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## Where Did Iran Get its Military Arms Over the last 70 Years?

The US attempted to secure the release of hostages in Lebanon through the clandestine arms deals. The proceeds from the sales were used to fund guerrillas fighting against the left-wing government in Nicaragua in an effort to stop the spread of socialism in Latin America. The scandal would later known as the Iran-Contra affair.

Following US sanctions in 1979 which were further tightened in the 1990s, Iran moved closer to Russia and China. Arms sales from Russia increased significantly in the 1990s.

The sanctions pushed Iran to build its own military industry. The republic produced its own tanks, armored personnel carriers, missiles, fighter jets and submarines. It also exported military equipment to countries like Syrian and Sudan, according to SIPRI data.

The first chart shows the arms sales by Russia were greatly reduced when the United Nations Security Council imposed sanctions against Iran in 2007 over its failure to halt uranium enrichment, a crucial step in developing nuclear weapon.

China's arms sales to Iran however were not effected.

Due to their close financial ties with Iran, both China and Russia only supported the sanctions after parts of them were watered down. Russia was then building a nuclear power station in Bushehr, Iran, which would be completed in 2011.

The sanctions banned the supply of nuclear-related technology and materials and called on members states to "exercise vigilance and restraint" in the transfer of arms to Iran. A ban on major conventional weapons transfers was only imposed in 2010 when the UN tightened the sanctions.

From 2008 to 2015, China and Russia still maintained a smaller volume or arms trade with Iran, as indicated in the first chart.

The Iran nuclear deal has opened up a window for China and Russia to revive their arms relationship with Iran.

In April 2015, Russia lifted its self-imposed ban on the delivery of a powerful missile air-defense system to Iran when the Iran nuclear deal negotiation — of which Russia was a part — was yet to be completed.

The \$800 million deal, signed in 2007, was suspended by Russia in 2010 due to the UN sanctions. Russia started the delivery of the missiles in April 2016, only three months after the implementation of the nuclear deal.

Arms exports to Iran, 1950–2015



## Qatar Risks US Sanctions Over Support for Hamas, Muslim Brotherhood

### Robert Gates, a Former US Defence Secretary and CIA Director, Spoke of a "Long History of Qatar Welcoming the Muslim Brotherhood."

Qatar is at risk of being hit with US economic sanctions over its alleged support for Hamas and other offshoots of the Muslim Brotherhood. Ed Royce, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the US House of Representatives, said he would introduce legislation threatening sanctions against countries that provide support for "terrorist elements of the Muslim Brotherhood" and Hamas in particular.

Qatar has long been accused by other Gulf countries of providing funds and political support to Muslim Brotherhood groups, an allegation the Doha government denies. "We do not, will not and have not supported the Muslim Brotherhood," Qatari Foreign Minister Mohammed bin Abdulrahman al-Thani told Arab News.

Royce and other participants to the conference on Qatar and the Muslim Brotherhood's global affiliates said there was overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Robert Gates, a former US defence secretary and CIA director, spoke at the event, organized by the Foundation for Defense of Democracies (FDD), a Washington think-tank, of a "long history of Qatar welcoming the Muslim Brotherhood."

Gates said that, while the Muslim Brotherhood was behaving like "science fiction shape-shifters," there could be no doubt that it was still a movement committed to the re-establishment of an Islamic caliphate and the introduction of sharia. "If it looks like a duck and walks like a duck, then it probably is a duck," he said in answer to a question whether the Brotherhood should be regarded as a group with radical Islamist goals.

Royce, a Republican, insisted that the threat of sanctions could convince Doha to end its support for the Brotherhood. "We need to see a change in behaviour immediately," he said about Qatar. Royce did not give details of the draft measure he has been working



on with Brian Mast, another Republican in the House of Representatives, but said the United States had to act following broken promises by Qatar to crack down on radical Islamist groups.

"If we are talking about moving legislation... that focuses on sanctioning those who support Hamas and if Qatar is supporting Hamas, then we are talking about sanctions against Qatar," Royce said. "There comes a time when you have to move forward decisively."

The Qatari Embassy in Washington did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

**Moving against Qatar is not a straightforward enterprise for the United States, however. Qatar is home to the biggest US military base in the Middle East and is an important military ally for Washington in the region. Relocating the Qatar base to another place in the Middle East to put pressure on Doha would not be easy, Gates said at the conference. "I don't think anybody should underestimate how complicated that would be," he said.**

Gates said Washington should confront Qatar with a list of requests and concerns and tell the government in Doha that the United States expected a change in behaviour. "If you are unwilling to change these things, then we will begin to change the nature of this relationship" should be the US message to Qatar, he said.

## Terror in France: The Rise of Jihad in the West

Gilles Kepel

### The virulent new brand of Islamic extremism threatening the West

In November 2015, ISIS terrorists massacred scores of people in Paris with coordinated attacks on the Bataclan concert hall, cafés and restaurants, and the national sports stadium. On Bastille Day in 2016, an ISIS sympathizer drove a truck into crowds of vacationers at the beaches of Nice, and two weeks later an elderly French priest was murdered during morning Mass by two ISIS militants. Here is Gilles Kepel's explosive account of the radicalization of a segment of Muslim youth that led to those attacks—and of the failure of governments in France and across Europe to address it. It is a book everyone in the West must read.

Terror in France shows how these atrocities represent a paroxysm of violence that has long been building. The turning point was in 2005, when the worst riots in modern French history erupted in the poor, largely Muslim suburbs of Paris after the accidental deaths of two boys who had been running from the police. The unrest or "French intifada" crystallized a new consciousness among young French Muslims. Some have fallen prey to the allure of "war of civilizations" rhetoric in ways never imagined by their parents and grandparents.

This is the highly anticipated English edition of Kepel's sensational French bestseller, first published shortly after the Paris attacks.



Now fully updated to reflect the latest developments and featuring a new introduction by the author, *Terror in France* reveals the truth about a virulent new wave of jihadism that has Europe as its main target. Its aim is to divide European societies from within by instilling fear, provoking backlash, and achieving the ISIS dream shared by Europe's Far Right of separating Europe's growing Muslim minority community from the rest of its citizens.

Gilles Kepel is professor of political science at the École Normale Supérieure in Paris. His books include *Beyond Terror and Martyrdom: The Future of the Middle East*, *The War for Muslim Minds: Islam and the West*, and *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*.

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## ISIS Terrorism & Counterterrorism

than through the invitation-only Telegram channels and chat rooms. Specifically, the chart encourages distribution of this material using Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube.

Not only is taking down pro-ISIS social media accounts an ineffective strategy and an impossible battle to win, but since 2015, ISIS has also encouraged its supporters to use a variety of tools, including virtual private networks (VPNs) and specialized browsers such as Tor, to mask their physical locations when online. The pro-ISIS Electronic Horizon Foundation regularly provides updates on the best VPNs to use via its Telegram channels, and ISIS encouraged the use of these technologies in the tenth issue of its original French-language publication, *Dar al-Islam*, which was produced by al-Hayat, the media brand also responsible for the group's flagship English-language magazine *Dabiq*. By using VPNs, ISIS recruiters and supporters can make it impossible for authorities to locate them while harnessing social media and file-sharing sites both to groom and mobilize would-be terrorists and to help the group broadcast incitement-focused propaganda materials. Aside from using such sites to broadcast propaganda and identify supporters, ISIS recruiters such as the British couple Junaid Hussain, who died in 2015, and his widow, Sally Jones, have used Twitter to circulate hit lists containing the names, home addresses, and other identifying information for more than 1,000 U.S. national security personnel. They have also tweeted home addresses for current and former directors of the Central Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency, and Defense Intelligence Agency. ISIS members have even crowd-sourced threat campaigns against Americans. One targeted me the day before the shooting at Pulse, a gay night club in Orlando, Florida. It need not be this way. There is a fairly simple solution that could severely cripple ISIS' online recruitment and incitement operations. Social media and file-sharing companies could block much of ISIS' passive and active engagements with would-be terrorists here in the West by allowing only verified account users to access their sites when using VPNs or Tor. Of course, this would elicit a loud outcry among many users—such as activists who depend on VPNs or Tor to shield them from authoritarian governments—but Alphabet, Facebook, and Twitter could easily address this issue by requiring nonverified users who insist upon or need to use a VPN to pay a nominal fee, such as \$1.00 per month, through traditional payment methods. This recurring transaction would create a record that authorities could then use to more easily identify and locate those who are planning to commit or have committed attacks. Such policies are not impossible to implement on Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and

Google Drive or, for that matter, on Archive.org, which became a primary point of publication for terrorist groups' propaganda long before ISIS split with al Qaeda. Wikipedia, which is hardly a tech innovator when compared with Google, Twitter, and Facebook, deters illicit activity by blocking people from editing entries if they use a VPN. Indeed, if an ISIS member or supporter wished to deface the Wikipedia page of U.S. President Donald Trump, just as Hussain and his associates in the ISIS hacking division did in 2015 to the U.S. Central Command's Twitter account, his or her IP address, and thus offline location, would be at risk of identification by the authorities.

If these companies and nonprofit file-hosting sites such as Archive.org are unwilling to take such measures voluntarily, intelligence officials could insist that policymakers call on the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to require the social media and file-sharing industry to do so by invoking national security concerns. Last March in London, I mentioned such a solution at a conference on countering ISIS, hosted by the British Foreign Office. British officials and many others from U.S.-allied countries expressed their desire to see the FCC develop a simple set of regulations like the one I had suggested. They rely on the United States to set such policies since European nations, of course, do not have the jurisdiction to do so. Both private and public sectors, unfortunately, continue to demonstrate a penchant for deficient strategic analysis against Salafijihadist groups' online activity.

**This is a terrible oversight. As long as we continue to allow ISIS and other terrorist groups to hide out not just in the dark spaces of the Internet but also in easy-to-access social media and file-sharing sites, we are helping them to enhance their capabilities to influence the vulnerable, while ensuring that these groups will continue to pose durable threats to global security in the years to come.**

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