stability.

The battle for power and the management of the resources between civilian and military authorities remains a huge concern. This has been an ongoing cause of instability and fragility during the transition period, despite the emergence of new political figures. After the military coup in April 2012, the army remained on the political scene and took advantage of weaknesses in transitional institutions to consolidate its position of power.

Beyond restoring constitutional order, the main challenge of these elections is thus for new leadership to end the political tensions between civilian and military authorities, and to curb the military's interference in politics. However, the support for Nabiam by the Army Chief of Staff is reminiscent of the April 2012 coup.

Nabiam has won the favour of many supporters of the SRP, at the expense of the party's own candidate, Abel Lamedí Incada, who had received only 7,03% of the votes. On 18 May, Nabiam will face Vaz, who seems to have benefited from the ongoing frustration of civil servants who have been striking due to arrears in wages. Vaz is nicknamed 'Homi di 25' (meaning 'the man of the 25th' in Creole), since during his tenure as minister of finance, salaries were always paid by the 25th of the month. Indeed, he has benefited greatly from the image of a good manager that he acquired during his time in the finance department, and as the mayor of the capital, Bissau.

These two figures emerged during the post-coup transition, which brought about a renewal of the political class. This, along with the removal of the main protagonists of the 2012 elections, gave many citizens hope that change was imminent. Since its independence, presidents in Guinea-Bissau have always hailed from the two largest parties, the PAIGC and SRP, and always in collusion with the army.

However, even if new characters have emerged, the election results seem to indicate that this pattern will continue. Indeed, the 18 May run-off elections will see the squaring off of a candidate from the PAIGC and 'the candidate of the army:' the two traditional players. Whatever the outcome of the run-off, the two main actors, plus the Nabiam-supporting SRP, will remain at the centre stage of the political system.

If Vaz wins, the PAIGC – which already has a majority in the National People’s Assembly – will have full control of the two main bodies. In this scenario, the PAIGC would have to face the army, whose prominent members may fear lawsuits and reforms that could undermine its interests. The army could therefore meddle in political affairs and disrupt government action.

If Nabiam were to win, he would have to work with the PAIGC, which has a majority of representatives in the National People’s Assembly. The semi-presidential system in Guinea-Bissau – which involves the sharing of executive power between the prime minister, appointed by the parliamentary majority, and the president – has led to rivalries even when the two hailed from the same party. This could continue to be a problem, especially if the two actors are from opposing political parties.

The ‘vicious trio’ of the army, prime minister and president is likely to remain a source of instability if reforms are not initiated and carried out effectively. The resurgence of a political crisis and the possibility of a new coup, as mentioned in the [most recent edition of the Institute for Security Studies’ ECOWAS Peace and Security Report](#), cannot be completely ruled out.

True change in Guinea-Bissau can only be driven by the reconciliation of political and military actors, and the establishment of a joint framework for permanent dialogue to implement much-needed political, economic and security reforms.

The country’s newly elected authorities will therefore have to initiate broad dialogue between all the national stakeholders to define priorities. Additionally, the military should be involved in the reform of the defence and security sector, from conception through to implementation. Though rightly perceived to be part of the problem, the army should also be considered part of the solution.

Finally, a peaceful political climate and a real desire for change from the new authorities would be needed before the support of the international community can be effective.

Although external actors provided logistical, financial and technical support to facilitate a credible and peaceful electoral process, the situation could be worsened if their favoured candidate doesn’t win the runoff. Regardless of the outcome of the 18 May elections, international actors who supported the electoral process must continue in this direction to ensure the implementation of the reforms that Guinea-Bissau so badly needs.

Paulin Maurice Toupane, Junior Researcher, Conflict Prevention and Risk Analysis Division, ISS Dakar

Élections générales en Guinée-Bissau: Changement dans la continuité?

Plus de 80% d'électeurs bissau-guinéens se sont rendus aux urnes le 13 avril 2014, dans l'espoir de tourner la page de l'instabilité politique et de la pauvreté qui caractérisent ce pays. Les résultats définitifs proclamés par la Commission nationale électorale, le 23 avril 2014, ont confirmé le Parti Africain pour l'indépendance de la Guinée et du Cap-Vert (PAIGC) comme première force politique du pays à l'Assemblée nationale populaire (ANP) avec 57 députés sur 102, devant le Parti de la Renovation Social (PRS) 41, le Parti de la convergence démocratique deux, tandis que le Parti de la nouvelle démocratie et l'Union pour le changement chacun un député.

Ceux des présidentielles par contre, renvoient à un second tour devant opposer le 18 mai 2014, José Mário Vaz candidat du PAIGC crédité de 41% et Nuno Gomes Nabiam de 25%. Il faut rappeler que ce dernier est un candidat indépendant soutenu par feu l'ancien président Kumba Yalá et le chef d'état-major de l'armée, le Général António Injai. A l'analyse, ces résultats ne présagent pas un réel changement dans le paysage politique du pays et remettent à l'ordre du jour les mêmes risques d'une instabilité politique. A l'approche du second tour, on se demande si ces dernières élections combleront véritablement les attentes des citoyens qui aspirent à un peu plus de paix, de sécurité et de stabilité.

En effet, l'une des préoccupations majeures dans ce pays demeure les crises politiques qui résultent des luttes entre les sphères civile et militaire pour le contrôle du pouvoir et des ressources. Cette situation a continué même durant la transition qui a pourtant provoqué l'émergence de nouveaux acteurs sur la scène politique. Auteur du coup de force d'avril 2012, l'armée est restée présente sur la scène politique et aurait ainsi profité de la faiblesse des institutions de transition pour consolider sa place au cœur du système de gouvernance.

L'enjeu de ces élections demeure donc, au delà du retour à l'ordre constitutionnel, de mettre fin aux tensions politiques et aux immixtions récurrentes de l'armée dans la vie politique. Mais le soutien apporté par le chef d'état-major des armées, António Injai à Nuno Gomes Nabiam, a ravivé les souvenirs du coup de force militaire d'avril 2012. Arrivé deuxième à l'issue du premier tour des présidentielles, ce dernier a engrangé une bonne partie de l'électorat du PRS majoritairement Balante, au détriment du candidat de ce parti, Abel Lamedí Incada crédité de 7.03% des voix. Il fera face au second tour, au candidat du PAIGC José Mário Vaz qui, en plus de la popularité de son parti, semble avoir bénéficié de la détérioration de la situation socio-économique et des grèves récurrentes des fonctionnaires dues à des arriérés de paiement de salaires (entre 3 et 5 mois selon les secteurs). Surnommé "Homi di 25" (l'homme du 25 du mois en créole), car ayant eu l'habitude de payer les salaires le 25 du mois lorsqu'il était ministre des finances, José Mário Vaz a en effet largement bénéficié de l'image d'un bon gestionnaire, acquise lors de son passage à ce ministère et à la mairie de Bissau.

Ces deux nouvelles personnalités ont émergé à la faveur de la transition installée suite au coup de force de 2012 et qui a provoqué un renouvellement de la classe politique. Ce qui poussait bon nombre d'électeurs, en l'absence des principaux protagonistes des élections de 2012, a fonder l'espoir sur un possible changement dans ce pays lusophone dirigé, depuis son indépendance, par les deux plus grands partis que sont le PAIGC et le PRS, chacun exploitant ses relations avec l'armée.

Toutefois, mêmes si de nouveaux personnages ont émergé, les résultats des élections semblent remettre en place, les mêmes acteurs qui ont jusque là gouverné ce pays. En effet, le second tour du scrutin présidentiel, prévu le 18 mai 2014, opposera le candidat du PAIGC et "le candidat de l'armée", deux acteurs traditionnels qui constituent la colonne vertébrale des régimes qui se sont succédés en Guinée-Bissau. Ainsi, quelque soit l'issu du second tour, ces deux principaux acteurs, en plus du PRS soutenant Nuno Gomes Nabiam, resteront au cœur du système.

Si José Mário Vaz, remporte le second tour, le PAIGC déjà majoritaire à l'ANP, disposera de la plénitude des pouvoirs malgré la minorité de blocage dont disposent les autres partis. Dans cette hypothèse, il aura en face de lui l'armée qui, craignant des poursuites judiciaires et les réformes qui remettent en cause ses intérêts, risque de s'immiscer à nouveau dans la vie politique et de perturber l'action gouvernementale.

Si c'est Nuno Gomes Nabiam qui l'emporte, il y'aura une cohabitation à cause de la majorité parlementaire du PAIGC. Le système semi-présidentiel en vigueur à Bissau, qui implique un partage du pouvoir entre le Premier ministre nommé par la majorité parlementaire et le Président, a souvent engendré des rivalités même lorsque les deux occupants sont issus du même parti. Cette situation pourrait continuer à poser problème surtout si les deux protagonistes sont issus de formations politiques opposées.

Le cercle vicieux défini par l'armée, la primature et la présidence dont l'impact a été désastreux pour le pays, risque donc de demeurer une source d'instabilité si des reformes ne sont pas initiées et effectivement réalisées. Ceci étant, la résurgence d'une crise politique et l'éventualité d'un nouveau coup d'état, tel que évoqué dans le rapport sur la paix et la sécurité dans l'espace CEDEAO numéro 8, ne peut être complètement écartée. De plus, le passage en force du candidat soutenu par l'armée au détriment des règles de transparence et de crédibilité du deuxième tour des élections pourrait à son tour bloquer la sortie de crise.

Dans cette situation et pour éviter la poursuite de l'instabilité politique en Guinée-Bissau, le changement tant souhaité par le peuple bissau-guinéen ne pourra être impulsé que par ces acteurs, politique et militaire qui doivent se réconcilier et mettre en place un cadre de dialogue permanent pour mettre en œuvre les réformes politique, économique et sécuritaire indispensables.

Pour ce faire, il s'agira d'abord pour les futures autorités, d'initier une large concer-

tation avec tous les acteurs nationaux pour définir les priorités du pays.

Ensuite, Les forces armées devraient être associées dans le processus de la Réforme du secteur de la défense et de la sécurité, de sa conception à sa mise en œuvre. Ces dernières tout en étant perçues comme une partie du problème, doivent être considérées comme une partie de la solution.

Enfin, c'est seulement dans le cadre d'un climat politique apaisé et de la manifestation d'une réelle volonté de changement de la part des nouvelles autorités politiques que l'accompagnement de la communauté internationale pourra être efficace. L'implication de celle-ci pour des élections crédibles et apaisées s'est traduite par un soutien logistique, financier et technique au processus électoral. Son action reste cependant sous-tendue par une lutte d'influence qui risque de saper les efforts entrepris pour sortir la Guinée-Bissau de son cycle d'instabilité. Le soutien supposé ou réel apporté par des acteurs de la communauté internationale à certains candidats, pourrait d'avantage compliquer la donne si leur candidat ne remporte pas le second tour des présidentielles. Après le scrutin du 18 mai, les acteurs internationaux qui ont affiché une unité pour l'organisation des élections devraient donc continuer dans ce sens pour s'assurer de la mise en œuvre effective des réformes dont la Guinée-Bissau a besoin.

<http://www.issafrica.org/iss-today/elections-in-guinea-bissau-will-history-repeat-itself>

Kenya

KENYAN SECURITY FORCES ACCUSED OF STOKING TENSIONS – ANALYSIS

MAY 21, 2014



Analysts warn that the continuing security operation in the Kenyan capital Nairobi risks widening religious and ethnic divisions, and question the nature of the terrorism threat that prompted the crackdown.

Operation Usalama Watch got under way in Nairobi's largely Somali suburb of Eastleigh on April 1. Since it began, security forces have rounded up more than 4,000 suspected illegal immigrants and refugees, mainly from Somalia, and held them at the nearby Kasarani stadium in Nairobi for screening by police, the national registration bureau and the department of refugee affairs.

At the same time, the government has ordered all refugees to return to camps in northern Kenya where they are officially registered. (See Nairobi Demands Refugees Return to Camps.)

The police operation was launched after a spate of attacks in Eastleigh and the coastal city of Mombasa.

On March 23, gunmen fired on a church in Mombasa, killing six people and wounding several others. A week later, multiple explosions in Eastleigh killed a further six. Late last month, four people were killed when a car exploded as officers were directing the driver to take it to a Nairobi police station.

On May 4, three people were killed and more than 60 injured when improvised

bombs exploded on two commuter buses in Nairobi.

Those attacks followed the assault and stand-off at a Nairobi shopping centre in September 2013. Islamic militants from the Somali-based group al-Shabab stormed the Westgate building on a busy Saturday, killing 67 people and injuring hundreds of others.

DETENTIONS SEEN AS DIVISIVE

The crackdown comes a year after Uhuru Kenyatta became president following a March 2013 election.

“Last year, I joined fellow Kenyans at this same venue [Kasarani stadium] to witness the swearing-in of the new president,” said one Nairobi resident.

A Muslim, this woman accused the authorities of persecuting members of her faith.

“It’s unfortunate and symbolic that on the first anniversary, my fellow-Kenyans are being screened here mainly because of their religious beliefs,” she said.

Other Nairobi residents say that the operation and the police’s treatment of Somalis have led to the demonisation of the Muslim community, and that this has been exacerbated by the local media.

“All one needs to do is listen in to any talk radio programme these days and you’ll hear Muslims being blamed for every security problem,” a student in the capital said.

Islamic leaders and human rights groups have condemned the police’s actions, accusing them of targeting Muslims and stoking tensions between different ethnic and religious communities.

“When such an important national security operation takes a partisan religious angle, we are worried Kenyans will splinter along religious lines,” Maurice Odhiambo, president of the National Civil Society Congress, said at a recent press conference in Nairobi. “The operation should target all criminals disregarding races, religion [and] status.”

MISTREATMENT OF SOMALIS

Human rights groups have documented abuses against the Somali community in Kenya over a number of years, as the authorities try to respond to attacks by militants linked to al-Shabab.

According to the New York-based Human Rights Watch (HRW), security services beat and tortured hundreds of people and raped more than a dozen women in a security operation in northeastern Kenya five years ago. The group reports similar operations across the north over recent years which have involved widespread mistreatment of Somalis, both refugees and Kenyan nationals, by the security services.

In the latest crackdown in Eastleigh, rights groups have recorded accounts of detainees being held in deplorable conditions. Many have been held without charge far longer than the legal 24-hour period. HRW said it had witnessed detainees at the Pangani police station near Eastleigh being whipped and beaten.

Cedric Barnes, a Horn of Africa expert at the International Crisis Group think tank, argued in a blog post that rather than combating terrorism, the police risked further radicalising parts of the Muslim community.

“The recent attacks were targeted and the government’s security operations in response quickly exposed divides between majority and minority communities, even between [lawmakers] within the ruling Jubilee coalition,” Barnes wrote. “The government’s recent action threatens to create a greater constituency for al-Shabab. Blanket actions that look like collective punishment of a particular minority and faith group can only marginalise – and radicalise – further.”

CRACKDOWN DEFENDED BY SECURITY FORCES

The Kenyan authorities have insisted their actions are legitimate.

In an article on Nairobi’s Capital FM website, the inspector general of police, David Kimaiyo, said the operation was justified and was not aimed at any specific ethnic or religious group.

“The ongoing crackdown against criminals across the county is not targeting any particular community or religious group, but individuals who have been causing mayhem and terrorising Kenyans,” he wrote. “Those who have been arrested in the past few weeks are from different communities in Kenya and foreigners who do not possess legal documents to be in the country.”

He dismissed as “preposterous” claims in local media that human rights violations had taken place.

As analysts criticise the heavy-handed methods employed by the security services, some ask whether there is a legitimate basis for these sweeping moves all.

The recent attacks in Kenya have been blamed on al-Shabab and are generally assumed to be retaliation for operations the Kenyan military has been pursuing against the militant group inside Somalia since October 2011.

However, unlike in the attack on the shopping mall last September, al-Shabab has not claimed responsibility for any of the recent attacks.

Ben Rawlence, a researcher for the Open Society Institute who is based in Kenya, questions the conclusion that the attacks are linked to organised terrorism, and in particular to al-Shabab.

“The Kenyan police have been very cagey about all of those terror attacks,” he told a meeting at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London on May 8. “The Kenyan police have provided no evidence to back up that assumption.”

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS REMAIN

There are other questions about the conduct of the security operation. Although large numbers of refugees – legal and illegal – have been detained, media reports in Kenya suggest that hundreds of them have been able to buy their freedom by paying security officers bribes of a few thousand Kenyan shillings (around 100 US dollars).

The government's order for refugees to return to refugee camps like the Dadaab settlement near the Somali border seems inconsistent with the allegation by the Kenyan parliamentary committee on national security last October that the camp had become a training ground for Islamic extremists. The committee ordered the camp to be closed, although the United Nations refused to do this. (See Proposed Closure of Kenya Refugee Camp Condemned.)

Over the last few weeks, the government has said it is pursuing only those who are in Kenya illegally, but it has not explained why illegal immigrants are more likely to be involved in terrorism than legal ones.

Rawlence argued that if police were willing to take a bribe in return for releasing individuals suspected of acting illegally or posing a serious terrorism risk, that raised serious questions about the validity of the threat.

"You'd be forgiven for being quite sceptical about the way in which the Kenyan government has undertaken this operation," Rawlence said. "It doesn't seem to add up in terms of cause and effect, unless the Kenyan state really is stunningly blinkered and stunningly incompetent, with the police letting everybody go."

George Okore is a freelance reporter in Nairobi. Simon Jennings, IWPR's Africa Editor, also contributed to this report.

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<http://www.eurasiareview.com/21052014-kenyan-security-forces-accused-stoking-tensions-analysis/>

Libya

ANSAR AL-SHARIA ISSUES LIBYA THREAT

MAY 28, 2014



Libya's General Khalefa Haftar. Photo by Magharebia, Wikipedia Commons.

Libyan jihadist group Ansar al-Sharia on Tuesday (May 27th) lashed out at opponents, threatening to turn the country into a new Syria.

The terror group issued the ominous warning during a press conference called to denounce General Khalifa Haftar's "Operation Dignity".

"We thank God that we were able to defeat Haftar and we challenge him to attempt entering Benghazi again. We warn him that if he continues this war against us, Muslims from across the world will come to fight, as is the case in Syria right now," Libya Herald quoted Ansar al-Sharia leader Mohamed al-Zawahiri as saying.

The leader of the al-Qaeda-inspired group went on to label Haftar a "new Kadhafi", AFP reported. "If he insists on this dirty war, it will open the gates of hell on him and the whole region," al-Zawahiri said.

The message came as Libya witnesses a wave of violence that many blame on rogue Islamist militias.

On Monday, top Libyan journalist Meftah Bouzid was shot dead in broad daylight in the centre of Benghazi. Bouzid, the editor of Brnieq, was a vocal critic of jihadist groups.

Then on Tuesday, a Libyan student fell victim to the bloodshed. The severed head of a young man was found in the Sabaha mosque in Derna, Libya Herald reported.

According to witnesses, Turkawi had challenged members of the Islamic Army in Derna who had seized his car at a checkpoint.

“Derna is considered a hotbed and a starting point for extremist jihadist fighters, who have benefited from the rugged mountains in the city,” explained Salah Mohamed, a 35-year-old computer engineer. “Thus Derna is considered an extension to al-Qaeda and to Islamic fighting groups.”

For her part, Derna high school student Hanane Massoun said that Libya had become “a scary country with no security or safety”.

“You are at risk whether at home or in the street. This is what we are facing in Derna,” she added.

Mardiya Faraj, a 37-year-old teacher, said that Ansar al-Sharia “wants to control people with their ideology while they are doing what they want and not what Allah wants”.

“We want the army and the police and not masked young men with arms to scare us,” Faraj added.

“The government needs to do something against these armed terrorists,” commented Yousef al-Sharif, a government employee from Tripoli. “Things have progressed and they need to do something, not just statements and condemnations, I believe that they have designated Ansar al-Sharia as a terrorist group and they found terrorists in Sirte, Benghazi and Derna but nothing has been done. The people are really worried.”

High school teacher Laila Yousef al-Maslati was equally concerned with the violence.

“Terror attacks and the killings have increased and the security situation in Tripoli and Benghazi has become tense,” she said.

“We need to build the army and the police and support the security institutions in Libya. And I ask the Libyans to support the state’s security and military institutions, we need actions and not just talk,” she added.

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

LIBYA BACK ON THE ROAD TO DICTATORSHIP – ANALYSIS

MAY 28, 2014



Sooner or later it was bound to happen: a shift, or rather a return, to military power in [Libya](#). In the past few weeks, the country has experienced a resumption of heavy fighting on a scale not seen since the anti-Qadhafi war of 2011. Indeed, the exacerbation of Libyan unrest and the prospect of a potential return to military dictatorship have effectively eroded any hope that the post-Qadhafi government will survive for much longer. The Libyan situation is made all the worse by the fact that the clashes in Tripoli and Benghazi have so far been much more complex than simply the good guys (non-Islamists) against the bad guys (Islamists). The main rivalry is between the militias of the town of Zintan, who backed former prime minister Mahmoud Jibril – and then the anti-Islamist component of the General National Congress (GNC) – and the militia that prevails in the city of Misrata, which in turn is generally associated with political forces closer to the Islamists. The rivalry between these two groups dates back to the times of the revolution against the Qadhafi regime, and all attempts so far by politicians to find an agreement between the two have failed.

It is against this sordid background that General Khalifa Haftar emerges, a man who could defeat the militias and form a military government, restoring order and stability. Haftar is controversial due to his role in the coup led by [Qadhafi](#) against King Idris in 1969 and his odd alliance with the CIA after a failed military mission in Chad, where he was a unit commander, in 1986. Gen. Haftar and the secular militias in the western part of Libya, Zintan, were very displeased by the appointment of Prime Minister Ahmed Maiteeq in early May. The more secular and largely Berber militias

of Zintan (the very same that still holds Saif ul-Islam Qadhafi prisoner) accused Maiteeq of having ties to the pro-Islamist Parliament. Haftar is not alone in his battle against the Islamists and the government. The government, while being unable to do anything, has accused Haftar of wanting to stage a coup.

The already dramatic situation in [Libya](#) has worsened – or perhaps intensified – to the point where no return to stability is likely without radical changes of the status quo. A federal option was on the table a few months ago, but it would require a strong central government to implement. Moreover, since Qadhafi's demise, Libya has experienced a widening wealth gap between rich and poor.

The combination of tribal, religious, and economic struggles suggests that the situation is not likely to improve in the short term. In oil terms, after the first armed clashes of last week, mostly concentrated in Benghazi, the price of oil increased by about USD 0.30 in just a few hours, demonstrating the importance of Libyan production to the world market. Consequently, a new phase of the Libyan conflict – unless resolved quickly and in such a way as to ensure stability rather than the more idealistic concerns of 'democracy' – could damage the international oil market in general. As it stands currently, the combination of General Haftar's militia and its now official allies in Zintan, led by Colonel Mokhtar Fernana, may finally restore stability to Libya, even if this stability more resembles a military dictatorship than a democratic republic. Indeed, the pattern is rather familiar: it has already made an appearance in neighboring Egypt, where the election of General Sisi as President is but a mere formality and just weeks away.

General Haftar has already announced the suspension of the General National Congress (the Parliament) and all its institutions, starting with the removal of Prime Minister Ahmed Miitiq. Miitiq, a millionaire businessman, entered politics quite suddenly on May 4 with the support of the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamists; he was unable to offer any solution to the crisis, accentuating contrasts between the Islamists and secular groups. Miitiq's own appointment was approved by a lower parliamentary consensus than constitutionally required, causing many to cry "coup" and blame the Muslim Brotherhood's Justice and Construction Party. The military has taken notice and Abu Khamada Wanis, head of the Libyan Special Forces, said that his unit is "ready to fight against terrorism" and to support those soldiers and officers already deployed with Haftar, explaining how it was possible for ostensibly non-state elements to deploy jet fighters, helicopters, and heavy artillery pieces. The connection with Egypt's military, while unstated, is betrayed by the deliberate linking of the Muslim Brotherhood with 'terrorism.'

Haftar's attack has not generated any reaction from the 'international community' – that is the countries from NATO that facilitated the demise of [Qadhafi's regime](#). Libya's democracy, after all, was more of an anarchic jungle, the greatest achievement of which was an almost tenfold reduction in oil production and the virtual elimination of much-needed foreign investment.

General Haftar himself is an interesting character. He has lived many years in the United States and many have considered him to be a CIA asset. He was 'disgraced' by Qadhafi after a unit under his command failed its mission during the Libyan invasion of Chad in 1987. Haftar took exile in Virginia in the United States and was more than eager to take up arms against his former 1969 revolutionary ally [Qadhafi](#) in March 2011. As for the link to Egypt's General Sisi, the latter has wanted to wipe the Islamists from neighboring Cyrenaica for quite some time. Similarly, it is not hard to extend this logic and assume that the Zintan militia has enjoyed support from the Algerian military and government (the military is the bulwark of secular institutions).

Algeria has become very concerned with Libya's anarchy, which has facilitated the development of extensive links between al-Qaeda groups in Libya and those in Algeria as part of al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). Given the number of foreign ingredients in Libya's pastiche, it is also necessary to understand how Qatar is involved, and perhaps even Saudi Arabia. Qatar, as in Egypt, has backed the Muslim Brotherhood in Libya while Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates have backed the military; certainly they are backing General Sisi in Egypt and could well be financing General Haftar. The silence from Washington, London, and Paris suggests a level of acquiescence from these governments towards Haftar's efforts; were they caught by surprise, or has there been some more deliberate participation?

Haftar may well present himself to the West as the military officer who can protect democracy from Islamist tendencies. Of course, this is not very clear and the military's ultimate goals are also not clear, nor are the chances of a swift victory. Al-Qaeda elements and assorted Islamists might still be able to put up a fight, especially considering the number of weapons circulating in Libya and the rest of North Africa. French and Malian forces backed by the African Union – and to some extent enjoying some support from Tuareg militias – had to put up a strong effort to defeat the Islamists in northern Mali and the repercussions of that war are still being felt. The intensification of Boko Haram's attacks in Nigeria in the past three months has offered just another reminder of the consequences of the Libyan civil war. The Islamists, just as Qadhafi did for years, may use the tribal weapon, supporting rivalries such as those that persist between the Misrata and Zintan militias. And then there are the various tribes in the vast southern province of Fezzan.

There may be another obstacle in the form of the US presidential race in 2015-2016, and Republican efforts to revive the dormant controversy over the tragic events of Benghazi in 2012 that led to the assassination of Ambassador Stevens and four other American officials in a mysterious attack against the US consulate. Republicans are pushing to launch yet another Congressional investigation – there have been seven such investigations thus far. The target is then Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, who appears to be preparing to run for the White House. She is accused of not adequately protecting American diplomats and of trying to deceive the country on the nature of the attack. The Democrats have denounced this, highlighting the pure-

ly electoral aims just months before the mid-term elections and the upcoming battle for the White House. However, Republican posturing will make it difficult for the Obama administration to get involved in [Libya](#) one way or the other. Any support will have to be covert. Some US media outlets, meanwhile, have accused Barack Obama and NATO of sharing responsibility for the disaster in [Libya](#), because they have stepped in to help the rebels overthrow Qadhafi only to leave and fail to help Libyans to restore security and build a new political order.

The risks of another embarrassment for the White House exist because Haftar's movement, while able to muster greater firepower, is lacking the political foundations upon which al-Sisi delegitimized President Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 2013. Field Marshal El Sisi had an official role in the Egyptian state apparatus, having been appointed by Morsi as head of the armed forces. In contrast, Colonel Haftar lacks any formal military or political legitimacy as conferred by the Libyan people. Haftar is following the same road as the militias, even if his intentions are appreciated by many Libyans and foreign powers. Regardless, Haftar seems ready and more than willing to assume a dictatorial role.

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

Malawi

Malawi elections: lack of transparency could lead to violence

19 May 2014



Tomorrow, 20 May 2014, Malawians head to the tripartite polls for what promises to be the country's most contested elections since the first multi-party elections were held in 1994.

President Joyce Banda, the former deputy president, came to power in April 2012 following the death in office of former president Bingu wa Mutharika. She will be among a record 12 presidential candidates, with 17 political parties and hundreds of independent candidates vying for the 193-seat parliament. Although the lack of regular and credible opinion polls makes it hard to predict the outcome, analysts expect a four-way presidential dogfight.

Banda, representing the People's Party (PP), will contend with the leaders of three former governing parties in the presidential race. They are Peter Mutharika of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), Lazarus Chakwera of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) and Atupele Muluzi of the United Democratic Front (UDF). According to an Afrobarometer survey released on 9 May, of the 2 400 people sampled, 27% backed the DPP and its presidential candidate, 21% supported the MCP, 19% favoured the PP and 14% backed the UDF – while 15% said they were undecided, or refused to disclose their preference.

The country risks for the aftermath of the election to turn violent if the Malawi Electoral Commission (MEC) does not rectify **problems with the voters' roll**, which is believed to have been manipulated. Some candidates, for example, are said to have ferried voters to change voting districts. Some voters' names appear to be missing from the voters' roll, while others' names incorrectly appear in Arabic. Such identity mix-ups could prevent some voters from casting their ballots.

The total number of 7 500 000 voters that the MEC has registered has also been criticised by the Malawi Civil Society Grand Coalition as being inconsistent with the figures of the voting-age population from Malawi's National Statistical Office. The Coalition fears the inflated **figure could be used as 'a launch-pad for rigging'**.

The importance of the voters' roll as the key document for free, fair and credible elections cannot be overemphasised. There have been numerous complaints, both from election stakeholders as well as the public, that the MEC is not addressing rumours and allegations of rigging in favour of President Banda and her party. The PP has also reportedly benefited unduly from using state resources to boost its campaign.

The Malawi Electoral Support Network (MESN), in its **March 2014 Long-Term Observation Report**, ominously warns that the country is gradually becoming a fertile ground for electoral malpractices and political confrontation. This could compromise the quality of the elections, which represents a concerning trend.

The MEC acknowledged that the voters' roll is in a shambles. On 25 March 2014, **the election management body announced in a press release** that 'due to logistical challenges and inadequacies in the preliminary voters' roll' it had 'decided to suspend the voters' roll inspection exercise'. This was only a day into the exercise. The MEC's Chief Elections Officer, Willie Kalonga, attributed the irregularities to a lack of competent managers.

However, three of the country's main opposition parties – the MCP, UDF and DPP – **expressed concern over the suspension of the inspection**, fearing the delay would affect the electoral calendar or that it might be a ploy by the MEC to rig the elections. **Henry Chingaipe, a political analyst, noted concerns** that the MEC

was treating the election as an event rather than a process – and urged the electoral body to ensure that adequate preparations are made for the election to be free, fair and credible.

Although the MEC purportedly rectified the voters' roll and reopened the inspection exercise on 9 April, this has to a great extent been met with apathy. For instance, in most centres with more than 1 000 registered voters, fewer than 100 people have verified their names in the voters' roll. Stakeholders, including the MESN, said the MEC had confused voters due to the change of programme and failure to publicise the exercise. [The elections watchdog claims that the MEC is not making a serious effort](#) to address the ongoing voters' roll irregularities.

The MEC argues that the low turnout was due to factors such as voter reluctance. According to regional and continental standards for democratic electoral processes, electronic and hard copies of the voters' roll should have been released well before the elections. That the MEC has sought technical advice and equipment from the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission – which allegedly kept a doctored voters' roll in the run-up to Zimbabwe's 2013 elections – has also raised concern.

It remains to be seen how the MEC will respond to the MESN's call for an independent voters' roll inspection to minimise complaints after the elections. The MESN, civil society organisations and other elections stakeholders, through the Malawi Elections Information Centre (MEIC), have provided alternative voter verification through Internet and mobile technology.

Although Malawi has a history of peaceful elections, the risk of post-election unrest cannot be discounted. [The Malawi Civil Society Grand Coalition fears the flawed roll could precipitate violence](#) such as riots in major urban centres, and has urged the MEC to address criticisms of the roll. The 11 presidential aspirants – who are unanimously challenging Banda – have warned that if the elections aren't free, fair, transparent and credible, this would result in a disputed outcome, which could have catastrophic consequences after the polls.

On Saturday 10 May, at the National Day of Prayers event hosted by the Public Affairs Committee at Civo Stadium in Lilongwe, [the 12 presidential candidates signed the Lilongwe Peace Declaration](#). The declaration urges them to accept the results of the elections, and uphold peace and order after the nation has gone to the polls. Regardless, it remains critical for the MEC to display a commitment to transparency. Otherwise Malawi, fondly known as the 'warm heart of Africa', could be faced with the chilling prospect of a troubled post-election period.

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

Mali

La bataille contre les Fama à Kidal : Une victoire à la Pyrrhus du MNLA

Date: 28 Mai 2014



Boubèye Maïga, le ministre de la défense ne pouvait mieux dire quant il disait, s'adressant à l'opinion malienne que les forces armées nationales avaient perdu une bataille contre les rebelles, mais pas la guerre. Le Mali a perdu une manche. Mais le MNLA s'est rapidement rendu compte que dans la période actuelle où l'opinion est désormais convaincue de sa collusion totale avec les islamistes radicaux, les terroristes jihadistes personnifiant le Mal absolu aux yeux de l'Occident, sa situation devient de plus inconfortable et sa position indéfendable après les atrocités récemment commises à Kidal. C'est bien d'une victoire à la Pyrrhus qu'il s'agit pour le MNLA.

Tout le monde en convient, une telle guerre ne peut être éclair. Par la force des choses dans le contexte actuel malien cerné de toute part par le péril de la rébellion touarègue renforcée par les phalanges jihadistes nationales et internationales d'Ansardine, du Mujoa et d'Al Quaïda au Maghreb Islamique et peut être de Boko Haram, une telle campagne ne peut que s'inscrire dans la durée. Pour avoir des chances de succès, elle demande la mutualisation des forces militaires et sécuritaires de la bande sahélo-saharienne, au-delà de toute la région et un soutien exemplaire du monde où le péril peut rapidement s'exporter en cas de laxisme des puissances occidentales. La France, maints pays d'Europe et la puissante Amérique l'ont déjà vérifié à leurs dépens dans un passé récent, avec la vague des attentats

terroristes et suicides qui ont fait d'innombrables victimes.

Le MNLA s'est empressé de tenir la perche du cessez le feu tendu opportunément par le président mauritanien Mohamed Ould Aziz, président en exercice de l'Union Africaine qui vient de faire dans la foulée le voyage à Kidal pour rencontrer les leaders rebelles. Pour ces derniers jouant leur ultime carte face à la pression internationale unanime, il n'était plus question de surenchère, ni de tergiverser. Il n'y avait plus d'échappatoire et il fallait saisir la balle de match lancée par le président mauritanien au bond. Ils l'ont fait, recevant le message codé cinq sur cinq.

L'Union Africaine était dans son rôle et le président mauritanien encore plus. C'est pourquoi lors de la conférence de presse conjointe tenue au palais de Koulouba le jeudi, le lendemain de la rencontre avec le MNLA, le MAA et le HCUA à Kidal, il avait tenu à informer l'opinion et la presse, son relais, des enjeux et de la portée des accords signés. Il a notamment déclaré : « Ce que vit en ce moment le Mali, nous le vivons tous. Cette insécurité et cette instabilité sévissent dans beaucoup de pays de la sous région. Notre réponse à cela, c'est faire les efforts nécessaires pour d'abord apaiser les esprits. C'est un rôle qui nous revient à nous, dirigeants, mais aussi à vous, journalistes. Nous nous devons toujours d'apaiser les esprits et d'éviter d'enflammer les situations. Ce sont des situations qui ont toujours été d'actualité malheureusement en Afrique et on ne peut les surmonter qu'avec le dialogue, les discussions et avec des rencontres ». Il avait ajouté qu'il faut des efforts conjugués de tous pour rétablir la paix et la sécurité dans la région ouest africaine et que c'est toute l'Afrique qui bénéficiera de la paix, de la sécurité et la stabilité au Mali.

Le Mali et les autorités maliennes ne sont pas des va-t-en guerre. Loin s'en faut. Mais les nécessités de l'heure commandaient d'être ferme face à l'insolence et à la cruauté des groupes armés rebelles. Même si de très nombreux citoyens poussaient l'armée à en découdre sans merci avec les touaregs devenus à leurs yeux des ennemis irréductibles à châtier de la même manière dont ils procèdent avec les soldats maliens prisonniers et avec les innocentes populations civiles. Cette surenchère de la violence doit être évitée à tout prix. Ce qui a amené le chef de l'Etat et chef suprême des armées Ibrahim Boubacar Kéita à dire, en présence de son homologue mauritanien qui a joué à la perfection le monsieur bons offices, qu'on ne peut pas clore la question de la crise du septentrion rien que par les armes.

C'est dans cette conviction, après avoir analysé les différentes propositions faites par l'Union Africaine et mûrement réfléchi à tous les paramètres, que le Mali a accepté de parapher sous l'égide de cette institution un accord de cessez le feu avec les groupes armés du Nord.

Il faut signaler que quelques heures auparavant le MnlA et deux groupes armés du nord du Mali, le Haut conseil pour l'unité de l'Azawad (HCUA, formé par des dissidents d'un groupe jihadiste) et le Mouvement arabe de l'Azawad (MAA), avaient déjà signé le document à Kidal, à l'issue de leurs discussions avec le président de l'Union africaine (UA).

Ce qui veut dire clairement que l'option politique est clairement privilégiée autour de la table de négociation qui doit s'ouvrir incessamment, alors que se trouve banni le langage des armes.

La question du cantonnement, du désarmement des groupes rebelles et de leur réinsertion future revient à l'ordre du jour. On peut dire qu'il ya eu une épilogue heureuse, même provisoire à la guerre totale éphémère rallumée entre la dissidence touarègue et l'Etat malien, à l'occasion de la visite du premier ministre Moussa Mara à Kidal. Puisque les parties ont convenu de la cessation de toute hostilité sur l'étendue du territoire national et de revenir aux accords du 18 juin 2013 signés à Ouagadougou au Burkina Faso. Les négociations imminentes, se feront avec l'aide de l'ONU, de la France et des autres partenaires régionaux et internationaux, avec comme préalable la préservation de l'intégrité territoriale et de l'unité du Mali.

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

Quiproquo sur les événements de Kidal : L'impérieux ravivage de la fibre patriotique



Mohamed Salia Toure, président CNJ

Les affrontements entre les FAMA et les groupes armés à Kidal, dans des conditions qui restent encore à élucider, font toujours couler beaucoup d'encre et de salive chez nos compatriotes. Ce, puisque leur relent patriotique venait de prendre un grand coup, à l'analyse que Kidal demeure toujours ce chaudron encore brûlant en République du Mali.

Sans prétention aucune de nous ériger en donneurs de leçons, nous voudrions simplement rappeler, à cet effet, qu'une nation se construit sur des victoires et des défaites. Malheureusement, ce sont les défaites qui retiennent, très souvent, notre attention.

Pourtant, les Maliens ne doivent pas désespérer de leur armée à cause des tristes événements de Kidal. La récente évolution des événements nous a permis de comprendre que nous devons malheureusement encore prendre notre mal en patience quant au retour effectif de Kidal dans le giron du Mali.

Un chemin dont le parcours impose une union sacrée de toutes et de tous. Ce chemin, quand nous l'aurons parcouru, nous savourerons les fruits du sacrifice consenti et oublierons les humiliations, les souffrances et les chagrins de ces derniers jours.

La victoire, la plus honorable, passera, à coup sûr, par l'union sacrée des cœurs et des esprits de toutes les filles et de tous les fils du pays, sans exclusion aucune

et l'acceptation de la main tendue des amis et partenaires qui ont déjà consenti de gros sacrifices pour que nous soyons là aujourd'hui.

Nous ne sommes pas un peuple ingrat. Nous ne le deviendrons pas, malgré la douleur. Nous savons que notre ennemi, c'est le banditisme armé, la criminalité organisée, le radicalisme religieux, le narcotrafic et le terrorisme. L'ennemi du Mali, nous osons l'espérer, c'est l'ennemi de toutes les nations du monde éprises de paix et de justice.

Les événements récents de Kidal ne doivent pas nous détourner de notre engagement patriotique en faveur de la reconstruction de notre pays. Toute reconstruction nécessite des sacrifices. Nous en avons fait et sommes prêts à en faire davantage pour un Mali un et indivisible.

Tout en ayant une pensée pieuse pour ceux qui ont payé de leur vie, conformément à leur serment de soldat, devrions-nous aussi rappeler, qu'une nation se construit sur la vérité et la justice. En ce sens que la vérité doit être dite sur les événements de Kidal et justice doit être faite pour la nation malienne, les familles des soldats tombés et les victimes innocentes des violences et violations en tout genre.

En ces moments ténébreux de notre existence où le monde entier a les yeux rivés sur notre pays, il est important de souligner, à notre humble avis, que l'heure ne devra pas être aux querelles de personne ou à des procès futiles qui ne feront que nous détourner de l'essentiel : l'intégrité du territoire national.

Somme toute, avec la signature d'un cessez-le-feu entre le Mali et les groupes armés les jours derniers et une implication plus accrue de la communauté internationale en faveur d'une rapide sortie de crise, nous osons espérer que les choses iront plus rapidement sur Kidal pour que soit effectif un Mali un et indivisible

<http://maliactu.net/>

Nigeria

ANALYSIS | Boko Haram 'too extreme' for 'al Qaeda in West Africa' brand

May 29, 2014



Protesters carry a banner with an image of Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau as they demand the release of secondary schoolgirls abducted by the Nigerian Islamist group. (photo by Akintunde Akinleye, Reuters)

InterAksyon.com

The online news portal of TV5

ABUJA -- When Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan branded Boko Haram "al Qaeda in West Africa," it was sure to turn up the alarm among Western policy-makers, if its kidnapping of more than 200 schoolgirls was not enough.

Yet while Jonathan's remarks, made at a meeting of regional leaders in Paris this month, hold some truth, analysts say Boko Haram is overall not an al Qaeda affiliate in West Africa -- nor is it likely to become one.

Boko Haram's own aims remain thoroughly local and its behavior, especially killing Muslim civilians and kidnapping girls, runs against the al Qaeda leadership's current thinking.

The insurgents' fight for an Islamic caliphate in Nigeria remains driven largely by domestic factors. It is fast making what is now Africa's largest economy look like a failing state.

They could however become a wider international problem down the line, analysts say.

In Boko Haram's early days, when it was evolving from a clerical movement to a violent insurrection, the leader of one of several rival factions, Adnan Ibrahim, dubbed it "al-Qaeda in West Africa."

But the label never stuck.

Western powers, weary of wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, therefore took little interest in the group. This probably gave Boko Haram breathing space at the beginning, said Jacob Zenn, a Boko Haram expert at CTC.

"If they had called themselves 'al Qaeda in Nigeria,' Boko Haram would have attracted the attention of the West," he said.

In his numerous videos, Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau talks a lot about local gripes and very little about global jihad, although he has made a few appeals to al-Qaeda in what appears to be no more than lip service.

"Shekau has several times said that BH (Boko Haram) is part of AQ -- or aspires to be. So far, there has been no public response from the AQ leadership," said Richard Barrett, an expert on al Qaeda and former coordinator of the United Nations al-Qaeda Taliban Monitoring Team.

'Crossed the line'

The al Qaeda brand has suffered damage in recent years from increasingly extreme groups who assumed its name with a nod from founder Osama bin Laden or, since U.S. forces killed him in Pakistan in 2011, his successor Ayman al-Zawahiri.

Their later inability to control them proved embarrassing.

The first mistake was Al Qaeda in Iraq, also called Islamic State of Iraq, whose brutality against civilians turned an initially supportive Sunni population against it from late 2007.

Internal correspondence shows Bin Laden -- the inspiration behind the 2001 attacks on the United States -- realized by 2010 that killings of civilians by jihadist groups had made them a liability, said Nelly Lahoud, a professor at the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point.

Al Qaeda broke ties with ISI, which is also fighting in Syria, in February. But al-Zawahiri's acceptance of Somalia's al Shabaab, who also kill Muslim civilians on a large scale, shows he was slow to learn from Bin Laden's mistake, Lahoud said.

Zawahiri is unlikely to repeat that error with Boko Haram, a group he has never once publicly mentioned.

The Egyptian-born cleric last year issued an edict urging Islamist groups not to target civilians, as he sought to rein in jihadist elements.

The last thing he needs is to be seen supporting a group that kills hundreds of Muslim civilians.

Boko Haram's kidnapping of more than 200 schoolgirls last month, although it garnered the sect worldwide publicity, will only compound that unease.

"The sort of behavior Boko Haram is carrying out doesn't live up to the standards al Qaeda has set," said Lahoud. "The attacks on civilians and particularly these girls is not something he would sanction. Boko Haram has crossed the line."

Al Qaeda in the Sahara

Al Qaeda in the Islamic Magreb did have firm links with Boko Haram but it is not clear how far this carried on after French forces kicked them out of Malian cities last year.

They are reported to have given Boko Haram \$250,000 in 2012 and trained its members in kidnapping as a way to raise further money, Barrett said.

Though riven by its own internal squabbles, AQIM has focused on strategy sanctioned by Zawahiri and al Qaeda headquarters -- hitting high value strategic targets like Algeria's Amenas gas plant in January 2013 and kidnapping Western hostages for money or prisoner swaps.

For years intelligence officials have tracked visits by a small groups of Boko Haram fighters to Mali, when its desert north was being overrun by AQIM, and Niger. In both they met Algerian brigades of AQIM fighters for training and weapons.

The deadly UN headquarters bombing in August 2011 was the only Boko Haram attack targeting a Western institution. The suspected mastermind, Maman Nur, had trained with AQIM and al Shabaab, security officials said.

But there are signs AQIM is not totally comfortable with them.

A Boko Haram faction called Ansaru, blamed for the killing of several Western hostages, is AQIM's bona fide affiliate in Nigeria, and called itself "al Qaeda in the Land Beyond the Sahara" in a video with a British and Italian hostage in 2011.

Ansaru broke off from Boko Haram in protest at its killing 186 mostly Muslim civilians in the medieval Islamic city of Kano in early 2012.

When AQIM seized northern Mali in early 2012, its leader Abdelmalek Droukdel exhorted its supporters to win the hearts and minds of the local population -- not provoking them or applying sharia too harshly or quickly. That seems a far cry from Boko Haram's murderous campaign in northern Nigeria.

What's in a name?

Zenn said Jonathan's claim that Boko Haram was no longer just a local threat has some merit -- there was a "financial, ideological and weapons transfer relationship," from al Qaeda without which Boko Haram could not have got so violent.

Jennifer Giroux, a Senior Researcher at the Center for Security Studies at ETH Zurich, said there were broader known links between various Islamist militant movements in the region.

Boko Haram had reached a tipping point, she said, with the state so powerless to curb its activities that it could evolve into a regional issue and join with a global jihad agenda.

Even so, some saw Jonathan's statement as a bid to wash his hands of a home-grown issue feeding off poverty and unemployment.

"If you paint Boko Haram as an offshoot of a larger international threat, it gives him some level of excuse for the government failure to tackle them," said Ben Payton, Senior Africa Analyst at London-based Maplecroft.

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

ANALYSIS-Boko Haram shows changing al Qaeda threat

27 May 2014

May 27 (Reuters) - The kidnapping of more than 200 Nigerian schoolgirls last month has sparked global outrage, launched an international manhunt and instantly turned an obscure West African militant group into a household name in the United States. And it has raised a central question: Does the rapidly growing number of al Qaeda splinter groups pose as much of a threat as al Qaeda itself?

Over the last five years, al Qaeda has atomized, according to experts. As drone strikes and other attacks weakened the core, small, largely autonomous groups inspired by Osama bin Laden's ideology are emerging, becoming self-financing and, in some cases, growing more radicalized than the parent itself.

Boko Haram, for example, is inspired by al Qaeda but acts on its own and, according to U.S. officials, receives most of its funding from local robberies and kidnappings. Its abduction of hundreds of schoolgirls prompted complaints from some militants that its tactics could drive down popular support for the broader movement.

In Syria and Iraq, the same is true of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, disavowed by core al Qaeda after the parent urged it to kill fewer civilians and obey other edicts. Al Qaeda splinter groups of varying loyalty have also emerged in Yemen, Libya, Somalia and Egypt.

"The number of jihadist groups is greater than it has ever been," said Seth Jones, a terrorism expert at the Rand Corporation. "The trends are not good."

Republicans say the rising number of groups proves that the Obama administration's approach to terrorism is failing. White House officials argue that most of the groups are focused on local conflicts, not international terrorism. Experts agree that the groups represent a limited threat now but there is no consensus on what they could become.

Peter Bergen, a terrorism expert at the New America Foundation and author of four books on al Qaeda, said Boko Haram and similar groups wreak havoc in the countries where they operate. But they currently pose little threat to the United States because they are focused on toppling local governments.

"The people who are saying this is really a big problem have no historical perspective," Bergen said. "This is not al Qaeda on September 10, 2001 or even close."

But Bruce Riedel, a terrorism expert at the Brookings Institution and former Obama administration adviser, said the new groups will eventually shift their focus to attacking the United States.

"We are seeing the next generation of Al Qaedaism," Riedel said in an email, "more decentralized but just as dangerous."

One core mistake, according to experts, is making sweeping generalizations about a dizzyingly complex array of groups, countries and local political dynamics. Each movement is different. And the Middle East and North Africa is undergoing unprecedented political upheaval.

The one area where experts clearly agree is on how the international community should respond. They say it is vital for the United States and its allies in Europe, the Middle East and Africa to build up the capacities of local governments to counter local extremist groups. Creating more effective security forces, boosting intelligence-gathering and fostering economic development are widely seen as the most effective ways to marginalize the militants.

But as Boko Haram has shown, the capacity and willingness of governments to mount such efforts varies enormously. Nigeria boasts Africa's largest economy but endemic corruption, abuses by the country's military and long-running ethnic religious tensions have allowed Boko Haram to thrive in recent years.

In Yemen, the limited ability of the government to counter extremist groups has frustrated American officials. But experts warn that direct involvement of U.S. military forces can bolster extremists and improve their fundraising and recruitment. Only local actors, not outsiders, can strengthen weak government structures and end the corruption that insurgents exploit.

"The complexity of this is enormous," said Bruce Hoffman, a terrorism expert at Georgetown University. "You want to maximize local capability as much as you can without turning it into a propaganda victory for the jihadists."

In recent interviews, four terrorism experts said that the Obama administration was doing too little to counter the new groups. Derek Harvey, a retired army colonel and intelligence officer who served in Iraq and Afghanistan, said national security staffers - overwhelmed by crises and leery of American military involvement - classify splinter groups as purely local too quickly.

"They're hopeful that these guys won't do anything targeting us," he said. "I think there are elements in these groups that have the intent to be trans-regional and transnational."

Jones, the Rand expert, said the issue was one of resources. The administration's military budget cuts and "pivot to Asia" have resulted in a smaller U.S. effort to track and understand the new groups.

"You're shifting priorities and resources out of North Africa and the Middle East and South Asia," he said. "That has impacted the focus, the prioritization and almost certainly the resources focused on the many splinter groups that have emerged."

Jessica Stern, a Harvard professor and terrorism expert, said that constantly tracking fracturing groups was more difficult than analyzing a single organization. And

she said dismissing the new groups as purely local threats was foolhardy, because they can rapidly change.

"The word I use for the al Qaeda movement is protean," she said. "It's constantly shifting, which makes it harder for governments to track."

<http://www.trust.org/item/20140527183555-m39yx>

Defense officials say kidnapping of Nigerian girls could aid Boko Haram recruitment

May 28, 2014



The kidnapping of nearly 300 Nigerian girls has raised the international profile of the militant Islamic group Boko Haram and could help with future recruitment as well as fundraising, according to defense officials.

"It's a win-win for them no matter what happens," said one official who spoke on background.

Even though the recent French intervention in Mali significantly cut financial support for the group, the defense officials said the terrorists could attempt to claim, "We (Boko Haram) were able to do this, we will do it again and no matter how many times this happens, there is nothing you (Nigerian government) can do to stop us."

In the same way an attack and hostage taking at an Algerian gas plant in January 2013 raised the profile of Al Qaeda in the Islamic Magreb or AQIM, and its leader Mokhtar Belmokhar, the Nigerian kidnapping has given the little-known group whose name means "western education is sinful" a global stage.

The group, which is sympathetic to Al Qaeda but not an official affiliate, according to the same officials, has fighters now numbering in the hundreds to thousands.

As early as 2011, the group leveraged relationships in the region with Al Qaeda in the Islamic Magreb and Al Qaeda in Somalia, known as al-Shabaab, to train its fighters.

Defense officials described the scale of the girls' kidnapping as a "planned operation" that also required coordination, given the number of hostages involved.

"We are dealing with a group that is very volatile, a group that is somewhat erratic, and we can't always predict how they will respond particularly to a rescue operation," one official said.

New analysis to be published Thursday in the CTC Sentinel from the Combatting Terrorism Center at West Point concludes Boko Haram gained strength between 2010 and 2012 by training and receiving money from Al Qaeda affiliates in north and east Africa.

If international pressure grows on Boko Haram, the group is likely to draw on its network which now extends to Great Britain and "Boko Haram may prepare for retaliatory attacks on Western targets in southern Nigeria or abroad..." the analysis said.

Separately, the defense officials had a similar assessment. "Their ability to project the threat is the question, how far can they project the threat?" asked one.

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

Somalia

CLAN RIVALRIES WEAKEN SOMALIA'S ARMY – ANALYSIS

MAY 29, 2014



Acting governor of Baidoa and Sector 3 commander of the Somali National Army (SNA) Brig-Gen Ibrahim Yaro breaks into a broad grin, bordering on a chuckle, when asked whether his forces have any of their own helicopters.

“You see that vehicle,” he said, pointing to a pick-up truck with a 14.5mm heavy machine-gun mounted on the back, “that is the heaviest weapon we have in the sector [covering the Bay, Gedo and Bakool regions]. It’s borrowed from one of the clans. It’s on loan for free, although we [SNA] have to fix any mechanical problems. But they [the clan] can take it back any time they want to,” he told IRIN.

The national army’s dilapidated Baidoa barracks has a single coil of razor wire for a roadblock at its entrance – in stark contrast to the adjacent heavily fortified African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) base, which houses Ethiopian, Burundian and other soldiers from African states, as well as a small contingent of US special forces.

Any SNA personnel entering the AMISOM complex have to hand over their weapons – if they have any – to AMISOM guards.

Dress code for SNA troops is all but non-existent, with some personnel wearing civilian clothes and others a variety of military uniforms. Three SNA officers sitting a few metres away are dressed in camouflage gear. One has a Chinese uniform, the second a Turkish and the third a US uniform.

“It’s true we [SNA] don’t have uniforms and we don’t have enough ammunition,”

said Yaro. “An AK-47 has 30 bullets in a magazine for each soldier. If someone has eight magazines is it possible to fight with him?”

“Al-Shabab has more ammunition than us. AMISOM is not ready to give us more. If the SNA had more ammunition we could do more activities in the area,” said Yaro, a one-time soldier with ex-president Mohammed Siad Barre’s army.

SNA is being groomed to become the mainstay of the country’s security apparatus but remains a junior partner to AMISOM. The 2012 National Security and Stabilization Plan (NSSP) provided a blueprint for the rebuilding of Somalia’s security forces. It envisaged 28,000 professional soldiers and 12,000 police at a cost of about US\$160 million over three years, including a reformed judiciary. The 2013 Somalia Conference in London also ranked security as the priority for resurrecting a two-decade-old failed state; European donor nations pledged more than \$100 million for the security sector.

The US State Department said in a March 2014 statement that the US had provided more than \$512 million in financial support to AMISOM since 2007, and a further \$171 million for the development of an “effective and professional Somali National Army.”

UNSOA support

In January 2014 the UN Support Office for AMISOM (UNSOA) began providing “non-lethal support to SNA units in front line operations with AMISOM,” Markus Weiss, UNSOA’s coordination and planning officer, told IRIN by email.

After the fall of Barre in 1991 and the disintegration of one of Africa’s largest militaries of the time, Somalia experienced a military vacuum which ushered in the era of the warlords. Its military was first reformed in 2000 by the Transitional National Government (TNG) and then again by the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in 2004.

“The [UN 2013] resolution limits UNSOA’s support package to the provision of six items or services (food and water, fuel, transport, tents and medical support). The support is subject to conditions, like registration and vetting of SNA troops, compliance with UN policy on human rights, mandatory training on others,” Weiss said.

“So far, UNSOA has supported 3,600 SNA [personnel] in Sector 3 and 1,000 SNA in Sector 4 for training purposes only. Once the training is completed, we expect these troops to engage in joint operations with AMISOM. In Sectors 1 and 5 we are about to start the training while we wait for confirmation from SNA on support to Sector 2. In total, a maximum of 10,900 SNA troops will be supported in the first 12 months.

“It is still in the early stages of UNSOA’s support to SNA, but we expect this project to gather pace in the second half of 2014,” he said.

Clan loyalty

Yaro dismisses any suggestion that clan loyalties among SNA personnel, or poor pay (\$100 a month plus \$30 for food – stipends provided by the US and Italy), impede the operational readiness of his soldiers, but it is a view not shared by their military partners AMISOM.

“Clan loyalty is a big problem. SNA [operations] are restricted by clan influence. The police is especially clan-based, although the army is a little better. The SNA leadership is also very weak,” Col Gebrehaweria Fitwi, the Ethiopian force civil-military coordinator in Sector 3, told IRIN.

There are eight SNA battalions in Sector 3: four based in Baidoa, and two each in Bakool and Gedo. A battalion is considered the smallest military formation capable of independent operations – provided they have the necessary equipment – and can vary in size from 300 to 1,200 soldiers.

“There might be eight battalions [of SNA in Sector 3] but the most in one battalion is probably 250 and the least is about 150,” said Fitwi, implying that SNA battalions are under-strength.

“There is the problem of SNA doing private security work [because of low pay] and they are asking us all the time for ammunition. The soldiers come from clans and almost all the army is newly recruited. There are no tactical skills, and there is no command and control,” with SNA soldiers coming and going from their bases as they please, he added.

AMISOM forces and the SNA have rolled back huge swathes of Al-Shabab-controlled areas, especially since the UN February 2012 endorsement of the new Concept of Operations (CONOPS), which saw AMISOM’s troop numbers increase from 12,000 to 17,731 uniformed personnel.

Some analysts term AMISOM’s capturing of territory as “mowing the lawn”, which suppresses the immediate threat, but fails to address the underlying causes of the conflict.

Changing tactics

Mohamed Mubarak, a Mogadishu-based security analyst and founder of the anti-corruption NGO Marqaati, told IRIN success against Al-Shabab for AMISOM was a double-edged sword, as “once Al-Shabab has been sufficiently neutralized, AMISOM risks becoming viewed as an occupying force. However, AMISOM would not want to leave until they have confidence in the capacity of the SNA.”

Fitwi said the nature of the conflict was also changing, as Al-Shabab no longer always confronts AMISOM and has adapted more to “guerrilla-type warfare” with the use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and landmines.

“In the future [AMISOM] tactics need to change. It’s time to shift to the use of spe-

cial forces, but AMISOM has no special forces, but we can use small units to lay ambushes against Al-Shabab,” he said.

Tesfaye Gurmay, a colonel in the Ethiopian army and AMISOM Sector 3 operational head, told IRIN the security situation in the sector was “not alarming” and the main security problem was “the deeply rooted conflict within the clan system, and not Al-Shabab”.

Mubarak in a February 2014 African Arguments briefing said: “Since the TNG days, the transitional governments of Somalia have given military honours to clan and warlord militia commanders simply to appease said groups [clans].

“This has resulted in an army of semi-literate officers at every level: from the veteran warlord Indha Adde promoted to general from nothing by Sheikh Sharif [Ahmed, the former Somali president between 2009 and 2012] in 2010, to former ICU [Islamic Courts Union] foot soldiers promoted to captains and majors from 2009.”

Mubarak told IRIN: “Because of clan politics and the realities of Somalia during the civil war, some clans have more representation in the armed forces and use the SNA cover to achieve their objectives.”

“In today’s Somali army, clan loyalties trump national identity; without this being rectified by rehabilitating and decommissioning clan militias, continuing to arm the Somali army is akin to fuelling clan wars,” Mubarak said in the briefing note.

Arms proliferation

The Somalia and Eritrea Monitoring Group in a February 2014 briefing – following the partial lifting of the country’s more than 20-year-old arms embargo in March 2013, which was eased so that Somalia could re-equip its security forces – pointed to the “high level and systematic abuses in weapons and ammunition management and distribution”.

The briefing said: “The Monitoring Group has identified at least two separate clan-based centres of gravity for weapons procurement within the FGS [Federal Government of Somalia] structures. These two interest groups appear to be prosecuting narrow clan agendas, at times working against the development of peace and security in Somalia through the distribution of weapons to parallel security forces and clan militias that are not part of the Somali security forces.

“In addition, the Monitoring Group has obtained separate photographic evidence of a new AK-pattern assault rifle in one illicit market which matches the exact type supplied by Ethiopia to the SNA. The serial number on that rifle is in sequence with serial numbers inspected on Ethiopian-supplied rifles in Halane [Mogadishu’s main military camp],” the briefing said.

Information obtained by the monitoring group found poor controls on weapons and ammunition and their “sources in the markets indicate[d] that weapons are being moved to Galkacyo, a major trafficking hub in central Somalia, as well as be-

ing sold to Al-Shabab in Jubaland [part of southern Somalia where Kenyan forces are deployed].

“Sources in the markets also claim that prior to November 2013, most weapons sold were black market weapons, whereas dealers now say the greatest supply of weapons is from SNA stocks.”

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

As Hope Looms, Self-interest in Somalia's Policy Always Hurts



Washington (HAN) May 21, 2014 - **Expert Analysis, Your Power & Regional Influence Magazine. The Opinion Academic Paper by: Mohamed Hassan Fidow.** Over the past two years, Somalia achieved significant recovering from decades of conflict, humanitarian disasters and lack of permanent governance. In 1990, following the fall of the Siad Barre military regime, the country failed to form a viable government and devolved into a civil war which lasted over 23 years.

Devastated in those decades of civil war and anarchy Somalia, once strong nation in the Horn of Africa, is witnessing a sudden influx of entrepreneurs and technocrats, who want to take their share of the Nation's rebuilding from ashes.

Repeated deadly attacks by al-Qaida liked terrorist group al-shabab, lack of good governance, clan based politics and poverty have made this nation remain into the world's 10 most dangerous countries over the years , but the hope is not as dead as it was just several years back.

Foreigners, who recently visited the city, say "The long-suffering Mogadishu is now on the path of recovery".

Somalis living abroad are the frontrunners of an unprecedented upheaval currently being witnessed in Somalia, Mainly, the sea-side capital, Mogadishu.

As thousands returned with the willingness to live in their ancestral home, others are forced by hardships, they constantly face in neighboring countries.

Authorities in neighboring Kenya, which hosts almost 500,000 refugees and asylum seekers mainly from Somalia, have been recently pushing ahead with a security crackdown — targeting terrorists- namely al-shabab and their alleged supporters.

Fed up with being the targets of police raids and security sweeps in Nairobi's Eastleigh Somali neighborhood, many Somalis have decided to return home, from where they had fled for their lives. Others were rounded up and forcibly deported.

But *"every cloud has a silver lining"* the Somalis returning from Kenya are already joining adding to the moving force towards the country's rebuilding.

Most of them have started refurbishing and building their homes to fresh start a life in a country they feel they own.

New western-style hotels and restaurants have been built; the construction of many other buildings is under way, and people are rushing to revive a hope in a beleaguered city, hugely torn apart by civil strife.

Moreover, Charity organizations from Turkey, United Arab Emirates, Qatar and others have started carrying out development projects in Mogadishu and several other main cities in the country's south and central regions.

New hospitals and schools have been constructed and old ones rebuilt.

Turkish engineers, local enterprises and architects are helping Somalia's firm lay a foundation of scalable technology infrastructure –notably when it comes Mogadishu's tarmac roads, the airport and the port ravaged by more 22 years of urbane warfare.

Somalis returning from the United States, Europe and elsewhere are serving as an important engine of growth and development in their home country.

Today there are hundreds, if not thousands, of businesses owned by members of Somali Diaspora community and they employ hundreds of local people.

I think this business revolutionary can maximize the ongoing collaboration and shared expertise between Somali business communities from abroad and those who have been struggling in the country and it also can increase economic opportunity and jobs in the market place.

Mogadishu, once nicknamed "Hamar Adey" for its beauty and the white paintings of its buildings, is again reflecting its image. On the other side though, some demoralizing things are the challenges, not only for the capital's full recovery, but also the healing of the entire sick-ridden nation.

The challenges include repeated political disputes based on clan or individual interests, security, judicial reform, public financial management, an interest based involvement of the neighbors and the AMISOM troop contributing countries.

Terrorism, piracy, lack of properly functioning government institutions and corruption are also huge challenges hampering Somalia to expedite materializing the

dreams and the hopes of its people.

According to the experts and analysts, the biggest curse Somalia is currently having is a political instability. As of the most recent evidence, more than 130 Somali lawmakers called the country's president Hassan Sheikh Mohamud to resign, accusing him he failed to fulfil his promises for the nation.

I think this was one of many wake-up calls for Somalis and its world partners who ideally agree on that Somalia's gradually and slowly moving wheels need to be accelerated, instead of another setback.

Although Somali remained a forgotten nation since the infamous Battle for Mogadishu in 1993, when the United States has constrained its engagement in the Horn of Africa, now it has ample opportunities to the path on brighter and better future for its people.

Among the opportunities are U.S. recognition of Somali government for the first time in more than two decades, Somalia's world partners now opening up doors of diplomatic relations and cooperation, and most importantly the fact that Somali people are fed up with lawlessness and the barren clan based political system.

I think if these opportunities are cautiously capitalized, they would set the conditions that will allow Somalis to secure a more prosperous and secure future.

Let us say for instance, the country's leadership is not performing well to carry out the tasks entrusted upon them. Is it the best time to create a political confusion as the country moves towards scheduled election in 2016? Can that be a chance for al-shabab to regroup and mobilize their resources? Are parliamentarians rest assured that a better and effective president would step into the shoes of Mr. Mohamud, if he is get rid of? What would that mean to the reviving hope for Somalis? Make no Mistake. All these questions really need considerations.

If self-interest free MPs put these questions on the floor and look at them honestly, ***I am 100% sure that their conclusion would be "choosing two devils the less,"*** But if clan based visions and opportunistic campaigns are boiling within the parliament, it is clear that political turmoil is inevitable to evaporate.

MPs would then keep abusing a position of public trust, bringing parliament and the executive leaders into unnecessary disrepute and casting a cloud of suspicion and mistrust on the majority of MPs who are perhaps honest, patriots and hard-working scholars.

Some people or organizations might suggest Somalia is the worst country on Earth. Most recently, a report published by Save the Children described the country as "The worst on Earth to be a mother". However, Somalis in Somalia ideally oppose that. They believe that things are much better than how it was few years ago.

Hopes are reviving, farmers are starting to cultivate their fields, the business is flourishing, and al-Shabab the country's major security obstacle is failing

But putting personal and clan interests ahead of those for the people and the nation are common drama on Somalia's political theater and that always hurts the hopes on the horizon.

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

Terrorism in the World

SECURITY OF SPORTS VENUES: PROTECTING EVENTS FROM TERRORISM – ANALYSIS

MAY 16, 2014 [RSIS](#) [LEAVE A COMMENT](#)



Khalifa International Stadium, home stadium of the Qatar national football team

Large-capacity sporting venues have been attractive targets for terrorists keen on carrying out spectacular attacks. How best to overcome the security conundrum that, while hardening targets might reduce vulnerabilities, overt security presence could paradoxically attract attackers?

By Sulastri Osman and Joseph Franco

SINGAPORE'S ASPIRATION to be a key centre for international sporting events reaches new heights with the scheduled opening of the S\$1.3 billion Sports Hub in June 2014. Billed as a premier sports, entertainment and lifestyle destination located at the Kallang waterfront, the Sports Hub is a 33-hectare complex comprising venues such as the new 55,000-seat National Stadium, the 13,000-seat Singapore Indoor Stadium, and the 6,000-seat Aquatic Centre.

Major sports meets such as the SEA Swimming Championships and the Rugby World Club 10s are set for kick off, and with community sporting facilities also on-site, the Hub will see activities all year round.

"Inspired" targeting of sporting events

Such a collection of sports venues also attracts the attention of non-sporting groups. The 12th issue of Inspire, a publication of Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), carried instructions on how to construct a car bomb that will cause maximum damage in “places flooded with individuals”.

The magazine has gained notoriety for encouraging the use of violence and disseminating the know-hows of planning attacks and assembling improvised explosives – in essence, providing the capability to complement the violent motivations it espouses. Listed specifically as targets for attacks are upcoming sporting events such as the US Open tennis tournament, the FA Cup and Premier League football matches in the United Kingdom, and the League Cup in France.

While it is untenable to make a claim that Inspire articles translate into attacks, dismissing the magazine as irrelevant, however, is also imprudent. It was revealed during the trial of Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, the lone surviving suspect of the Boston Marathon bombings that the Tsarnaev brothers had learned to construct their improvised explosive devices from the first issue of Inspire. Their pressure cooker bombs were similar to the device described in the how-to article titled: “Make a Bomb in the Kitchen of Your Mom”.

Terrorism as spectacle

The targeting of sporting events is not new. The attack on the Boston Marathon was preceded by the 1996 Atlanta Olympics bombing and the 1972 Munich Olympics massacre. In South Asia, the Sri Lankan cricket team was attacked near a stadium in Pakistan in 2009, and in 2008 a suicide bomb went off at the starting point of an annual marathon in Sri Lanka. Closer to Singapore, bombs exploded outside a stadium in Aceh during a football game in 2001.

Sporting events are essentially “soft targets”; they are intrinsically hard to secure given the large number of spectators and participants at a venue. For those with ill intentions, such a dense crowd will yield more casualties with relatively simple weapons. Moreover, there is lesser risk of pre-attack detection and greater chances of post-attack evasion amidst a panicking crowd.

That said, operational considerations are often secondary to a more potent reason behind choosing to target sporting events. Such events provide terrorists with a captive audience for their violent spectacle. Terrorism is, after all, an act of political signalling – of affecting social behaviour and government policies through the deliberate targeting of civilians. Attackers may claim that the attacks are an end in themselves to wear down the capabilities of security forces. Such tactical goals though, serve the strategy of projecting an image of strength and undermining confidence in the authorities.

Security paradox: Hardened targets, attractive targets?

The traditional response of governments and security authorities is to “harden” potential targets: installing physical barriers and surveillance equipment, limiting

access to sporting sites, and deploying security forces. This was evident in the run-up to the highly tensed 2014 Winter Olympics at Sochi with the Russian authorities repeatedly pledging to boost security, only to be met with repeated threats from Chechen militant groups to disrupt the Games. Six weeks to the opening ceremony, two successive suicide bombings in the Russian city of Volgograd – adjacent to the restive North Caucasus region – demonstrated the resolve and capability of militants to strike close to the Games.

Sochi 2014, fortunately, passed without incident, but also not without a costly “ring of steel” security clampdown. Overt security measures appeared to validate the traditional approach to hardening targets. Yet the Russian case is hardly the best example. For one, ongoing military engagement in neighbouring restive regions where rebel forces were concentrated needed to be sustained.

Following the Russian context, one would still need to deploy thousands of special operations, intelligence and local law enforcement units. Such measures could not be more disruptive and are hardly sustainable for extended periods of time. Constraining the movement of people and a heightened state of anxiety are also inimical to the spirit of the Olympics.

Accordingly, a key lesson is this: as much as terrorism is a form of signalling, so is counterterrorism.

A growing body of research, as exemplified by a study from the University of Sydney, has revealed how in some cases hardening public venues can paradoxically lead to more insecurity. On one hand, defending conspicuous targets can result in potential attackers seeking more accessible and possibly numerous other targets. On the other hand, a hardened target can also prompt attackers to seek deadlier attack methods.

A separate research has shed light on a correlation between increased hardness of targets and the likelihood of suicide bomb attacks. Simply put, signalling that a target is worth defending makes it more attractive to attackers.

Time for strong but subtle security

In aspiring to be a world-class sporting destination, Singapore can balance security with preparedness. Risk mitigation, for instance, can come in the form of physical infrastructure security. Blast-resistant glass and shrapnel-preventing structures are becoming construction staples incorporated early in the design process of new venues and facilities. There is policymaking and industry consensus that embedding security right into the physical infrastructure is less costly than when security is introduced as an afterthought.

Secure buildings and smart security designs reduce the need for overt displays of security presence at sporting events. This in turn reduces the perceived attractiveness of a target to potential attackers.

Sound infrastructure alone cannot offer security. This is why existing programmes like the Security Watch Group (SWG) Scheme, which is a collaborative effort between the police and the commercial sector to tactically harden their premises against potential attacks, must continue to be enhanced.

In addition, robust but lower-profile initiatives such as the Singapore Maritime Crisis Centre encourage information-sharing among relevant stakeholders in the maritime community with various agencies responsible for national security. These provide the foundation for early disruption of terrorist plots. Joint public exercises such as Northstar VIII (2011), Heartbeat (2013), and High Crest (2013) on the other hand help stress-test existing protocols in responding to terrorist incidents.

The opening of the Sports Hub and the ever-increasing attractions of Singapore as a popular sporting venue necessitates the balancing of appropriate measures to prepare for and respond to potential threats. Examples from overseas affirm the quiet effectiveness of strong but subtle security.

Sulastri Osman is Research Fellow, and Joseph Franco, Associate Research Fellow with the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS), a constituent unit of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University. This commentary is a research collaboration between CENS and the National Maritime Sense-Making Group (NMSG), a component of the Singapore Maritime Crisis Centre (SMCC).

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

Belgium

Attaque de Bruxelles: la tuerie qualifiée d'acte "terroriste" par la justice belge

Une décision motivée par "l'identité et la nationalité des victimes" et la personnalité de l'auteur de la tuerie. Ce dernier est toujours activement recherché.

Le 26/05/2014 à 18:27



des vidéos prises par les caméras de surveillance, montrant l'homme suspecté de l'attaque contre le musée juif de Bruxelles samedi. (Federal police - Belga - AFP)

La justice belge a qualifié lundi d'acte "terroriste" la tuerie commise samedi au Musée Juif de Bruxelles, qui a fait trois morts, dont un couple d'Israéliens.

"Le juge, qui avait au départ été saisi pour assassinats (...) a maintenant été saisi de façon complémentaire d'assassinats terroristes", a déclaré au cours d'un point de presse la porte-parole du parquet fédéral, Wenke Roggen.

Confiée dans un premier temps au parquet de Bruxelles, l'affaire a été reprise lundi par le "parquet fédéral", compétent pour les faits de terrorisme et ceux ayant des ramifications internationales. Un renvoi décidé sur la base "de l'identité et de la nationalité des victimes" et "de l'analyse des images" de l'attaque prises par les caméras de surveillance".

La quatrième victime en état de mort cérébrale

Le parquet fédéral, chargé des affaires de terrorisme, s'abstient de déclarer mort la quatrième victime, un jeune employé belge, officiellement en état de mort cérébrale, dont l'entourage avait annoncé qu'il avait succombé dimanche à ses blessures. Outre les deux Israéliens d'une cinquantaine d'années, une retraitée fran-

çaise employée bénévole du musée figure parmi les victimes.

Wenke Roggen a affirmé ne pas disposer d'informations sur un lien possible entre l'attaque et le fait que les victimes sont israéliennes. Selon le quotidien belge *Le Soir*, le couple, récemment rentré à Tel-Aviv, avait "séjourné plusieurs années en Allemagne, à titre de 'chaliakh', ces envoyés de l'Etat hébreu en contact avec les communautés juives de la diaspora".

"Nous avons demandé à tous nos partenaires de nous fournir des informations", a indiqué Mme Roggen, sans toutefois préciser si les Israéliens participeraient à l'enquête.

Toujours activement recherché

La justice belge s'était jusque-là gardée de qualifier l'attaque de "terroriste" ou "antisémite", même si dès samedi la sécurité des lieux fréquentés par la communauté juive en Belgique a été relevée au niveau maximal.

Alors qu'aucune piste permettant d'identifier le tueur n'était mise en avant, les enquêteurs vont mener un travail de fourmi pour analyser des "milliers d'heures d'images saisies", selon le parquet.

De premières images de vidéosurveillance, diffusées dimanche par la police dans le cadre d'un appel à témoins, montrent un individu agissant selon la justice "de sang-froid et bien déterminé dans ses actes".

Une attaque filmée par le tueur?

Le tabloïd belge *Dernière Heure* a affirmé lundi que le tueur portait une caméra fixée à la bandoulière d'un de ses deux sacs pour filmer ses actes, comme Mohammed Merah il y a deux ans, dans le sud-ouest de la France. Le Congrès juif européen avait aussi fait le parallèle avec ce Franco-Algérien, qui avait abattu quatre Juifs, dont trois enfants, et trois militaires.

Mais la justice s'est refusée à confirmer ou infirmer la présence d'une caméra.

La recherche d'indices va aussi se poursuivre au musée, qui restera fermé jusqu'à nouvel ordre, a précisé le parquet.

Pour le pays, comme l'a souligné dimanche la ministre de l'Intérieur, Joëlle Milquet, "la priorité des priorités est de retrouver" le tueur, de "l'arrêter et l'empêcher de sévir".

Les responsables de la communauté juive de Belgique, qui compte environ 40.000 personnes, ont manifesté leur volonté de ne pas se laisser intimider : les écoles,

synagogues, centres sociaux ou culturels continuent de fonctionner, sous un niveau de protection porté à son maximum.

Spectre d'une violence antisémite

Mais l'inquiétude est vive, alors que l'attaque, samedi peu avant 16 heures dans un musée librement ouvert au public, a fait ressurgir le spectre d'une violence antisémite que le pays n'avait plus connue depuis les années 80.

Selon une étude de l'Agence européenne des droits fondamentaux, 88% des Juifs de Belgique estiment que l'antisémitisme a augmenté dans leur environnement.

"Il faut prendre le taureau par les cornes pour tout ce qui concerne l'incitation à la haine", a prôné lundi l'ambassadeur d'Israël en Belgique, Jacques Revah. Il a décerné en la matière un satisfecit aux autorités de Bruxelles pour avoir interdit le 4 mai un congrès antisémite auquel devait assister le polémiste français Dieudonné.

La Belgique est aussi à l'avant-garde de la mobilisation européenne contre les filières jihadistes recrutant des combattants pour la Syrie, estimant à environ 200 ses ressortissants partis y combattre.

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

Analysis: Hezbollah or al-Qaida behind Brussels terror attack?

05/28/2014

Recent years have seen psychopaths acting alone, yet there are capable groups that could be behind this operation; Shooter walked out of the museum without breaking into a run and with no sign of panic.

As Miriam and Emmanuel Riva were laid to rest Tuesday in Tel Aviv, Belgian police and security service, aided by Israeli agencies, continue its investigation into the terror attack that took place at the Jewish museum in Brussels last Saturday. But the mystery surrounding the affair is only growing.

Most experts believe that the terror attack was the work of a professional. Images caught by a security camera, and that the Belgian police have released for publication, show the assassin entering the museum in a well calculated manner, carrying a knapsack.

He pulled out a Kalashnikov assault rifle and opened fire at short range. Following the shooting, he walked out of the museum and onto the sidewalk, without breaking into a run and with no sign of panic.

Unlike what earlier reports indicated, the gunman was not assisted by a driver of a getaway car.

The person who was arrested after the shooting believed to be the driver of a getaway car is no longer a suspect, but a witness.

The Belgian investigators seem to believe that there was no getaway care and the assassin walked away on foot. Yet it is possible that he was assisted by unknown persons, who may have provided him with the weapon.

As the gunmen left no traces – neither fingerprints nor other clues – the investigators are focusing on the security cameras' footage.

Thousands of hours of recordings from private cameras and public cameras in a wide perimeter around the Jewish Museum – including in the subway and railway stations – are analyzed with the hope that they may shed a light and direct the police toward the right path.

According to the Belgian Police, the assassin likely wore a miniature camera on his shirt to record the murder, similar to that worn by the gunman who shot four people dead outside a Jewish school in Toulouse, France, two years ago.

But for Belgian experts the crime is more reminiscent of what happened 25 years

ago to Joseph Wybran. On October 3, 1989, Wybran, a Belgian immunologist and head of the umbrella organization of Belgian Jewish groups, was shot to death in the parking lot of the Erasmus Hospital of the Free University of Brussels, where he worked.

At the time, an obscure Beirut-based organization, called Soldiers of the Right, claimed responsibility for the murder, but in 2008, a Moroccan-Belgian terrorist named Abdelkadder Belliraj purportedly confessed to it and a number of other political killings. The following year, a Moroccan court convicted him of a number of terror-related crimes and sentenced to him to life in prison, although by then he had claimed that his confessions were extracted by way of torture.

In short, like the 1989 killing, this recent crime was the work of a professional and well-trained terrorist assassin.

On the one hand, Norway and the US have in recent years witnessed psycho-terrorists who acted alone and in cold blood.

And yet, there are of course professional and capable terrorist organizations such Hezbollah or al-Qaida that could be behind this operation.

Since the assassination of Imad Mughniyeh, Hezbollah's "defense minister," in 2008, in Damascus – attributed to the Mossad – the Lebanese Shi'ite organization has committed to avenge his death by attacks against Israeli or Jewish targets anywhere in the world.

It has even had some successes, such as in New Delhi and in Burgas, Bulgaria, where a suicide bomber killed six Israeli tourists.

If Hezbollah is behind the Brussels attack, it is unlikely that it will claim responsibility.

However, it may leak hints – kind of a blink of an eye – of its involvement for domestic consumption to its trusted media outlets.

Since the Second Lebanon War in 2006, Hezbollah's revenge attacks against Israeli or Jewish targets all required the approval of its so-called boss, the Iranian intelligence, and more specifically, Gen. Qasem Suleimani, commander of the Revolutionary Guards' Quds Force.

Another even more likely possibility that must be taken into account is that the attack was carried out by an arm (locally organized in Belgium or abroad) of al-Qaida – that is to say, a cell of the Islamic Jihad, which seeks out attacks against Jewish and Israeli targets, whether instructed to do so from the higher ranks or a decision made by a small local cell, such as the shooting in Toulouse.

Some Israeli journalists have tried to create the impression that the greatest mystery in this story is whether the murdered, certainly the two Israelis, were a deliberate target of the terrorist and whoever sent him, or just tourists who walked into the line of fire by chance.

This impression is enhanced by the background biographies of the murdered Israeli couple.

Emmanuel Riva was an accountant who more than six years ago worked for Nativ, the organization in charge of immigration from Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States, a body that operates under the auspices of the Prime Minister's Office.

Nativ in the past was a member-organization of the intelligence community, but it ceased to be so more than a decade ago.

What is as clear as day is that Emmanuel was not an intelligence officer and was certainly not involved in operations. He was a product of the Finance Ministry who was sent to work as an accountant for Nativ.

He left Nativ at some point, and it is not clear what he did after that but I am certain that he did not work in the intelligence community or in the Foreign Ministry.

He went abroad with his wife, Mira, who was also killed in the attack. She was assigned to the Israeli Embassy in Germany a few years ago. She too was an accountant in the Prime Minister's Office.

Media outlets in Israel have irresponsibly released heavy hints about her employment at the Prime Minister's Office, which were quickly "translated" in the Belgian media as indications that she was a Mossad employee.

Regardless, it must be emphasized that she was an accountant, who worked in an administration department, and was not an intelligence officer.

Thus it seems very likely that a terror group would manage to identify her position and employer, follow her two years after she had finished her tour of duty, and kill her during a private visit to the Jewish Museum.

As an accountant she should not be considered a high-value target. There are better Israeli targets for Hezbollah or al-Qaida, such as senior Israeli officers for example.

At this stage it's best to be careful and not to hasten to any definitive conclusions.

Every investigative direction is possible in the field of terror. The chance is still great that the details of this attack were just a tragic coincidence in which an Israeli couple on a private tour of Brussels found themselves in the wrong place at the wrong time – when terrorists decided to attack a Jewish target.

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

China

Le procès monumental des "terroristes" du Xinjiang

28/05/14 - 12h59



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reuters.

Les autorités chinoises ont exhibé 55 personnes, accusées notamment de "terrorisme", dans un stade du Xinjiang où des juges ont prononcé trois condamnations à mort, selon la presse officielle, alors que débute une campagne de répression contre les violences dans cette région à dominante musulmane.

Devant 7.000 personnes, dont les responsables locaux du Parti communiste, cette "réunion de masse" était destinée à "annoncer des verdicts, des arrestations et des peines de réclusion criminelle, et à châtier selon la loi un groupe de criminels terroristes violents", a rapporté l'agence Chine nouvelle.

Séparatisme et terrorisme

Les peines prononcées par les juges devant la foule concernaient des affaires de meurtre, de "séparatisme", de "participation à une entreprise terroriste", ainsi que des affaires de viol et d'hébergement de criminels, selon l'agence d'Etat.

Condamnations à mort

Trois personnes ont été condamnées à mort pour avoir tué à la hache une famille de quatre personnes l'an dernier, a-t-elle ajouté, sans préciser si l'affaire était liée à des faits de nature terroriste. La police a annoncé de son côté à la foule l'inculpation de 38 suspects et la détention de 27 autres. Des photos montraient les accusés

présentés à la foule à l'arrière d'un camion, portant des vestes orange fluo et la tête penchée, maintenue vers le sol par des membres casqués des forces de sécurité.

La détermination de Pékin

L'événement était organisé pour "montrer la détermination résolue des autorités à réprimer les 'trois forces' du terrorisme violent", a indiqué le chef adjoint du Parti communiste local, cité par l'agence, faisant allusion au séparatisme, à l'extrémisme religieux et au terrorisme.

Justice-spectacle

Destinés à faire impression sur la population, les procès collectifs dans les stades ont commencé dans les années 1950 et se sont poursuivis jusque dans les années 1990, avant que cette justice-spectacle ne disparaisse.

Source: <http://www.7sur7.be>

Une approche douce dans le cadre de la lutte anti-terroriste

Outre des actes fermes de lutte contre le terrorisme, des mesures visant à améliorer la qualité de vie en assurant des emplois et l'éducation devraient également être adoptées en tant qu'approche douce mais fondamentale pour contrer la menace.

Dans le sillage d'une série d'attentats terroristes sanglants, les plus hauts dirigeants du Parti communiste chinois (PCC) ont dévoilé lundi un ensemble de politiques de gouvernance pour la région du Xinjiang, à l'extrême ouest du pays.

La création d'emplois figure en tête de l'ordre du jour, tout comme le rééquilibrage de la répartition géographique de l'éducation a été qualifié de « priorité ».

La direction du PCC s'est engagée à veiller à ce que, dans le sud du Xinjiang, au moins une personne des familles sans emploi se voie offrir un travail et des études en lycée gratuites. Les enfants chinois ont généralement droit à neuf années d'éducation gratuite, couvrant les écoles primaires et les collèges du secondaire.

Les deux axes ont été choisis avec soin.

Les attentats terroristes du Xinjiang qui ont eu lieu au cours des dernières années ont été initiés par une minorité extrémiste qui a ses propres caractéristiques uniques. Cependant, les auteurs de ces actes partagent aussi des similitudes -par exemple, la jeunesse, la pauvreté, le chômage ou une faible éducation.

La police du Xinjiang a démantelé 23 groupes terroristes et extrémistes religieux et arrêté plus de 200 suspects au début du mois. Nombre de ces suspects sont âgés de 20 à 30 ans, ce sont des gens qui ont regardé des vidéos et des documents audio de propagande terroriste en ligne et par l'intermédiaire de dispositifs de stockage, et qui ont appris à fabriquer des explosifs.

La totalité des 11 personnes suspectées de terrorisme recherchées par la police du Xinjiang en juillet de l'année dernière n'avaient pas dépassé le collège, voire en-dessous.

Les autorités policières ont dit que ces suspects arrêtés au cours des dernières années avaient été endoctrinés par des documents vidéo et audio fournis par des groupes terroristes situés en périphérie de la Chine.

Le manque d'éducation chez les jeunes est susceptible de les amener facilement à mal interpréter les enseignements islamiques, les rendre vulnérables aux sirènes des extrémistes, et leur rend difficile la recherche d'un emploi pour les sortir de la misère.

La lutte anti-terroriste implique à la fois une approche « dure » et une autre plus « douce ».

D'une part, la Chine s'est engagée à mener une répression sévère et une stratégie préventive contre les attaques terroristes. Elle a annoncé une opération anti-terroriste longue d'une année à l'échelle nationale, avec le Xinjiang comme « prin-

cipal champ de bataille ».

D'autre part, le gouvernement a encouragé les efforts pour assurer une vie meilleure et un développement plus équilibré aux habitants de tous les groupes ethniques de la région autonome. Ils doivent avoir des moyens de subsistance et un avenir prometteur devant eux.

Malgré une croissance économique à deux chiffres au cours des dernières années, le Xinjiang, qui représente un sixième du territoire de la Chine, reste à la traîne sur le plan économique et connaît des problèmes de déséquilibre en termes de richesse et de développement.

La direction du PCC a promis des mesures spéciales lundi pour stimuler le développement dans le sud du Xinjiang, une région principalement habitée par des ouïghours musulmans et qui a souvent été attaquée par des terroristes et des extrémistes.

Elle a également déclaré que la Chine s'en tiendra à sa stratégie d'ouverture dans le Xinjiang pour en faire une zone centrale de la future ceinture économique de la Route de la Soie.

Les mesures annoncées lundi, comme celles sur l'emploi et l'éducation, doivent être soigneusement mises en œuvre afin de mieux armer les jeunes, pour dissiper l'hostilité et promouvoir la justice sociale, et ne laisser absolument aucune chance à la pénétration des forces terroristes venues de l'étranger.

http://french.china.org.cn/china/txt/2014-05/28/content_32516463.htm

Pakistan

Al Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan: An enduring threat

May 20, 2014

Editor's note: Below is Thomas Joscelyn's testimony to the House Committee of Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation and Trade on al Qaeda's network in Africa and the threat it poses to the US.

Chairman Poe, Ranking Member Sherman and members of the subcommittee, thank you for inviting me here today to discuss the enduring threat posed by al Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is widely assumed that al Qaeda's presence in South Asia does not, in fact, pose an enduring threat to American interests. The slaying of top al Qaeda leaders, including Osama bin Laden, and more than a decade of war and other counterterrorism operations have supposedly hobbled the organization. However, while I have no doubt that al Qaeda has sustained heavy losses, I do not think that bin Laden's heirs are a spent force. On the contrary, al Qaeda lives.

In the hearing today I am going to build on my previous testimony before this subcommittee last July. During that hearing (["Global Al Qaeda: Affiliates, Objectives, and Future Challenges"](#)), we discussed the structure of al Qaeda and the challenges we face in the future. Today, I wish to emphasize five main points:

1. Al Qaeda is an international network that is comprised of a "general command," regional branches, as well as various other organizations and personalities.

It may seem odd, but more than a dozen years after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, there is no commonly accepted definition of al Qaeda. The term "core" al Qaeda is often used, but this concept is a Western invention and imprecisely defined. And the way it is employed does not accurately convey how al Qaeda is structured. When analysts and officials speak of the "core" of al Qaeda, they are generally referring to Ayman al Zawahiri and the lieutenants who surround him in South Asia. Some go even further, arguing that Zawahiri is the only "core" al Qaeda leader left. Such arguments are not based on evidence.

Al Qaeda operates what it calls a "general command," which consists of the organization's senior leadership and their lieutenants, several committees, a Shura (advisory) council of the group's most trusted advisers, as well as a supporting staff that includes, for example, couriers. We regularly see statements issued by al Qaeda's "general command," but few stop to ask what al Qaeda means by this. The "general command" performs various administrative functions, in addition to overseeing the organization's international operations. For instance, al Qaeda's amniyat is part of the group's internal security and counterintelligence apparatus. The amniyat in northern Pakistan is notorious for hunting down suspected spies.

This cohesive organization is not confined to South Asia. Jihadists who are, by any

reasonable definition, "core" al Qaeda members are dispersed throughout the world. For example, Nasir al Wuhayshi, who heads al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), is as "core" as they come, having served as Osama bin Laden's protégé and aide-de-camp. In addition to serving as the emir of AQAP, [Wuhayshi is the general manager of al Qaeda](#), which is a "core" function in al Qaeda's hierarchy, that is, within the "general command." The general manager of al Qaeda is given broad powers to oversee the organization's operations.

The "general command" of al Qaeda has designated several regions for waging jihad, and an emir is appointed to oversee the organization's efforts in each of these regions. The emir of each region has much latitude in deciding how to organize his group's day-to-day efforts, but he swears bayat, an oath of allegiance, to al Qaeda's overall emir (currently Zawahiri). The emirs of each region report to al Qaeda's senior leadership, including the general manager. What many refer to as al Qaeda's formal "affiliates" are really branches of al Qaeda that have been assigned to fight in these regions. The formal branches of al Qaeda, each designated its own region, are: al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), AQAP, the Al Nusra Front in Syria, and Al Shabaab. All of them have sworn loyalty to Ayman al Zawahiri. In addition to these regions, al Qaeda also [maintains facilitation networks in countries such as Iran](#).

Thus, the brief sketch of al Qaeda I have drawn here is one of a much more cohesive international organization than is often assumed. Like all other human organizations, however, al Qaeda has faced obstacles in trying to hold this network together. For instance, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Sham (ISIS) was al Qaeda's branch inside Iraq, but the group's emir had repeatedly disobeyed orders from the "general command." This led to [ISIS being disowned by the group](#). ISIS is currently fighting the Al Nusra Front and its allies in Syria.

In addition to the formal branches of al Qaeda, there are other organizations that are part of al Qaeda's international network even though they have not publicly sworn bayat to the leadership. Indeed, al Qaeda has often hidden its precise organizational relationship with groups that are being groomed for an alliance. Both the Al Nusra Front and Al Shabaab, now formal branches of al Qaeda, did not make their operational connections to al Qaeda's senior leadership known at first. Al Qaeda also employs multiple brands so as to obfuscate the extent of its influence. In Yemen, for instance, AQAP adopted the name "Ansar al Sharia." This brand name was intended to convey the idea that the group is the true protector and enforcer of sharia law. Other groups calling themselves Ansar al Sharia have been established in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia. There are still other groups that have adopted al Qaeda's ideology, but are probably not operationally connected to the "general command" or al Qaeda's branches.

I begin with this overview because the enduring threat of al Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan extends far outside of the region.

2. Al Qaeda is, at its heart, a clandestine organization, but careful analysis reveals that it has a deep bench of talent from which it draws.

Since its founding in 1988, the organization has attempted to conceal its operations. This has made it difficult to assess some very basic aspects of al Qaeda. The group does not, for instance, publish an organizational chart or make its total roster known. If you watch al Qaeda carefully enough, however, you can see that the group has consistently replaced top leaders lost in the 9/11 wars. In some cases these replacements are not as competent, while in other cases they may even surpass their fallen comrades.

Nasir al Wuhayshi, the aforementioned general manager of al Qaeda, is a seasoned veteran who replaced others in that role after they were killed or captured. Wuhayshi is, by all appearances, an all too competent leader. Still, the American-led counterterrorism effort has certainly disrupted al Qaeda's international network, delivering severe setbacks in some areas. Al Qaeda's problems with ISIS stem, to a large degree, from the fact that the U.S. and its allies took out its predecessor organization's top leadership in 2010. The leaders of the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI) were loyal to al Qaeda's "general command" but were replaced with leaders who had not been vetted by al Qaeda's senior leaders.

One of the interesting things about the infighting between the ISIS and Al Nusrah is that it has led al Qaeda to identify several leaders who were previously unknown to the public. The leaders were identified because they were called as witnesses against ISIS, relying on their established jihadist pedigrees to give them credibility. Some of these leaders have dossiers that stretch back decades, but no one was talking about them until they appeared on screen. This same phenomenon happens all the time. Al Qaeda leaders who were previously unknown are identified in either the "general command" or the regional branches.

This dynamic leads to a significant epistemological problem. U.S. officials, under both the Bush and Obama administrations, have repeatedly claimed to have decimated al Qaeda after a certain number of leaders of the organization were either killed or captured. Part of the reason these assessments have been flawed is that al Qaeda has a "deep bench" to draw from, both from within its own organization and allied groups. Al Qaeda is constantly in the process of recruiting new talent as well.

In Pakistan and Afghanistan today, al Qaeda likely has a significant cadre of leaders who have not been publicly identified. The roles played by other, publicly identified operatives are not widely understood either. For instance, a cursory review of *Vanguards of Khorasan*, an al Qaeda publication, reveals numerous leaders who are not regularly discussed.

3. Al Qaeda has always been, first and foremost, an insurgency organization focused on overturning the existing political order in the Muslim world. Al Qaeda's jihadists are terrorists, but they are more than that. They are political revolutionaries who seek power for themselves and their ideology.

As such, most of al Qaeda's efforts since its founding have been focused on fighting "over there," that is, contesting for power in faraway lands. Their early efforts in this regard ended in failure. But today, formal branches of al Qaeda are fighting throughout much of Africa and the Middle East. Consistent with al Qaeda's original vision, these groups are all seeking to win territory, establish Islamic states, and govern according to their radical version of sharia law. They pose a threat to U.S. interests abroad, and part of each of these organizations has either already been devoted to plotting attacks in the West or likely will be. Luckily, most of their attempts to attack the West have thus far failed. But it is always worth remembering that attacking the West has not been al Qaeda's strategic goal. Attacking the U.S. on 9/11, and various plots thereafter, was seen as a tactical step. Al Qaeda believes that by attacking the U.S. and the West, it can lessen Western influence in the Muslim world, thereby destabilizing the existing political order and freeing up the opportunity to wage insurgencies against governments al Qaeda deems un-Islamic. Only a small fraction of al Qaeda's resources throughout its entire history have been devoted to mass casualty attacks in the West. A far greater amount of the organization's resources have been dedicated to fighting "over there."

This basic point reveals another epistemological problem. Some claim that al Qaeda's failure to launch another 9/11-style attack on the U.S. homeland (putting aside smaller attacks that were, at a minimum, inspired by al Qaeda's ideology) means that the group has been strategically defeated. Counterterrorism and intelligence officials deserve a great deal of credit for stopping the next attack. We've gotten lucky on some occasions, too. But, most importantly, al Qaeda is spending far more of its resources fighting "over there" than it is grooming new 9/11-style terrorists. Thus, a word of caution: As al Qaeda has expanded its geographic footprint, it has also increased its pool of potential recruits for attacks in the West. Most the jihadists fighting abroad will remain insurgents, as was the case prior to 9/11. As new talent comes in, however, this opens new possibilities for al Qaeda's attacks on the West. The best, but not the only, example of this today is in Syria. Most of al Qaeda's resources are spent battling Bashar al Assad's forces, as well as fighting the rogue ISIS faction (which could also lash out at the West). But Western counterterrorism officials are rightly concerned that some individuals recruited to fight in Syria will be repurposed for attacks back at home.

4. Al Qaeda operates as part of a "syndicate" in Central and South Asia. In 2010, former Secretary of Defense Robert Gates described al Qaeda as being part of a "syndicate" in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and elsewhere in the region. This is an excellent description of how al Qaeda operates. "A victory for one [member of the syndicate] is a victory for all," [Gates cautioned](#). He is right. Gates mentioned groups such as the Afghan and Pakistani Taliban (Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan, or TTP), as well as Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), as belonging to this "syndicate." To this we can add: the Haqqani Network (HQN), the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) and its offshoot the Islamic Jihad Union (IJU), Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami (HUJI), Harakat-ul-

Mujahideen (HUM), Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ), among other groups.

I will not recount here how each of these groups is tied to al Qaeda. The archives of *The Long War Journal* are filled with examples, including those showing how al Qaeda has replenished its ranks from these organizations. However, the Haqqani Network (HQN) deserves a further, albeit brief, mention. The HQN is part of the Taliban alliance and also closely tied to al Qaeda. The relationship between the HQN and al Qaeda at the most senior levels of each organization goes back decades. The HQN has provided safe haven for al Qaeda in northern Pakistan and Afghanistan, even allowing al Qaeda to plot attacks against the West from HQN-controlled territory. Al Qaeda has developed strategic depth in South Asia by partnering with groups such as the HQN.

5. Al Qaeda is still operating in Afghanistan today. Al Qaeda's leader in the Kunar and Nuristan provinces is Farouq al Qahtani. It is well-known that al Qahtani leads al Qaeda's forces and works with the group's allies in these remote areas. But al Qaeda operates outside of Kunar and Nuristan as well. Indeed, one of the documents captured in Osama bin Laden's compound and released to the public shows that the al Qaeda master ordered some of his subordinates to relocate from northern Pakistan to Ghazni and Zabul, as well as Kunar and Nuristan.

One way al Qaeda operates in Afghanistan today is through [the Lashkar al Zil, or Shadow Army, which is al Qaeda's primary paramilitary force in the region](#). As the name implies, al Qaeda is trying to hide the extent of its influence over this group as well as over other allied groups. This makes it difficult to assess the full scope of al Qaeda's operations inside Afghanistan today. Still, consistent reporting shows that al Qaeda's commanders and fighters are pooling their resources with other organizations. Al Qaeda also [operates an electronics workshop](#), headquartered in Pakistan, that develops improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and other weapons for use in Afghanistan.

Read more: http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2014/05/al_qaeda_in_afghanis.php##ixzz335q7RODe

Turkey

[News Analysis] PKK's show of strength threatens settlement process

29.05.2014

The southeast of Turkey, which has enjoyed a relatively peaceful period since the launch of a settlement process between the Turkish state and the terrorist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), has recently been heading toward troublesome days, due in particular to the terrorist group's increased kidnapping and blocking of roads.

Responding to ongoing work for the construction of a military outpost in the region, PKK operatives blocked a road leading to Lice district on April 27 and then kidnapped two senior sergeants. Then, PKK terrorists wounded three civilians while trying to abduct Mikail Ayık, a member of the Free Cause Party (Hüda-Par), in the town of Darakol near Diyarbakır. They later blocked the Diyarbakır-Bingöl road and dug a trench using construction machinery to prevent vehicles from driving on the road. The road has remained blocked for almost a week. Earlier this week, PKK terrorists also blocked the Hani-Lice highway and kidnapped one senior sergeant.

People in the region used to be pleased to see that there had been a ceasefire between the Turkish security forces and PKK terrorists, but are currently worried about the prospect of a revival of clashes.

There are tangible and intangible reasons that have led the terrorist PKK to increase its unlawful activities. Among the tangible reasons the PKK's response to the government's increased efforts to construct military outposts in the Kurdish-dominated east and southeast. The PKK is also disturbed by the recruitment of new village guards by the Turkish state recently. The terrorist group claims that the state has been giving arms to civilians -- in reference to the village guards -- even though a settlement process is under way. In addition, the PKK is uneasy about ongoing works for the construction of dams in eastern and southeastern regions. According to the group, the state is building these dams not because the regions need them but because it wishes to prevent PKK operatives from easily crossing Turkey's border with northern Iraq, where the terrorist group has military bases.

Among the intangible reasons is the PKK's desire to show its strength. According to some anti-terrorism experts, the PKK wants to make people see that it is still strong and active even though it is holding negotiations with the state for the settlement of the Kurdish problem. This tactic is also a source of motivation for PKK members.

One other intangible reason is closely attached to the Turkish government's reluctance to take certain steps as part of the settlement process. The reluctance leads the PKK to believe that the government is insincere about the process. The PKK wants the government to allow schooling in the Kurdish language, release imprisoned PKK terrorists, lay legal grounds for ongoing talks between the PKK's jailed

leader Abdullah Öcalan and state authorities, issue laws that will pave the way for democratic autonomy of Kurds in the southeast and move Öcalan to house arrest.

The academic Hüseyin Şeyhanlıoğlu from Dicle University told Today's Zaman that the ongoing terrorism issue in Turkey cannot continue without the knowledge and permission of the terrorist group's leaders. "The [terrorist] group wants to protect its existence. Works for the construction of military outposts pose a threat to the PKK," he said, and suggested that a "wise men commission" should be set up involving both parties -- the Turkish side and the PKK -- to enable the continuation of the existing atmosphere of a lack of clashes. He said the commission should be comprised of neutral, independent and influential figures.

According to former Sur Mayor Abdullah Demirbaş, a member of the pro-Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party (BDP), a "blockage" in the settlement process has led the PKK to carry on its terrorist activities. "The government has not taken some steps it promised to. People are worried about the course of events. The talks [between Öcalan and the state] must be placed on legal grounds," he noted, and for this to happen, Parliament must amend the Anti-Terror Law. "The venue for the solution [of the Kurdish problem] is Parliament. Parliament must decide if it wants Turkey to grow stronger thanks to peace or to weaken because of clashes," he added.

Vahap Coşkun, an associate professor at Dicle University Law School, said the real problem stems from the desire of the government and the PKK to make the settlement process look like their own achievement. "Both the government and the PKK want to make people believe that peace has arrived thanks to its efforts," he noted.

Mothers raise voices against PKK for first time

Breaking a taboo, a group of mothers in the east and southeast has been courageous enough to challenge the terrorist PKK, launching sit-in protests to force the terrorist group to free their children, who they claim were forcibly recruited by the PKK.

The protests currently involve 19 mothers.

While some claim that the protests are part of a government-sponsored plan to push the PKK into a corner to boost the government's image in the public eye if the PKK, responding to the mothers' protests, releases the kidnapped children. According to other commentators, however, the mothers have achieved a first in the history of Turkey: They have challenged the PKK to reunite them with their children.

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan issued a warning to the PKK on Tuesday, saying that if the group refuses to release kidnapped children, the government has backup plans to secure their freedom.

On Wednesday, the father of one of the kidnapped senior sergeants spoke to To-

day's Zaman and asked the government to do its utmost to save his son, İlhan Çalışkan, from the hands of the PKK. Çalışkan was kidnapped as he was driving in Diyarbakır to visit his son in hospital. A military operation is under way to find the kidnapped sergeant.

"I want the authorities to save my son. I am asking the authorities to help us. A person is kidnapped in the region [by the PKK] almost every day. I ask the authorities to find a solution to this problem," said Çalışkan's father.

BDP leader to talk with PKK over abducted children

BDP leader Selahattin Demirtaş said on Wednesday that he will speak with PKK officials on the matter of abducted children.

Demirtaş met with parents of kidnapped children on Wednesday. During the meeting, Demirtaş told the parents that he will do everything in his power to make the PKK to release the children, who are all under 18. The families told the press that their hopes had increased after meeting with Demirtaş.

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on Tuesday issued a warning to the PKK, saying that if the terrorist group refuses to release the kidnapped children, the government has plans to secure their release.

The prime minister criticized the pro-Kurdish BDP and Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) for "not moving a muscle" to help families reunite with their kidnapped children, even though, Erdoğan claimed, the two parties know where these children are. The prime minister's remarks came during his Justice and Development Party's (AK Party) parliamentary group meeting.

"I am asking the BDP and the HDP: Where are you? You sometimes go [to the PKK] and bring back others [people kidnapped by the PKK]. Why don't you do the same for these children? Go and bring back these children, too. You will either do this or our backup plans will come into force," Erdoğan said. He did not elaborate on what the backup plans entail, but there is speculation that the government may be considering a military operation to secure the release of the children.

The number of minors kidnapped by the PKK to be recruited to the ranks of the terrorist group has exceeded 330 in the past six months, according to a National Police Department Counterterrorism Unit report released in early May.

One of the most recent cases is the abduction of 15 young people from a festival held on April 23 to celebrate Children's Day in Diyarbakır's Lice district. Families of the 15 high school students held a sit-in protest, claiming that the youngsters had been kidnapped by the PKK and demanding that action be taken. Also in April, 20 minors went missing in İzmir's Bayraklı district. Their families claim that the teens were kidnapped by the terrorist group. They called on the state authorities, including the president and the prime minister, to take action to find their children. (Cihan/Today's Zaman)

<http://en.cihan.com.tr/>

Obama met en garde contre les «aventures militaires» précipitées

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Barack Obama a livré mercredi un long discours de politique étrangère à West Point, prestigieuse école militaire située dans l'État de New York.

Barack Obama a mis en garde mercredi contre la tentation d'interventions militaires «précipitées» à travers le monde, défendant avec énergie sa politique étrangère face à ceux qui l'accusent de manquer de fermeté, de la Syrie à l'Ukraine.

Au lendemain de l'annonce d'un calendrier de retrait d'Afghanistan d'ici fin 2016, le président des États-Unis s'est engagé à augmenter son soutien à l'opposition syrienne, à tenir tête à la Russie sur le dossier ukrainien ou encore à faire preuve de plus de transparence dans l'utilisation des drones.

Mais il a d'abord et surtout expliqué sa vision de la place de l'Amérique dans le monde.

«Il est absolument vrai que, au XXIe siècle, l'isolationnisme américain n'est pas envisageable», a lancé M. Obama lors d'un long discours de politique étrangère à West Point, prestigieuse école de l'armée de Terre située dans l'État de New York.

«Mais affirmer que nous avons intérêt à promouvoir la paix et la liberté au-delà de nos frontières ne veut pas dire que tout problème a une solution militaire», a-t-il

ajouté.

«Depuis la Seconde Guerre mondiale, certaines de nos erreurs les plus coûteuses ne sont pas venues de notre retenue mais de notre volonté de nous précipiter dans des aventures militaires sans penser à toutes les conséquences», a estimé M. Obama.

Se disant convaincu que l'Amérique devait «montrer la voie sur la scène internationale», il a souligné que l'armée était, et restera, «l'épine dorsale» de ce leadership.

«Mais une intervention militaire américaine ne peut être la seule composante de notre leadership en toute circonstance», a-t-il aussitôt précisé. «Ce n'est pas parce que nous avons le meilleur marteau que tout problème doit être vu comme un clou», a insisté le président américain.

Le sénateur républicain John McCain a salué les propos du président sur la place «indispensable» des États-Unis dans le monde, mais ironisé sur leur portée limitée. «Le problème est que le président ne traduit pas ces principes en véritables décisions politiques, et le discours d'aujourd'hui ne donne aucune raison de croire que cela va changer».

«Il y a, à travers le monde, le sentiment grandissant que l'Amérique est hésitante, qu'elle n'est pas fiable et qu'elle n'est pas prête à montrer la voie», a-t-il estimé. «Les capacités de notre pays ne sont pas en cause, mais notre détermination et notre capacité de jugement le sont», a-t-il poursuivi, déplorant l'absence de réaction adéquate face à «l'agression russe en Europe, la pression exercée par la Chine envers les alliés et partenaires des États-Unis en Asie», ou encore «la façon dont la guerre en Syrie s'est transformée en un conflit à caractère religieux».

«Pas de réponse facile»

Justifiant son approche sur le conflit syrien, qui a fait plus de 160 000 morts, M. Obama a noté que, «aussi frustrant que ce soit», il n'existait «pas de réponse facile, pas de solution militaire» qui puissent éliminer les souffrances du peuple syrien dans un avenir proche.

«En tant que président, j'ai pris la décision de ne pas envoyer de troupes américaines au milieu de cette guerre civile, et je pense que c'était la bonne décision», a-t-il expliqué. «Mais cela ne signifie pas qu'on ne doit pas aider le peuple syrien à lutter contre un dictateur qui bombarde et affame son peuple», a-t-il ajouté, promettant d'accroître le soutien américain à ceux qui, dans l'opposition, «offrent la meilleure alternative aux terroristes et à un dictateur brutal».

Officiellement, le soutien américain aux rebelles syriens se cantonne depuis le début du conflit à une aide non létale pour un montant de 287 millions de dollars.

Lors de son discours, M. Obama a par ailleurs proposé la création d'un fonds de 5 milliards de dollars pour lutter contre le terrorisme qui donnerait aux États-Unis «la flexibilité nécessaire» pour remplir différentes missions.

Il a notamment cité l'entraînement des forces de sécurité au Yémen qui sont passées à l'offensive contre Al-Qaïda, le soutien à une force multinationale pour maintenir la paix en Somalie, ou encore l'aide aux opérations (militaires) françaises au Mali».

Mettant en avant sa volonté de tourner la page de plus d'une décennie pendant laquelle la politique étrangère a été centrée sur les guerres en Afghanistan et en Irak, M. Obama a annoncé mardi le maintien de 9800 militaires américains en Afghanistan au-delà de la fin 2014 avant un retrait complet deux ans plus tard

<http://www.lapresse.ca/international/etats-unis/201405/28/01-4770666-obama-met-en-garde-contre-les-aventures-militaires-precipitees.php>

Obama signals foreign policy shift but insists: 'America must always lead'

- President promises less armed conflict and more diplomacy
- Tells cadets: 'We have been through a long season of war'



Obama said he would seek a path between the recent US interventionism and a growing isolationist tendency. Photograph: Kevin Lamarque/Reuters

America should provide global leadership with less recourse to military might in future, Barack Obama announced on Wednesday, proposing a new foreign policy doctrine focused on soft power diplomacy and launching financial grants to fight terrorism through international partnerships instead.

In a graduation speech to cadets at the US military academy in West Point, New York, the president sought to carve a middle way between the relentless US interventionism of recent decades and a growing isolationist tendency that some fear will leave the world less stable and without a dominant superpower.

The much-anticipated foreign policy address came after Obama presented a [delayed timetable](#) for withdrawing troops from Afghanistan but amid growing criticism from Republicans of foreign policy “weakness” after setbacks in Syria and Ukraine.

Yet the president rejected the choice between fighting wars or withdrawing from foreign challenges, arguing it was possible for the US to lead through example and by creating international alliances.

“We have been through a long season of war,” he told the first West Point class to graduate since 9/11 who are unlikely to be sent immediately into combat.

In future, he said: “US military action cannot be the only – or even primary – component of our leadership in every instance. Just because we have the best hammer does not mean that every problem is a nail.”

The promise of a less aggressive American foreign policy comes despite Obama's increased use of drone assassinations and continued failure to shut the Guantánamo Bay detention facility.

Between the end of the cold war and 9/11, US presidents intervened militarily every 17 months on average, including Panama, Kuwait, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia and Kosovo, but Obama said the end of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq offered the chance of a new approach.

“Here’s my bottom line: America must always lead on the world stage. If we don’t, no one else will,” he said.

“The question we face ... is not whether America will lead, but how we will lead,” he said.

In one of the few concrete policy proposals of the speech, Obama gave an example of alternative ways to protect US national security from threats such as terrorism by calling on Congress to support a new \$5bn Counterterrorism Partnerships Fund to train and support partner countries in areas such as the Sahel.

“We must shift our counter-terrorism strategy – drawing on the successes and shortcomings of our experience in Iraq and Afghanistan – to more effectively partner with countries where terrorist networks seek a foothold,” said Obama.

He also announced limited new steps in response to the Syrian civil war, promising greater assistance to neighbouring Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey and Iraq to “host refugees, and confront terrorists”.

But much of the speech dealt with the need to use international institutions to tackle broader global problems such as climate change and border disputes.

“American influence is always stronger when we lead by example. We cannot exempt ourselves from the rules that apply to everyone else,” said the president.

“What makes us exceptional is not our ability to flout international norms and the rule of law; it’s our willingness to affirm them through our actions.”

And, in a nod to liberal interventionists in his team, Obama reaffirmed his belief that there were moral and national security motives for intervening in extreme circumstances.

“We have a real stake – an abiding self-interest – in making sure our children grow up in a world where schoolgirls are not kidnapped; where individuals aren’t slaughtered because of tribe or faith or political beliefs,” he said.



Obama arrives at West Point. Photograph: Jim Watson/AFP/Getty Images

“When a typhoon hits the Philippines, or girls are kidnapped in Nigeria, or masked men occupy a building in Ukraine – it is America that the world looks to for help. The United States is the one indispensable nation.”

Yet the overall tone of the speech was of a president promising less armed conflict than in recent years to a military and a nation he believes are weary of war.

“But to say that we have an interest in pursuing peace and freedom beyond our borders is not to say that every problem has a military solution,” he said.

Referring to previous West Point graduates who died in Afghanistan, he said: “I am haunted by those deaths. I am haunted by those wounds. And I would betray my duty to you, and to the country we love, if I sent you into harm’s way simply because I saw a problem somewhere in the world that needed fixing, or because I was worried about critics who think military intervention is the only way for America to avoid looking weak.”

Opinion polls suggest Obama's campaign promise to end the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan remains popular among the US public, but his last-minute decision to eschew military intervention in Syria and apparent impotence in the face of Russian aggression in Crimea are giving growing ammunition to conservative critics who say US deterrence has lost credibility and will herald a new era of instability in the world.

“What we are facing is not war weariness, but world weariness,” historian Robert Kagan told a Brookings Institution policy debate held on the eve of Obama's speech. “I have begun to wonder whether we may be heading into a period that is not just a shallow and temporary retrenchment that we saw during the cold war

[immediately after Vietnam and Korea] but is actually a much deeper and much longer retrenchment of the kind we saw after the first world war.”

Some prominent Republicans, such as libertarian senator Rand Paul, have welcomed such developments, but recently more moderate party leaders, including Bob Corker, ranking member of the Senate foreign affairs committee, have begun to advance a critique of US “weakness” that Democrats fear could be used against them in the midterm elections.

Corker issued a cautious statement in response to the Afghan troop announcement on Tuesday, urging a rethink before full US departure.

“It is my strong desire that the administration revisit conditions on the ground in 2015 and 2016 to determine if a full withdrawal is warranted,” he said.

Others, such as senators John McCain and Lindsey Graham, are more hawkish still, but largely at odds with the party in their desire to see robust intervention in Syria and an aggressive response to Russian president Vladimir Putin.

“President Obama is not ending wars, he’s losing them,” Graham said on Tuesday.

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/28/obama-foreign-policy-shift-speech-west-point>

US backs terrorism finance case proceeding

05/28/2014

State Department concerned case will undermine Jordanian counter-terrorist cooperation with the US.



US Supreme Court. Photo: REUTERS

In a major decision that will affect the high-profile Arab Bank terrorism finance case in the US and the future of terrorism financing cases, the US government has told the US Supreme Court that it supports the case going to trial, but potentially **undermined the case's strength.**

The decision late Tuesday came in the context of the Arab Bank's interim June 2013 appeal to the Supreme Court to reverse an April 2013 and earlier lower US court decisions that could seriously hurt the bank's chances of winning the trial.

The case itself, which has been featured on the CBS News Sunday Morning news magazine, involves allegations that the bank facilitated massive transfers of funds to Hamas leaders and institutions, as well as to the families of imprisoned Hamas members and suicide bombers via Saudi Arabia and Hezbollah's al-Shahid Foundation, mostly between 1998 and 2004.

The plaintiff allege that Arab Bank knew the funds related to terrorists and terrorist groups, and is thus, civilly liable for wrongful death damages resulting from attacks perpetrated using the transferred funds.

Amman-based Arab Bank, the largest in Jordan and one of the largest in the Middle East, has said there is a lack of proof that the funds went to terrorists, that the

funds contributed directly and sufficiently to attacks and that the bank had any knowledge of any possible connection to attacks.

The lower court ruling significantly penalized the bank for refusing to turn over key documents that the plaintiffs said they need to prove their case.

The bank refused on the grounds that it could incur criminal sanctions from Jordan and Lebanon for violating their bank secrecy laws.

A lower US court refused to accept this rationale and ordered that a trial jury could infer that the bank's refusal to turn over documents was like an admission that the documents proved what the plaintiffs argued they would prove.

The bank, with help from the Jordanian government that said that its counterterrorist cooperation with the US might be at stake, made an interim appeal to the US Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court asked the US solicitor-general, who represents the government before the Supreme Court, what the US position on the issue was.

A remarkable extended battle ensued within the US government, with the Justice, State and Treasury departments fighting over what the government's stance should be.

The Justice Department pushed to uphold the lower court ruling and sanction Arab Bank in the case, concerned foremost about progress the department has made in breaching bank secrecy laws worldwide to fight terrorism financing and money laundering.

The State Department pushed to overturn the lower court ruling, concerned that the case will undermine Jordanian counterterrorist cooperation with the US and possibly undermine the Jordanian economy sufficiently to aid Islamic radicals in gaining power in the country.

The Treasury Department had reportedly sided with the Justice Department, but in the US government's written legal response to the Supreme Court, it appeared that the Treasury either had taken State's side or had taken a more neutral position.

The government's ultimate position was that while the Supreme Court should not intervene on the issue pretrial (a win for the plaintiffs), it harshly criticized the lower court for not fully considering the foreign policy consequences of disregarding Jordanian sovereign interests in the case.

It opened the door to supporting throwing out the case post-trial if those interests continue to be ignored.

The Supreme Court is likely to accept the government's position that while letting the case go forward, could serve as a warning to the lower court not to fully implement the sanctions it ordered – or risk the court's final judgment being later thrown out post-trial by the Supreme Court.

The government's emphasis on worrying about foreign policy impacts of terrorism financing cases brought by private individuals could hamper future such cases, if accepted by the Supreme Court.

Alternatively, the government's emphasis on foreign policy could be read as only saying that the lower court should have considered foreign policy more seriously, not that it trumps all considerations.

Gary Osen, one of the lead plaintiffs' lawyers, said, "We're pleased that the solicitor-general has recommended that Arab Bank's petition be denied and we're hopeful that the Supreme Court will agree."

Mark Werbner, another of the lead plaintiffs' lawyers said, "We are pleased with the US position that review by the Supreme Court is not warranted. This brings the long-pending case much closer to trial."

"If the Supreme Court follows the recommendation, the trial will begin in August in federal court in New York. These families have suffered so much for so long and they will finally have their day in court," Werner added.

Arab Bank responded to the government decision stating that it was "a comprehensive critique of the sanctions imposed on Arab Bank, concluding that the 'lower courts erred in several significant respects,' including by performing an 'erroneous' comity analysis," as well as assuming the bank's previous production of documents showed selective compliance and failing to consider all the foreign relations, anti-terrorism interests and foreign bank secrecy impacts.

The bank said the US decision acknowledged that the lower court decision threatened "the United States' vital interests in maintaining close cooperative relationships...in the fight against terrorism," and could deter foreign-government partners "from facilitating cooperation."

It added that it will seek to capitalize on the government's criticism of the lower court ruling to demand Supreme Court intervention and said conducting the trial based on "an erroneous legal standard" would be "fundamentally unjust."

The trial, originally set for January 2014, is now set for August.

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

Venezuela

Terrorism in Venezuela and Its Accomplices

The private media and important actors both at home and abroad including Washington have downplayed, and in some cases completely ignored, the terrorist actions perpetrated against the Venezuelan government over the past three months. Among the latest examples of terrorism news that have been underreported abroad is the assassination in late April of Eliézer Otaiza, an historic leader of the Chavista movement and the president of the city council of Caracas. Another is a series of reports issued by Interior Secretary Miguel Rodríguez Torres with a wealth of documents – including videos, emails, phone call registries, and phone call recordings – that establish connections between terrorist activity and sectors of the Venezuelan opposition.

An example of how the charges of opposition-promoted terrorism get brushed aside is the opening remarks of Robert Menéndez, Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in hearings to study proposed sanctions against Venezuela. First, Menéndez enumerates numerous charges of government human rights violation based on statements by various individuals who are anything but impartial (such as Moisés Naím, who was Planning Minister under the government that Hugo Chávez staged his coup against in 1992). Then Menéndez goes on to minimize the seriousness of the widespread violence carried out by the opposition. After recognizing “there has been violence on both sides,” he adds “but we should be perfectly clear that the primary responsibility for the excessive, unjustified use of force rests with the Maduro Administration.”

Anyone who gets their information solely from these sources could easily reach the conclusion that with the exception of a few minor excesses, which are normal and inevitable in protest movements of this sort, what is happening in Venezuela represents a flagrant violation of human rights on the part of the government.

Objectively speaking, the overall picture created by the discourse of political adversaries and the media’s coverage encourages the radical fringe of the opposition that is engaging in violence on an extensive scale. In this sense, those who downplay the importance of the opposition-promoted violence and exaggerate or fabricate actions of security forces to control the protests consciously or unwittingly serve as accomplices of those responsible for destructive activity.

The above statement needs to be accompanied by words of caution. A journalist or political actor certainly has the right to make accusations without being accused of aiding or abetting those belonging to the violent fringe or playing into their hands. The problem, however, is two-fold. In the first place, all analysts agree that cherry picking amounts to distortion of the facts and that the media has the obligation to present all relevant information. To do otherwise is to encourage culprits and blame those who are innocent.

In the second place, accusations made or insinuated by the media and the opposition are often formulated without any proof whatsoever. These statements serve to neutralize any negative reaction to the opposition-promoted violence. In modern-day vernacular, the tactic is called “damage control.” Thus, for instance, the opposition newspaper “Tal Cual” published an article by Sebastián Boccanegra which criticized Chavista spokespeople for alleging that the opposition was behind the assassination of Otaiza (a hypothesis that Interior Minister Rodríguez Torres put forward on the basis of an analysis of the circumstances of his death). Boccanegra then defended the hypothesis that it was the work of delinquents without offering any evidence. Similarly online posts by the opposition completely devoid of evidence attributed Otaiza’s assassination to infighting among Chavista factions.

Similarly, the opposition’s demand for the liberation of student prisoners serves to draw attention away from the violent actions of the protesters. On May 13, the opposition coalition Mesa de la Unidad Democrática (MUD) suspended a much-anticipated “peace dialogue” meeting on grounds that the government had failed to liberate student prisoners. The MUD statement, like those of the opposition in general, lacked any acknowledgment that many of the prisoners, if not most, participated in acts of violence. Obviously the determination as to whether individual prisoners are guilty of unlawful activity corresponds to the courts and not the national executive. The demand for the liberation of the students has become a major slogan of the opposition and street protests.

Recently the Chavista television commentator Miguel Pérez Pirela called on his colleagues to use the word “terrorism” instead of the term “guarimba,” which is a local slang-word referring to foquista-type urban violence.

The list of actions that qualify as terrorist is extensive. One of the most affected sectors has been the metro of Caracas. Metro stations in the eastern part of the city controlled by opposition mayors have been devastated (as well as the one in Parque Carabobo near the city’s center), 90 metro buses have been damaged, and 200 passengers have been injured. On May 13, metro workers marched to the Attorney General’s headquarters (which had also been heavily damaged by opposition protesters several months earlier) to demand a firm government response. The terrorist list also includes the killing of six national guardsmen and three policemen, the complete demolition of the campus of the military school UNEFA in the city of San Cristobal, the destruction of public buildings including the Housing Ministry, the burning of a truck that distributes gas of the state company PDVSA-Gas Comunal in the state of Táchira, as well as vehicles of the state food chain PDVAL, reported cases of attacks on 162 Cuban doctors who work for the state-sponsored Misión Sucre, and the list goes on and on.

The statements coming out of the U.S. Congress and Obama administration condemning human rights violation fail to recognize that sectors of the opposition have been involved in acts of terrorism. It is ironic that the same government that justifies massive indiscriminate surveillance throughout the world and intervenes in

numerous nation's of the Middle East and Africa in the name of anti-terrorism turns a blind eye to terrorist activity in Venezuela and ends up actually encouraging it. The State Department's revocation of the visa of the president of the National Assembly Diosdado Cabello (on the absurd grounds that he acted as a bag man on behalf of Osama bin Laden) attempts to discredit the very Chavista who represents a hard line in the struggle against terrorism in Venezuela. Terrorism cannot be defined as actions only carried out by one's enemy. If that is case, the term loses all credibility.

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<http://venezuelanalysis.com/analysis/10684>

Yemen

Al-Qaeda Ascendancy in Yemen Spurs Army Drive to Crush Militants

By Mohammed Hatem and Glen Carey May 28, 2014 9:00 PM GMT+0100

Across desert mountain ranges and in dusty urban alleyways, Yemen's army has begun a U.S.-backed offensive to dislodge al-Qaeda militants whose growing numbers pose a threat to neighbors including [Saudi Arabia](#).

President [Barack Obama](#) highlighted the Yemen campaign in his foreign-policy speech yesterday, pledging to train the Arab nation's army to help it fight the militants. The Yemeni army is deploying tanks and helicopters in a campaign coordinated with Saudi Arabia as well as the U.S., Faris al-Saqqaf, an adviser to Yemeni President Abdurabu Mansur Hadi, said in an interview on May 15.

"This is the first time government troops have really taken the fight to al-Qaeda," and the assault follows months of preparation, al-Saqqaf said. Hundreds of militants have been killed and injured since late April, according to the army. Al-Qaeda is retaliating, and its raid on the southeastern town of Seiyun last weekend led to a firefight that left dozens dead.

Large swathes of Yemen, a country bigger than [Spain](#), are effectively beyond the reach of a weak central government, offering an attractive haven for al-Qaeda. Attacks that the group has plotted from its bases there include attempts to assassinate a top Saudi official and bomb a Detroit-bound plane, and its presence is growing.

"The number of foreign fighters in Yemen has increased recently, they appear to be coming from the Syrian conflict, and they've set their sights on Saudi Arabia," said [Theodore Karasik](#), director of research at the Institute for Near East and Gulf Military Analysis in Dubai, in a phone interview. He said Al-Qaeda's presence there "needs to be eliminated to preserve the security of Yemen and ultimately neighboring countries."

Becoming Bolder

Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, as the Yemen operation calls itself, emerged when leading figures from the Islamist group fled a crackdown in Saudi Arabia. Operating more freely from the new base, it has become bolder.

Militants attacked the [Defense Ministry](#) in December, leaving more than 50 dead, and they have also assassinated officials and ambushed army patrols. The U.S. and other countries have been forced to temporarily close embassies due to threats.

Obama said yesterday that he'll set up a fund of as much as \$5 billion to help U.S. allies fight terrorism, and referred specifically to the "security forces in Yemen who've gone on the offensive against al-Qaeda."

As well as the Islamist takeover of parts of the country, Yemen's government has also been trying to contain well-armed Shiite-Muslim Houthi rebels in the north. Adding to the chaos were the Arab Spring-inspired protests that forced President Ali Abdullah Saleh to step down in 2011.

'Violent Extremism'

That year the economy contracted 13 percent. It won't regain the lost output until 2015, according to the [International Monetary Fund](#), which estimates annual [per-capita gross domestic product](#) at about \$1,500.

The deterioration of security along multiple fronts has raised the prospect of the state's collapse. The country with most to fear from that outcome is Saudi Arabia, the world's top oil exporter and Yemen's neighbor. It's one reason Saudis are leading a donor drive, pledging more than half of the \$6.4 billion in aid to the Arab world's poorest country.

"Yemen could be a far more dangerous place than even [Afghanistan](#) as a source of violent extremism globally," said [Paul Sullivan](#), a Middle East specialist at [Georgetown University](#) in [Washington](#). "Add Yemen to [Libya](#) and [Syria](#) and the world could have real problems ahead."

'Significant Threat'

Saudi authorities are engaged in their own battle with militant Islamists. Earlier this month they announced the arrest of dozens of al-Qaeda-linked militants said to be planning attacks against domestic and foreign targets. The Saudi [Interior Ministry](#) said the cell it uncovered had links to groups in Yemen, as well as to fighters in Syria battling to oust President Bashar al-Assad.

In Yemen the attack on al-Qaeda looks like a war, not a police roundup. Hundreds of militants have been killed and wounded in fighting in the Shabwa and Abyan provinces, according to Yemen's army.

The U.S. is targeting al-Qaeda enclaves with drone strikes. The State Department cited al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula as posing "the most significant threat to the [United States](#) and U.S. citizens and interests in Yemen," according to this year's terrorism report published April 30. It said AQAP is an example of "the emergence of a more aggressive set" of affiliates that have gained prominence as al-Qaeda's core leadership has weakened.

Bullet Holes

In Yemen's southeastern Hadramut province, the army this month had to fight off an al-Qaeda assault on Seiyun which left at least 10 soldiers and 15 militants dead, including two Saudi nationals, the official Saba news agency said May 24. Militants attacked an army base and looted three bank branches.

Reporters haven't been permitted to enter the areas where the recent fighting took

place. Bullet-holes in the walls of buildings in the village of al-Koud, in the southern province of Abyan, are signs of earlier battles. Al-Qaeda had a strong presence there until 2012.

Now, members of local militias loyal to the government guard street corners, and local residents count their losses. Abdu Ali said his 14-year old son had both his hands blown off, and his friend died, when they accidentally detonated an explosive left behind by the conflict.

'Terrible Nightmares'

"My son needs medical and psychological care," he said. "He suffers from terrible nightmares. There has been no government support."

During the current military offensive, the army uncovered car-bomb making centers and suicide belts, according to al-Saqqaf. The militants had dug trenches around some the villages they controlled, he said.

In the capital, Sana'a, security forces are on alert for possible retaliatory strikes.

"Hadi is serious about fighting terrorism," said Saeed Obaid al-Jemhi, an independent al-Qaeda expert based in Sana'a and author of 'Al-Qaeda in Yemen.' "But al-Qaeda represents a dangerous threat. It is still able to retaliate

<http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2014-05-28/al-qaeda-ascendancy-in-yemen-spurs-army-drive-to-crush-militants.html>

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