

JFDA e.V. - Study

**TERROR ATTACKS IN PARIS
AGAINST JEWS AND „CRUSADERS“ –
THE ANTI-SEMITIC JIHAD
AS „HOLY WORLD WAR“**

Berndt Georg Thamm



Jüdisches Forum für Demokratie
und gegen Antisemitismus e.V.

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**by
Berndt Georg Thamm**

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Introduction

On January 5, 2016, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the terror attacks against Jews and "crusaders" in Paris, president Francois Hollande unveiled memorial plaques at the Charlie Hebdo editorial office and the kosher supermarket. The crime was the cause for this study. As suggested here, last year was the worst year of terror since the 9/11 attacks, especially because of the Islamic State's (ISIS) jihadist terror activities. While the anti-ISIS coalition was indeed able to stop the caliphate militia's dynamics of expansion, ISIS's losing territories (Kobane, Tikrit, Ramadi) in open battles against Arab armies and U.S. bombers is only one side of the story, whereas "successful" violent acts of terror committed by lone fighters are quite a different matter. Stand-alone ISIS combatants, small groups, supporters, and sympathizers inspired to commit individual jihad launched over 70 terror attacks in at least 14 states outside Syria and Iraq in 2015 and killed at least 1400 people while thousands were injured. In 90 % of cases acts of terror were directed against people in North Africa and the Middle East, but also in South Asia. Every 10th of ISIS's victims died in Europe, most of them in three terror attacks in France. At the end of December the caliph and ISIS warlord threatened Europe and the U.S. via an audio taped message, cautioned Russia and called for an insurgency in Saudi Arabia. At that time the world fought against ISIS - and ISIS declared war on the world. For example on "non-Muslim" Turkey on August 17. Rhetoric was turned into action when ISIS suicide attacks in Ankara left 102 dead on October 11 and 10 in Istanbul on January 12. On October 13, ISIS called for a "holy war" against leading nations in the West and the East: "Islamic youth of the world, inflame the war against Russians and Americans." The proclamation resulted in the bombing of a Russian holiday airliner that was on its flight back from Egyptian Scharm el Sheik to St. Petersburg, killing 224. Individual jihad arrived in the U.S. on December 2, when an ISIS supporting couple killed 14 people at a community center in San Bernardino, California. Virtually simultaneously ISIS's propaganda department threatened "the shameless enemy of Islam" China in a call for jihad in Mandarin. Europe, too, was under threat up to New Year's Eve and beyond.

Over the last months dozens of alleged ISIS recruiters were detained in Spain. In December, a Swedish court sentenced two ISIS supporters to lifetime in prison for their involvement in a murder in Syria. In France, planned attacks on military institutions, gendarmerie, and police, in Australia planned attacks on a naval base and other targets in Sydney were prevented. At the end of December Austrian police warned of attacks in Europe, Germany could not rule out an increased danger of terror attacks and Belgian security authorities prevented several acts of terror at "symbolic places" on New Year's Eve which were planned by ISIS sympathizers. Subsequently, Brussels cancelled all New Year's Eve festivities. In the face of the terror threat Paris called off fireworks display. Only six weeks earlier the worst act of terrorism was committed on November 13. A terrorist cell, that had adapted the modus operandi of the Mumbai terror attacks at the end of November 2008, attacked Parisian bistro terraces and a music club. 130 people were killed, 350 injured, many of them severely. One day later ISIS claimed responsibility for the attack "at the heart of Paris" by which the entire "crusader nation of France has been punished". Most of the victims were killed in the Bataclan music hall where 90 people died when the U.S. rock band Eagles of Death Metal performed. In July the band had given a concert in Israel and had made no secret of their pro-Israel attitude. For years Jewish groups had collected donations for the Israeli Border Police Magav in the Bataclan. The club, Jewish-owned until a few months prior to the attack, had long been branded and threatened by anti-Israel and anti-Semitic groups. The jihadist terrorism of ISIS, al Qaida, and other militant Islamist groups leaves its anti-Semitic marks to this day. Only a few weeks ago at the end of December, ISIS leader al-Baghdadi announced future attacks on Israel in a nearly half an hour lasting message declaring that: "We have not forgotten Palestine for a moment".

Berndt Georg Thamm
January 2016

Preamble by Abraham Lehrer
Vice President of the Central Council of Jews in Germany

The terror attacks in Paris in January this year took place some time ago, but we still remember the pictures. With these following shortly after the attack on the Jewish Museum in Brussels Islamist terrorism once again got closer to us in Europe. The shock was great. Shortly thereafter the attack in Copenhagen took place and finally sparked a debate on how safe Jewish life still is in Europe.

When dealing more closely with the terrible events one quickly is confronted by the question how it was possible for this jihadi terrorism to develop, what the breeding ground is and where the hatred for Jews and dissidents and specifically for Israel originated. It is therefore most commendable that the Jewish Forum for Democracy and against Anti-Semitism presents this comprehensive study.

It illustrates the background and explains structures which are helpful and necessary for an analysis. At the same time it documents the long chronology of the attacks and attempted attacks, the length of the existence of Islamist terrorism and how serious we must take this threat.

This study does not make for easy reading. But it is no use being in denial of the problem. All of us are challenged to deal with this in order to be able to react appropriately.

We must not underestimate the danger posed by international Islamist terrorism. At the same time it is vitally important to proceed against the growing anti-Semitism in Europe. This is a duty for society as a whole. Because the terrorists are not only a threat to us Jews, but also to all of the Western democracies. They must not gain a foothold Europe. The challenge now is to defend our freedom against the Islamists.

Abraham Lehrer,
September 2015

TERRORIST ATTACKS IN PARIS AGAINST JEWS AND "CRUSADERS" - THE ANTI-SEMITIC JIHAD AS "HOLY WORLD WAR"

From 7 to 9 January 2015, during a wave of terrorism lasting two and a half days, three French Jihadis carried out murderous attacks on French Jews and "crusaders" in the greater Paris area. A total of 17 people – 14 civilians (among them four Jewish citizens) and three police officers – were killed. Even before all the victims had been buried, al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) threaten further attacks. According to their statement on the internet, France should pay the price for the occupation of the "areas of Islam" (dar al-Islam) in Mali and Central Africa and the bombing of Muslims in Syria and Iraq. The AQIM also announced further, even more painful attacks.¹ Almost simultaneously, Islamic hackers targeted numerous websites (of municipal buildings, schools, universities, churches and businesses) in France. In the US, members of a "Cyber Caliphate", hackers associated to Islamic State (ISIS), attacked Youtube and the Twitter account of the U.S. Central Command in Florida which is responsible for missions against IS in Iraq and Syria. From the briefly occupied US military platforms the cyber Jihadis also threatened: "American soldiers, we are coming, watch your back."²

Globally against "infidel" soldiers and civilians - global incitement to murder and strategies for killin by Jihadis

In the language of the Jihadis, "crusaders" are those Western states that are at war with the "Muslim nation" and Islam. To the Jihadis, the Americans - considering the US as being the Lead Nation of the West - and the Jews - with Israel too being considered to be "crusaders" - are the incarnation of the hated values of Western societies – democracy, freedom, individualism. Therefore they must be fought against.

Global incitement to murder by al-Qaeda (1998) and Islamic State (2014)

This cause was already established already one and a half decades ago in a manifesto of the "World Islamic Front - Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders", which stated, among other things:

*"... On that basis and in compliance with Allah's order, we issue the following fatwa to all Muslims: To kill the Americans – civilians and military – is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque (in Jerusalem, author's note) and the holy mosque [Mecca] from their grip... We also call on the Muslim ulema (scholars, author's note), leaders, youths, and soldiers to attack and expel Satan's US troops and the devil's supporters allying with them ..."*³

This manifesto was signed, together with other Islamist leaders from Egypt, Pakistan and Bangladesh, by the al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden (1957 – 2011). The entire text had not been placed on the internet at that time, but had been conventionally sent to the Arab-language newspaper 'Al-Quds Al-Arabi', (London), which published it in full on 23 February 1998. Only six months after this incitement to murder the US embassies in Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) and Nairobi (Kenya) were bombed almost simultaneously on 7 August. In this twin terror attack in two capitals almost 1000 kilometers apart 257 people were killed and more than 5000 injured. Amongst the first on the scene were Israeli rescue teams.⁴

By this time Iraqi branch of Bin Laden's Qaida had mutated into ISIS. More than 16 years after the establishment of the "International Islamic Front", it was now the jihad-terrorist group. ISIS that took up the global incitement to murder against "infidel" soldiers and civilians and put it on the Web at the same time. In response to an international conference in Paris on 15 September 2014, at which 30 states, forming an international coalition, agreed on a joint strategy for the fight against the ISIS terrorist army, ISIS called on its followers and supporters to kill citizens of all those states which had joined the alliance. This incitement to murder was published in Arabic, but also in English, French and Hebrew translations.⁵

"Israelization of Europe" - Strategies of the individual jihad

More than a decade has passed since the 9/11 attacks during which it had become increasingly difficult for the Jihadis of the Qaida movement to commit large and time-consuming terror attacks (from the planning until the attacks) in the Western hemisphere. At the start of the "Arab Spring" the strategy changed towards promoting the "Individual Jihad". Using "Killing tactics through anybody", so runs the thought, would place the West onto a kind of permanent alert on the basis of the most simple terror attacks.

Like no other country on earth, Israel, for decades, had to learn to live with a permanent threat of terror. And it is here where the new tactics of a "Do-it-yourself-attack" were and still are practiced:

- On 22 10 2014 a Palestinian drove his car at high speed into a tram stop in Jerusalem into a group of passengers alighting from the tram. Seven people were injured, a baby got killed.
- On 5 11 2014 a Palestinian drove his car in East Jerusalem into passengers waiting at a tram stop, thus killing one person and injuring 13 people, some of them severely. He fled on foot and attacked several police officers with a crow bar.
- On 18 11 2014 two Palestinian youths barged into a synagogue in Jerusalem and, using an ax, meat cleavers and a gun, killed worshippers gathered for morning prayers – three US citizens and a Briton with dual citizenship – and injured another eight. In the ensuing gun fight with the police both attackers were killed.⁶
- On 12 12 2014 a Palestinian attacked an Israeli family (with three children) using acid and a screw driver.
- On 21 1 2015 a Palestinian from the West bank used a knife to attack the driver and passengers of a bus in Tel Aviv, injuring a total of 13 people, four of whom seriously.
- Last but not least, on 6 3 2015, a Palestinian drove his car at high speed into a tram stop near the police station in East Jerusalem, injuring six people, most of them female police officers.

Such attacks could easily be carried out in the West. Minor, often spontaneous acts of violence over a longer period of time could result here, particularly in Europe, in "life feeling like in Israel" (making "life feel like in Israel"). Al-Qaeda has been using these "Israeliization of Europe"-tactics for several years on the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP). After the fusion of the Saudi and the Yemenite branch of Qaida in 2009 to form AQAP, the latter produced a new online magazine called "Inspire", mainly directed at motivated Muslims in the West, and included various instructions of how to perpetrate terror (building bombs etc.). For a long time, however, Inspire' has been making suggestions as to how "infidels" could be killed without a major logistic effort – including using a pickup truck to mow down pedestrians and a suggestion to pour oil on the bends of freeways."⁷

Not only Qaida is pursuing this strategy of low-level terror attacks, but also ISIS, which arose from it. In mid September 2014, ISIS spokesman Abu Mohammed al-Adnani directly directed his call at lone perpetrators, and called less for attacks of high-level organization but more for "simple" murderous deeds:

*"Kill them as you like. Smash their heads, slaughter them with a knife, knock them down by car, throw them from high buildings, strangle or poison them."*⁸

Apart from listing different execution option, the ISIS spokesman also identified the targets in his internet message: Australians and Canadians, particularly the "infidel Americans and Europeans, specifically the malicious and dirty French."⁹

Only one day after the attacks in Paris, the Austrian Jihadi Mohamed Mahmoudi alias Abu Usama al-Gharib, who, years ago, was a co-founder in Germany of the Salafist association "Millatu Ibrahim" (MI), called from Syria via Twitter to practice individual Jihad:

*"To the lions of Islam in Germany and Austria ... My brother in Germany. Simply mow down the Kuffar (infidels, author's note) by car in a busy outdoor mall or slaughter them while skulking around."*¹⁰

His words appear to have also been heard in France. Thus here, a

young aggressor attacked three French soldiers with a knife in front of a Jewish center in Nice (Département Alpes-Maritimes) on 3 February 2015 and injured two of them. The soldiers had been on duty there as part of the French anti-terror plan after the events in Paris. After this knife attack the Government increased its highest terror warning level also to the affected Département.¹¹

From Toulouse via Brussels to Paris - French "lone wolves" of Jihadi terrorism

On 22 March 2012 the group "Dschund al-Khilafa" (Soldiers of the Caliphate) announced that Jussuf al-Firansi (Jussuf, the French) had rocked a pillar of the "Zionist crusader movement".¹² The Jihadis allied to AQIM "celebrated" the anti-Semitic attack by the 24-year-old Algerian-born Frenchman Mohammed Merah. This was just after he had shot Rabbi Sandler and his sons Gavriel (3) and Ariele (5) and the principal's daughter Myriam (8) in the Jewish school 'Ozar-Hatorah' in the center of Toulouse on 19 March. Before that, on 11 and 15 March, he had shot three soldiers in Toulouse and Montauban. Two of the three parachutists were of Maghrebian origin. After the murders, Merah barricaded himself up in his Toulouse apartment, heavily armed. As a motive the man, who confessed to be an adherent of al-Qaeda, said that he committed the deed in "revenge for the French operation in the Hindu Kush and the killing of Palestinian children in the Gaza Strip by Israelis". After a twelve-hour siege by security forces the self-confessed "holy warrior" met his death as a "martyr" when they stormed the apartment.¹³

France was not only involved in the counterterrorism operation in the Hindu Kush. In sub-Saharan Africa Paris was involved in the fight against Islamists with the "Opération Serval" in Mali in 2013 and later made protective forces available in Central Africa after clashes between Muslim and Christian fighters. Against the background of these military operations the Islamists threatened to murder President Hollande of France. In the middle of March 2014 they called for attacks also in France on a website affiliated to Qaida:

*"To our lone wolves in France, execute the leader of unbelief and criminality."*¹⁴

The threat did not stop France from participating in the war against the Jihadis in the Middle East. Amongst the French Foreign Fighters, who supported the local Jihadis, was the 29-year-old Algerian-born Mehdi Nemmouche from Roubaix, who, in 2013, fought for the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). In the following year he returned from Syria to Europe, where, in the afternoon of 24 May 2014, he shot the Israeli tourists Mira and Emanuel Riva from Tel Aviv and a French museum volunteer in the Jewish Museum in the center of Brussels. A Belgian museum technician was declared clinically dead because of his serious injuries. After his escape, Nemmouche was arrested in Marseille on 30 March, less than a week later. The Prosecuting Attorney's Office charged him with murder in a terrorist context.¹⁵ This Franco-Algerian, for whom an arrest warrant had been issued, was extradited from France to Belgium at the end of July. Three and a half months after the attack the Jewish Museum in Brussels was reopened to visitors.

In the same month, on 21 September, Hervé Gourdel, a 55-year-old mountain guide from Nice, was taken hostage by Jund al-Khilafa militants in Kabylia, Northern Algeria. These militants had only "converted" (changed sides) from AQIM to ISIS in mid July. One day after the kidnapping the "Soldiers of the Caliphate" placed a video on the internet, threatening that unless France ceased its attacks on ISIS positions in Iraq within 24 hours, the hostage's throat would be slit. The government of France which subsequently appealed to its citizens in approximately 30 countries – amongst them Morocco, Tunisia, Yemen and Mali – to take every precaution, refused to be blackmailed and continued its air raids.¹⁶ After the ultimatum had expired, the hostage-takers decapitated their victim and published their execution video on 24 September 2014. Less than four months later, a hostage-taker again shocked France. In the middle of Paris, in a Jewish super market, a militant Islamist had dug himself in. "I am here because France attacked ISIS", was the gist of his explanation.

Emissaries of Qaida and Islamic State - the terrorist attacks in Paris

The editor-in-chief Stephane Charbonnier once described "Charlie Hebdo", the satirical magazine published since 1970, as being "dedicated, leftist, anti-religious, almost atheist, laicist and sometimes militant". . The satire touched to the quick in particular conservative, and even more so fundamentalist-Islamic groups who perceived their religious feelings deeply hurt more than once. The offices on Boulevard Davous had been destroyed by an arson attack as recently as 2011. After the election of an Islamic government in Tunisia, the satirical magazine had published "Sharia-Hebdo" with the Prophet as a "guest editor", to which militant Islamist reacted with an attack. The latest Hebdo edition No. 1077 of 7 January 2015 showed the French author Michel Houellebecq, who imagines "France as a Muslim State" in his novel "Soumission" (Submission)¹⁸ which had just been published.

Attacks (7 to 9 January 2015)

On Wednesday, 7 January, around 11h30, two masked men, armed with assault rifles, stormed the Charlie-Hebdo building housing the editorial team of the magazine. Calling "Alahu Akbar" they executed "Charb", the editor-in-chief and his police body guard; they then shot every other person in their way – from the concierge, journalists and cartoonists to the service staff – a total of 12 people. Another eight were injured, four of whom critically. After the blood bath, the murderers fled ten minutes later in a small Citroen. They killed a police officer, who came towards them during their escape, with a shot to the head. The attackers abandoned their car in the northern parts of town and continued their escape using another vehicle.¹⁹

On Thursday, 8 January, the two men, who had meanwhile been identified as the brothers Chérif (32) and Said Kouachi (34) were discovered during a robbery of a gas station in Villers-Cotterêts near Paris. A female police officer was shot from behind by another sus-

pected terrorist at the southern outskirts of Paris in Montrouge.²⁰

On Friday morning, 9 January, the Kouachis had stolen another getaway car. They finally holed up in a printing company in Demmartin-en Goële, a small town of 8000 inhabitants 50 kilometers north of Paris, armed with assault rifles and a rocket launcher. While the police were surrounding the brothers, another terrorist attacked "Hyper Casher", a kosher supermarket in Marais, the Jewish quarter at the Porte des Vincennes in the east of the capital. He shot four men of the Jewish faith, Philippe Braham (45), Yohan Cohen, (23), Yoav Hattab (21) and Francois-Michel Saada (63) and took more customers as hostages.²¹ He threatened to kill them should the police take the Kouachi brothers by force. "You are Jews, you are all going to die today", the owner of the supermarket is alleged to have heard him call to his victims. The hostage-taker was identified as Amedy Coulibaly (32), who had murdered the police woman the day before. As the police at that time had no knowledge of the whereabouts of Coulibaly's wife, they ordered, as a precaution, the closure of all shops in the Jewish quarter the same afternoon. Hayet Boumddiene (26), as became known later, had already travelled via Turkey to Syria before the terror attacks.²²

In the meantime, the police had made contact by telephone to the Kouachi brothers, who both announced their "martyr's death". Moreover, one of the brothers spoke to a journalist of the private Paris TV BFM-TV. He told him unequivocally that he acted on the instructions of the Yemen branch of al-Qaeda.²³ This "mission" had already been planned and financed for some time – while Anwar al-Awlaki (1971 – 2011) was still the AQAP leader. Shortly after 17h00, the brothers, shooting wildly, stormed out of the building and died "as martyrs" in a rain of bullets by the special forces of the Gendarmerie Nationale. Similar to them, the hostage-taker Coulibaly had told BFM-TV in the Jewish supermarket that he was a jihadi, but affiliated to ISIS. His attack had been agreed to by the "Charlie Hebdo" attackers.²⁴ When the Islamist started to pray, the hostage freeing forces seized him shortly after 17h00, and he got killed. After that incident the most serious assassination on French soil for forty years came to an end.

A total of 17 people had been murdered by three Jihadi terrorists. More than 88,000 police officers, gendarmes and soldiers had been deployed during those days. President François Hollande called the hostage drama a "tragedy for the nation". In a speech broadcasted live at night on TV he spoke of an anti-Semitic action, referring to the drama in the Jewish supermarket.²⁵

Background to terrorism in the name of Jihad

The security authorities were aware of the attackers and had had them under surveillance as Islamic radicals for several years. The Algerian-born brothers Chérif (born 1982) and Said Kouachi (born in 1980), who were orphaned at an early age, grew up in an institution. In 2000 - then 17 and 19 years old - they moved from Rennes to Paris where they made a living by doing odd jobs and minor crime (drug dealing). They were guest students at the Adda'wa Mosque in Paris. Here, a group of young men formed around a religious fanatic in 2002 who intended to join the Jihad in Iraq. From 2003, the brothers became radicalized in the "Buttes-Chaumont" Jihadist Group, so named after a meeting point in the 19th Arrondissement. Two years later, the younger Chérif was prevented from travelling to Iraq by a prison sentence.²⁶ After his release 18 months later he was under surveillance - until 2013. In 2011, his brother Said is supposed to have been in Yemen in a training camp of the local Qaida for several months, where he learned close combat techniques and the use of firearms. After his return he too was under surveillance - which ended in June 2014.²⁷

Amedy Coulibaly (born 1982) was also known to the security authorities. Amedy, from a Mali family, grew up as the only boy with eight sisters in the Paris suburb of Grigny, close to Charles-de-Gaulle airport. He had his own gang in Banlieue quite early and was in prison for robbery in 2001 and 2004. Here he also met Chérif Kouachi. They became friends and planned to later free a prominent Islamist from prison. The project failed. Investigations against Kouachi were stopped, Coulibaly was convicted at the end of 2013.²⁸

Two days after his "martyr's death" in the Jewish super market a film with the title "Soldier of the Caliphate" appeared on the internet on 11 January (which has meanwhile been removed). In this 7-minute video, Amedy Coulibaly (nom de guerre "the African") professed in broken Arabic that he was a member of the terror militia group ISIS. He said he had pledged allegiance to the "Leader of the Muslims, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi" and had colluded with the Kouachi brothers prior to the actions: "The brothers of our team had done Charlie Hebdo. I also took some action against the police, to increase the effect."²⁹ Coulibaly justified his actions by quoting the military actions of the French against Muslims in Mali and Iraq. "The French attacked the Caliphate and we attack you", he read and continued: "We will inflict many casualties and much suffering on you." After this threat he called on the Muslims in France to proceed against the "infidels": "There could be millions of us who defend Islam".³⁰

After the assassinations ISIS had claimed responsibility for the French operation through its cleric Abu Saad alAnsari and had threatened a wave of attacks in Europe and the United States.³¹

Almost at the same time, AQAP claimed responsibility for the attacks in France. The Kouachi brothers had already mentioned to the private broadcaster (BFM-TV) that they acted on the instructions of AQAP who would also finance the operations. It remains unclear whether Anwar al-Awlaki had that much foresight at that stage. The charismatic sheikh is considered to be at least a mastermind of the Yemeni Qaida. Until his death in 2011 (by a US drone) he had called, for example, for the murder of the Swedish cartoonist Lars Vilks (Mohammed cartoon) - and last but not least Charlie Hebdo's editor-in-chief, Stéphane Charbonnier, had also been named in 'Inspire', the AQAP online magazine, at the beginning of 2013 in the terrorists' incitement to murder: "Wanted, dead or alive, for crimes against Islam".³²

Three days after Coulibaly's claim of responsibility via video, on 14 January, the al-Qaeda spokesperson Sheikh Nasr bin Ali also took responsibility in an almost 12-minute internet video: The attack on the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo by the Kouachi brothers had been carried out on the command of the al-Qaeda leader Aiman al-Za-

wahiri. This attack was in retaliation to the insult on the prophet by the "infidels". As before by ISIS, the Qaida spokesperson announced further attacks and called the Muslims of the whole world to fight the "enemies of God". The background of the video shows a photo of grieving politicians in Paris saying that they were those who "fight against us" in Syria or Iraq.³³

"Je suis Charlie, Juif, Flic" - International solidarity, national concern

France has raised its terror alert to the highest level. Prime Minister Manuel Valls spoke of a "huge challenge by very determined people", and President Hollande promised a particularly high level of protection to Jewish schools and synagogues in the country. The attack on the freedom of expression and the attack on the Jews had brought up to 700,000 people onto the streets of many of the country's cities as early as Saturday, 10 January, to demonstrate against terror.

Many more attended a mass rally in Paris on Sunday, 11 January. With placards and banners saying "Je suis Charlie (I am Charlie), Juif (Jew), Flic (police officer)" up to 1.5 million people showed their concern. At the front of the demonstration for freedom, equality and brotherhood were almost 50 heads of state and senior government officials in addition to the families of the terror victims. Walking arm in arm in the front row of the funeral march were France's President Hollande and Germany's Chancellor Angela Merkel. To their left walked President Ibrahim Boubacar Keita from Mali, Israel's head of state Benjamin Netanyahu and Jean-Claude Juncker, the President of the European Commission. To their right walked, arm in arm, Donald Tusk, the President of the European Council, Mahmud Abbas, the President of the State of Palestine, Queen Rania of Jordan and King Abdullah II Bin al-Hussein. "Today, Paris is the capital of the world. Our entire country will rise up towards something better", President Hollande promised his fellow countrymen.³⁴ But not only in Paris, but in all of France at least 3.7 million people had taken to the roads. On that Sunday, there were declarations of solidarity

worldwide – including Madrid and Berlin, Beirut and Ramallah and Tokyo and Sydney. There had never been a demonstration like the one in Paris. Christian, Muslims and Jews – believers and non-believers – marched united.

For a short while, the overwhelming solidarity of millions of people made one forget that French society was and is deeply divided. Prime Minister Valls spoke of a "territorial and ethnic Apartheid" as being a reality in the country.³⁵ This rift in the society became visible within a week. During an official minute of silence, which was going to be held after the attacks all over France in memory of the 17 victims, not all the students at the schools reacted as in fact expected by the Ministry of Education. Some rectors' offices informed their appropriate authorities in Paris of around 200 incidents, which did not only involve protests against a "one-sided understanding of freedom of expression". In Dreux, west of Paris, for instance, students declared that the satirical magazine had insulted the Prophet and demanded a "minute of silence" for Palestine.³⁶

By this stage, conspiracy theories regarding the attackers and the attack had been spread – also in Germany. According to these, the Islamists were not responsible for the attack on Charlie Hebdo, but "foreign secret services" and "Zionists". The conspiracy theorists were quick to supply a whole range of motives, for instance, Islam was going to be discredited by Jews and Americans. Or it could have been a punitive action against France because the parliament there had voted for the recognition of Palestine only in December.³⁷ Whoever they were, Islamic perpetrators were excluded. Yet in the past days, attacks on mosques and anti-Semitic attacks had increased.

One trail of the attacker in the Jewish supermarket in the capital of France appeared to lead to Vervier in East Belgium, where an anti-terrorism operation by the police against Jihadis took place on 15 January. Two alleged Syrian returnees were killed, a further two injured. According to the Prosecuting Attorney's Office, there were concrete indications of "imminent attacks". On the following day, Jewish schools in Antwerp and Brussels stayed closed.³⁸

France's Jews in a "state of war" – from fear in Europe to the Israel option

After the attacks in Paris, a Frenchman had posted on Twitter: "The illustrators died because they illustrated. The police officers, because they protected us. The Jews - because they were Jews."³⁹ On 13 January France said farewell to its three killed police officers. Before that the National Assembly in Paris had debated terror attacks. Prime Minister Manuel Valls said in parliament: "France is at war against terrorism, jihadism and radical Islamism"⁴⁰ On the same day, the four Jewish victims were buried on the Givat Schaul cemetery in Jerusalem. Their families had asked that they may have their last resting place in Israel, not least because of the fear that their graves may be desecrated in France. This fear was not unfounded. Within about four weeks hundreds of graves were desecrated by youths at a Jewish cemetery in Sarre-Union.⁴¹ These events were and continue to be proof of the growing fears of Jews in France. The murder of four of their countrymen to them was the continuation of a long string of anti-Semitic incidents, in fact crimes over many years.

On 3 October 1980 four people were killed and ten seriously injured in a bomb attack on a synagogue in Paris. At that time, an extreme right-wing organization known as "Europäische Nationalistische Gruppen" claimed responsibility. But for some time, it has not only been these old forces like the Front National which continue to cling to their anti-Semitic stereotypes.

The start of further threats to France's Jews started in 2000. The cause was the start of the second Intifada of the Palestinians. The then rejection of Israeli politics subsequently mutated into resentment against "the Jews". The throwing of a Molotov cocktail into a Paris Synagogue in October 2000 symbolically represented the start of the Arabic-Muslim anti-Semitism in France.⁴² The threats and acts of violence against Jews increased, because meanwhile Franco-African demagogues had also openly joined the anti-Jewish agitation. Their "messages" lead to a multitude of anti-Semitic assaults by quite a number of youths and young adults from Muslim families. Although the overwhelming majority of the more than five million

French Muslims have lived peacefully side by side with more than 500,000 French Jews, it could not prevent a minority of violent and militant Arab-born young Muslims, who are not just socially separated from mainstream society, succeeding in instilling terror into the largest Jewish community in Europe through their anti-Semitic actions, particularly through inhuman acts.

- Thus in June 2004, a Jewish student was stabbed in front of the Mekor Yisrael Jeschiva in Epinay-sur-Seine.
- In January 2006, less than two years later, an act of cruelty shook the community. A gang of 21 French Muslim youths kidnapped Ilan Halami and tortured the 23-year-old Moroccan-born Jew over a period of three weeks. The kidnappers wanted to extort 450,000 euro from his single mother. As the mother had no money, the juvenile criminals called a rabbi who was requested to collect the sum from his congregation. After 24 days of brutal torture the young Jew died as a result of his severe injuries.⁴³
- Without showing any emotion, Mohammed Merah, a militant Islamist, killed the Rabbi and his two small children as well as another child in a Jewish school in Toulouse in March 2012.
- Last but not least, just before Christmas in 2014, a young Jewish couple was held up in their apartment in Cr tel, in the southeastern Banlieue of Paris. They were abused in an attempt to get them to reveal where they had "hidden their money". The young gangsters refused to believe that the couple kept their money in the bank, as "Jews would not take their money to a bank." The young woman was then raped and the Jewish cult objects in the apartment destroyed.⁴⁴

During the last 25 years the situation of the Jews in France has considerably changed.

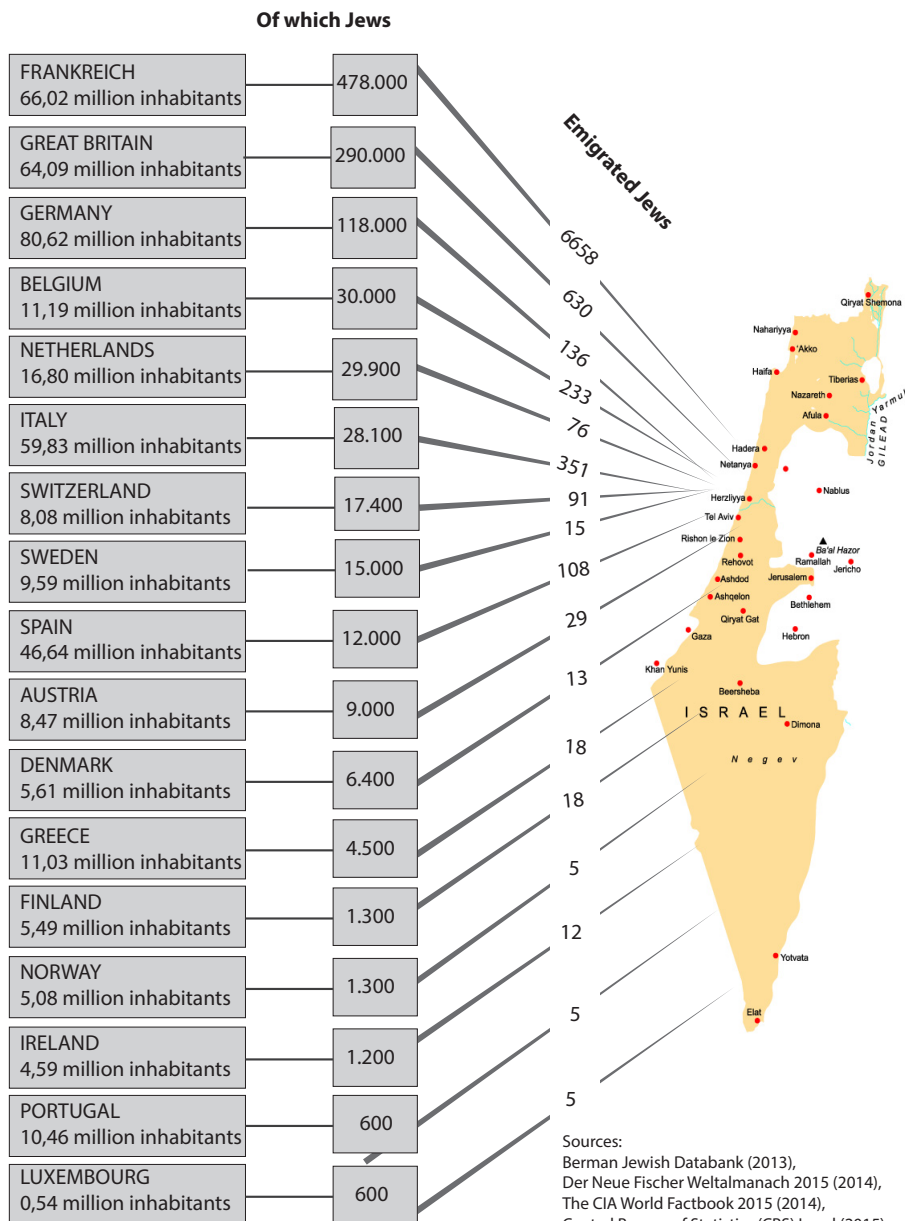
- When a Jewish cemetery was desecrated in 1990 in Carpentras, almost 100,000 Frenchmen took to the road out of solidarity with their "Juif".
- More than twenty years later, after the murders in Toulouse in

2012, there were less than 10,000 demonstrators.

- After the murders in the Jewish museum in Brussels in May 2014, there was another anti-Semitic attack the same evening in Paris. During the attack, two young Jews were attacked and injured close to a synagogue. Declarations of solidarity after the terrorist acts in Brussels, where two Israeli citizens lost their lives, were more or less absent. Israel's Prime Minister Netanyahu showed himself to be disappointed that he did not receive a single phone call from any of his European colleagues.
- Instead, his politics lead to an outburst of downright hatred of Jews only eight weeks later. Against the background of the Gaza war in July 2014, anti-Semitic violence escalated in Sarcelles, a suburb of Paris. An irate mob looted Jewish shops, set fire to a supermarket and tried to raid the local synagogue. On the previous day, Jewish shops went up in flames in Barbès, a suburb of Paris.

"We only just escaped a pogrom", was the reaction of the President of the Representative Council of Jewish Institutions in France, Roger Cokierman.⁴⁵ The conflict in the Middle East, he said, had become the pretext for anti-Semitic attacks. The pro-Palestine protesters no longer chanted: "Death to the Israelis", but "Death to the Jews". According to Cokierman, 2014 was a "catastrophic year for the Jews in France." During the first nine months of that year alone the Department of the Interior had registered well in excess of 500 violations. After the murderous deeds in the kosher supermarket in Paris the President of the umbrella organization of Jewish organizations in France, on 11 January 2015, even spoke of a "state of war".⁴⁶ And he showed sympathy for the members of the Jewish community in France who wanted to emigrate for fear of their lives. After all, against the background of the terrorist acts in Paris, Netanyahu, Israel's head of state, had again encouraged French Jews to emigrate to the Promised Land. France without Jews, according to Prime Minister Valls, just would not be France. Even if after the Paris attacks France had started to have the 717 Jewish schools and other institutions in the country protected by 4700 police officers, the National Gendarmerie and soldiers, the "danger of an exodus of French Jews" was not and continues not to be averted.

Fig. 1
Jews in Western Europe (2013) and their
emigration (Aliyah) to Israel 2014



If in 2012 more than 1900 Jews left France intending to permanently settle in Israel, there were already almost 3300 in 2013. In 2014, the year of the most recent war in Gaza between Israel and Hamas, almost 7000 French Jews preferred the uncertainty in the Middle East to the anti-Semitic threat at home. Added to this were a few hundred who emigrated to the US, Canada and Australia.⁴⁷

Of a total of 27,000 Jews from all over the world, who went to Israel last year, the French Jews for the first time took top position in the national ranking of emigrants. For 2015, 10,000 or more Jews are expected to leave France. Amongst them may perhaps be 39-year-old Patrice Qualid with his wife and five children. The owner of the Jewish supermarket Hyper Cacher, in which four of his customers had been murdered, had only just survived the hostage drama. Like many others he is scared of further attacks.⁴⁸

However, Jews are not only threatened by anti-Semitism in France. This showed a world-wide survey of anti-Semitic attitudes. Between July 2013 and February 2014, the Anti-Defamation-League (ADL) with headquarters in New York had questioned more than 50,000 people in over 100 countries regarding 11 negative stereotypes regarding Jews (for instance "The Jews are responsible for most wars"). A person who answered six of the eleven stereotypes with "probably true" was considered to have anti-Semitic attitudes. The results of the survey were presented in a study in May 2014. According to this study, approximately a quarter (26 %) of the adult world population (almost 1.1 billion) had an anti-Semitic attitude. With 74 %, anti-Semitic sentiments were highest in the region of North Africa and the Middle East.⁴⁹

Against the background of this "alarming outbreak of anti-Semitism" 37 member states of the UN asked the president in a letter in October to convene a conference on just this subject – three months before the terrorist attacks in Paris. After these attacks the General Assembly of United Nations almost immediately (in January) explicitly – and for the first time in its history – addressed concerns on the subject of anti-Semitism.⁵⁰

From a hostility towards Jews to a hatred of Israel - the teachers of the anti-Semitic Jihad

The last Islamic empire had ceased to exist after WW1 with the end of the Ottoman Empire (1300 - 1922). Thereafter, the Republic of Turkey was founded at the end of 1923, whose president, Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) envisaged a laicist order. Thus the Caliphate was abolished in 1924 and Islam as state religion removed from the constitution in 1928. In the same year, the Muslim Brotherhood was established under the leadership of the teacher Hassan alBanna (1906 - 1949). Its aim was to reinstate the Caliphate. The Brothers' founding manifesto stated:

*"Allah is our goal, the Prophet is our leader, the Quran is our constitution, Jihad is our way, and dying for Allah is our most exalted wish."*⁵¹

The Muslim Brotherhood was the first modern Islamic revolutionary movement in the 20th century. Para-military groups had been founded from an early stage for a conceivable "armed Islamic revolution". When the Arab uprising began in the British Mandatory Palestine in 1936, the Brotherhood sided with the Palestinians. Their armed troops fought until the end of the uprising in 1939,⁵² which had been initiated by Hadsh Amin el-Husseini (1895-1974). As the Mufti of Jerusalem, elHusseini had been the highest religious and political authority of the Palestinians.⁵³ In the nineteen thirties and forties he openly collaborated with the National Socialists. From 1941 to 1945 the anti-Semitist lived in Berlin, was appointed a SS-Gruppenführer by Himmler, established the Muslim-Bosnian SS division and propagated the "Endlösung" (Final Solution) of the Nazis. One of his plans provided for the bombing of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv by the German Luftwaffe.⁵⁴ On 11 November 1942, he addressed a "martyr's speech" to the Arabs, where, amongst other things, he agitated against the "Jewish aggressive greed":

"... The Jewish greed is not restricted to Palestine, but Israel also wants the other Arab countries The Jewish plans of conquering therefore are the greatest danger for Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Saudi-Arabia ... We have nothing good to expect from England for our future. The same applies to

*America. Both Anglo-Saxon powers have succumbed to the Jewish will and have put themselves at the service of the Jews for the realization of the Jewish greedy plans for the Arab world and the Orient generally... It is a holy duty for the Arabs to fight the battle against their enemies and oppressors to the end. ...*⁵⁵

Thus members of the para-military wing of the Muslim Brotherhood also fought at the side of Arab armed forces in the 1948/1949 Palestine war, known in Hebrew as the War of Independence.

At the time, the Egyptian Department of Education sent one of his teachers to the US for around two years so that he could improve his English and study the Western teaching methods. These years in the States left a lasting impression on Sayyid Qutb (1906 - 1966) and sent him on a road to Islamism on which anti-Semitism was firmly entrenched. In the US he had got to know the "Protocols of the wise Elders of Zion"⁵⁶ the infamous fabricated document which had been distributed via Russia towards the end of the 19th century which Qutb now also quoted as "a proof of an international Jewish conspiracy".

Probably also against this background Sayyid Qutb wrote the essay: "Our Struggle with the Jews".⁵⁷ In this essay, which was first published in 1950, the Jews were not only described as the nemesis of Islam since Mohammed, but were also branded as the mastermind of all contradictions within the Islamic nation. Qutb's "Struggle with the Jews" is one of the definitive texts of Islamic anti-Semitism. To date, this work which was reprinted in Saudi Arabia in 1970 and disseminated in all of the Islamic world, has an influence on the development of anti-Semitism amongst Islamists.⁵⁸

It is therefore not surprising that Sayyid Qutb joined the Muslim Brotherhood in 1951, directly after his return from the States. Within a very short time he rose to the highest ranks and became the head of the Brotherhood's propaganda department in 1952. Two years later, after Egypt's President Nasser had only just survived an assassination in 1954, Qutb was arrested as the chief ideologist and sentenced to 25 years of hard labour. In prison, his understanding of Islam became completely radicalized. He authored not only a well-known

commentary on the Quran, but presented a detailed Jihad concept in a revised late version of the commentary, which had a politico-military character.

In his draft of an Islamic rule and society this concept played an important part, as Jihad was directed "against the entire world". Sayyid Qutb considered all Muslims to be obliged to carry on a "liberation" through Jihad until only an Islamic order existed. His politico-military Jihad concept turned - in a nutshell - devout Muslims into dedicated Jihad soldiers who gladly devoted their lives to the war against the enemies of Islam. While still in prison he had put this concept into writing under the title "Maalim fi t-tariq" ("Milestones Along the Way").⁵⁹

In 1964, Qutb had been released from prison early, but had been arrested again a year later. His paper "Milestones", which was published as a book, calls for the "overthrow of ungodly regimes through Jihad". He was now accused of participating in a conspiracy to overthrow governments and sentenced to death. The sentence was carried out in August 1966. The rise of Islamism since 1967 is inextricably linked to the dissemination of Qutb's writing. The texts of the "high priest of Jihad" were made compulsory reading in all training camps of al-Qaeda which Osama Bin Laden maintained three decades later in Afghanistan.⁶⁰

Another ideological mentor of the Qaida founder Bin Laden was the Palestinian Sheikh Abdallah Yusuf Azzam (1941-1989).⁶¹ The Islamist is considered the founder of modern Jihad. Unlike any other, Azzam was the link between the two main arenas of the Islamic battles of the nineteen eighties - Palestine and Afghanistan. Like Sayyid Qutb, Azzam had also joined the Muslim Brotherhood in the nineteen fifties. He was inspired by the works of the legal scholar Ibn Taimiya (1263-1328)⁶² and obtained a doctorate in Islamic law at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, in 1973. After a short period spent in Jordan, Azzam went to Saudi-Arabia to teach at King Abdulaziz University in Jeddah. Amongst his students was the young Wahhabi Osama Bin Laden. Jihad was central to Azzam's lectures. He preached the cult of martyrs fervently and in his writing lauded the concept of "paradise

self-improvement through death by Jihad", meaning entering paradise through death by Jihad – the true purpose of life of any devout Muslim. He backed his words with deeds. He was one of the first Arabs to fight in Afghanistan against the ungodly Soviet invaders, and in 1981 he travelled to neighboring Pakistan, where he joined up with the leaders of the Afghani Muhdjaheddin and gave lectures on "Jihad as a new school of thought among the Islamists" at the international Islamic University. The "Jihad Imam" Azzam, who died in a bomb attack in Pakistan in 1989, left a comprehensive corpus of more than 100 works and books which were published by 'Azzam Publications' in London after his death. The most important works are "Defense of the Muslim Lands: The First Obligation after Faith" (1984), "Join the Caravan" (1987) and "Traditions and Law of Jihad".⁶³

Sheikh Azzam had also travelled to Hindu Kush to establish a base for the future war against Israel. As a co-founder of Hamas he was convinced that the Palestinian problem could only be solved by a "Holy War": "Jihad and the Rifle Alone. No negotiations, no conferences and no dialogues."⁶⁴ His uncompromising attitude reflects the founder's charter of Hamas (18 08 1988),⁶⁵ which is still valid today. Beyond the conflict in the Middle East Azzam, with his theory of "Global Jihad" did not only influence the Al-Qaeda founder Bin Laden, but also the latter's later emir in Mesopotamia, the anti-Semitic Palestinian Abu Mussab alZarqawi (1966-2006), who was the predecessor of today's leader of ISIS in Iraq and Syria, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.

Another architect of Jihad comes from Aleppo in Syria. Mustafa Setmariam (nom de guerre Abu Mussab al-Suri)⁶⁶, who was born there in 1958, was a follower of Bin Laden until 11 September 2001. As he was of the opinion that "Afghanistan was lost" because of the 9/11 attack, he distanced himself from Bin Laden and searched for a new, comprehensive strategy of Jihad. He described this in his 1604-page book "Global Islamic Resistance Call" (GIR) in 2004.⁶⁷ With this voluminous "appeal to global Islamic resistance" he focused on simple, low-level fighting tactics ("Jihad of the poor"). With his descriptions of this type of struggle al-Suri is thought today to have become the most important inspiration for the Lonely Wolves, the individual Ji-

hadi. His polemic is addressed to sympathizers in all those countries where Muslims live as a minority and are "oppressed". In his "appeal" a multitude of actions against "designated enemies" are suggested, who include in particular "Muslim traitors" (for instance police officers and soldiers of Maghrebian origin in Europe). Global terrorist actions by "inspired" individual Jihadis or small groups of alSuri's "third Jihad" form a common thread in recent years, for instance:

- Assassination attempt by the Moroccan-born Dutchman Mohammed Bouyeri on the Dutch film director Theo van Gogh in Amsterdam in early November 2004
- Mohamed Merah's attack on the Jewish school and French soldiers in Toulouse in March 2012
- Boston Marathon bombing by the Chechen brothers Zarnajew in April 2013
- Violent assassination attempt by the Nigerian-born Briton Michael Olumide Adebolajo and an accomplice on a British soldier in London in May 2013
- Mehdi Nemmouche's attack on the Jewish museum in Brussels in 2014
- Michael Zehhaf-Bibeau's attack on a Canadian security guard and assault on the parliament in Ottawa in October 2014
- Haron Monis' hostage taking in the Lindt Chocolate Café in Sydney in December 2014
- Attacks by the Kouachi brothers on the satirical magazine "Charlie Hebdo" and French police officers in Paris in January 2015.
- Attacks by Amedy Coulibaly on a French police woman and the fatal hostage taking in a Jewish shop in Paris in January 2015

The attack in Denmark on 14/15 February 2015 must also be seen in this light. Using the "Paris attacks" as a model, the Danish ISIS sympathizer Omar Abdel Hamid El-Hussein carried out a twin attack in the capital Copenhagen. He opened fire on "Krudttønde" (powder

keg), a cultural center, where the event "Art, blasphemy and freedom of expression" took place with the Swedish "Mohamed-Cartoonist" Lars Vilks. Among his victims were a documentary film maker, who was killed, and three police officers, who were injured. This violent criminal of Palestinian origin, who was known to the police, then escaped and attacked a Jewish institution. Pretending to be drunk, he approached the synagogue in Krystalsgade, which was well attended during a Bar Mitzvah celebration, where he shot the Jewish guard Dan Uzan (37) in front of the place of worship and injured another two police officers who had tried to stop him. After the second attack, the 22-year-old Islamist was apprehended by the police and killed during a shootout.⁶⁸ The attack in Copenhagen is probably not going to be the last of this "type of Jihad against the Western world". After all, the chief ideologist Abu Mussab al-Suri in his "Call for Resistance" had distinctly pointed towards spectacular actions against Jews which would win the sympathies of Muslim believers.⁶⁹

The Jihad of the Qaida movement - international examples of anti-Semitic threats of violence and their implementation (terror attacks)

On "Holy Tuesday",⁷⁰ 11 September 2001, al-Qaeda Jihadis flew high-jacked passenger planes that were used as guided missiles into the two towers of the World-Trade-Center (WTC) in New York and the Pentagon in Washington. A fourth plane crashed onto a field near Shanksville in Pennsylvania with 44 passengers on board. In this operation, named by al-Qaeda the "Manhattan Raid",⁷¹ 184 people lost their lives in the Pentagon and 2792 in the WTC towers. Since the attack on Pearl Harbor, America had not suffered such a devastating blow on its own soil. After 9/11 anti-Semitic conspiracy theories blossomed. According to these, Israel's foreign secret service Mossad was behind the terrorist attacks - and Israel's intention was to "finally exterminate" the Palestinians. And obviously it was the "Jewish advisors" of US President George W. Bush that had driven America into the Iraq war - and so on.⁷² It is absolutely of no concern to the conspiracy theorists that not "the Jews", but the Islamists

of Jihad terrorism, who later praised 9/11 as "The greatest special Operation of all Time" in the AQAP magazine Inspire 7/2011, had committed this mass murder. Neither were these theorists interested in the practice of anti-Semitic violence. It was not and continues not to be recognized as an integral part of militant Islam, which feeds on the hatred of Israel and anti-Semitism – it is simply ignored. Hatred of Jews and anti-Semitism had become part of the al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden's philosophy. Almost twenty years ago, at the end of December 1994, while in exile in Sudan, he wrote to the supreme legal scholar of the Saudi Ulema Council, Sheikh Abdul Aziz Ibn Bar, that there cannot be peace with the Jews:

*"... The Jewish state, against which we fight, is not an enemy who is in its own country, defending itself until it has achieved peace. The Jewish enemy is an aggressor, the corruptor of religion and the world ... It is therefore our lawful duty to carry on Jihad in the name of Allah and to call on our Ummah (community of Muslims, author's note) for Jihad so that Palestine may be completely liberated and can once again live under Islamic sovereignty ..."*⁷³

Anti-Semitic violence has been forming a common thread in Qaida's Jihad terror attacks for many years until today, as the following examples, which do not claim to be complete, show more than clearly.

Planning attacks on Jewish institutions in Germany 2001/2002

The violently anti-Semitic Palestinian-born Jordanian, whose nom de guerre is Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, settled in the Afghan Emirate of the Taliban in 1999. At the beginning of 2000 he took over the al-Qaeda training camp in Hert where he built up the al-Tawhid (The Oneness of Allah) combat group. Early 2001 he pledged allegiance to Osama Bin Laden. A few months later he received funds from Qaida in Kandahar to recruit Jordanians to organize attacks against Israel.⁷⁴

Under the post-war order of al-Qaeda he was appointed "Warlord for Jihad in Western Europe". In "Aktionsraum Europa" (Europe as

the target area), battle commander al-Zarqawi had identified Spain and Germany as the "Front of Jihad". After the 9/11 attacks he is alleged to have established a branch of al-Tawhid in Essen in September 2001, which was headed by his Palestinian confidant Abu Dhess. The cell, initially disguised as a "Travel Agency for Islamists" soon received a directive to deal with the "work in Germany". The telephone calls between alZarqawi and his associate in the Ruhr area were tapped. The evaluation of these records showed that Jihad was going to come to Germany.⁷⁵

The cell was encouraged to identify "suitable" Jewish and Israeli targets. It planned an attack using a silenced gun on a busy square in a German town. In addition, a hand grenade was going to be detonated close to a synagogue in another town. The preparations included the identifying of targets which are alleged to have included a "disco in Düsseldorf Altstadt" attended by Jews and a "restaurant managed by a Jewess" as well as the Jewish Community center in Berlin Charlottenburg and the Jewish Museum in Berlin Kreuzberg. It was alleged that the military leader of al-Tawhid was ultimately going to determine the targets which were called "Mädchen" (girls) in the code of the Jihandis. On 2 April 2002 the order came by telephone: "You are at the front, now you can act".

That month, eleven people were arrested nationally five of whom, in the opinion of the Federal Public Prosecution, had formed an independent terror cell and planned attacks. The only person of the al-Tawhid cell to have confessed, the Palestinian-born Jordanian Abdallah, was put on trial by the 6th criminal division of the Düsseldorf Higher Regional Court from 24 June to 26 November 2003. The presiding judge Ottmar Breidling sentenced the "first Islamist state witness for the German judiciary" to only four years in prison as he had "granted the German investigators deep insights into the Islamist terror scene".

The men who did not confess - among them the suspected leader of the cell - were considered to be so dangerous that their trial was scheduled to take place later in a newly built high-security wing.⁷⁶ After the 9/11 attacks the construction of a "bunker-like high-secu-

city wing for terrorist trials" was planned for Germany. This was built for 37 million euro in Düsseldorf from January 2003 to January 2004: Bomb-resistant concrete, bulletproof glass, metal detectors, secret access, a helipad. The name of the architect of "Stammheim am Rhein" was not disclosed. Construction workers were sworn to secrecy. The fortress-like facility was surrounded by security fences and concrete reinforcements to protect it from suicide attackers. In two court rooms, more than 150 visitors seats were separated by bulletproof glass from those on trial. There were 19 single cells for the defendants, and cells for people possibly causing disturbances during the trial. At the entrance, visitors have to go through metal detectors and an area for body searches. Trials could run simultaneously in both court rooms.⁷⁷

The judiciary started using the high-security wing with the second al-Tawhid trial that had started 10 February 2004. Once again, Judge Breidling of the 6th criminal division of the Düsseldorf Higher Regional Court presided over the trial, this time for more than 20 months until 26 October 2005. After a total of 136 days in court, the four al-Tawhid Islamists were sentenced to between five and eight years in prison. Al-Zarqawi had personally ordered the attacks on the Jewish Community center in Berlin Charlottenburg, a pool hall and a discotheque in Düsseldorf which the defendants had thought to be Jewish institutions. According to the court, the motive was "extreme hatred of Jews, Israel and all nonbelievers".⁷⁸

Execution of the Jewish US journalist Daniel Pearl in Pakistan in 2002

"My father's Jewish, my mother's Jewish, I'm Jewish." Presumably in early February, with his voice breaking, the 38-year-old Daniel Pearl spoke these words into a video camera after he had been kidnapped by radical Islamists in Karachi on 23 January 2002. Shortly afterwards the bound man was dead. Five weeks later the news of his murder went around the world; his dismembered body had been buried in a suburb of the Pakistani metropolis and was discovered

only four months later. The world public was shocked and speculated on the possible background that had led to this crime.⁷⁹

The dedicated correspondent had left France for India and taken over the Southeast Asia Office of the Wall Street Journal in Mumbai, accompanied by his wife Marianne. The daughter of a Cuban and a Dutch Jew, who had emigrated to France during the Nazi era, was also a journalist.⁸⁰ In January 2002 the Pearls travelled to Pakistan to research a story about the "shoe bomber" Richard Reid. This British small-time criminal had converted to Islam while in goal. After he became radicalized, Abdel Rahim - as the "holy warrior" now called himself - tried to detonate an explosive charge (PETN)⁸¹ hidden in his shoe aboard an American Airlines flight en route from Paris to Miami. However, he was overpowered before committing the crime.

It is presumed that Reid is supposed to have had contact with Sheik Gilani, a then important figure of Islamic terrorism in Pakistan. On 23 January, Pearl had an appointment with an informant in Karachi who was supposed to take him to Gilani. Pearl's go-between - presumed to be a member of the Islamist group "Harkat ul-Mudjaheddin", had a reputation for the routine kidnapping of foreigners. The meeting with him was a trap. Daniel Pearl was abducted and probably betrayed to al-Qaeda. The French publicist Bernard-Henry Lévy followed the trails of this crime and concluded that the murder of Daniel Pearl was a "deliberate and covert crime against the state".⁸² Apart from the background research into Richard Reid Pearl is (what is ?) thought to have been on the scent of a secret "Kandahar meeting". Only a month before the 9/11 attacks, in August 2001, members of the Taliban had met with Bashiruddin Mahmud, a nuclear scientist affiliated to Harkat ul-Mudjaheddin and the leader of al-Qaeda, Osama Bin Laden at their Kandahar stronghold. Mahmud was also considered the partner of Abdul Qadeer Khan, the nuclear scientist who had "brought the atomic bomb" to Pakistan. Some years before, in December 1998, in an interview with the Arabic News broadcaster al-Jazeera, Bin Laden had pointed out that it was the Muslims' duty "to own NBC weapons". Perhaps Pearl had to die because of his politically charged research into this extremely memorable meeting? We do not know the answer. What we do know is that the research came

to an end with his execution.

According to the FBI he was beheaded by a high-ranking Qaida man - Khalid Sheikh Mohammed,⁸³ a Baloch born in Kuwait in 1965 who used to be the military chief of the al-Qaeda committee. At one time he fought in the great Jihad in Afghanistan against the infidel, and later in the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1995 he was in contact with groups close to al-Qaeda in South East Asia, for instance "Abu Sayyaf" (Father of the Sword) in the Philippines and the Indonesian "Jemaah Islamiyah". With these groups, he planned an attack on the US from the air. With his "Project Bojinka"⁸⁴ a dozen passenger planes were going to be exploded simultaneously in mid air on their flights from Asian metropolises to cities of the US Westcoast. Several thousand dead were "planned" for the US. This series of attacks was foiled. In 1996, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed escaped to Afghanistan, where the plan of the "Mastermind of Terror" became the blue print for the 9/11 attacks. As Bin Laden's chief of military operations he also planned the attacks on the US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in 1998. When the Taliban Emirate Afghanistan era ended in December 2001, he defected to Pakistan and murdered Daniel Pearl in 2002. He was arrested in Rawalpindi near Islamabad by a Pakistani American (FBI) task force on 1 March 2003.⁸⁵ He has been detained in the Cuban US military base Guantanamo since 2006. On 17 October 2012, more than ten years after the 9/11 attacks, the main trial against the Sheikh as the chief plotter and four conspirators (Guantanamo Five) started in Camp Justice. The "century trial" takes place before a US military tribunal.⁸⁶ After the publication of the Torture Report⁸⁷ (the official report of the US Senate on the detention and interrogation program) in December 2014 there was renewed debate as to whether a military tribunal is the correct juridical forum for such an important trial. Only the future will tell.

Attack on the Al-Ghriba-Synagogue in Tunisia in 2002

The Mediterranean island of Djerba in the Bay of Gabes just off the coast of southern Tunisia used to attract several hundred thousand tourists every year. The local attractions included the Al-Ghriba Sy-

nagogue, a place visited by Jewish pilgrims, with a history of two thousand years. According to tradition, the place of worship was built by devotees in 586 AD, who had fled their homes after the destruction of Jerusalem and Solomon's temple by the Babylonian ruler Nebuchadnezzar. They are supposed to have taken a stone from the temple with them and to have built the synagogue on it using it as symbolic foundations.

This story is uncertain. However, what is certain, however, is that the Al-Ghriba Synagogue was built on the foundations of a synagogue from the sixth century before Christ – which makes it the oldest synagogue in Africa. It is a place where valuable old Torah scrolls are kept, and it has a Talmudic school attached to it. The sanctuary, which has oriental decorations much appreciated by tourists is from more recent times (1920). The synagogue was considered a "milestone of tolerance" between cultures and religions. The Jewish community of Djerba was one of the oldest world-wide. It is thought that after the destruction of Jerusalem and the second temple by the Romans in 70, some of the first Jews arrived in Djerba where the community increased when expelled fellow brethren arrived from Spain in the 15th century. At the beginning of the 21st century, only about 2000 to 3000 Jews still lived in Tunisia, a 1000 of them in Djerba. Because of its history, their al-Ghriba Synagogue was and continues to be one of the places most venerated by the Jews. On 11 April 2002, a young Maghrebian, the 25-year-old Tunisian Nizar Ben Mohammed Nawar, drove a small pick-up truck loaded with liquid gas bombs into the wall surrounding the synagogue which resulted in the explosion of 5000 liters of liquid gas.⁸⁸ This was not the first attack on the synagogue. The first incident at the Ghriba Synagogue occurred in 1985. The Israelis had just bombed the headquarters of the PLO leader Jassir Arafat (1929-2004), who then lived in exile near Tunis, when a Tunisian police officer, who had been seconded to guard the synagogue, opened fire on Jews who had come to pray. There were several hundred dead.⁸⁹

The attack which took place 17 years later killed a total of 21 visitors of the synagogue, among them 14 German and two French tourists as well as five Tunisians. Among the injured were a further twen-

ty Germans. While the president of the synagogue, Perez Trabelsi, was still "hoping that it was an accident" and rejected speculations in "connection with the situation in Israel" – and while the president of the Jewish community in Djerba, Gerard Ben Rabi, also did not want to believe that the death of the tourists and the severe damage to the synagogue were the work of a terrorist, the claims of responsibility in the Arabic newspapers Al-Quds al-Arabi and Al-Hayat published in London made by terrorists made it quite clear. These reports had arrived in Pakistan and been written on al-Qaeda letterheads. The documents were sent by a group called "Islamic army for the liberation of holy places".⁹⁰ This group had first claimed responsibility in 1998 after the attacks on the US embassies in East Africa. In the claim of responsibility the Tunisian "martyr" was mentioned by his nom de guerre, "Sword of Islam" (Saif el Islam). The attack, so it said, was "an answer to the Israeli crimes against the sons of the Palestinian people in West Jordan and the Gaza Strip". Ten weeks later, the Arabic TV broadcaster al-Jazeera broadcasted an audio recording by al-Qaeda, whose spokes person, Suleiman Abu Gaith, commented on the Djerba attack:

*"This was an operation that was carried out by the al-Qaeda organization by a young man by the name of Saif-el-Islam, who could not see his brothers in Palestine being killed, slaughtered, their blood spilled and the right to their country being taken away. He looks around him and sees the Jews in the city of Djerba move around freely and practicing their rituals at will. It caused the spirit of Jihad to rise in him and he carried out this successful operation."*⁹¹

After this attack, Tunisia, the US and France started investigations. In Germany, these lead to the Ruhr area. Exactly 110 minutes before the attack, the "Martyr" Nizar Newar had called a fellow believer to ask for his "blessings" for the deadly assignment. This man was a 36-year-old from Mühlheim/Ruhr by the name of Christian Ganczarski. At the age of 10, Ganczarski and his parents had moved from Poland to Germany in 1976. Ten years later he converted to Islam and called himself Abu Ibrahim. Between 1999 and 2001, the man, considered to be an extremist, who is alleged to have been in Bosnia and Chechnya, visited Afghanistan several times, the last time after the 9/11

attacks. He is alleged to have had not only the closest contact with the al-Qaeda leadership, but to also have given technical assistance with radio and the internet since Ganczarski was considered an IT and telecommunication specialist. US investigators considered the German-Polish convert a high-ranking member of al-Qaeda.⁹² The Jihadi's name was included in the "Liste der potentiellen Gefährder" (a list of persons likely to threaten public safety, especially in context of Islamic terrorists) and was under surveillance by the Federal Criminal Police Office (BKA). Half a year after the Djerba attack Ganczarski absconded via Amsterdam to Saudi Arabia in mid November 2002. Early in 2003 the House of Saud informed the Federal Republic of his arrest and, in the following month, that he had been released. He was deported to Germany at the beginning of June and arrested in France during a stopover.

As there had also been two French citizens among the victims of Djerba, Paris carried out its own judicial enquiry for "complicity to murder and membership of a criminal association in connection with a terrorist group". Almost seven years after the attack, the instigators were put on trial before a Paris Assize Court on 5 January 2009. Khaled Sheikh Mohammed, the mastermind of Qaida's military operations and Guantanamo detainee, is considered the instigator and actual planner of the operation. Walid Nawar, the brother of the suicide bomber, also had to stand trial as he had known of his brother's plan and had supported him, as well as the German Christian Ganczarski, who had given the green light for the attack with the words: "May God's grace and blessings be with you". After four weeks, seven professional judges under presiding Judge Yves Jacob passed sentence: Walid Nawar was sentenced to twelve years in goal for aiding and abetting to murder, and Ganczarski for being an accessory to murder and for al-Qaeda membership to 18 years in goal.⁹³

Because of the sentences against these perpetrators, Paris remained the place of jurisdiction also for the victims. More than eight years after the Djerba attack, the German victims were awarded damages for pain and suffering in May 2010. The Paris Assize Court decided that the Germans, who had lost family or had been injured, were to be paid a total of 2.4 million euro by Germany.⁹⁴

Twin attack on Israeli Tourists in Kenya in 2002

For many years, there has been a close connection between Israel and Kenya, which is different from all other contacts between the Jewish State and African countries. On 27 June 1976 an Air France plane with more than 250 passengers had been hijacked by a German-Palestinian terrorist commando during a flight from Tel Aviv via Athens to Paris. It was diverted to Entebbe airport in Uganda with the aim of obtaining the release of 53 imprisoned terrorists in Europe and Kenya. Unless they were released, the hijackers threatened to kill everybody, specifically the 100 Jewish hostages and to blow up the airbus. A week later, an Israeli paratroopers force was able to free the hostages in the spectacular operation "Thunderbolt".⁹⁵ For this purpose, Jomo Kenyatta, the then president of Kenya, had allowed Israeli combat forces to use his country's airspace as well as the refueling of the planes. In the same year, Mossad uncovered a four-person terrorist cell who is alleged to have planned in Nairobi an attack with shoulder-launched missiles on an El Al plane. At that time, a security co-operation between the two states began, which lasted for decades.

Israel also got involved in Kenya's second most important economic sector, tourism. Particularly to the north and the south of Mombasa, the coastal metropole, comfortable tourism resorts were built in the 1990s. Here, hotels and casinos on the beaches were partly owned by Israeli investors – and were a popular, inexpensive destination for Israeli holiday makers. Nor did these places lose their popularity with Israeli tourists when the transnational "Islamic Front for Jihad against Jews and crusaders" took responsibility for the terrorist twin attack on the US embassies in the capitals of Tanzania and Kenya on 7 August 1998 and threatened to continue with their Jihad against American and Israeli installations.⁹⁶ On 28 November 2002 Israel suffered another twin attack in Kenya which represented another level of terrorist violence as surface-to-air missiles were used by terrorists for the first time. When in the morning of this day a charter plane of the Israeli company Arkia (Flight IZ 582) with 261 passengers took off for Tel Aviv, Jihadis fired two Russian surface-to-air missile of the SAM-7 type ("Strela" – arrow) at close range at the Boeing 757 which

narrowly missed their target. It is thought that the plane was still so close that the missiles' infrared guiding sensors had not yet been activated. They hurtled past the plane, shaking it slightly, and it landed undamaged in Israel later, escorted by fighter jets.⁹⁷

Only five minutes after the failed attack, a commando acting in parallel in Kikambala, a resort situated about 20 kilometers north of Mombasa, carried out a suicide attack on the "Paradise" beach hotel. This "martyr operation", targeting an Israeli-managed holiday resort, killed sixteen people and wounded at least forty. According to Kenyan sources, there were three Israelis, among them two children, among the dead as well as three attackers. The ten local victims were mostly members of a dancing group. An off-road vehicle loaded with explosives and with three occupants had broken through the barrier in front of the hotel and detonated it in the lobby which was full of guests. The explosion caused parts of the hotel to collapse and burst into flames. Shortly before the explosion two busses with Israeli holiday makers had arrived whose Arkia plane had landed in Mombasa. One day later planes of the Israeli airforce took the three Jewish victims and 253 holiday makers back to Tel Aviv.⁹⁸

Israel's Prime Minister Ariel Sharon instructed Mossad to investigate. Although an as yet unknown group, the "Government of Universal Palestine in Exile, the Army of Palestine" took responsibility for the Mombasa operation, Mossad thought that the acts bore the hallmarks of al-Qaeda. In early December, the group "Political Office of al-Qaeda Jihad Organization claimed responsibility on the internet page www.azfalrasas.com for the latest twin attack which it described as "Ramadan greetings for the Palestinian people". They also referred to the twin attack in 1998. A few days later, al-Qaeda spokesperson Suleiman Abu Gaith announced further attacks against Israel and the US with even greater fatalities.⁹⁹

According to Israeli experts, the Arab population in Kenya had grown. Mombasa, in particular, was considered the center of immigrants mainly from the Yemen and had developed into a gathering place of radical Muslims. Here, hatred for Israel was preached more or less openly in the Sakina Mosque. Thus the French intelligence

service assumed that the terrorist attacks had probably been planned with the support of the network of Imam Sheikh Ali Schii. The radical Yemini was the leader of the "Council of Clerics and Imams of Kenya" and had made Mombasa the center of his activities. Ultimately, radical Muslims could be recruited from the large communities of Somalis, Sudanese and Yeminis living there. As early as the first half of the 1990s the Council of Clerics is alleged to have supported the formation of a Qaida branch in Kenya.¹⁰⁰ It was exactly at that time that Osama Bin Laden, as the guest of the Islamist military junta in Khartoum, from his exile in Sudan (1992 to 1996) had not only given a structure to his al-Qaeda, but had also made several contacts to the sympathetic radicals in East Africa, specifically in Somalia, where civil war had been raging since 1991.

At the beginning of that decade, Qaida had probably been acting as the model for the Somali fundamentalist group AIAI (al-Ittihad al-Islamy – Islamic Union). In 1996 Bin Laden left the Sudan for Afghanistan and the AIAI established a legal system in the areas under its control. Right in the middle of the chaos of the civil war, courts of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) now practiced law according to the principles of Sharia. A radical wing of the ICU created a military wing, the "Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahedeen" (Movement of the Mujahedeen Youth) which grew in strength during the years and became radicalized.¹⁰¹

Against this background it was not only Mossad which considered it conceivable that al-Qaeda which was virulent in East Africa had recruited supporters, including suicide attackers, for the attack on the Paradise Hotel at the end of November. Seven months after this act of terror, the senior district attorney in Nairobi instituted legal proceedings against four Kenyans for murder on 13 counts.

Attacks on Jewish institutions in Morocco 2003

Just over ten years ago, around 60,000 Jews lived in Morocco among just under 30 million predominantly Muslim inhabitants, with the highest concentration – 4500 – in Casablanca. There are 30 Jewish centers, monuments, cemeteries and synagogues distributed all over this port city. The largest place of worship, the Beth Synagogue, could accommodate almost 500 visitors. The largest part of the community lived in the Jewish Quarter near the old town.

On the eve of 16 May 2003 they celebrated the birth of the heir to the throne of King Mohammed IV, together with hundreds of thousands of people, as the king had scheduled public celebrations nationwide, lasting for days. These exuberant celebrations were abruptly interrupted by deafening explosions. At around 21h00, terrorists had committed five synchronized suicide attacks in the nightlife district, the financial district and the diplomats' quarter of this large city. Two of the "martyrs", having killed a security guard, had detonated their suicide belts in the "Casa España", which was fully occupied by 100 to 150 guests (20 people killed), a third one died in the Spanish Chamber of Commerce situated in the same building. A further bomb detonated in the luxury hotel "Safir" where anti-terrorism experts from the US and Morocco had gathered to discuss a joint strategy against the growing Arabic extremism. Here too the attackers burst into the building and then blew themselves up with dynamite. The force of the explosions damaged numerous house fronts. The terrorists then detonated a further car bomb in front of the Belgian consulate, close to the home of the US consul and an Italian restaurant owned by a Jew. More explosive charges detonated in front of a Jewish social center and on a Jewish cemetery.¹⁰²

The series of suicide attacks killed a total of 43 people, mainly Moroccans, but also eight Europeans (French, Spanish and Italian) and injured a further almost 100. Among the dead were twelve of the attackers, two of them survived the incidents. Some of the attackers were members of the "Assirat al Mous taqim" group (the straight path) (outlawed in Morocco) of the aged Sheikh Abessalam Yassine - most of the group's 200 sympathizers come from the metropolis'

slum Sidi Moumen - who are suspected to have connections with al-Qaeda. Other members of the attack commando consisting of 14 people are thought to belong to a second group, "Salafia Jihadia" (Salafist Holy Warriors) which still operates underground.¹⁰³

After the attacks, King Mohammed IV immediately established crisis teams in the capital Rabat and Casablanca and visited the cities to get a first-hand account. Accompanied by his brother, he also visited the Jewish cultural center to assess the extent of the devastation. After that he announced the tightening of internal security laws.

By the end of May, the police had arrested approximately 100 suspects of an assumed even larger support network nationwide, 30 of whom in Casablanca. As the suicide bombers of the attack commando had spent some time abroad and had returned to Morocco expressly for the purpose of carrying out the attacks, the police suspected that there were instigators also in Europe and excluded the possibility of the attacks originating exclusively in Morocco. At the beginning of June 2003 the first foreigner was identified as a suspected accomplice. The Frenchman Robert Richard Anton-Pierre aka Abou Abderrahman, who had converted to Islam, was arrested in Tangier. He is alleged to have been the link between the "martyrs" and the foreign financial backers. Four months later, he was sentenced to life imprisonment.¹⁰⁴ During the raid on the suspects in Casablanca, plans for further attacks in the tourist centers of the Kingdom of Agadir, in Marrakesh and Essaouira were found. Barely two months after the terror acts, in mid July, ten radical Islamists were given the death sentence for the planning of the attacks and a further 21 defendants prison sentences of between one year and life. The defendants were charged with belonging to the forbidden group Salafia Jihadia.¹⁰⁵

Ten years before this, this group had been established in Peshawar in Pakistan by Moroccan veterans of the Afghan war. Its aim was to continue the Jihad in their own country. According to Spanish investigators, trails led to the Jihadis of Salafia Jihadia after the attacks in Spain on suburban trains in Madrid's central station on 11 March 2004 (191 dead, more than 1800 injured). Three years later the Moroccan Salafia Jihadia, together with the Algerian GSPC (Groupe salafis-

te pour la Prédication et le Combat – Salafist group for Preaching and Combat) and further Salafist Jihadi groups of North Africa founded an umbrella organization by the name of "al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb" (AQIM).

Twin attack on the Neve Shalom Synagogue and the Beth Israel Synagogue in Turkey in 2003

More than 500 years ago, approximately 100,000 Sephardic Jews escaped from the Spanish Inquisition to the Ottoman Empire where they were welcomed and which subsequently became a safe haven for persecuted Jews from all over Europe. At the beginning of the 21st century, approximately 25,000 Jews still lived in the Republic of Turkey, now a secular state, of whom more than 22,000 resided in Istanbul, among them many with relatives in Israel.

Among the 17 synagogues of the city, the Neve Shalom (Oasis of Peace) Synagogue was considered the spiritual center of the Jewish community of the metropolis on the Bosphorus. The Turkish Chief Rabbinate which presided over the network of various Jewish institutions of Istanbul, had its headquarters close to the Beyoglu district, where the house of worship is situated not far from the Galata Tower. The synagogue, built in 1951 in a modern architectural style, had a plain exterior and a magnificent interior, apart from a richly decorated dome over the prayer area.

On Sabbath of 15 November 2003, during the fasting month of Ramadan, a car bomb exploded in front of the Neve Shalom Synagogue. While driving past slowly in a pickup truck, the driver detonated several 100 kilograms of explosives. This was not the first attack on this synagogue. On 6 September 1986, also on a Sabbath, a suspected commando of the Palestinian Abu Nidal Group, named after Abu Nidal (1937–2002), the leader and founder of the terrorist organization "Fatah – Revolutionary Council", a splinter group of Yassir Arafat's "Fatah", had burst into the place of worship and killed 22 Jewish believers gathered there for prayer, with shots and hand grenades. Two attackers also lost their lives.¹⁰⁶ In memory of this crime and the

saving of the Thora scrolls from the fire caused by the assault, several bullet holes in the walls were left untouched during the restoration and a thick concrete wall was erected in front of the synagogue. It is thought that it was this protective wall which prevented hundreds of fatalities 17 years later, when a car bomb was detonated. The explosion of the home-made, hundredweight charge consisting of TNT, ammonium sulphate and nitrate, caused two-meter-deep crater and severely damaged the exterior façade of the synagogue. In addition, several dozen buildings close by were damaged. At the time of the explosion, approximately 300 guests of a Bar Mitzvah celebration were in the synagogue.¹⁰⁷

Synchronously with the attack on the Neve Shalom Synagogue a second attacker also detonated several 100 kilograms of an identical charge from his pickup truck in front of the Beth Israel Synagogue. The modern building with an unpretentious interior was considered the center of Jewish life in the city. At the time of the explosion the highest representatives of the Turkish-Jewish community had gathered to dedicate a new part of the synagogue. The sermon was delivered by Jitzhak Halewa, Chief Rabbi of Turkey.¹⁰⁸

The twin attack against Jewish institutions cost a total of 25 people their lives and injured more than 300. Most of the dead were Turkish Muslims who lived in the vicinity of the synagogue and had been going about their daily lives in their suburbs. At least five Jewish Turks died. The two suicide attackers were a 22-year-old and a 29-year-old Turks from Bingöl, a town in southeastern Turkey which is considered the stronghold of radical Islamists.¹⁰⁹

After the terror acts another crisis team was established in Israel, as many Israelis had relatives in Istanbul which they visited in their hundreds every week-end. Mossad offered help with the search for perpetrators. The Turkish investigators assumed that these attacks had neither been carried out by Palestinian groups nor by the IBDA-C ("Great Eastern Islamic Raiders' Front"), nor the Turkish Hizbollah which had previously been weakened by police action. Based on the pattern of the crime, al-Qaeda, who would possibly have used Turkish henchmen, was first suspected.

As recent as one day after the attacks, Al-Quds al-Arabi, a newspaper published in London, informed its readers in Nicosia that al-Qaeda had claimed responsibility. A letter to that effect received by the newspaper states that the "Brigadiers of the martyr Abu Hafs al-Masri" had carried out a "a deadly blow" after they had observed agents of the Jewish secret service and assumed five of them to be in the synagogues.¹¹⁰ Abu Hafs al-Masri was the cover name of the al-Qaeda military chief Mohammed Atef, who had been killed during US attacks in Afghanistan about two years before. Less than half a year later this brigade of "martyrs" took responsibility for the terror attacks in Madrid.

With the "bombs on Sabbath" the world public and its mass media turned their attention to Istanbul in Turkey. Some terrorist experts assumed that the actual target of the attacks was not the Jews or Israel, but Turkey – a Muslim and laicist state with an orientation towards the West, which was thus "detestable. In addition to that, and up to that time, it had been proud of its tradition of hospitality towards the Jews and – compared to the Islamic brother states in the Middle East – had maintained good relations with Israel including military cooperation (1996 agreement).

It was precisely against this background that Turkey, not more than five days later, was again a target of terrorist attacks. On 20 November 2003, Turkish Islamists, with their mega-bombs, shook this pro-Western State to its very foundations. After the terror against the Jews, a representative of the West was their target. Two British institutions were affected almost simultaneously. In the midst of the busy shopping district in Levent stood the multi-story skyscraper of the British Hong Kong & Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC), in which approximately 600 people were working at the time. A pickup truck loaded with a heavy charge drove towards the main entrance. The following explosion completely destroyed the lower section of the steel and glass façade. In the neighboring part of town called Taksim, the British General Consulate situated only three kilometers away in Beyoglu, the old part of town, was affected. Here, a simultaneously detonated car bomb destroyed parts of the outer perimeter wall and two buildings next to the consulate. In the two attacks,

more than 450 people were injured and 32 killed, among them the British Consul General, Roger Short.¹¹¹

After several weeks of the most intense investigations, Turkish investigators were able to shed light upon the profile of the criminals and their heterogenic network. These four attacks had been under preparation for four months and had probably been coordinated by four "Imams", probably the "Beyyat al-Imam" (Union of Clerics) group. The suspected instigators had absconded to Syria and Northern Iraq. For more than a month before the attacks, the group had ten potential "martyrs". Four of them died during the attacks, and the remaining six of the suicide attackers had gone into hiding as "live bombs". The circle of local and foreign financiers of the network was estimated to consist of 30 people. Last but not least, a "news group" consisting of 150 people had looked for sympathizers in mosques nationally.¹¹² The common denominator of all suspects was their closeness to the political and Jihadi Salafism. The Turkish secret service MIT suspected the Palestinian-Jordanian Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi as the initiator of the two series of attacks, which resulted in almost 60 people killed and more than 700 injured. This anti-Semitic terrorist, who once had pledged allegiance to Osama Bin Laden in Afghanistan, is also supposed to have controlled the Beyyat al-Imam group that was considered as the driving force of the attacks in Istanbul.

Attack on Israeli tourists in Sinai/Egypt in 2004

During the "Six-Day War", Israel had occupied the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula. Almost ten years later, the return of the Sinai Peninsula had been negotiated within the context of the peace agreement (1979) prepared in 1978 between Israel under Premier Begin and Egypt under Premier Sadat in Camp David/USA. Until then (1982), a holiday resort on the Red Sea south of Eilat was developed on the east coast of the Sinai Peninsula, where up to half a million Israelis annually spent their holiday. Particularly Taba, which was only returned to Egypt in 1989 and was close to the border, remained a favorite destination. It was considered safe for many years, until the Israeli Foreign Office issued a travel warning for Sinai at the beginning of September 2004.

In the following month, well above 10,000 Israelis still visited Sinai.

On 7 October, the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles (Sukkot), the travel warning turned deadly serious with the detonation of three car bombs. The "Hilton" in Taba, situated only a few kilometers away from the Israeli-Egypt border, owned by the Egyptian Government and managed by the Hilton chain, was fully occupied that day. There were mainly Israeli holiday makers, but also Egyptian guests who relaxed in the luxury hotel surrounded by palm gardens and situated on the beach. Together with a casino, it had been built by an Israeli in 1982. Until 2002, the Hilton was the location of Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations. On the day of the attack, a suicide attacker had driven his car loaded with 100 kilograms of explosives into the hotel lobby. Several stories of the 10-storey complex collapsed due to the explosion and a fire started. A second attacker had blown himself up outside the hotel close to the swimming pool. The second attack occurred at a camping site for backpackers near the port town Nuweiba, where terrorists attacked two restaurants in holiday resorts in Ras el Schaitani south of Taba which killed two people. A total of 34 people were killed and more than 150 injured during these bomb attacks. As soon as the terror acts became known, the office of Israel's Prime Minister Ariel Sharon called on all Israelis to immediately leave Sinai.¹¹³

In Israel's opinion, these attacks bore the hallmarks of al-Qaeda, who presumably wanted to "punish Egypt for the peace deal with Israel". Yet Israel did not completely exclude the possibility of a cooperation with Palestinian extremist, since as recently as 22 March Sheikh Ahmad Yasin (1936 - 2004), a senior founder and spiritual leader of Hamas, had been killed by the Israeli military. Both Hamas and the Palestinian "Islamist Jihad" denied responsibility. Then the previously unknown "Brigade der Islamischen Einheit" claimed responsibility on the internet for the revenge attack. In Jerusalem, an anonymous caller told AFP on behalf of "Dschamaa el Islamiya el Alamiya" that the attacks were in retaliation of the death of "Palestinian and Arab martyrs in Palestine and Iraq."¹¹⁴

Ten years later, the "Ansar Beit al Maqdis" (Supporters of Jerusalem)

terrorist group renamed the north of the desert peninsula "Sinai Province" of ISIS. In November 2014 it had joined the Syrian-Iraqi Caliphate and renamed itself "Wilayat Sina" (Unionsstaat Sinai) after pledging allegiance to ISIS.¹¹⁵

Attack on a Jewish center in India in 2008

A massacre lasting several days became the "9/11" of the subcontinent and deeply unsettled the Jewish community of India. Background of the series of attacks: Cashmere in South Asia has been the embattled border region between mainly Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan. During the Afghan War (1979-1989) war veterans – probably with the financial and military support of the Pakistani secrete service ISI (Inter Services Intelligence)¹¹⁶ – founded Lashkar e-Toiba (LeT) in 1986, the radical-Islamic "Army of the Pure", whose geographical basis was in the Pakistani Punjab Province. After the end of the Afghan War, from 1993, this group fought in the Indian occupied mainly Muslim-inhabited part of Cashmere with the aim to obtain independence from India. LeT made it their business to carry their attacks deep into the Indian heartland beyond Cashmere's borders. A year after a terror attack on the parliament building in New Delhi in December 2001, LeT was banned in Pakistan. However, the organization which is supposed to have close connections to the Taliban and al-Qaeda, did not desist from their terrorist activities, and their new goal was the creation of a pan Islamic state of Southeast Asia that was oriented to Saudi Wahhabism.¹¹⁷

In 2008 LeT trained ten young Pakistanis as "martyrs" for an operation in India's economic power house, the film and finance metropolis of Mumbai situated on the Arabian Sea. Just before their training was completed, this death squad were informed of their carefully selected attack targets. These included the Jewish center Naiman House which was attacked by a two-man terrorist team at 21h30 on 26 November as the third of five targets and occupied after hostages were taken. All the terrorists had received exact instructions by telephone during their series of attacks. The terrorists of the Nariman house were ordered to kill the local hostages as this would "affect the

relations between Israel and India." This Jewish center which was attacked was a "Chabad-House". CHaBaD (CHochma Bina Da'at - "Wisdom, Reason, Knowledge") which had been established in Eastern Europe some time ago, is one which has the largest globally Chassidic-Orthodox alignments with roots going back more than 200 years,¹¹⁸ with centers in New York and Israel. Since the Holocaust, it has been maintaining several hundred institutions worldwide. There were further Chabad houses in Bangalore, Goa and the capital New Delhi. The Chabad houses with their guest accommodation, synagogues and meeting places were considered globally as refuges for Jewish travelers, particularly Americans and Israelis. The latter appreciated the hospitality of Chabad House in Mumbai for relaxing after their long and stressful military service. The multistory building situated in Hormusji Street in the tourist quarter Colaba had been managed not only as a religious center by Rabbi Gavriel Holtzberg and his wife Rivka, but the guests also enjoyed the lodging house with the kosher restaurant. The Nariman House of the Chabad movement had most likely been selected as an attack target because of its American and Israeli guests – the Holtzbergs, after all, had also arrived from the US in Mumbai five years ago. The fighting around the Jewish center continued for 44 hours until it was stormed by Indian security forces. Eight people were killed, six of whom were Israeli and among these Rabbi Holtzberg and his wife.¹¹⁹

When the "martyr" commando of 10 men arrived at Mumbai by sea on 26 November at 20h30 it split into teams of two, armed with assault rifles, hand grenades and explosive charges and reached their five targets identified in Pakistan almost simultaneously. The first terror commando occupied the Hotel Trident/Oberoi for over 30 hours (33 dead). A second commando attacked the Tourist Café Leopold (10 dead) and then continued to support the third team. The later had attacked the Hotel Taj Mahal (32 dead) situated close to the famous Gate of India. Here, 450 guests were saved. A fourth commando fired indiscriminately into crowds at the Victoria Railway Station (58 dead, 104 injured) and then held up the Cama Hospital. The fifth target was the Nariman House. The suicide commando had arrived in the metropolis to "'wage war" and to "massacre as many people" as possible. In two and a half days, from November 26 to 28,

a total of 166 people were killed, among the 26 foreigners (also three Germans) and more than 300 injured. What was 9/11 for the US, became 26/11 for India.¹²⁰ While the country was still under the shock of "Mumbai under terror", the bodies of the six murdered Israelis were taken home by a plane of the Israeli airforce. On 2 December the funeral service took place in Kfar Chabad, a village of the Chabad movement near Tel Aviv. Thousands of people accompanied the victims on their last journey, among them the State President Shimon Peres.

Attempted attack on the cargo service with Jewish addressees in the US in Yemen in 2010

The Jewish Emanuel community in Chicago felt highly insecure when it was learnt that parcel bombs had been addressed to it. Their Rabbi had learned from security sources that the deadly cargo was meant to hit more Jewish communities in the city.

The background: Two decades after the end of the "Holy War" in Afghanistan, a second generation of Jihads fought against a hodgepodge of "enemies of Islam" which included not only Jews, Western "crusaders" and "ungodly" communists, but also Muslim collaborators and other "traitors of the faith". For this second generation, the armed battle is not the only form of Jihad, which also included the ideological battle (cyber Jihad) mainly carried out via the internet, as well as the economic war recommended by Osama Bin Laden as early as 1998.

When in early 2009 the Saudi and the Yemeni al-Qaeda branch of the Arabian Peninsula fused to become AQAP, the AQAP-Jihadis immediately practiced a new strategy to inflict economic damage which identified even failed operations as "consequences of the damage to the enemy". With spectacular operations in 2009/2010 this new attack strategy became known worldwide.¹²¹ To quote an example, on 25 December 2009, the Nigerian Jihadi Umar Faruk Abdulmutallab who had been trained by AQAP in Yemen for "martyr" operations tried to detonate PETN glued to his underwear on board a plane

on a flight from Amsterdam about to land in Detroit. The brothers Kouachi, of the later Paris attacks, are also alleged to have been trained at that time in a Yemen AQAP training camp. The "underwear bomber" Abdulmutallab was overpowered before committing the act. Less than four months before, on 27 August, a suicide bomber had tried to kill the Deputy Minister of the Interior, the main Saudi Kingdom fighter against terrorism, Prince Mohammed Bin Nayef, by detonating PETN that had been placed in his rectum. After the detonation, the explosion tore the "suppository bomber" apart and slightly injured the prince.¹²²

10 months later, Prince Mohammed Bin Nayef, who was now Minister of the Interior, passed on to the security advisor of President Obama information he had received from his secret service. According to that information, two parcel bombs dispatched in Yemen were on their way to the US. He was able to give the numbers of the explosive cargo consignments and knew how the explosive was concealed. The parcels were addressed to several Jewish communities in Chicago.

On 28 October 2010, the two parcels had been dispatched in Saana, the capital of Yemen. Their destination was Chicago/US. The parcels contained detonators which had been able to be rendered harmless during the layovers. The first parcel was discovered on 29 October at the East Midland Airport, an air cargo airport to the northeast of London, in a UPS consignment. It had been reloaded in Germany at Cologne/Bonn airport. The explosive charge was in a container on a flight from Yemen to Cologne, where the parcel had been taken over by the American company UPS. The British police found a modified toner cartridge. Almost simultaneously, the second parcel was discovered in a FedEx cargo center in Dubai. According to the police, it contained a computer printer with an ink cartridge containing PETN (Nitro Penta) and lead. The concealed charge had been professionally prepared and was attached to an electric circuit connected to a SIM card device concealed in the printer.¹²³ According to Yemini information, another 26 suspect parcels were discovered at Saana airport on 29 October.

The charges are suspected to originate from the bomb workshop of

Ibrahim Hassan al-Asiri. The brother of the "suppository bomber" was considered the specialist for explosives who made his know-how available specifically to AQAP. Regarding the practical applications of explosives¹²⁴ he knew about the versatility of PETN. Now, "Human Bombs" were making terror history: The "Shoe Bomber" Richard Reid (2001), the "Suppository Bomber" Abdullah Hassan al-Asiri (2009) and the "Underwear Bomber" Umar Faruk Abdulmutallab (2009). Al-Qaeda was experimenting with explosive charges which could not be detected by security checks, but also tested all sorts of new efficient detonators which were difficult to detect and did not need any electronic or chemical components, but would cause an explosion by the simple blending of various components. The use of various detonating techniques in the cartridge explosive charges leads to the assumption that these were coordinated dry runs.

With these "dry runs", AQAP introduced its new "Death by a Thousand Cuts". In ancient China, a torturing technique called "Ling Chi" was used, whereby the victim suffered "Death by 1000 Cuts". Part of this new strategy – namely the distribution of explosive charges concealed in printer cartridges – was AQAP "Operation Hemorrhage", which would economically "bleed the enemy to death". According to their own information, AQAP had only invested 4200 Dollars for the two parcel bombs, while new security measures (i. e. air cargo controls, author's note) would undoubtedly cost "America and the West several billion dollars. This is called lever action." And so the "Operation Hemorrhage" adorned the title page of the third edition of 'Inspire', the AQAP online magazine, in mid December 2010 – a blurred photo of a UPS cargo plane. The headline read: "\$ 4200".¹²⁵ The AQAP "Hemorrhage" test run had shown a security leak: Cargo. Both cargo and passenger planes are used for its transportation. While passengers are checked, cargo is checked less rigorously. The two bombs were concealed in commercially available HP laser printers. The addressees were Jewish communities in Chicago. The fact that the printers had been ordered in Yemen should have made the security authorities suspicious, particularly as Qaida had apparently tested ways of bomb distribution as early as September 2010.

At that time, three parcels containing harmless household effects and religious literature, dispatched from Yemen, had been confiscated at Chicago airport. The sender had tried this out as a test for setting the detonators more accurately. The parcels were also addressed to Jewish institutions in Chicago.¹²⁶

Covert and overt forms of "Holy War" – escalating Jihad to a "Holy" World War

The method of Jihad depends on the situation of the Jihadis and the rank of Islam in the war area. If the Muslims are in the minority and in a weak position, the Jihad can only be a "covert" operation. If the objectives are unlikely to be obtained within the near future, Jihad may be "temporarily postponed".

For instance, starting in the Chechen heartland in the 19th century, guerillas from Muslim mountain tribes put up resistance against the Russian soldiers of the three Tsars until 1864. When the Circassians then laid down their arms, Russia declared the Caucasus pacified. The fact of the military defeat caused the Sufi brotherhood of the Murids and their comrades-in-arms to acquire a Jihad mindset and the use of "ketman" (pretended submission). The spirit of Jihad survived in "abrelik" (honorary banditry). The Abreks now carried on the "Spirit of Jihad", a living reminder that the spirit of resistance had not died and that the smallest spark could rekindle it.¹²⁷

If Muslims are attacked in their own countries by "infidels" and if the abode of Islam (dar al-Islam) is occupied and exploited, it is, as Osama Bin Laden said, "a clear declaration of war against Allah and his emissaries and the Muslims". The Qaida founder considered, more or less, the only cause of this "crime" the "Zionist-American" aggression of the "Jews and crusaders" against Islam and the Muslims (1998). And since all peaceful means had failed, the last resort was Jihad, the objective of which was defensive. This "defensive Jihad" meant fighting against the "infidels"

*"until their forces have left all Islamic abodes, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim."*¹²⁸

Many years ago this was laid down in the Manifesto of the International Front for Jihad against Jews and crusaders. After the national locations of the "covert Jihad" in the second half of the 19th century and the international "defensive Jihad" at the end of the 20th century, the time for the "overt Jihad" has now arrived after the first decade of the 21st century. According to the "Global terrorism Index" published by the Australian Institute for Economics & Peace (IEP) in Sydney in November 2014, almost 18,000 people were killed by terrorists in the year under review. Approximately two thirds of these were victims of the Islamist terrorist groups Boko Haram, al-Qaeda, ISIS and Taliban. Data from 160 countries was evaluated.¹²⁹ Less than a month later, a study by King's College London in conjunction with the BBC specified the number of deaths for the month of November 2014. According to it, 5024 people had lost their lives in 14 countries through attempted murders and suicide attacks by Islamists. On that point, Peter Neumann, author of the study, stated: "Der neue Djihadismus: Eine globale Momentaufnahme":

*We have a global Jihadi movement in places that we would never have thought of.*¹³⁰

How brutal and lethal this new Jihadism is shown in two examples of attacks occurring simultaneously with the Paris terrorist attacks:

- Approximately three weeks previously, the Army-Public-School in Peshawar was attacked by a six member death squad of the Umbrella Organization of the Pakistani Taliban TTP (Tehrik-e Taliban Pakistan). The TTP Jihadis took 500 students and teachers as hostages – in "revenge of a military offensive in their tribal areas that had been going on for months". After hours of fighting, the army terminated the occupation of the school. More than 140 people, among them 132 children and juveniles between 10 and 20 years of age, some of whom were abused by the terrorists as "human shields", lost their lives by the actions of the hostage takers.¹³¹

Simultaneously with the terrorist attacks in Paris, shocking news from West Africa reached the world which had been focused on

France.

- The Islamic terrorist movement "Boko Haram" had started a major offensive in the North of Nigeria. At least eleven towns, amongst them Borno, had been attacked by the Boko Haram Jihadis. In its first report, the BBC stated that up to 2000 people were assumed to have been murdered by the Islamist terror militia, a figure that was difficult to check. The Sunni fundamentalist, who intend to create a caliphate modelled on ISIS in the North of the country, are meanwhile also committing acts of terror beyond Nigeria's borders, in Cameroon and Niger, as their fighter strength has doubled to 10,000 in the last two years. During recent years, more than 15,000 people are supposed to have been killed in attacks or assassinations. According to a UN report, the Boko Haram violence has driven almost a million people from their homes in the North of the country.¹³²

The year 2015 appears to be becoming the worst year of terrorism since 9/11. This is confirmed by the reports by the news agencies in March on ISIS attacks and terrorist threats:

- On 18 March, terrorists armed with assault rifles lay in wait on the square in front of the Bardo National Museum in Tunis and opened fire on the tourists visiting the museum. The assailants, disguised in military uniforms, shot a total of 23 people, amongst them 20 foreign tourists (from Australia, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Columbia, Poland and Spain) and injured 44, amongst them 22 tourists. Security forces ended the massacre, killed two of the three attackers, while one was able to escape. The attack took place in a country, in which the winds of change started to blow with a revolution on 17 December, which developed into the storm of the Arabellion. Yet Tunisia remained one of the few middle Eastern countries which did not succumb to civil war or a military dictatorship. It became a model of hope for the whole of the Arab world and a thorn in the side of the militant Islamists who countered democratization with terror. Tunisia's Department of Interior estimated that 3000, mostly young, men fought for ISIS in Syria/Iraq. 9000 were stopped from travelling

into the war zone where at least 170 Tunisians have died to date. Between 300 and 500 Tunisian Jihadis returned to date. Before the attack, the Jihadis are supposed to have been in ISIS camps in Libya.

- On 20 March at least 137 people were killed and more than 350 injured in suicide attacks on two mosques in Yemen's capital Sanaa. Four Sunni "martyrs" had blown themselves up inside and in front of the houses of worship mainly attended by Shiites. The Houthis reported that amongst those killed was one of the most senior Shiite cleric of the country. Before the attack, the Shiite Houthi Militia had brought large parts of the northern half of the country including Sanaa under their control. The president had left for Aden which he proclaimed the new capital. The power struggle threatened to turn into a civil war. Although Yemen is considered the stronghold of al-Qaeda, an as-yet-unknown ISIS fraction took responsibility for the attack.
- On 22 March, Site, the US company specialising in the evaluation of Islamist internet portals, reported that a group of hackers purportedly affiliated to ISIS had called for the killing of approximately 100 specific US soldiers whose names and addresses were given. Simultaneously, photos of military personnel from the airforce, army and navy were published. The ISIS hackers stated that they had stolen the data from government internet sites. This type of Jihadism emerged more than three and a half decades ago. Both in the world of the Sunnite and the world of the Shiite Islam, 1979 was a year of serious changes with long-term consequences.

The Shiite "theocracy" as a springboard for a global spreading of the Islamic idea of the state - obviously without Israel

After the seriously ill Monarch Reza Shah Pahlavi had left his empire, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1900-1989) returned from exile (Turkey, Iraq and France) to Teheran on 1 February 1979, from where the legal scholar and revolutionary leader had been expelled fifteen years previously. Khomeini understood the Iranian revolution, which had started as a protest movement in the nineteen sixties, as a starting point for the global spreading of the Islamic idea of the state,¹³³ which was going to be implemented as a model in Iran. Their leader had identified the US and Israel as well as the Soviet Union, who was the leader of ungodly communism, as the main enemies of the Iranian revolution. Only eight weeks after his return, on 1 April, the Islamic Republic, by popular vote, was proclaimed a Theocracy, where God is the sole ruler. Nine months later, after a further referendum, the constitution was accepted, into which Khomeini was confirmed as the highest legal scholar and "deputy" of the twelfth Imam for life. On 5 May, the Ayatollah brought into being an "Army of the Guardians of the Islamic Revolution", the so-called Pasdaran (revolutionary guard),¹³⁴ to protect and support the revolution and the newly established regime.

On 28 October he gave a speech on the subject of the enemy of the revolution in the holy city of Qum, the birth place of Hassan Bin al-Sabah (um 1050-1124), the founder of the Hashshashin:

*"All the problems of the Muslims have their origin in America. The Americans support and strengthen Zionism to such an extent that it is able to slaughter countless numbers of our brothers. The US is the enemy of the Islam America is the great Satan."*¹³⁵

A little later Ayatollah Khomeini explained:

*"It is therefore the duty of all students and students of theology to increase the attacks against the US and Israel with all their strength so that they can force the US to extradite the deposed and criminal Shah."*¹³⁶

On 4 November 1979 – after the US had permitted the Shah to enter the States – approximately 3000 students stormed the embassy of the "Great Satan" in Teheran and took 63 men and women as hostages. In April 1980, a military attempt to free the hostages (Operation "Eagle Claw") ended in disaster with the death of eight US soldiers. Only on 20 January 1981 the more than 50 hostages still in Iran were released.¹³⁷ By releasing the hostages, Iran ultimately hoped for support in the war against Iraq that had started a year earlier. Approximately half a year before the start of this first gulf war, on 11 February 1980, the anniversary of the revolution, Khomeini had threatened the partner of the "great Satan" :

*"For more than 20 years I have been warning of the Israeli danger. We must all rise up, dismantle the state of Israel and put the people of Palestine in its place."*¹³⁸

Yet it was their neighbour Iraq who rose up against the young theocracy in September, hoping for a quick and spectacular victory. Khomeini then called for Jihad and the Islamic revolution against the godless regime of Hussein in Baghdad. The Ayatollah's battle cry during the costly eight-year war was: The road to Al-Quds goes through Karbala (Cairo)! Al-Quds, "The Holy", is the Arab name for Jerusalem.

The Al-Quds Day as the day of annihilation threats against Israel

Half a year after his return, on 7 August, Khomeini proclaimed the last Friday of the fasting month of Ramadan as the international Al-Quds Day. On this day, all Muslims should show their solidarity with the Palestinians and demonstrate for the "liberation of the Muslims under Zionist rule". This was a time to remember that Al-Quds, which "Israel had appropriated unlawfully", is the third most holy city after Mecca (Mohammed's birth place) and Medina (where the Prophet lived and ruled).

When, after Khomeini's proclamation, the Al-Quds Day was celebra-

ted in the country for the first time on 17 August 1979, more than 3,5 million people are alleged to have demonstrated in Teheran alone.¹³⁹ The Al-Quds Day, a public holiday in the Islamic Republic of Iran, virtually became a sure-fire success in other states of the Middle East (with a greater Shiite and/or Palestinian share of the population). Yet it was also, and continues to be, celebrated in the West, e. g. in the US, Canada, Great Britain and Sweden. In Germany, activities in connection with the Al-Quds Day have been taking place since the 80s, until 1995 mainly in Bonn. Later, Berlin became the central place for public marches of mainly Shiite exiled Islamists who were able to call for the support of Palestinians and for the destruction of Israel tolerated until 2002. Until then, this day had received almost no public attention and the aggressively demonstrated anti-Semitism and the annihilation threats against Israel largely ignored. This changed during the following years:

- On Al-Quds Day 2002, more than 1200 demonstrators marched across the Kurfürstendamm situated in City-West and chanted "Child killer Israel", "Death to Israel", "Death to the USA" and other hate speech. A Palestinian father carried his little daughter, bizarrely dressed up as a suicide bomber with dummy dynamite sticks and a headband, on his shoulders. The picture went around the world.¹⁴⁰
- The 2003 Al-Quds Day 2003 was registered by a private person, possibly a front man of the Lebanese Hizbollah (Party of God), whose supporters normally joined the march on that day.
- Due to the death of the Palestinian leader Yassir Arafat, the atmosphere at the 2004 Al-Quds day was highly charged, as he had died shortly before, on 11 November.
- During the run-up to the 2005 Al-Quds day, on 26 October, the Iranian President Mahmud Ahmadinejad had given a talk to students at a conference in Teheran entitled "The world without Zionism". He demanded that "Israel be wiped off the map" and called for the destruction of the state through Palestinian attacks: "There is no doubt – the new wave of terror in Palestine will erase the shame from the face of the Islamic world... Anybody who re-

cognizes Israel will burn in the fire of the Islamic Nation"¹⁴¹

Recognizing the Jewish state would mean that the surrender and defeat of the Islamic world would be accepted. In this connection Ahmadinejad evoked the leader of the revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini.

In that year, 2005, Israel had pulled out of Gaza. A year later Hamas joined the parliamentary election for the first time and beat the competing Fatah of the Palestinian President, Mahmud Abbas, and assumed power in Gaza. Its stated aim was and continues to be "an Islamic Palestine from the Mediterranean to the Jordan." Iran has provided the ammunition for their armed struggle to obtain this goal for years. Most recently, this support was made more than clear by the Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei in a speech in December 2014:

*"From the beginning, the Government of the Islamic Republic showed enmity towards the Zionist regime. These policies continue today We helped Hizbollah in Lebanon, which is a Shiite Group, in the same way as we helped Hamas and the Islamic Jihad, and we will continue to do so ... I predict... that the Westbank should be armed like Gaza."*¹⁴²

Thus motivated, the country of the "Zionist regime" came under rocket fire, following several suicide attacks. Israel reacted with military operations against Gaza: Operation "Summer Rain" and "Autumn Clouds" in 2006, "Hot winter" in 2007, "Cast lead" in 2008/2009 and "Pillar of Defense" 2012.

The 2014 Al-Quds day fell on 25 July. Approximately two weeks earlier, Israel's operation "Tzug Eitan" (Strong Cliff) against Hamas and the Islamist Jihad had started. Against this background several pro-Gaza demonstrations were staged in various German cities (and other European states), where both anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic slogans were chanted: "'Scheiß Juden, wir kriegen euch", "Jude, Jude, feiges Schwein, komm heraus und kämpf allein", "Hamas, Hamas, Juden ins Gas", "Nazimörder Israel" ("Shit Jews, we will get you", "Jew, Jew, chickenshit, come out and fight alone", "Hamas, Hamas, Jews to the gas", "Nazi-Killer Israel").¹⁴³ Yakov Hadas-Handelsman,

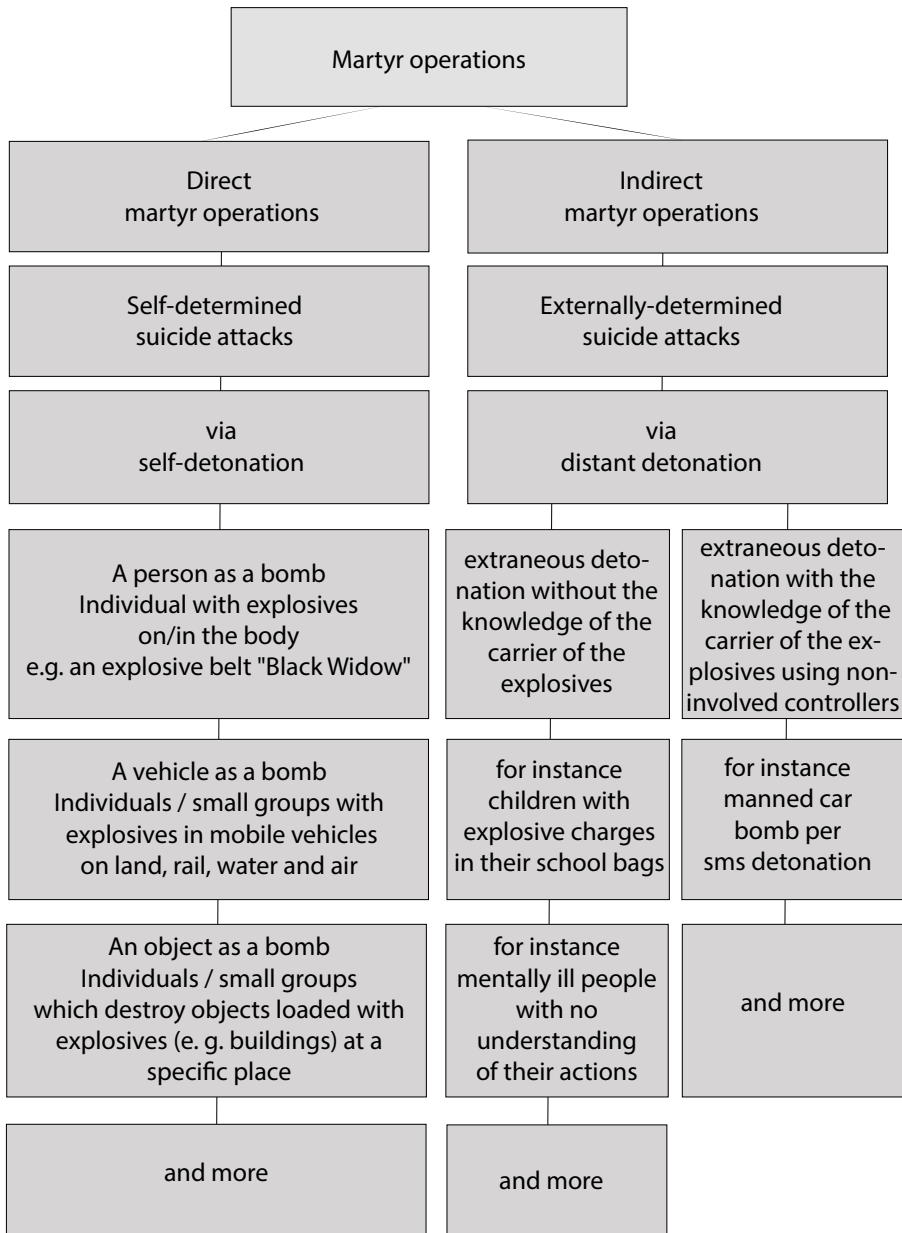
Israel's ambassador to Germany since 2012, was aghast at this public exhibition of "hatred, race-baiting and anti-Semitism" and made this clear as a speaker at a protest rally against the 2014 Al-Quds Day. However, in 2015 and beyond there is no end in sight of the annual demonstrations for a "Jerusalem free of Jews".

Hizbollah and "Martyrdom" - Jews are not safe anywhere in the world

On 20 September 1980, Iraq had attacked the theocracy of Iran in Shatt el-Arab hoping for a quick victory. This country with an inferior arms technology reactivated the concept of "martyrdom" (of the Assassins of the 11th and 13th century)¹⁴⁴ for the defense of the country. With its revolutionary guard, the Pasdaran, the Islamic Republic had religious warriors who had been trained specifically for sacrificial death. Together with other "martyrs" their suicidal warrior cult lead to achievements which the military strategists in East and West had considered impossible. When the first Gulf War came to an end on 20 August 1988 almost 100,000 people on the Iraqi side and around 300,000 on the Iranian side had met a sacrificial death over a period of almost 8 years. The number of injured people was estimated to be 750,000.

In Iran the Islamic revolutionaries as comrade-in-arms of the "enlightened leader of the people" had succeeded using utmost brutality against any opposition movements in the implementation of a theocracy. Perhaps this is the reason that the Iranian model, in the dar al-Islam, found only a limited number of committed supporters among the Shiites in the Arab world and a larger number on the Indian subcontinent. However, an important extremist movement was born in Lebanon, where a third of the population is Shiite; the precondition for this was suitable, as the Shiites felt disadvantaged in their political, economic and social life by Sunni, Druse, Christians and PLO commandos. In the past, Lebanon had become a failed state without a functioning central administration because of the civil war (1975 to 1990), in which the power structures changed drastically in 1982.

Fig. 2
Martyr arm of the service in the "Holy War" (Jihad)



In that year, with its operation "Peace for Galilea", Israel had taken military action against the "PLO State in the state of Lebanon" by which it was attacked, advancing from the south of the country to Beirut. With this campaign within the civil war, the armed conflict reached a new phase. At their request, Lebanese Christians received military aid from American and French peacekeeping forces – and Iran supported the Shiites in Lebanon in their fight against the "little Satan" (Israel) by sending approximately 2000 revolutionary guards into action. In the following years, Lebanon became the setting of innumerable hostage takings, spectacular skyjacking, bomb attacks and other acts of violence.¹⁴⁵

In addition to the "struggle martyr" (soldier killed in action against Israel), the "suicide bomber" (person getting killed by his/her own explosives) emerged as a new form of "martyr". The first attack of this nature occurred in November 1982. Its target was the Israeli Headquarters in Tyre which suffered a loss of 74 people.

The term "martyr struggle fighter" became known world-wide through the devastating attacks on the barracks of Western troops in Beirut on 23 October 1983. Two car bombs had killed 206 Americans in the headquarters of the US marines on the international airport and 58 Frenchmen in a command post of the French contingent of the international peace keeping force.

This greatest catastrophe for the American army since the war in Vietnam made it clear that this type of martyr operations were no longer isolated incidents, but an independent arm of the service in an asymmetrically conducted Jihad.¹⁴⁶

An as yet unknown group by the name of "Islamic Jihad" claimed responsibility both for the Tyre and Beirut incidents. Some time previously, the revolutionary ideology of the Ayatollah Khomeini had also inspired leading members of the Palestinian Muslims in the Gaza strip to break away from the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood to follow the Shiite example.

The Islamic Jihad in Palestine, founded in the Gaza strip in 1981, considered and continues to consider Israel as a "Manifestation of Wes-

tern imperialism" and, to this day, denies the very existence of the Jewish state; peace talks were therefore impossible. The Islamic Jihad first appeared on 18 April 1983 when it committed a bomb attack on the US embassy in Beirut (63 dead) where at that time the CIA headquarters for the whole of the Middle East was housed.¹⁴⁷

A year after the founding of the Islamic Jihad in Gaza, various Shiite resistance groups founded the "Party of God" (Hezbollah) in Lebanon with the help of Iranian revolutionary guards from Iran.¹⁴⁸ This paramilitary organization, operating underground, was joined by the Lebanese Shiite Hassan Nasrallah as early as 1982, the year of this group's foundation. Ten years later he was voted to become the political leader of Hezbollah. Three years after its foundation, on 15 February 1985, the Party of God made its public debut on 15 February 1985 with an "open letter to the disenfranchised in Lebanon and the world". According to the religious scholar Hans G. Kippenberg, in it Hezbollah presents itself

*"as a part of the entire Islamic nation and as a protagonist against the injustice that Muslims all over the world experienced. It did not want to have a specific military wing, but everybody had to become a soldier if the Jihad demanded it. Hezbollah even claims to be the advocate of the disenfranchised and humiliated groups of the whole world and to fight the tyrannical, arrogant states on their behalf. The main enemy is America and its ally, Israel."*¹⁴⁹

With the help of Iran and also of Syria, Hezbollah was able to build up a military operation over large parts of the country. And whereas in the past it had been Iranian martyrs who had fought back Iraqi invaders, there now were also Hezbollah martyrs, who drove American, French and even Israeli troops out of Lebanon. After the civil war and from 1992, Hezbollah was also represented in the Lebanese National Assembly. Even the Israelis were unable to deprive the new movement under the leadership of Hassan Nasrallah of its power.

Its attempt to subdue Hezbollah – who had kidnapped two Israeli soldiers – in a 33-day war in the summer of 2006 was unsuccessful.¹⁵⁰ The Hezbollah militants' special readiness to die also impressed

young Sini Palestinians who were then taken over by the Hezbollah in their Jihad against Israel.

Hezbollah did not only promote Islamist groups including some in Europe, but is also supposed to have supported the training of guerrilla fighters in the north of Albania in the nineteen nineties. It was and continues to be blamed for numerous attacks. Those which occurred in the region were directed against the Israeli army and globally against western, mainly US American and specifically Jewish and Israeli institutions, for instance:

- Attack on the Israeli Embassy in Argentina's capital Buenos Aires on 17 March 1992, during which 22 people were killed.
- Attack on the Jewish community center AMIA in Buenos Aires on 18 July 1994. The bombing killed 85 people, more than 300 were injured.
- During a suicide attack in Burgas, Bulgaria, five Israeli tourists and their Bulgarian driver were killed on 18 July 2012, while another 30 people were injured.¹⁵¹

Quite a number of the attacks on military, diplomatic and civil targets had been carefully planned. While Khalid Sheikh Mohammed was the "Mastermind of Terror" for the Sunnite al-Qaeda, Imad Fayezi Mughniyya (1962 to 2008)¹⁵² was the "Mastermind of Terror" for the Shiite Hezbollah and, like Hassan Nasrallah, was a co-founder of that organization. This Lebanese Shiite of Palestinian origin started his military career as a bodyguard of the PLO leader Arafat. At the height of the career he was the chief of general staff of Hezbollah. With the approval and in agreement with Teheran Mughniyya discharged many tasks:

- In the early nineties, he formed terrorist attachments to Osama Bin Laden in the Sudan.
- From 2000, in his position as the chief coordinator of international operations, he gave military support to Hamas and the Islamic Jihad in the Palestinian uprising against Israel.

- In Iraq he assisted the Jihadis of Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi in their resistance against the Americans.

Last but not least he has been involved in many terror attacks in the Middle East since 1983, later also in South America. One of his terror targets included the attack on the Jewish cultural center AMIA in Buenos Aires in July 1994, at that time one of the most serious anti-Semitic crimes since 1945.¹⁵³ He died in a car bomb explosion in Damascus on 12 February 2008. Ten years later, from 2004, Alberto Nisman, a Jewish Argentinian special prosecutor, investigated the attack. In his opinion the Lebanese Hezbollah was the culprit, who was supposed to have acted on the instructions of the Iranian government. He accused the Argentinian Government – and thus President Christina Fernandez Kirchner – to have sabotaged the prosecution of those responsible in order to protect the Iranian initiators of the attack. In January 2015, a few hours before his hearing at the Congress, Judge Nisman was found dead. Murder or suicide?¹⁵⁴ His mysterious death led to a government crisis. In February, he was succeeded by the chief prosecutor of the "AMIA attack", the investigating judge and holocaust expert Daniel Rafecas.

As the example of Hezbollah's military leader, Imad Mughniyya, shows more than clearly, conflicts between Shiites and Sunni become almost immaterial where anti-Semitism and particularly the hated enemy Israel are concerned.

Sunnite "Holy Warriors" striving for a global caliphate – obviously without Israel

While a turning point in Shiite Islam was reached at the beginning of 1979, the greatest envisaged calamity in the world of Sunni Islam became reality towards the end of 1979. On 20 November the first open and violent confrontation of the Islamic opposition with the Royal House of Saudi since its inception took place in Saudi Arabia. Salafist religious warriors stormed the great mosque in Mecca and took thousands of pilgrims hostage. Two weeks later the Saudi national guard was able to put a military end to the hostage drama with

the aid of the French special unit GIGN (Groupe d'Intervention de la Gendarmerie Nationale). This attack on Mecca was the first Islamic terror act of modern times. The Afghanistan War, which followed directly thereafter (December 1979 to February 1989), became the first major Jihad of modern times.¹⁵⁵

At the end of 1979, only two weeks after the recapture of the Holy Sites with the help of French "infidels", Soviet Russian "infidels" marched into the Afghan dar al-Islam. For more than ten years, the duty to assist the Afghan warriors and brothers in faith (Mujahedin) against the "infidels" led approximately 35,000 motivated Muslims from 43 Islamic countries of the Middle East, North and East Africa, Central Asia and the Far East into the conflict at the Hindu Kush. This duty was particularly requested by the Muslim Brotherhood (Jamiyat al-ikhwan al-muslimin) from the global community of all Muslims. Yet also the World Muslim League, whose home was Saudi Arabia, and the Palestinian Islamic Radicals organized their voluntary recruits, for whom contact centers were created particularly in the Arab world.¹⁵⁶ For the Soviet Union, this war became the largest military operation since WWII; for the Muslim religious warriors their defense Jihad became the "Mother of all Holy Wars" of modern times. Taking stock at the end of the war:

On the side of the Soviet Union almost 10,500 dead and 54,000 injured. On the side of their opponents the number of dead was estimated to be up to 1.5 million. More than 5 million people had left the country; more than 3 million had fled to Pakistan, approximately two million to Iran.

Afghanistan had become the ultimate setting of the cold war in international politics. With the victory of the "Holy Warriors" over the godless from the Soviet "area of the war" (dar al-harb) the security structures of the bi-polar world order valid at that time, which had worked more or less reliably till then, subsequently came to an end. In 2001, the Pakistani Taliban specialist Ahmed Rashid described the dangers arising from this as follows:

"... Ultimately, more than 100,000 radical Muslims had direct contact to Pakistan and Afghanistan and were subject to the influence of Jihad. The-

*se radicals met each other for the first time in the camps near Peshawar and in Afghanistan and studied, trained and fought side by side. For most of them this was the first opportunity to learn something about Islamic movements in other countries, and they socialized for tactical and ideological purposes that were going to benefit them in the future. The camps literally became universities for the future Islamic radicalism. None of the secret services appeared to understand the consequences which would arise from the coming-together of thousands of Islamic radicals from all over the world."*¹⁵⁷

The transformation of al-Qaeda and the globalization of Jihad

"The most important experience we as Muslims made during the Afghanistan war was that we were able to bring down a world power". This was how the war veteran Osama Bin Laden took stock of the situation. As early as 1982, together with his mentor Sheikh Azzam, he had established a "Services Bureau for Holy Warriors" (Maktab al-Khidmat), a contact point for recruits. This was followed two years later by the bayt al-Ansar "Haus der Prophetengefährten" which was predominantly for Arab volunteers. Considering that most of the young Arab Jihadis were not centrally registered anywhere, Bin Laden, who was interconnected with all sorts of intelligence services, started a "register of the militant Arab brothers". This database, which became increasingly comprehensive and voluminous, finally became the "basis register". In 1988, "the Basis" (al-Qaeda in Arabic) got its name, from which the "military basis" (al-Qaeda al-Askarija) emerged as the defensive organization which, as the "basis of the Holy War" (al-Qaeda al-Jihad) was duty-bound to carry out the religious war. From the time of its establishment until today, Qaida was and continues to be subject to a process of transformation.

Al-Qaeda 1.0 – the military organization (1988 to 2001)

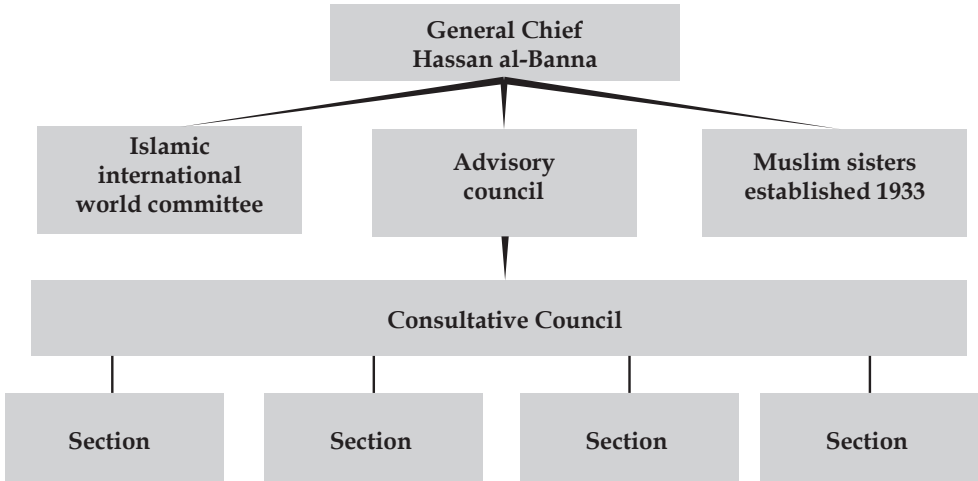
As a "respected and brave warrior" (muqatil) and together with 4000 "Arab Afghans" (al-afgan al-arab). Bin Laden returned from the Hindu Kush to Saudi Arabia in 1990. Here, he fell out with the Royal House over questions of national defense (Second Gulf War after Iraq had invaded Kuwait) and left the Arabian Peninsula. In 1992 he was allowed in a country in which – about a century ago – the "Mahdi-Caliphate" (1885 to 1897), an Islamic theocracy, defied the European colonial masters in Sudan.

Khartoum became the exiled headquarters of his al-Qaeda. It was his ideal to join Sunnite and Shiite religious warriors, who would jointly fight the Jihad against the "infidel" with the ultimate goal to establish a world Caliphate. Perhaps it was this ideal which took Imad Fayiz Mughniyya, the Hezbollah's chief for external security, to meet Bin Laden in the Sudan in 1993. The Shiite made his special terrorist know-how (bomb making) available to the Sunnite Qaida, whereupon Qaida established up to 30 paramilitary camps in the country. In these, 480 "Arabi" war veterans trained young, specifically Middle Eastern Muslims as fighters for the Jihad. With the war in Afghanistan, "the basis for the future war against Israel" had been created last but not least for the "Jihad-Imam" Azzam, who died in 1989. For more than half a decade Azzam's student Bin Laden, as the guest of the radical Islamic government of the Sudan, was able to give a structure to his Qaida, and this included its internationalization.

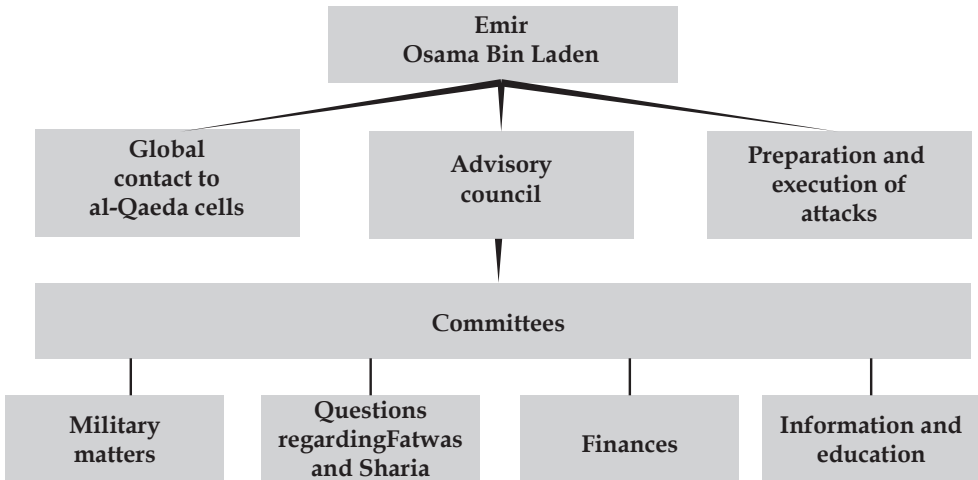
In May 1996 Bin Laden left his exile for Afghanistan. A month before his departure, his new host, Mullah Mohammed Omar, had been elected as the "Commander of the Faithful" (Amir al-mu'minin) who, together with the Taliban, wanted to turn Afghanistan into a "model for the whole Islamic world". From here, Bin Laden sent his declaration of war against the close (Saudi Arabia) and far enemy (USA and their allies) to the "Muslim brothers of the whole world." In it he advised to avoid conventional warfare because of the obvious military supremacy of the enemy and, instead, to concentrate on international guerilla warfare.¹⁶⁰ His territorially unlimited strategy was continued in the establishment of a "Global Islamic Front for Jihad against Jews and crusaders" in 1998.

Fig. 3
Al-Qaeda 1.0 – The military organization
modelled on the structure of the Muslim Brotherhood

**Organizational structure of the Muslim Brotherhood
in the 1940ies (Egypt)**



**Organizational Structure of al-Qaeda
in the 1990ies (Afghanistan)**



Half a century later, using the organizational structure of the early Muslim Brotherhood¹⁶¹ as a model, al-Qaeda was built up into an Islamic military organization: The structure was that of a pyramidal hierarchy, where orders were given via several chains of command. The organization trained according to the manual "Military studies in the Jihad against the Tyrants" with the aim to overthrow the "godless regimes and replace them with an Islamic regime."¹⁶²

Afghanistan, which was proclaimed an Emirate by the Taliban in 1997, became al-Qaeda's "safe heaven" for an as yet unparalleled terrorist infrastructure: Military camps, arms depots, head quarters in Kandahar and Kabul. In 50 to 60 facilities all throughout the country 20,000 (possibly as many as 70,000) motivated Muslims were trained by Jihadis in only five years. One of the training camps was run by the Palestinian Jordanian Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi. In 2001, al-Qaeda gave this Jew-hater the financial means to enlist Jordanians and to prepare attacks against Israel. Attacks against Jewish institutions, even in far-away Germany, were planned by Zarqawi's combat group al-Tawhid. The German-Polish convert Christian Ganczarski (Abu Ibrahim), who had been involved in 2002 in the attack on the Al-Ghriba Synagogue in Tunisia also had connections to the al-Qaeda leadership. The aim of "providing schooling" was for the "terroristically schooled" trainees to take Jihad to their home regions (Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Middle East, North and East Africa) and to fight against the tyrants there, for instance:

- In 1998, Bin Laden encouraged Uzbek expatriates to for the "Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan" (IMU).
- In Chechnya, the Afghan Jihad veteran Ibn ul-Khattab (1962 -2000), who trained female suicide bombers (so-called Black Widows) in his "Caucasus Training Centre" was considered the Caucasus representative of al-Qaeda.¹⁶³

After all, many years ago, Bin Laden had declared the "whole world as a setting for Jihad". When less than four weeks after the 9/11 attacks in the US, on 7 October 2001, an US-lead anti-terror coalition of more than 40 nations started their operation "Enduring Freedom" (OEF) in Afghanistan, which only ended thirteen years later at the

end of 2014, 2000 fighters from al-Qaeda stood side by side with the Taliban and their 12,000 foreign Jihadi legionaries from more than 40 Islamic countries. The capitulation of the Taliban on 6 December 2001 was the end of their Emirate and, at the same time, resulted in the structural collapse of the military organization al-Qaeda.¹⁶⁴

Al-Qaeda 2.0 – the global movement (2002 to 2011)

A battered al-Qaeda withdrew for reorganization to the neighboring state of Waziristan, the Pakistani border region inhabited by Pashuns. Here, between 2002 and 2007, they established an estimated 50 to 70 small, mobile "Blitz-Camps". In these, approximately 4000 Islamist "recruits", including some from Europe, were instructed in basic terrorist know-how by between 500 and 700 Jihadis (Saudis, Chechens, Egyptians) of the "rump" Qaeda (remnants of the organization). The supervision of the training was in the hands of the Egyptian Aiman al-Zawahiri. This specialist for "martyr operations" had been part of the al-Qaeda leadership since 1998. By contrast, Bin Laden had left the tribal areas as early as 2005/2006 and had settled in Abbottabad, a garrison town situated to the north of Islamabad, with his entourage. The strategic leadership of al-Qaeda continued to be in his hands.

However, in the retreat area, al-Qaeda experienced some transformation which changed it permanently, but also strengthened it. The rump Qaeda had gone to ground at the end of 2001 and then reappeared in cyber space. In the Pakistani retreat area the movement turned increasingly to the internet, which enabled the surviving remnants of the organization to become a large, more virtual Islamist movement. The increasing internet presence was accompanied by the globalization of Jihad. The contents of military text books, which previously had been passed on in person by the instructors in the camps, were now accessible via the internet to anybody interested in Jihad.¹⁶⁵ The internet brought together militant Islamists who would otherwise not have been likely to meet each other personally.

Al-Qaeda became @-Qaeda.¹⁶⁶ To adjust to the requirements of global

Jihad, this now became internet-controlled: For example, the internet served the Jihad for overt and covert communication, the dissemination of target-specific messages, information gathering, radicalization of the mind, recruiting of not only young men, but also women and even children. It also was instrumental in the education (virtual Jihad university) and training (online university for Jihadis), public relations work and propaganda, fundraising, networking, mobilization and planning of operations and psychological warfare.

The internet also offered the possibility of representing the movement as a "virtually united" movement and representing the pan-Islamic Caliphate aspired to as a "virtual reality". It was against this background that the regional movements therefore named themselves as follows: 2003/2004 al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI), 2004 al-Qaeda in Saudi Arabia, 2006 al-Qaeda in Yemen, 2007 al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). All of them, and an increasingly number of small, autonomous cells, were unified by the supra-national Islam, the ideology of an Islamic world dominance and the joint enemy image of the "American-Zionist world conspiracy".¹⁶⁷

In addition to this decentralization, the Jihad terrorist fighter pool had also become enlarged as a result of diversification: Universal Soldiers, Leaderless Resistance Groups, Homegrown Terrorists, lonely wolves. In this manner, the type and extent of acts of terrorism, planned and executed, also increased – from Europe via Africa to Asia – but the anti-Semitic violence which was directed against Jewish individuals, synagogues and other Jewish institutions, Jewish tourists and tourist destinations of Israeli holiday makers, did not.

The movement had gained support through the third Gulf War, the Jihad in Iraq (2003 to 2010). Qaeda Jihadis were active in more than 60 states. Because of these developments, the distant Qaeda center now only had an indirect influence on local as well as autonomous leaderships which had been globalized according to the franchising principle. In the spring of 2011 the Arabic revolution (Arabellion)¹⁶⁸ started in Islamic North Africa. "Tyrants" were driven from their administrative bodies, a professed Qaeda goal, which the movement had not attained by that time. In the middle of this "Arab Spring", on

1 / 2 May, Osama Bin Laden, the driving force of global Jihad, was killed in Abbottabad by a US Navy Seal Team during the US operation "Neptune Spear" (Code word "Geronimo").¹⁶⁹

When storming the Bin Laden hide-out, the Seals carried off his records consisting of approximately 6000 pages. A year later, at the beginning of May 2012, the Combatting Terrorism Center (CTC) of the US Military Academy in West Point released the first 17 evaluated documents, just under 200 pages, dating from 2006 to 2011). In this CTC report, the debate about the renaming of his network was published. Because the West used only the first part of the actual title al-Qaeda al-Jihad (Basis of the Holy War), Bin Laden suggested, in his diary, that the religious aspect was at risk of being lost and proposed "Jama'at I'Adat al Khilafat al Rashida" (Restoration of the Caliphate Group) as a more accurate name.¹⁷⁰

Al-Qaeda 3.0 - Benefitting from the Arabellion (2011/12 to date)

Aiman al-Zawahiri, Bin Laden's deputy at the Hind Kush of many years, took over the leadership of the al-Qaeda Zentrale (AQ-Z) as late as May 2011, the remnant of which is alleged to have been reduced to as few as 100 fighters. These initially abstained from reacting in the media to the national uprising – by employing a "strategy of wait and see", until the social tensions could be exploited. Al-Qaeda was able to expand its actual area of operations. In the Arab world, this was and continues to be Iraq with its long border to Syria.

In March 2011, the Arabellion had reached Syria. Protests changed to military resistance against the regime of President Bashar al-Assad – and with the start of this resistance in Syria, al-Qaeda was able to strengthen again. As early as July 2001, al-Zawahiri, showing some foresight, praised the protesters critical of the government as "religious warriors" in a video. AQ-Z knew that, because of the central position of the country, changes in Syria would greatly influence the whole of the Middle East and was prepared to contribute to these changes. Thus on 11 February 2012, the Qaeda leader called on the

Muslims in Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey to fight against the Assad regime. According to al-Zawahiri, gaining Syria, the movement had a new basis for operations – with access to the Mediterranean and close to Israel. Thus Syria could become a "stepping stone for the capture of Jerusalem".¹⁷¹

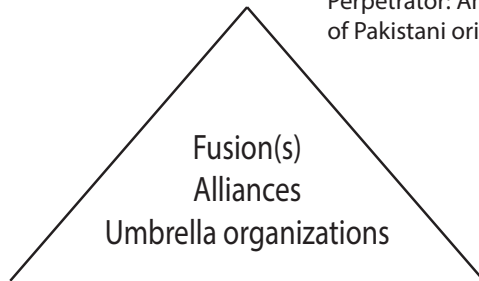
Shortly before, the group "Jab hat al-Nusra" appeared in Syria for the first time. This "Support Front" for the people of Syria had been established by members of the Iranian al-Qaeda with the aim of establishing an Islamic state according to Salafist guidelines on Syrian soil. That Jihad aim had previously also been pursued by the group Islamic State in Iraq (ISI). Because of this "common ground" ISI and al-Nusra Front merged with Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in April 2013. The Syrian Abu Mohammed al-Jawlani, leader of the Jab hat al-Nusra, objected to this consolidation as he considered his support front more as a part of al-Qaeda and pledged allegiance to the al-Qaeda leader al-Zawahiri, who then annulled the forced merger.

Al-Nusra is well positioned in Syria. It built up its own media network, the "White Minaret" (al-Manara al-Bayda). As recently as two years ago, the number of its Jihadis, who, compared to ISI, are mainly from Syria, was estimated to be between 7000 and 15,000.¹⁷² As recently as March 2015, a section of them stood on the Syrian side of the Golan Heights, as it considered Israel, together with the USA, as an "enemy of Islam". And exactly here, in the Middle East, while an interstate civil war rages, another battle is raging between the Jihadis for the supremacy of the global Salafist jihadi movement.

Fig. 4
Al-Qaeda 2.0 & Taliban - Regional mergers

Pakistani Taliban Movement
"Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan" (TTP)
Established in 2007

Area of operation: Pakistan
Terror threats against: US
Terror attack outside the area of operation:
2 May 2010, Car bomb on
Time Square/New York
Perpetrator: American
of Pakistani origin



al-Qaeda in the Islamic
Maghreb (AQIM)
Established in 2007

al-Qaeda on the
Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)
Established in 2009

Areas of operation:
North Africa (Morocco)
Algeria, Tunisia, Libya)
and sub-Saharan Africa
(Mauretania, Mali, Niger)

Areas of operation
Saudi-Arabia, Yemen

Terror threats against:
US, France, Spain

Terror threats against:
US

Terror attacks outside
the area of operation:
not known

Terror attacks outside
the area of operation:
25 December 2009,
Nigerian "underwear bomber"
flight Amsterdam-Detroit

Al-Qaeda vs. Islamic State – the anti-Semitic Jihad mutates into a "Holy" World War

The transformation of al-Qaeda also included (acknowledged ?) that competition started in its own ranks. Just as the great Jihad in Afghanistan contributed to the rise of al-Qaeda, the Jihad in Iraq, one and a half decades later, lead to the rise of today's competitor – Islamic State.

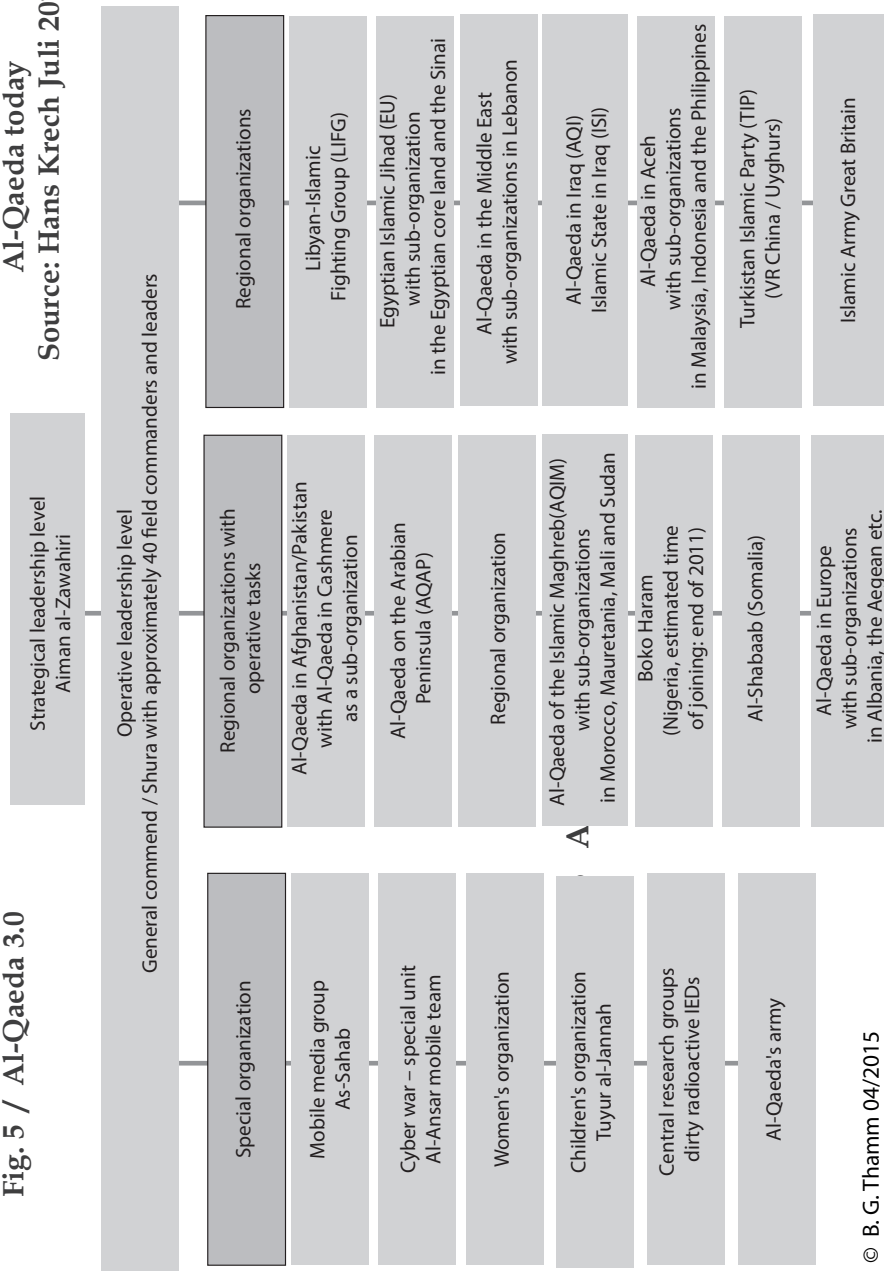
Al-Qaeda 3.0 - Upsurge in the Middle East

In early 2014 US Foreign Secretary John Kerry stated that the fighters allied to al Qaeda had emerged as "the most dangerous players in the whole region". The analysts of the Saban Center for Middle Eastern politics in the Brookings Institution in Washington agreed with him and talked about al-Qaeda 3.0. According to their assessment, the transformed al-Qaeda inclusive of its radical ideology experienced unprecedented support in the Middle East. According to the scientists, Al-Qaeda 3.0 was clearly more widely spread and more decentralized than its predecessors.¹⁷³ The new al-Qaeda benefitted not only from the situation in Syria and Iraq, but also from developments in other Arab countries.

- In Yemen, the failed state, some provinces in the South were placed under "Islamic Rule". Some of the tribes formed alliances with AQAP.
- Jihadis made themselves at home in parts of Libya. Here, the Ansar al-Sharia brigades, who belong to a network of organizations of the same name in Yemen, Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Mali and Mauretania.
- Egypt is of singular importance for the Qaeda strategists. After the fall of President Mohammed Morsi his Muslim Brotherhood was categorized as a terrorist organization on 25 December 2013. Subsequently, thousands of Muslim Brothers were arrested and hundreds later sentenced to death.

Fig. 5 / Al-Qaeda 3.0

Al-Qaeda today
Source: Hans Krech Juli 2012



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- On 7 March 2015, the first Morsi supporter was executed in a prison in Alexandria. The radicalization of the persecuted caused by this can only benefit al-Qaeda.

In 2013, only two years after the transformation, al Qaeda 3.0 was represented in more than 70 countries in form of "cells". Meanwhile, 14 regional organizations,¹⁷⁴ for instance the AQIM offshoot Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa ("MUJAO") were now active on three continents (Asia, Europe and increasingly Africa). In 2014, another regional organization resident in Iraq contested both al-Qaeda's policy-making power regarding the global Jihad and the global leadership.

From al-Qaeda in Iraq to Islamic State - all eyes set on the Holy Land

In 1989, at the end of the great Jihad, Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi had arrived in Afghanistan, the year the "Jihad Imam" Azzam died. As Bin Laden before, Zarqawi was now taken with the idea of a "Global Islamic Jihad Movement" and made Bin Laden's doctrine part of his philosophy: Rejection of the modern age, return to the roots of Islam and the proclamation of the Caliphate. Zarqawi remained in Afghanistan until 1993, then spent half a decade in the Middle East, returned to Afghanistan in 1999 and fought as an al-Qaeda commander at the side of the Taliban against the OEF coalition. After the latter's victory in December 2001 he escaped to Iran and from there to Iraq in 2002. At the same time, his German al-Tawhid cell which had planned attacks on Jewish institutions in Germany, was demolished.

While staying in Baghdad – for more than 500 years the seat of the Abbasid Caliphate – he never lost track of the vision of "a Caliphate from the Gulf to Syria and ultimately Jerusalem", as he also had a plan for its proclamation. From his point of view it was the counter project to a "Shiite super state " which might "include Iran, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon". It was important to prevent this at all costs. To committed radical Sunni like Zarqawi, Shiites were not Muslims, but were "apostates of the true faith".¹⁷⁵

On 20 March 2003, the US-lead coalition operation (OEF) "Iraqi Freedom" started. Shortly afterwards the Iraqi TV broadcast an address by Saddam Hussein (1937 to 2006):

*"... Oh great people, you Mujahidin of the heroic armed forces, you sons of the magnificent Arab nation! At the time of the morning prayer ... the selfish, criminal, little Bush and his helpers started their crime ... We promise you... that we will resist the invaders and they ... will lose their patience and any hope of achieving what they set out to do and to which they were driven ... by the criminal Zionists. Long live Iraq, long live Jihad and long live Palestine."*¹⁷⁶

On 1 May, after only six weeks, President Bush declared the fighting as having ended. However, one war followed the other until 2011. Time enough for Zarqawi's plans.

He later wrote:

*"The Americans have entered Iraq to create Greater Israel, reaching from the Nile to the Euphrates. They thought that it would be easy for them. But they are making a mistake because our brothers are resisting."*¹⁷⁷

Zarqawi had been part of the resistance as early as 2003/2004, the first year of the war, when he established the "Unity and Jihad" group (al-Tawhid wa al-Jihad). In the spring of 2004 he used voice recordings to invite the Muslims in Iraq to join the Jihad. His terrorist network started simultaneously with the hostage taking of mainly Western nationals which was followed by psychological warfare based on murder videos (beheading). Less than half a year later the US military increased the head-money for him to 25 million Dollars. On 17 October, Zarqawi renewed his allegiance to Bin Laden and, in solidarity with him, renamed his group "al-Qaeda in the Land of the Two Rivers" (al-Qaeda al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn). Bin Laden subsequently recognized Zarqawi's group in 2005 and declared him as his second-in-command in Iraq. As the emir of al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) Zarqawi, against the background – as he saw it – of a treasonous alliance policy between Iraqi Shiites and Anglo-American "infidels", developed a war concept based on terrorist attacks.¹⁷⁸

The Shiites were to be driven, by selective attacks, into a "craze of revenge acts" against the Sunni. A subsequent civil war in the country would create the sole preconditions for foreign Islamic fighters, on the basis of secure hiding places, to carry on their Jihad against the Americans and their Arabic collaborators until a victorious Islamic order had been established.

Zarqawi envisaged that his civil war concept would also breed discord between the ethnic groups, as he – as an Arab – considered the Kurds as "a thorn in the side which needed to be cut out". In his "Iraqi address"¹⁷⁹ he made early enquiries from the Qaeda leadership as to whether it would support his concept. The Emir's war concept, however, did not appeal to the distant Qaeda leadership.

Thus in July 2005, in a letter to Zarqawi, Bin Laden's deputy, al-Zawahiri, criticized Zarqawi's brutal campaign against the Shiites in Iraq and the beheading of hostages. His cruel attacks were going against Bin Laden's intentions of uniting all Muslims – Sunni and Shiites – in a battle against the infidels.

As a result, the anti-Shiite Zarqawi and the al-Qaeda "conciliators" at the Hindu Kush fell out with each other. Emir Zarqawi thus became the first Qaeda leader who moved himself in the chain of command from the top (Qaeda Center) to the bottom (Qaeda branch). Consequently, at the end of 2005, he removed the Qaeda reference from the name of his Jihadi group. With the latter and other close groups he formed an umbrella organization by the name "Mujahidin Shura Council (Iraq)" in January 2006. At the same time, the goal of the religious war which he proposed was jeopardized by resolutions by high-ranking Sunni clerics. He personally – whom a large convocation of Sunni tribes declared to be a terrorists to be driven away – became increasingly isolated in the Iraqi resistance and ultimately the victim of treason. On 7 June 2006, Zarqawi was fatally wounded in his quarters in Baghdad by a US air raid.¹⁸⁰ Islamists all over the world regretted the Emir's death and Al-Qaeda no longer had any recollections of any dispute and praised the "Prince of Martyrs" whose legacy was going to shape the coming years: "We are fighting in Iraq, but our goal is the Holy Land (Jerusalem)."¹⁸¹

He was succeeded by the Egyptian Abu Ajub al-Masri, who, less than a few months later, renamed the former AQI Islamic State in Iraq (ISI). He continued his predecessor's war against the "Shiite serpents". Thus the situation in the country was increasingly influenced by conflicts between Sunni and Shiites. In a fight against the Jihad terrorists the US Army and the Iraqi military forces jointly proceeded against the ISI leadership on 18 April 2010 and al-Masri was killed in this action. Less than four weeks later, ISI declared the Iraqi Ali al-Badri al-Samarrai, a religious scholar, as their new leader.

He had joined the resistance affiliated to al-Qaeda shortly after the invasion of the Americans. After his arrest, he was taken to a prison camp situated in the South Iraqi desert in 2004, where he met quite a few of his future fellow combatants. He was released towards the end of the same year and went into the AQI Jihadi underground. He became known by the "nom de guerre" of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.¹⁸² He had taken over the ISI leadership three months before the withdrawal of the US troops from Iraq and a year before the uprising in Syria.

Taking stock of the third Gulf War, seven years after its beginning in March 2003: More than 106,000 Iraqi civilians had been killed. The overwhelming majority fell victim to the Shiite and Sunnite death militia or died in more than 2000 terrorist attacks by Islamic and Jihad terrorist. Before the war, two million people had fled abroad, inside the country 1.8 million people were displaced.

On 31 August 2010 President Obama declared the operation Iraqi Freedom as completed. All US combat troops had been withdrawn by then.¹⁸³ Afterwards and under the leadership of the new government headed by the Shiite Nuri al-Malaki, the country was overrun (?) by a wave of specific murders, kidnapping and assaults in which ISI fighters were repeatedly involved. The already problematic security situation deteriorated further. The tensions between the predominantly Shiite government and the Sunnite section of the population turned into open protest and finally into violent conflict in December 2012. ISI, lead by al-Baghdadi, had strengthened. The civil war in the neighboring state Syria, which was considered a "godsend" was taken as an opportunity to let ISI grow more powerful.

In January 2012 the ISI leader al-Baghdadi had sent fighters to Syria who, together with other Qaeda Jihadis, established the Dschabhat al-Nusra. As it gained strength, this endeavored the establishment of an Islamic State. This development was reason enough for the ISI leader to merge al-Nusra with his ISI group. In April 2013, al-Baghdadi declared the Nusra-Front as part of ISI and referred to the new group as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. He objected to the cancellation of the forced merger by the Qaeda leader al-Zawahiri:

*"I must decide between the rule of Allah and the rule of al-Zawahiri, and I decide in favor of the rule of Allah."*¹⁸⁴

Thus he continued to consider al-Nusra as part of ISIS and the al-Nusra leader as an renegade. The collaboration between the groups turned into confrontation. To the opposition, the civil war in Syria now turned into a multi-front war – with Assad on the one and ISIS on the other side. The call by the al-Qaeda leader in January 2014 to abandon the conflict was not followed. Subsequently, the "disobedient" ISIS was outcast.¹⁸⁵ Al-Baghdadi, who was thus "excommunicated", had fallen out, consistently and permanently, with the Qaeda leadership nine years ago.

As a now independent commander (Emir), he stood for a merciless war for the establishment of the theocracy, which was to comprise not only Iraq and Syria, but also Lebanon, Israel and Jordan – in fact, the whole of the Levant, which was reflected in the new name of ISIL (Islamic State in Iraq and Levant).¹⁸⁶ In the areas under the control of ISIL, Baghdadi had declared Raqqa, the ancient Syrian provincial town on the Euphrates, as the provisional capital of his dominion. From here, he started a campaign against Baghdad in the beginning of June 2014. Mosul, the second largest city in Iraq, was taken in a blitz. When the Iraqi army withdrew, the ISIL fighters captured the arms of the fifth division. On June 11 they reached Tikrit, where the Sunnis of the previous Hussein regime united with the Sunni ISIL militia. Because of this threat, the religious leader of the Shiites in Iraq, the Grand Ayatollah Ali alSistani, two days later called for the "war against the Sunni extremists".¹⁸⁷

On the road to the worldwide caliphate – with Jerusalem, but without Israel

While engaged in the campaign in Mesopotamia, the council (Shura) of ISIS/ISIL decided to resurrect the caliphate which the young Republic of Turkey had abolished through a law 90 years earlier, in March 1924. ISIL militia were approximately 170 kilometers from Baghdad when the caliphate was proclaimed on 29 June 2014 (Ramadan 1435).¹⁸⁸ In an audio message published on the internet al-Baghdadi announced it was time that the Ummah (Islamic global community) should be revived. All national borders, from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, which were once created by the colonial powers (British-French Sykes-Picot Agreement, 1916)¹⁸⁹ and, according to the current Iraqi-Syrian nucleus, no longer existed, would subsequently be obliterated. The final goal was a worldwide caliphate. This geographical utopia of ad-Daula al-islamiya (Islamic State) was disseminated via Twitter in form of a map which showed the ISIS territory stretching from the Middle East, North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula, Southeastern Europe, Caucasia, Central Asia to the sub-Saharan regions of Africa.¹⁹⁰ The territorial dissolution of boundaries resulted in the renaming of ISIS/ISIL to a name without any reference to a country – viz. Islamic State (ISIS). ISIS immediately announced the expansion into Europe in the next five years: Madrid is to fall in 2020,¹⁹¹ since parts of Spain had belonged to dar al-Islam from the 8th to the 15th century. This final goal is not only underpinned by the historic model of the "Caliphate visionary" Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi (to first fight the Shiites, then occupy Jerusalem), but also by his plan which had already been published 10 years ago in Beirut in the Arabic language. Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi had left Afghanistan for Jordan in 1993, where he was sentenced to 15 years in prison in November 1996 as a dangerous extremist. After he was granted amnesty by King Abdullah, he was released from prison at the end of March 1999, when he again returned to Afghanistan.

During his prison term, he was interviewed by a radical Jordanian brother in faith, the journalist Fouad Hussein. Half a decade later, in 2005, the latter published the contents of the conversations with the Jihadi in his book (in Arabic) under the title: Al-Zarqawi – The

Second Generation of al-Qaeda.¹⁹² In this book a "Masterplan" is described, the aim of which is to take over the world and its transformation into an Islamic (theocratic) State in seven steps over a period of twenty years – ending in 2020.¹⁹³

The First Phase (2001/2002): "Awakening" (of the Muslims' consciousness) as a result of the 9/11 terror attacks. The aim of these "martyr" acts was to provoke the US to declare war on the Islamic world, thus mobilizing the radicals.

The Second Phase (2002-2006/07): The "opening eyes" period. During this phase, the Jihadis hope to make all Muslims (Ummah) aware of the Western "conspiracy" (al-Muamarah). During this period, al-Qaeda continued to form its secret battalions which were ready for battle.

The Third Phase (2007-2010): "Arising and Standing up" period. During this phase increasingly more forceful and/or more frequent attacks are planned against secular Turkey, in particular, and the "arch enemy" Israel.

The Fourth Phase (2010-2013): This period is dedicated to the demise of the hated Arab Regime, including Saudi-Arabia and Jordan. The oil suppliers will be attacked and the US economy will be hit through specialised cyber terrorism

The Fifth Phase (2013-2016): The period when an Islamic State or a caliphate can be proclaimed. This is striven for on the model of the idealized seminal period (632 to 661) of the four first –"rightly-guided" successors (khalifa) of the Prophet.

The Sixth Phase (2016-2018): The period of "total confrontation". As soon as the caliphate will have been proclaimed, the "Islamic Army" will stir up the fight between the believers and the non-believers, as frequently predicted by Osama Bin Laden. This war is essentially a religious war, i. e. between the faith (Iman) and the international unbelief (al-Kufr al-Alami).

The Seventh Phase (2018-2020): The total confrontation, which is supposed to last less than two years, is followed by the "definitive

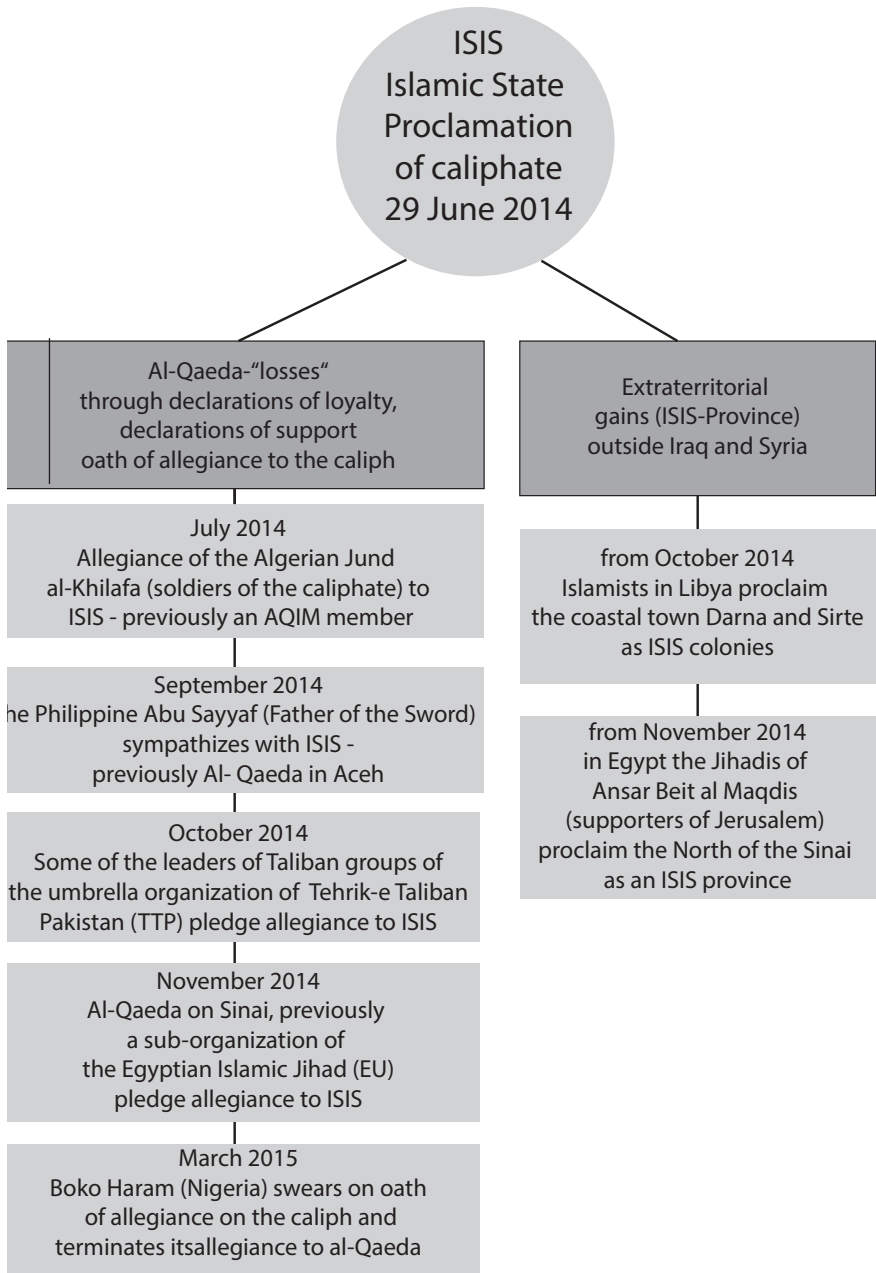
victory" phase. In the eyes of the Jihadis, the caliphate will undoubtedly be successful as the rest of the world will ultimately be beaten down by 1.5 billion Muslims. With the "final battle" (Armageddon) the last phase will be completed by not later than 2020.

Speaking with hindsight, it appears that Zarqawi's "strategy" as recorded in writing more than ten years ago is being carried out successfully by ISIS:

- Thus during the second phase, Emir Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi lead al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) against apostates (Shiites) and non-believers (Americans). After his death in 2006, this became Islamic State in Iraq (ISI), an ISIS precursor.
- During the period of the fourth phase, the Arabellion started in 2011. During the "Arab Spring", demonstrations for freedom and bread started in almost all countries of North Africa and the Middle East: In January in Algeria, Jordan, Egypt, Yemen, Saudi-Arabia and Sudan; in February in Bahrain, Libya, Oman and Djibouti, Kuwait, Morocco, Iraq, Mauretania and Lebanon. After the Palestinian territories, the Arabellion reached Syria in mid March, where the protests and armed skirmishes turned into a civil war. In Yemen, AQAP started with its new strategy, "Death by 1000 cuts" in 2010, starting with "Operation Hemorrhage", which causes damage to the Western economies.
- During the period of the fifth phase the caliphate was proclaimed in Mesopotamia on 29 June 2014, which calls itself Islamic State (ISIS) and is not bound to any territory. The objective of defending and enlarging the caliphate led thousands of foreign fighters from 90 countries of all five continents to the Middle Eastern core cell – onto the path of the "Islamic Army".

The last two phases of the Masterplan of the pre-predecessor of the present caliph are likely to lead to an apocalyptic conflict with the "non-believing" West and Israel which – from the point of view of the "right-believing" Jihadis - will not only lead to a withdrawal of a "massively debilitated" West from the region, but will also result in the destruction of Israel.¹⁹⁴

Fig. 6
Islamic State (ISIS) vs. Al Qaeda
after the proclamation of the caliphate



The Shura nominated the ISIL leader al-Baghdadi as the caliph. As Caliph Ibrahim – according to legend, Abraham was the builder of the "First house built for the worship of God" - Baghdadi now aligned himself with the political-religious rulers since the days of the Prophet until the end of the Ottoman Empire, and all the Muslims of the world (1.5 billion!) owed him obedience.

As the "Successor of God" (khalifat rasul Allah) he now called on the world's Muslims to follow him, as was clarified by an ISIS spokesperson:

*"The legality of all Emirates, states, groups and originations becomes null and void through the authority of the caliph and the arrival of his troops in their territories."*¹⁹⁵

After proclaiming the caliphate, al-Baghdadi invited people in an audio message to immigrate to his caliphate; he specifically addressed Muslims with military and administrative expertise. ISIS published the following announcement of Caliph Ibrahim in various languages in addition to Arabic, viz. in English, Russian, French and German:

*"Rush, O Muslims, to your state. ... This is my advice to you. If you hold to it you will conquer Rome and own the world, if Allah wills."*¹⁹⁶

Al-Baghdadi, as the "Commander of the Faithful", has an absolute claim to leadership. Because of this totality he denies the claim of the Wahhabi Saudis to be the "true defenders of the faith", the custodians of the holy sites Mecca and Medina and thus protectors of all Sunni. This claim was due to Him, whose rule was the "form of government approved by Allah". This was equal to a declaration of war to the Royal House of Saudi; but not only that, the Islamist scene worldwide was put in a flurry. With the proclamation of the caliphate, ISIS also contested Qaeda's global leadership role in the Jihad, so it was also a declaration of war to Aiman al-Zawahiri. The consequences of the caliph's absolute leadership attitude were declarations of loyalty by various groups at the disadvantage of the newly established al-Qaeda 3.0. For example:

- In July 2010, "Jund al-Khilafa" (soldiers of the caliphate), an Al-

gerian sub-organization of the regional al-Qaeda organization in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), pledged allegiance to ISIS.¹⁹⁷

- In September 2014, the "Abu Sayyaf" group (Father of the sword), a Philippine sub-organization of al-Qaeda in Aceh, pledged allegiance to ISIS.¹⁹⁸
- In March 2015, "Boko Haram" (Western books/ education is considered a sin), the Nigerian regional organization that probably joined al-Qaeda in 2011, pledged allegiance to ISIS.¹⁹⁹

In addition, the Syrian-Iraqi core cell of the caliphate was extended outside the territory:

- Thus the port city of Darna in Libya was declared an ISIS province by the Jihadis in October 2014. Later ISIS militia also controlled the Libyan port city of Sirte, in which a massacre of Christians took place, when 21 Coptic Egyptians were beheaded in February 2015. Geo-strategically Libya is important for ISIS, as this war-torn country forms a corridor to Boko Haram in Nigeria and the Tuareg Jihadis in the Sahara and Mali.²⁰⁰
- In November 2014 the Jihadis of "Ansar Beit al Maqdis" (Supporters of Jerusalem) declared the North of the Sinai as an ISIS Province, which they later called "Wilayat Sinai" (State of Sinai). Geopolitically, the Sinai is important to ISIS because Israel can be attacked from the East and the Egyptian core land from the West.²⁰¹

How the battle for the supremacy in the global Jihad between the militant-Islamist global players will end and whether the armed conflict will stay in the Middle East is likely to become evident in the near future – seeing as Qaeda and ISIS Jihadis have already acted jointly in Europe in the terrorist attacks in Paris.

Owing to its military successes and its uncompromising brutality, taking cruelty as a consideration, as well as the highly professional digital Jihad, ISIS/the caliphate exert a high attraction on Islamists willing to resort to violence all over the world which, to date, has not decreased. As early as at the end of October 2014, the United

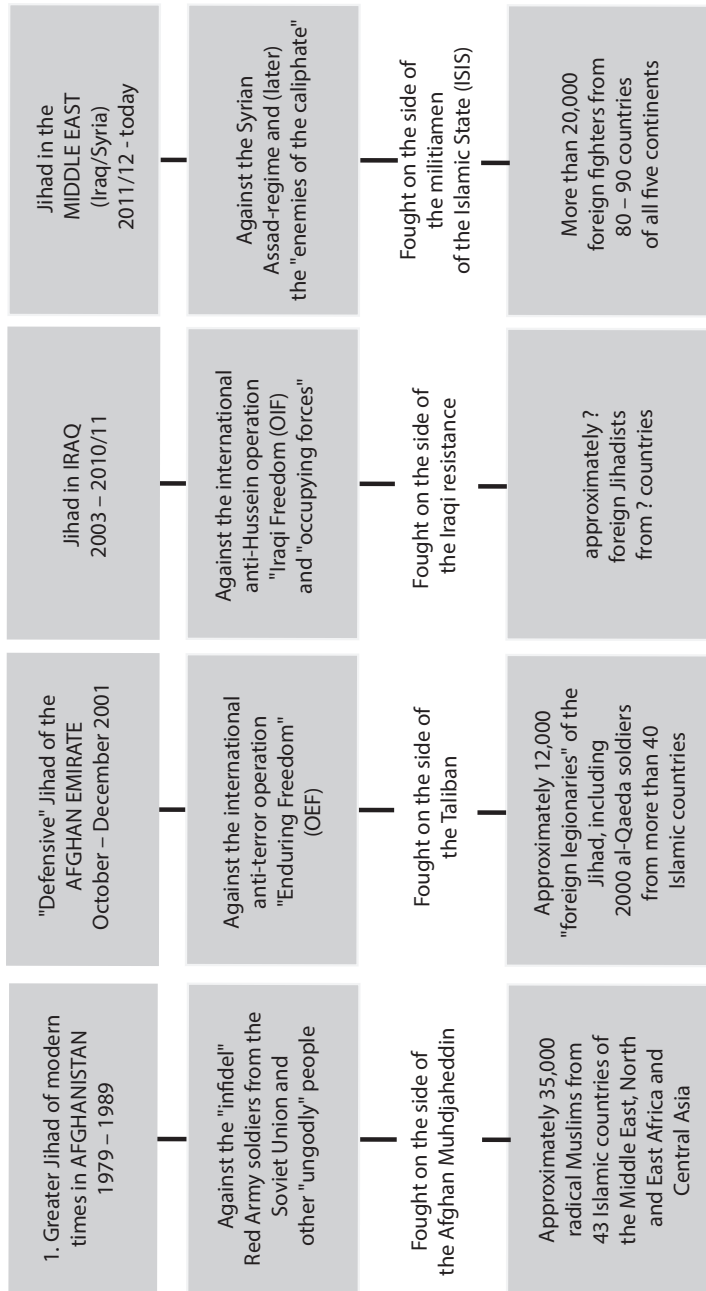
Nations warned of an "unprecedented influx of foreign fighters to the ISIS terror militia and similar groups". 15,000 men and women from more than 80 countries had come to Syria and Iraq to fight for the terrorists, the report for the Security Council said, and continued: "The numbers since 2010 exceed by a multiple the total of the foreign terrorist fighters between 1990 and 2010 – and continue to grow."²⁰²

At the end of January 2015, only three months later, the number of the foreign volunteers was estimated to be in excess of 20,000: This was derived from research done by the International Center for the Study of Radicalization (ICSR) attached to King's College in London, which cooperates with research facilities in the US, Israel and Jordan. According to the ICSR, the number of foreigners is at 20,730 and thus exceeds that of the foreign fighters who had joined the resistance of the local Muhdjaheddin against the Soviet occupiers in Afghanistan in the eighties.²⁰³

According to the ICSR most Foreign Fighters who gathered at the conflict zone Syria-Iraq came from Tunisia (up to 3000), followed by Saudi Arabia (2500), North Caucasus/Russia (1500), Morocco (1500) and Jordan (1500). Nearly 4000 came from the European Union, including 1200 from France, 600 from the UK and 600 from Germany. A broad anti-terror alliance is trying to halt the Jihad volunteers, which even include Uyghurs of Turkic origin from China's Northwestern Xinjian region.²⁰⁴

But ISIS has meanwhile become much more than a militia which prepares and carries out terror attacks, as - while in the middle of a war - an organized political system with a "constitutive people" of approximately eight million people is being created. The Caliphate-Administration is assuming structure. A system is being built up that provides the population with the necessities (food, power, gas, fuel); maintains public facilities (mosques, schools, universities, banks, businesses); provides for a functioning infrastructure (water treatment, refuse collection, traffic flow regulation) and appoints regional administrators (Governors in the provinces). The increasingly differentiated bureaucracy includes its own police, Sharia courts, board of censors and offices for relations with the local population. Last but

Fig. 7
The global Jihadi-Salafist movement
on its road to its "Holy World War"



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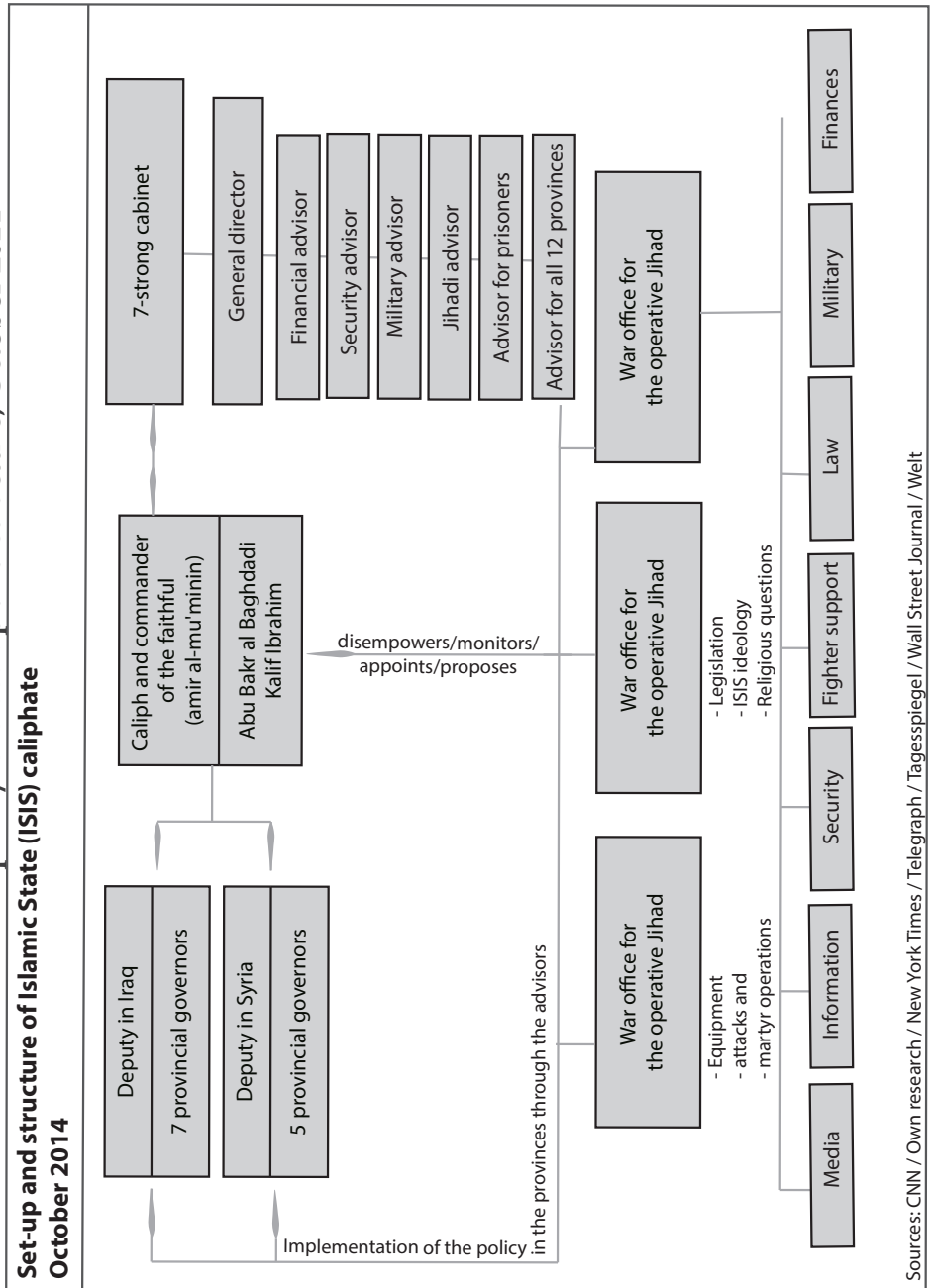
not least as was a recent as mid November 2014 that the caliphate planned to have its own currency (coinage of gold and silver coins) in order to get away from the "tyranny of the Western financial system".²⁰⁵

The financial requirements for the setup and development of the caliphate, including the expenses for the "armed personnel" is enormous. The source of income decreasing in the spring of 2015 continues to include oil sales and fuel smuggling, dealing in stolen antiques, the sale of antique objects on the illegal international art market, extortion of ransom from foreign and local hostages as well as tax collection (protection racket) in the territory. The caliphate made itself known with online magazines and continues to do so, e. g. with the "Da-biq" magazine, the first edition of which (early June 2014, in English) was dedicated to the ISIS-visionary al-Zarqawi under the title "The Return of Khilafah"). This propaganda magazine is predominantly addressed at "interested Muslims" in the West. An analysis for the Federal Government the Federal Intelligence Service (BND) described ISIS as "highly attractive to Muslims globally". This is thought to be one of the reasons why ISIS posed "a greater challenge for the Western community of states" than al-Qaeda.²⁰⁶

Nobody knows how long the caliphate will last. Its existence seems to be guaranteed by the destructive chaos in Iraq and the murderous civil war in Syria. 15 March 2015 is the fourth anniversary of the start of the Syrian conflict. The statistics are as follows: More than 210,000 people killed and more than 7.6 million people displaced. More than 3.8 million Syrians fled abroad, almost a third of these to Lebanon. The material losses in the country were estimated to be 29 billion euro, amongst them inestimable (immeasurable) art treasures. According to a UN report, 300 historical sites were damaged since the beginning of the war. Bombs and grenades destroyed many places, amongst them the ancient Aleppo.²⁰⁷

Shortly after the capture of Mosul in June 2014, ISIS also started a war "against the cultural identity of Iraq and against the World Cultural Heritage of mankind" by burning more than 100,000 books and hundreds of libraries.²⁰⁸ The Syrian-Iraqi caliphate consists of appro-

Fig. 8
Caliphate/ISIS set-up and structure, October 2014



Sources: CNN / Own research / New York Times / Telegraph / Tagesspiegel / Wall Street Journal / Welt

ximately 250,000 square kilometers, which is almost equal to Great Britain. In its Iraqi region are 1800 of a total of 12,000 registered archaeological sites, amongst these four capitals of the Assyrian period and 250 cultural buildings from antiquity.²⁰⁹ "These statues are tin gods of people of previous centuries who prayed to these instead of Allah", was the comment of an ISIS Jihadist during the destruction²¹⁰ - first in Mosul and Nineveh, then Nimrod, which, "like Nineveh, Assur and Ur are part of the magic names of the ancient Near East".²¹¹ ISIS justified the destructions in the ancient middle-eastern cultural region with its oriental-religious diversity by saying that the Prophet Mohammed had also got rid of idols in Mecca. The barbaric "strategy of cultural cleansing" is not only applied to religious sites, but also to people of other religions and cultures. "Is this the end of the Middle East (as we know it)", was the topic of the panel, which discussed this type of "Holy World War" on 8 February at the 51st Munich Security Conference (6 - 8 Feb) 2015. Israel's minister for international relations and secret service coordinator Yuval Steinitz clearly pointed to the joint target of various groups and movements - viz. the creation of a global Islamic State.²¹²

Gadi Eisenkot, Israel's new chief of general staff is aware like nobody else of the dangers at the external borders of his country. Between Israel's northern and Lebanon's southern borders is Hezbollah, in the south of Syria, on the Golan Heights, is the al-Nusra front affiliated to al-Qaeda. In the West are Hamas, supported by Iran, and in Gaza the Islamic Jihad, with whom the ceasefire is not expected to last. And in the South of the country, on Egyptian territory, as the "State Sinai" as an outside ISIS territory. All groups have one thing in common: The set-up and/or development of a "theocratic state" with Jerusalem as the capital - obviously without Israel. Jews are not envisaged in this.

According to a new study by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) of March 2015 the violence in the name of religion is increasing on all continents. In 2013 77 percent of the world's population were affected by religiously motivated attacks - mainly Christians, followed by Muslims. Jews are disproportionately threatened, although they constitute only 0.2% of the world's population. Approximately 80%

"Holy Warriors" at Israel's borders, March 2015



of Jews live in the US and Israel, however, in 2013, they were prosecuted and embattled in 77 countries.²¹³

After the attacks in Paris in January 2015, the historian Michael Wolffsohn says, "Jews are not safe anywhere, not even in Israel", and warns: "The open society is threatened in countries where Jews are threatened. The Jews are only an indicator of the permanent danger, in which the open society finds itself, everywhere and always."²¹⁴

Supplement – April to September 2015

"The year 2015 appears to be becoming the worst year of terrorism since 9/11". This was the conclusion at the time of the study going to press at the beginning of April [INSERT PAGE NUMBER]. A selection of further reports of the news agencies on terrorist attacks, terrorist threats and anti-Semitic attacks between April and August appears to be evidence of this.

April

- On 2 April, fighters of the Somali al-Shabaab militia carried out a terror attack in Garissa University in Kenya. Amongst the more than 800 students, the Jihadis had particularly targeted the Christian students who were held hostage for 16 hours by the Islamic militia. These killed a total of 152 students, approximately 80 were injured, some seriously. As the reason for the bloody deed the terrorists stated that the Kenyan army, side by side with the Somalian army had been fighting against al-Shabaab since 2011 – the year the attacked educational establishment was founded.
- At the same time, a commando of al-Qaeda on the Arab Peninsula (AQAP) freed approximately 300 fellow travelers from the central prison in Mukalla. Al-Qaeda prisoners escaped in large numbers also in other towns of the country.
- On 9 April, hackers belonging to the "Cyber Caliphate" attacked the French TV5-Monde television network which resulted in the collapse of the network's entire IT infrastructure. This most serious cyber attack in French history downed the broadcaster's TV programs for hours. ISIS propaganda was seen on the website and the social media sites. The hackers professed to be part of ISIS and threatened French soldiers. They left a masked figure as a profile picture on the Facebook page of TV5-Monde and the words: "Je suis ISIS".
- On 18 April, five young men were arrested in Melbourne, Australia, during an anti-terror raid. According to the police, two

of them had planned ISIS-inspired attacks on a memorial event which took place a week later.

- At the same time, a major suicide attack took place in Jalalabad, Afghanistan, when 110 people were injured and at least 33 lost their lives. Responsibility for this terror act was claimed for the first time by ISIS at the Hindu Kush.
- In France, Prime Minister Manuel Valls condemned racism, anti-Semitism, the hatred of Muslims and foreigners and homophobia, which had "increased untenably". In view of numerous attacks on Jews and Muslims the state intends to counteract this. Up to 2018, approximately 100 million euro are expected to be made available for this.
- On 22 April, the Taliban in Afghanistan announced the start of their first spring offensive since the end of the NATO combat mission. The main targets of their operation "Asm" (determination) would be the "foreign occupiers", diplomatic missions, members of the "henchmen regimes" and Afghan security forces. The intention was to use suicide bombers and sleepers who were going to infiltrate the security forces.
- Up to the end of April, the anti-ISIS allied had flown 3200 air raids against the caliphate without breaking the power of the Jihadis in their Syrian-Iraqi core territory. By contrast, ISIS was strengthened, as by that time more than a dozen terrorist movements had pledged an oath of allegiance to the caliph, amongst them Jihadi groups in Libya, Algiers, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan and finally Yemen.

May

- In terms of the individual Jihad, two attackers opened fire on a cultural center in Garland/Texas, USA, on 3 May. Approximately 200 visitors to the local exhibition critical of Islam (Mohammed cartoons) escaped injury, a security guard was wounded. Both men were killed in an exchange of fire with the police.

- In Germany, a question by the vice president of the Bundestag, Petra Pau (The Left) regarding desecration of Jewish cemeteries motivated by anti-Semitism and attacks on Synagogues, was answered by the Federal Government as follows: In 2014, there were 27 cases of desecration of Jewish cemeteries (particularly in NRW, Lower Saxony and Saxony-Anhalt) and 20 synagogues attacked.

June

- At the beginning of June reports from Tajikistan stated that Gulmurod Chalimow, one of the highest-ranking police officers, had defected to ISIS. The colonel, who called for resistance against the government from inside Syria, had been the head of the troops of the Department of Interior until April. This resulted in the issue of an international search warrant for him for high treason. It is alleged that several thousand foreign fighters from central Asia fight for ISIS.
- In terms of the individual Jihad, a Palestinian carried out a knife attack on a soldier at the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem on 21 June and wounded him critically. The soldier was still able to shoot at his attacker. The attack occurred only a few hours before a visit by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to the region.
- On 26 June, the strategy of the individual Jihad resulted in a "black Friday" – terror attacks from an ISIS background in Europe, Africa and Asia:
 - » In France, the Maghrebian Frenchman Yassin Salhi tried to blow up a gas plant. The terrorist target, the Air Products gas plant situated to the South East of Lyon in Saint-Quentin-Fallavier is part of an American industrial group which has branches all over the world – also in Israel – and specialises in industrial gases. The management of the company is from Iran, whose leadership is openly opposed to ISIS. At the fence of the company premises a severed head was found which

belonged to the boss of the attacker. Next to the victim, flags with the Muslim Creed were found.

- » On Friday morning, an armed man shot at Western hotel guests at the beach of the Hotel Imperial Marhaba in the holiday resort Sousse. The Tunisian Jihadi Seifeddine Rezgui killed more than 38 holiday makers (30 Britons, 3 Irishmen, 2 German, 1 Russian, Belgian and Portuguese each) and injured another 36. Subsequently, thousands of holiday makers left the country, whose president declared a state of emergency in Tunisia approximately one week after the attack.
- » As in Saint-Quentin-Fallavier and in Sousse, another serious terror attack occurred in Kuwait City. A Saudi-Arabian Jihadi, who had recently entered the country, blew himself up in in a Shiite mosque killing 27 people and injuring 222 other members of the congregation. After the anti-Shiite attack by the Sunni the Emirate is planning a DNA data bank which is expected to strengthen the investigative work of the security authorities.

July

- Numerous terrorist attacks were carried out from the Egyptian Northern Sinai that had been declared a province of the ISIS caliphate in November 2014, mainly in the capital Cairo. Here, a car bomb killed the prosecutor general, Hisham Barakat. On 1 July, the "Lions of the Caliphate" attacked 15 check points in Northern Sinai and killed at least 17 (50 to 70 according to other estimates) soldiers. Approximately 240 ISIS fighters are supposed to have lost their lives. On 11 July a street vendor was killed in a car bomb attack on the Italian Consulate in Cairo. On 28 August 29 people were injured during a car bomb attack on a building of the security forces in the capital. In an internet statement, the attack was described as having been carried out in retaliation for "our martyr brothers".
- Mid July, the NDS, the National Directorate of Security in Afgha-

nistan reported that an ISIS leader had been killed during an air raid in the East of the country - Hafed Sajeed, head of the "State of Khorasan" in Nangarhar Province. ISIS claims this area. Less than two weeks later, the NDS spread the news of the death of the Taliban leader Mohammed Omar. The Mullah had probably died already in April 2013 (of tuberculosis?). His death had been kept a secret for more than two years. The new commander, Mullah Achtar Mansur, is controversial. His appointment was not recognized by some sections of the Taliban. It is possible that ISIS will reap the benefits from this internal power struggle.

- In terms of the individual Jihad, Youssuf Abdulazeed, a Jordanian born in Kuwait, naturalized in the US, used an automatic rifle to shoot at US soldiers on 16 July. The heavy armed Islamist had attacked two military installations near Chattanooga/Tennessee, killing four marines and injuring several people. When offering resistance, the shooter was killed.
- On 20 July at least 32 people were killed by a suicide attack on a cultural center in the Southern Turkish town of Suruc. ISIS was blamed for this attack, which was the most serious in Turkey for more than two years. One of the largest camps for refugees from Syria is in Suruc, an urban neighbour of the Northern Syrian Kurdish town of Kobane. After the attack Turkey opened its NATO base Incirlik for US air raids against the caliphate and joined the US led coalition against ISIS.

August

- August 8 – exactly a year ago at the time of this study - the US-led anti-ISIS coalition at present consisting of more than 60 countries had started with the air raids on the caliphate that had had been declared on 29 June 2014. According to Washington, almost 6000 raids were carried out against the ISIS Jihadis. According to a US secret service statement, these hardly made a dent.
- August 17 – With an unambiguous message, ISIS declared war

on Turkey and called for insurrection against President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the "devil", using the words: "All the faithful must conquer Istanbul, the city which the traitor Erdogan has opened both day and night to the crusaders." With Turkey, the new caliphate declared war on the state which had abolished the old caliphate 91 years previously.

- August 14 – Sirte, the home town of the Libyan ruler Muammar Gaddafi who had been overthrown in 2011, had been declared a colony of ISIS in October 2014. In mid August an uprising led by members of the Ferjani tribe was quelled by ISIS militias with bestial force. The Jihadis had also threatened to use gas on civilians.
- The US assumes that ISIS militia used mustard gas during a parallel attack on Kurdish Peshmerga in Northern Iraq. ISIS could have obtained the chemical weapon during its advance in Syria from caches of the Assad regime.
- Still in August, Palmyra in Syria fell victim to the ISIS "strategy of cultural cleansing". The oasis which is one of the most important sites of the ancient world, had been conquered by ISIS at the end of May. As early as July the famous lion statue from the Temple of Allat had been destroyed. Allat is a pre-Islamic Arabian goddess. In August the 1500-year-old Catholic Church of the Holy Elian in the Assyrian town of Karjataan near Palmyra was flattened by bulldozers and sledgehammers. Shortly afterwards it was the Temple of Baalshamin that was blown up by explosives. The destruction of the ancient oriental UNESCO World Cultural Heritage continues to be conducted systematically.
- In accordance with the principle of the individual Jihad, the Moroccan Ayoub El Khazzani, heavily armed with an automatic rifle, pistol and knife, tried to cause a massacre amongst travelers on the Thalys high-speed train from Amsterdam to Paris near the Belgian-French border on 21 August. Because his Kalashnikov jammed and because of the courageous intervention by five passengers, in particular of two plainclothes US soldiers on holiday, a blood bath was prevented. Despite the serious injuries inflicted

on them by pistol and knife wounds, they were able to overpower the extremely violent perpetrator together with an American, a British and a French co-traveler and hand him over to the Police in the French town of Arras. The perpetrator was known both to the Spanish and the French intelligence service.

- At the end of August, Turkish fighter jets for the first time participated in the US-led raids against ISIS. The air strikes – as Department of Defense in Ankara, were flown as a part of the international military alliance, as ISIS posed a threat to Turkey.

Last but not least Israel continues to be highly threatened. Thus, on 4 June, the airforce reacted to a rocket attack. Hours earlier two rockets had been fired from Gaza and landed on Israeli territory. In the army's opinion, it was a Salafist splinter group close to ISIS that was responsible for this and not Hamas. The Jihadis sympathizing with the caliphate continue to provoke Hamas in Gaza increasingly more often who sees itself discredited by this in its "leadership role in the fight against Israel". According to official sources, Israel had killed four militant Palestinians in the Golan Heights in Syria during an air strike on June 21 who had attacked an Israeli village on the previous day. According to an army statement, the fighters were part of the Islamic Jihad which is supported by Iran. Since the nuclear deal had been reached, Israel continues to consider Iran as its greatest threat. On 14 July, it was officially announced in Vienna that an agreement had been reached between Iran and the international community in the nuclear dispute, which had started in 2002/2003. While the five UN veto powers of the Security Council together with Germany, with the end of the negotiations on the Iranian nuclear program, considered an "historic agreement" (civilian use of nuclear energy, strict limits and monitoring) Israel considered it to be a "grave mistake of historical dimensions". According to Israel's Prime Minister Netanyahu, the regime in Teheran, because of the lifting of sanctions, would now get access to a "hundred billion dollars with which the country can further promote aggression and terror in the region and the world". The fears are not unfounded. According to a statement by its clerical leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei on 18 July, the end of Ramadan, the Iran remains on a collision course with the US despite

the nuclear deal, since both countries were pursuing diametrically opposing interests in the region. Iran would never stop supporting its friends in the region, for instance the Palestinians and the people of Yemen, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria and Bahrain. The Iran deal was and continues to be contentious also amongst American Jews. However, what is not under dispute is the threat by Iran that continues to apply also after the agreement – "Marg bar Jisrael" - Death to Israel.

Sources: Various news agency like AFP, dpa, epd, Reuters, rtr

**Epilogue by Lala Süsskind,
Chairperson of the
Jewish Forum for Democracy and against anti-Semitism
(JFDA e.V.)**

In January 2015 Paris was the sad scene of a terror wave lasting several days. Three self-appointed "Holy warriors" attacked both the building housing the editorial team of the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo and the kosher supermarket "Hyper Cacher" in the Jewish quarter of Paris. During these incidents, a total of 17 people were killed. This terror wave was an attack on the basic values of a society upholding Western, democratic values and on the freedom of expression which is intrinsically considered a quality possession worth protecting.

President Hollande called it a "tragedy for the nation" and described the hostage taking in a Jewish shop as an act of anti-Semitism.

After the attacks a Frenchman had posted on Twitter: : "The illustrators died because they illustrated. The police officers, because they protected us. The Jews – because they were Jews." Because they were Jews, a Franco-Algerian Jihadist murdered a rabbi teaching at a Jewish school, his two sons and another child. Because they were Jews, a Franco-Algerian Jihadist, who had just returned from the civil war area of Syria, murdered two Israeli visitors and two members of the staff in the Jewish Museum in Brussels. Because they were scared, the Jewish schools in Antwerp and Brussels closed on 16 January after an anti-terror operation by the police against Belgian Jihadis. Because he was a Jew, a security guard at a synagogue in Copenhagen had to die on 14 February, shot by a Dane of Palestinian origin.

Anti-Semitic violence has been forming a common thread in the Jihad-terrorist events of the last quarter of a century. The author and terrorism expert Berndt Georg Thamm gathered these threads in this highly up-to-date study and analyzed the various forms of the Holy War: Whether covert or overt forms of the "Holy War", whether carried out globally by Shiite "martyrs" or Sunni "Holy Warriors", the Jihad has become a "Holy" World war within a few short decades.

This study is a guide to the development of Jihadi terrorism. The al-Qaeda movement has undergone many changes and acquired different faces, including that of the "Islamic State" originating from al-Qaeda in Iraq. There is only one constant: The face of anti-Semitism.

The historian Michael Wolffsohn says, "Jews are not safe anywhere, not even in Israel", and warns: "The open society is threatened in countries where Jews are threatened. The Jews are only an indicator of the permanent danger, in which the open society finds itself, everywhere and always.

We would be well advised to keep an eye on global anti-Semitism.

*Lala Süsskind,
September 2015*

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*NB: Page numbers (S.) refer to the original German text –
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