

SCREEN WATCH



GEOSTRATEGIC FORSIGHT
SECURITY MONITORING
COUNTER-TERRORISM
RESISTANCE TO EXTREMISM

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THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN SWITZERLAND:

After Nadia Karmous, Qatar abandons Nicolas Blancho

After the Swiss Tariq Ramadan, implicated by several complainants who accuse him of rape, Qatar recently abandons Nadia Karmous and Nicolas Blancho. The Gas Emirat is apparently making a serious self-examination. Doha is, in fact, forced to separate from many personalities linked to the Muslim Brotherhood who have not failed ideologically, but whose negative image shocks the country and its sovereign.

A few weeks ago, in the aftermath of the publication of the book *Qatar Papers*, written by Christian Chesnot and Georges Malbrunot, and the documentary film inspired by this book, broadcast on Arte, the gas Emirate put a stop to the megalomania of Nadia Karmous, a Swiss woman of Algerian origin, who was planning to invest 20 million euros in a vast real estate project, linked to the Muslim Brotherhood, in La Chaux-de-Fonds, a small town in the Swiss Jura. However, she had already acquired the land (See our investigation published in last July: Screen Watch, n°3).

This time, Qatar is putting an end to the ambitions of Nicolas Blancho, the

founder of the Islamic Central Council of Switzerland (ICCS). Following successful trips to Doha, Nicolas Blancho had registered two associations in Berne, *Qoranona* and *Aziz Aid*, whose president is Abdulkaziz Abdul Rahman Al-Thani, a member of the qatari ruling family (See our investigation published in last September: Screen Watch, n°4)

Now, we have just learned that these two associations have been removed from the Bern Commercial Register. By the dissolution of these associations, Qatar seeks to stand out from a character more and more decried. It is true that Nicolas Blancho, whose association attracts only 1% of Muslims in Switzerland (according to his own figures!), appears less and less credible.

The latest controversy in the matter was raised by the revelations of the Swiss press about a survival weekend, reserved for men, organized by the ICCS, last September, with training in the handling of ... knife.

However, these revelations fell particularly badly, after the assassination with a knife of four policemen within the police headquarters of Paris, on October 3, by Mickaël Harpon, a computer scientist, converted to Islam and radicalized. ●

CONFIDENTIAL FRANCE

The ambassador of Qatar warns Tariq Ramadan against any revelation about his ties with the emirate

● Ali Bin Jassen Al Thani, the ambassador of Qatar to Paris since October 2018, has taken very badly Tariq Ramadan's threats against the emirate, suggesting that he may reveal to the media his past links with the gas emirate.

In our last edition (*Screen Watch*, n°4, September 2019), we revealed

that Tariq Ramadan had requested the assistance of the Qatar Embassy in Paris, as part of his campaign to be rehabilitated after the many rape complaints he had been facing for two years. But the Qatari ambassador was instructed by his superiors to "stay quite" on the Ramadan case.

According to a source

at the Qatar Embassy in Paris, Ramadan reportedly reiterated these threats in front of the ambassador himself. And the latter, on his turn, warned him of the repercussions that such a revelation could have for him and his family still living in Doha and strongly advising him to "no longer expose himself to the media." ●

Why ISIS will survive al-Baghdadi's death

Far from having put an end to ISIS's existence or even its power of nuisance, the death of its self-proclaimed caliph, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi - killed on last October 27, during an operation by American special forces in northern Syria - will accelerate two trends in the making for several months, within the new Jihadist International: the first is structural, the second one is operational.

Having lost control of the vast Syrian-Iraqi strongholds over which it had established an Islamic proto-state, ISIS was forced to give up its dream of restoring the caliphate. And to survive, it had to undergo a fundamental structural transformation. The exact opposite of the one that saw it transform, in the summer of 2014, from an underground terrorist group, like so many others in the Salafi-Jihadist sphere, into a new form of "terrorist state" imposing his dictatorship on a population of more than 8 million people, on an immense territory embracing about 40% of Iraq's area and over 30% of Syria's.

As the bases of this proto-State had been crushed, under the crossfire of the international coalition, Kurdish forces and the Syrian army supported by its Russian and Iranian allies, ISIS was forced to return to clandestinity, thus resuming the classic modus operandi of jihadist terrorist groups.

For apparent security reasons, this trend will intensify further after al-Baghdadi's death. And from this structural mutation - similar to that carried out by Al-Qaeda in 2001 in the aftermath of the attacks of 9/11 - will come another operational mutation: for a long time, ISIS leaned against the aura provided by its proto-State presented as the restoration of the caliphate to provoke, from a distance, spontaneous jihadist vocations, which some were quick to designate as "solitary wolves". However, this spontaneous influx quickly dried up, following the military disappointments afflicting the so-called caliphate, in the very heart of its Syrian-Iraqi strongholds.

Under the aegis of AMNI, the ISIS's intelligence service, whose influence within the Organization's management bodies has increased considerably since the fall of the caliphate (see opposite), a supervisory process has been launched to take control and structure the actions of these "wolves", which are definitely not so "solitary" as some experts wanted to (make) believe.

To this end, a *Diwan* (department) was created last summer within AMNI to institutionalize the actions of this type of self-radicalized elements in which the propaganda of ISIS provokes spontaneous jihadist vocations. The objective is to assign "coordinators" to them at the level of each country or region.

It is with this in mind that ISIS launched last September an operation called *Tahtim al-Aswar* (destroying the walls), aimed at freeing several hundred foreign jihadists detained by Kurdish forces. This operation was a success, thanks in particular to the destabilization caused by the Turkish offensive in the Kurdish areas of north-eastern Syria. ●

"COMMUNITY LISTS" IN FRANCE: the hand of Qatar?

The Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (CAREP) is the main Qatari think tank. It is chaired by Azmi Bishara, one of Amir Tamim Ben Hamad al-Thani's most influential advisors. And the presidency of the Paris branch of CAREP is entrusted to the Islamologist François Burgat, known for his sympathetic Muslim Brotherhood.

On October 18, during a debate at CAREP's Paris headquarters, Burgat denounced the "French posture in the face of radicalization", considering that "the score that the National Rally plays to us on the drum, the right plays to us on the saxophone and the left on the flute". And to deal with what he considers to be a "process of criminalizing the Muslim population", Burgat recommends that Muslims in France "beat the ballot box. You have to hit where it hurts". And since there are six million Muslims in France, the author of *Understanding Political Islam* considers that "the balance of power is not so terrible [...] We must mobilize on the electoral field".

Less than a month after this speech encouraging communitarianism, the Muslim Brotherhood's relays in France launched a controversy over the formation of a "community list" in the upcoming municipal elections. And launched their campaign with a major community march on 10 November in Paris, on the eve of the fourth anniversary of the attacks of 13 November 2015.

Doha covets Interpol again

After the controversies raised by Interpol's intriguing removal of the "red Notice" concerning Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, at a time when Interpol was receiving major donations from Qatar (see *Screen Watch*, No. 2, June-July 2019), Doha is once again trying to covet the international police organization.

According to our sources, Qatar has proposed to Interpol to finance a major programme for the acquisition of electronic equipment, in order to strengthen the work of its department dedicated to the fight against cyber-crime. In return, Doha has requested to host the headquarters of the Middle East branch of this department.

The conquest of space, the Saudi Crown Prince's new ambition

Saudi Arabia has submitted an ambitious space cooperation project to France. The Crown Prince, Mohamed Ben Salman, wants to rely on the expertise of the French space agency and the Ariane programme to launch his own agency, which will be called the Saudi Space Agency. It will be led by one of the Prince's brothers, Sultan Ben Salman, who is an astronaut by training.

CIVIL AVIATION: China and South Korea join forces to compete with Airbus and Boeing

China has initiated secret talks with South Korea with a view to establishing a strategic partnership in the field of civil aviation. To this end, a confidential working group, composed of aeronautical engineers, has been set up with the aim of developing a civil aircraft that will eventually be able to compete with Airbus and Boeing.

The succession of al-Baghdadi confirms AMNI's control over ISIS's leadership

The appointments at the head of ISIS, following the death of its "caliph", Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, and its spokesman, Abu Hassan al-Muhajir, confirm the growing control of AMNI,

the former intelligence service of the Caliphate, over the terrorist organization's governing bodies (see *Screen Watch*, No.1, May 2019).

Indeed, it is only known with certainty that two

things about the new caliph, Abu Ibrahim al-Hashimi al-Quraysi, and Abu Hamza al-Quraysi, al-Muhajir's successor as spokesman: On the one hand, they are not from the Shura of ISIS, but

are historical of the AMNI. Moreover, as indicated by the war names by which they are designated, they claim - like al-Baghdadi - to be direct descendants of the Prophet.

FRANCE - CHINA: Establishment of a permanent "strategic line"

Following the visit of French President Emmanuel Macron to China in early November, Paris and Beijing decided to set up a permanent "strategic line" to discuss major international issues and conflicts.

Benalla wants to create a precedent in security and "conflict management"!

The former Elysee security guard, Alexandre Benalla (see *Screen Watch*, N°2, June-July 2019), has created a security box to provide training, particularly in the fields of airport security and interventions in conflict zones.

According to our sources, this company, called Comya, has already signed contracts in China and Africa, namely in Chad. It also has plans in the United States.

Qatar invests heavily in oil and diamonds in Angola

As part of the Doha strategy to strengthen its economic and political influence in Africa (see *Screen Watch*, No. 1, May 2019), the Qatari sovereign fund has recently acquired significant stakes in Angola's oil and diamond mining sectors.

To facilitate this interest, Qatar has offered the Angolan government assistance and investment in the creation and renovation of infrastructure.



General Paul Soler, who was approached as ambassador in Algiers, finally joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

General Paul Soler, a former COS officer, whom the Elysee planned to appoint as ambassador to Algiers in early autumn (See *Screen Watch*, N°3, August-September 2019), finally joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Crisis and Support Centre. His mission will be to monitor African security matters, for which he was already in charge at the Elysee, in particular Libyan and Algerian issues.

Another "Lebanese" at the Elysee diplomatic cell!

Emmanuel Bonne, President Macron's diplomatic adviser, will bring to the Elysee Arnaud Pescheux, one of his former collaborators at the French Embassy in Lebanon. A diplomat and a great specialist in terrorism, Pescheux was in charge of a think tank on terrorism at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His new mission, within the Elysee's diplomatic cell, will focus on North African and Middle Eastern issues.

FRANCE

Bygmalion case: the Qatari part of the scandal

The investigation into the corruption scandal linked to the communication agency Bygmalion, accused of issuing false invoices to cover irregularities during the financing of former President Nicolas Sarkozy's presidential campaign, is experiencing an unexpected twist.

According to sources close to the investigation, judicial investigations have discovered that the creation of this agency, founded in 2008 by two relatives of Nicolas Sarkozy and Jean François Copé, was financed by Qatari funds.

In exchange for these donations, the Qataris allegedly obtained significant tax exemptions, in particular during the purchase of the international conferences centre on Avenue Kléber in Paris. ●

Franco-Russian military rapprochement

Franco-Russian military manoeuvres and counter-terrorist exercises are being prepared. This is a first in relations between the two countries, which augurs well for an unprecedented military rapprochement.

To this end, Claire Landais, the boss of the General Secretariat for Defence and National Security (SGDSN), was invited to Moscow by Nikolai Patrouchev, the Kremlin's intelligence coordinator.

What has become of the French ISIS fighters exfiltrated from Syria?

According to a report by the National Intelligence Council, submitted to President Macron, on the French ISIS fighters exfiltrated from Syria, some 40 of them have joined jihadist groups in Libya. As a result of this geographical rapprochement, they are a major source of concern, as they could fuel plans for illegal returns to France.

On the other hand, several dozen other French jihadists have chosen to join ISIS-related organizations in Asia. This suggests that, for them, the priority, after their exfiltration from Syria, was to escape the hunt of the anti-terrorist services, by taking refuge in areas far removed from their country of origin.

IRAN

Increase in the number of defections of army officers and Paskarans

Western confidential notes report an increase in the number of defections of Iranian officers, who use missions abroad to desert. The latest is Touraj Ismaili, an executive of the Paskarans (Revolutionary Guards), who held the highly sensitive position of cyber security manager of the Iranian ballistic missile programme. He reportedly took advantage of a secret mission in Lebanon to defect via Turkey. ●

Iran - USA: electronic warfare

Recent tensions between Tehran and Washington have not turned into armed conflict but have given rise to a fierce electronic warfare. The latest episode of this clash is a vast Iranian cyber espionage plan discovered by the US anti-terrorist services.

According to our sources, this plan includes cyber-attacks targeting Donald Trump's campaign team as well as major media sites, including the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*.

Tehran delivers GPS suitcases for guiding drones to Hezbollah

According to European reports, citing Israeli sources, Iran has provided Hezbollah with GPS drones guidance suitcases, recently developed by the Paskarans. Small and easy to handle, these cases would be very accurate.

In addition, the Israeli services reportedly provided their European counterparts with satellite photos showing sites in southern Lebanon where Paskaran officers train Hezbollah elements in the handling of these suitcases.

China provides Iran with submarines and maritime interception stations

During a recent visit to China, the Chief of Staff of the Iranian Armed Forces, Major-General Mohamed Hussein Baqeri, visited several naval bases and signed an agreement with the Chief of the Chinese Army Military Commission, Lee Zuo Zeng, to purchase Chinese submarines and maritime interception stations to detect ship intrusions into Iranian territorial waters.

AFRICA

Conference in Paris on the democratic transition in Sudan

The Elysee has launched preparations for an international conference to be held in Paris, the objective of which will be to help accelerate the economic and democratic transition in Sudan, to enable the country to put an end to the legacy of several decades of the reign of the Muslim Brotherhood.

France - United States: Counter-Terrorism Academy Project in Abidjan

The United States increasingly considers Ivory Coast as one of its essential bases for the fight against terrorism in Africa. Thus, the Pentagon wants to create a training centre and an interception base in Abidjan.

In addition, the United States and France are considering jointly creating an International Academy dedicated to the fight against terrorism in the Ivorian capital. ●

Gabonese President appoints his half-brother military attaché in South Africa

Frédéric BONGO, the Gabonese President's half-brother, Ali BONGO, who was previously in charge of the Republican Guard's intelligence services, will be appointed military attaché at the Gabonese Embassy in Pretoria. This appointment reflects Gabon's great interest in developing its military and geostrategic relations with South Africa.

Macron calls for greater European commitment to the fight against terrorism in the Sahel

French President Emmanuel Macron recently wrote to the European Union member states to ask them for more financial commitments in the fight against terrorism in the Sahel.

In addition, France, which deploys the largest contingent of military forces in the Sahel, has asked Germany, Spain and Italy for more support on the ground, including deploying more special forces commandos.

Turkey covets a former French military base in Niger

Turkey seeks to establish itself militarily in Niger. To this end, it has made offers to repurchase the French Madama base, which Paris has decided to abolish.

But Ankara could be in competition, for the acquisition of this base, with Denmark, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia.

Moscow offers civil nuclear power plants to several African countries

Russia has offered several African countries nuclear power plants for civil purposes. To this end, the Chairman of Rosatom, the official Russian nuclear agency, Alexei Kikhatchiev, is preparing a tour in several capitals, including French-speaking Africa. According to our sources, he has already prepared preliminary cooperation agreements for Nigeria, Sudan, Rwanda, Ghana, Kenya, Uganda and Zambia.

Election Day In Jerusalem

By **Martine Gozlan***

It was election day in Jerusalem. A day in the recent past - September 17 - but it could be a near future because Israel is blocked. The Hebrew state fails to give itself a government. He voted in the spring, voted again at the very beginning of the fall and is afraid of a third election. When the snow covers the city and the dream of impossible unity? For the New Year of the Trees, when does the almond tree flower? Go figure, rabbis and free thinkers look up to heaven with the same perplexity.

Israel, which is so often described as a nation that thinks, prays, decides in the same tone, in the same way, with the same momentum on the same rock, is in reality a river with waters mixed with a thousand alluvium. And I watched it flow, the other day, this colourful river, towards the offices scattered throughout the holy city. The elector walked a good step towards fulfilling his duty as a citizen. Tired, of course, but valiant: more than 69.4% participation, more than in April, despite the exasperation that we felt was building on all the stages, on all the microphones, on all the networks. However, this Israeli who was angry with the hair-splitters and the majority dividers in ten, could not get back on track. He himself is a growing minority.

It is noon at the corner of Emek Refaim Boulevard - the Valley of the Giants - and Emile Zola Street. The air of this beautiful district smells of seringa and secularism. The portraits of General Benny Gantz, the leader of the Blue and White Party, line the walls. Here, we are patriotic the old-fashioned way, like Ben Gurion rather than Netanyahu. The Prime Minister's alliance with the ultra-Orthodox who refuse to be enlisted in the army does not pass. Everyone has or will have a child at the front - north, south, Lebanon, Gaza- even if the desire for peace is constantly being hammered.

A few miles away, it's another matter. In the streets of Kerem Avraham, or Bayit Vagan, old or new neighborhoods where the burning wind of faith blows, the voters of Shas, the party of the Sephardic Torah Guardians, fly to the polls, between the banners bearing the effigy of the late Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosef. As if his shadow was guiding them from beyond the grave to give the Shas the electoral weight necessary for the coalition with the Likud. With Netanyahu for whom we pray at the foot of the Wall. This world of bigots is dressed in black under the bright light of Jerusalem, women and men separated, of course, when it comes time

to cheer on their guru Arié Deri, still Minister of the Interior.

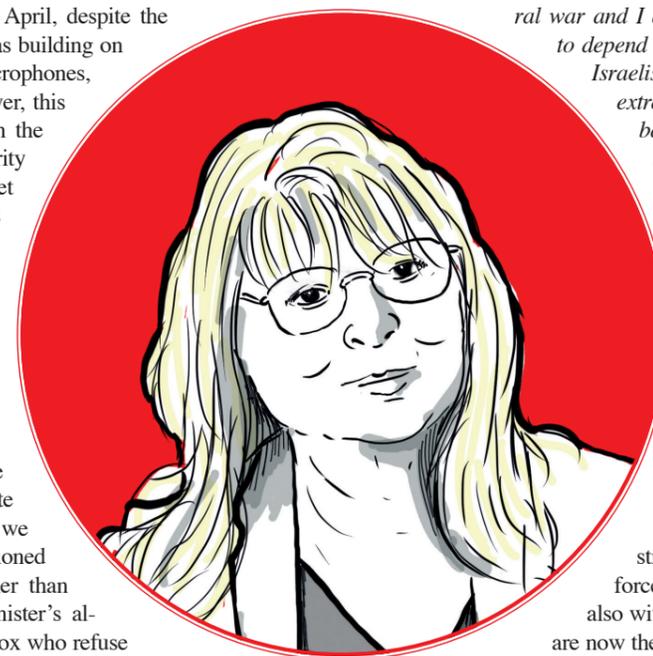
Thirty years ago, Israel's greatest writer, the late Amos Oz, who disappeared the other winter, wrote on his way back to Jerusalem's childhood district on Tahkemoni Street: *"I feel claustrophobic and I want to flee this district where nothing has changed for two centuries [...] It is to reject this form of Jewish existence that writers and poets like Bialik, Brenner, Berditchevsky stood up at the beginning of the 20th century... we would not dare, in our days, to repudiate a world which has been destroyed by Hitler since. Nor can we give in to a feeling of secret admiration for the vitality of a form of Judaism whose rise and growing influence in the country threatens our own spiritual existence, for it aspires to take over from us"*.

Today, the novelist Yishai Sarid, ("The Third", Am Over), explains to me from Tel Aviv: *"The conflict with the believers is the most serious one in Israeli society. This is a cultural war and I don't want my children's future to depend on it. In reality, the majority of Israelis are at the centre. It's not an extremist. We all had a common background despite our diverse backgrounds. Alas Netanyahu plays the groups against each other..."*.

Surrounded by three corruption cases, threatened with indictment next December, the Prime Minister was counting on the September election. There was no winner. On his way, he found Avigdor Lieberman, his ex-ally, now his worst enemy. In the Russian-speaking districts, vodka flows freely in honour of this strong man who refuses to join forces with the ultra-Orthodox. But also with Israeli Arab citizens. Yet they are now the country's third largest political force. This is logical since they represent 20% of the nation. Aware of the stakes, they ignored the boycott instructions given by the ultras. Their leader, Ayman Odeh, reached out to Benny Gantz in the hope of forming a coalition that would bring together all the voices of Israel. All of them... but what about the ultra-Orthodox? And finally Gantz and Netanyahu who don't want to be either one? A real Rubik cube, this election. As the days go by, President Rivlin calls for national unity, wars are raging not very far away, towards Syria, towards the Kurdish tragedy.

Jerusalem is starting to shiver... ●

* Journalist and essayist, editor-in-chief at the weekly magazine *Marianne*, specialist in Islamism and the Middle East.



Counter-terrorism: Facing the “enemy from within” (2/3)

By **Roland Jacquard***

The deadly attack on October 3 at the very heart of the intelligence directorate, at the Paris police prefecture, illustrated in the most dramatic way the phenomenon we mentioned in the first part of this series of articles devoted to the new anti-terrorist challenges. Namely, this type of terrorist acts is no longer the work of commandos attacking France from the fiefdoms of ISIS in Iraqi-Syrian jihadist areas, but is the poisoned fruit of spontaneous “jihadist vocations”, generated at a distance, by recruiters of ISIS, among French “subjects” most often motivated by violent nihilistic impulses, more than by a real desire for a jihadist “holy war”.

In addition to this unprecedented problem, which has never before been observed in any terrorist movement, whether ideologically, territorially, religiously or sectari- ally inspired, there is another new fact characteristic of this neo-Jihadism inspired by ISIS: a growing proximity that links this terrorism, characterized by endogenous emanation and rudimentary modus operandi, to the common law criminal circles, which serve as incubators for terrorist projects. And thus exempt them from the use of external logistical support networks that may be identified by the counter-terrorism services.

This makes it almost impossible for the anti-terrorist services to anticipate threats and defeat terrorist projects before they are carried out. Thus, the media and public opinion were shocked to learn, attack after attack, that the neo-Jihadists who were the perpetrators were identified and known by the anti-terrorist services, were listed on the famous “Fichier S”, without this allowing them to be prevented from acting!

This acknowledgement of failure has given rise to a highly critical media campaign against anti-terrorist services, going so far as to question the very usefulness and relevance of the role of Intelligence services in the fight against terrorism. Criticisms that soon gave rise to a worrying drift towards militarizing the fight against terrorism!

Supporters of these militarist theses argue that the endogenous terrorism of the neo-Jihadists claiming to be part of ISIS is the work of “lone wolves”, who self-radicalize and act alone. As a result, they are, therefore, impossible to apprehend before their act, how much they would even be registered by the Intelligence services.

Such doctrines convey untruths that can lead to shortcomings and failures with fatal consequences in the fight against terrorism. Indeed, the so-called self-radicalization of “lone wolves” contri-

butes to the emergence of ISIS’s neo-Jihadism as an inevitability that cannot be countered: the anti-terrorist services cannot detect or anticipate the action of a “lone wolf”, since its shift into horror takes place in the most intimate personal sphere.

And since Intelligence will never be able to interfere in the head of a self-radicalized person, before it takes action, the advocates of self-radicalization recommend the militarization of the fight against terrorism as the only alternative to deal with this neo-Jihadist phenomenon!

However, it is unreasonable to consider that countering forms of threats, both new and bloody, would be sufficient

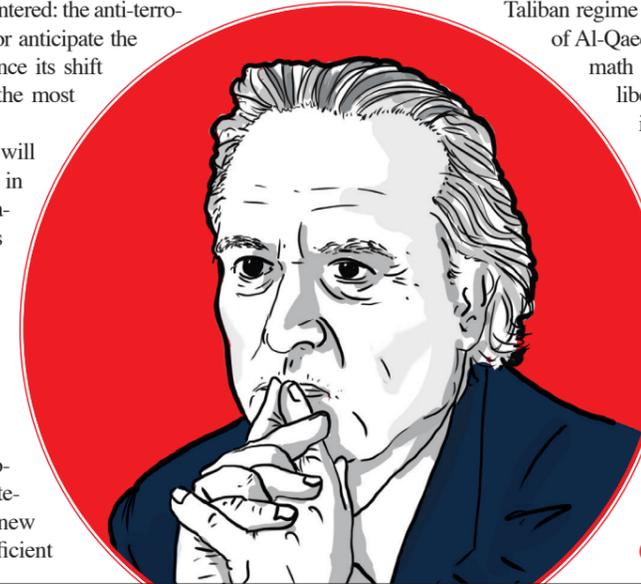
to extend *ad vitam aeternam* emergency measures, such as the state of emergency; to create, after each tragic episode, new levels of alert; to deploy, as soon as a threat emerges or is felt, more and more soldiers assigned to security tasks for which they are neither trained nor adapted. In reality, anti-terrorist action cannot be considered or envisaged as a “war” in the literal and military sense of the word, at the risk of facing ugly situations similar to those resulting from the “global war on terrorism” decreed by the Bush Administration in the aftermath of the attacks of 11 September 2001.

Didn’t the American President welcome the fall of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan as a sign of the end of Al-Qaeda? Did he not declare, in the aftermath of Saddam Hussein’s fall, that the liberation and democratisation mission in Iraq was complete?

We know today that these two events, perceived at the time as victories, were the starting point for the chaotic situations that generated new waves of terrorism on a global scale and led to the emergence of ISIS. ●

(To be continued)

* **Writer and consultant, Chairman of Roland Jacquard Global Security Consulting (RJGSC)**



The challenges of water management in the Middle East: Geopolitical stability and sustainability (2/3)

By **Fabienne Durand***

More than ever, water becomes an issue of power and political instability in the Middle East. This situation of sometimes exacerbated tensions is the result of three major changes. The first change concerns the delineation of borders, which is the result

of secret negotiations between the French and the English authorities during the Sykes-Picots Agreement of 16 May 1916, at the time of the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire, described by Tsar Nicholas I as “an old sick man, seriously ill, fallen into disrepair”. The boundaries were set according to property and water issues. As early as in the 1920s, they were

challenged by Lebanon and by the Zionists of Yishuv, the first Jewish community to settle in Palestine before the founding of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948.

As early as 1919, following the Balfour Declaration of 1917, the chairman of the World Zionist Organization, Chaim Weizmann, wrote a letter to the British Prime Minister David Lloyd George in which he stressed the importance of water: “*The whole economic future of Palestine depends on its water supply (...). It is essential that the northern border of Palestine include the Litani valley over a distance of 25 miles, as well as the western and southern slopes of Mount Hermon*”.

This search for water security was mentioned with regard to the Six-Day War, perceived as a conflict for

the water security of Israel. Water was one of the issues in the conflict, just as it was at the heart of the negotiation process that led to the first Oslo Accords in 1993. This is how Israel, with its deployment in the Golan Heights where the pipeline from Lake Tiberias to the eastern margins of the Negev, a strategic margin near the Sinai, is seeking water security, essential to the survival of the country.

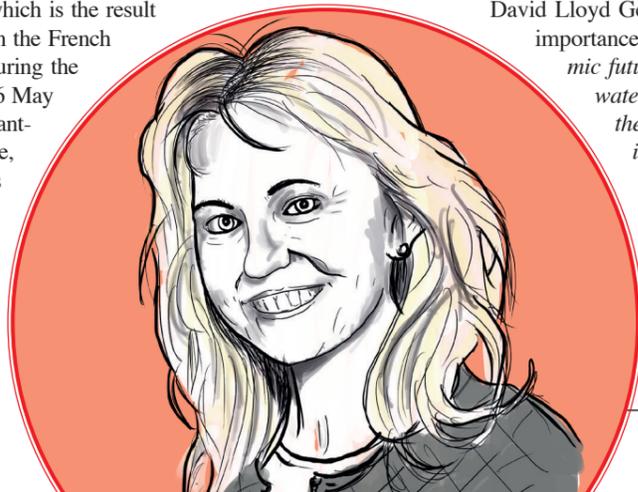
Similarly, Turkey, through the construction of dams and hydroelectric power plants under the GAP project, is seeking to stabilise the region, to the detriment of the Kurds. Finally, Egypt, where the population is concentrated at 95% on only 5% of the territory, is also seeking to actively mobilize water resources since the construction of the Aswan Dam, and more recently by creating new spaces based on the mobilization of water resources, as in the Toshka valley in Egypt, to better allocate a population.

Water is thus at the heart of asymmetric rivalries between states, as well as territorial claims, because of its spatializing function, mentioned by Pierre Blanc, a researcher at CIHEAM

and IRIS, who explains the delineation of borders through the search for water security in this natural and hostile environment.

The second change concerns population growth and urbanization. The increase in population results in increased water and food needs and increases anthropogenic pressure on agriculture, which consumes 80% of water resources. The situation is critical in Egypt, the third most populous country in Africa, after Nigeria and Ethiopia, where the population has risen from 20 million at the time of Nasser to 97 million today. It is the most populous country in the Arab world, and reflects the demographic vitality of the Middle East, where population growth exceeds 2% per year with a fertility rate of 3.4 children per woman, while the fertility rate is 2.7 on the world scale. Moreover, water security is, especially for this country, a matter of national security. Egypt thus uses a threatening rhetoric against the countries located upstream of the Nile. ●

* **Political scientist & consultant in communication on sustainable development and global warming.**



USA-Afghanistan: An explosive file for Donald Trump

By **Christian Malard***

On September 7th, after a series of attacks perpetrated by Taliban against Afghan population and authorities, not to mention the 14 000 American soldiers stationed in the country, American President, Donald Trump, in one of his famous tweets, decided to put an end to a year of talks with the Taliban. Talks that were supposed to terminate an 18-year-old conflict.

One question is now left: could these negotiations, that the United States were conducting with the Taliban, have led to lasting peace and a real sharing of power between Taliban and Afghan authorities? Or should Afghans again experience a harder conflict, with a return to the Talibanization of the country?

How can we believe the Taliban, who continue to carry out

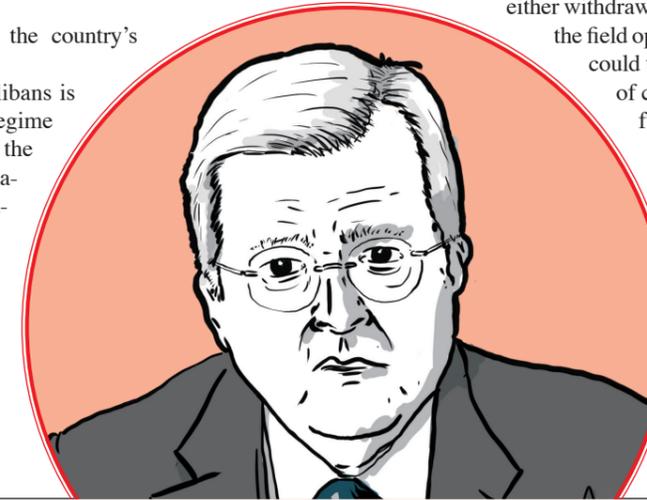
attacks, when they say they are ready to resume the so-called peace negotiations with the United States? They always believed they were in a position of strength to put pressure on Donald Trump. They however never demonstrated that they were committed to peace. They always refused a durable ceasefire agreement, negotiated with President Ashraf Ghani's government, which they consider to be a puppet of the United States.

The Taliban already control nearly 50% of the country's 400 districts. It would undoubtedly be foolish and irresponsible to trust this Islamist movement, which is amongst the most violent and obscurantist. It is not surprising, in this context, that some of Donald Trump's advisers and prominent members of Congress remind the President of the major mistake made in 2011 by his predecessor, Barack Obama, who prematurely withdrew American troops from Iraq and abandoned Iraqi troops that were not ready for combat. As a result, three years later, in 2014, ISIS

controlled Mosul, one of the country's main cities.

Today, the aim of the Taliban is to overthrow the current regime and once again become the country's main force by establishing an Islamic theocratic emirate.

How can Donald Trump and Americans be so naive as to believe that the Taliban will prevent al-Qaida and ISIS from using Afghanistan as a springboard to attack Western interests in the region?



** International policy expert and diplomatic consultant.*

Recently, a Taliban delegation, which included the political and armed wings of the organization, was received in Tehran by the Revolutionary Guards, who supported it in leading the war against US Forces on Afghan soil.

Last year, Ali Shamkhani, head of the Iranian Supreme Security Council, already visited Kabul and assured the Taliban of the Mullahs regime's support. The common goal of Taliban and Iranians is to drive out the 14 000 American soldiers still stationed on Afghan soil.

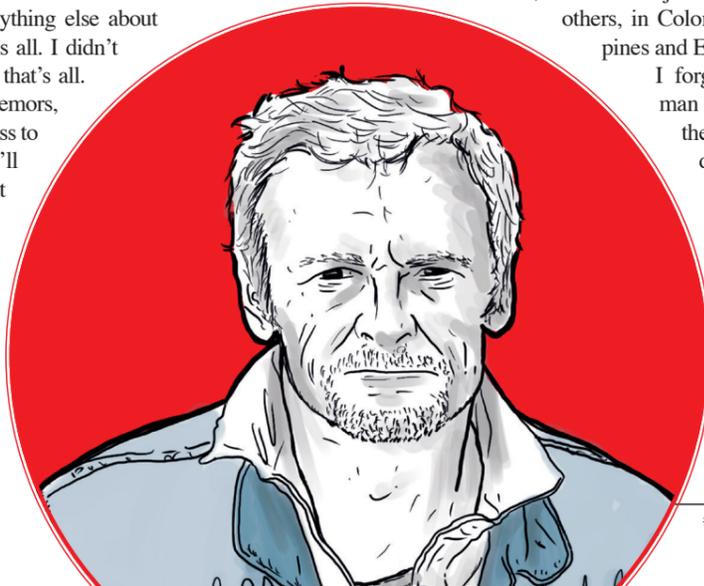
Today, Donald Trump is faced with two choices: either withdrawing his 14 000 men and leaving the field open to the Taliban. The country could therefore again face the horrors of civil war. And the region would further be destabilized. Or he decides to maintain his troops in Afghanistan, with the risk of heavy casualties. This, happening a few months before 2020's presidential election, could be extremely damaging to him. ●

The Shoah, the journalist and the Jews

By **Jean-Marie Montali***

In my job I have seen and heard, like many other journalists, a lot of crap. Many of us have seen more dead people than we would have liked to see: Destroyed, shot, hanged, burned... There are many ways to kill people. And all these ways of killing and dying, it makes piles of corpses of all colours, religions and ages, men and women, all over the world, and piles of survivors howling rivers of tears.

As far as I'm concerned, I don't remember the faces of these dead people, or anything else about them. They were dead, that's all. I didn't cry for them. I forgot them, that's all. I could invent myself soul tremors, moral concussions and sadness to avoid looking like a bully. I'll come and wring all this out at your feet with the eyes of a beaten dog, just to look like a sensitive guy and all. And I could tell you that all these deaths haunt me. But no, no, no. I forgot them. No one, you understand, wants to live with the dead.



I forgot that kid from Los Angeles, shot in the head with a bullet that wasn't even meant for him. Those overdose deaths in Johannesburg. This woman beaten to death by her bastard fiancé. This Bosnian father, mad with grief after the death of his two sons at Brčko. He killed himself.

I forgot these bodies in Somalia, rotting where they had fallen, by the tens and hundreds, in dust and indifference. Those in Kabul, those in Sarajevo, those in Mogadishu. The others, in Colombia, Mexico, the Philippines and Elsewhere.

I forgot the body of that old man on whom I stumbled in the semi-darkness of a Baidoa morgue, before spreading myself over other bodies thrown there, on the floor, because we didn't know where to put them. There were so many of them. So much. I threw up on the bodies. An employee hosed down. I went out. Outside,

other bodies were piled up against the walls, one on top of the other, and it went up, up, up, death in bricks, I had never seen that before.

I forgot the little fruit delivery boy from the Panjshir Valley. He jumped on a mine. His name was Haroun. I mean, I think his name was Haroun. I forgot about that other father in Pakistan, an Afghan refugee who spent all his nights lying on his children's graves so that scavengers would not come and dig them up and eat them. He would put three tulips on the grave, one for each of his children.

I forgot about that little girl killed by cancer at the Institut Curie. Her mother caressed her hair very gently and we, the photographer and I, blubbered like calves.

I forgot them all. Buried deep in my memory, with a lid on it so it doesn't overflow.

Anyway, I'm saying all this so that you understand that, in the long run, you learn to measure your sensitivity.

And then I've been in Israel for 10 days. I am preparing a book - and perhaps a film - on Holocaust survivors. For 10 days, from morning to evening, I have been meeting several of them for hours on end, one-on-one. These fragile little old ladies, these little old men who can more or less stand up and waver seriously on their bases, were born in Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Romania, Hungary, Germany, France and elsewhere. The degree of enthusiasm put into the killing had, in a way, local peculiarities: people did not kill in the same way in Romania as in Poland or Latvia. It also depended on the degree of anti-Semitism and collaboration of the countries concerned.

Today, these few survivors are afraid that these things will be forgotten. That they may be reproducing. They want to tell, to testify. Otherwise, who will remember those who were exterminated when they are no longer there? So they talk and talk and talk again. Sometimes they hesitate a little. Not that they stumble over their memories, but they hesitate in the choice of words: which ones to choose to describe a horror that humanity had never known before? Which ones to choose to be credible? Because

they live with that too: the fear of not being believed. Who could believe the incredible? And which ones to choose to make the inaudible audible without shocking the interlocutors? How to talk about the unspeakable, how to make the Shoah understood?

They dream of the Shoah and wake up at night with the cries of others or with their own, with the faces of the disappeared. A mother, a father, a sister, a brother, a neighbour... They remember that. Of course they remember it. Everything: the raid, the screams, the fear, the dogs, the train, the selection, the shower, the shearing, the nudity, the cold, the hunger, the slave labour, the bodies crammed into the barracks, the cries of the kapos, the lice, the Mengele experiences... And death. Death, everywhere, all the time. The gallows. The shots. The gas. The smoke from the crematoria. Ashes, snow from hell. And then again, always, the face of a mother, father, sister or brother. The faces of thousands, millions of others exterminated in the camps. So yes, they remember and live every day and every hour with their memories and the ghosts of the innocent.

They remember the months spent in the ghettos, the yellow star, the humiliation, the months hidden in the forest, the hunting of Jews, the hunger, the hunger they talk about all the time and which still obsesses them today. They talk about the shootings on the edge of mass graves, all over Eastern Europe, at the bottom of a forest, on the banks of the Danube, on the banks of the Baltic Sea, above a ravine, in a park in the middle of a city...

They are still talking and talking. They talk and protect me. There are things they don't dare to tell me, because they are worse than worse and they don't want to shock me, seeing that I'm already in apnoea. And I would like to take them in my arms and I know that I will never forget these faces. And never in the more than thirty years I have been in this business have I been so moved. ●

** Journalist and essayist, former executive director of Le Figaro Magazine*

The Muslim Brotherhood ended up letting down Tariq Ramadan

By **Ian Hamel***

The least that can be said is that Tariq Ramadan's performance against Jean-Jacques Bourdin on BFMTV did not have the desired effect. Even before the speech of the grandson of Hassan al-Banna, after almost two years of silence forced, Oumma.com, the main French-speaking Muslim site, lit him by evoking a "vain rehab". The site recalled that "his life was a tissue of lies and his cynicism without limits". But the biggest blow was brought to him by *Muslims of France* (the former UOIF), the tricolor branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. Even prior to the distribution of his work, *Duty of truth* in the bookstores, the Muslim association declared itself betrayed "by the behavior revealed by Mr. Ramadan, a behavior that is in total contradiction with the ethical and moral principles expected by somebody who preaches Islam, calls for his spirituality and his values, and responds to the questions of a mainly young audience and looking for models".

The French press did not allow this rejection, on the part of the Brotherhood, giving it the place it deserved. Certainly, *Muslims of*

France took a lot of time before breaking with the Swiss preacher. But you have to know that since the creation of the Brotherhood in 1928, on the banks of the Nile in Egypt, the family of Hassan al-Banna had always been untouchable. The book *The Muslim Brotherhood from origins to our days* (Amr Elshobaki, Karthala, 2009) reports that one of the brothers of the General Guide was accused of stealing money. He was never worried.

Hassan al-Banna will even cover one of his brothers-in-law, Abdel Hakim Abdeen, suspected of harassing and assaulting sexually the wives of some members of the Muslim Brotherhood. The facts are serious enough that the Brotherhood's internal tribunal decides to meet for the first time in 1945.

The court demands the conviction of the brother-in-law. But Hassan al-Banna rejects the report presented by the Committee stating that it would form an additional impartial committee. In fact, he will exclude the members of the commission that drafted the report damning about Abdel Hakim Abdeen ...

Farid Abdelkrim, former Muslim Brother (he led the *Young Muslims of France*), author of *Why I Stop Being Islamist*, tells

that the hostility of the leaders of the former UOIF against Tariq Ramadan comes from far away, because his character is particularly hateful and out of control. Internally, he is also nicknamed "His majesty TR". But as soon as Hassan al-Banna's grandson appears, everyone goes to bed.

"I have in mind this convocation addressed to him by our honorable council on the pretext that he had to be called to order (...) Shortly before he joined, many openly showed their desire to fight out with the unmanageable. Everyone went there with his unwavering determination to administer to him in the face his four truths ... Now, just when he appeared, I was in such a panic" says Farid Abdelkrim.



* Journalist and writer, specialist of the Muslim Brotherhood.

All that Ahmed Jeballah, president of the UOIF, manages to pronounce: "Tariq, uh ... you are dear to us ... Uh you are of ours and ... and we are yours ..."

As for the book *Duty of truth*, it contains no revelation. However, we will retain its attacks against Qatar. On the one hand, by a pirouette, he denies that the emirate could have paid him 35,000 euros per month. "How could I have taken the silly risk of repatriating this money to France, as mentioned by Tracfin, where I am so guarded?" He asks. Some lines below, he adds without laughing: "Can those who criticize me quote even one only speech or text where I defended a Gulf state, a monarchy, a dictatorship? On the contrary, there are dozens of examples of texts in which I denounce Saudi Arabia, as well as Qatar, Iran, Turkey ..."

Too bad that Tariq Ramadan does not go so far as to mention the publications where he would have allegedly dumped his wrath against the al-Thani, and more particularly against the Sheikha Moza, the mother of the current Emir, who sponsored his Chair at Oxford.

We can also wonder why Tariq Ramadan chose to domicile his wife and his two girls in Doha, in this horrible dictatorship. Himself spending two weeks a month in his palaces! ●

The Brotherhood that is silently Islamizing Europe

By **Hamid Zanaz***

European governments have left the way open for the Muslim Brotherhood to shape the Islamic public opinion in Europe as they wished. And the results were soon available. They have succeeded in Islamizing thousands of young people and adults, as reported in polls and surveys published in the European press and still vilified by the Muslim Brotherhood and their European accomplices.

They fear that their underground work will be discovered and that the European authorities will put an end to the privileges and aid of all kinds they have enjoyed for years.

Through their naivety, European governments are unknowingly Islamizing and radicalizing young people of Muslim origin. The Brotherhood continue to scam the Westerners, authority and

civil society, by showing a moderate face, which is their trademark. They are Muslim democrats like Christian democrats. But the comparison makes no sense given the glaring difference between Islam and Christianity.

The left has always minimized the destructive force of Islam(ism) in Europe. His press had been hiding the truth for two decades. It has always wanted to convince people that the

number of people who want to apply Sharia law is very limited among Muslims in Europe! But what do the studies and figures really show?

Launched in the aftermath of the attacks of November 13, 2015, the investigation by political scientist Anne Muxel and sociologist Olivier Galland into the radical temptation among high school students reached nearly 7,000 students. Published in spring 2018 by the

CNRS, it shows a specific effect of the Muslim faith on religious radicality, as well as important and significant differences between students who declare themselves Muslim and those who do not.

Thus, 81% of Muslim high school students believe that "it is rather religion that is right on the question of the creation of the world", whereas they are only 27% among Christians and 35% among young people of other religions; 35% of Muslims consider that there is "only one true religion", while only 10% of Christians think so.

Concerning violence, 20% of Muslims declare it acceptable, in some cases, to fight "weapons in hand for their religion", against 9% for Christians and 13% for other religions. As for religious absolutism and the justification of violence in the name of religion, the authors wrote:

"Compared to Christians, the Muslims we interviewed are five times more likely to be absolutists and twice as likely to justify religious violence."

There is every indication that radicality is well established among Muslim youth, as well as in the Muslim community as a whole. This is automatically linked to the rise of religiosity in their communities.

The majority of Muslims in Europe believe that Islamic Sharia law should take primacy over the secular laws of the host country. According to several surveys, Islamic fundamentalism is growing very rapidly in Western Europe.

Muslims surveyed in Britain, France, Spain and Germany said they support 25% of extremists. Another survey shows that 16% of French and Spanish Muslims, as well as 15% of English Muslims, say they are willing to support suicide attacks to protect Islam; and 13% of British Muslims justify the July 7, 2005 attacks in London.

According to a study, led by Dutch sociologist Ruud Koopmans and funded by the German government, Muslims in Belgium (as well as those in France and Austria in equal proportions) appear to be the most fundamentalist and xenophobic. But all indications are that the majority of Muslims in Europe prefer Sharia law.

According to Professor Koopmans' definition of fundamentalism, the majority of Muslims in these countries are fundamentalists: fundamentalism, according to him, is "the religious expression of what psychologists call an authoritarian personality: someone who cannot stand contradiction".

For Dutch professor Ruud Koopmans, director of the "migration unit" in the Berlin centre, these figures show that Belgium, for example, is no longer a major supplier of jihadists in Syria by chance: "To fight radicalism, he added, the government must obviously look further than this small group that uses violence. The roots of the problem lie in the Muslim community itself. A bellicose attitude is caused by external circumstances such as the situation in Syria. But it can be seen that a significant minority within the Muslim community in Europe supports a fundamentalist interpretation of Islam."

The Muslim Brotherhood has done a good job in broad daylight, and, undisguised, it still continues to Islamise over almost the whole of Europe without being in any way worried. The brotherhood uses the tolerance of the West against the West itself.

Two possible scenarios: the uprising of the European peoples against this cultural aggression, or submission to the fascist ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood. ●

*Writer and essayist, latest book published "L'Europe face à l'invasion islamique" (Editions de Paris, 2019).



Abdul Rahman Al-Suwaidi: 35 years in the hell of the Muslim Brotherhood (1/2)

Abdul Rahman Al-Suwaidi is a former Emirati Islamist leader. Repentant, he delivers here a relentless testimony about the 35 years he spent in the hell of the Muslim Brotherhood. In front of our cameras, he reveals, in a series of uncompromising interviews, the Brotherhood's best kept secrets, unmasks his double discourse and reveals the hearing of his hidden tentacles implanted throughout the world.

Interview by
Atmane Tazaghart

Tell us about your childhood. In what social environment did you grow up and how did you manage to secretly join the ranks of the Muslim Brotherhood?

My name is Abdul Rahman Bin Khalifa Bin Sobeih Al-Suwaidi. I was born in Dubai in 1964, more precisely at Al-Maktoum Hospital, one of the very first hospitals in Dubai. I am native of the Fareej Al Murar region. In the 60s, our lifestyle in Dubai was very simple and peaceful. Neighbors were like a family and kids used to go together to school.

In high school, I started to get very interested in maths. It kept my brain very busy. I think that I inherited this from my parents and grandparents, may their souls rest peace. They were working on sailing boats and used to sail a lot. Astronomical calculation and stargazing were part of their lives constantly. When I was young, I also used to travel with them. My interest in maths started early. That is why some "spheres" became attractive for me.

When man is allowed to live his life in its natural spontaneity, and is free to express his natural inclinations, he will for sure show interest in specific areas. But, when you are under influence of external parties who believe that their own opinion and advice are authoritative, he will inevitably change.

Even when a person receives advice from his father, mother, friends or his entourage, he still remains free to make his own choice. But when advice come from doctors, academics and other high-ranking personalities in society, their opinions are not questionable, they are taken as such, even if you have to give up your own hobbies, ambitions and personal interests.

That's how changes have occurred in my life. My dream to pursue studies in mathematics and the scientific field turned into an interest in the social field. This is the result of my presence in this domain whose ideas are different from those conveyed in my previous one. This environment [The Muslim Brotherhood]

has changed a lot of things in my life. I put the maths and the scientific field aside, and my interest was focused on the social field and on other aspects related to my new domain.

Why such a change?

Targeting a recruit is one thing, the following is something else. We always want our group to be the best, to build an elite group. This can be achieved in two ways: either by targeting brilliant recruits, or by enhancing the capacities of existing potential in the group.

These two approaches are constantly in force within the Muslim Brotherhood Organization in the Emirates. Targeting, attracting and selecting the elite is a constant line of conduct. In addition, training and capacity building of existing potential are conducted according to modes that are specific to the Organization.

At first contact they explain you that thanks to God you are skilled at mathematics, that you are this or that and that your potential interests the Organization. For example, I was introduced to the

former Minister of Education. I was also given the chance to submit my modest research and contributions to the University of the Emirates. They have been reviewed by academics and I have even received a feed-back report on them. Imagine, I was just 16 years old and I met a minister and received an attention of such magnitude! A young man of this age will simply be snapped up.

Stimulating him in this way makes him blind and impairs his judgment, what makes him follow others without any questions being asked.

Once the step is taken and you have joined the group, things change and priorities also. That means you will have to preach (Da'wa). As you have been targeted yourself, you must also target new recruits. You have received attention, so you must show similar attention for new recruits, in the interests of the Organization.

In the same way that you yourself have been supervised, you in turn must supervise new recruits. So from interest in maths I switched to targeting recruits.



**To become a
'Working Brother',
you have to
pledge allegiance
after having been
properly initiated
and trained »**

How to attract young people of my generation? How to direct them to such group or association? These were my new concerns.

Maths were used at first as a subterfuge by the Organization. In reality, the latter does not have a particular interest in maths or in capacity building of future recruits in this field. But to attract the recruit and create a complicity with him, the Organization had to pretend to be interested in maths.

The targeting phase was followed by an initiation phase, during which I met new persons who became friends. I met important personalities, academics and some opinion leaders and preachers. These are the ones who advised the 16- or 17-years old youngster that I was. Who diverted him to other areas and experiences, by asking him to take example on so-and-so. This is how my interest in the scientific field began to decline and that I found myself engaged in a new fight.

It is important to distinguish between the various phases. At the beginning, you are a recruit targeted by them. Targeting phase has one goal: get the future recruit to join the group and sympathize with it, so as to contribute, a posteriori, to its activities.

All the youngsters of this age are looking for opportunities to release their energies. In those days, there were not many opportunities and the *Al-Islah* organization offered a lot. *Al-Islah* was the facade of the Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Emirates. So, when an opportunity is offered to a youngster, he is attracted inevitably, especially if around him there is not much to do.

His change will take place over time. It is gradual. The new recruit becomes aware of the unconfessed objec- →



tives a long time after, once it becomes mature

It takes 5 or even 6 years to realize who we are, and who are those around us. To realize that the panel “Association for Reform and Social Orientation - Al Islah” on the front door overlooking the main street hides doubtful things

It's in the 1st year at the university that I realized the situation. From initiation phase to the beginning of activism, it took 4 years in my case. During the 4 years, I was very active and I quickly took several steps. Compared to my peers of the same age, I was a model in terms of rapid progression. Because it usually takes 6 to 7 years

During the first two-year-initiation phase the future recruit is admitted as a simple listener. The future recruit is treated as an object that passes through several hands. There are those who carry him by car, those who accompany him by bus, those who provide him with explanations, those who train him and tell him what to do and not to do, etc. The future recruit is required to be present, participate and enjoy the programs no more, no less

Then, during the next 2 years of the same phase some small responsibilities are assigned to the future recruit. The recruit obtains her driving license for example, so he can be asked to pick up, by car, some members of the group on his way. If a conference is scheduled somewhere, the recruit has to drive the lecturer. And young people like to invest in this way.

The new recruit may be requested to lead the group on its way to the venue, not the whole group, only 5 or 6 members can be placed under his direction or responsibility. It's a way of training future recruits for leadership.

The transition from the initiation phase to that of activism does not obey specific rules or indicators. It is rather at the discretion of the branch or sub-region of the Organization. They are the ones who give their opinion about the future recruit and his involvement. The latter can make big leaps forward or stagnate for a long time.

The Organization assigns new tasks to future recruits just to observe their reactions. Some recruits assimilate and progress quickly. There is no precise rule, as I said earlier, it can take 4 years for some and 7 years for others.

Crucial matters intervene at the moment of *Al Bay'a* (pledging allegiance). It is the moment of disclosure and trans-



The rule is that all those who are in the Brotherhood should not have access to all the secrets of the Brotherhood >>

parency. It is at this moment that the future recruit is informed that this is the Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood. All of a sudden the ordinary and natural tasks that were assigned to the recruits are transformed into commitment and this commitment implies specific provisions.

How does this commitment called *Bay'a* work?

Al Bay'a is a personal oath of loyalty to the Organization or entity (of the Muslim Brotherhood), but not to the officially disclosed institution, that is, the association that serves as a legal front for the Brotherhood. It is often pledged in private homes, like mine was. No big ritual: 5 people including the officer in charge of the group. You give your hand and the officer tends his and you take an oath of obedience, in all circumstances, unless you receive an order to commit a sin.

With this oath you shift from the initiation to the executive phase. And you are counting amongst members with specific profile, assignments, and roles. Before allegiance, recruits are supporters, followers, affiliates, sympathizers. Call them as you want. So, the latter should commit themselves and that goes through the pledge of allegiance. Allegiance is a commitment. It is a commitment to listening and obeying. With these few words, the new recruit is admitted as an active member of the Brotherhood.

Allegiance is preceded by a short “disclosure” phase that takes place about six months earlier. A document entitled “preaching” (da'wa) specifying mis-

sions and activities of the Organization is handed over to the new member. Look at the terminology used: this entity is designated as a Secret Organization in view of the law, but them, they define it as an Organization for preaching.

To become a “Working Brother” in the Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood, you must first take an oath after your initiation and training. This oath provides access to some privileges, activities, responsibilities and information that were not accessible in previous phases.

Some information are no longer kept secret and some officials are designated by their true positions. We discover that so-and-so, who is with us for a long time, is an officer in charge of this or that. What we didn't know before.

Of course, the unveiling of the secrecy is done progressively. But taking an oath does not mean you can say and know everything. Some prerogatives are restricted to internal committees and are kept secret, including for members under oath. Some took an oath and stayed a long time in the Organization without knowing anything about some of its secrets.

The lifting of secrecy is not systematic or a guaranteed right for everyone. The secret is lifted to achieve specific goals or actions, otherwise it is restricted to specific persons within the Organization. Marginal and unnecessary questions and side questions are left aside for fear that this will have undesired consequences that information reach parties other than their intended recipients. Secrets are sometimes kept very strictly others a little less. It depends on the nature of work and tasks. The rule is that all those who are in the Brotherhood should not have access to all the secrets of the Brotherhood.

Are there any forms of collective allegiance, especially for the world leadership of the Brotherhood?

Allegiance commits in individual capacity. It is a commitment to the person or the organization in the country where we are. At the time we made *Al Bay'a*, we did not know that the Organization has structures at country and global levels. We were not at the top of the pyramid but at the bottom or on the fringe. This truth appeared years after allegiance. The “Disclosure” phase itself does not reveal the existence of partial or total dependency.

We did not suspect that the oath pledged to the person who gave you his hand is also an oath to those who are with him. At that time our reasoning was as follows: the front organizations we deal

and work with are official and fully legal institutions with a board of directors, managers, a general assembly, etc. But we realized later that they were governed by an Organization without legal basis. An armada of associations in charge of women, youth, engineers, doctors... etc. were established. They are all official and legal. No doubt about that. But they take instructions from an illegal entity.

It is later that we realized that the oath pledged in a given country turns into oath to the Controller of the Brotherhood, that is to say to its Emir in this country. And this Emir in turn takes orders from abroad from higher institutions to which he himself pledged allegiance.

We knew all these information much later. In fact, the hand extended to one person passes through a series of other hands to finish at the World Organization of Muslim Brotherhood currently based in Great Britain.

The targeting phases are the same, the oath of allegiance also. The sections also and the Shura councils, the key organs are similar or almost identical in all the countries. Whether Arab, Islamic, European or Western countries. They all use the same operation mode.

Small variations exist. They result from the environment of the country where these organizations operate. But the main methodology is the political Islam. Its foundations form the oath of allegiance and the undisputed obedience to the Brotherhood. And the goal is to influence the governments through educational and charitable front organizations. All that is almost identical.

How is the coordination of the actions of all these tentacles of the Brotherhood established throughout the world carried out?

First of all, there are the so-called “specialized forums”. Experts in recruit's targeting from several countries can hold a forum around this theme. Charity ex-

perts from various countries can do the same, in order to discuss how to develop their working methods in their field. The same applies for political committees. This confirms the existence of contacts between all these bodies and actors that are working within a unified framework within the Brotherhood. The environment where we operate can dictate some adaptations, but the methodological referent is the same everywhere. It's the one of the Muslim Brotherhood designated as a terrorist Organization. There are agreements between Muslim Brothers from different countries or sometimes between sections or agencies specialized in the same domain, to avoid referring to distant hierarchy.

For example, if a disaster happens in a given country, direct contacts will be established between the activists assigned to dispatch humanitarian and relief aids and those of the country that will receive those aids. Level of direct coordination is so advanced that the World Organization needn't to supervise everything vertically. Instructions come from the world Organization, but coordination happens between the concerned countries. Because at first, it is the Organization that guarantees one country towards another and guarantees reliability and loyalty of the activists involved.

Co-ordination can happen at lower levels only if decided by the world Organization.

Which confirms that it all belongs to the same Organization.

For example, during the “Arab Spring” and what it generated as tensions, instructions were given to different branches of the Brotherhood, so that some carry out armed actions and others for mediatic hype. And here [in the United Arab Emirates] we are asked to provide financial support, etc.

The role assigned to a country (X) was not the same as the one of a country (Y). This coordination between the groups belonging to the Brotherhood in different countries has allowed each one to fulfill its role. It was not the result of individual efforts geared here and there in a spontaneous or hazardous way. ●

Read the full interview & watch the video on our website
www.global-watch-analysis.com



In the secret of the new French intelligence strategy

Identifying the most crucial French intelligence issues and proposing a new way of operating and coordinating the efforts of the French intelligence community is at the heart of the national intelligence strategy developed this summer by the National Coordination for Intelligence and Counter Terrorism (in French: Coordination Nationale du Renseignement et de la Lutte contre le Terrorisme – CNRLT).

This new strategy recommends an overhaul of Services' operating procedures to meet new challenges regarding the protection of information which concern strategic areas (political, economic, scientific and technological), the assistance of State services in decision-making, as well as the hindrance of any threat. To this end, "sharing, mutualisation and integration have become essential issues" for the coordination of efforts by the French intelligence community.

THREATS AND PRIORITIES:

In an era of terrorist threats, of increasing radicalism and of international instability, France develops a new intelligence strategy. A track sheet has been drawn up by the CNRLT, at the Elysee's initiative. It defines a global strategy for the action of the so-called "first circle" French services, concerned with security and defence issues.

This document foresees significant changes in practice modes of functions of various services (DGSE, DGSI, DRM, DRSD, DNRED and TRACFIN) and redefines their priorities in order to further participate in interception and analysis of necessary to ensure "the prevention of violations to the interests of the Nation, the protection of persons, properties and institutions and the defense and promotion of France's interests".

There are many priority issues for French intelligence both within France's territory and abroad. But terrorist threats are undoubtedly the main challenge Services have to face.

Indeed, for the past 5 years, France has been facing an unprecedented wave of terrorist acts. Preventive neutralisa-

tion of attacks risks is thus revealed "at the heart of French doctrine in the fight against terrorism".

Despite their military defeat, the Jihadist movements, both in Levant and Sahel, continue to pose a serious threat to French interests abroad but also in France. And in addition to this "organized danger", there are also actions being taken by individuals with a troubled past "inspired" by jihadist propaganda on social networks. The new Intelligence Strategy emphasizes that anticipating this "radical deviance" turns out to be necessary in sensitive areas such as prisons, cultural and religious associations and on the internet.

In a tense social context, intelligence services must also listen to shifts from ultra-right movements towards violence, which must be treated with the same vigilance as jihadist threats. In addition, the Strategy considers that the rise of national protest movements (infiltrated by small international insurgent groups, such as black-blocks) and the resulting public order crises should encourage Services to adopt a proximity approach, in order to keep abreast of local life. A necessary knowledge for a good understanding of movements crossing society and a better prevention of anything that may constitute a disturbance to public order.

INTERNATIONAL CHALLENGES:

International relations have a privileged place in this new Strategy. First and foremost, relations between States and the importance of analysing transformations of France's partner countries in order to anticipate the risks of "major disruptions" that could harm French interests.

The Strategy considers that, even if the

French Republic is not in conflict with other nations, it must acquire an "advanced level of information in military field". A vigilance dictated by "the resurgence of military power policies on the part of many States" as well as "the emergence of "hybrid" threats that require us to assess arsenals and capabilities of other States".

Still in the military field, the Strategy stresses on the fact that France, as permanent member of UN's Security Council, has the duty to contribute to countering the proliferation of weapons and to identifying the countries seeking to clandestinely acquire weapons of mass destruction.

However, the Strategy emphasizes that opposing State threats is not limited to military domain alone. Services' actions "also covers State terrorism that may occur on French territory" and also "transversal threats covering issues of foreign interference in the democratic process and collusion that may harm the Republic".

Therefore, French counter-intelligence will acquire new means in the view of "constantly adapting Services' capabilities and a better dissemination of intelligence to entities in charge of protection and obstruction. »

Internet has become the preferred area for some of these interference practices, which constitute a threat to democracy, whether they come from state sources or from organised crime. The Strategy insists on the need to set up an intelligence policy based on combating the spread of "malware" (harmful software), hate messages and cybercrime.

ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE:

The Strategy considers that defence



and promotion of French economic interests must remain amongst the priorities of the intelligence community. The new challenges in the field of economic intelligence demand "the identification and prevention of any serious, potential or proven, systemic or isolated, threat, likely to affect the Nation's economic, industrial and scientific interests, and in particular strategic assets".

The Strategy underlines the important role that Services must play in "identifying threats and supporting State's policies in this area as well as French economic actors in their international expansion". ●

The National Coordination for Intelligence and Counter-Terrorism

The National Coordination for Intelligence and Counter-Terrorism (CNRLT) was established in 2008. It's responsible for developing the strategy and advising the Head of State in the field of intelligence. Pierre de Bousquet de Florian, the current national coordinator for intelligence and counter-terrorism, is also responsible for ensuring good cooperation between services and the cohesion of their action.

The new intelligence strategy, which we present here, complements a first version developed in 2014. It has been the subject of an inter-ministerial review and a validation

by the President of the Republic within the National Intelligence Council. It will be partly reflected in an intelligence law text to be presented to Parliament in 2020.

It should be noted that the National Intelligence Council, within which this new strategy has been discussed, is dedicated to defence and security issues. It develops intelligence policies and strategies and defines the necessary technical and human resources to implement them. It is chaired by the President of the Republic and includes the Prime Minister and ministers and directors of relevant intelligence services.

Jacques Chirac as I knew him

By **Roland jacquard**

My first meeting with Jacques Chirac was organised by Michel Baroin (François Baroin's father, whom Jacques Chirac considered as a son). At the time, Jacques Chirac was mayor of Paris and Michel Baroin, former head of cabinet of the President of the National Assembly, Edgar Faure, had become CEO of the GMF (Garantie Mutuelle des Fonctionnaires).

When Jacques Chirac had his car accident in Corrèze in November 1978, I visited him almost every day during his convalescence. When he was discharged from Cochin Hospital in early 1979, he asked me to help him sort through some photos and documents. I then got to know the real Chirac, sensitive, human, so close to people and full of humor....

In 1986, when he was appointed Prime Minister, he asked me to continue to work discreetly with him, to give him the "echoes of the street". At that time, he also commissioned me to write reports on terrorist risks in France.

Since then, we have never ceased to be in direct contact, particularly on these subjects. Thus, after the Paris attacks in 1995, he gave me a report on the Algerian Islamists of the GIA (Armed Islamic Group), then put me in contact with the then Police Commissioner, Philippe Massoni.

The GIA (Armed Islamic Group) then sent him a letter urging him to convert to Islam. I remember President Chirac's comments to this effect: "They think I am a crusader. What an obscurantist! But you will see, one day they will strike other great countries."

A few years later, when I told him about my fears about Bin Laden (whom I had met in Sudan in 1994), President Chirac told me: "I know the family well, they are beyond reproach, but they are suspicious of Osama, too enlightened". I then explained to him my discoveries on the Bin Laden networks: the jihad encyclopaedia, the threats to come, etc.

In June 2000, when Jacques Chirac learned that I had been

invited by Bill and Hillary Clinton to a private dinner at the French restaurant *La grenouille* in New York, he asked me to give a message to the American President. And during our meeting, Bill Clinton told me: "You will thank President Chirac for me, he has always had a lot of flair..."

At that time, I was finishing my book *In the Name of Osama Bin Laden* (the first world biography of the leader of Al-Qaeda), which was published on September 10, 2001! After the attacks of 9/11, I met President Chirac at the Elysée and he told me: "We are now all in self-defence. My arm will not weaken. But we must be careful not to stir up hatred."

After that, I never stopped talking, often on weekends,



with Jacques Chirac about what he called the "demons of the century".

I also remember his admiring words about some Arab monarchies in the Gulf, particularly the United Arab Emirates: "From the desert they have made a paradise and are always of good advice". And also on Africa: "I have a weakness for Africans, they are natural and love France, and then let us remember General De Gaulle's speech from Brazzaville..."

Finally, I would like to pay tribute to Jacques Chirac and thank him so much for his humanism, for his open-mindedness, his great patience and his deep affection for the French people. ●

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