

DÉBAT

Mat Isa Nasharudin, Executive Chairman and Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the Global Movement of Moderates Foundation, former Member of the Malaysian Parliament

I am from Malaysia, representing the Global Movement of Moderates, a Malaysian initiative to provide CVE and PVE, and we are following UN developments very closely, especially the last meeting in Geneva. I echo what Mr. Jamal has mentioned about the need for us to solve the issues according to the language of the day, and this is very much what is needed now as far as counter-narrative is concerned, especially narratives related to religion. I am not seeing much of that being done in as far as CVE or PVE in our counter-narrative, so if that could be promoted, especially from Saudi or from Qatar, that would be a good thing because of the attraction of these narratives the youth are being exposed to, especially in that part of the world. They are very attractive now in that part of the world, in Malaysia, Indonesia and southern Thailand.

Secondly, echoing what Mr. Khan has said about victims, we need to let the world know about victims, but we also need to expose the actors in terms of acts of terrorism. Being a Muslim, I feel embarrassed now – the topic of the discussion is terrorism, but the whole focus is on Muslim terrorism. Not a single word was mentioned about the acts of terrorism where the victims are Muslim, for example the latest situation in Myanmar, where the Muslims are suffering from atrocities and ethnic cleansing that is happening there. The world also needs to open its eyes to the situation in that part of the world and the Muslim victims there.

A Qatari participant

Thank you for this panel. I just have a comment for Sergey Karaganov. He said, and I quote, ‘Suppose that Sisi did not prepare the *coup d’état* – Egypt would have been in flames’. I actually strongly disagree with this statement, because terrorist bombings in the Sinai Peninsula actually increased after his *coup d’état*, and the number of innocent Egyptian soldiers and other people that died on a monthly basis significantly increased. Defining terrorism as the killing of innocent civilians, that is exactly what Sisi did when he killed around 1,000 people in the Rabaa massacre, which the Human Rights Watch report stated was the worst massacre in modern Egyptian history. Therefore, Sisi was not the hero who saved Egypt from terrorism but the dictator who killed people and violated human rights, but just in a more formal way.

Moubarack Lo, Special Advisor to the Prime Minister, Senegal, Chief Economist of the Prime Minister and Coordinator of the Economic and Social Analysis Unit, Senior Fellow, OCP Policy Center

Pour moi le terrorisme, c’est le plus grand défi du XXI^e siècle. Ce n’est pas le développement de l’Afrique, l’Afrique va se développer, croyez-nous... C’est le terrorisme qui est le plus grand défi et c’est la plus grande menace à la qualité de vie parce que lorsque vous ne savez pas s’il y a un acte terroriste qui se prépare près de vous, vous ne pouvez pas bien vivre. Malheureusement, je dois suivre ce qui a été dit tout à l’heure par le directeur d’Al Arabiya et tous ceux qui ont parlé - notamment le représentant des Nations unies - les causes profondes n’ont pas encore été attaquées. Jusqu’à aujourd’hui, on est pour moi en train de faire de la prévention à court terme. La prévention à long terme c’est comment faire pour que le problème disparaisse de la scène, c’est un combat de longue haleine. On parle des *sustainable development goals* (SDG), pour moi il faudrait avoir des *sustainable peace goals*. Cela doit commencer dès l’école, comment faire pour que la tolérance se développe dans les écoles. Il faut qu’on éduque les jeunes de tous les pays pour s’accepter, pour que celui qui vit en Europe ne se dise pas que l’islam c’est l’ennemi, etc. Je ne suis pas sûr qu’aujourd’hui la situation soit en tout cas gérée comme il le faut dans les différents États. Il faut faire cet effort au



niveau culturel et éducatif. Le reste ce sont des agendas intérieurs, il faut que les pays développent l'emploi des jeunes, etc. Mais le plus important - et c'est le message clé - comment développer la tolérance au niveau mondial ? Je ne suis pas sûr qu'aujourd'hui il y ait des initiatives fortes au niveau des États. Merci.

Alfredo Valladão, Professor at Paris School of International Affairs (PSIA), Sciences Po Paris. President of the Advisory Board of EUBrasil association (Brussels), Senior Fellow, OCP Policy Center

Regarding respect for sovereignty, I wish that would apply to Ukraine's territorial integrity, but that is not the point. Mr. Karaganov showed us two types of terrorism, state terrorism and geo-terrorism or non-governmental terrorism. I think there is a third type which is much more lethal and pervasive in our world today, which is state-sponsored terrorism. We can see it everywhere, in Pakistan, Darfur, and for that matter I could even mention Donbass. The idea is that defending existing states in the name of stability and against chaos does not mean defending existing regimes. We all know that there is regime-sponsored terrorism, and we also know that brutal and totalitarian regimes nurture terrorism. Assad is a case in point. Therefore, there is no way that we can fight terrorism seriously if we do not tackle this problem of state-sponsored terrorism, which is the most important one today, which means that the international community, whatever that means today, has to decide on the legitimacy of regimes, not on the legitimacy of states.

From the floor

Après avoir écouté les intervenants, je suis encore une fois convaincu qu'il est impossible de combattre le terrorisme car malheureusement nous faisons toujours une erreur : il y a le bon et le mauvais terroriste. Lorsque l'on écoute les intervenants, tout le monde a parlé de la politique de son État. Tout d'abord, il faut comprendre une chose, depuis le début de l'histoire, le terrorisme et les terroristes ont toujours été soutenus par les États. Aucun groupe terroriste ne peut se développer sans le soutien d'un État ou d'un service de renseignement. Les États malheureusement font une guerre asymétrique contre d'autres États via le terrorisme et ils utilisent le terrorisme comme un outil diplomatique. Par le passé - aujourd'hui on parle de terrorisme islamique - l'idéologie était le marxisme et le léninisme et les gens faisaient la terreur au nom du marxisme et du léninisme. Après la chute de l'Union soviétique, malheureusement, la religion est à nouveau devenue une valeur politique partout dans le monde - le monde chrétien et le monde musulman. Aujourd'hui, on utilise la religion pour faire du terrorisme et personne ne peut expliquer qu'un groupe terroriste puisse se développer sans le soutien d'un État ou d'un service de renseignement. Dans les médias notamment, pour un certain groupe on parle de terroristes, pour d'autres de combattants de la liberté ou de guerriers. Nous avons tous malheureusement notre part de responsabilité, que ce soit les médias, que ce soit les universitaires ou les chercheurs car nous faisons cette distinction entre les terroristes. Si, aujourd'hui, tout le monde ne condamne pas le terrorisme sans dire « mais » - on dit « ils ont commis cet acte terroriste mais... » - et essaie de trouver une raison, on se rend compte qu'aucune raison qu'elle soit d'ordre politique, ethnique ou idéologique ne peut expliquer et ne doit expliquer les tueries ou les carnages des innocents.

Sergey Karaganov, Honorary Chairman of the Presidium of the non-governmental Council on Foreign and Defense Policy of Russia, Founder and former Deputy Director of the Institute of Europe of the Academy of Sciences of USSR/Russia

I sympathise with your views, but if the Muslim Brotherhood had kept control of Egypt, the whole country would have been in flames. Most people in the world were happy when they were put where they are now.

Jamal Khashoggi, General Manager, Editor in Chief Of AlArab News Channel

The idea of a counter-narrative is beautiful, but it would not work effectively. We need it, we always need a counter-narrative, but the most effective counter-narrative is to have a working state, good governance. It would rule out the

logic of the extremist to have the hope of a prosperous society. I believe that Tunisia, for example, even though it has a little bit of the evil of radicalism here and there, will grow out of it, because the people are beginning to have hope. When any society loses hope, no counter-narrative can replace the root causes that will bring more terrorism. For example, because of the anarchy that has spread all over Syria today, radicals have a free hand to spread all their radical ideas, even to young children, so we can expect a new generation of radicals because we left Syria in anarchy. Working to bring back peace, order and stability and supporting the nationalist Syrian rebels who want a better future for their country will mean that those nationalist Syrians will eradicate radicalism.