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The African Union strongly condemns the terrorist attacks perpetrated in Tunis and in the Sinai Peninsula in Egypt



Addis Ababa, 25 November 2015: The Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union (AU), Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, strongly condemns the despicable terrorist attacks perpetrated yesterday in Tunis against members of the defense and security forces, and in the Sinai Peninsula, Egypt, against a hotel. The two attacks killed several people and wounded many others.

In these difficult times, the Chairperson of the Commission expresses the AU's deepest condolences to the families of the victims, as well as to the peoples and Governments of Egypt and Tunisia. She wishes speedy recovery to the injured. She reiterates the AU's full solidarity with Egypt and Tunisia and its support to their efforts aimed at combating terrorism and violent extremism, within the framework of the relevant African and international instruments.

The Chairperson of the Commission notes that these attacks occurred against the backdrop of the worsening of the scourge of terrorism in the world, including the Continent, as evidenced by the attack recently perpetrated in Bamako, Mali, the continuation, by the Boko Haram terrorist group, of its attacks on civilian populations and state institutions in the Lake Chad Basin region, and the destabilizing activities of the al Shabaab terrorist group. In this regard, she reiterates the need for the enhancement of inter-African cooperation in the fight against terrorism and extremism and calls for renewed efforts to effectively implement the relevant African and international instruments, including the 1999 OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combatting of Terrorism and its 2004 Additional Protocol, as well as of the measures contained in the communiqué adopted by the summit meeting of the AU Peace and Security Council on terrorism and violent extremism, held in Nairobi, Kenya, on 2 September 2014.

Terrorism in Africa

African leaders, U.S., France, UN, others meet, seek global action against terrorism



Sall



Dr Mohammed Ibn Cham -

IN their global efforts to end terrorism, African leaders last week converged in Dakar, Senegal, during a two-day conference to fashion out measures to stop the menace. The meeting, which is the second edition, hosted by the Senegalese President, Macky Sall, was convened by Dakar International Forum on Peace and Security in Africa, which held at the King Fahd's Palace.

Sall said that countries in the continent needed to mobilise themselves to be able to seek collaboration from the international community.

He suggested that to achieve effective results, terrorist activities and terrorism should be tackled from the root.

Also, Algeria's former Advisor at the Ministry of Energy and Mines, Ahmed Mecheraoui, at the peace and security forum, advocated multi-network approach to tackling terrorism in the continent. Saying that better multi-networking, improved information analysis and community relationship will effectively tackle terrorism, Mecheraoui added that African leaders should also seek the help of the international community and must not be complacent or relent in this fight.

Meanwhile, the Acting Assistant Secretary, Department of Defence, United States of America, Elissa Slotkin, said that no country can win the war against terror alone, adding that if we must achieve peace, we must collectively fight the scourge. Slotkin suggested that military action must be joined with civilian action to achieve this.

Slotkin, while noting that the increasing alliance between networks has produced potential for terrorists to destabilise states and the continent, lamented that the youth is most prone to exposure to the danger as some of them are being recruited on-line since they use the social media more often.

Also, as part of efforts to end extremism, the Norwegian government set up a policy earlier this year articulated in White Paper to the Norwegian parliament. The paper, titled: "Global Security Challenges in Norway's Foreign Policy," has a particular focus on terrorism, organized crime, piracy and cyber threats.

According to Norway's Special Envoy for the Sahel and Maghreb, Knut Langeland: "The White Paper proposes to set up two new programmes in development cooperation; one aimed at preventing and combating radicalization and extremism, which is a breeding ground for terrorism. The other programme will be devoted to fighting transnational organized crime, corruption and promoting law and order. Both programmes will each amount up to 100 million NOK (approximately 11 million USD).

"In carrying out this policy, we rely very much on a close partnership with others, such of course, the countries concerned, the United Nations, European Union, African Union and sub-regional organizations. Norway signed in January an agreement with the AU.

"The regional dimension must be stressed. For example, peace and stability in Mali will have a profound impact on the whole Sahel. Yet, peace cannot be fully consolidated in Mali, unless the neighborhood is also conducive. To build further on this notion, stability in Sahel relies very much on Libya and the broader Maghreb", Langeland said.

Another underlying consideration in the White Paper is the need for further knowledge and analysis on the nexus crime, terror, fragility and underdevelopment. We plan to enhance our partnership with African research institution.

The underlying message of the White Paper is that our security landscape is fundamentally changing. Norwegian security and wellbeing are far more affected taken place in Africa, Middle-East than imagined only a few years back.

Even in my country, there is still resistance to the notion close interdependence between peace, stability and good governance, on the one hand, and social and economic progress on the other. A large part of our development assistance community had its formative years in the 1970s. In those days, the struggle against apartheid, de-colonisation, new economic order was very much on the top of the international agenda. Aid and relief workers were basically shut off from security policy. That has to change, he added.

Also at the forum, France Minister of Defence, Jean Yves Drian, said that this year's event featured a high-level of representatives of Africa. He noted that there was an agreement among the leaders at the meeting to develop the forum, promising also to contribute to ensuring that Dakar is a cradle of security on the continent. While stating the resolve of Japan's Defence minister to establish and develop a strong relationship with Africans on security matters, Drian added that Africa may on the long-run find serenity and security. On the crisis in Central Africa Republic (CAR), he said that the major element of security in Africa is that there is an army of security in CAR, adding that France will maintain its military in this area of security on election.

While, however, commenting on the excellent relationship between France and Senegal in the area of security, the France Defence Minister noted that the Senegalese Armed Forces are committed to peace-keeping which is their job, especially their role in the peace-keeping mission.

Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWA), Mohammed Ibn Chambas, said: "The forum is the African network of discussion and challenges of security. The challenges reveal the impact of transnational threat to Africa", adding that the inability to address this has

led to a further spread of the scourge in the continent. He urged that climate change should be seen as a direct threat to Africa, example the Lake Chad Basin. While urging the need for international network collaboration against extremism, Chambas said that international military collaboration is an example for enhancing the needed support against terrorism in the continent. He said that France is working with the national and international forces to confront extremism.

The UN special representative also noted the financial support of the European Union to deal with Al-Shabaab in East Africa, adding that conflict prevention effort of the regional group should be encouraged.

The Chadian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Moussa Faki Mahamat, who also delivered a keynote address at the forum, highlighted the issue of security funding as the hardest of all concerns. He said that Chad's military has military diplomacy, adding that in 2005 to 2006, the nation was attacked on a large scale because of oil exploration. Mahamat said that any nation, which does not fund its security should be ready to see its country's collapse.

While thanking the participants at the forum, Senegalese President Sall, represented by the nation's Prime Minister, Mouhamed Boun, commended the forum for its timeliness, adding that its implementation will end terrorism and insecurity. He said Senegal reiterates its commitment to fighting insecurity in Africa and the world at large.

The second Dakar International Forum on Peace and Security was also organised by the Senegalese Government (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Senegalese Abroad) and the Pan-African Institute of Strategy, with the support of the French Ministry of Defense and the Association de soutien au Forum de Dakar (ASFORDAK), and the African Union and our international partners

Cameroon

News Analysis: Terrorism-affected African countries need equipment, training support

2015-11-24

YAOUNDE, Nov. 24 (Xinhua) -- While meeting foreign envoys in Yaounde in January, Cameroon's President Paul Biya urged the international community to help his country fight against Nigeria-based Islamist group Boko Haram, arguing "a global threat needs a global response."

Boko Haram started its campaign of violence in 2009, trying to establish an Islamic state in Nigeria.

It has killed some 13,000 people and kidnapped hundreds, with neighboring Niger, Chad and Cameroon affected.

To these countries, Boko Haram remains a threat that has exacerbated poverty and made resources even more insufficient to satisfy the needs of their populations.

In southern Somalia, Islamist group Al-Shabaab still controls some rural areas, imposing security threats to the country seeking to rebound from decades of civil conflicts and neighbouring Kenya.

Despite relatively large budgetary allocations for the defense sector and ongoing operations against the militants, these countries do not have adequate equipment and well-trained soldiers to tackle the security challenge.

Last Friday, gunmen attacked a hotel in Mali's capital Bamako, killing at least 21 people. Islamist group al-Murabitoun claimed responsibility.

These African countries facing terror threats need support from the international community, including technological aid and intelligence sharing with the major powers, a source from the Cameroonian intelligence agency told Xinhua.

The West has been accused of being responsible for the expansion of terrorism in the world, emerging from the Middle East particularly, through sale of weapons to groups previously considered as "rebels". And now they are responsible for picking up the pieces.

Different from the West, China has been supporting African countries' development under its policy of non-interference in the internal affairs -- seen by them as a key partner.

Besides aid in improving their infrastructure and close economic ties, China has recently made pledges concerning Africa's peacekeeping efforts.

At a UN summit in September, Chinese President [Xi Jinping](#) announced would provide military aid worth 100 million U.S. dollars to the [African Union](#) (AU) for the setting up of the African Standby Force, Africa's peacekeeping troops.

He also said China would contribute 8,000 troops for a UN peacekeeping standby force.

China's support is expected to help Africa in its fight against terrorism, including the militant groups that are causing havoc in parts of the continent.

<http://news.xinhuanet.com/>

Egypt

Egypt ranked 13th on 2015 Global Terrorism Index

November 18, 2015



Among 124 countries, Egypt ranked 13th out of the countries that were highly impacted by terrorism, with a score of 6.813 out of 10, according to the Global Terrorism Index's recent report for 2015.

Deaths by terrorism in 2014 reached their highest number, with more than 32,000 people killed. The report's third edition provides a detailed analysis of the changing patterns of terrorism across 162 countries, over the past 15 years. It examines the patterns of terrorism by methods of attack, geographic activity, types of organizations involved, and the national economic and political contexts.

The report was issued by the Institute for Economics and Peace think tank, and stated that the total number of deaths from terrorism in 2014 reached 32,685, which is considered an 80% increase from the 18,111 deaths recorded in 2013.

The majority of deaths in 2014 occurred in three countries: Syria, Iraq, and Nigeria. In these countries, the militant groups "Islamic State" (IS), Boko Haram, and the Fulani militants were most active. The report noted that although terrorism is highly concentrated in a small number of countries, the number of countries that experienced terrorist attacks are also skyrocketing.

This is the first time Egypt was listed in the top 10 countries most affected by terrorism between the years of 2000 and 2014 along with the US. Iraq featured among the top 10 countries between 2000 and 2014 for 12 years, and Syria for three. Angola was in the top 10 for two years, India 14 times, and both Afghanistan and Pakistan 13 times.

Syria, a country ravaged by civil war, continues to see escalating terrorist activities. In the two years before the start of the civil war in 2011, Syria had two years without any terrorist incidents. The year the civil war began, there were 136 deaths

by terrorism. The number of deaths increased by around 500 each year since the start of the war, amounting to 1,698 deaths in 2014.

Iraq continues to be most impacted by terrorism, with 9,929 terrorist fatalities last year, the highest ever recorded in a single country. Nigeria had the biggest year-on-year increase ever recorded, with 7,512 deaths in 2014, a 300% increase since 2013.

The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and sub-Saharan Africa have the highest number of deaths by terrorism in 2014; both regions have many more deaths per attack than other regions.

The report was issued at a time where terrorism has become widespread worldwide, after numerous attacks that left a large number of civilian casualties and attracted international media attention. The most prominent recent incidents were the coordinated deadly attacks in Paris, which resulted in the deaths of 129 people, the Beirut twin bombings killing 41 people, as well as the sabotage of a Russian plane over Sinai in Egypt, which resulted in the deaths of 224 people, mostly Russians.

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

A Bamako, les kalachnikovs des deux terroristes suscitent des interrogations

25.11.2015

Deux fusils d'assaut utilisés par les auteurs de l'attaque contre un grand hôtel de Bamako, qui a fait 20 morts la semaine dernière, étaient en cours d'analyse par des experts des Nations unies mardi à Bamako.

Il s'agit de kalachnikovs de type AK-47 présentées à un groupe de journalistes au siège de la Mission de l'ONU au [Mali](#) (Minusma) par des gendarmes français membres de la [police](#) des Nations unies, qui assistent techniquement les autorités maliennes dans l'[enquête](#).

Tracer l'origine des armes

Les deux armes ont été « retrouvées [à l'hôtel] Radisson auprès des terroristes lorsque nous sommes intervenus sur les [lieux](#) » le jour de l'attaque, le 20 novembre, elles « nous ont été confiées par la police malienne », a expliqué l'officier Laurent qui, comme de coutume au sein des forces françaises, ne dévoile que son prénom.

Selon lui, [les experts](#) recherchent des « détails sur les numéros, la fabrication », qui permettront « de [tracer](#) ces armes, [savoir](#) de quel stock elles proviennent, de quelle fabrication », à défaut de [pouvoir exploiter](#) les empreintes digitales, trop nombreuses, « sur une arme qui a été manipulée par beaucoup de personnes ».

En plus de la Minusma qui participe à l'enquête, des spécialistes français en criminologie sont arrivés à Bamako pour [aider](#) à l'identification des corps, selon les autorités maliennes.

Le 20 novembre, l'hôtel Radisson Blu a été attaqué par des hommes [armés](#) qui y ont retenu environ 150 clients et employés. Les forces maliennes, appuyées par des forces spéciales françaises et américaines et des agents de la Minusma, sont intervenues et ont « [exfiltré](#) » 133 personnes, selon le ministère de la sécurité.

Vingt otages et deux assaillants ont trouvé la mort dans l'attaque, a affirmé le procureur malien chargé de l'enquête, Boubacar Sidiki Samaké. L'attentat a été revendiqué le jour même par le groupe djihadiste de l'Algérien Mokhtar Belmokhtar, Al-Mourabitoune, « avec la participation » d'[Al-Qaïda](#) au Maghreb islamique ([AQMI](#)). Al-Mourabitoune avait transmis à Al-Jazira un second communiqué affirmant que « seules deux personnes ont mené l'opération (...), Abdel Hakim Al-Ançari et Moâdh Al-Ançari », des surnoms qui suggéreraient que les deux hommes sont maliens.

Un groupe djihadiste du [centre](#) du Mali, le Front de libération du Macina (FLM), a aussi soutenu dimanche [avoir](#) commis l'attentat « avec la collaboration d'Ansar Eddine », groupe djihadiste de l'ex-chef rebelle touareg malien Iyad Ag Ghaly.

Au moins trois complices présumés sont recherchés, et la télévision publique diffuse régulièrement depuis lundi un appel à témoins de la police nationale sollicitant toute information sur les deux assaillants tués – deux hommes à la peau noire – pho-

tos à l'appui.

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

Mali hotel attack: Is terrorism spiraling out of control in Africa?

24 November 2015



Mali security personal carry the body of a victim inside the Radisson Blu hotel after an attack by gunmen on the hotel in Bamako, Mali, Friday, Nov. 20, 2015. (Reuters)

The **attack on the Radisson Blu hotel in the Malian capital Bamako**, which killed 19 people, is the latest terrorist act on an African continent now stricken daily by fundamentalist horror and obscurantism.

Despite billions of dollars pledged to address this scourge, terrorism thrives in Africa due to the failure of states, the plundering of resources, and endemic corruption. Al-Qaeda, Al-Shabaab, Boko Haram, and more recently the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) have engaged in deadly and constant destabilization in the hope of extending their power.

The recently released Global Terrorism Index confirms this increase in violence. Boko Haram is ranked the deadliest organization with 6,644 deaths in 2014, compared with 6,073 for ISIS. Even as it loses ground to the Nigerian army, Boko Haram has multiplied its attacks, primarily against markets and public gatherings. Regular attacks in Mali and Kenya suggest that Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab will continue contributing to this violent one-upmanship.

Opening the second Dakar International Forum on Security in Africa on Nov. 9, Senegalese President Macky Sall reiterated his call for more resources. However, addressing terrorism in Africa demands more than financial means. According to him, the framework of intervention based on U.N. peacekeeping operations, to which his country is a major contributor, needs to adapt. The urgency of the situation requires fighting rather than simply maintaining peace.



A U.N. official walks at a staircase covered in blood in the Radisson hotel in Bamako, Mali, November 20, 2015. (Reuters)

Regional cooperation

Regional intervention forces have been strengthened over the last few months. For example, Chad is contributing more than 2,500 soldiers against terrorist groups in northern Mali, and is part of a five-country coalition against Boko Haram together with Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger and Benin.

These participations converge with a common view that only a regional alliance can tackle terrorism in Africa. Military-security operations are thus piling on the continent: national, bilateral, regional, European, and U.N.-led. However, international interventions have not rid Afghanistan of the Taliban, and the same will be true for African jihadists.

A body is removed from the Radisson Blu hotel, after it was stormed by gunmen during a attack on the hotel in Bamako, Mali, Friday, Nov. 20, 2015. (AP)

Experts at the Dakar forum said Africa needed a comprehensive approach that included justice, education and employment for youth. Radical movements are able to flourish on the continent due to the many shortcomings of African societies, and the inability of member states of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) to keep their commitments on development aid, as the United Nations recently underlined.

If some progress has been made in Somalia, where African Union (UA) forces have regained control of strategic coastal areas from Al-Shabaab, other countries are sliding further toward structural insecurity. Friday's attack in Bamako proved that French military intervention was insufficient to annihilate terrorism in Mali. Similar-

ly, Chad had to decree a state of emergency this month, and Cameroon is facing the first attacks on its territory.

Chad and Niger have specific strategic importance, as they have to fight Boko Haram to the south and ISIS along their northern border with Libya. Preventing a connection between the two groups is a priority for Africa.

Competition between Libyan clans over control of Tripoli, Benghazi and Tobruk have created a vacuum in which ISIS has been able to prosper and structure itself, reinforced by fighters from Iraq, Yemen and Syria. Libya has now become the epicenter of ISIS in Africa, around which radical groups in Niger and Mali gravitate.

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

Nigeria

Buhari Links Terrorism In Africa To Ghadaffi's Fall

November 29, 2015



President Muhammadu Buhari

PRESIDENT Muhammadu Buhari has blamed the spread of terrorism in Africa and other parts of the world on the collapse of Muammar Gaddafi's regime in Libya, pointing out that weapons of all categories took flights in different directions including other parts of Africa, especially in the Sahel.

Buhari, therefore, called for greater international support for Nigeria and other countries affected by terrorism, even as he expressed his administration's appreciation to the Commonwealth, Britain, the Group of Seven, (G-7) Industrialized Nations, France and the United States for the assistance being received.

Suggesting a way out of the situation, the president spoke of the need to establish a Commonwealth Committee to oversee the execution of greater assistance and support to Nigeria and other member-countries adversely affected by terrorism.

He demanded that the proposed committee, when established, should visit member-countries of the Commonwealth where terrorist organisations have footholds with a view to evolving practical strategies for more meaningful assistance to the affected countries.

Speaking on behalf of the Commonwealth leaders at a banquet hosted by the Head of Commonwealth and Queen Elizabeth II of England for Heads of States and Governments participating in the ongoing Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, (CHOGM) in Malta, Buhari hoped the committee would have been established before the next meeting of the organisation.

He noted that “with the improvement of global communications, terrorism has no borders now; what happened recently in France had a profound effect on all of us, but very few countries realise that Nigeria has suffered terrorist casualties of over 10,000 killed in the last six years.”

“Right now, we have over two million internally displaced persons, most of whom are women and children, and most of the children are orphans,” the President told the Queen and Commonwealth Heads of State and Government.

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

Nigeria's oil curse

November 25, 2015

On Nov. 8, the head of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, Emmanuel Ibe Kachikwu, [announced](#) that the state-run company was on the verge of a major oil discovery in the Lake Chad area [after years of failed](#) exploration attempts.

Kachikwu estimated that the new fields could contribute a significant amount to the NNPC's projected 2016 [revenue](#) of \$20 billion as early as next year. He also suggested the bolstered budget would allow the company [to fund more exploration](#) projects. Given that the cratering oil prices and drop-off in oil revenue has contributed significantly to the country's economic stagnation (the national statistics bureau estimates the national second quarter growth at 2.35 percent as compared to over 6 percent at the same time last year), many Nigerians greeted the announcement with enthusiasm. However, a more thorough examination suggests that this discovery is neither new, nor a blessing. Adding oil to already volatile social and geopolitical factors in the Lake Chad Basin — an ecological region that spans Nigeria, Niger, Chad, Cameroon and the Central African Republic — is a recipe for further instability.

Nigeria's claims of "significant oil find" in the Lake Chad Basin are not new. It's long been established that the region has immense potential for petroleum exploration. Chad has been producing oil on its side of the border since the 1970s with production reaching estimated [100,000 barrels a day](#) in 2013.

The area is so valuable that Nigeria and Chad fought a series of border [skirmishes in the 1970s](#) over control of the basin. Their disputes remain unresolved. There is still ambiguity over ownership of a number of islands in Lake Chad. There's been ongoing diplomatic posturing and local communal conflicts between [Nigeria, Chad and Cameroon over control of the ecological basin](#). Nigeria's intention to drill new oil fields will only heighten the stakes of these tensions and lead to violence.

Boko Haram's insurgency may have temporarily eclipsed the standoff over drilling rights. But tensions remain. Communities around the Lake Chad Basin have borne the brunt of the insurgency, which has claimed an estimated [20,000 lives and has displaced at least 4 million people since 2009](#). Any serious attempt at drilling by Nigeria will require subduing the insurgency. However, amid diplomatic wrangling over national boundaries in the basin, regional cooperation on larger security issues remains complicated. Already, the deployment of the 8,7000 member force — drawn from Chad, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon and Benin — has been delayed due to logistical and political tensions. In particular, Chad has accused [Nigeria for not pulling its weight](#) in the offensive against Boko Haram, heightening tensions between the two countries.

Nigeria's oil discovery in the Lake Chad Basin highlights the urgent need for reform and greater regional cooperation to quell the Boko Haram insurgency.

Even if Boko Haram is subdued to make way for oil drilling, the group has shown a remarkable resilience and could re-emerge to take advantage of the oil bunkering. As seen in Nigeria's oil-rich Niger Delta, discontent among local communities in the Lake Chad Basin could lend support to Boko Haram or subsequent militant groups. In the mid-2000s, oil theft, and the vast revenue it produces, allowed for a conflict to accelerate and metastasize in the [Niger Delta](#). The United States Institute of Peace

estimates that the Nigerian economy lost approximately [\\$100 billion](#) to oil theft from 2003 to 2008. The consequences of Boko Haram tapping into such a robust revenue stream could be cataclysmic. It is already Nigeria's single biggest and [most lethal](#) crisis since the [civil war of the late 1960s](#).

Nigeria has proven incapable of protecting oil pipelines from theft and ensuring that oil extraction does not harm local ecologies and communities. There were more than [7,000 oil spills](#) from 1970 to 2000 in the Niger Delta. An estimated 15 percent of Nigerian oil was stolen in 2014, resulting in a loss of [300,000-400,000 barrels per day](#).

The problem with Nigerian oil production does not stop there; there is also the specter of corruption. According to a recent report by the Natural Resource Governance Institute, a New York-based think tank that provides policy analysis and research, the NNPC withheld more than [\\$12 billion](#) from the sale of 110 million barrels of oil over the past 10 years, "spending the money in a [secretive, off-budget](#) manner."

President Muhammadu Buhari has initiated a serious effort at reducing corruption, especially in the petroleum industry. But the recent arrests of [six senior central bank officials by Nigeria's anti-corruption agency](#) are not sufficient to entrust the petroleum agency to pursue new drilling operations. In fact, the premature announcement of the new oil discovery appears to be part of an effort to make up for falling oil revenues. It could undermine Buhari's agenda by fracturing the regional effort against Boko Haram and leading to additional loot before institutional reforms can be implemented.

The effects of [resource curse](#) and misuse of natural resource wealth, especially in the extractive industries, are well documented. Nigeria appears to be looking gleefully past those lessons and its [own experience with oil extraction in the Niger delta](#). Nigeria's oil discovery in the Lake Chad Basin should not be taken as a blessing. If anything, it highlights the urgent need for reform and greater regional cooperation to quell the Boko Haram insurgency.

Hilary Matfess is a research analyst at the National Defense University's Center for Complex Operations. The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the National Defense University, the Department of Defense or the U. S. government.

The views expressed in this article are the author's own and do not necessarily reflect Al Jazeera America's editorial policy.

<http://america.aljazeera.com/>

Tunisia

L'Etat islamique revendique l'attentat contre la police en Tunisie

État islamique : mauvaise direction

27 novembre 2015



À cette même place, la semaine dernière, j'ai fait le constat suivant : « Aucun pays n'a osé engager de troupes au sol contre "l'État islamique" et aucun ne veut courir le risque de le faire.

ÀAucun résultat n'a donc été obtenu et l'on ne nous en annonce pas. » Or « on ne peut pas détruire « l'État islamique » sans reconquérir le territoire dont il s'est emparé ».

Et j'en avais tiré une conclusion qui me paraissait raisonnable : « Prendre son parti de l'existence de ce proto-État, le contenir à l'intérieur du territoire dont il s'est emparé, le laisser évoluer et s'assagir... »

Raisnable ou non, cette perspective n'est plus d'actualité et n'est même plus concevable depuis le vendredi 13 novembre.

*

Ce jour-là, « l'État islamique » a fait subir à la France l'équivalent de ce qu'Al-Qaïda avait infligé aux États-Unis le 11 septembre 2001 : [une agression spectaculaire qui a pris la forme d'actes de terrorisme indiscriminé](#) exécutés par un commando frappant des civils innocents et faisant dans la capitale française 130 morts et plus de 300 blessés.

La France a réagi en 2015 comme l'ont fait les États-Unis en 2001 et, à l'instar de George W. Bush, *le président français, François Hollande, a engagé son pays dans une guerre illimitée et sans merci contre le terrorisme de « l'État islamique », qu'il a préféré appeler Daesh.*

Sur sa lancée, il a décidé d'adapter la Constitution de la France, sa législation, son économie et ses alliances aux impératifs de sa sécurité. Rien de moins !

Cette réaction et les mesures qui en ont découlé ont suscité d'innombrables réactions où, pour le moment, l'approbation domine. La France a pu mesurer, une fois de plus, aux très nombreuses manifestations de solidarité qu'elle a reçues, l'étendue de son prestige.

L'observateur attentif que je crois être est beaucoup plus réservé : je ne pense pas que la réaction du président français soit la plus appropriée.

Je vous expose les principales raisons pour lesquelles j'estime que *la France et son gouvernement ont pris une mauvaise direction*.

*

1) Daesh ou « État islamique » ?

Dans cette affaire, tout est biaisé, à commencer par le nom de l'ennemi avec lequel la France est désormais en guerre. François Hollande et d'autres avec lui tiennent à utiliser l'acronyme arabe – Daesh – qu'il s'est donné, que personne en France ne comprend et dont la traduction est « État islamique en Irak et au Levant ».

En adoptant le mot *Daesh* et en le proposant à leurs alliés, les pays arabes eux-mêmes ont laissé à cette entité le titre d'État dont elle se réclame. N'est-il donc pas plus simple, ne serait-il pas plus intelligible d'employer (avec les guillemets qui s'imposent) l'expression d'« État islamique » ?

C'est ce que j'ai choisi de faire.

2) Qui a commencé la guerre ?

Dans *L'Obs*, son fondateur, Jean Daniel, peu suspect de complaisance avec les terroristes, pose avec d'innombrables précautions une série de questions.

« La France a été conduite à concentrer la puissance de feu de son aviation sur Daesh. Si bien qu'en se considérant comme une puissance agressée, comme un État dont on prétendrait détruire l'armée, les jihadistes actuels ne se seraient livrés qu'à une riposte, à une attitude d'autodéfense. L'agression de la terreur répondrait ainsi à celle des bombardements.

Si l'on suit ce raisonnement développé par les communiqués des terroristes, alors tous les discours sur la défense de nos valeurs seraient condamnés à être absurdes et surtout hypocrites.

Pourquoi la France, qui n'était pas attaquée, provoque ce qu'elle appelle une « guerre » ? Le choc que nous éprouvons depuis cette nuit historique ne doit pas nous conduire à des réponses trop expéditives.

La question est de savoir ce que nous sommes allés faire en Syrie. »

3) Mais est-ce une guerre ?

Le président George W. Bush et son vice-président Dick Cheney avaient réagi à l'attentat terroriste du 11 septembre 2001 (qui a fait 3 000 morts à New York et à Was-

hington) en engageant les États-Unis et le monde dans l'aventure de ce qu'ils ont appelé « *la guerre (mondiale) contre le terrorisme* ».

Ce « concept » qu'ils ont inventé s'est révélé inopérant, biaisé et maléfique : [les États-Unis ont envahi deux pays](#) et renversé leurs régimes, semant la désolation et disloquant l'Irak.

« L'État islamique » est né du chaos ainsi créé, et la toute-puissante Amérique s'est épuisée dans cette « guerre » qui n'en est pas une, ne serait-ce que parce qu'elle n'a pas de fin : « *Personne, dans ma génération, n'en verra le bout* », a prévenu l'écrivain Amin Maalouf, qui sait de quoi il parle.

Le successeur de George W. Bush s'emploie, depuis sept ans, à sortir son pays de ce guêpier sans y parvenir. Il explique pourquoi il se refuse à faire la guerre au terrorisme :

« La victoire sur les terroristes, dit Barack Obama, requiert un rejet par la population locale de leur idéologie, sinon il faut être prêt à une occupation permanente.

Ce n'est pas seulement mon avis, mais aussi celui de mes conseillers militaires et civils, que ce serait une erreur, non pas parce que nos militaires ne seraient pas capables de marcher sur Raqqa ou Ramadi et nettoyer temporairement l'EI, mais parce que ce serait une répétition de ce que nous avons fait dans le passé, sans succès. »

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On pouvait penser que la France se garderait de mettre un pied dans le piège de « *la guerre contre le terrorisme* » et l'on regrette de la voir s'y enfoncer.

Est-il trop tard pour ses dirigeants de prendre en compte l'analyse du même Amin Maalouf selon laquelle « *les actes de terrorisme ont leur origine dans la désintégration politique et morale de plusieurs pays arabes et musulmans... La tragédie est si ample et si profonde qu'il faudra plusieurs décennies pour la surmonter.* »

Jean Daniel conclut dans le même sens : « *Pour le moment, les assassins ne sont que des assassins, et tout ce à quoi ils parviennent en France, c'est à nuire à l'islam, qu'ils prétendent promouvoir.* »

4) *Terrorisme et tourisme*

La France avait été [une première fois frappée par le terrorisme au début de cette année](#). Pas plus que la Tunisie, qui avait d'abord été attaquée au Musée du Bardo et, quelques mois plus tard, [dans un hôtel de Sousse](#), sans se montrer mieux préparée à faire face, la France n'a donné l'impression, en novembre, de réaliser qu'elle est devenue la cible des terroristes.

Si le renseignement y a été pris en défaut, les services de sécurité ont remarquablement bien fonctionné, en janvier comme en novembre, puisqu'ils ont tôt fait de retrouver les auteurs des actes terroristes et de les « neutraliser ».

Mais, à l'exemple de la Tunisie et de l'Égypte, le pays de François Hollande et de Laurent Fabius, qui tire des 80 millions de touristes qui le visitent chaque année près de 10 % de ses revenus, dépend grandement de son tourisme.

Et, lui aussi, a vu ses hôtels, ses restaurants et ses magasins se vider de leurs clients étrangers au lendemain du 13 novembre.

5) L'exemple des autres pays

La France n'est que le dernier grand pays en date frappé par un acte terroriste important. [La Russie l'a été le 31 octobre](#) (224 morts dans l'explosion en plein vol d'un avion de la Metrojet) et la Turquie quelques semaines auparavant, le 10 octobre (102 morts et 500 blessés).

Mais ces deux pays ne sont pas encore des démocraties tandis que l'Espagne et le Royaume-Uni sont, en Europe occidentale, comme la France, d'authentiques démocraties.

La première a été frappée le 11 mars 2004 dans sa capitale, Madrid (191 morts, 2 000 blessés), et le second l'a été le 7 juillet 2005 (52 tués et 700 blessés).

Avez-vous entendu leurs dirigeants claironner qu'ils étaient en guerre et qu'ils allaient changer leur Constitution, leurs lois et consacrer plus de ressources à la sécurité ?

Rien de ce que le président français a entrepris résolument de faire et qui empêchera son pays de mener les réformes qui ont été amorcées.

« *Le pacte de sécurité, a-t-il dit, prime désormais sur le pacte de stabilité.* » La France se remet donc à recruter plus de fonctionnaires, renonce à réduire son déficit budgétaire et son endettement.

Tout se passe comme si le gouvernement de MM. Hollande et Valls attendait l'occasion de pouvoir justifier un retour au laxisme sociopolitique pratiqué par leurs prédécesseurs depuis plus de trente ans.

6) Pessimisme

François Hollande dit, d'une part, que « la France est en guerre contre Daesh », qu'elle va tout faire pour gagner cette guerre. Et, d'autre part, il met en route une modification de la Constitution et une politique de recrutements massifs, accepte pour l'État des dépenses nouvelles de sécurité au détriment du pacte de stabilité.

Ces mesures ne se réaliseront que progressivement et ne produiront donc leur plein effet que dans deux ou trois ans. Cela signifie-t-il que la guerre contre Daesh sera longue, et que la victoire annoncée ne sera acquise que dans plusieurs années ?

On surestime Daesh et on lui fait trop d'honneur : il est condamné à disparaître rapidement

Voici donc un petit « État islamique » enclavé, avec peu de ressources, cerné par des pays hostiles et qui a contre lui, outre la France, les plus grandes puissances du Moyen-Orient et du monde, parti pour leur opposer une résistance plus grande que celle de l'Allemagne hitlérienne et du Japon réunis !

Je n'en crois rien ! On surestime Daesh et on lui fait trop d'honneur : il est condamné à disparaître rapidement.

7) Méconnaissance

Il se confirme que François Hollande a tout faux sur le Maghreb et le Moyen-Orient.

En Tunisie, il a soutenu les islamistes d'Ennahdha et encouragé un Moncef Marzouki et un Mustapha Ben Jaafar à se faire leurs suppléants. Résultat : l'avènement au pouvoir de « la Troïka » qui a mis la Tunisie dans la situation difficile où elle se trouve et dont elle peine à sortir.

Et pour qui Hollande a-t-il « voté » à l'élection présidentielle tunisienne en 2014 ? Pour [Moncef Marzouki](#) et contre Béji Caïd Essebsi.

La politique étrangère du président Hollande est à l'image de sa politique intérieure : zigzagante, dominée par le pragmatisme et l'opportunisme

Ses oscillations entre l'Algérie et le Maroc, l'appui intéressé qu'il apporte à l'Arabie saoudite et au Qatar, qui le lui rendent sous forme d'achats d'armes et de contrats divers sont des manifestations de sa « diplomatie économique ».

Et n'a-t-il pas beaucoup fait pour tenter d'empêcher l'accord sur le nucléaire iranien avant de virer de bord ?

Son brusque et tout récent changement d'attitude envers [la Russie de Poutine](#) et le régime de Bachar al-Assad ne donne pas à sa politique au Moyen-Orient plus de cohérence. Il montre seulement que la politique étrangère du président Hollande est à l'image de sa politique intérieure : zigzagante, dominée par le pragmatisme et l'opportunisme.

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

Uganda

En Ouganda, le pape François qualifie la crise migratoire de « test de notre humanité »

La communauté musulmane, entre division et réconciliation Centrafricaine, une Eglise dans la tourmente

Si la prohibition de l'usage de la force dans la charte des Nations unies peut à juste titre être considérée comme l'aboutissement le plus important du droit international contemporain, il reste trois manières légales d'utiliser la force armée : le consentement de l'État hôte, la légitime défense et l'autorisation du Conseil de sécurité. Contrairement à un préjugé commun, la responsabilité de protéger n'est pas une quatrième exception : elle n'est pas un titre juridique permettant à un État d'intervenir unilatéralement sur le territoire d'un autre, puisqu'elle requiert toujours une autorisation du Conseil de sécurité. Les récentes interventions françaises rentrent dans ce cadre puisqu'elles se sont faites soit avec le consentement de l'État hôte (Mali, République centrafricaine, Irak), soit avec l'autorisation du Conseil de sécurité (Libye), soit encore en vertu de la légitime défense (Syrie).

Le cas syrien donne lieu toutefois à quelques arguties juridiques, puisque la légitime défense (art. 51 de la charte) ne s'applique en principe qu'aux États, alors que Daech est un acteur non étatique ; que, jusqu'au 13 novembre, il était difficile de prouver que la France faisait l'objet d'une menace imminente justifiant des frappes préemptives ; et que, Bachar Al Assad prétendant lui aussi combattre Daech, on peut se demander pourquoi ne pas s'allier avec lui et se reposer sur le fondement plus solide du consentement de l'État hôte.

Les réponses sont simples. Premièrement, Daech est un cas exceptionnel d'acteur non étatique ayant plusieurs attributs d'un État – appellation qu'il revendique d'ailleurs –, dont une véritable armée. Le Conseil de sécurité, qui l'a qualifié de « *menace mondiale et sans précédent contre la paix et la sécurité internationales* », demande aux États membres de prendre « *toutes les mesures nécessaires* » pour lutter contre lui, dans une résolution du 20 novembre qui est un bel exemple d'ambiguïté puisqu'elle déploie tout le vocabulaire de l'autorisation d'usage de la force sans pour autant « *autoriser* » ou « *décider* » quoi que ce soit. Elle apporte au moins un soutien politique à l'intervention en cours.

Par ailleurs, la France considère que les attentats du 13 novembre constituent une agression armée lui permettant de fonder ses actions militaires sur la légitime défense individuelle – les actions antérieures étant fondées sur la légitime défense collective, c'est-à-dire en réponse à la demande d'assistance de l'Irak. Quelles que soient les résistances des juristes conservateurs qui en restent à une lecture littérale de l'article 51, comme si la menace était la même qu'en 1945, la pratique des États évolue et le droit de la légitime défense doit lui aussi s'adapter au terrorisme global, sans pour autant tomber dans les excès de l'administration Bush.

Troisièmement, si la France n'envisage pas de solliciter le consentement de Bachar Al Assad, ce n'est pas seulement pour des raisons morales (il est responsable de 400 000 morts, selon les casques blancs syriens), mais aussi par souci d'efficacité. Il

fait en effet partie du problème plutôt que de la solution. Il a contribué à l'essor de Daech en libérant des dizaines de djihadistes dès 2011 pour diviser l'opposition et, contrairement à ce qu'il prétend, il ne combat pas ce groupe dont il a en réalité besoin. Il continue d'ailleurs de payer les fonctionnaires dans les zones contrôlées par Daech, à qui il achète des hydrocarbures.

Surtout, il s'est aliéné la majorité de la population syrienne, et la guerre civile qui a commencé contre lui continuera tant qu'il est au pouvoir. Il a plongé les Syriens dans un désespoir qui touche même sa communauté, et ne tient plus que grâce à Téhéran et Moscou. Son départ n'entraînerait pas un effondrement du régime, dont il est important de maintenir les institutions.

Quant aux Russes, nous attendons d'eux qu'ils ne bombardent pas les combattants non djihadistes, qui restent la solution au faux dilemme entre Bachar Al Assad et le chaos, et qu'ils acceptent de penser son départ – pas pour nous satisfaire, mais tout simplement parce que, tant qu'il restera, il n'y aura pas de règlement de la crise.

(1) Titulaire de la chaire d'études sur la guerre au Collège d'études mondiales (FMSH). Il s'exprime ici en son nom propre et ses propos n'engagent pas le ministère des affaires étrangères.

27/11/15 - 12 H 02 - Mis à jour le 27/11/15 - 12 H 07

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International Organizations

UN

Africa's Sahel region can become hotbed for terrorist recruitment, UN official warns



Special Envoy for the Sahel Hiroute Guebre Sellassie addresses the Security Council meeting on peace and security in Africa. UN Photo/Rick Bajornas

25 November 2015 – Without international aid to improve education and jobs, the Sahel region of sub-Saharan Africa will become fertile ground for recruiting terrorists among its tens of millions of disadvantaged people, the top United Nations official for the region warned the Security Council today.

“It is an important opportunity to highlight the predicament of a region which desperately needs the continued focus of the Security Council,” [Secretary-General](#) Ban Ki-moon’s Special Envoy for the Sahel, Hiroute Guebre Sellassie, said, citing recent terrorist attacks from Bamako, Cameroon, Nigeria, Paris and Lebanon to the downing of a Russian plane over Egypt.

“It is very alarming that youth and women in the Sahel, who constitute a vast majority of the population, are the targets of recruitment into radical movements. Up to 41 million youth under 25 years of age in Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania and Niger alone face hopelessness and are at risk of radicalization or migration,” she added.

“If nothing is done to improve access to education, increase employment and integration opportunities for the youth, the Sahel, I am afraid, will become a hub of

mass migration, and of recruitment and training of terrorist groups and individuals, which, as you know, will ultimately have grave consequences for global peace and security.”

She noted that only 56 per cent of Sahel children have access to primary education, and only 36 per cent of the population can read and write. “This unsustainable vicious cycle can only worsen without a strong international assistance,” she stressed.

“The fight against terrorism requires international solidarity. Global partnerships in the fight against terrorism are no more an option but an imperative for survival.”

Drug traffickers are increasingly colluding with armed groups and terrorist movements which grant them safe passage in exchange for financial benefits. “If conflicts are to be prevented in the Sahel, illicit trafficking, including of drugs, weapons and humans should be stopped,” she said.

She cited governance problems, noting that important segments of the populations are denied meaningful political participation, while communities’ resilience is falling victim to extreme environmental degradation, repeated climate shocks, and demographic trends which together are pushing millions of people on the brink of humanitarian disaster.

On the positive side, Ms. Sellassie first said the Sahel has continued to receive the sustained attention of the international community, the countries themselves have taken greater leadership and ownership of initiatives addressing regional challenges, and UN entities have improved coordination and coherence in implementing an integrated strategy.

“I would urge the Security Council to fully use existing mechanisms and expand their mandates to better monitor, report on and prevent the trafficking of drugs in the Sahel region. This trade finances terror and instability, and must be choked if our efforts are to be successful,” she concluded.

“Finally, I encourage the international community to enhance its support to the United Nations and regional organizations in addressing cross cutting and trans-boundary issues. Together, we can prevent further deterioration of the situation in the Sahel.”

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

Terrorism in the World

Terrorism Science: 5 Insights into Jihad in Europe

Terrorism is tough to study, but researchers have gleaned insights from the current generation of Islamist extremists



Strasbourg, France - January 11, 2015: People hold placards reading 'Je suis Charlie' during a unity rally in Strasbourg, France, following the Charlie Hebdo attacks on January 7, 2015.

In the wake of the terrorist attacks in Paris on November 13 that left 130 dead and more than 350 wounded, Alain Fuchs, president of the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), announced a [fresh call for proposals](#) for research on terrorism. Acknowledging that any effort with no immediate effect may seem “derisory”, Fuchs said that science can help to open up avenues of analysis.

The Islamist terror group ISIS also carried out deadly attacks this year in Tunisia, Lebanon, Bangladesh and other countries, and downed a Russian airliner in the Sinai Peninsula. But as thousands of Europeans have left to join Islamist groups in conflict zones, and are at risk of returning home trained to carry out further attacks, the continent is on edge.

Terrorism researchers are trying to understand how young people in Europe become radicalized, by looking for clues in the life histories of those who have committed or planned terrorist acts in recent years, left the continent to join ISIS, or are suspected of wanting to become jihadists. A mixture of sociologists, political scientists, anthropologists and psychologists, such researchers are drawing on information generated by police, judicial inquiries and the media, and, in some cases, [on interviews](#). They also study factors at play in prisons and socially-deprived areas. Some of their

insights are summarized here.

Religion is not the trigger

The rise of jihad in Europe has led to an assumption that there is a radicalization of Muslims more generally across the continent. Yet research suggests that most extremists are either people who returned suddenly to Islam or converts with no Islamic background, says Olivier Roy, who specializes in political Islam and the Middle East at Italy's European University Institute near Florence—and as many as one in four French jihadists is a convert. [Roy summarized the latest research](#) at a [conference organized in Mainz](#) on November 18–19 by the German Federal Criminal Police Office.

Violent extremism emerges first, with a religious justification tagged on after, adds [Rik Coolsaet](#), head of political science at Ghent University in Belgium, who studies jihadis and foreign policy. He notes that two young British men who were jailed last year on terrorism offences after fighting in Syria had earlier ordered online the books *Islam for Dummies* and *The Koran for Dummies*.

Resentment is the common ground

It is difficult to make generalizations about how people become radicalized in Europe. At the Mainz conference, Roy said that many extremists come from broken families or deprived areas, lack education and are unemployed. A smaller number are well educated, have held jobs and have middle-class lifestyles. Some are in stable relationships and have young children. The characteristics that extremists seem to share are resentment directed at society and a narcissistic need for recognition that leaves them open to a narrative of violent glory, said Roy.

Social factors can contribute to such frustrations, according to [Farhad Khosrokhavar](#), a CNRS researcher who works at the School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences in Paris. Almost all European extremists and terrorists are second- and third-generation immigrants, whom Khosrokhavar says are often “stigmatized, rejected and treated as second-class citizens”. However, since about 2013, the profile of those leaving to fight in Syria has included a much larger proportion of middle-class youth than in previous generations, he says.

Terrorism breeds in prisons

The link between terrorism and prison was highlighted this year. The three terrorists involved in the [January attack in Paris on the satirical publication *Charlie Hebdo* and a kosher supermarket](#), as well as some of the November 13 attackers, had all done time.

Many French terrorists have a history of petty crime that landed them in prison. Stays there often proved seminal experiences on their path to radicalization, says Khosrokhavar, who spent several years interviewing some 160 staff and inmates at 4 large French prisons, including 15 inmates sentenced for terrorism offences. He says that prisoners often come under the influence of—and form lasting bonds with—radical Islamists and terrorist networks.

‘Entrepreneurs’ drive terrorism

Most of those who get involved in jihadi terrorism in Europe are “misfits and drifters”—people who joined militant networks during life crises or through friends and relatives on the inside, says [Petter Nesser](#), a terrorism researcher at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment in Kjeller.

But he says that the key actors in terrorist activity are a much smaller number of “entrepreneurs”. These seasoned, ideologically driven activists are part of transnational terrorist webs linked both to extremist groups throughout Europe and to armed groups in conflict zones. They are the ones who bring structure and organization to the disaffected majority, through recruitment and indoctrination.

Molenbeek isn’t the terrorist capital of Europe

Several of the terrorists involved in the latest Paris attacks, and the perpetrators of previous attacks in Europe, had lived in the Molenbeek district of Brussels, which has a large Muslim community, mostly of Moroccan descent. This has led some politicians and media outlets to [label it Europe’s terrorism capital](#)—and to blame factors such as social deprivation or an apparent lack of integration of Muslims.

“This is misleading,” says Nesser. Jihadi hot spots have emerged across Europe in environments ranging from poor suburbs, to universities and schools, to prisons. The key ingredient in the spread of jihadism in any location is a critical mass of jihadist entrepreneurs, he says.

A focus on Molenbeek obscures the fact that European jihadism is transnational, Nesser says, and that its main drivers are armed conflicts and militant groups involved in those conflicts. He adds: “It is also unfair and stigmatizing towards the inhabitants of this Belgian suburb.”

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

The Forever War Against Islam...Our New Reality

November 16th, 2015

In 1974 American science fiction author Joe Haldeman wrote the epic of futuristic militaristic fiction in 'The Forever War', the story of endless interstellar war by space marines and rocket jockeys fighting interminable battles and wars with a shifting panoply of menacing space aliens. And this motif of endless war with a gruesome otherworldly enemy has been popularized in countless other sci-fi sagas such as Starship Troopers, Battlestar Galactica, Space: Above and Beyond, etc. etc. You might say that this genre is expressing a time-honored dark aspect of our collective subconscious that was initially primed and given expression by the Biblical Christian apocalyptic visions of the End Times. And now, finally, the real world catalyst that is actually launching us into this dark nether region of Forever War is...ISIS, as explicated in the post just below mine today by Imre Beke.

The book 'The ISIS Apocalypse' written by the scholar William McCants of The Brookings Institution details how this Islamist apocalyptic vision animates and structures everything about ISIS. ISIS indeed is trying to provoke, and successfully everyone is beginning to believe now, since the takedown of the Russian passenger airliner and now the Paris attacks, massive retaliation that will result in tens of thousands of civilian casualties. I have written about this in my last post 'Russia About To Strategically Bomb ISIS'. ISIS' expectation, not unwarranted, is that worldwide popular Muslim reaction to seeing the televised carnage of the imminent Russian bombing campaign, never mind the French who do not possess strategic bombing capability unless they use a mini-nuke (and it might still get to that), will galvanize a growing and unstoppable worldwide populist Jihadi campaign or series of campaigns against Russia and the West that will indeed be tantamount to a 'War Of Civilizations.'

Now, there are different varieties of Islam, at the base of which are the principal faiths of Sunni and Shia Islam. The Iranian grounded Shia sect has its own apocalyptic tradition and there is the added complication that there is a brewing Shia-Sunni civil war already underway in the Middle East to add fuel to all this apocalypse mongering. But if even a relatively tiny minority of the world's 1.4 billion Muslims begins to actively engage in, or support, morally and logistically, a global Jihad then we are in Frank Herbert territory indeed (Herbert is the American sci-fi author of the 'Dune' series of novels which posits precisely this: that an interstellar Jihad by the Muslim-like 'Fremen' of his sci-fi universe is launched against secular interstellar civilization and, after many bloody battles, the Jihad...wins! Herbert may turn out to have been prescient after all. Perish the thought.)

What will the real imminent earthly global Jihad look like? Well, just like what has been starting ever so slowly these past couple of years. Lone wolf attacks, like the Tsarnaev Brothers Boston marathon pressure cooker bombing. Insider, or 'Green on Blue' attacks, like the Fort Hood Major Doctor Hassan shooting of fellow soldiers. And spectacular attacks like the Paris one yesterday or the Russian passenger jet bomb (an insider attack it looks like by a turncoat baggage agent, an airport employee.) And as these attacks begin to increase in frequency our collective response will be to increasingly crack down on the Muslim communities in our midst...it's inevitable, and popular pressure will push the authorities to begin to suspend the constitutional rights of so-called Muslim citizens, first by increasing the permitted surveil-

lance on mosques and Muslim businesses and households, such as in the majority Muslim city of Dearborn, Michigan, ultimately ending in the extremist right-wing paranoid fantasy of FEMA detention camps (only in the new reality no real Americans will wind up there...only suspicious Muslims, and like the Japanese Nisei of World War II detention camp infamy...it will all be too real.) The Constitution is not a suicide pact, as ex-Senator Alan Simpson of Wyoming used to like to say...if our collective survival depends on abrogating parts of it for Muslims it's no more onerous a violation than Abraham Lincoln's suspension of habeas corpus during the Civil War.

Very quickly the polite fiction of President George W Bush after the 9/11 attacks, that Islam is just another 'peaceful religion', echoed these days by the pusillanimous Barack Hussein Obama, will evaporate under the relentlessly growing barrage and onslaught of Muslim attacks and attempted attacks. If you're out on a night on the town beware your Muslim waiter...any moment he might plunge that steak knife in your throat. Out at the car dealership shopping for a new car? Oh oh, the Muslim mechanic about to test drive a car for maintenance can any moment plow into a group of real, non-Muslim Americans. The Muslim bus driver could at any moment do a suicide drive of the bus and all the passengers off a highway overpass. The Muslim doctor in the hospital could start injecting patients with poison. Jihad will be touching each of us soon in the Brave New World of post 2015 America. Are you ready?

There's an easy way the Muslims of any Western country could prove me wrong. How about if, very soon in Paris, a hundred thousand Muslims, maybe 10,000 Muslims, oh, that's still too much, ok, can we get ONE THOUSAND Muslims, to march in a 'Not In My Name' protest to show solidarity with the values of Western civilization and renounce radical Islam. They won't do it, will they? Not like we Western people, take a subset of us, say white males, we're always being reminded of our 'white privilege' or being admonished to not be sexist, yada yada yada, but the vast silent majority of Muslims just...stay silent in the face of these recurring atrocities. How come? Do they secretly sympathize with Jihad? Even if they don't like violence personally, in their hearts they blame Western colonialism for the conquest of Muslim countries starting in the 19th century and, like the African-Americans in the U.S. today, they have a sense of grievance, and so they are uppity, and secretly they enjoy seeing white Western civilization get smacked down. All the time that they live here and benefit from our Western technology and economy...and then at home they secretly celebrate our misfortunes. In their hearts they're rooting for their home team, for Mohammed.

So maybe there aren't as many moderate Muslims as guilt-ridden hand-wringing liberals would like us to believe. Because, once the so-called moderates themselves look at the texts and history of Islam they see, as we all see, that Islam is a religion of WAR, the antithesis of being the so-called 'religion of peace.' War and conquest are inscribed in the DNA of Islam. And the Jihadis are basically throwing a monumental temper tantrum at the fact that WHITE WESTERN civilization bested Islam and colonized Islam because, sorry liberals, it was BETTER, better in a Social-Darwinian sense at competition and survival in the world. Same goes for WHITE EUROPEAN colonization of Africa. Don't tell that to the addled and spoiled white liberal college kids though, they'll throw a galactic hissy fit at hearing the TRUTH. They'll run to the Moslems looking for a Safe Space, ha ha ha.

(By the way, this is the real meaning of the hit TV show 'The Walking Dead' and the follow-on 'Beware The Walking Dead' series. It will no longer be politically incorrect to point out that the 'Walking Dead' zombies killing living Americans are... you guessed it, Muslims! The show was so popular precisely because it was tweaking our subconscious, and justified, fears of the undercover zombie killers among us...Jihadi Muslims.)

The tragedy of course is that a significant majority of Muslims living here, as in all Western countries, are indeed ordinary, non-violent people and we can't realistically relish punishing them for sometimes secretly rooting for their 'home team' from the safety of their sofas at home. So America's problem is: How do we adequately protect our society without perpetrating gross injustices on this non-violent Muslim majority? The answer is: Sorry, but it can't be done...and in an apocalyptic War of Civilizations it's either Them or Us. I vote Us. Who's with me?

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

Bangladesh

The Revival Of Jihad In Bangladesh: Is Islamic State At India's Doorsteps? – Analysis

Islamic State, in its latest issue of Dabiq entitled “Just Terror,” has sounded the clarion for its jihadi campaign in Bangladesh with a dedicated article entitled “The Revival of Jihad in Bengal.” This is the first official instance of the Islamic State trying to revive jihad in the Indian subcontinent, concomitantly confirming the presence of Islamic State in Bangladesh, and posing serious security problems to India.

The Dabiq article has been authored by Abu Abdur Rahman Al Banghali, ostensibly a Bangladeshi himself, identified by the nom de guerre suffix Banghali, which refers to a person of Bengali origin. The use of word “Bengal” in the Dabiq article is explained by an annotation stating that “Bengal is what the region was referred to before the founding of “Bangladesh” by nationalists in 1971.” This reference is to the 1971 liberation war for an independent Bangladesh from Pakistan. The article has criticized even the Islamist political parties and extremist groups with hardline ideology in Bangladesh for non-conformity to the puritan form of Islam as propagated by the Islamic State. The article not only targets new recruits but also members of other organizations in Bangladesh to switch allegiance to the Islamic State.

Interestingly, terror operations in Bengal have been included only in the current issue of Dabiq under a section titled “Military Operations by the Islamic State.” This section is a regular feature in all its issues of Dabiq, where the military operations of Islamic State in its “Wilayats” (provinces) are published.

The magazine has also officially claimed responsibility for the targeted killing of foreigners, policemen, and bomb attacks on a Shia procession in Bangladesh this year. The Dabiq article claims that Islamic State’s security cell carried out the following attacks:

- ✦ September 28 – assassination of Cesare Tavella, an Italian citizen.
- ✦ October 03 – assassination of Kunio Hoshi, a Japanese citizen in the city of Rangpur.
- ✦ October 24 – multiple IED attacks on a Shia procession in the city of Dhaka, killing one person and wounding eighty-seven.
- ✦ November 04 – assault on a police checkpoint in Dhaka, killing one policeman and wounding another

The Dabiq article has put an end to the ambiguity prevailing over the actual perpetrators of recent “lone wolf” type attacks in Bangladesh. Though these attacks were attributed to the Islamic State by the SITE Intelligence Group, Dhaka had maintained that the attacks were artificially engineered by vested interests, and the government has vehemently denied the presence of the Islamic State in Bangladesh. However, recent reports indicate that Dhaka has reconciled to the presence of Islamic State in Bangladesh by seeking assistance to nab two fugitive Islamic State operatives hiding in India who are suspected of being behind terror attacks in Bangladesh.

Security Implications for India

Given this new development and India's close physical proximity to Bangladesh, Indian security planners will be concerned as this is bound to have serious security implications for India for a variety of reasons.

Firstly, Bangladeshi extremists have been known to operate from India, particularly in West Bengal. A module of Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen (JMB), a banned extremist group in Bangladesh, was busted in Burdwan, West Bengal, in 2014. An investigation by India's National Investigation Agency (NIA) has revealed that JMB has spread its network in the Indian states of West Bengal, Assam, and Jharkhand. JMB has been involved in recruitment, radicalization, and training of Indian youths by organizing terrorist training camps in certain Madrasas. JMB has established organizational bases at certain districts of West Bengal like Nadia, Burdwan, Murshidabad and Birbhum as well as in the Sahebganj district of Jharkhand in India. NIA charge sheets reveals that these bases were actively used for organizing radicalization programs, organizational meetings, fund-collection meetings, and hideouts for cadres and their families. JMB has an elaborate network of terrorist training camps at select Madrasas, and other hideouts where recruits are indoctrinated into the violent jihadi ideology as well as training for violent action through use of explosives and fire-arms.

More recently, Dhaka handed over a list of 204 Bangladeshi terrorists who are hiding in different parts of India. Interestingly, Dhaka has also provided the details of two Islamic State operatives believed to presently be in India, both of whom were involved in the assassination of the Japanese national in Dhaka in October 2015. As a result, there is always a healthy pool of terrorists or indoctrinated cadres belonging to different Bangladesh extremist groups or organisations in India, any of whom could possibly switch allegiance to Islamic State with a flick of a switch, providing Islamic State with readily available resource, and posing serious threat within India.

Secondly, the Indo-Bangladeshi border is highly porous which has abetted the rapid growth of smuggling networks and easy movement of criminals across the borders. For instance, fake Indian currency notes (FICN) are smuggled by agents at the behest of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) into India through Malda in West Bengal. The National Investigation Agency of India is presently investigating cases related to seizure of huge consignments of FICNs (Rs.2.71 Crores) stashed in shipping containers in Dhaka. In reality, Bangladesh has emerged as a key hub for peddling FICNs into India, which are sourced from Dubai. This network is robust, efficient and intact in spite of joint working mechanisms formulated to tackle this menace by both the countries. This network has been used by terrorist groups in the past to move terrorists and logistics in and out of India.

Thirdly, terrorists and insurgents from both India and Bangladesh have found safe haven at both sides of the border. For instance, some of the Indian insurgent leaders like Arabinda Rajkhowa, and Anup Chetia of the banned United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) have found shelter in Bangladesh in past. Fundamentalists like Thadiyanvide Nazir of the Lashkar-e-Taiba module which carried out the bomb blasts in Bangalore, India in 2008 have also found their way to Bangladesh. Dhaka has arrested these insurgents and terrorists who were handed over to the Indian authorities. Notwithstanding this crackdown, Bangladesh still appears to figure in the itinerary of most of the terrorist groups in India, for both infiltration as well as exfil-

tration of terrorists using the above networks.

Fourthly, the ability of the Islamic State to mount rapid, frequent attacks with a shortened planning and execution cycle could also play in its favour. For instance, Russia and France started their air campaign against the Islamic State in late September, 2015. Islamic State, in response to their bombing campaign, brought down a Russian civilian jet over Sinai with a bomb and conducted terror attacks in Paris in October and November respectively. Islamic State should have theoretically conceived and planned the attack only after the start of the air campaign. Hence, commissioning, planning, and execution of these complex trans-border terror attacks took anywhere between 30-45 days, which is the key strength of the Islamic State, not rivaled by any other terrorist group. Similar complex attacks by other terrorists groups have used up more time to plan and execute compared to these attacks. For instance, Al Qaeda took more than a year to plan and execute 9/11 attacks in 2001, so did Lashkar-e-Toiba for Mumbai in 2008. The ability of the Islamic State to strike at will at distant lands, at short notice is its unique selling proposition which will make more radicalized youngsters gravitate towards the Islamic State. This ability is more pronounced after its recent conventional losses in Syria due to the coalition air campaign.

There are already ominous signs of Islamic State attempting to harness the above aspects in its favor. Islamic State recently released a recruitment audio message in Bengali, the dialect spoken by a sizeable population of Bengalis in India's West Bengal. This is a clear attempt to target the Bengali-speaking population in India and Bangladesh. In addition to that, Indian intelligence agencies have intercepted several youngsters going to Syria to join the Islamic State. Most of these wannabe jihadis had planned to cross over to Bangladesh illegally and travel to Dubai and to Turkey from there, which is a testimony to the fact that the Islamic State handlers are still using Bangladesh as an exfiltration route. This is a strong testament to the presence of a support network in Bangladesh. Hence, an active jihadi support apparatus in Bangladesh will only exacerbate the situation further for India.

A readily available pool of recruits in India, supported by a well-knit support network in Bangladesh, has effectively created a scenario which could bring Islamic State to India's doorsteps. Islamic State has resources which has facilitated the commissioning of multiple terror attacks in Bangladesh with rapid frequency, including the recent attack on a Shia mosque as recent as November 24th, killing one person. Islamic State could possibly use these resources to enhance its ability to execute terror attacks with a reduced attack cycle, more frequently in India. As reported by Geopoliticalmonitor recently, these resources could well play a key role in translating the intent of the Islamic State into actions, which has already envisioned unleashing the apocalyptic "Ghazva-e-Hind" in India.

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France

State Terrorism: Franco-American Style

"Guns & Butter" interview with Michel Chossudovsky

By [Prof Michel Chossudovsky](#) and [Bonnie Faulkner](#)

Global Research, November 27, 2015

Michel Chossudovsky's most recent research on the alleged ISIS terror in Paris, as well as the Radisson Hotel terror in Bamako, Mali, is discussed.

Analysis of current state sponsored terror in general, within a larger global geopolitical and economic framework, is addressed.

Topics include

The fundamental contradiction in the official narrative of the War on Terror versus the Islamic State or ISIS;

Islamic State a creation of U.S. intelligence;

The geopolitical agenda; the militarization of Africa; the Berlin Conference in the late 19th century;

Foreknowledge of the Paris terror;

French military escalation against Syria planned before the attacks;

Replication of the 9/11 discourse as a pretext to justify a new wave of bombing against Syria;

Attack by a foreign power justifies a state of war;

The Doctrine of Collective Security, Article 5 of NATO;

The Muslim community subjected to a witch hunt; the criminalization of the state and the financial system;

The end of the French Republic.

Aired: November 25, 2015

Transcript:

This is Guns and Butter.

"But the thing is that to enforce an imperial agenda, you scrap the republic. Now, Julius Caesar understood that perfectly well. I can't remember the exact quote but he said you don't build an empire with a republic. I think that in effect that is what's happening is that the republic is being scrapped. It's not only being scrapped in



France; it's being scrapped in America.”—Michel Chossudovsky

I'm Bonnie Faulkner. Today on Guns and Butter, Michel Chossudovsky. Today's show, "State Terrorism : Franco-American Style."

Michel Chossudovsky is an economist and is the founder, director and editor of the Centre for Research on Globalization based in Montreal, Quebec. He is the author of 11 books including The Globalization of Poverty and the New World Order, War and Globalization, The Truth Behind September 11th, America's War on Terrorism and The Globalization of War : America's Long War against Humanity. Today, we discuss his most recent articles on the alleged ISIS terror in Paris as well as well as the Radisson Hotel terror in Bamako, Mali, a former French colony. We analyze current state sponsored terror in general, within a larger global geopolitical and economic framework.

Bonnie Faulkner : Michel Chossudovsky, welcome.

Michel Chossudovsky : I'm delighted to be on Guns and Butter.

Bonnie Faulkner : On November 13th, 2015 shootings and suicide bombings were staged in five different locales in Paris, the capital of France. One hundred and thirty people were killed. Less than a week after the Paris gun and suicide bomb attacks a group of heavily armed gunmen stormed the Radisson Blu Hotel in Bamako, the capital of Mali, a former French colony, in which 21 people were killed. There have been a string of recent high profile terror attacks, from bombings in Beirut and the downing of a Russian airliner over the Sinai Desert. Where do you think we should begin in trying to address all of these recent terror attacks?

Michel Chossudovsky : I think there's a fundamental contradiction in the official narrative both of the United States and, of course, of France and its allies. The United States is leading a war on terrorism which is directed against the so-called Islamic State yet the evidence amply confirms that the Islamic State and the various al Qaeda related terrorist organizations are creations of US intelligence. They're what are called in intelligence parlance "intelligence assets."

The other dimension, of course, is that in effect Obama is not waging a campaign against the terrorists because these terrorists are in fact the foot soldiers of the Western Military Alliance in Syria and they are in fact protecting the terrorists. This is amply confirmed and it's come to our attention since the onset of the Russian bombing, and the Russians are going after the real terrorists.

When an occurrence such as that of Paris or Bamako is presented then to the media or the media analyzes these events, what they do is simply copy and paste the official narrative without presenting an understanding of who is actually behind these terrorist organizations. Almost immediately in the wake of the terrorist attacks in Paris the French media went into overdrive stating unequivocally – and that was prior to the conduct even of a police investigation – that the Islamic State was indelibly behind these attacks.

Then the president, François Hollande, ordered by decree a national emergency, the suspension of civil liberties, the right to enter homes and arrest people without a warrant, and at the same time he closed down the borders. Now this, as I recall, was announced a few minutes before midnight on November 13th local time, prior to any

consultation with his cabinet colleagues. He actually confirmed that the cabinet meeting was to take place subsequently. In his speech he says, “We know who they are.” Immediately the French media says, “This is a French-style 9/11.” In other words, in French it says “Le 11 Septembre à la Française.” Following from that, the official story prevails.

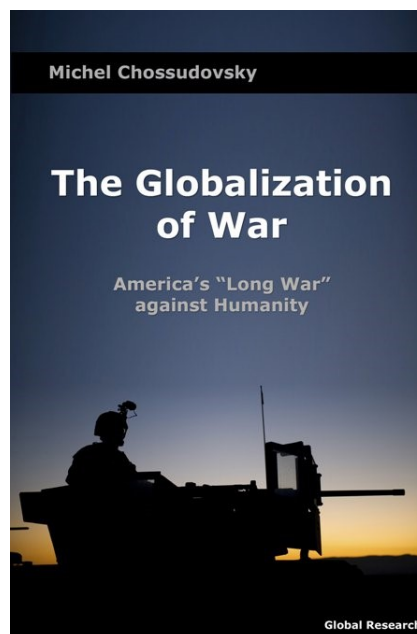
The official story is based, as I mentioned, with a fundamental contradiction. You can’t on the one hand say you’re the victim of Islamic State when, in fact, you’re the creator of Islamic State. It’s a non sequitur. You cannot say that the attacks – and he was very explicit – the attacks were from outside France, from Syria, originating from Syria. You can’t say that the attacks originated from Syria directed against the French republic and at the same time support covertly these same terrorists. There’s ample evidence that not only the United States and its allies have supported the ISIS and its affiliate groups such as the Libya Islamic Fighting Group – so has France – with weapons, with training, with financing and so on.

That is the situation and what the French public and Western public in general have been led to believe is that these terrorists are involved in crimes against humanity without realizing that, in fact, their intelligence services, which are under the auspices of an elected government, are manipulating these terror organizations, are supporting them, are providing them with weapons.

Bonnie Faulkner : You write that the Islamic State, ISIS, the alleged architect of the Paris attacks, was originally an al Qaeda affiliated entity created by US intelligence with the support of Britain’s MI6, Israel’s Mossad, Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence, ISI, and Saudi Arabia’s General Intelligence Presidency, GIP. You write that, “From the outset of Obama’s bombing campaign in August/September 2014, the US led coalition has not bombed ISIS rebel positions.” Has the US counterterrorism campaign been fake?

Michel Chossudovsky : Well, absolutely. This is a self-proclaimed counterterrorism campaign, But in effect it is there to justify the bombing of a sovereign country in derogation of international law. The United States has been pressuring the government of Bashar al-Assad to step down. They want regime change and they have not been able to achieve that despite four years of intensive terrorist activities, which they sponsor, on the ground. In the last year, we’re talking about the bombing raid, which has lasted for 13 months or more and which is in effect supporting those terrorist entities.

Now, one can say, well, where do you get the information as to who is behind these terrorists? I can tell you that from day one, in March 2011, the terrorists were sent in with the support of the Western Military Alliance. In fact, this was reported in August 2011 by DEBKA, which is an intelligence online media. I’m not saying that



I trust DEBKA but they acknowledged very clearly, and it's corroborated by other reports, that the initiative of the Western Military Alliance was actually launched by NATO. It consisted in setting up a campaign to enlist thousands of Muslim volunteers in Muslim countries, which would then be coordinated by NATO in Brussels and the Turkish high command. That is exactly what has happened.

It took a long time for Western public opinion to actually even realize that the so-called opposition forces against the government of Bashar al-Assad were actually terrorists. Then, when these atrocities were committed they'll say invariably – and they probably still do – the Western media will accuse Bashar al-Assad of killing his own people.

Well, we have enough information to know that this so-called war on terrorism is fake. The United States and its allies are involved in a criminal undertaking in violation of international law against a sovereign country. It's geopolitics, it's economic conquests, and they're using the war on terrorism as a pretext. Now the bombing campaign is really in response to the fact that government forces in 2014 actually had managed to pacify a large part of Syrian territory and the terrorist pockets had been eliminated, so they initiated the bombing campaign and then they fast-tracked the recruitment and training of terrorists out of Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and so on, so forth.

All of this is known and the thing is that the Western media will actually acknowledge the fact that Turkey is responsible for this, that and the other, that Saudi Arabia, we can't trust them; they're supporting the terrorists. Qatar's supporting the terrorists. But, of course, the Western countries are not supporting the terrorists even though their allies are obeying orders. Qatar is not really a country; it's a proxy state in the Persian Gulf. It obeys orders. There's a whole series of military and intelligence bases there close to Doha, the capital of Qatar.

Saudi Arabia's the same. These are countries which are aligned with Washington. They receive military aid. They are told what to do. Historically, going back to the Soviet-Afghan War, we know that Pakistan's military intelligence, Inter-Services Intelligence, ISI, and its Saudi counterparts were funding this operation, they were recruiting the terrorists. It's corroborated by Brzezinski and so on so forth. All this is known and the CIA does not deny it. What they say, of course, is that in the wake of the Cold War they ceased their relationship with al Qaeda and then al Qaeda turned against us so to speak.

This is absolute nonsense because I can tell you, for one thing, the actual terrorists continue to be trained in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In fact, the proclaimed architect of the bombing of the hotel in Bamako, Belmokhtar, was recruited by the CIA in 1991. The Soviet-Afghan War was already over, the Cold War was over, and the CIA was continuing to recruit these people.

Who were they recruiting?

They were recruiting potential intelligence assets which could then be deployed in a number of countries – The former Soviet Union, of course the Russian Federation, Chechnya but also in the Middle East. It just so happens that BelMokhtar was trained in Pakistan and Afghanistan by the CIA and then he was sent back in 1993 to Algeria. Today he is behind a fraction group of what is called **Al Qaeda in Islamic**

Maghreb, and the operation which was launched in Bamako allegedly was undertaken by his group on the one hand and the broader organization, which is called al Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb, AQIM, which is an affiliate of al Qaeda.

I should mention that AQIM is also very much integrated with the so-called Libya Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG), which was supported by NATO during the NATO campaign against Libya in 2011, so that NATO supports the Libya Islamic Fighting Group which in effect has more or less merged with AQIM, the architect of the Bamako bombing, this mythical figure, Belmokhtar is actually trained by the CIA.

There's CIA all over the place, and they cannot deny because the evidence is so compelling, that the intelligence services of Western countries are supporting the terrorists and at the same time, the governments of Western countries are waging a campaign allegedly against the Islamic State when in fact they're also supporting the Islamic State. They're using this as a pretext to bomb a sovereign country resulting in tens of thousands of casualties, a refugee crisis, the destruction of entire cities and so on, during a period of four years.

That is the picture and we don't need to start engaging in any sort of conspiracy theories to underscore the fact that if the intelligence services of France and the United States are supporting ISIS, and ISIS is designated as the threat to the security of the French nation, there's an obvious contradiction. Because you can't support the ISIS and then make a speech at 12 :00 at night – I'm talking about President Hollande – and say, 'We know who they are, they're attacking us, they're killing our people.' I think to put it mildly, President François Hollande has blood on his hands.

I'm speaking with economist and director of the Centre for Research on Globalization, Michel Chossudovsky. Today's show, State Terrorism : Franco-American Style. I'm Bonnie Faulkner. This is Guns and Butter.

Bonnie Faulkner : Now, you've been referring to the Bamako, Mali attacks, the most recent terror attacks. News media report that the Bamako terror operation was coordinated by Mokhtar Belmokhtar, whom you have mentioned. What do you think is the significance of the Bamako attacks? And were the Mali attacks, in Bamako, related to the Paris terror? For instance, what was France's role in the Libyan war and the takedown of Muammar Gaddafi? Is this all related?

Michel Chossudovsky : Let me put it this way. Both the Paris attacks as well as the Bamako attacks have geopolitical implications. First, with regard to Paris it's worth noting that one week before these attacks occurred the Hollande government had ordered the deployment of the Charles de Gaulle aircraft carrier group to the eastern Mediterranean and this was in support of the alleged campaign against terrorism in Syria. Even before these attacks occurred they'd already been preparing to send this powerful navy and air force deployment to the Middle East in support of Obama's campaign against the ISIS.

In the wake of the Paris attacks, as we recall, the French air force went in and bombed the alleged headquarters of ISIS. The official declaration from the Ministry of Defence was that they had actually targeted the command posts. We got information from Syria that, in fact, what they targeted were health clinics, a museum and the stadium; in other words, the country's civilian infrastructure. That has been persistent throughout the last year, since the United States started to bomb Syria.

Now, with regard to Bamako, the geopolitical agenda is essentially to create a pretext and a justification for the intervention of France and the United States in Sub-Saharan Africa. They would be directing their actions allegedly, of course, against terror organizations which threaten the partner governments in Africa – which is nonsensical because they control those terror organizations, whether it's Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb or Boko Haram in Nigeria or the Libya Islamic Fighting Group. All these organizations are “intelligence assets” and they're being used to destabilize sovereign countries.

The Bamako attacks will no doubt also be used by France, by the United States to in a sense re-colonize Africa in terms of militarization of the entire continent, the control of the resources, the destabilization of post-colonial society, etc., which they're doing through various mechanisms. I suspect that the geopolitics underlying the Bamako terror attack is the militarization of Africa. I should mention that USAFRI-COM also sent in a contingent into Mali to assist the French and Malian Special Forces, which stormed the hotel. US Africa Command is the key to this militarization of Africa.

I should mention that François Hollande is in fact a US proxy. He acts on behalf of Washington. He has absolutely no concern in actually protecting the French spheres of influence in West Africa, for instance. The alliance with the United States – and it's a subordinate alliance; France is a subordinate to Washington – is in fact to pave the way towards the US colonization of the African continent, which historically, as we recall, was really colonized by the Europeans. In the late 19th century they had a conference called the Berlin Conference where they carved up Africa into different sections and then divided the continent, but America was not included in that process.

Now what we see emerging is in fact the displacement of the former colonial powers in Africa. Portugal has already gone and so has Spain and so has Belgium, and France is ultimately being displaced by the United States. Francophone countries are becoming Americanized. The dollar will eventually replace the CFA franc, which is a proxy currency linked to the French treasury but tied into the euro.

I think that is the scenario. It's the conquest of the African continent, which is supported by the self-proclaimed mandate of the Obama administration to go after the terrorists in Sub-Saharan Africa, Boko Haram, AQIM and so on. They're doing that in all the various areas where they want to extend their zone of influence.

Of course, in Southeast Asia you have the Jamiya Islami (JI) in Indonesia and Malaysia, and then you've got of course various other jihadist organizations in the western part of China which are involved, again, in insurgencies and they're also supported by Western intelligence via Pakistan's ISI.

Bonnie Faulkner : It sounds like the United States and France are working very closely together and there is then evidence that French military escalation directed against Syria was planned before the November 13th terrorist attacks. What evidence is there, if any, of official foreknowledge of the Paris terror itself?

Michel Chossudovsky : You're absolutely right . France has been participating in the bombing raids right from the outset. Ironically, they operate out of the United Arab Emirates, which in fact hosts the terrorist organizations or trains them and so on.

With regard to foreknowledge, I don't want to necessarily tackle it in those terms but there were certain events which I considered revealing. The fact that about a month and a half before the Paris attacks, there was an article in *Paris Match*, which is a tabloid, a magazine which is widely read and very authoritative. In this *Paris Match* report it was stated that within a short period of time there would be an attack. They used the term "9/11 French-style," "La 11 septembre à la française." That was, in fact, the title of the article.

The *Paris Match* on October 2nd predicted a French-style 9/11. They said that the attacks on France will be on a scale comparable to 9/11. They also said that intelligence services fear a 9/11 French-style. Then you ask yourself, what was the purpose of this media report? Is it media disinformation? Is it there to create a hype or create an atmosphere of fear and intimidation prior to the actual events?

Ironically, when the events occurred, the media was actually simply restating what had been said about a month and a half ago. They said 'this is a terrorist attack similar to 9/11.' They also pointed immediately, without any evidence, to the fact that these attacks came from Syria. Then, of course, as we recall, subsequently a few days later the French president, after having declared a national emergency, stated "this is an act of war against us" despite the fact that this is not an act of war; it's simply an event. It's a terror event, not an act of war. But he said it's an act of war because we're being attacked by a foreign power, and that foreign power is allegedly in northern Syria somewhere in Raqqa.

It just so happens that we support these terrorists, but we have to invoke, in a sense, the fact that we're being attacked from outside so that then we can also then claim with our coalition partners in NATO and the European Union the doctrine of collective security. That's Article 5 of NATO, which says that an attack against one member of NATO is an attack against all members of NATO. That's what they invoked on September 12, 2001 in the wake of 9/11, saying that it was an attack against the United States from abroad – although we didn't witness any Afghani planes in the skies of New York.

They're doing exactly the same. They're replicating the 9/11 discourse, the fact that this is an attack from a foreign power; it just so happens that that foreign power is in northern Syria somewhere. They're using this as a pretext to escalate the war against Syria, not against their proxy terrorists in Raqqa, and to justify a new wave of bombing by coalition forces. I think that is ultimately the agenda.

I'm speaking with economist and director of the Centre for Research on Globalization, Michel Chossudovsky. Today's show, State Terrorism: Franco-American Style. I'm Bonnie Faulkner. This is Guns and Butter.

Michel Chossudovsky : Then they have to confront Russia, because Russia is going after the real terrorist. I think that one of the dimensions of this particular Paris attack is that they need now a mechanism or a pretext to undermine Russia's endeavors, which consists essentially in destroying the foot soldiers of the Western Military Alliance, who are the terrorists – these various entities, which are supported covertly by the CIA, by MI6, by Mossad, and which are integrated by special forces in permanent liaison with the Western Military Alliance. These foot soldiers have their commanders and those commanders also liaise with NATO and the United States.

The fact is that Israel is also behind the terrorists and we don't even need to speculate on that. They've actually said that they have a facility in the Golan Heights. They're bringing wounded terrorists from Syria into the Golan Heights, with hospital facilities. They have Israeli advisors within the terrorist formations and so on. We have photo ops again of Netanyahu with terrorist commanders being given hospital treatment in the Golan Heights.

The issue is that what we're discussing here will not be given coverage in the mainstream media and the public is drowned with a humanitarian discourse. Innocent people are being killed and it's those events where terrorists attack innocent people which ultimately create within everybody this feeling of solidarity, this feeling of fear as well. Ultimately, when people die we feel it.

Then what we do is we side with the government. That's what they're doing. Everybody's siding with the French government. Even people who hate François Hollande are siding with the French government because the French government is there to protect them and they are shocked and concerned about the loss of life.

That concept or that procedure there is well entrenched, in fact, in US military doctrine. I should remind listeners of what was called Operation Northwoods. It was during the Kennedy administration. It was a secret plan by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to start killing people in the Miami Cuban community as well as in Washington with a view to justifying a war of retribution against Cuba. I quote from the official document. They said, we kill people in Miami and that creates "a useful wave of indignation" – indignation of US public opinion, which is a normal thing. Everybody has indignation when people are killed.

Then they say, Cuba, Fidel Castro, has attacked America; we have to attack Cuba in retribution. That is the logic of these so-called false flags. The Operation Northwoods documents are there. People can go and consult them, because those secret documents have been declassified after half a century and we know that the US military were contemplating this. It was turned down by Kennedy and it was also turned down by the Defense Secretary McNamara, at the time. In effect, it was a plot from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, no doubt also supported by US intelligence at the time.

Just to mention one further element, the concept is what General Tommy Franks, who was US Central Command (USCENTCOM) commander responsible for the invasion of Iraq, called a "terrorist, massive, casualty-producing event," which results in civilian casualties. He said that in effect these terrorist, **massive casualty-producing events** constitute an instrument which enables the government to militarize – in this case he was talking about the United States – to militarize the United States and in effect that's exactly what's happening in France. The massive, casualty-producing event in Paris is being used as a pretext to declare martial law, to suspend civil liberties. It is what I would call the end of the French Republic. It marks the end of the French republic and the potential transition to a totalitarian regime under the disguise of democracy or representative government.

Bonnie Faulkner : I'm glad you mentioned Operation Northwoods because we are actually recording this interview on November 22nd, which is the 52nd anniversary of the assassination of the president of the United States, John Kennedy. Of course, we

have seen endless war ever since. In terms of the media coverage of the Paris terror attacks, it seems like the notion of revenge is being used as a motivating factor. Of course, this is a contradictory claim, right?

Michel Chossudovsky : You know, revenge – an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth – has been with us for several thousand years. You need a pretext to wage war and war in the modern context –and the political leaders know– that war is the ultimate crime under Nuremburg. Whatever the underlying motive, the only war that is allowed is a war of self-defense. You're allowed to defend yourself against aggression, but under Nuremburg, any act of war against a foreign country is a criminal undertaking.

What these attacks and deaths of civilians are there to perform is to give a mandate to the [US or French] government to initiate a war of retribution against a foreign country – in this case Syria, even though they're not even saying officially that the Syrian government is behind the terrorists. They'll probably start saying that at one point – when in fact, we know that Bashar al-Assad has been combating terrorism from mid-March of 2011. It's been a battle of government forces against terrorism and those terrorists are supported by foreign powers so that certainly Syria can invoke self-defense.

But for France to invoke self-defense on the grounds that it's been attacked by some elusive entity in northern Syria is far-fetched, but it seems that people are buying it. They're saying, yes, we have to act, in an act of revenge.

The other dimension is that throughout France the police are on a rampage. We have official figures as to the number of house searches and arrests and so on, but none of those official figures should be actually taken seriously because what's happening now is that the Muslim community of France, which represents 7.5 percent of the population, is being subjected to a witch hunt, so we're in a situation which might be called the Spanish Inquisition. I should mention, historically, the French Inquisition of the Middle Age was far worse.

This is an inquisitorial type of situation where you are going after people. The wave of anti-terrorism is coupled with Islamophobia and ultimately it's quite logical from a geopolitical or economic standpoint to demonize Muslims because it just so happens that the Muslims are the inhabitants of countries which possess the world's oil reserves.

I've made the calculations that up to 65 to 70 percent of the reserves of crude oil – I'm not talking about natural gas or other forms of oil like tar sands – between 65 and 70 percent of crude oil reserves are in Muslim countries, a large part of which is, of course, in that region extending from the tip of Saudi Arabia up to the Caspian Sea Basin. If those countries which have those oil reserves happened to be Buddhist, the whole campaign would be directed against Buddhists. They need to demonize the Muslims as a pretext to wage their battle for oil.

Bonnie Faulkner : And, of course, what begins as a demonization of Muslims, or whatever group, ultimately laps over into everybody else, the population at large. You've mentioned the state of emergency that has been declared in France. Drastic police state measures I would assume are a state of such a state of emergency, arbitrary arrests. You mentioned that we're witnessing an end to the French republic.

Michel Chossudovsky : Absolutely, but the thing is what is implied there is that to

enforce an imperial agenda, you scrap the republic. Now, Julius Caesar understood that perfectly well. I can't remember the exact quote but he said **you don't build an empire with a republic**. I think that in effect what's happening is that the republic is being scrapped. It's not only being scrapped in France; it's being scrapped in America.

I just recall that Donald Trump in his election campaign is calling for police state measures directed against every single Muslim in the United States of America and establishing some kind of database to track Muslims in the US.

Now, he was rebuffed by his Republican cohorts but nonetheless, that type of political narrative, which is based on promoting hate, is becoming very popular and the promotion of hate is derived from these mass casualty-producing events by the propaganda, the demonization of Muslims and so on. People are being used to share this divisiveness when, in fact, people around the world, everybody is equal, ultimately. We're all human beings and we should be in solidarity with one another.

If it weren't for our leaders who have geopolitical and economic intents of building and extending the empire, most probably we would all be rejoicing together in a multicultural environment. But that's not happening, and it's particularly serious in countries like, I'd say, Britain and France. Britain is also becoming very sectarian, and in the United States as well, up to a point.



I'm speaking with economist and director of the Centre for Research on Globalization, Michel Chossudovsky. Today's show, State Terrorism : Franco-American Style. I'm Bonnie Faulkner. This is Guns and Butter.

Bonnie Faulkner : You've written that the global war on terrorism is a lie that provides legitimacy to police state measures. What do you think is behind the drive to-

ward creating police states in what we might refer to as former republics?

Michel Chossudovsky : The police state is there to serve economic and geopolitical interests, strategic interests. It's there to support major corporate interests, the oil companies, the military-industrial complex, the defense contractors, Wall Street. In effect, it's still profit driven. War is an economic endeavor. War is good for business, so to speak. It provides business to the people that produce the weapons but it also extends the markets worldwide.

Then, of course, initiatives, these so-called trade agreements, TPP and others, are tied into the military agenda. They're not isolated phenomena. There's an interface. It's not by accident that **Paul Wolfowitz**, for instance, went from the US Defense Department to the World Bank and back and forth and so on. There's an interface in Washington between the military and civilian entities, between the Treasury and the Pentagon. Then, of course, all these organizations such as the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, are part and parcel of that broader agenda. What it really means ultimately is that politicians are no longer politicians. They're instruments of lobby groups. I think we understand that. In an American context we understand that. **They're lobby groups which own the politicians.**



Then ultimately, those politicians are incited by their corporate sponsors to commit criminal acts.

Obama, in waging a campaign against Syria, is involved in a criminal act. **It's against the law to go and bomb a sovereign country on whatever pretext.**

It brings forth the notion of the criminalization of the state, namely the fact that the state is no longer there representing citizens but it's representing corporations. Those corporations in turn are also involved in criminal undertakings. **The financial system is fraudulent; it's criminalized.** They get away with it.

To maintain appearances there's an occasional lawsuit against Goldman Sachs or JPMorgan Chase but there's no actual confiscation of financial assets, as occurred let's say in Iceland where in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis they actually confiscated the assets of one of banks and now they are actually redistributing the wealth to citizens.



This is a rather unique occurrence. It's not to say that this means a complete change in structure. But you don't see governments protecting the rights of citizens against powerful corporations. Corporations are running the world. The trade agreements override the Constitution. We know that.

There's an imperial agenda, which is ultimately an economic agenda. The irony is that the United States has now set up a whole series of alliances with countries which were the victims of US war crimes. I'm thinking of Vietnam, Cambodia, the Philippines, Indonesia. They're all allies of the United States and that alliance is now directed against the People's Republic of China, which constitutes an encroachment

to global hegemony.

Not to say that China is necessarily an alternative; I don't think it is. But from a geopolitical standpoint there are certain countries which the United States wants to get rid of including the Russian Federation, the People's Republic of China, Iran, and, of course, North Korea.

Those are the four countries that are encroachments. There may be others but they're of less importance.

It's not by accident that these four countries are being threatened simultaneously. In fact, the US has negotiated an agreement with South Korea which threatens North Korea. I should mention North Korea lost 30 percent of its population during the Korean War and this is something which is well understood, because General Curtis Lemay actually said in a speech *we must have killed something of the order of 20 percent and destroyed something like 90 percent of the country's cities* during the bombing raids which they implemented. These atrocities have been committed in various parts of the world – Indonesia – 500,000 to a million so-called communist sympathizers were killed on orders of the CIA. It's documented because we actually have the declassified documents of the CIA on that event.

I would call this **the criminalization of the state**. The criminalization of the state is totalitarian because it goes against the rights of citizens. It has an interest in retaining a democratic façade, a two-party system, the institutions of representative democracy. But we know that whoever comes into the White House, whether it's Hillary or Donald Trump or Jeb Bush, will ultimately be a public relations figureheads who will support dominant economic interests in the United States.

Bonnie Faulkner : You write that, “The evidence amply confirms that while Russia is targeting ISIS strongholds in Syria, the Western Military Alliance is supporting the Islamic State terrorists.” The Russian Federation is bombing ISIS while the Western Military Alliance is supporting the terrorists but publicly, everyone claims to be fighting ISIS. Is there an undeclared war going on between the Russian Federation and the Western Military Alliance?

Michel Chossudovsky : Ultimately, yes there is an undeclared war and it could evolve in different directions, because the Russians are in fact targeting the foot soldiers of the Western Military Alliance and they're destroying the endeavors of the United States and its intelligence services, its military. Within the ranks of those terror terrorists are Western military advisors. We know that.

But at the same time, the US and its European partners have to play the game, so to speak. They can't simply say to the Russians, “Well, you're not actually going after ISIS...” because it's so obvious even to the broader public that Obama's campaign has so to speak failed where the Russian campaign, with limited air facilities, in the matter of a few weeks has actually managed to undermine this terrorist presence inside Syria.



The apologists will say – or some people on the Left will say, “Obama’s made a mistake. He screwed up. He doesn’t know how to coordinate these attacks,” etc., etc. as if.

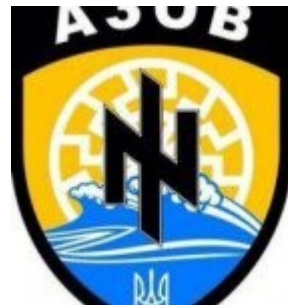
They have these terror terrorists in Toyota pickup trucks. If they’d wanted to eliminate them they could have done it very easily right at the beginning when they crossed the desert from Syria into Iraq. The purpose was not to destroy them; the purpose was actually to protect them. So the US has been very effective in protecting them and also in dispelling and understanding by public opinion that they actually were involved in supporting the terrorists rather than going after them.

Now, of course, the ball game is different because the Russians are there and ironically, they have established channels of cooperation, let’s say, between France and Russia with regard to counterterrorism. But Putin is a very astute diplomat as well as he’s, of course, former intelligence, a former KGB official, and he knows how to play that kind of game. The Russian media isn’t accusing François Hollande of being complicit of these attacks. Quite the opposite, they’re saying, “Buddy, Buddy.” Putin comes up to François Hollande and says, ‘Let’s cooperate. Let’s collaborate.’ Then Hollande is going to go to Moscow.



That, of course, in a sense may create some divisiveness within the Western Military Alliance. It may also uphold the legitimacy of François Hollande because he’s not being bashed by the Russians, and there’s a very careful game which is ongoing.

But if you look at the broader picture, namely the fact that US-NATO is at Russia’s doorstep in Eastern Europe, in the Baltic states, for instance, both with conventional weapons as well as with the air defense shield.



They say that the defense shield is directed not against Russia but against Iran, which is nonsensical. It’s directed against every single major Russian city, so they’re targeting them. Then, of course, they’re supporting an illegal government in Ukraine which is integrated by Neo-Nazis. That is ongoing. And they are intent on destabilizing the Russian economy through sanctions, through financial mechanisms. That’s also ongoing.

In turn, what has happened, what has emerged, is that Russia’s actions in the military sphere have shown Americans that ‘we can do what you can do. We have advanced capabilities,’ which everybody knows they have. It ultimately appears to be the source of tremendous diplomatic embarrassment that the Russians have been able to liquidate the terrorists in a matter of months and the United States has been so inept – But in fact, they haven’t been inept because they never intended to actually go after the terror terrorists.

Bonnie Faulkner : Michel Chossudovsky, thank you very much.

Michel Chossudovsky : Thank you very much.

* * * *

Bonnie Faulkner : *I've been speaking with Michel Chossudovsky. Today's show has been "State Terrorism : Franco-American Style." Michel Chossudovsky is the founder, director and editor of the Centre for Research on Globalization based in Montreal, Quebec. The Global Research website, GlobalResearch.ca, publishes news articles, commentary, background research and analysis. Michel Chossudovsky is the author of 11 books including *The Globalization of Poverty and the New World Order*, *War and Globalization : The Truth Behind September 11th*, *America's War on Terrorism*, *The Globalization of War : America's "Long War" Against Humanity* as well as co-editor of the anthology *The Global Economic Crisis : The Great Depression of the 21st Century*. All books are available at GlobalResearch.ca.*

***Guns and Butter** is produced by Bonnie Faulkner, Yarrow Mahko and Tony Rango. To leave comments or order copies of shows, email us at Faulkner@GunsandButter.org. Visit our website at GunsandButter.org to sign up for our email list and receive our newsletter. Follow us at GandB Radio.*

On the Post War Reconstruction of Syria

Michel Chossudovsky: I'd like to say something else, which is absolutely fundamental. President Bashar al-Assad in an interview this week stated something very important. This has to do with what happens in the wake of the Russian bombings of terrorist strongholds and what happens next. The Syrian government is talking about reconstruction, and hopefully that will take place. The country is decimated, part of the population has fled, people have been impoverished, the economy is in a shambles, but there is an objective on the part of the Syrian people to rebuild. They are now approaching potential partners, particularly out of China, to assist in the rebuilding process.



Now, if this process goes ahead, I think the issue of war reparations, damages, should also be raised against the state sponsors of terrorism, and certainly they should be raised in relation to Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Turkey. It's much easier to document because even the Western media will concur that the Turks and the Saudis have supported the terrorists but, of course, we know that ultimately the main sponsors of terrorism are the United States of America, NATO and Israel.

This, I think, from the point of view of our understanding but also our solidarity, is that we should be supportive of the post-war reconstruction of this country if that is to occur, and we should also start talking about the damages which have been incurred by the United States and its allies against the various countries which it has destroyed. In this case specifically it's Iraq and Syria, but also Yemen and also Afghanistan and also Sudan, the various countries around the world which have been literally wiped out, transformed into territories with no compensation whatsoever.

One country which won the war was Vietnam – and I recall that one of the conditions for the normalization of economic relations with Vietnam back in the ‘90s was that they pay back their debt to the Paris Club – in other words, the club of official Western creditors – the money which was owed to them by the Saigon regime. In other words, that money was actually money there to finance the US-led war and then, **Vietnam was obliged to actually pay war reparations to the countries which were behind the Vietnam War, namely the United States and its allies.**

Bonnie Faulkner : Wow. That’s shocking. Vietnam had to pay reparations to the people that attacked it?

Michel Chossudovsky : Absolutely. There was a secret agreement of the Paris Club and the bad debts of the Saigon regime had to be repaid. Those were debts that went back to the 1960s and we know that the Saigon regime was ultimately also the recipient of US military aid so that in effect Vietnam never negotiated war reparations. It should have, because it won the war – well, it threw the US forces out – but there was never any compensation.

In fact, for the lifting of the sanctions it had to come to terms with the external creditors, both the Paris Club and also the International Monetary Fund. I was in Vietnam at the time and I interviewed the person who was responsible for conducting those negotiations, and what happened with the IMF is they wanted to normalize relations with the IMF but there was money owed from the period of the Saigon regime to the IMF and they said, ‘You have to pay it back before we normalize.’

Then what happened: the Vietnamese said, ‘We don’t have the money.’ They said, ‘No problem.’ They set up a friends of Vietnam group which was made up of France and Japan – which happened to be the former colonial powers going back to the 1940s – and France and Japan lent the money to Vietnam and with that money Vietnam paid back the IMF. In fact, none of that money actually entered Vietnam, with a view to normalizing Vietnam in relation to the Bretton Woods institutions.



Now, the end game of that process is today, Vietnam is another cheap labor frontier of the global economy, an impoverished population, it’s whole social infrastructure undermined, a luxury goods economy, fraudulent banking operations and so on. The same thing occurred in Cambodia. All these countries, which are now allies of the United States, were destroyed. They never got war reparations.

In this particular case, war reparations to Syria and Iraq should be debated at least and the issue of reconstruction should be also on the agenda, particularly of people that are concerned within the anti-war movement.

Bonnie Faulkner : In the historical context that you have been describing, it sounds like Syria would be owing war reparations to the Western Military Alliance.

Michel Chossudovsky : That’s not entirely clear right now, as to the nature of nor-

malization. But I can say that with regard to Iraq, the Iraqi debt, which is under the auspices of a United Nations Compensation Commission, administered out of Geneva, there have been various claims of creditors based on alleged damages. Some of them are corporations, individuals and so on, but the claims against Iraq are in the billions. That means that Iraq's resources, its oil, are ultimately earmarked for debt servicing for years to come.

That's the whole purpose. It's the purpose of a war but it's also the purpose of the debt conditionalities which follow the war and which often involve the intervention of the World Bank, the IMF and so on. They're there essentially to ensure that these countries, which have lost everything, are not allowed to even reconstruct. And if they reconstruct it will be **reconstruction which creates debt**.

That's what's happening in Iraq at this very moment. Whatever investments are taking place in Iraq by foreign companies and so on will be ultimately used to increase the debt, which means that ultimately that debt will have to be paid back using the revenues of Iraq's oil economy.

Bonnie Faulkner : Shocking.

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Don't Excuse Terrorism by Talking About 'Root Causes'

November 23, 2015



One of the great challenges following the horror in France is how best to react to the savagery of the Islamic State group.

As we have seen, there have been a variety of recommendations. Some are focusing on reaching a negotiated agreement in Syria, while others are recommending stepped up military campaigns, including the use of ground troops against the Islamic extremist group. Still others are focusing on the home front, working with local Muslim groups to reduce the appeal of extremism, limiting Muslim immigrants, or proposing greater surveillance of potential Islamic extremists.

Inevitably, different sectors of society react differently. There is no silver bullet to address this huge challenge. Undoubtedly, the international community will turn to a combination of approaches.

In one sense, however, there is a need to return to basics in looking at the Islamic extremist terrorist threat.

That involves avoiding a tendency, which corrupts the effort to address terrorism, to differentiate between the attacks, to attribute some to “root causes.”

We saw that in certain circles following 9/11, with some claiming that it was America’s presence in the Middle East that generated Al Qaeda. We see it regularly regarding terror against Israel, where some blame Hamas and other Palestinian terror on Israel’s treatment of the Palestinians.

We see it with Iranian terrorist activity, some continuing to focus on old resentments toward America going back to the coup in 1953.

It is not that these issues are not legitimate subjects for discussion and resolution. They often are used to attract new recruits to terrorist organizations, so they cannot be ignored.

The mistake, however, is to attribute the motives of terrorism to these problems rather than seeing them as rationalizations.

In fact, the common theme of Islamic terror — whether it targets France or America or Israel, whether it targets Christians, Jews or Muslims — is a goal to destroy those who represent a desire to lead a different kind of life simply because they want to live their own lives.

Sometimes the terrorists express their destructive motives in nasty words about Christians or Jews or Shiite Islam or Sunni Islam or the modern world. Sometimes they attribute their actions to specific events, like the French presence in Syria or the Israeli treatment of the Palestinians. But their common and real theme is the notion that those who are not like them must die.

There is no political action that can solve this problem. There is no compromise that can satisfy this urge to destroy. There is no philosophy that can persuade them to change.

The sooner every government and every non-governmental organization around the world recognizes these truths, the sooner we can begin to have a true coalition to deal with Islamic terrorism. Solutions still will not be easy, but progress can be made.

And, of course, this must include governments of countries with an Islamic majority population. The simple fact is that more Muslims are killed by Islamic extremists than Christians and Jews and others combined.

It is often suggested that there needs to be more of an interfaith effort to stand up against terrorism but that specific issues stand in the way.

It was hoped that the horror of 9/11 might have so shocked the people everywhere, painting a picture of the future hell that terrorism unchecked would bring to the world, that leaders of all backgrounds could rise above their political differences to work together to defeat the terrorists.

It hasn't happened, though we have seen some encouraging moments, such as Pope Francis's recent interfaith service at the 9/11 memorial.

One can only hope that this tragedy in Paris will serve as the ultimate wake-up call. It has been noted that only weeks from now, Paris is scheduled to host the critical international conference dealing with climate change, deemed by the organizers as the moment to address the greatest threat to the future of the planet.

Maybe a suffering Paris can now also symbolize the moment when the world finally woke up to the realization that if we do not come together to deal with the Islamic terrorist threat, it will only expand and eventually threaten all of us through the use of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons.

Jonathan A. Greenblatt is CEO and National Director of the Anti-Defamation League.

<http://forward.com/>

Iraq

Fighting Islamic State, ending blowback terrorism

Nov 24, 2015



A group of Syrian pro-government forces inspect a home-made rocket launcher during a military operation against the Islamic State group in the east of the northern Syrian province of Aleppo. (AFP)

Terrorist attacks on civilians, whether the downing over Sinai of a Russian aircraft killing 224 civilian passengers, the horrific Paris massacre claiming 129 innocent lives, or the tragic bombing in Ankara that killed 102 peace activists, are crimes against humanity. Their perpetrators--in this case, the Islamic State (ISIS)--must be stopped. Success will require a clear understanding of the roots of this ruthless network of jihadists.

Painful as it is to admit, the West, especially the United States, [bears significant responsibility](#) for creating the conditions in which ISIS has flourished. Only a change in US and European foreign policy vis-à-vis the Middle East can reduce the risk of further terrorism.

The recent attacks should be understood as “blowback terrorism”: a dreadful unintended result of repeated US and European covert and overt military actions throughout the Middle East, North Africa, the Horn of Africa, and Central Asia that aimed to overthrow governments and install regimes compliant with Western interests. These operations have not only destabilised the targeted regions, causing great suffering; they have also put populations in the US, the European Union, Russia, and the Middle East at significant risk of terror.

The public has never really been told the true history of Osama bin Laden, al Qaeda, or the rise of ISIS in Iraq and Syria. Starting in 1979, the CIA mobilised, recruited, trained, and armed Sunni young men to fight the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. The

CIA recruited widely from Muslim populations (including in Europe) to form the Mujahideen, a multinational Sunni fighting force mobilised to oust the Soviet infidel from Afghanistan.

Bin Laden, from a wealthy Saudi family, was brought in to help lead and co-finance the operation. This was typical of CIA operations: relying on improvised funding through a wealthy Saudi family and proceeds from local smuggling and the narcotics trade.

By promoting the core vision of a jihad to defend the lands of Islam (Dar al-Islam) from outsiders, the CIA produced a hardened fighting force of thousands of young men displaced from their homes and stoked for battle. It is this initial fighting force – and the ideology that motivated it--that today still forms the basis of the Sunni jihadist insurgencies, including ISIS. While the jihadists' original target was the Soviet Union, today the "infidel" includes the US, Europe (notably France and the United Kingdom), and Russia.

At the end of the 1980s, with the Soviet retreat from Afghanistan, some elements of the Mujahideen morphed into al Qaeda, Arabic for "the base," which referred to the military facilities and training grounds in Afghanistan built for the Mujahideen by bin Laden and the CIA. After the Soviet withdrawal, the term al Qaeda shifted meaning from the specific military base to the organizational base of jihadist activities.

Blowback against the US began in 1990 with the first Gulf War, when the US created and expanded its military bases in the Dar al-Islam, most notably in Saudi Arabia, the home of Islam's founding and holiest sites. This expanded US military presence was anathema to the core jihadist ideology that the CIA had done so much to foster.



People gather at a makeshift memorial in tribute to the victims of a series of deadly attacks in Paris. Gunmen and suicide bombers went on a killing spree in Paris on November 13, attacking a concert hall as well as bars, restaurants and the Stade de France. Islamic State militants operating out of Iraq and Syria released a statement claiming responsibility for the coordinated attacks. (AFP)

America's unprovoked war on Iraq in 2003 unleashed the demons. Not only was the war itself launched on the basis of CIA lies; it also aimed to create a Shia-led regime subservient to the US and anathema to the Sunni jihadists and the many more Sunni Iraqis who were ready to take up arms. More recently, the US, France, and the UK toppled Muammar el-Qaddafi in Libya, and the US worked with the Egyptian generals who ousted the elected Muslim Brotherhood government. In Syria, following President Bashar al-Assad's violent suppression of peaceful public protests in 2011, the US, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and other regional allies helped to foment a military insurgency that has pushed the country into a downward spiral of chaos and violence.

Such operations have failed--repeatedly and frequently disastrously--to produce legitimate governments or even rudimentary stability. On the contrary, by upending established, albeit authoritarian, governments in Iraq, Libya, and Syria, and destabilizing Sudan and other parts of Africa deemed hostile to the West, they have done much to fuel chaos, bloodshed, and civil war. It is this turmoil that has enabled ISIS to capture and defend territory in Syria, Iraq, and parts of North Africa.

Three steps are needed to defeat ISIS and other violent jihadists. First, US President Barack Obama should pull the plug on CIA covert operations. The use of the CIA as a secret army of destabilization has a long, tragic history of failure, all hidden from public view under the agency's cloak of secrecy. Ending CIA-caused mayhem would go far to staunch the instability, violence, and anti-Western hatred that fuels today's terrorism.

Second, the US, Russia, and the other permanent members of the United Nations Security Council should immediately stop their infighting and establish a framework for Syrian peace. They have a shared and urgent stake in confronting ISIS; all are victims of the terror. Moreover, military action against ISIS can succeed only with the legitimacy and [backing of the UN Security Council](#).

The UN framework should include an immediate end to the insurgency against Assad that the US, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey have pursued; a Syrian cease-fire; a UN-mandated military force to confront ISIS; and a political transition in Syria dictated not by the US, but by a UN consensus to support a non-violent political reconstruction.

Finally, the long-term solution to regional instability lies in sustainable development. The entire Middle East is beset not only by wars but also by deepening development failures: intensifying fresh water stress, desertification, high youth unemployment, poor educational systems, and other serious blockages.

More wars – especially CIA-backed, Western-led wars – will solve nothing. By contrast, a surge of investment in education, health, renewable energy, agriculture, and infrastructure, financed both from within the region and globally, is the real key to building a more stable future for the Middle East and the world.

(Jeffrey D Sachs is professor of sustainable development, professor of health policy and management, and director of the Earth Institute at Columbia University. He is also special adviser to the United Nations Secretary-General on the Millennium Development Goals. Copyright: [Project Syndicate](#) , 2015.)

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

Isis killing the most people in 2014

24 Nov 2015

Following the [Paris attacks on 13 November](#), several countries have increased their terror threat levels - with the Belgian capital Brussels experiencing a lockdown as police try to hunt terrorists.

The US has issued [a travel alert to its citizens abroad](#), warning that "terrorist groups continue to plan terrorist attacks in multiple regions".

But countries in the Middle East are more at risk of terrorism, rather than Western nations, according to figures released by the [Institute for Economics and Peace](#).

Mapped: Where does the Foreign Office say is safe for Britons?

There has been record increase in terrorism-related deaths in the last year.

32,658 people were killed by terrorism in 2014, compared to 18,111 in 2013 - an increase of 45 per cent in just one year.

The impact of terrorism on France was ranked at 36th in the world in 2014 - but this is likely to increase with [the attacks the country has experienced](#) this year.

[Boko Haram](#) and Isis were jointly responsible for 51 per cent of all claimed global fatalities in 2014.

"Terrorism's ramifications are being felt more widely throughout the world"

IEP chairman

Iraq, Afghanistan and Nigeria have suffered the most from terrorism. [Iraq](#) had 9,929 terrorism-caused fatalities in 2014 - the highest ever recorded in a single country.

While Iraq and Afghanistan have suffered more injuries as a result of terrorism, Nigeria had much a larger terrorism-related death toll than injury count.

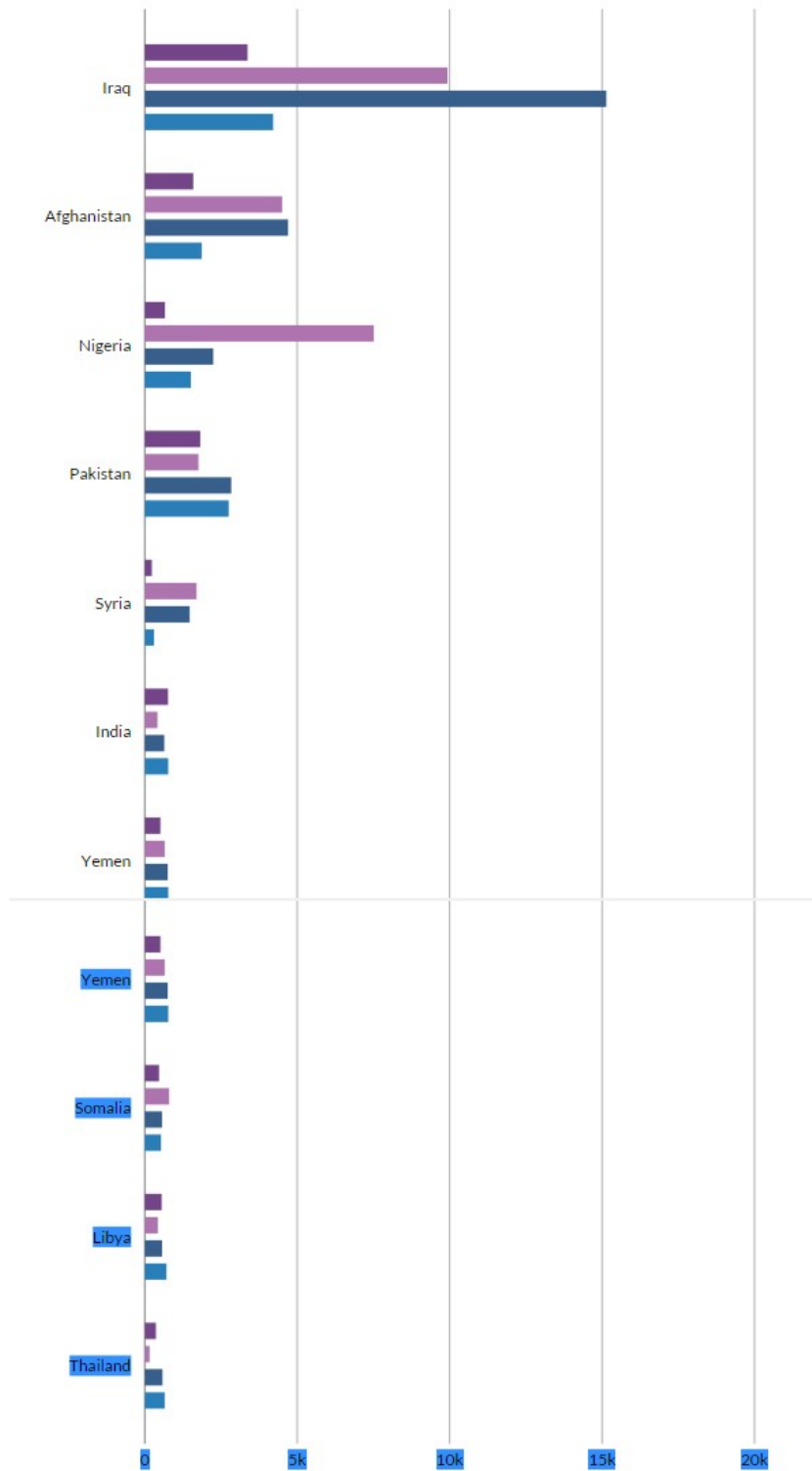
Countries suffering the biggest impacts from terrorism

Thailand; Libya; Somalia; Yemen; India; Syria; Pakistan; Nigeria; Afghanistan; Iraq;

Nigeria experienced the largest increase in terrorist activity with 7,512 deaths in 2014 - an increase of over 300 per cent since 2013.

Boko Haram - an Islamist extremist group that [operates mainly in Nigeria](#) - has now overtaken Isis as the world's deadliest terrorist group.

Countries suffering the biggest impacts from terrorism



Property damage Injuries Fatalities Incidents



Some of the 338 people who were held by Boko Horom after they were rescued during an army operation earlier this year Photo: AFP / NIGERIAN ARMY

Terrorism has soared in the Middle East and Africa in recent years, with people in these regions seeing the impact of terrorism increase more than anywhere else in the world.

Countries such as Libya and Syria have seen terrorism soar in recent years, as a result of political instability, regional conflicts and foreign interventions.

The largest increases in terrorism over 10 years

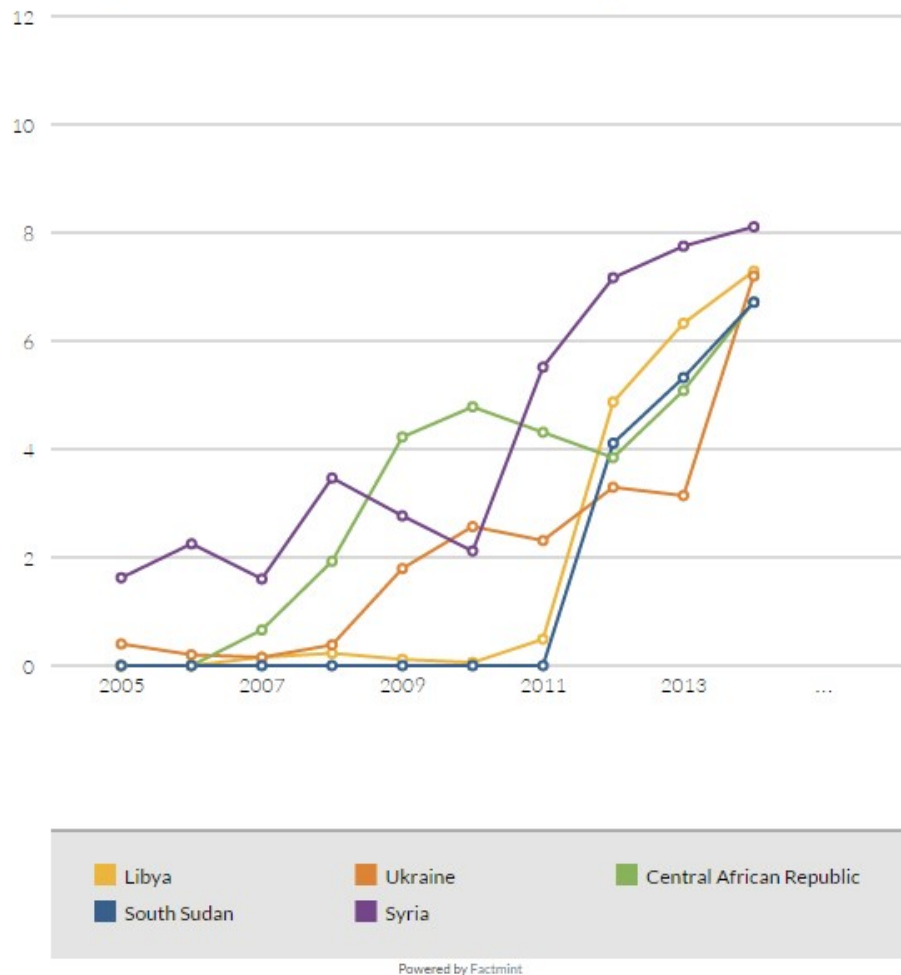
Libya; Ukraine; Central African Republic; South Sudan; Syria; Ukraine; Central African Republic; South Sudan; Syria

Ukraine has had the second largest increase in terrorism over the last 10 years - with the rise of Russian-backed separatists in the east of the country.

"Ten of the 11 countries most affected by terrorism also have the highest rates of refugees and internal displacement"

IEP chairman

The largest increases in terrorism over 10 years



The European nation only had a terrorism score of 0.4 in 2005 - but this had increased to 7.2 in 2014. The [Institute for Economics and Peace](#) ranks each country out of 10, based on terrorism-caused incidents, injuries, deaths and damage to property.



ISIS fighters photographed in Syria. The turmoil of Syria has allowed terrorism to flourish in the region

Steve Killelea, Executive Chairman of IEP, said: "The significant increase in terrorist activity has meant that its ramifications are being felt more widely throughout the world. What is most striking from our analysis is how the drivers of terrorism differ between more and less developed countries.

"In the West, socio-economic factors such as youth unemployment and drug crime correlate with terrorism. In non-OECD countries, terrorism shows stronger associations with ongoing conflict, corruption and violence.

"Ten of the 11 countries most affected by terrorism also have the highest rates of refugees and internal displacement. This highlights the strong inter-connectedness between the current refugee crisis, terrorism and conflict."

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

American Anti-Terrorism Drone Strike Program Ineffective – Analysis

NOVEMBER 25, 2015



MQ-1 Predator unmanned aircraft (drone). File photo: U.S. Air Force photo/Lt Col Leslie Pratt

The American anti-terrorism drone strike program is ineffective and illegal, takes a heavy toll on civilians and forces certain people to join the extremists, state four ex-drone pilots who took part in several campaigns in Afghanistan, Iraq and other conflict zones, in a public letter addressed to the US President Barack Obama, the Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter, and the CIA Director John Brennan.

The former military officers claim that the drone strikes serve to increase the outrage against the United States and bolster terrorist groups such as Islamic State. They also urge to review the US drone strategy that, in their opinion, does nothing but fuel the feelings of hatred and serve as a fundamental recruitment tool for the extremists.

Moreover, the authors explicitly link the drone strikes with the terror attacks in Paris that took place on 13 November 2015.

“We cannot sit silently by and witness tragedies like the attacks in Paris, knowing the devastating effects the drone program has overseas and at home,” reads the open letter written by the former military officers.

From the onset, the American program of proxy war on terror in African and Middle Eastern countries drew international criticism due to frequent violations of international law and unalienable human rights. According to information that was not confirmed officially, as many as 90% of people killed in drones strikes are in reality “accidental victims” of poor target acquisition.

The issue recently has returned into the public eye worldwide in October after The Intercept published a series of leaked documents related to the 2011-2013 US drone

strike program, including in Afghanistan, Yemen and Somalia.

According to the information the journalists obtained, any person could become a target based on information on their suspicious behavior condensed into a brief “baseball card.” Each candidate required an approval of several high-ranking officials before being added to the kill list. Among those who had the authority to approve of these measures were such people as the ex-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, the former Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta, and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Martin Dempsey. In each case, the final decision was made personally by the United States President Barack Obama.

After being added to the kill list, the de-personalized target would be placed under surveillance and later targeted with an air-to-surface missile strike, after which other civilians struck along with the original target would be regularly labeled “enemies killed in action” (EKIA) in the official statistics.

The predominant majority of lethal drone strikes was based on SIGINT data that included intercepted mobile and Internet communications, as well as episodic photo and video surveillance using the same network of drones. However, as The Intercept points out, this intelligence was neither complete nor accurate.

In addition, according to information from the leaked secret documents, the US military itself admitted the drone program was faring very poorly. In particular, Operation Haymaker that took place in Afghanistan between January 2012 and February 2013 resulted in over 200 casualties, with as few as 35 potential terrorists killed by strikes. Moreover, according to certain sources in the US military, the prevalence of lethal strikes further hampered the intelligence gathering process.

The leaks caused an outburst of critique from human rights activists. One of them, Naureen Shah, director of Security with Human Rights at Amnesty International USA, said the Obama administration still treats the world as a global battlefield while evading full public accountability.

“This warrants an immediate congressional inquiry into why the Obama administration has kept this vital information secret, including the real identities of all those killed,” she stressed.

At the same time, Dixon Osburn, Adjunct Fellow at American Security Project, Executive Director of the Center for Justice and Accountability, also criticized the White House officials for the violations committed during the drone strike program.

“There have been numerous reports, including strikes against wedding parties. These strikes are a failure of human intelligence, an overreliance on drones to conduct military operations, and a misinterpretation of what is required under international law,” the expert said in an interview to “PenzaNews” agency.

The use of military force can be seen as justified only after declaring a war against the opposing nation, he reminded.

“In a non-international armed conflict, which is the best description of US actions against Al Qaeda, ISIS, and other non-state actors, the US may use lethal force only if the target poses an imminent threat,” Dixon Osburn stressed.

In his opinion, the question about whether the US drone strikes comply with interna-

tional law still remains without a definite answer.

In the meantime, Michael Kugelman, Senior Program Associate for South and Southeast Asia at Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, pointed out that the international community as a whole has concerns over the drone program due to the lack of accountability for those who are instigating and executing the strikes.

“The opacity and lack of accountability will make it very difficult for anyone with any credibility to launch an investigation. And I doubt the US would support or cooperate in an outside investigation,” the expert said.

From his point of view, the American authorities have shrouded the drone program with a level of impenetrable secrecy that borders on obfuscation.

“We simply don’t know what is going on, and the US has never been forthcoming. This certainly has the effect of suggesting a level of US’ callousness, and particularly when there are accusations of civilian casualties,” Michael Kugelman explained.

At the same time, he added that the US drone strikes caused less innocent casualties than indiscriminate Pakistani air strikes, while certain terrorists knowingly tried to hide in densely populated areas to increase civilian death toll.

Michael Kugelman explained that the drone strikes do work from a tactical perspective, while the same cannot be said about their effect on the long-term counterterrorism strategy in Africa and the Middle East.

“Some argue that drone strikes create more terrorists, because the drones stoke outrage that then leads to radicalization. Others, however, argue that many people living in communities targeted by drones actually support drones because they eliminate militants that terrorize these communities,” he said.

However, the expert pointed out that the ever-present threat of drone strikes caused a notable part of adult and children population in affected residential areas develop post-traumatic stress syndrome.

In turn, Inge Hoeger, Bundestag member, representative of the Left Party of Germany, claimed she opposes any and all “kill lists” on principle per se, and compared this measure with death penalty.

“Whatever good they may be, it is still outside of any kind of a judicial system,” the politician emphasized.

From her point of view, the use of American drones in African and Middle-Eastern countries is another example of the double standards policy in Washington.

“This policy divides those into so-called civilized regions, in which things like killer drones or night flights are not being done, and interventionist zones like Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia or Yemen, in which no rules, no humanitarian standards are applied,” said the Bundestag member.

An international investigation of the US drone strike program is unlikely to bring forth any significant results, she suggested.

“Maybe you remember that as the result of orders [in 2009] given by the German general on bombardment of Kunduz [capital of the eponymous province in Afghanistan], about 140 people died. There has been an investigation of lawyers and NGOs in Afghanistan, but the German government was not willing to accept the outcome of this investigation. I think there may be the same problem with the US drone strikes,” Inge Hoeger explained.

In her opinion, all world nations, including Germany, must speak out, publicly denounce Washington’s activities and introduce a universal ban on killer drones.

“They should be outlawed, and it should be very clear that this is not a way that international conflicts should be carried out,” the politician urged.

The United States is creating a dangerous international precedent and stretching the boundaries of what is regarded as acceptable, said Anthony Dworkin, ECFR Senior Policy Fellow working on human rights, international justice and international humanitarian law.

“It shows disagreements about what should be regarded as sufficient information to order a drone strike. Because the United States regards itself as being in an armed conflict against these groups, and seeing a strong military cause for striking members of the groups,” the expert said, noting that observers and human rights activists worldwide do not support such an approach.

Having said that, noted there was an effort in the US over the most recent years to reduce the number of strikes based on poor or limited intelligence data and follow more closely the principles which had been described in public statements.

“But nevertheless, I think it shows that the practice falls short of the standards that the [Obama] administration is sending forth,” Anthony Dworkin pointed out.

Tighe Barry, member of “Codepink” anti-military human rights organization, expressed a similar point of view.

“These are not pinpoint-accurate tools that take out an individual: they take out people in an area. The Hellfire missile is a very powerful missile, and people within hundreds of meters are murdered by these weapons,” the activist emphasized.

According to him, a system where the White House is ready to allow thousands of foreign citizens die to neutralize only several dozen potential terrorists is a dire violation of the current legislation and moral norms.

“On a regular field of battle, the opposing soldiers are allowed to surrender, allowed to become POWs. This circumvents the rights of the Geneva Convention and international law, and our own national laws in the United States,” the American human rights activists stated.

He also highlighted the grave issues related to holding anyone responsible for the lethal strikes, while the whistleblowing by some of the drone pilots makes it possible to argue that the guilt system could have been orchestrated.

At the same time, the activist suggested that any attempts to condemn the US for violations related to drone use would fail, as Washington remains a very influential

member of the UN Security Council, while the Middle-Eastern and European states prefer to stay quiet on the issue in order to avoid losing the military, equipment and political support their overseas partner provides.

He also reminded that one of the possible evolutions of the remote-controlled UAVs are autonomous lethal weapons, which is a sufficient reason for the world nations to join forces in order to stop the proliferation of new deadly technology.

“There should be an end to the drone program, and the United States should review its use of this very powerful weapon that will eventually be used against the United States itself,” the expert concluded.

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Analysis: Attacks may transform U.S. view of terror threat

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For President Obama and U.S. allies, the Paris attacks are almost certain to force a reassessment of the threat posed by the Islamic State group and may prompt a more aggressive strategy against it.

WASHINGTON — When the Islamic State group stormed onto the scene in Syria and Iraq, it seemed focused on seizing territory in its own neighborhood. But in the past two weeks, the so-called soldiers of the caliphate appear to have demonstrated a chilling reach, with attacks in Lebanon and France, and a presumed attack on Russia.

The seemingly synchronized assaults that turned Paris into a war zone late Friday came just days after a bombing targeted a Shiite district of Beirut controlled by Iran's ally, Hezbollah, and a Russian passenger jet was downed over Egypt. The rapid succession of strikes, all claimed by the Islamic State group, suggested that the regional war has turned into a global one.

For President Obama and U.S. allies, the attacks are almost certain to force a reassessment of the threat and may prompt a more aggressive strategy against the Islamic State group, also known variously as ISIS, ISIL or Daesh. Obama met with national-security aides Saturday before his departure for Antalya, Turkey, where he was to consult other world leaders in a Group of 20 summit meeting now sure to be dominated by discussion of the Paris attacks.

"ISIS is absolutely a threat beyond the region," said Frances Fragos Townsend, the top White House counterterrorism adviser under President George W. Bush. "We must not continue to assume that ISIS is merely an away threat. It clearly has international ambitions beyond its self-proclaimed caliphate."

Iran is fighting the Islamic State group, but is no ally of the United States. Russia says it also is fighting the Islamic State group, but mainly seems to be trying to bolster the Syrian government of President Bashar Assad, who Obama has said must step down.

To the extent that the United States has viewed the terrorist group as a regional problem that can be contained, the debate will now be transformed. Obama may have to rethink the lines of alliances and the contours of the war he has been waging.

"Truthfully, I can't imagine how it doesn't change their approach," said Michael Leiter, who was the director of the National Counterterrorism Center under Bush and Obama. "When you give this kind of organization this much freedom of movement and go after it this incrementally, people shouldn't be surprised by things like the aircraft bombing."

Matthew Olsen, another former director of the counterterrorism center, said the series of major attacks would compel the Obama administration to take additional steps. "All of this raises the stakes for the U.S. and increases pressure on the U.S.

and the West to respond more aggressively,” he said.

Escalating action against the Islamic State group carries its own risks. The Russian airliner that crashed on the Sinai Peninsula 23 minutes after taking off from Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, on Oct. 31 was attacked after Russia intervened in Syria.

Although a final determination of the crash’s cause has not been issued by Egypt, most of the world has concluded it was most likely a bombing, and several countries, including Britain and Russia, have canceled flights to the resort area’s airport. In addition, the Egyptian branch of the Islamic State group has claimed responsibility. Western governments have said intelligence intercepts lend some credence to the claim.

Growing conflict

The Islamic State group has warned it would step up strikes against countries that have joined the U.S.-led coalition fighting the group in Iraq and Syria.

“The operational tempo is increasing on both sides,” Olsen said. “We’re increasing our attacks in Syria and Iraq, and ISIS is increasing their attacks as well.”

Rep. Adam Schiff of California, ranking Democrat on the House Intelligence Committee, said the attacks should dispel any illusions about the nature of the Islamic State group. “It will add another sense of urgency to defeating (it),” he said, adding: “That will be very hard to do without eliminating its sanctuary. If this doesn’t create in the world a fierce determination to rid ourselves of this scourge, I don’t know what will.”

The Paris attacks also raise the question of whether to escalate U.S. and Western military operations in Syria and Iraq. Obama has authorized airstrikes and sent small teams of Special Operations forces acting as advisers to aid Iraqi military units, Syrian rebels and Kurdish fighters on the ground. But he has strongly resisted a more extensive involvement of U.S. ground troops to avoid repeating what he sees as the mistakes of the Iraq war.

In Obama’s view, the United States made things worse after Sept. 11 by invading Iraq and toppling Saddam Hussein, stoking a wider anti-U.S. militant movement that ultimately led to the rise of the Islamic State group. While critics fault him for pulling U.S. troops out of Iraq in 2011, leaving a vacuum, he has long believed that a greater involvement by the United States would only entangle it in another quagmire without successfully resolving the conflict.

Townsend and others said that the administration had been too reluctant to acknowledge an “inconvenient truth”: The Islamic State group’s threat extends beyond the Middle East and could easily lead to a Paris-style attack in the United States.

If there were doubts about that before, U.S. agencies on Saturday were busy trying to make sure that was not the case, scouring passenger manifests on U.S. airliners and searching surveillance resources for chatter about plots.

Obama and Secretary of State John Kerry made it clear after the Paris attacks that the United States would stand firm against terrorism, whatever its source. In Vienna, where Kerry was negotiating for a settlement of the Syrian civil war that helped give

rise to the Islamic State group, he said the Paris attacks would “stiffen our resolve” to fight back.

“You’re going to see several things,” said Steven Simon, a former Middle East adviser to Obama. “Tighter border controls, more intensive surveillance in the U.S. and more outreach to local communities in the hope that extremists will be fingered by their friends and family. And a tightening of already intimate cooperation with European intelligence agencies.”

Containment in doubt

Juan Carlos Zarate, a former counterterrorism adviser to Bush, said the spreading threat would require action on multiple fronts. “In the wake of the Paris, Beirut and Sinai attacks, the U.S. government and allies may not realize that there may not be time to contain this threat — and instead need to be much more aggressive in disrupting terrorists’ hold on territory, resources and the minds of Muslim youth.”

The Paris attacks, coming so soon after January’s deadly shootings at Charlie Hebdo, the French satirical newspaper, will force U.S. analysts to review their assumptions about the potential threat at home.

While attacks in places such as Mumbai, India, have been highly coordinated, much attention in the United States has focused on the possibility of lone-wolf attackers inspired by, if not directed by, radicals overseas, as manifested by the shootings at Fort Hood, Texas, in 2009 or the bombing of the Boston Marathon in 2013.

“The multiple coordinated attacks defy the lone-wolf narrative we had constructed,” said Juliette Kayyem, a former assistant secretary of homeland security under Obama. “The fact this could happen is remarkable, and not in a complimentary way. We can withstand random guys with low-level attacks and minimal consequences. This means the ‘war’ we thought we had put to rest has resurfaced.”

Bruce Hoffman, director of the Center for Security Studies at Georgetown, said it was never an either-or choice between lone wolves and foreign attackers. “The emphasis on lone wolves was all part of the wishful thinking that ISIS was purely a local phenomenon that could be contained to Syria and Iraq,” Hoffman said.

Indeed, the initial assumptions Friday were that the Paris attacks must be the work of al-Qaida, a group that traditionally has had wider reach and aspirations than the Islamic State group.

In 2010, Hoffman recalled, Osama bin Laden called on al-Qaida franchises to stage Mumbai-style attacks in European cities, but his order fell on deaf ears because there was no group then capable of such an operation.

Today, the Islamic State group seems to have filled that void.

“They wanted to be considered a global terrorist organization,” said John Cohen, a Rutgers University professor who was a senior Department of Homeland Security counterterrorism and intelligence official until last year. If they staged the latest attacks, “they’ll have sent a loud message they are.”

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