

Sub-Saharan Africa	Hiran	Bulodurore street	Jihadist Salafisr	1	2	Bombing/Explosi	Military	Somalia	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Pakistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Baghdad	
Sub-Saharan Africa	Banaadir	Mogadishu Koodkighbour	Jihadist Salafisr	2	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Somalia	Firearms	2018-02-22	2018	02	22	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk	
South Asia	Kunar	Unknown	security checkpoint	Jihadist Salafisr	3	8	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-02-22	2018	02	22	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
South Asia	Oruzgan	Unknown	army camp	Deobandi	9	20	Armed assault	Military	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-02-22	2018	02	22	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Middle East & North Af	Anzar	Qa'im	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	1	1	Bombing/Explosi	Police	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-22	2018	02	22	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
Middle East & North Af	Baghdad	Baghdad	market	Jihadist Salafisr	1	7	Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-22	2018	02	22	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
Sub-Saharan Africa	Far North	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	1	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Cameroon	Firearms	2018-02-22	2018	02	22	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
Sub-Saharan Africa	Hiran	Beledweyr	army checkpoint	Jihadist Salafisr	0	2	Bombing/Explosi	Military	Somalia	Explosives	2018-02-22	2018	02	22	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
South Asia	Balochistan	Quetta	street	Deobandi	7	23	Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Pakistan	Explosives	2018-02-23	2018	02	23	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
Sub-Saharan Africa	Banaadir	Mogadishu	street	Jihadist Salafisr	0	3	Bombing/Explosi	Military	Somalia	Explosives	2018-02-23	2018	02	23	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
South Asia	Kunduz	Unknown	Unknown	Deobandi	5	2	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-02-23	2018	02	23	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
Sub-Saharan Africa	Far North	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	3	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Cameroon	Firearms	2018-02-23	2018	02	23	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
Middle East & North Af	Diyala	Miqdadiyah	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	3	1	Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-23	2018	02	23	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
Middle East & North Af	Shabwah	Unknown	militar vehicle	Jihadist Salafisr	0	3	Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Yemen	Explosives	2018-02-23	2018	02	23	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
South Asia	Helmand	Nawa	Unknown	Deobandi	6	0	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-02-23	2018	02	23	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
Sub-Saharan Africa	Far North	Amchide	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	0	2	Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Cameroon	Explosives	2018-02-23	2018	02	23	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
Western Europe	Hauts-de-France	Vendin le V Prison	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	0	4	Armed Assault	Police	France	Melee	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Pakistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
Sub-Saharan Africa	Menaka	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	0	3	Bombing/Explosi	Military	France	Explosives	2018-02-22	2018	02	22	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
Sub-Saharan Africa	Banaadir	Mogadishu	Near the president	Jihadist Salafisr	1		Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Somalia	Firearms	2018-02-22	2018	02	22	Cameroon	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
South Asia	Ghor	Chagcharar	Unknown	Deobandi	2	6	Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-23	2018	02	23	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
South Asia	Farah	Farah	Unknown	Deobandi	3	0	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-02-23	2018	02	23	Pakistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk	Kirkuk	residence	Jihadist Salafisr	3	1	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Firearms	2018-02-23	2018	02	23	Somalia	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
Middle East & North Af	North Sinai	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	1	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Egypt	Firearms	2018-02-24	2018	02	24	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
Middle East & North Af	Baghdad	Baghdad	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	8	24	Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-24	2018	02	24	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
Sub-Saharan Africa	Lamu	Nongoro	highway	Jihadist Salafisr	1	5	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Kenya	Firearms	2018-02-24	2018	02	24	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
South Asia	Farah	Farah	Unknown	Deobandi	7	3	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Unknown	2018-02-24	2018	02	24	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
South Asia	Qaysar	Faryab	checkpoint	Deobandi	6	4	Armed assault	Military	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-02-24	2018	02	24	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al-Ha
Middle East & North Af	North Sinai	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	1	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Egypt	Firearms	2018-02-24	2018	02	24	Iraq	Middle East & North Af	Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk
Sub-Saharan Africa	Banaadir	Mogadishu	militar vehicle	Jihadist Salafisr	0	5	Armed assault	Military	Somalia	Firearms	2018-02-24	2018	02	24	Yemen	Middle East & North Af	Middle East & North Af	Aden
Sub-Saharan Africa	Lower Shabelle	Unknown	military base	Jihadist Salafisr	2	0	Armed assault	Military	Somalia	Firearms	2018-02-25	2018	02	25	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Aden
Sub-Saharan Africa	Far North	Mayo-Tsan	residence church	Jihadist Salafisr	4	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Cameroon	Firearms	2018-02-25	2018	02	25	Cameroon	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Aden
Middle East & North Af	Baghdad	Baghdad	al taya	Jihadist Salafisr	38	105	Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-25	2018	02	25	India	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Aden
Sub-Saharan Africa	Adamawa	Madagali	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	3	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Firearms	2018-02-25	2018	02	25	Iraq	Middle East & North Af	Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk
South Asia	Faryab	Khwaja Saib	market	Deobandi	5	45	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-26	2018	02	26	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk
South Asia	Logar	Mohammadi	Unknown	Deobandi	1	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-26	2018	02	26	Mali	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk
Sub-Saharan Africa	Far North	Unknown	mosque	Jihadist Salafisr	2	12	Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Somalia	Explosives	2018-02-27	2018	02	27	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk
South Asia	Balochistan	Quetta	Unknown	Deobandi	3	2	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-27	2018	02	27	Iran	Middle East & North Af	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Middle East & North Af	Diyala	Baqubah	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	3	7	Bombing/Explosi	Police	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-27	2018	02	27	Nigeria	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Middle East & North Af	Diyala	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	3	7	Bombing/Explosi	Police	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-27	2018	02	27	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Diffa	Toumour	militar	Jihadist Salafisr	2		Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-28	2018	02	28	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Borno	Maiduguri	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	12		Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-28	2018	02	28	India	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
South Asia	Helmand	Unknown	security checkpoint	Jihadist Salafisr	2	4	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Explosives	2018-03-01	2018	03	01	Iraq	Middle East & North Af	Middle East & North Af	Nineveh
Sub-Saharan Africa	Adamawa	Unknown	village	Jihadist Salafisr	2	4	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Explosives	2018-03-01	2018	03	01	Nigeria	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Nineveh
South Asia	Balochistan	Quetta	vaccination	Jihadist Salafisr	2	4	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Explosives	2018-03-01	2018	03	01	Nigeria	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Nineveh
South Asia	Balikh	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	18		Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Explosives	2018-03-01	2018	03	01	Somalia	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Nineveh
South Asia	Kabul	Kabul	Intercontinental h	Deobandi	40	23	Hostage taking	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-03-02	2018	03	02	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Nineveh
South Asia	Helmand	Garmsir	checkpoint	Deobandi	2	2	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-03-02	2018	03	02	Burkina Faso	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Nineveh
South Asia	Herat	Gulrain	road	Deobandi	23		Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-03-02	2018	03	02	Iraq	Middle East & North Af	Middle East & North Af	Nineveh
South Asia	Helmand	Nahri Saraj	Unknown	Deobandi	4		Bombing/Explosi	Military	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-03-02	2018	03	02	Kenya	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Nineveh
South Asia	Balochistan	Quetta	street	Deobandi	1		Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	China	Firearms	2018-03-02	2018	03	02	Nigeria	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Nineveh
Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar	Rawa	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	2		Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Somalia	Explosives	2018-03-02	2018	03	02	Somalia	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Nineveh
Middle East & North Af	Benghazi	Benghazi	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	4	41	Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Somalia	Explosives	2018-03-02	2018	03	02	Somalia	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Nineveh
Sub-Saharan Africa	Banaadir	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	4		Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Somalia	Explosives	2018-03-02	2018	03	02	Pakistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Nineveh
South Asia	Nangarhar	Jalalabad	save the children o	Jihadist Salafisr	6	27	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-03-05	2018	03	05	Iraq	Middle East & North Af	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Koulikoro	Toubakoro	Village	Jihadist Salafisr	2		Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Explosives	2018-03-05	2018	03	05	Iraq	Middle East & North Af	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk	Daquq	mosque	Jihadist Salafisr	2		Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Explosives	2018-03-05	2018	03	05	Iraq	Middle East & North Af	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Mopti	Youwarou	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	2		Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Nigeria	Explosives	2018-03-05	2018	03	05	Nigeria	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Mopti	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	2		Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Nigeria	Explosives	2018-03-05	2018	03	05	Nigeria	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
South Asia	Kandahar	Kandahar	street	Deobandi	2	1	Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-03-05	2018	03	05	Nigeria	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
South Asia	Ghazni	Unknown	residence	Deobandi	7	3	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-03-06	2018	03	06	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Adamawa	Unknown	village	Jihadist Salafisr	3	5	Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Niger	Explosives	2018-03-06	2018	03	06	Nigeria	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
South Asia	Kabul	Kabul	ambulance	Deobandi	7	2	Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Nigeria	Explosives	2018-03-06	2018	03	06	Nigeria	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
South Asia	Helmand	Nad Ali	street	Deobandi	6		Bombing/Explosi	Military	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-03-07	2018	03	07	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Garissa	Handaro	road	Jihadist Salafisr	2	4	Armed assault	Military	Kenya	Explosives	2018-03-07	2018	03	07	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Timbuktu	Soumpi	camp	Jihadist Salafisr	12	42	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Kenya	Explosives	2018-03-08	2018	03	08	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Lower Shabelle	Wanlaweyi	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	0	8	Bombing/Explosi	Government (General)	Kenya	Explosives	2018-03-08	2018	03	08	Iraq	Middle East & North Af	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
South Asia	Kabul	Kabul	army post	Jihadist Salafisr	16		Bombing/Explosi	Military	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-03-08	2018	03	08	Mali	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Gao	Menaka	military base	Jihadist Salafisr	0	2	Armed assault	Military	Mali	Firearms	2018-03-08	2018	03	08	Pakistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Sahel	Marabout	Police patrol	Jihadist Salafisr	2	0	Armed assault	Police	Burkina Faso	Firearms	2018-03-09	2018	03	09	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk	al Mutaqqa	village	Jihadist Salafisr	1	1	Bombing/Explosi	Police	Iraq	Explosives	2018-03-09	2018	03	09	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk	Hawija	checkpoint	Jihadist Salafisr	1	3	Armed assault	Military	Iraq	Firearms	2018-03-09	2018	03	09	Libya	Middle East & North Af	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Diffa	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	2	0	Armed assault	Military	Nigeria	Firearms	2018-03-09	2018	03	09	Mali	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Bay	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	4	0	Armed assault	Military	Somalia	Unknown	2018-03-10	2018	03	10	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Middle East & North Af	Mosul	Mosul	house	Jihadist Salafisr	0	2	Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Explosives	2018-03-10	2018	03	10	Somalia	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Gao	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	2	7	Bombing/Explosi	Military	Mali	Explosives	2018-03-11	2018	03	11	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Borno	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafisr	5	4	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Niger	Firearms	2018-03-11	2018	03	11	Afghanistan	South Asia	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
South Asia	Kurram	Unknown	Agency	Deobandi	8	1	Bombing/Explosi	Private Citizens & Prop	Pakistan	Explosives	2018-03-11	2						



# ISLAMIST TERRORIST ATTACKS IN THE WORLD 1979-2019

NOVEMBER 2019



**ISLAMIST  
TERRORIST  
ATTACKS  
IN THE WORLD  
1979-2019**

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# An evaluation of Islamist violence in the world (1979-2019)

**Dominique Reynié, Executive Director of the Fondation pour l'innovation politique**

In France, since the first of Mohammed Merah's attacks on 11 March 2012 and in the recent years, there have been 47 terrorist acts, one deadly attack every two months, killing at least 280 people. During the speech delivered at the Paris Police Headquarters in tribute to the victims of the attack of 3 October 2019<sup>1</sup>, the President of the Republic Emmanuel Macron declared: "The administration and State services alone cannot overcome the Islamist hydra. No, it is the entire nation that must unite, mobilise and act. We will only win if our country, which has overcome so many challenges in history, rises up to fight against this underlying Islamism that corrupts the children of France. A society of vigilance is what we must build. Vigilance, not suspicion that corrupts. Vigilance: attentive listening to others, reasonable awakening of consciences. It is simply knowing how to identify at school, at work, in places of worship, near home, deviations, those small gestures that signal a distance from the laws and values of the Republic"<sup>2</sup>.

The figure of the hydra indicates a reappearing danger when we thought we could overcome it. Whatever the conclusions of the investigation into the motivations of the killer of 3 October 2019, the observation of the facts proves the President of the Republic right on this point, as the results of our research show.

It was in the United States, less than 20 years ago, on 11 September 2001, that the deadliest series of attacks in the history of terrorism took place, leaving behind 3,001 dead and 16,493 wounded<sup>3</sup>. In Europe, in forty years, in addition to France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Denmark, Spain, Finland, Georgia, Greece, Italy, Norway, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Switzerland and Russia, have already been hit, sometimes several times. However, it is outside the Western world that countries have suffered Islamist violence more often and much more severely.

## 1. 1979, the critical year

We asked ourselves whether it was possible to truly know the extent of Islamist violence in the world, to make a database of it and to share the results with interested audiences in the form of a database accompanied by this study. To carry out such work, it was necessary first to determine the starting point of the database, to identify the most reliable sources, examine and validate them, then process the data collected, present the main lessons learned and, lastly, make the information collected available to the public.

We decided to start collecting data from 1979 onwards. This year was chosen by most specialists because it reflects the historical failure of Arab nationalism competing with the movements of

1. On 3 October 2019, an attack took place on the premises of the Paris Police Headquarters. During a knife attack, three Police officers and an administrative agent were murdered. The murderer was shot dead. He was employed as an administrative assistant at the Intelligence Department of the Paris Police Prefecture (DRPP). However, according to the rules that governed the conduct of our work, we cannot retain in the verified information of our database on Islamist violence the attack itself nor the number of its victims seeing as we do not have the conclusions of the investigation at the time we are completing this study.

2. "Discours du président de la République en hommage aux victimes de l'attaque à la préfecture de police" [Speech by the President of the Republic in tribute to the victims of the attack on the Police Headquarters], [elysee.fr](http://elysee.fr), 8 October 2019 ([www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2019/10/07/ceremonie-nationale-dhommage-aux-victimes-de-lattaque-du-3-octobre-2019-a-la-prefecture-de-Police-de-paris](http://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2019/10/07/ceremonie-nationale-dhommage-aux-victimes-de-lattaque-du-3-octobre-2019-a-la-prefecture-de-Police-de-paris)).

3. While 6,291 people were injured on the day of the attacks, thousands more reported physical injuries related to the attacks of 9/11, such as respiratory diseases or cancers, in the years following these events, as evidenced by the World Trade Center Health Registry ([www1.nyc.gov/site/911health/about/addressing-the-health-impacts-of-9-11.page](http://www1.nyc.gov/site/911health/about/addressing-the-health-impacts-of-9-11.page)).



Islamisation and the affirmation of jihadism<sup>4</sup>. That same year, a number of events precipitated this development: the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, the Iranian revolution, the signing of the Camp David agreements and the hostage-taking of the Great Mosque of Mecca by a group of Islamist fundamentalists in November-December 1979<sup>5</sup>. For Gilles Kepel, what was happening that year was the result of "the fierce struggle between the Saudi monarchy and Khomeini's Iran"<sup>6</sup>, but at the same time it was the time of a new indirect confrontation between the USSR and the United States: "The *jihad* financed in this country [Afghanistan] by the oil-monarchies of the Arabian Peninsula and the CIA is explicitly aimed at inflicting on the Soviet Union [...] a 'Vietnam' that precipitates its fall. At the Islamic level, its function is also to divert radical militants around the world from the struggle against the American Great Satan - to which Khomeini incites them - and to channel them against the USSR. Afghan *jihad* has a cardinal importance in the evolution of the Islamist movement around the world. It became the ultimate cause, with which all militants, moderate or radical, identify themselves. It supersedes, in the Arab imagination, the Palestinian cause and symbolises the transition from nationalism to Islamism."<sup>7</sup>

## 2. Definition of terrorism

Like many concepts, terrorism is subject to controversial definitions. In this study, we define "terrorism" as political acts that meet the principle and criteria of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START). In this context, a terrorist act is presented as "the threat of the effective use or use of unlawful force and violence by a non-state actor in order to achieve political, economic, religious or social objectives, through fear, coercion or intimidation"<sup>8</sup>.

This definition is extended to the enumeration of a set of characteristics specifying the nature of the terrorist act:

- it must be intentional and result from a conscious calculation by the perpetrator;
- it must include some level of violence or threat of imminent violence, whether physical or material;
- the perpetrators of the incident must be non-state actors<sup>9</sup>.

To be included in the database, an event must also meet at least two of the following criteria:

- the violent act must have a political, economic, religious or social objective;
- the act must result from an intention of coercion, intimidation, or be motivated by the desire to spread an economic, political, religious or social message to a wider audience than that represented by the immediate victims; what matters is the intention of those who planned the attack or those who made the decision to carry it out;
- the action must be distinct from activities considered legitimate in time of war. The act must violate the framework defined by international humanitarian rules, in particular those concerning the prohibition of intentionally targeting civilians or non-combatants.

Our contribution focuses specifically on terrorist acts carried out by organisations or individuals claiming to be Islamists. The criterion defining a terrorist action and according to which "the violent act must pursue a political, economic, religious or social objective" must therefore be specified. It is considered essential to our database and focuses on attacks that have been the subject of an Islamist claim or about which the available information indicates that it has been planned, decided and carried out in the name of Islamism.

4. See Gilles Kepel, *Sortir du chaos. Les crises en méditerranée et au Moyen-Orient*, Gallimard, 2018, p. 23-69.

5. In his report for the Institut Montaigne, Hakim El Karaoui presents the reasons why, in his opinion, it is possible to consider that the empowerment of jihadism has taken shape in Afghanistan, namely "the emergence of several Islamist groups united by the Afghan conflict, the Afghan *Mujahideen*'s financial autonomy, thanks to American and Saudi funding, the effective implementation of *jihad* for the first time since the end of the 19th century and its theorisation by Muslim Brother Abdullah Azzam" (*The Islamist Factory*, Institut Montaigne, September 2018, p.19, <https://www.institutmontaigne.org/ressources/pdfs/publications/Short%20Version%2090%20pages.pdf>).

6. Gilles Kepel, *Jihad. Expansion and decline of Islamism*, 2nd ed., revised and updated, Gallimard, series "Folio actuel", 2003, p. 26.

7. *Ibid.*

8. "The threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation" (Global Terrorism Database, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism (START), University of Maryland, *Codebook: Inclusion Criteria and Variables*, July 2017, p. 10, [www.start.umd.edu/gtd/downloads/Codebook.pdf](http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/downloads/Codebook.pdf)).

9. According to this definition, acts of State terrorism are not included in our database.

### 3. Definition of Islamism

For historians, "Islamism" is a term "used at the end of the nineteenth century to designate Islam as a religion and civilisation, but which has recently taken a new meaning of militant fundamentalist, traditionalist and proselyte Islam"<sup>10</sup>. Islamism now refers to "a trend demanding the strict application of the prescriptions of religious or Shari'a law, some of which have been abandoned, as well as the principles of faith, by various modern governments in Muslim countries, particularly under the influence of European countries, Western ideologies and reformist movements"<sup>11</sup>. As a result of this evolution, the defenders of such a conception of Islam, the "Islamists", advocate for a *jihad* that is "on the one hand, in their own country against 'bad' Muslims and corrupt rulers in order to establish, if necessary, a purely Islamic state, and on the other hand, more generally, against the secular values that dominate the non-Muslim world"<sup>12</sup>. The same authors consider that Islamism has many analogies with the Muslim Brotherhood movement<sup>13</sup>.

There are many other definitions of Islamism, often very detailed. To complete without unduly complicating matters, one can refer in particular to the definition proposed by Edward Walker, because of its relative clarity and conciseness: "By 'Islamism', I mean the normative political ideology that has as its core program the establishment of Islam as a state religion and the implementation of Islamic law (shari'a). Militant Islamism, then, is any form of Islamism that advocates the use of violence to achieve Islamist objectives. This same distinction is made by Islamists themselves, who refer to 'Parties of the Islamic Call', or *al-da'wa al Islamiyya* (i.e., Islamist groups that do not advocate violence) on the one hand, and 'Parties of the Muslim Revolution', or *al-thawra al-Islamiyya* (i.e., Islamist groups that do advocate violence) on the other hand"<sup>14</sup>.

Acknowledging that there are no universally accepted definitions of Islamism and terrorism, some researchers characterise it as an ideology whose key tenets include:

- Belief that Islam is not only a religion, but also a holistic sociopolitical system;
- Advocacy of Sharia (Islamic) law as divine state law;
- Belief that a transnational Muslim community, known as the *Ummah*, should unite as a political bloc;
- Advocacy of an 'Islamic' state, or Caliphate, within which sovereignty belongs to God.<sup>15</sup>

### 4. A global database of Islamist terrorist attacks from 1979 to 2019

It is within the framework of these definitions that we have conceived this work and that we propose here the result in the form of a database listing the Islamist terrorist attacks perpetrated in the world since 27 December 1979. The data included in our database does not extend beyond 31 August 2019, given the time required to validate and process the information collected. Indeed, while the attacks in Western countries have considerable visibility, due to the greater impact that violence can have in more peaceful societies, their ability to produce reliable data quickly and a particularly dense media presence, the same cannot be said for attacks that take place, much more often, in other parts of the world where all identification and intelligence processes become longer but cannot be as effective. Therefore, the validation and classification of relevant events requires work that goes beyond the time we had to define in order to make this publication possible.

10. Translated from: "[...] une tendance qui consiste à exiger l'application stricte des prescriptions de la loi religieuse ou chari'a dont il considère que certaines avaient été abandonnées, de même que les principes de la foi, par divers gouvernements modernes des pays musulmans, notamment sous l'influence des pays européens, des idéologies occidentales et des mouvements réformistes", Janine Sourdél and Dominique Sourdél (eds.), *Dictionnaire historique de l'islam [Historical Dictionary of Islam]*, PUF, 1996, p. 411.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.* See Mehdi Mozaffari, "What is Islamism? History and Definition of a Concept", *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, vol. 8, n° 1, March 2007, p. 21.

14. Edward W. Walker, "Islam, Islamism and Political Order in Central Asia", *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 56, n° 2, Spring 2003, p. 22, note 1).

15. Robin Simcox, Hannah Stuart, Houriya Ahmed and Douglas Murray, "Islamist Terrorism. The British Connection", The Henry Jackson Society and The Centre for Social Cohesion, second edition, 2010, p. XVI ([www.henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/Islamist+Terrorism+2011+Preview-1.pdf](http://www.henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/Islamist+Terrorism+2011+Preview-1.pdf)).

To carry out our research, we used three types of sources: the collection of information on attacks since 1979 via search engines, the cross-referencing of existing databases and academic research. There are indeed various databases on terrorist attacks in general and Islamist attacks in particular<sup>16</sup>. All the databases in circulation were useful to us in confirming or enriching the work we were completing<sup>17</sup>. However, most of the databases available are very incomplete or unevenly documented. In some cases, information may be abundant about a country, region, year or period, usually very short, then very little or non-existent for another year or country. This can be seen on Wikipedia, where data by year or theme are available but very incomplete, fragmented and in a form that does not allow statistical processing. That is why our initial source was the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) developed by the University of Maryland in the United States<sup>18</sup>. This gigantic database compiles terrorist attacks between 1970 and 2017. The value of this set is to identify terrorist attacks regardless of their motivation. This abundance was also the main challenge for us, since we had to extract Islamist attacks from the 171,787 attacks recorded worldwide from 1979 to 2017. We therefore carried out a selection, verification and classification of the data contained in

the GTD. We then had to supplement it with our own information, particularly for the year 1993<sup>19</sup>. We worked without the GTD for the years 2018 and 2019 since data for these years were not provided<sup>20</sup>.

For each Islamist terrorist attack in our database, we have provided the following information:

- the date;
- the location of the attack: country, city, and exact location when possible to identify it;
- the number of confirmed deaths and injuries, including attackers; it is important to note here that the number of people wounded is clearly very underestimated by the available information;
- the perpetrator(s) of the attack;
- the type(s) of target(s);
- the type(s) of attack(s) in question;
- the type(s) of weapon(s) used.

16. On 28 April 2019, the German newspaper *Welt am Sonntag* published a list of Islamist terrorist attacks. This list covers a shorter period, from 11 September 2001 to 28 April 2019. Until 2017, the data are extracted from the Global Terrorism Database. For the years 2018 and 2019, the newspaper constructed its own database. Our data differ from those of the *Welt am Sonntag* in at least three respects: first, we cover a period of forty years instead of eighteen years, which allows us to follow the evolution of Islamist terrorism, in particular by showcasing a phenomenon of globalisation; second, *Welt am Sonntag* has chosen to count only attacks that have killed at least twelve people, while we have recorded all identifiable attacks; thirdly, *Welt am Sonntag* focused on attacks by the main terrorist groups (Abdullah-Azzam Brigade, Asaib Ahl al-Haq, Abu Sayyaf, Ansar al-Din, Allied Democratic Forces, Algerian jihadists, Ahrar al-Sham, Ansar al-Islam, Al-Ittihad al-Islami, Al-Islah Party, Aisha-Brigade, Al-Aksa Martyrs' Brigade, Al-Muqiboon-Biddam Brigade, Ansar-Al-Din-Front, Al-Qaeda, Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army, Ansar al-Sunna, al-Shabaab, Ansar al-Sharia, Ansar al-Tawhid, Ansar ul-Islam, Boko Haram, Sunni Jihadist Movement of Iran, Deccan Mujahideen, Religious Guardians, Armed Islamic Group, Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat, Hezbollah, Hizb-i-Islami, Harkatul Jihad-e-Islami, Hakkani Network, Halqa-e-Mehsud, Hisbul Mujahideen, Hamas, Houthis, Hayat Tahrir al-Sham, Islamic Jihad of Uzbekistan, Islamic Front, Indian Mujahideen, Islamic Party of Turkestan, Jaish al-Adl, Jaish-al-Islam, Jamaat al-Tawhid wal-Jihad, Jaish-e-Mohammad, Jaish al-Fatah, Jaish-i-Islam, Jemaah Islamiya, Jund al-Khilafah, Jamiat ul-Mujahedin, Jama'at Nasr al-Islam wal Muslimin, Jundallah, Jundallah Pakistan, Jaljala Army, Kataib Hezbollah, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, Lashkar-e-Omar, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Lashkar-e-Islam, Mujahideen Ansar, Mahaz-e-e-Inqilab, Moro Islamic Liberation Front, Moro National Liberation Front, Movement for Tawheed and Jihad in West Africa, Mujahideen Shura Council, Mukhtar Army, Front al Nosrah, Students Islamic Movement of India, Sipah-i-Mohammed, Salafia Jihadia, Shura of the Derna Mujahideen, Special Purpose Islamic Regiment, Shura of the Benghazi Revolutionaries, Taliban, Tehrik-e-Taliban Islami, Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan, United Jihad Council); while our database lists all Islamist attacks as accurately as possible. Thus, in addition to attacks by the best-known groups, we also take into account attacks by individuals or small groups claiming to be Islamists without belonging to a particularly well-known organisation. See "18 Jahre Terror", *Welt am Sonntag*, n°. 17, April 28, 2019, pp. 12-14.

17. We can mention, for example, the database made available by the French newspaper *Le Monde* on the attacks committed by the Islamic State from 2014 to 2016 ([www.leWorld.fr/les-decodeurs/visuel/2016/06/17/les-attacks-de-l-etat-islamique-ont-fait-plus-de-2-500-deaths-en-deux-ans\\_4952826\\_4355770.html](http://www.leWorld.fr/les-decodeurs/visuel/2016/06/17/les-attacks-de-l-etat-islamique-ont-fait-plus-de-2-500-deaths-en-deux-ans_4952826_4355770.html)) or the New York Times' ([www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/03/25/world/map-isis-attacks-around-the-world.html?mtrref=undefined&gwh=0EBB06650E2F0D8A452DEE9BDAA12379&gwt=pay&assetType=REGIWALL](http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/03/25/world/map-isis-attacks-around-the-world.html?mtrref=undefined&gwh=0EBB06650E2F0D8A452DEE9BDAA12379&gwt=pay&assetType=REGIWALL)).

18. Global Terrorism Database, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism (START), University of Maryland ([www.start.umd.edu/gtd/](http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/)).

19. The Global Terrorism Database does not provide any information for 1993.

20. Since October 2019, the year 2018 is available on the GTD. We did not have the opportunity to compare them with our own data for these two years 2018 and 2019, especially since the GTD is now subject to a more restrictive licensing system.

## 5. The reasons why, however, our study underestimates the reality of Islamist violence

It is clearly impossible to claim to propose an exhaustive database of Islamist terrorist attacks committed in the world between 1979 and 2019, for a number of reasons detailed below.

**a/ A number of attacks have not been recorded.** No matter the efforts made, it is certain that a significant number of attacks falling under the Islamist category could not be recorded, either over the entire period concerned or for the years 1993, 2018 and 2019.

**b/ A number of attacks do not appear in our “retained estimate” when religious motivation is not clearly predominant in a combination involving another determination.** Islamist terrorism takes place in singular and complex contexts that sometimes make it difficult to collect reliable data. This is particularly the case in situations of war, civil or international, independentist or separatist struggles and territorial conflicts that persist over long periods of time, where causalities are shifting or inextricable, as in the case of the Palestinian conflict, while in a completely different context, in Thailand for example, a separatist movement has led a Muslim minority to get involved with weapons in the name of objectives that can achieve, beyond political demands, a religious dimension.

**c/ Islamist motivation is not always identified.** Available data do not always allow news agencies to attribute the attack to the Islamist cause, especially if the country affected by the attack is characterised by weak administrative structures. The absence of claim of responsibility can increase the likelihood that an attack will not even be recorded by agencies or that this information will not reach the press.

**d/ The number of deferred deaths is practically unknown.** However, it is certainly significant. Since victims who succumb to their injuries after an attack are almost never mentioned in the available information, it is impossible to know their exact number. It is therefore also impossible to integrate these deaths into our database in a reliable way. Thus, according to our database, we record at least 167,096 deaths and 151,431 people wounded, which is less than the number of deaths. However, if we consider three cases

of attacks, each carried out with different means, in two countries where the quality of information is excellent, we observe a completely opposite ratio between the number of deaths and the number of people wounded: in the United States, there were five times as many people wounded (16,493) than killed (3,001) in the 9/11 attacks; in France, there were three times as many people wounded (413) than killed (137) in the 13 November 2015 attacks; in Nice, in the 14 July 2016 attack, there were five times as many people wounded (458) than killed (87). This information leads us to believe that the number of people wounded is much higher than that in our database. Certainly, developing countries, which are the countries where most attacks take place, do not have the same capacity to identify and care for people injured in an attack. Some of the injured are probably not even counted, while others die from their injuries after a certain period of time due to the inadequacy or fragility of relief systems and health institutions. If we applied the ratios of the three sample attacks to the number of casualties in our database (151,431), we would have to adjust this figure by multiplying it by three (454,293) or five times away (757,155).

**e/ For these four reasons,** we propose two types of quantification of Islamist violence, in the form of a “retained estimate” and a “possible estimate”. The “retained estimate” results from our database of attacks during the period 1979-2019, that were clearly motivated by an Islamist agenda. The “possible estimate” results from the identification of attacks that could be qualified as Islamist, including certain terrorist acts that are also based on separatist, political or social logic, which make it more difficult to attribute them to an exclusively or mainly Islamist motivation. In all cases, the number of victims, dead or injured, is significantly lower than a reality that cannot be more precisely known.

We have recorded 33,769 Islamist attacks that killed at least 167,096 people between 1979 and 2019.

### Number of Islamist attacks in the world (1979-2019)

Number of Islamist attacks	33,769
Number of deaths	167,096

The years 2018 and 2019 have the least amount of information provided. For 2018, we counted 1,606 Islamist terrorist attacks (8,715 deaths) and, for the period between 1 January and 31 August 2019, 826 Islamist attacks (4,953 deaths). The lower number of attacks in 2018 and 2019 compared to previous

years, although still significant, does not mean a decrease in Islamist violence but results from the state of our database, which has to be consolidated. However, the considerable volume of our data allows for a simple extrapolation exercise which is to replace the information collected for the years 2018 and 2019 with an annual mean of Islamist terrorist attacks and the number of their victims. If we calculate these averages using the most recent years, those corresponding to the 2001-2017 cycle, we obtain an average annual number of 1,715 attacks causing the deaths of 8,624 people. Assigned to 2018 and 2019, these two results make it possible to estimate the number of Islamist terrorist attacks and their victims for the period 1979-2019.

Our research began in the spring of 2018. The study we are publishing here is based on the database we have developed, available as open data on [data.fondapol.org](https://data.fondapol.org). In the following analyses, we first present the evolution of Islamist terrorism from 1979 to the present day; second, we propose an interpretation of the data according to the regions of the world and the countries affected by Islamist violence.

### **Number of Islamist terrorist attacks in the world (1979-2019) corrected by an extrapolation for the years 2018-2019**

<b>Number of Islamist attacks</b>	<b>34,766</b>
<b>Number of deaths</b>	<b>170,676</b>

The accuracy of the figures does not imply such a detailed knowledge of the observed reality; the degree of accuracy results from the calculation operations applied to the database. We could only reproduce the exact result of these operations.



# I. The beginnings of transnational Islamist terrorism (1979-2000)

This work does not aim to shed light on the foundations of Islamism or to discuss the origins and justifications, in the context of Islam, of the use of violence and violence of a terrorist nature in particular. In a different way, we consider that our contribution lies in the information that can be obtained from the exploitation of a consolidated database and the analyses to which it can give rise. However, in order to understand the value of the data shared here, it is necessary to briefly recall the developments in Islamist terrorism since 1979.

Until the mid-1970s, Islamism had little influence in the Middle East and North Africa. In the wake of decolonisation and the rejection of Western imperialism, the new States of the region affirm a nationalist and pan-Arab vision promoted by leaders such as Nasser or Boumediene and by movements such as Ba'ath, in Syria and Iraq, or the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) in Palestine. Islamist organisations are firmly contained or severely repressed, as Nasser did in Egypt with the Muslim Brotherhood. Founded in 1928 by Hassan el-Banna, the Muslim Brotherhood was established with the aim of restoring the political Islam that had disappeared with the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate proclaimed by Atatürk in 1924.

At the end of the 1970s, the Islamist claim was strengthened<sup>1</sup>. The increase in social inequalities and corruption of the elites were denounced. Islamist movements were trying to embody a political alternative to existing dictatorships or are engaging in violent actions, as in Syria, where the Muslim Brotherhood launched an armed struggle against the Baathist regime of Hafez el-Assad. These movements of Islamisation in Middle Eastern societies flourished all the more as Arab nationalism began to falter then collapsed. At the end of the decade, in 1979, a window of opportunity opened up for Islamists in the Middle East and North Africa.

## 1. The Soviet-Afghan war, “matrix of contemporary Islamist terrorism”

The year 1979 was a pivotal year, the scene of several important events, including the Iranian revolution and the invasion of Afghanistan by the USSR. The Russian military operation precipitated the emergence of a new Islamism. At the same time, in Iran, the opposition led by the Shiite clergy, due to the context of intense social protest, forced the Shah to flee the country (16 January 1979). On 1 February 1979, Ruhollah Khomeini came to power. He initiated the transformation of Iran's imperial regime, accused of “Westernisation”, into an Islamic republic. In the wake of the Iranian revolution, Shia groups advocating armed struggle were formed. Among them is the Lebanese Hezbollah, created in 1982. Shia ideology is affirmed in the context of the process of Islamisation of the Middle East where it competes with Sunni legitimacy.

In Afghanistan, the Soviet invasion initiates the conflict which will be considered the matrix of contemporary Islamist terrorism<sup>2</sup>. *Jihad* is supported by Saudi Arabia, Algeria and Egypt. Jihadists who reach Afghanistan become “mujahideen”; they are seen as the liberators of a “land of Islam” (*dar al-islam*).

1. See Mohamed Louizi, *Liberer islam de l'islamisme*, Fondation pour l'innovation politique, January 2018 ([www.fondapol.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/ISLAM-POLITIQUE-1.pdf](http://www.fondapol.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/ISLAM-POLITIQUE-1.pdf)); Mohamed Sifaoui, *Taqiyya! Comment les Frères musulmans veulent infiltrer la France*, L'Observatoire, 2019; or Malik Bezouh, *Crise de la conscience arabo-musulmane*, Fondation pour l'innovation politique, September 2015 ([www.fondapol.org/etude/malik-bezouh-crise-de-la-conscience-arabo-musulmane/](http://www.fondapol.org/etude/malik-bezouh-crise-de-la-conscience-arabo-musulmane/)).

2. See Gilles Kepel, “Le terrorisme islamiste est né en Afghanistan”, remarks collected by Héloïse Kalebka, *L'Histoire*, n° 293, December 2004, p. 18-19 ([www.lhistoire.fr/%C2%AB-le-terrorisme-islamiste-est-n%C3%A9-en-afghanistan-%C2%BB](http://www.lhistoire.fr/%C2%AB-le-terrorisme-islamiste-est-n%C3%A9-en-afghanistan-%C2%BB)).

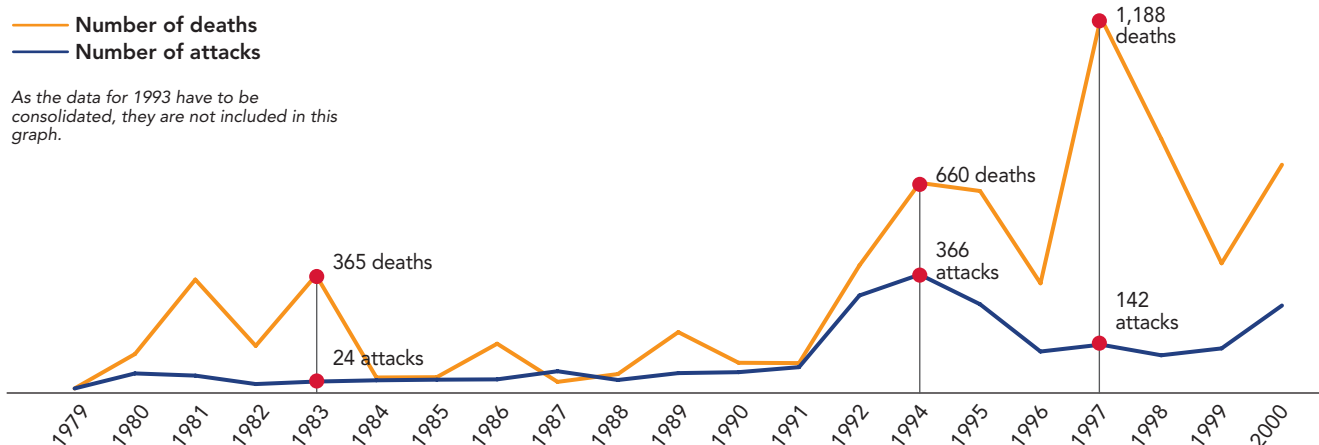


## 2. The 1980s and the emergence of Islamist terrorism

With 354 attacks, which cost the lives of 1,447 people, the 1980s are the least deadly years compared to the decades that followed. The emergence of Islamist terrorism is visible from the years 1980-1983 which correspond to the Muslim Brotherhood's activism in Syria, in the midst of an uprising against the government of Hafez el-Assad.

From 1980 to 1982, there were 69 attacks on Syrian territory, representing nearly two-thirds (63.3%) of all Islamist attacks listed in the world during these three years. Attacks ceased after the repression of the Muslim Brotherhood movement, including during the Hama massacres by the Syrian army in 1982.

### Islamist attacks in the world (1979-2000)



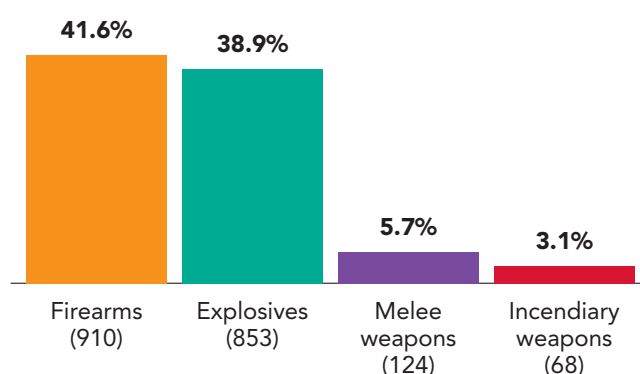
From 1980 to 1989, the country most affected by Islamist terrorism is Lebanon, with 133 attacks, which caused at least 515 deaths. In the grips of a civil war since 1975, the country has been experiencing the rise of small terrorist groups. This unstable national context and Israel's invasion of southern Lebanon in 1982 promote, the same year, the emergence of Hezbollah. A year later, the Shia organisation triggered a series of attacks on foreign institutions. An Italian patrol was hit on 15 March 1983, although no lives were lost, but on 18 April a new attack hit the United States Embassy in Beirut, resulting in the deaths of 63 people. At the end of the same year, on 23 October, an American base and a French patrol were terribly hit by an attack in which 299 people lost their lives. Hezbollah's terrorist activism is particularly intense in Lebanon, where it committed 276 attacks from 1983 to 2000, but it is not limited to this. In all, by integrating the other affected countries, Hezbollah is responsible for 341 attacks from 1983 to 2000, killing 1,110 people. Saudi Arabia, Argentina, Cyprus, Denmark, Egypt, Greece, Israel, Israel, the Kuwait and Tunisia are among the affected countries.

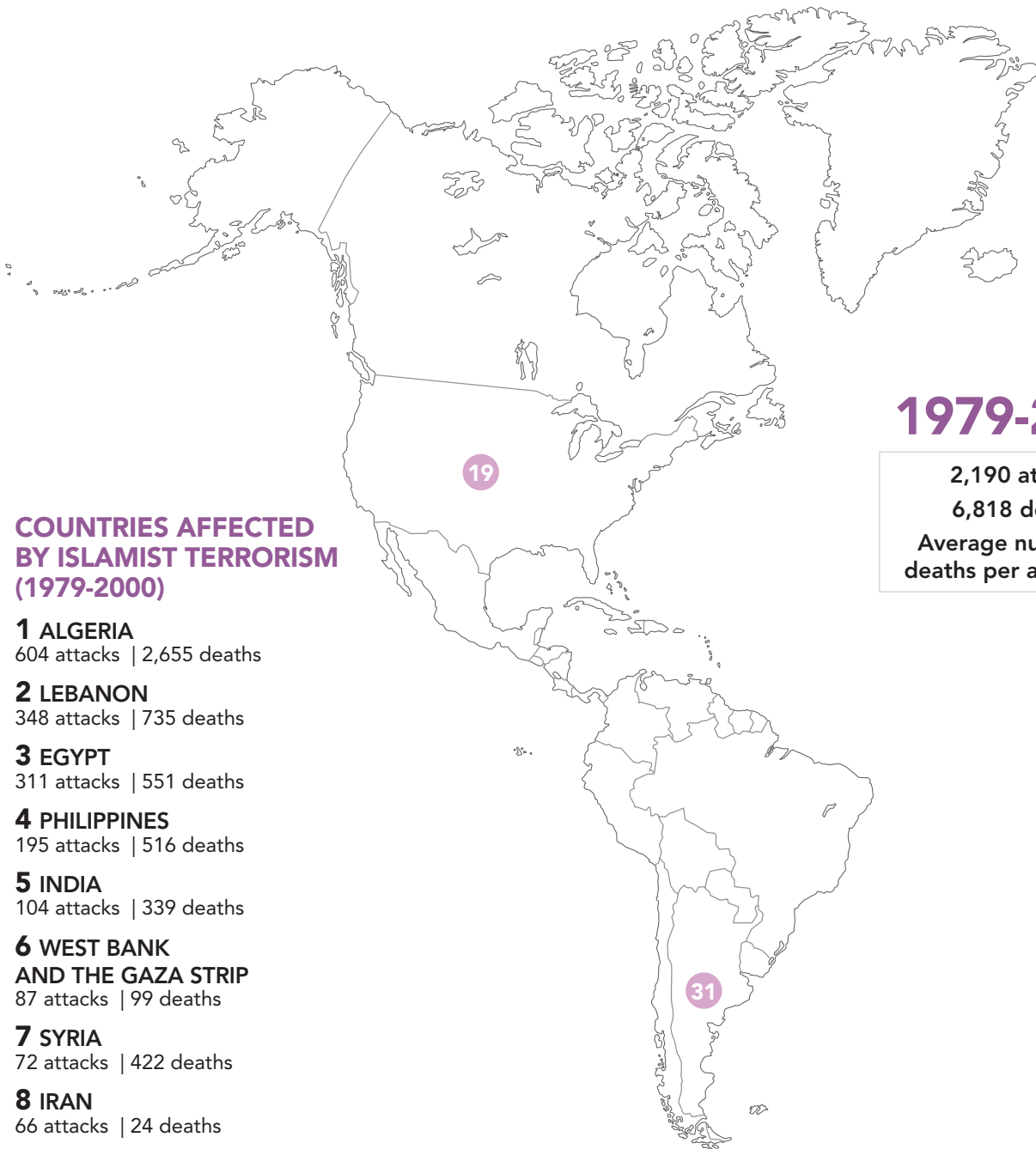
In September 1986, Paris suffered a series of six attacks, including the one on 17 September, rue de Rennes, in front of a store, which killed 7 people and injured 55.

These attacks were claimed by the Solidarity Committee with Arab political prisoners and the Near East, on behalf of the Lebanese Hezbollah.

The Lebanese organisation is also considered responsible for the two attacks on the Israeli Embassy on 17 March 1992 in Buenos Aires (30 dead, 220 wounded), as well as the attack of 18 July 1994 on a Jewish association, also in Buenos Aires (85 dead, 236 injured). Over the whole 1979-2019 period, Argentina remains the only country in South America affected by Islamist terrorism, with three attacks.

### Types of weapons used in Islamist attacks (1979-2000)





### COUNTRIES AFFECTED BY ISLAMIST TERRORISM (1979-2000)

#### 1 ALGERIA

604 attacks | 2,655 deaths

#### 2 LEBANON

348 attacks | 735 deaths

#### 3 EGYPT

311 attacks | 551 deaths

#### 4 PHILIPPINES

195 attacks | 516 deaths

#### 5 INDIA

104 attacks | 339 deaths

#### 6 WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP

87 attacks | 99 deaths

#### 7 SYRIA

72 attacks | 422 deaths

#### 8 IRAN

66 attacks | 24 deaths

#### 9 ISRAEL

62 attacks | 176 deaths

#### 10 INDONESIA

44 attacks | 26 deaths

#### 11 PAKISTAN

32 attacks | 160 deaths

#### 12 THAILAND

27 attacks | 24 deaths

#### 13 TURKEY

26 attacks | 69 deaths

#### 14 BANGLADESH

25 attacks | 33 deaths

#### 15 IRAQ

21 attacks | 139 deaths

#### 16 FRANCE

21 attacks | 37 deaths

#### 17 AFGHANISTAN

19 attacks | 29 deaths

#### 18 KOWEIT

16 attacks | 16 deaths

#### 19 UNITED STATES

10 attacks | 7 deaths

#### 20 CYPRUS

8 attacks | 1 dead

#### 21 YEMEN

7 attacks | 27 deaths

#### 22 SAUDI ARABIA

6 attacks | 90 deaths

#### 23 JORDAN

6 attacks | 0 dead

#### 24 NIGER

5 attacks | 178 deaths

#### 25 SPAIN

5 attacks | 20 deaths

#### 26 TUNISIA

5 attacks | 7 deaths

#### 27 MOROCCO

5 attacks | 3 deaths

#### 28 KENYA

4 attacks | 224 deaths

#### 29 SOMALIA

4 attacks | 5 deaths

#### 30 UNITED KINGDOM

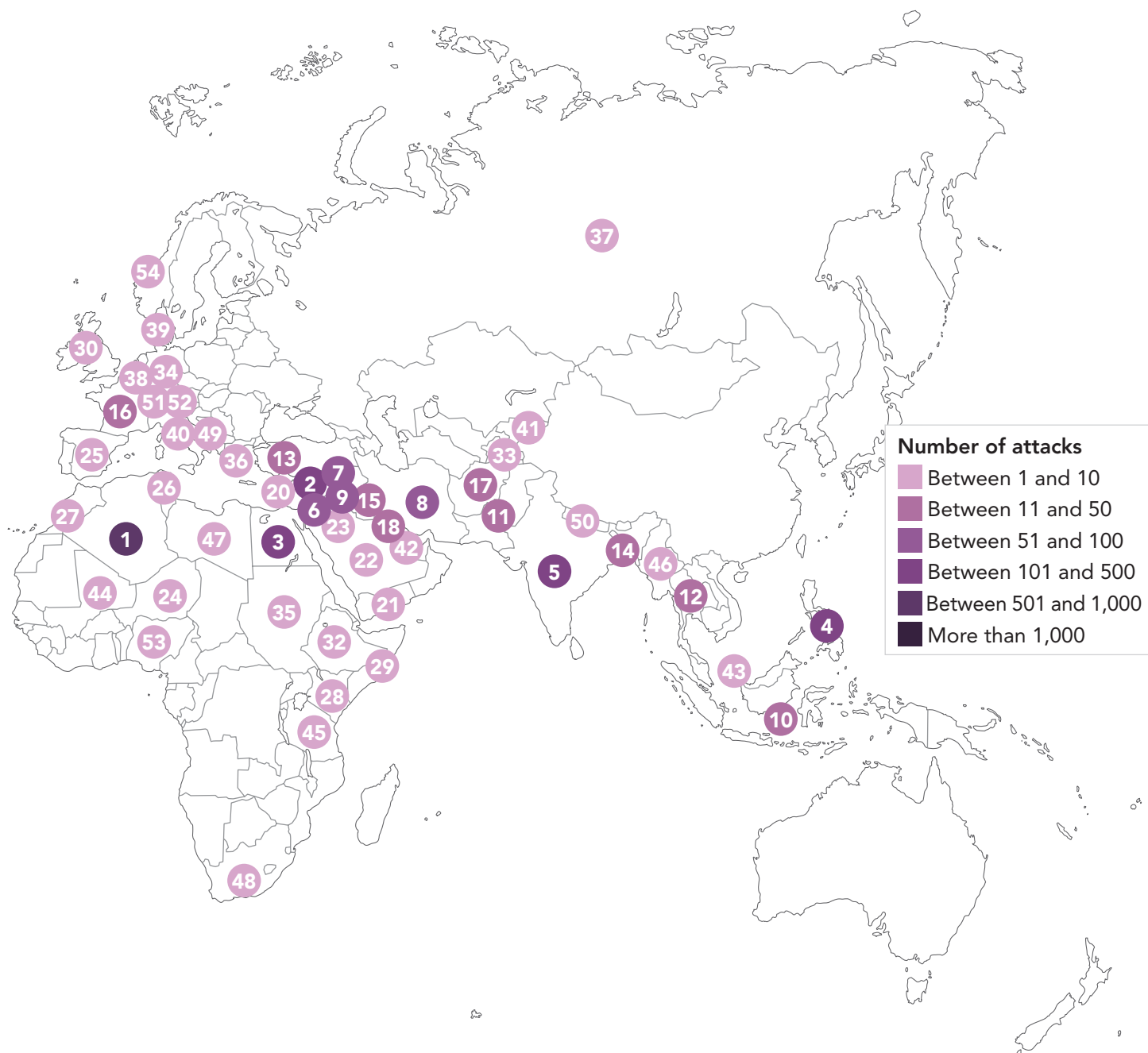
4 attacks | 3 deaths

#### 31 ARGENTINA

3 attacks | 115 deaths

#### 32 ETHIOPIA

3 attacks | 7 deaths



**33 TAJIKISTAN**  
3 attacks | 3 deaths

**34 GERMANY**  
3 attacks | 0 dead

**35 SUDAN**  
2 attacks | 22 deaths

**36 GREECE**  
2 attacks | 11 deaths

**37 RUSSIA**  
2 attacks | 2 deaths

**38 BELGIUM**  
2 attacks | 1 dead

**39 DENMARK**  
2 attacks | 1 dead

**40 ITALY**  
2 attacks | 1 dead

**41 KYRGYZSTAN**  
2 attacks | 1 dead

**42 BAHRAIN**  
2 attacks | 0 dead

**43 MALAYSIA**  
2 attacks | 0 dead

**44 MALI**  
1 attack | 14 deaths

**45 TANZANIA**  
1 attack | 11 deaths

**46 MYANMAR**  
1 attack | 8 deaths

**47 LIBYA**  
1 attack | 2 deaths

**48 SOUTH AFRICA**  
1 attack | 1 dead

**49 CROATIA**  
1 attack | 1 dead

**50 NEPAL**  
1 attack | 1 dead

**51 SWITZERLAND**  
1 attack | 1 dead

**52 AUSTRIA**  
1 attack | 0 dead

**53 NIGERIA**  
1 attack | 0 dead

**54 NORWAY**  
1 attack | 0 dead

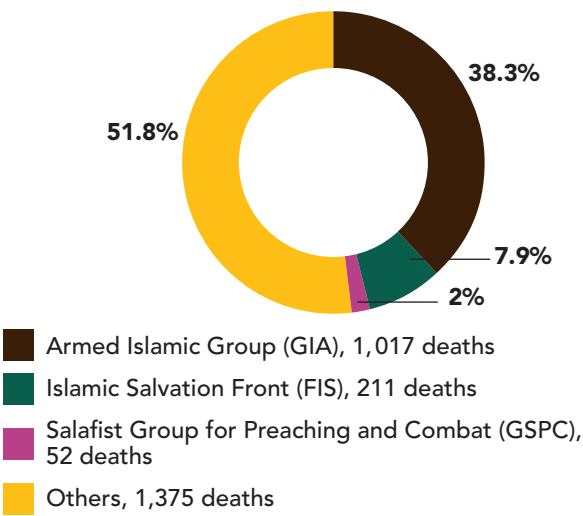
### 3. The 1990s and the spread of Islamist terrorism in the Middle East and North Africa

The withdrawal of the Red Army from Kabul on 5 February 1989 galvanised Islamist mobilisation, already stimulated in 1987 by the creation of Al-Qaeda, by Abdullah Azzam and Osama bin Laden. The globalisation of the jihadist struggle began then. The discourse is mainly based on the idea of a unified Muslim community (*ummah*) claiming autonomy from the ethnic, national and cultural specificities of each nationality. The objective is to establish the Caliphate and the exemplary prophetic city, which must also be extended to non-Muslim countries. The empowerment of the jihadist discourse in relation to classical, nationalist and political referents is not the hallmark of Al-Qaeda. It is taken up by all Muslims who came to Afghanistan to take part in the violent action. Following the Soviet withdrawal, these mujahideen returned to their countries of origin and spread the ideas of Jihadist Salafism there. Thus, in the 1990s, an increasing number of countries, particularly in the Middle East, were directly affected by Islamist violence.

In Algeria, a number of jihadists gathered in militant groups since the beginning of the 1991-2002 civil war. The victory of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) in the 1990 municipal elections and the 1991 parliamentary elections, followed by the cancellation of these elections by the Algerian army and the resignation of President Chadli Bendjedid, triggered a “black decade”. Military and Islamist groups engaged in a terrifying struggle for power. The confrontation devastated the country. From 1990 to 1999, Algeria was the country that was hit the hardest by Islamist terrorism. There were 542 attacks, or more than a third (34.6%) of the attacks recorded worldwide during this decade by our database; there were at least 2,390 deaths, representing more than half (51.4%) of the victims of Islamist terrorism in the world between 1990 and 1999. The violence reached its peak in 1997: 967 people were killed following the parliamentary elections won by the Rassemblement national démocratique (RDN), supported by the army.

#### Deadliest terrorist groups in Algeria (1979-2000)

As a % of the number of victims of the attacks committed in Algeria during this period



During this “black decade”, religious figures and institutions were particularly affected, particularly Christians of foreign nationalities: twelve Croatian tourists were murdered on 14 December 1993, two Spanish nuns were killed on 23 October 1994 and seven French monks from Tibhirine were kidnapped and murdered in the spring of 1996.

#### Targets of Islamist terrorist attacks in Algeria (1979-2000)

Type of target	Number of attacks
Civilians	169
Police	152
Government	43
Military	40
Business	40
Educational institutions	37
Journalists and media	33
Telecommunications	16
Religious institutions	10
Diplomacy	6
Tourists	4

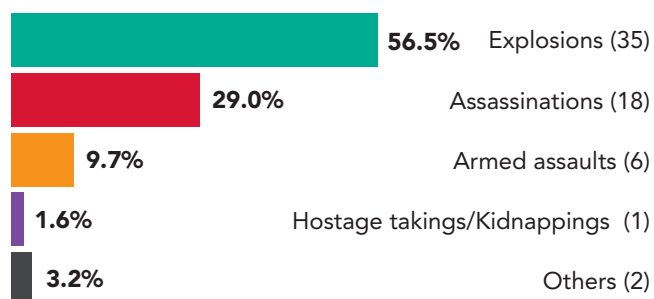
In Egypt, on the eve of the 2000s, the Islamist landscape was structured by two movements: al-Jihad and al-Gama’a al-Islamiyya. The objective of these two organisations was the establishment of an Islamic State, and the means to achieve this was terrorism<sup>3</sup>. In the 1990s, al-Gama’a al-Islamiyya launched 257 insurgent attacks against the government, killing 489 people.

3. See Amr Hamzawy and Sarah Grebowski, “From Violence to Moderation. Al-Jama’a al-Islamiya and al-Jihad”, Carnegie Papers, n° 20, April 2010 (<https://carnegieendowment.org/files/Hamzawy-Grebowski-EN.pdf>).

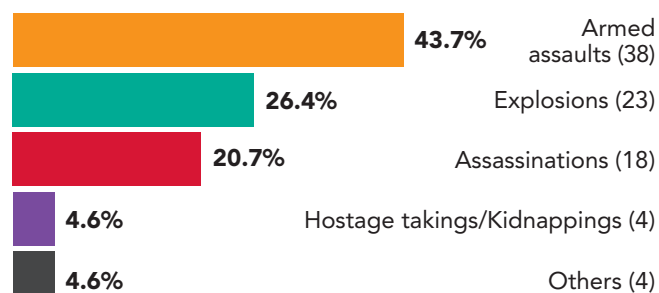
In the Middle East, the 1990s were marked by the Islamisation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. A transfer of power of sorts took place to the benefit of Hamas, a Palestinian Islamist movement born in 1987 at the beginning of the first Intifada, and to the detriment of the PLO, which came from the Arab nationalist movement. This evolution led to a change in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In 1992, 417 leaders and activists of Hamas were arrested and taken to southern Lebanon, in the village of Marj al-Zuhur, after the assassination of an Israeli officer. A resolution of the Council of UN security necessitated their repatriation. This event is analysed by Gilles Kepel as "the transition which gave Hamas parity with the PLO, if not primacy, for the incarnation of the Palestinian cause, and consequently the Islamisation of its Arab and universal image"<sup>4</sup>. Beyond the political vicissitudes on Palestinian territory, "the increase in suicide attacks - in the face of the hardening of successive governments of Mr. Netanyahu and the intensification of colonisation - can be considered as the model for the mirror of which the international jihadism of Al-Qaeda would develop its preferred mode of action"<sup>5</sup>.

In our database, we clearly observe an increase in the number of attacks affecting the Israeli and Palestinian territories from the beginning of the 1990s. Terrorist attacks are largely incriminating to Hamas but also to the Palestinian Islamic Jihad Group (PIJ). Between 1979 and 2000, of the 62 attacks recorded on the ground, 29 were claimed by Hamas and 13 by the PIJ. Out of 86 attacks in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, 65 were claimed by Hamas and 12 by the PIJ.

### Types of attacks in Israel (1979-2000)



### Types of attacks in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (1979-2000)



## 4. The export of *jihad*

Islamist violence has been on the rise in the Middle East and in North Africa from the 1980s onwards, and other regions of the world are also becoming hosts to this *jihad*, particularly Southeast Asia (Philippines), South Asia (India) and Europe.

### Islamist violence in the world (1979-2000)

Region	Number of attacks	Number of deaths	Average number of deaths per attack
World	2,190	6,818	3.1
Middle East and North Africa	1,645	5,015	3.0
Southeast Asia	269	574	2.1
South Asia	181	562	3.1
Europe	55	79	1.4
Sub-Saharan Africa	22	462	21.0
North America	10	7	0.7

Rapid empowerment and the increasing power of Islamism eventually raise fears of countries that have nevertheless worked for this movement or who used it for domestic political reasons or international relations. Thus, in the face of the Islamist threat, Saudi Arabia and Algeria have engaged in relentless repression. This is also the case for Egypt and Syria. In a decade, Salafists have changed categories: firstly admired as "freedom fighters", they were then denounced as "fugitives"<sup>6</sup>.

4. Gilles Kepel, *Sortir du chaos...*, op. cit., p. 102.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

6. See Dominique Thomas, *Le Londonistan. La voix du djihad*, Michalon, 2003, p. 70.

This regional context forced many jihadists into exile: some, having returned from Afghanistan, became political refugees, often with the aim of exporting their Islamist struggle to new territories, including those that are not predominantly Muslim. They sought asylum in Europe. In the 1990s, these territories of settlement and conquest were first England and France. London thus became a hub for Salafite Jihadist activism in Europe<sup>7</sup>. Between July and October 1995, France was hit by a wave of Islamist attacks related to the Algerian context: on 25 July 1995 an attack in the Parisian metro resulted in the deaths of 7 people and 86 people wounded.

Asia was also hit hard between 1979 and 2000, particularly in the south and southeast. According to our database, we record the first Islamist attack in India in 1986. The phenomenon remained sporadic until 1990. In that year, 14 attacks were carried out under the leadership of the Hizbul Mujahideen (HM) group and its supporters. The action of this Islamist group was rooted in the conflict between India and Pakistan over the border region of Jammu and Kashmir, but if the group wanted the region to be integrated into Pakistan, it was also campaigning for the establishment of a caliphate in the world.

The landscape of Islamist terrorism in India is fragmented: a number of groups revolve around the issue of independence, including Allah's Tigers ("Tigers of

Allah"), the Muslim Brotherhood, Harkat ul-Ansar and Jamaat-e-Islami. Between 1979 and 2000, most attacks (78.8%) were concentrated in Jammu and Kashmir. Since 2000 and the creation of the terrorist group Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM), attacks have been both more numerous and more deadly (25 attacks and 126 deaths in 2000, 42 attacks and 200 deaths in 2001). These years also saw the Pakistani Taliban (Lashkar-e-Taiba) conducting terrorist campaigns in India.

In the Philippines, Islamist terrorism is deployed as part of the separatist struggle of the Moro people, a Muslim minority in the south of the country. One of the main terrorist groups in the region, the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG), founded in 1991 by Abdurajak Abubakar Janjalani, drew its inspiration from Islamist movements in the Middle East. The first demonstration of this terrorist movement occurred on 7 September 1986, when the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) attacked a Catholic church and a marriage ceremony in Salvador, on the island of Mindanao, killing 20 people and injuring 186. The group launched an attack on 15 January 1987 in the Manila metro, the capital, killing 8 people. In 1994, after an eclipse of sorts, the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) carried out 7 attacks in the south of the country. It later became one of the main actors of Islamist terrorism in the Philippines in the following decades.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 62. On Salafite Jihadist activism in the United Kingdom, see also Dominique Reynié, *Les Nouveaux Populismes*, Paris, Fayard/Pluriel, 2013, in particular the second part ("The conflict of identities") and in particular its chapter 3, "Sharia law in Europe? ", p. 97 sqq.



### The many faces of terrorism

Singular political violence that some authors trace back to Antiquity<sup>1</sup>, terrorism finds in the changes of the late nineteenth century new resources capable of multiplying power tenfold: ideology favours the recruitment of terrorists and their determination to act, technological developments provide increasingly powerful means of destruction, at the same time more manageable and easier to hide, and the advent of the newspaper and photography ensures visibility that gives terrorist actions a new impact.

At the end of the 19th century, terrorism was dominated by secular causes: revolutionaries, anarchists and socialists, nationalists and separatists constituted the bulk of terrorist troops. Some attacks seem to be part of greater history, such as the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, on 28 June 1914 in Sarajevo. For a century, until the end of the 1980s, tens of thousands of attacks overflowed the news, taking place in the context of conflicts that were part of nationalist or revolutionary logic, sometimes both. Examples include: the attacks in Algeria or France by the National Liberation Front (FLN) and the OAS; around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, those carried out by the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) or the Black September Organisation, responsible in particular for the massacre of members of the Israeli sports delegation on 5 September 1972 during the Munich Olympic Games; those of Irish paramilitary organisations, in particular the Irish Republican Army (IRA); those of independentists, Catalans, Basques, Corsicans or Bretons; the actions of the Red Brigades in Italy, including the kidnapping and murder in 1978 of former Council President Aldo Moro, or, two years later, in 1980, the attack on Bologna railway station (85 deaths, 200 wounded) attributed to an extreme right-wing organisation, the Revolutionary Armed Nuclei (NAR); the murders in Germany of the Red Army Faction, found responsible for the deaths of 34 people between 1970 and 1998; the attacks and kidnappings in France of the Action Directe group, which claimed more than 80 attacks between 1979 and 1987, including the assassination of industrialist Georges Besse in 1986<sup>2</sup>; the actions of the Japanese Red Army (JRA); the guerrilla actions of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia People's Army (FARC-EP) or the Peruvian organisation Shining Path; the massacres of the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka between 1976 and 2009...

Secular causes dominated terrorism until the late 1980s. After that date, there has been an increase in the power of Islamic-inspired terrorism. For several years now, Islamism has become the main motivation for terrorism. According to our data, between 2013 and 2019, Islamist attacks (24,312) accounted for 29.9% of all attacks (81,337) worldwide but accounted for 125,672 deaths (63.4%) out of a total of 198,351 people killed.

1. See Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (eds.), *Histoire du terrorisme de l'Antiquité à Daech*, Fayard, 2015; Franklin L. Ford, *Le Meurtre politique. Du tyrannicide au terrorisme* [1985], PUF, 1990; Mario Turchetti, *Tyrannie et tyrannicide de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, PUF, 2001; Monique Cottret, *Tuer le tyran ? Le tyrannicide dans l'Europe moderne*, Fayard, 2009; Isabelle Sommier, *Le Terrorisme*, Flammarion, coll. "Dominos", 2000; Henry Laurens and Mireille Delmas-Marty (dir), *Terrorismes. Histoire et droit*, CNRS Éditions, 2010.

2. On the Italian and French cases, see Isabelle Sommier, *La Violence politique et son deuil. L'après-68 en France et en Italy*, Presses universitaires de Rennes, 1998.

Extract from our database, freely accessible on [data.fondapol.org](http://data.fondapol.org).

Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar	Unknown	Syrian border	Jihadist Salafist	20	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Unknown	2018-04-01	2018-04-01	1	Cameroon	Sub-Saharan Africa	For North
Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar	Waddan	military checkpoint	Jihadist Salafist	5	7	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Libya	Explosives	2018-04-01	2018-04-01	1	India	South Asia	For North
Sub-Saharan Africa	Gao	Unknown	road	Jihadist Salafist	2	1	Bombing/Explosive	Military	France	Explosives	2018-04-01	2018-04-01	1	India	Middle East & North Af	Baghdad
South Asia	North-West Frontier	Peshawar	Police station	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Armed assault	Police	Unknown	Firearms	2018-04-01	2018-04-01	1	Nigeria	Sub-Saharan Africa	Borno
South Asia	Chitral	Dih Yak	Police station	Deobandi	8	3	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-04-01	2018-04-01	1	Pakistan	South Asia	Balochistan
Sub-Saharan Africa	Far North	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	6	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Cameroon	Firearms	2018-04-01	2018-04-01	1	Somalia	Sub-Saharan Africa	Lower Sh
South Asia	Far North	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	25	0	Armed assault	Military	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Faryab
South Asia	Peshawar	Peshawar	road	Deobandi	0	3	Bombing/Explosive	Government (General)	Pakistan	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Cameroon	Sub-Saharan Africa	For North
Sub-Saharan Africa	Bamenda	Mogadishu	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	45	15	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prop	Somalia	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	South Asia	Jammu &
South Asia	Kabul	Kabul	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	3	0	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
South Asia	Kabul	Kabul	street	Deobandi	3	0	Armed assault	Government (General)	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	Middle East & North Af	Nineveh
South Asia	Helmand	Unknown	Intelligence office	Deobandi	1	15	Bombing/Explosive	Government (General)	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Pakistan	South Asia	Balochistan
South Asia	Helmand	Unknown	Intelligence office	Deobandi	2	7	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Chingai
South Asia	Helmand	Unknown	military base	Deobandi	2	7	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	2	3	Armed assault	Police	Iraq	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	South Asia	Jammu &
Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	14	24	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prop	Yemen	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	Middle East & North Af	Diyala
South Asia	Pakistan	Yahya Khan	street	Deobandi	4	13	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Mali	Sub-Saharan Africa	Kidal
Sub-Saharan Africa	Far North	Guamouli	villages	Jihadist Salafist	4	0	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prop	Cameroon	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Saudi Arabia	Middle East & North Af	Qatif
South Asia	Jammu and Kashmir	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	1	0	Armed assault	Police	India	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Zabul
Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk	Kirkuk	headquarters of AQ	Jihadist Salafist	0	3	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Iraq	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Balghari
Sub-Saharan Africa	Helmand	Unknown	Unknown	Deobandi	2	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Mali	Sub-Saharan Africa	Gao
Sub-Saharan Africa	Timbuktu	Soumali	road	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Unknown	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Somalia	Sub-Saharan Africa	Banadir
South Asia	Kandahar	Shah Wali	village	Deobandi	6	15	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Syria	Middle East & North Af	Damascus
Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	3	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Sar-e-Pa
Sub-Saharan Africa	Lake Chad	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	2	2	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Niger	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Syria	Middle East & North Af	Idlib
South Asia	Faryab	Khwaib	Unknown	Deobandi	2	3	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Unknown	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Burkina Faso	Sub-Saharan Africa	Koutouga
South Asia	Jammu and Kashmir	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	1	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	India	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Mopti	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	4	4	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Unknown	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Herat
Middle East & North Af	Nineveh	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	2	3	Armed assault	Military	Iraq	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Pakistan	South Asia	Balochistan
Sub-Saharan Africa	Adakawa	Madagali	government facility	Jihadist Salafist	1	3	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Niger	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	Middle East & North Af	Sulaymaniyah
Sub-Saharan Africa	Borno	Rann	military base	Jihadist Salafist	11	4	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Niger	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Ghazni
Sub-Saharan Africa	Bamenda	Mogadishu	security posts	Jihadist Salafist	6	5	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prop	Somalia	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Ghazni
South Asia	Kabul	Kabul	9th Police	Deobandi	3	22	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Burkina Faso	Sub-Saharan Africa	Soum
Sub-Saharan Africa	Centre	Douagoua	French embassy	Jihadist Salafist	30	45	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Burkina Faso	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	Middle East & North Af	Jammu &
Middle East & North Af	Diyala	Kirkuk	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	1	5	Armed assault	Military	Iraq	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Unknown	Unknown	security camp	Jihadist Salafist	5	3	Armed assault	Police	Kenya	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk
Sub-Saharan Africa	Yobe	Unknown	government facility	Jihadist Salafist	7	28	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prop	Niger	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	Middle East & North Af	Balochistan
Sub-Saharan Africa	Lower Shabelle	Agboye	bus	Jihadist Salafist	11	11	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Somalia	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Somalia	Sub-Saharan Africa	Lower Sh
Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle Shabelle	Unknown	road	Jihadist Salafist	3	11	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Burundi	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Tunisia	Middle East & North Af	Sousse
South Asia	Balochistan	Quetta	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	1	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Pakistan	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	Middle East & North Af	Sulaymaniyah
Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar	Ar Rutbah	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	3	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Iraq	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Sar-e-Pa
Middle East & North Af	Mosul	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	3	0	Armed assault	Military	Iraq	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Faryab
Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	1	5	Bombing/Explosive	Police	Iraq	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kandahar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Mali	Unknown	Government area	Jihadist Salafist	2	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Niger	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Egypt	Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Borno	Madagali	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	3	18	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prop	Niger	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Mali	Sub-Saharan Africa	Timbuktu
Sub-Saharan Africa	Borno	Unknown	village	Jihadist Salafist	3	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Niger	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Ghazni
South Asia	Nangarhar	Blind	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	2	3	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	South Asia	Jammu &
Sub-Saharan Africa	Borno	Samburu	border Cameroon	Jihadist Salafist	3	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Syria	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Pakistan	South Asia	Balochistan
Sub-Saharan Africa	Borno	Madagali	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	3	0	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prop	Niger	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	South Asia	Jammu &
South Asia	Nangarhar	Jalalabad	government	Jihadist Salafist	3	16	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Mali	Sub-Saharan Africa	Sagou
South Asia	Kandahar	Spin Boldak	Police station	Deobandi	1	1	Bombing/Explosive	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Ghazni
South Asia	Takhar	Khwaib	security posts	Deobandi	17	18	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Jowzjan
Middle East & North Af	Diyala	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Ghazni
Sub-Saharan Africa	Mopti	Djenné	construction site	Jihadist Salafist	1	1	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Unknown	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	South Asia	Jammu &
South Asia	Punjab	Unknown	road	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Pakistan	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	South Asia	Jammu &
South Asia	Farah	Baluk	Unknown	Deobandi	20	0	Armed assault	Military	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	Middle East & North Af	Sulaymaniyah
South Asia	Kabul	Kabul	Shia crowd	Jihadist Salafist	10	22	Bombing/Explosive	Religious Figures/Inst	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	Middle East & North Af	Diyala
Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	3	0	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Libya	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kandahar
Sub-Saharan Africa	Mopti	Ditouloube	road	Jihadist Salafist	4	2	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Mali	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Libya	Middle East & North Af	Benghazi
South Asia	Pakistan	Unknown	Unknown	Deobandi	7	1	Bombing/Explosive	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Pakistan	South Asia	Balochistan
Sub-Saharan Africa	Bamenda	Mogadishu	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	4	1	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Somalia	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Somalia	Sub-Saharan Africa	Middle Sh
South Asia	Kandahar	Ali Abad	Police station	Deobandi	4	7	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Syria	Middle East & North Af	Idlib
South Asia	Nangarhar	Balkh	Unknown	Deobandi	7	2	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Nangarhar
Western Europe	Vienna	Vienna	Iranian embassy	Jihadist Salafist	0	1	Armed assault	Government (Diplomatic)	Iran	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Nangarhar
South Asia	Jammu and Kashmir	Unknown	political party facility	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Armed assault	Government (General)	India	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Balochistan
Middle East & North Af	Sistan and Baluchistan	Unknown	military base	Jihadist Salafist	0	2	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Iran	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Nigeria	Sub-Saharan Africa	Borno
Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	2	0	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Nangarhar
Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	18	5	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Iraq	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Bamenda	Mogadishu	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	5	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prop	Somalia	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Balghari
South Asia	Farah	Unknown	headquarters of AQ	Deobandi	10	10	Armed assault	Military	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Balghari
South Asia	Farah	Unknown	checkpoint	Deobandi	5	2	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Mali	Sub-Saharan Africa	Timbuktu
South Asia	Kandahar	Unknown	border Pakistan	Deobandi	0	2	Bombing/Explosive	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Nigeria	Sub-Saharan Africa	Borno
Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	2	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Iraq	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Pakistan	South Asia	Balochistan
Sub-Saharan Africa	Bamenda	Mogadishu	checkpoint	Jihadist Salafist	1	1	Armed assault	Military	Somalia	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Pakistan	South Asia	North W
Middle East & North Af	Deluz-Zor	Unknown	city	Jihadist Salafist	2	0	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prop	Syria	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	South Asia	Jammu &
South Asia	Sulu	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Armed assault	Military	Philippines	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Pakistan	South Asia	Balochistan
Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	10	30	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prop	Yemen	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Faryab
South Asia	Farah	Unknown	Unknown	Deobandi	7	7	Armed assault	Military	Afghanistan	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	South Asia	Jammu &
South Asia	Helmand	Unknown	Police station	Deobandi	2	3	Bombing/Explosive	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Afghanistan	South Asia	Herat
South Asia	Punjab	Unknown	Police station	Deobandi	10	30	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prop	Pakistan	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	South Asia	Jammu &
Sub-Saharan Africa	Bamenda	Unknown	Police station	Jihadist Salafist	2	0	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Somalia	Explosives	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	India	South Asia	Jammu &
Sub-Saharan Africa	Est	Nassouga	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	1	0	Armed assault	Military	Burkina Faso	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Mali	Sub-Saharan Africa	Gao
South Asia	Jammu and Kashmir	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	2	Armed assault	Military	Unknown	Firearms	2018-04-02	2018-04-02	1	Nigeria		

## II. The turning point of 9/11 (2001-2012)

The attacks of 9/11 2001 perpetrated by Al-Qaeda on U.S. soil were the deadliest terrorist attacks in history, with a total of 3,001 dead and 16,493 wounded. On that day, two hijacked airliners were launched against the towers of the World Trade Center in New York. A third aircraft had been directed at the Pentagon in Washington. On board the fourth hijacked aircraft, it was a passenger revolt that defeated the terrorists' plan, as the aircraft crashed in the countryside in Pennsylvania. The live and global broadcasting of this dramatic

and spectacular event also marked the beginning of a new era in the media coverage of terrorism. In addition to the deferred information intended for specific audiences, immediate and comprehensive information is now available. This new public space profoundly affects the work of traditional media (television, press and radio). The advent of social media and smartphones is opening its doors of mass communication to countless new players, starting with terrorist organisations.

### Islamism and populism: a relentless dialectic

Terrorist violence mainly affects civilians. It reaches them at the heart of their ordinary lives, a world where no one has any reason to be on guard. Anytime, anywhere, anyone. Death due to terrorism creates an unbearable sense of permanent vulnerability. For a few days, a few weeks and sometimes longer, peace looks like war. People in the democratic world are more traumatised by terrorist violence because they have inherited an irenic culture, a logical consequence of the decline of inter state violence<sup>1</sup>. But democracies are also more helpless because they represent a soft political order based on freedom and human rights. Inevitably, in the face of terrorist violence and a war imposed on all, democracies feel defenseless.

Stupor, despondency and fear upset political demands. A desire for repression, control, surveillance, expulsion and border closure is expressed in the open<sup>2</sup>. It creates a culture of security, even paranoia, which is perpetuated by the inevitable measures designed to reassure much more than to prevent. Democracies are populated by countless systems of control to access public places and shops, gates and guards appear everywhere, street bins carry transparent bags. From now on, taking a plane requires heavy control and search procedures, going on the subway requires travellers to be vigilant, strategic locations are worrying and video surveillance is spreading, while the fight against terrorist networks intensifies police vigilance: files, wiretaps, tracking on the Web and social media, on video game forums, etc.

Through the violence of jihadists, Islam and Muslims are raising irrepressible and growing fears. Fear of the other splits societies, and they end up opposing themselves: a propensity for violence, xenophobia, identity conflicts, and authoritarianism are the result. The common law is considered argumentative, cumbersome and cowardly. A growing proportion of public opinion believes it is represented and reassured by leaders who promise to change the rule of law. When fear passes through the ballot boxes that democracy makes available, it becomes that force that undoes and rebuilds the law. The promise of illiberal democracy increases the attractiveness of populist programs. Islamism and populism respond to and understand each other without having to talk to each other. They grow together and egg each other on.

1. See Steven Pinker, *La Part d'ange en nous. Histoire de la violence et de son déclin* [2011], Les Arènes, 2017.

2. See the high level of trust that law enforcement institutions (Police, army and justice) enjoy in forty-two democracies, compared to the crisis that affects most institutions. See Mathieu Zagrodzki, "The army, police, and justice: strong support for institutions of law and order", in Dominique Reynié (dir.), *Democracies Under Pressure*, Fondation pour l'innovation politique, 2019, vol. I, pp. 97-98 (<http://www.fondapol.org/en/etudes-en/new-global-survey-democracies-under-pressure-volume-i-the-issues/>).

3. In the 28 countries of the European Union, a large majority (57%) of respondents answered that they could "not welcome more refugees because they increase the risk of terrorism in our country". In the eleven countries of the former communist bloc that are now members of the European Union, this response concerns 72% of respondents (see Dominique Reynié, "The challenge of migration in the light of the refugee issue", in Dominique Reynié (dir.), op. cit., vol. I, pp. 52-56.)

4. See Antoine Garapon and Michel Rosenfeld, *Démocraties sous stress. Les défis du terrorisme global*, PUF, 2016.

5. Opinion in favour of an authoritarian form of government is reaching levels that exceed the electoral scores of populist parties. The level is higher the younger respondents are (see Dominique Reynié, "The ghosts of authoritarianism", in Dominique Reynié (dir.), op. cit., vol. I, pp. 39-40.

6. See Dominique Reynié, *Les Nouveaux Populismes*, ed. revised and expanded, Fayard/Pluriel, 2013.



## 1. 9/11 and the war on terror

The attacks of 9/11 have had a significant impact that changed the geopolitics of the Middle East<sup>1</sup>. Qualified by George W. Bush's administration as the "war on terror", the American response was brisk. On 7 October 2001, the United States launched a major offensive against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, accused of having supported Al-Qaeda. A year and a half later, on March 20, 2003, the American army invaded Iraq, in order to overthrow Saddam Hussein's regime in the prospect of "democratising the Middle East". Despite overwhelming military victories, the United States is failing to restore peace, or to eradicate Islamism. Confronted with the machine of American war in the long term, Islamists organised themselves, by acquiring an international dimension that keeps being reaffirmed. Between 2001 and 2012, the number of attacks and victims have increased in a spectacular way, notably due to the attacks perpetrated by Taliban fundamentalists.

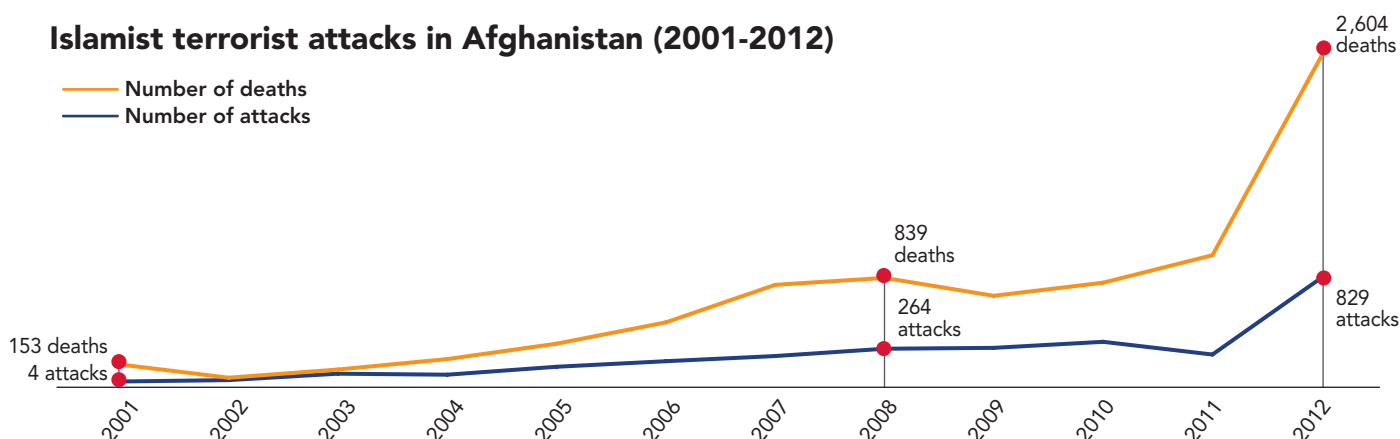
Their movement has been spreading in Afghanistan and in Pakistan since 1994. Two years later, they overthrew the government in place when Kabul was taken over. They established the regime of the Islamic Emirate from Afghanistan, headed by Mohammad Omar. In the years that followed, the Taliban persecuted minorities, established a well-founded regime on the strict application of Sharia law and welcomed numerous wanted jihadists, including the leader of Al-Qaeda, Osama bin Laden. In a few years, Afghanistan became a home for Islamic extremists from all over the world.

After the attacks of 9/11, the Taliban were driven out of power by an international coalition led by the Americans. From this moment on, there was an exponential increase the number of attacks and the number of victims, in particular among international forces or members of the Afghan government. We went from 4 attacks and 153 deaths in the country in 2001 to 829 attacks and 2,604 deaths in 2012. In total, between 2001 and 2012, 2,536 attacks took place on Afghan soil, killing at least 8,054 people. This represents 30.7% of the total number of Islamist attacks worldwide between 2001 and 2012. The Taliban were responsible for most (95.2%) of these attacks.

### The Taliban's targets in Afghanistan (2001-2012)

Type of target	Number of attacks	Breakdown by target (in%)
Police	591	24.5
Civilians	487	20.2
Government	450	18.7
Military	387	16.1
Business	139	5.8
Diplomacy	38	1.6
Religious institutions	37	1.5

### Islamist terrorist attacks in Afghanistan (2001-2012)

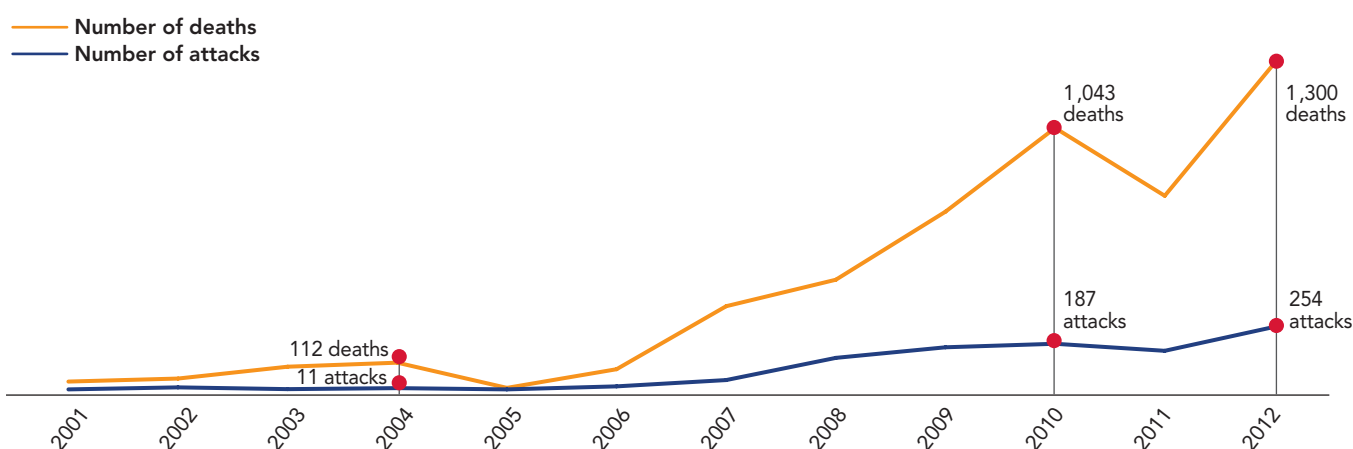


1. According to a survey conducted by the Fondation pour l'innovation politique and the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, of the seventeen events proposed, half of the young people surveyed (47%) cite the attacks of 9/11 as one of the three most significant events (see Future Memories, Fondation pour l'innovation politique and the Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Shoah, January 2015, [www.fondapol.org/en/polls-en/future-memories\\_a-survey-presented-by-dominique-reynie/](http://www.fondapol.org/en/polls-en/future-memories_a-survey-presented-by-dominique-reynie/)).

In Pakistan, we also witnessed the rise of groups multiplying terrorist acts between 2001 and 2012, with 1,009 attacks and 4,997 deaths. Very present in this country, the Taliban organised themselves from 2007 under the name Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP); they were responsible for nearly three-quarters of the (71.2%) of the terrorist violence over this period (2001-2012). Other Islamist groups are also active, such as Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (56 attacks, 386 deaths) or

Lashkar-e-Islam (64 attacks, 115 deaths). In 2007, two terrorist attacks led by Al-Qaeda and its allies left their mark on the landscape of the country's politics: on 18 October, an attack against a crowd gathered to welcome the former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, returning from exile, caused the death of 141 people and wounded 250. On 27 December, she was murdered in turn, victim of a suicide attack that killed 20 people and wounded more than a hundred.

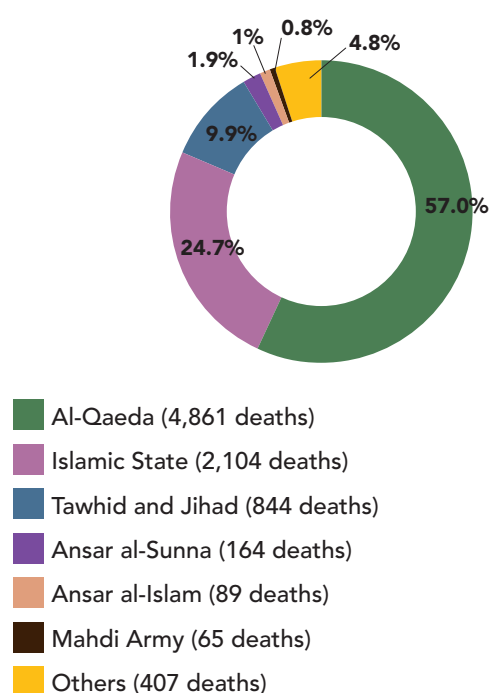
### Islamist terrorist attacks in Pakistan (2001-2012)



Between 2001 and 2012, Iraq was the third largest country most affected by Islamist terrorism, with 914 attacks. Particularly violent, these attacks caused the deaths of 8,534 people, with on average 9.3 people killed per terrorist action. By comparison, in the world during the same period, an attack killed an average of 4.6 people. The fight against foreign interference is a key reason for violence by Islamists. From the moment on 19 August 2003, the car bomb attack against the Canal Hotel, UN headquarters in Baghdad, killed 22 people. The year 2004 saw a series of terrorist attacks targeting coalition member countries in Iraq, with 9 attacks against personnel at military bases, checkpoints and patrols of the Multi-National Force-Iraq (MNF-I). At the same time, the development of hostage takings/kidnappings became more common to terrorist actions: while we do not record any hostage takings or kidnappings in 2001, 2002 and 2003, there were 27 in 2004, largely aimed at civilians from countries militarily deployed in Iraq (5 Americans, 4 Japanese, 3 South Koreans, 1 Bulgarian, 1 Canadian, and 1 Italian). Among the countries involved in the war, the United States was greatly affected: between 2001 and 2012, in Iraq, 34 attacks targeted Americans, including 15 during the year 2004.

### Deadliest terrorist groups in Iraq (2001-2012)

As a % of the number of victims of the attacks committed in Iraq during the period





## 2001-2012

8,264 attacks  
38,186 deaths  
Average number of  
deaths per attack: 4.6

### COUNTRIES AFFECTED BY ISLAMIST TERRORISM (2001-2012)

#### 1 AFGHANISTAN

2,536 attacks | 8,054 deaths

#### 2 PAKISTAN

1,009 attacks | 4,997 deaths

#### 3 IRAQ

914 attacks | 8,534 deaths

#### 4 ALGERIA

749 attacks | 2,007 deaths

#### 5 NIGERIA

581 attacks | 2,044 deaths

#### 6 SOMALIA

520 attacks | 1,540 deaths

#### 7 PHILIPPINES

387 attacks | 806 deaths

#### 8 YEMEN

347 attacks | 1,618 deaths

#### 9 INDIA

275 attacks | 1,661 deaths

#### 10 ISRAEL

233 attacks | 551 deaths

#### 11 WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP

161 attacks | 274 deaths

#### 12 THAILAND

111 attacks | 91 deaths

#### 13 KENYA

99 attacks | 142 deaths

#### 14 INDONESIA

37 attacks | 302 deaths

#### 15 BANGLADESH

35 attacks | 82 deaths

#### 16 SYRIA

29 attacks | 356 deaths

#### 17 RUSSIA

26 attacks | 724 deaths

#### 18 LEBANON

26 attacks | 78 deaths

#### 19 SAUDI ARABIA

19 attacks | 119 deaths

#### 20 IRAN

18 attacks | 176 deaths

#### 21 UNITED STATES

16 attacks | 3,016 deaths

#### 22 MALI

16 attacks | 37 deaths

#### 23 MAURITANIA

12 attacks | 43 deaths

#### 24 UNITED KINGDOM

11 attacks | 57 deaths

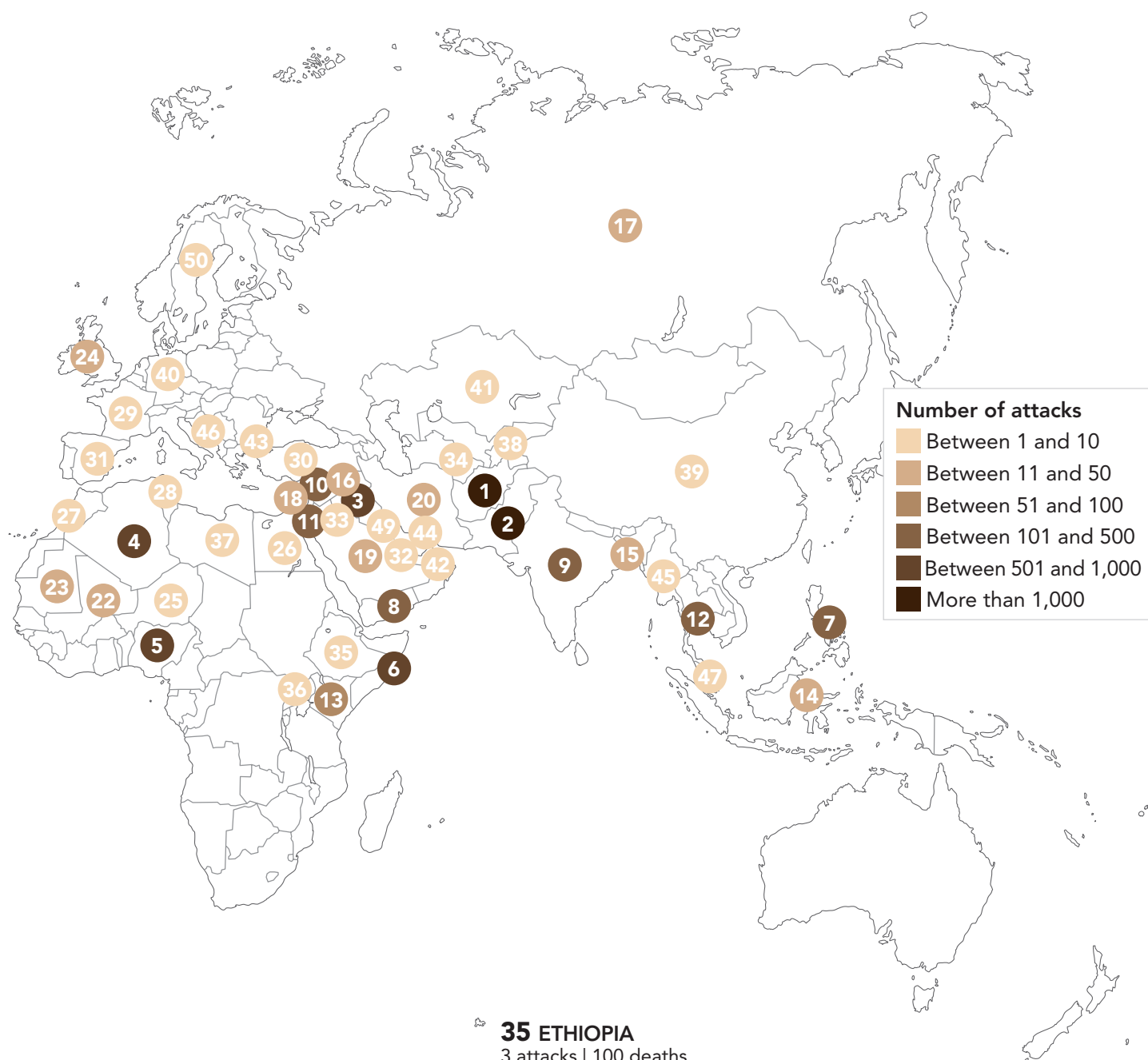
#### 25 NIGER

10 attacks | 16 deaths

#### 26 EGYPT

8 attacks | 191 deaths





**27 MOROCCO**  
8 attacks | 66 deaths

**28 TUNISIA**  
8 attacks | 32 deaths

**29 FRANCE**  
8 attacks | 8 deaths

**30 TURKEY**  
7 attacks | 97 deaths

**31 SPAIN**  
6 attacks | 191 deaths

**32 BAHRAIN**  
6 attacks | 2 deaths

**33 JORDAN**  
5 attacks | 63 deaths

**34 UZBEKISTAN**  
5 attacks | 10 deaths

**35 ETHIOPIA**  
3 attacks | 100 deaths

**36 UGANDA**  
3 attacks | 75 deaths

**37 LIBYA**  
2 attacks | 4 deaths

**38 TAJIKISTAN**  
2 attacks | 4 deaths

**39 CHINA**  
2 attacks | 3 deaths

**40 GERMANY**  
2 attacks | 2 deaths

**41 KAZAKHSTAN**  
2 attacks | 1 dead

**42 UNITED ARAB EMIRATES**  
2 attacks | 0 dead

**43 BULGARIA**  
1 attack | 7 deaths

**44 QATAR**  
1 attack | 2 deaths

**45 MYANMAR**  
1 attack | 1 dead

**46 BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA**  
1 attack | 1 dead

**47 MALAYSIA**  
1 attack | 1 dead

**48 CANADA**  
1 attack | 0 dead

**49 KOWEIT**  
1 attack | 0 dead

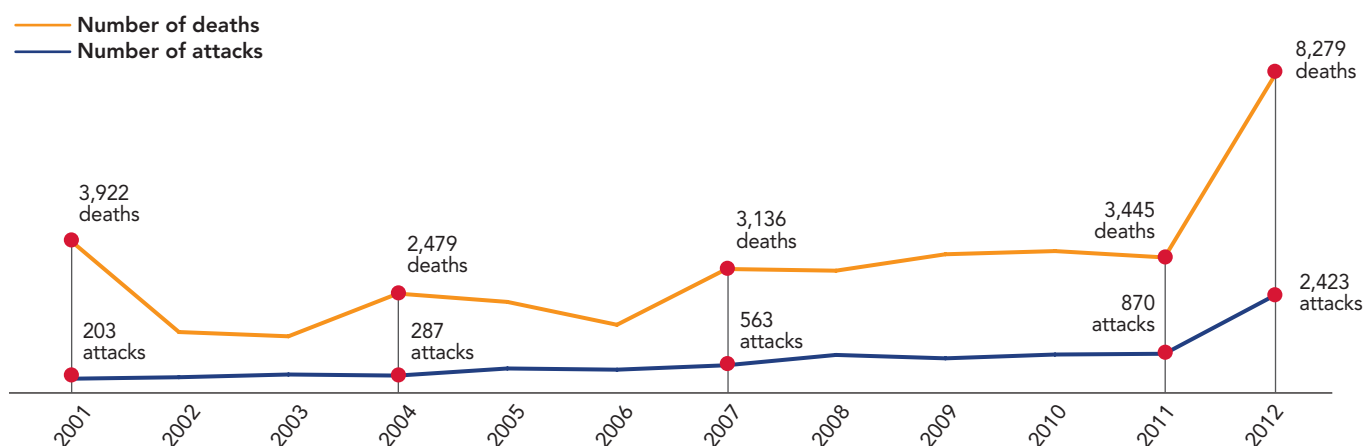
**50 SWEDEN**  
1 attack | 0 dead

## 2. Globalisation of Islamist terrorist attacks

Between 2001 and 2012, an increase in Islamist attacks is observable in several geographical areas in the world. Compared to the previous period (1979-2000), there was a sharp increase in the number of

terrorist attacks, with 8,264 attacks (compared to a total of 2,190 between 1979 and 2000) and 38,186 deaths (compared to a total of 6,818 between 1979 and 2000). This dramatic increase is partly due to the globalisation of *jihad*, facilitated by the acceleration of the circulation of people and ideas.

### Islamist terrorist attacks in the world (2001-2012)



Since 2004, Europe has been confronted with a wave of attacks of a new magnitude. On 11 March, in Madrid, four trains exploded almost simultaneously. Claimed by Al-Qaeda, these attacks killed 191 people. On 7 July 2005, four explosions hit public transportation in London, killing 56 people and wounding 784. Though Al-Qaeda claimed responsibility for these attacks, the terrorists, unlike those of 9/11, were natives of the United Kingdom. Gilles Kepel sees this as a change in the implementation of Islamist attacks, which now rely on "a human resource specific to the Western country targeted"<sup>2</sup>.

In addition, many Islamist movements are intensifying their inter-regional collaborations, such as in Asia. The 9/11 attacks on the ground claimed by Al-Qaeda and then the intervention in Afghanistan by American troops helped further the link between Osama bin Laden and various South Asian groups<sup>3</sup>,

examples of which are Abu Sayyaf in the Philippines and Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) in Indonesia. The difficulty is to examine, in each context, the way in which people and violent groups combine local elements, regional and global within the referents, the objectives and the operating methods they mobilise and implement. Trends then appear to be oscillating between unrelated ethno-nationalism with global *jihad* and a transnational religious referent<sup>4</sup>. The situation in Thailand during this period takes part in this dynamic. From 2004 onwards, in the context of a separatist insurgency, the south of the country where a Muslim minority lives is crossed by violent activism. The two main groups Runda Kumpulan Kecil (RKK) and the Patani United Liberation Organisation (PULO), are then organised around a jihadist discourse. For a number of attacks occurring at this time, the Islamist character is sometimes found intertwined with ethno-nationalist claims.

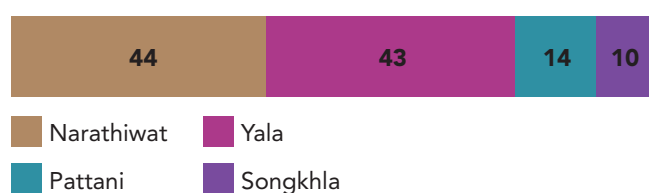
2. Gilles Kepel, *Sortir du chaos. Les crises en Méditerranée et au Moyen-Orient*, Gallimard, 2018, p. 147.

3. See David Martin Jones, Michael Smith and Mark Weeding, "Looking for the Pattern: Al Qaeda in Southeast Asia- The Genealogy of a Terror Network", *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, vol. 26, n° 6, November 2003, p. 443-457.

4. See Gabriel Facal, "Les groupes islamistes radicaux en South Asia-Est-Panoramas institutionnels, réseaux d'affiliation et références", *Note d'actualité* n° 10/16, Observatoire de l'Asie du Sud-Est, cycle 2018-2019, [centreasia.eu](http://centreasia.eu), July 2018 ([www.centreasia.eu/les-groupes-islamistes-radicaux-en-asie-du-sud-est-panoramas-institutionnels-reseaux-daffiliation-et-references-ideologiques-gabriel-facal/](http://www.centreasia.eu/les-groupes-islamistes-radicaux-en-asie-du-sud-est-panoramas-institutionnels-reseaux-daffiliation-et-references-ideologiques-gabriel-facal/)).

Our database offers the reader the possibility to keep these events or not when counting the Islamist attacks. According to our estimate between 2001 and 2012, we identify 111 attacks and 91 deaths in Thailand. According to the possible estimate, we count 146 attacks and 121 deaths over the same period. In the latter we also take into account the actions of terrorists accused of being Muslim separatist extremists.

### Number of terrorist attacks by province in Thailand (2001-2012)



The rise of Islamist terrorism can also be explained by the development of Al-Qaeda's ramifications, such as that of Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQPA) or Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).

### The ramifications of Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQPA) and of Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)

Ramifications	Countries	Number of attacks	Number of deaths
Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQPA)	Iraq	564	4,861
	Yemen	338	1,606
	Saudi Arabia	15	0
Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)	Algeria	168	594
	Mauritania	10	20
	Niger	9	15
	Mali	8	33

These different branches develop a capacity to hit hard abroad, as shown by the three successive attacks of 9 November 2005 by Al-Qaeda in Iraq, at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in Amman, which caused the deaths of at least 61 people, and the one on 28 November 2005 at the Paradise Hotel in Mombasa, Kenya, killing 16 people.

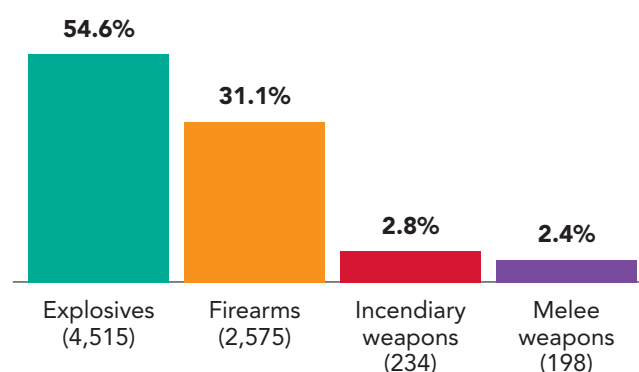
Relatively spared until then, sub-Saharan Africa became a target of Islamist terrorism in the second half of the 2000s. The creation and expansion of the Al Shabaab group, formerly the armed wing of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), in Somalia in 2006 was central. Pursuing the objective of overthrowing the Somali government in order to establish a regime founded on Sharia law, Al Shabaab has been cultivating close links with Al-Qaeda, thus forming part of the global jihadist movement<sup>5</sup>. The group's activity goes beyond the borders of Somalia, where the group has committed 459 attacks and killed 1,396 people, to reach Kenya, where it attacked 97 times (126 deaths), and Ethiopia, where it struck twice, including the devastating attack (100 deaths) on 2 November 2007 against Ethiopian soldiers in a hotel in Dolo.

### Al-Shabaab's targets in Somalia (2001-2012)

Type of target	Number of attacks	Breakdown by target (in %)
Military	129	28.1
Civilians	121	26.4
Government	79	17.2
Police	16	3.5
Terrorist groups and militias	16	3.5
Diplomacy	14	3.0

Sub-Saharan Africa was also the first to suffer acts of violence by Boko Haram, which have been recorded in Nigeria since 2009. The considerable scale of its attacks between 2010 and 2012 (566 attacks, 1,655 deaths) foreshadowed its power of destruction over the next decade.

### Types of weapons used in Islamist terrorist attacks (2001-2012)



5. See the Center for International Security and Cooperation (Cisac), "Al Shabaab", [cisac.fsi.stanford.edu](https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/al-shabaab) (<https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/al-shabaab>).

### 3. Terrorist migration to social media

The Internet obviously plays a key role in globalisation of Islamist terrorism. It turns out to be a powerful propaganda and recruitment tool<sup>6</sup>. The emergence of social media allows Islamist groups to interact effectively and often anonymously, to share documents and information, but also to establish a community of interconnected individuals. According to Evan Kohlmann, "90% of terrorist

activity on the Internet takes place using social networking tools. These forums serve as a virtual firewall to help safeguard the identities of those who participate, and they offer subscribers a chance to make direct contact with terrorist representatives [...]". Furthermore, cyber-terrorism is also a modality of attack for Islamist groups which thus multiplies their capacity for action.

#### The impact of terrorist violence in a global public space within the reach of the individual media

From the mid-1990s onwards, access to visibility took on unprecedented proportions. The digital public space increased the impact of terrorist actions tenfold. The coupling of the Web with continuous news channels amplified the effects of Islamist violence. Al Jazeera, the Qatari channel launched in 1996, broadcasts in some 30 countries and develops information websites in the few languages that can be used to reach most residents of the planet. Social media and other secure messaging applications offer the most modest of these terrorist groups the tools of global action: communication, propaganda, organisation, recruitment... The smartphone extends to the end of the chain, i.e. the individual, the mastery of these powerful tools and access to all networks. Media coverage of the attacks always goes through the traditional media (agencies, television, radio and the press) but it no longer depends on them. In the universal public space, production information is absolutely disseminated. The Web and the smartphone give the human multitude the powers of a news agency with 2.8 billion correspondents and the influence capabilities of numerous media. Islamic terrorism thrives in the age of the individual media. The depth of the network, the strength of the images, and the play of algorithms mean that any attack can become a global event in a matter of minutes.

#### • Emergence of the World Wide Web (Web).

- 11 September: attacks in New York.

- 7 October: Osama bin Laden publishes a video stating that "America was touched by Allah at its most vulnerable point, destroying, thank God, its the most prestigious buildings". Between 2003-2004 and 2006-2011, Bin Laden repeated this type of video recordings, broadcast on the Al Jazeera channel or Islamist websites.

- During the terrorist attacks in Mumbai, India, Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) attackers used advanced communication technologies, including handheld GPS' and Google Earth satellite images to plan and execute their attacks.

- Emergence of Myspace.

- Emergence of Skype.

- Emergence of Facebook.

- Emergence of YouTube.

- Emergence of Twitter.



6. David Thomson, *Les Français jihadistes*, Paris, Les Arènes, 2014, "young people who discover hadiths on the Internet are completely deaf to all those who, at the mosque, can try to explain that the meaning of prophecies is part of a context: for them, who have come to sacred texts alone or with jihadist propaganda, the historical or figurative interpretation is an "innovation", that is, the worst thing since it distorts and biases the meaning they think is original".

7. Evan Kohlmann, cited in Gabriel Weimann, "Terrorist Migration to Social Media", *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 16, n° 1, 2015, p. 181.

- Emergence of Instagram.

- Emergence of Snapchat.

- May: creation of a Twitter account by the Taliban (@alemarahweb, "@emirateweb") to send several daily messages, mostly in Pashtun, the language of Afghanistan's largest ethnic group.

- 7 December: the Twitter account of Al Shabaab (a terrorist group based in Somalia) is discovered under the pseudonym @HSMPress. Very quickly, it gathered tens of thousands of followers.

- 25 December: In Nigeria, Boko Haram claims a series of attacks on Christmas Day in a video on YouTube and then on Twitter.

- 14 August: Creation of the Telegram encrypted messaging application.

- May: The Islamic State launches al-Hayat Media to recruit non-Arabic-speaking and Western jihadists.

- 13 June: A campaign entitled "One Billion Muslims to Support the ISIS" is launched by the Twitter user @a\_jzra. The tweets were shared hundreds of times an hour.

- June 20: The Twitter #AllEyesOnISIS campaign launched by the Islamic State announces an imminent invasion of northern Iraq. This type of communication allows the Islamic State to attract foreign jihadists.

- 19 August: The Islamic State publishes a video of the beheading of journalist James Foley.

- September-December: At least 46,000 Twitter accounts are used by supporters of the Islamic State.

- 2 September: The Islamic State publishes a beheading video of journalist Steven Sotloff, an American-Israeli journalist.

- 13 September: The Islamic State publishes a beheading video of David Cawthorne Haines, a member of a British humanitarian organisation.

- 16 November: The Islamic State publishes a video of the beheading of Peter Kassig, a U.S. Army ranger.

- January: In a video, Amedy Coulibaly claims to have committed the attacks of 8 and 9 January, in Montrouge and at the Hyper Cacher store at the gate of Vincennes, in Paris, on behalf of the Islamic State.

- 14 January: In a video posted online, Nasser Ben Ali Al-Anassi claims responsibility for Charlie Hebdo's attack on behalf of Al-Qaeda.

- The Islamic State organisation uses Telegram, with the hashtag #KhilafahNews, to attract new supporters, often blocked on Facebook and Twitter. The Islamic State plans 19 of its 38 attacks in Western Europe from 2014 to 2016 via Telegram.

- Emergence of TikTok<sup>8</sup>.

2010

2011

2012

2013

2014

2015

2016

2017

2018

2019

8. See Georgia Wells, "Islamic State Turns to Teen-Friendly TikTok, Adorning Posts With Pink Hearts", *The Wall Street Journal*, 21 October 2019.



# III. The irruption of the Islamic State and Boko Haram (2013-2019)

On 17 December 2010, the immolation of the young street vendor Mohamed Bouazizi, in the Sidi Bouzid region of Tunisia, led to the flare-up of the Arab Spring. After some time raising hopes of democratisation, these events led, in the first half of the 2010's, to electoral victories for parties close to the Muslim Brotherhood. While they occasionally failed to retain power, they are "supported by increasingly conservative societies, also as a result of the spread of Salafism imported from Saudi Arabia"<sup>1</sup>.

In this new context, jihadism is developing regionally, based in particular on the proclamation by the Islamic State (IS) of the Caliphate in Mosul in 2014. It is during this period that Islamist terrorism is the most deadly. There has been an unprecedented increase of the number of attacks worldwide. The rise of IS and Boko Haram is facilitated by chaotic geopolitical contexts that offer terrorists many opportunities for expansion.

## 1. The Islamic State and the "management of savagery"

The group Islamic State emerged and then settled during the Iraqi civil war, between 2003 and 2011. The organisation was created in 2006 and, three times, its name change accompanied its expansion outside its Iraqi hub: first as an Islamic State in Iraq (ISI, 2006-2013), then as an Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL, 2013-2014) and finally as an Islamic State (IS, from 2014).

Theorised in the 2000s, the strategy of the IS is to promote chaos, the "management of savagery"<sup>2</sup>, and to globalise *jihad*. Its objective is to cultivate religion in the minds of the masses, to make Islam the only political and social order, and to train young people in order to establish a militarised society. The

"Since the emergence and territorialisation of the IS, women's jihadism has taken on a new dimension. Before the existence of the Islamic State (IS), neither Al-Qaeda nor any other "jihadosphere" organisation had called on women to massively join their cause or to contribute morally and physically. The IS offered a new conception of women's jihadism and proposed a manipulation of the feminine dynamics of their engagement."

Translated from Fethi Benslama and Farhad Khosrokhavar, *Le Jihadisme des femmes. Pourquoi ont-elles choisi Daech?*, Seuil, 2017, p. 9-10.

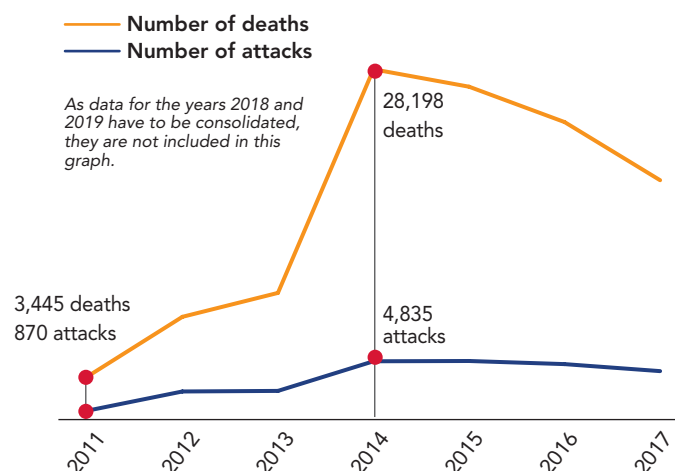
1. Translated from Hakim El Karoui, *La Fabrique de l'islamisme*, Institut Montaigne, September 2018, p.85 (Full report in French: [www.institutmontaigne.org/ressources/pdfs/publications/la-fabrique-de-islamisme.pdf](http://www.institutmontaigne.org/ressources/pdfs/publications/la-fabrique-de-islamisme.pdf); Shortened version in English: [www.institutmontaigne.org/ressources/pdfs/publications/Short%20Version%2090%20pages.pdf](http://www.institutmontaigne.org/ressources/pdfs/publications/Short%20Version%2090%20pages.pdf)).

2. Expression taken from "The management of savagery: the most critical stage that the *ummah* will go through", a text published in Arabic on the Internet in 2004 and written under the name of Abu Bakr Naji, pseudonym of Mohamed Hassan Khalil al-Hakim, aka Abu Jihad al-Masri, an Al-Qaeda executive. This text is intended to serve as a spiritual guide for many extremists. He explained the strategy to be put in place to establish an Islamic caliphate. According to some commentators, the manifesto counts "103 pages of hate speech, against the Jew, against the Christian, against the apostate, against democracy and its values. So much so that some have described it as the little jihadist's *Mein Kampf*. The interest of this book is that it puts us, from the title, in front of the paradox of jihadism, which on the one hand advocates the unleashing of savagery, the installation of the law of the jungle, with the call for the destruction of the ancient order, and at the same time theorises the management of this savagery and its "administration" (Translated from Abderrazak Sayadi and Alberto Fabio Ambrosio, "Terrorisme: Anatomie du 'Mein Kampf' djihadiste", counterpoints.org, 27 March 2018, [www.counterpoints.org/2018/03/27/312678-terrorisme-anatomie-du-mein-kampf-djihadiste](http://www.counterpoints.org/2018/03/27/312678-terrorisme-anatomie-du-mein-kampf-djihadiste)).

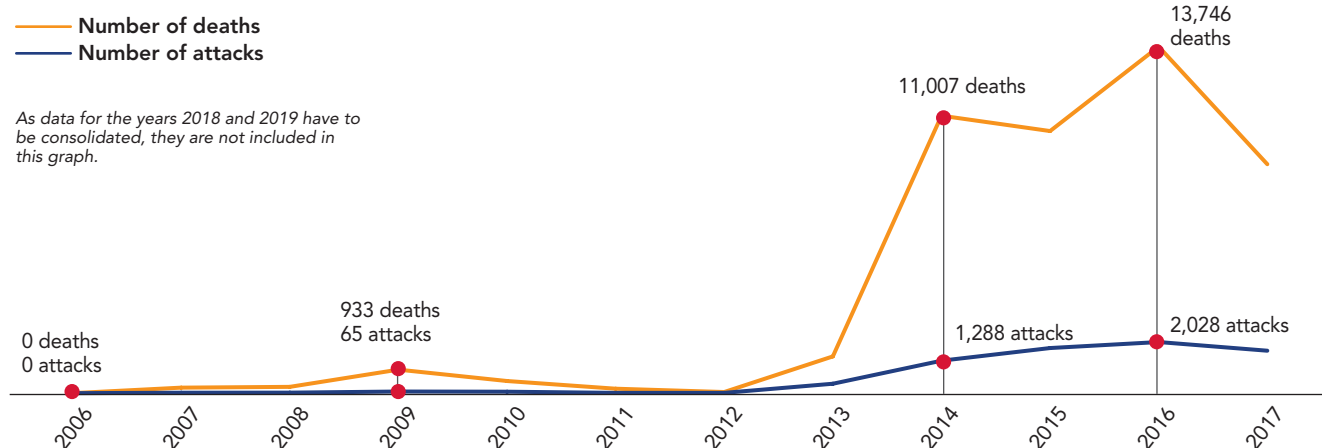


IS operates in several ways. The terrorist group may incite individuals to act alone. These are the “lone wolves”. Popularised in the 1990s, this expression has been used by the IS through different publications. A lone wolf becomes radicalised, plans and executes an attack on their own, without being affiliated with a particular terrorist group, even if they can claim the attack on behalf of the IS<sup>3</sup>. It should be noted that failed attacks are generally not claimed by the Islamic State<sup>4</sup>. The Iraqi-Syrian “parent company” directly claims responsibility for the most deadly attacks<sup>5</sup>. For example, the attack the Bardo Museum, Tunisia, on 18 March 2015, or the attacks of 13 November 2015 in France, were claimed the next day by the IS. As it gains momentum, the IS extends its battlefield. According to our database, it is from 2013 onwards that the organisation has multiplied the number of its terrorist attacks. For that year, we count nearly thirty-one times more attacks by the IS compared to the previous year (374 attacks in 2013, 12 in 2012).

### Islamist terrorist attacks in the world (2011-2017)



### Terrorist attacks the Islamic State claimed responsibility for (2006-2017)



### 52,619 deaths from the 8,185 attacks perpetrated by the various branches of the Islamic State organisation (2006-2017)

Organisations: Islamic State in Iraq, Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant, Islamic State in Bangladesh, Islamic State in Somalia, Islamic State in Egypt, Islamic State in the Greater Sahara, Khorassan Province of Islamic State, Najd Province of the Islamic State in Saudi Arabia, Sinai Province of the Islamic State, Province of al-Tarabulus (Tripoli) of the Islamic State in Libya, Province of al-Fezzan of the Islamic State in Libya, Caucasus Province of the Islamic State, Barqah Province of the Islamic State in Libya, Algeria Province of the Islamic State, Al-Bayda Province of the Islamic State, Aden-Abyan Province of the Islamic State, etc.

3. See Mathieu Guidère, *Atlas du terrorisme islamiste. D'Al-Qaida à Daech*, Autrement, 2017.

4. For example, the attempted attacks in Villejuif on 19 April 2015 and on the Thalys train on 21 August 2015.

5. See Anne-Aël Durand, William Audureau, Maxime Vaudano, Madjid Zerrouky and Gary Dagorn, “Les attaques de l'État islamique ont fait plus de 2 500 morts en deux ans”, *leWorld.fr*, 17 June 2016 ([www.leWorld.fr/les-decodeurs/visuel/2016/06/17/les-attaques-de-l-etat-islamique-ont-fait-plus-de-2-500-deaths-en-deux-ans\\_4952826\\_4355770.html](http://www.leWorld.fr/les-decodeurs/visuel/2016/06/17/les-attaques-de-l-etat-islamique-ont-fait-plus-de-2-500-deaths-en-deux-ans_4952826_4355770.html)).



# FRANCE

## NUMBER OF ATTACKS

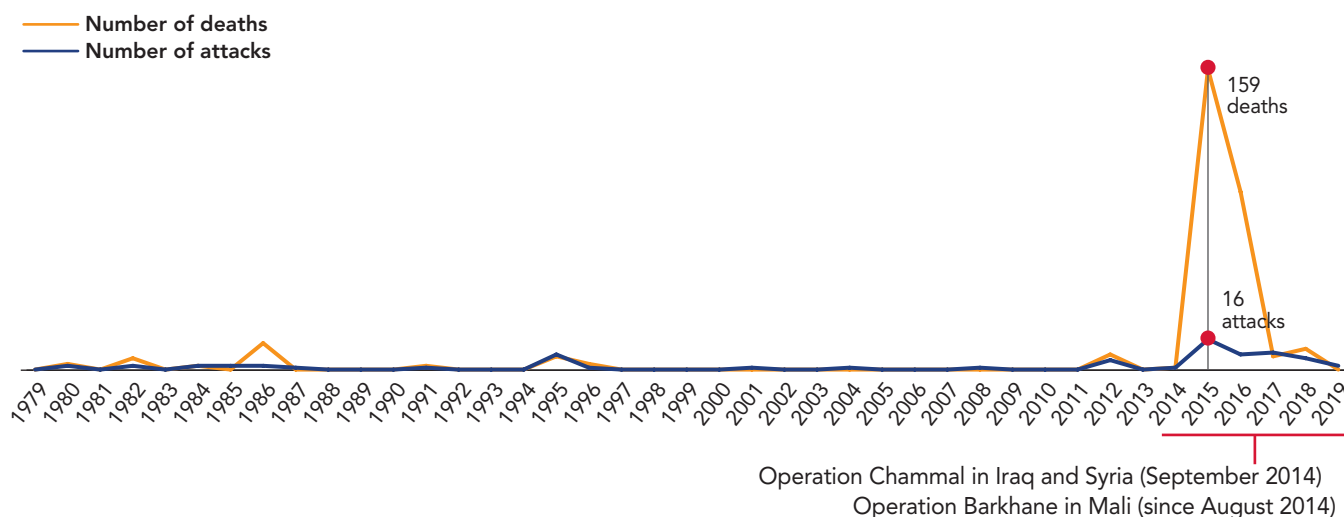
**71** [retained estimate]

**76** [possible estimate]

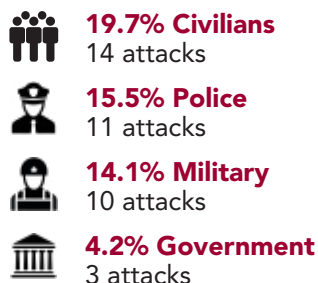
## NUMBER OF DEATHS

**317** [retained estimate]

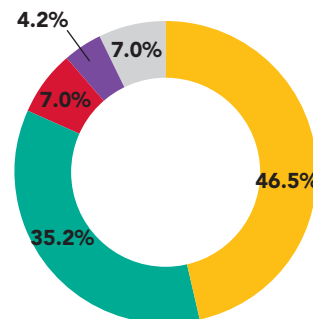
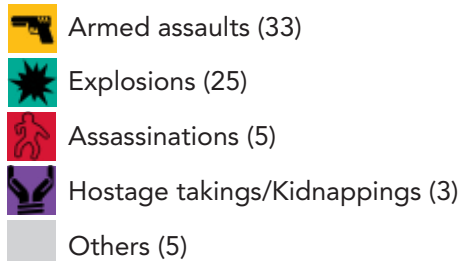
**317** [possible estimate]



## MAIN TARGETS



## TYPE OF ATTACKS



## MOST AFFECTED PROVINCES

Province	Number of attacks
Île-de-France	46
Midi-Pyrénées	4
Rhône-Alpes	3
Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur	3

**43.2%** of those who died in Islamist terrorist attacks in France were killed during the attacks of 13 November 2015.

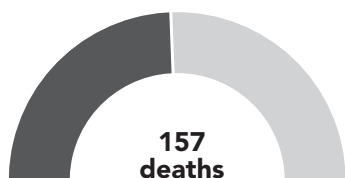
**66.2%** of Islamist terrorist attacks in France took place between 2012 and 2019.

**20.2%** of those who died in Islamist terrorist attacks in Europe were killed in France.

## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUP

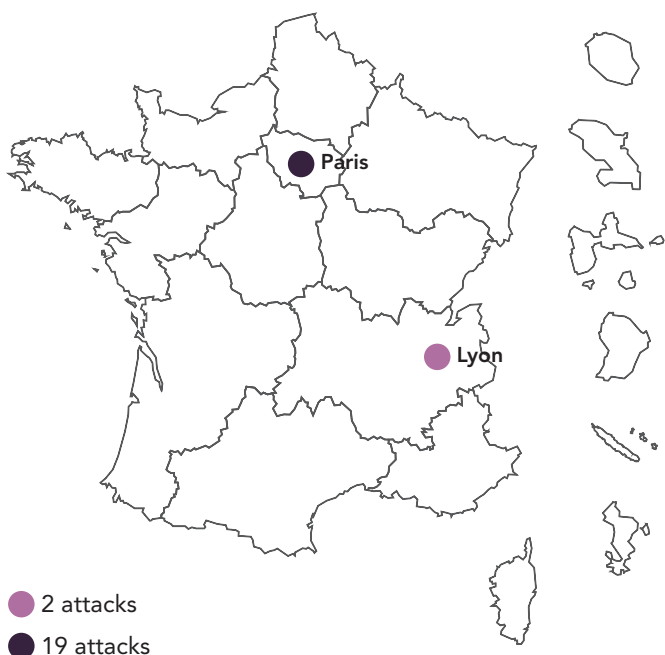
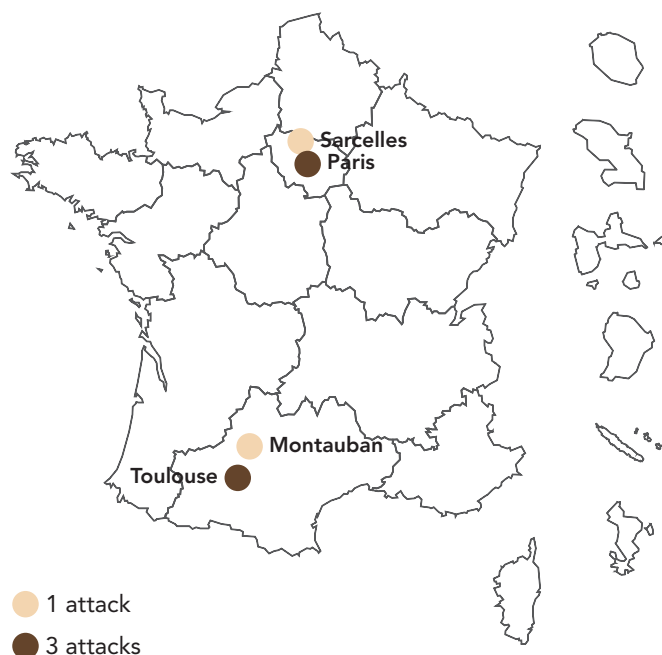
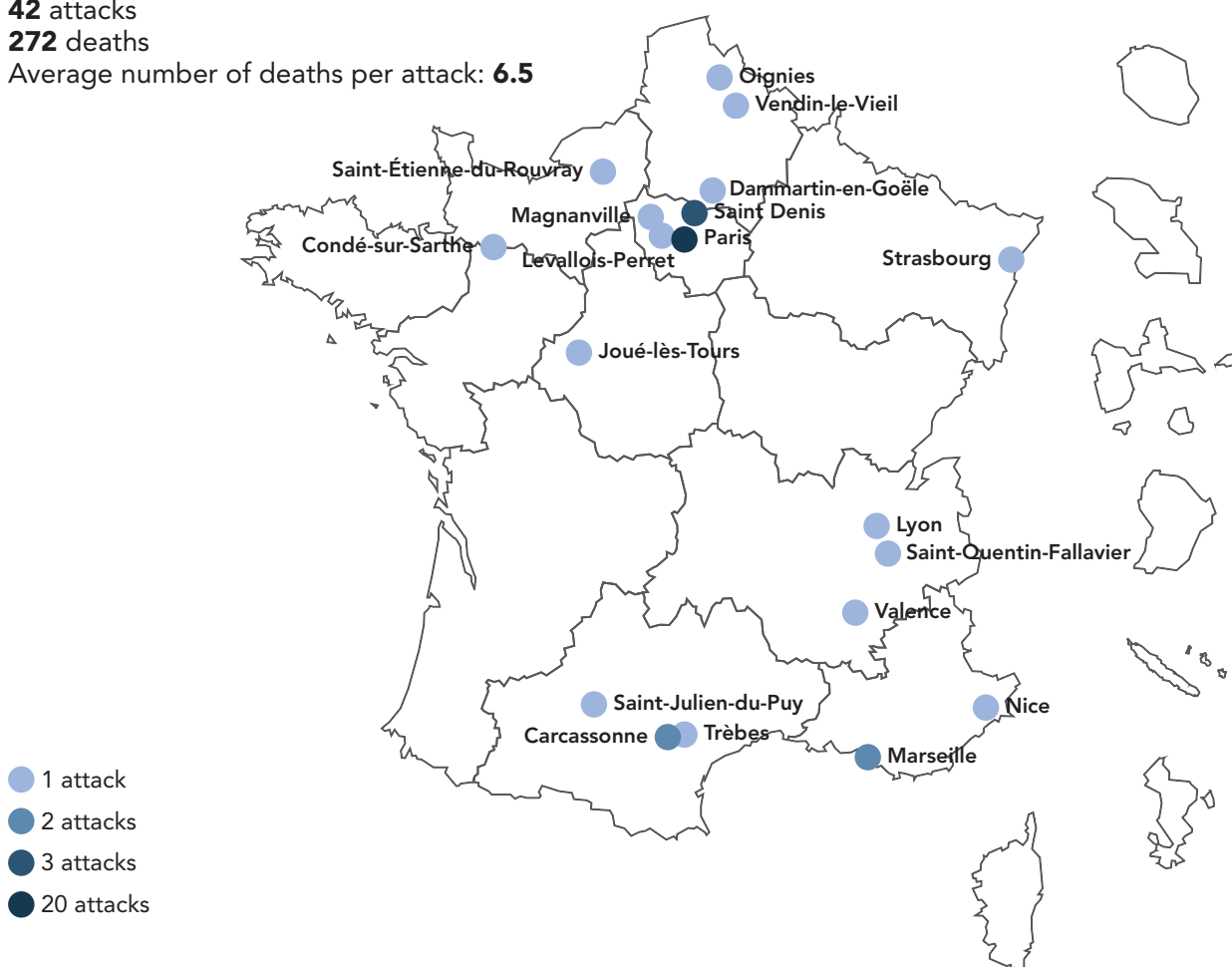
### Islamic State

Responsible for **49.5%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in France



## AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK



**1979-2000****21 attacks****37 deaths**Average number of deaths per attack: **1.8****2001-2012****8 attacks****8 deaths**Average number of deaths per attack: **1****2013-2019****42 attacks****272 deaths**Average number of deaths per attack: **6.5**

It should be noted that Boko Haram is not included here, although this group pledged allegiance to the IS in March 2015. We dedicated the following section to this terrorist group in order to highlight its uniqueness. Nevertheless, by adding the terrorist acts of Boko Haram committed since March 2015 to the number of attacks perpetrated by the IS and its various branches since its creation in 2006, we obtain the figure of 10,833 attacks that caused the deaths of 74,895 people.

Following the proclamation of the “Caliphate” in June 2014, a multitude of small Islamist groups joined the IS banner. This expansion strategy allows the organisation to establish itself throughout Africa and the Middle East by drawing on the support of local jihadist groups. In 2016, the IS murdered 13,746 people. This was the deadliest year recorded over the entire 1979-2019 period. The number of the IS' victims has increased ninefold in three years (1,458 deaths in 2013, 13,746 deaths in 2016). The graph on page 31 shows the evolution of the number of attacks committed by the various branches of the Islamic State since its inception to 2017.

The territories most affected are the places where the IS has been historically established, namely Iraq and Syria. The wars that affect these states have facilitated its development by allowing it to conquer several cities and provinces, and to establish a totalitarian order driven by the objective of restoring an “Abbasid caliphate”. IS terrorists are most destructive in Iraq, where they carried out 5,350 attacks, killing 34,158 people. This means that of the 41,544 people killed in Iraq as a result of Islamist terrorism since 1979, 82.2% were victims of the Islamic State between 2006 and 2019.

### Islamic State's targets in Iraq (2013-2019)

Types of targets	Number of attacks	Breakdown by target (in%)
Civilians	2,176	42.1
Military	1,327	25.7
Police	673	13.0
Business	215	4.2
Government	146	2.8
Religious institutions	89	1.7

In Syria, Islamic State attacks have been very deadly, with 746 attacks costing the lives of 8,923 people; on average, in the country, the IS causes the death of 12 people each time it attacks. Some neighbouring countries are affected by the intrusion of the IS, through its ramifications, particularly from 2014 onwards. Here again, these interferences are facilitated by destabilisation contexts which, in turn, favour the influence of the terrorist organisation on these territories which the IS considers its “new provinces”: Libya (550 attacks, 1,172 deaths), Egypt (498 attacks, 1,888 deaths), Yemen (103 attacks, 947 deaths), but also Afghanistan (351 attacks, 2,695 deaths) and Pakistan (118 attacks, 743 deaths).

### The attacks perpetrated by the Islamic State in Europe (2013-2019)

Country	Number of attacks	Number of deaths	Average number of deaths per attack
Russia	34	63	1.9
France	19	157	8.3
Belgium	8	46	5.8
United Kingdom	3	29	9.7
Spain	3	21	7.0
Germany	1	0	–
Austria	1	0	–
<b>Total</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>4.6</b>

With the exception of South America, countries on other continents are targeted by the IS in attacks on their territory as well as against their nationals abroad. Several European Union countries are severely affected, and France, with 19 attacks and 157 deaths caused by the IS, is the most bruised European Union country.

“I know this letter will hurt you. Yet I’m going to tell you how much I love you. Dad, I asked you for permission to spend a few days at Aunt Safia’s. I didn’t go there. Forgive me: I lied to you. The day before last night, I arrived in Iraq to join my husband. We met on the Internet. He’s a wonderful man. I’m sure you’ll like him. He is a regional head of the Islamic State.”

Translated from Rachid Benzine, *Lettres à Nour*, Points, 2019.

## 2. The Lake Chad region against Boko Haram's mass terrorism

In the Hausa language, *boko haram* can be translated as "Western education is a sin". The Boko Haram movement was founded by Nigerian preacher Mohamed Yusuf in 2002 in Maiduguri, capital of Borno State, Nigeria. From an Islamist sect to an armed struggle movement in 2009, the organisation advocates a Jihadist Salafist Islam hostile to any Western influence. Its objective is to create a caliphate, governed by Sharia law, just like the IS, to which it pledged allegiance in March 2015 by being referred to as the Islamic State in West Africa.

### Islamist terrorist attacks perpetrated by Boko Haram (2009-2019)

Year	Number of attacks	Number of deaths	Average number of deaths per attack
2009	12	382	31.8
2010	17	72	4.2
2011	125	327	2.6
2012	424	1,256	3.0
2013	234	1,729	7.4
2014	495	7,118	14.4
2015	540	6,510	12.1
2016	241	1,470	6.1
2017	333	1,544	4.6
2018	139	1,106	8.0
2019	89	773	8.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,649</b>	<b>22,287</b>	<b>8.4</b>

The group amplified its terrorist activism from 2009 onwards, leading an insurgency for the creation of a caliphate in Nigeria. In 2013, Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan declared a state of emergency and the Nigerian army launched an offensive throughout the country. Despite this, Boko Haram is taking control of new areas, including Borno State, where 65% of its attacks are concentrated (1,461 of the 2,248 Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria). As of 2014, the Islamist group's theatre of operation extends to the countries bordering Lake Chad, in northern Cameroon, in Niger and in Chad.

### Islamist terrorist attacks perpetrated by Boko Haram (2009-2019)

Country	Number of attacks	Number of deaths	Average number of deaths per attack
Nigeria	2,248	18,441	8.2
Cameroon	272	2,306	8.5
Niger	85	1,074	12.6
Chad	42	465	11.1

Between 2009 and 2019, Boko Haram was responsible for 2,649 attacks. The human toll (22,287 deaths) is particularly cruel. A significant number of refugees have fled their cities or even their countries. Women and children have even been kidnapped to serve the terrorist organisation, as was the case in April 2014 when 276 high school girls were kidnapped in Chibok, Nigeria.

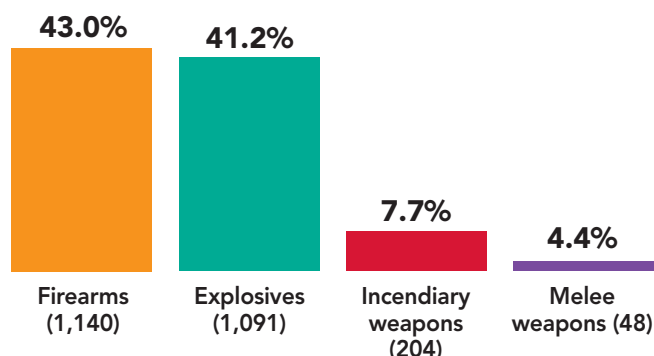
### Boko Haram's targets (2009-2019)

Type of target	Number of attacks	Breakdown by target (in%)
Civilians	1,282	48.4
Military	407	15.4
Police	254	9.6
Religious institutions	168	6.3
Government	142	5.4
Business	107	4.0
Educational institutions	88	3.3

Almost all of the victims were civilians, particularly in schools where education is considered too westernised: between 2009 and 2019, 88 educational institutions suffered from these terrorist attacks. The soldiers who fight against Boko Haram are also targets; as are the villagers who try to defend themselves by creating a self-defence militia, and who are most often massacred. With regard to its modus operandi, it should be noted that Boko Haram uses suicide bombing on a massive scale.



### Types of weapons used by Boko Haram (2009-2019)



On 23 March 2019, thanks to Arab-Kurdish forces supported by the United States, the IS was defeated. The end of the self-proclaimed caliphate is official with the taking of the last Syrian territory held by the jihadist organisation. However, deprived of its Iraqi-Syrian stronghold, the IS does not lose all its capacity to cause disturbance and decentralise its activism to its subsidiaries. From the data we have collected, we record 834 attacks (4,811 deaths) by the IS between 2018 and the end of August 2019 (1,062 attacks and 6,690 deaths including Boko Haram). This list may be incomplete, but these figures nevertheless illustrate the persistence of the terrorist action of the IS, as reflected by the deadly attacks of 21 April 2019 in Sri Lanka on Easter Sunday, as well as, on the same day, the attacks against three police officers in Saudi Arabia.

## 3. The suicide attack, the “martyr” and the terror

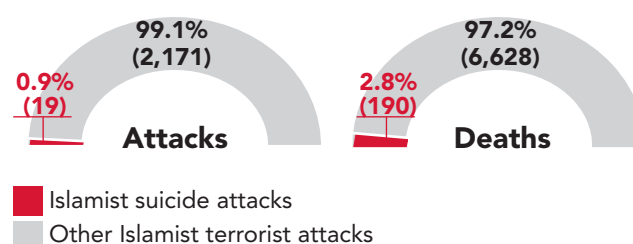
It was first during the Iran-Iraq conflict (1980-1988) that we began talking about “suicide attacks”. It was then a question of tactical warfare. On 30 October 1980, Mohammad Hossein Fahmideh, a 13-year-old fanatical Shiite, committed suicide by throwing himself, grenade in hand, under a tank. In total, there were several thousand Iranian children under the age of 16-years-old who would rush onto minefields in order to trigger the explosions and allow troops to pass in order to fight on behalf of the Islamic Republic of Khomeyni<sup>6</sup>. It was then in the context of the Lebanon War that the first “suicide attacks” were perpetrated. In Beirut, on 23 October 1983, two suicide attacks orchestrated by Hezbollah target the American and French contingents of the Multinational Force of security. The first led to the deaths of 241

American soldiers, the second of 58 people, including French paratroopers and the Lebanese family of a building caretaker.

A total of 19 suicide attacks will be committed between 1979 and 2000. They represent 0.9% of the 2,190 acts of Islamist violence in the world.

Suicide attacks require few resources, produce considerable damage and are susceptible to have maximum media impact. Indeed, it profoundly modifies the narrative of the act. It is no longer an attack perpetrated by a terrorist who does not expose themselves or their life to any risk; they are a “martyr” who accept and lead their own “sacrifice” for a cause. Its impact is further increased by the use of the new media order that allows the “martyr” to display their death by filming himself using their smartphone connected to the Web.

### Islamist suicide attacks in the world (1979-2000)



Between 2001 and 2012, the use of suicide attacks increased significantly (679), to then represent 8.2% of all Islamic attacks (8,264). The story of the jihadist martyr is carefully crafted and maintained by radical Islamists; their efforts are focused on the religious valorisation of the terrorist gesture. The “terrorist” must consider himself as a *shahid* (martyr). Thus, for these men and women who, in most cases, are under 30 years-old, the act to kill by taking your own life is no longer perceived as a suicide - considered a sin - but it is supposed, on the contrary, to bear witness to great piety to the extent that it harms non-Muslims<sup>7</sup>.

If, in Western public opinion, the author of a suicide attack is more often associated with the idea of a fanatical, of a miserable or psychologically unbalanced person, a number of studies seem to contrast this portrait by highlighting the relatively high socio-cultural level of a majority of terrorists killed in suicide attacks<sup>8</sup>. This is the case, for example, within Hamas

6. See Alain Louyot, “Les ‘petits martyrs’ de la guerre Iran-Irak”, *l'express.fr*, 27 September 2001 ([www.lexpress.fr/informations/les-petits-martyrs-de-la-guerre-iran-irak\\_645648.html](http://www.lexpress.fr/informations/les-petits-martyrs-de-la-guerre-iran-irak_645648.html)).

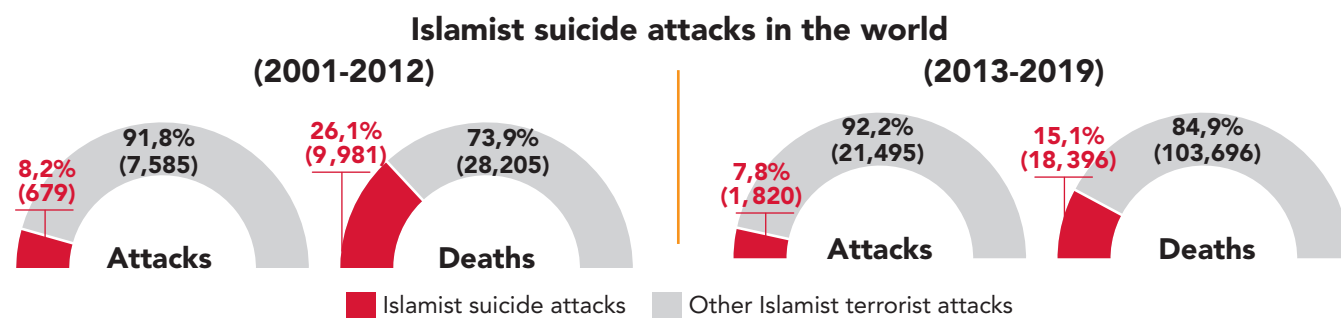
7. See Daniel Pipes, “The [Suicide] Jihad Menace”, *The Jerusalem Post*, 27 July 2001 ([www.danielpipes.org/386/the-suicide-jihad-menace](http://www.danielpipes.org/386/the-suicide-jihad-menace)).

8. See Robert A. Pape, “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism”, *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 97, n° 3, August 2003, p. 343-361, or Scott Atran, “The Moral Logic and Growth of Suicide Terrorism”, *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 29, n° 2, Spring 2006, p. 127-147 ([https://jeannicod.ccsd.cnrs.fr/ijn\\_00000676/document](https://jeannicod.ccsd.cnrs.fr/ijn_00000676/document)).

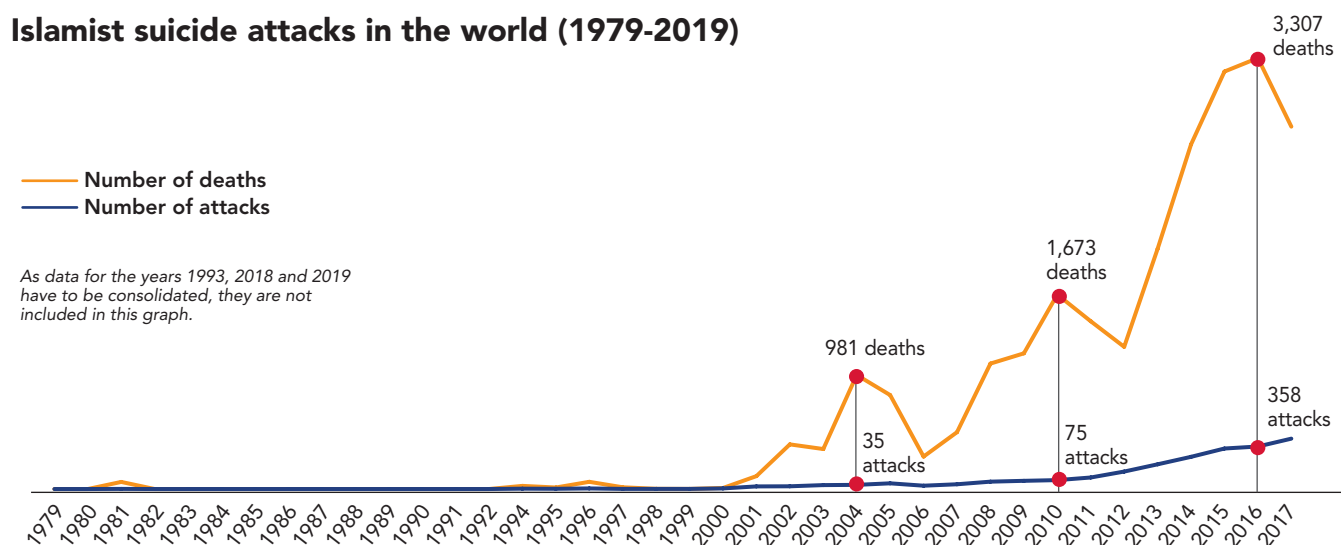
and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad Movement, whose terrorists that resort to suicide bombing are generally identified as university graduates and middle-class people<sup>9</sup>.

Over the period 2013-2019, 1,820 attacks have been identified as suicides, representing 7.8% of the 23,315 Islamist terrorist attacks. Among the attacks carried out by the Islamic State and by Boko Haram, the suicide attack is frequently used. It reflects the

culture of death maintained and developed among young jihadists. For Boko Haram, we have identified 437 suicide attacks since 2009, representing 16.5% of the total number of all attacks attributable to this group, while they represent 10.4% (847) of the total attacks by the IS. To carry out its suicide attacks, Boko Haram indoctrinates, manipulates, recruits or coerces women, teenagers and very young children in particular.



### Islamist suicide attacks in the world (1979-2019)



### From (individual) fear to (collective) terror

“Different types of terrorism use all resources (tactical, media, technological, etc.) to plunge public opinion into stupor. Beyond their differences, what they have in common is they trigger and spread a specific individual and collective emotional state: extreme fear and a sense of generalised vulnerability. In this perspective, terror is a superlative fear [...]. The sources of fear cease to be precisely circumscribed. And fear becomes more enduring and persistent. Moreover, if the fear is individual, the terror is collective: the attack aims to plunge an entire community into a certain state of mind. The increase in the number of victims serves this dynamic and leads to “hyper-terrorism”, according to the formula forged by François Heisbourg. The attacks of 9/11 marked a rupture because they sought to kill a number of people of a different order than the previous attacks. The goal is then terror on a global scale.”

Translated from Cyrille Bret, *Qu'est-ce que le terrorisme ?*, Vrin, 2018, p. 52-53.

9. See Ehud Sprinzak, “Rational Fanatics”, *Foreign Policy*, n° 120, September-October 2000, p. 66-73.

## COUNTRIES AFFECTED BY ISLAMIST TERRORISM (2013-2019)

### 1 AFGHANISTAN

5,905 attacks | 28,642 deaths

### 2 IRAQ

5,330 attacks | 32,871 deaths

### 3 SOMALIA

2,610 attacks | 7,789 deaths

### 4 NIGERIA

1,678 attacks | 16,481 deaths

### 5 SYRIA

1,239 attacks | 13,632 deaths

### 6 PAKISTAN

1,143 attacks | 5,076 deaths

### 7 YEMEN

831 attacks | 3,057 deaths

### 8 LIBYA

696 attacks | 1,466 deaths

### 9 EGYPT

658 attacks | 2,230 deaths

### 10 PHILIPPINES

455 attacks | 481 deaths

### 11 INDIA

437 attacks | 616 deaths

### 12 KENYA

339 attacks | 944 deaths

### 13 MALI

299 attacks | 1,129 deaths

### 14 CAMEROON

272 attacks | 2,306 deaths

### 15 LEBANON

132 attacks | 290 deaths

### 16 BANGLADESH

132 attacks | 143 deaths

### 17 THAILAND

126 attacks | 32 deaths

### 18 ISRAEL

119 attacks | 49 deaths

### 19 NIGER

107 attacks | 1,238 deaths

### 20 TURKEY

83 attacks | 418 deaths

41

32

### 21 BURKINA FASO

82 attacks | 446 deaths

### 22 WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP

72 attacks | 85 deaths

### 23 TUNISIA

54 attacks | 227 deaths

### 24 INDONESIA

53 attacks | 74 deaths

### 25 MOZAMBIQUE

52 attacks | 235 deaths

### 26 CHAD

43 attacks | 465 deaths

### 27 RUSSIA

43 attacks | 83 deaths

## 2013-2019

23,315 attacks

122,092 deaths

Average number of  
deaths per attack: 5.2

### 28 FRANCE

42 attacks | 272 deaths

### 29 SAUDI ARABIA

40 attacks | 110 deaths

### 30 ALGERIA

37 attacks | 138 deaths

### 31 IRAN

29 attacks | 154 deaths

### 32 UNITED STATES

22 attacks | 91 deaths

### 33 MALAYSIA

21 attacks | 8 deaths

### 34 BELGIUM

11 attacks | 49 deaths

### 35 GERMANY

10 attacks | 16 deaths

### 36 AUSTRALIA

9 attacks | 10 deaths

### 37 SRI LANKA

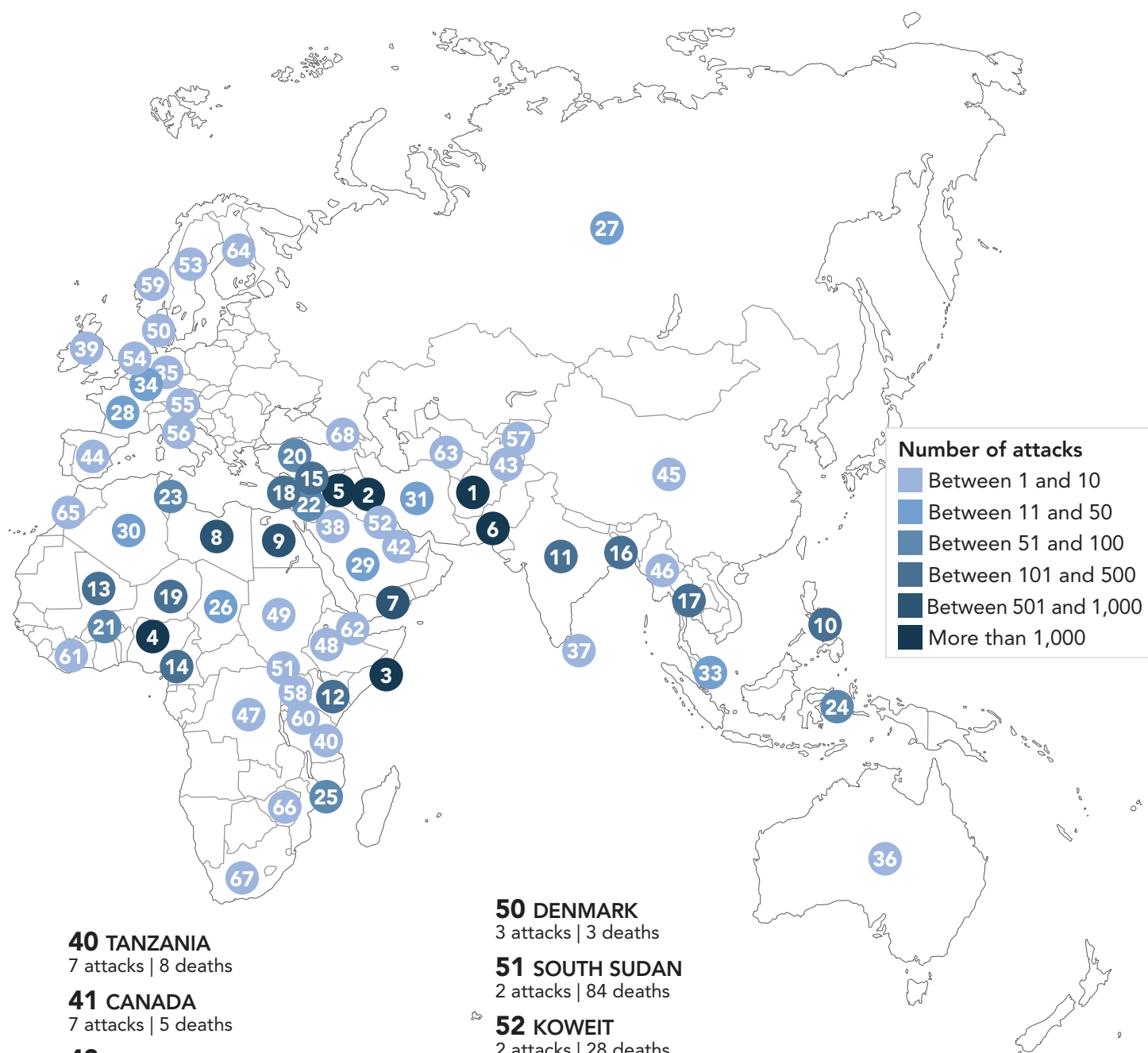
8 attacks | 230 deaths

### 38 JORDAN

8 attacks | 38 deaths

### 39 UNITED KINGDOM

7 attacks | 41 deaths



**40 TANZANIA**  
7 attacks | 8 deaths

**41 CANADA**  
7 attacks | 5 deaths

**42 BAHRAIN**  
7 attacks | 4 deaths

**43 TAJIKISTAN**  
6 attacks | 41 deaths

**44 SPAIN**  
5 attacks | 21 deaths

**45 CHINA**  
4 attacks | 104 deaths

**46 BURMA**  
4 attacks | 20 deaths

**47 DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC  
OF THE CONGO**  
4 attacks | 18 deaths

**48 ETHIOPIA**  
4 attacks | 13 deaths

**49 SUDAN**  
3 attacks | 4 deaths

**50 DENMARK**  
3 attacks | 3 deaths

**51 SOUTH SUDAN**  
2 attacks | 84 deaths

**52 KOWEIT**  
2 attacks | 28 deaths

**53 SWEDEN**  
2 attacks | 5 deaths

**54 NETHERLANDS**  
2 attacks | 3 deaths

**55 AUSTRIA**  
2 attacks | 2 deaths

**56 ITALY**  
2 attacks | 1 dead

**57 KYRGYZSTAN**  
2 attacks | 1 dead

**58 UGANDA**  
2 attacks | 1 dead

**59 NORWAY**  
2 attacks | 0 dead

**60 BURUNDI**  
1 attack | 26 deaths

**61 IVORY COAST**  
1 attack | 22 deaths

**62 DJIBOUTI**  
1 attack | 5 deaths

**63 TURKMENISTAN**  
1 attack | 3 deaths

**64 FINLAND**  
1 attack | 2 deaths

**65 MOROCCO**  
1 attack | 2 deaths

**66 ZIMBABWE**  
1 attack | 2 deaths

**67 SOUTH AFRICA**  
1 attack | 1 dead

**68 GEORGIA**  
1 attack | 1 dead

## Russia

Islamist terrorism in Russia is linked to the conflict between the central state and separatist rebels from Muslim territories in the North Caucasus region, particularly in Chechnya and Dagestan. Following several centuries of conflict with the central government, Chechen separatists declared their independence at the end of the USSR in 1991. The first Chechen war broke out in 1994 and resulted in a failure of the Russian army, which was forced to withdraw from the territory. However, on 3 October 1998, in the Republic of Ingushetia, in the North Caucasus, the Wolves of Islam group murdered a member of the Russian government whom they accused of collaborating with the FSB services and, on 2 February 1999, the Sword of Islam group attacked the Ministry of Energy in Grozny. A few months later, in the context of the second Chechen war, Moscow intervened again from August 1999 to April 2000, this time succeeding in establishing a government favourable to the central power. 9/11 allows the Russian authorities to intensify the fight against Chechen insurgents. This is followed by a period of violent Islamist radicalisation of the separatist struggle, which extends its demands to the creation of an Islamic state in the North Caucasus<sup>1</sup>. On average, from 2001 to 2012, Islamist terrorism killed 60 people per year. Among the 26 attacks that struck the country during this period, two terrorist actions had a particularly strong impact on public opinion. On 23 October 2002, members of the Chechen jihadist group of the Special Purpose Islamic Regiment (SPIR) entered the Dubrovka Theatre in Moscow and took 912 civilians hostage. Two years later, on 1 September 2004, a group of terrorists attacked a school: 344 people, many of them children, were killed and at least 727 injured. This attack is claimed by the Riyadus-Salikhin Reconnaissance and Sabotage Battalion of Chechen Martyrs, which uses suicide bombing. Between 2013 and 2019, the number of terrorist acts increased, with 43 attacks and 83 deaths, 15 of which occurred in the Republic of Dagestan. Russia even saw the Islamic State gain influence on its territory with the emergence of the Caucasus Province of the Islamic State, which claimed responsibility for 17 attacks over the period.

1. See Nathan Bailleux, *The Bear, the Dragon and the Islamists: Russia and China Ambiguous Stances With Regard to the Islamic Militancy Threat and What It Means for South Asia*, Institut de relations internationales et stratégiques (Iris), coll. "Asia Focus", n° 115, June 2019 ([www.iris-france.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Asia-Focus-115.pdf](http://www.iris-france.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Asia-Focus-115.pdf)).

## China

For several decades, China has faced the terrorist threat of separatist militants from the Uyghur community, an ethnic Turkish-speaking Muslim group living mainly in the northwestern province of Xinjiang. Islamic militants exist among them, including in their demands the creation of an Islamic state of East Turkestan.

The radicalisation of the conflict between the Uyghurs and the Chinese central government dates back to April 1990, when Uyghurs demonstrated massively in Akto district to denounce the Chinese authorities' refusal to allow the construction of a mosque there. The Chinese government carried out a severe repression killing more than 60 people. In 1996, the Chinese authorities launched the "Hit hard" campaign, arresting 10,000 people in Xinjiang province. In February 1997, a revolt saw several hundred young Uyghurs protesting in the streets for the release of religious dignitaries arrested by the police in Guldja. The repression caused 167 deaths.

Since 2001 and the attacks of 9/11, the Chinese government has taken up the concept of "war on terror" and used it to strengthen its anti-terrorist and repressive measures against separatist militants from the Uyghurs minority. Faced with repression, many Uyghurs fled their country to Turkey or joined jihadist camps in Indonesia or Pakistan. According to researcher Marc Julienne, "today, Uyghurs "Islamic-nationalist" militants are present and connected to other networks in Central and Southeast Asia, on the Pakistan-Afghan border, as well as in Turkey and Syria"<sup>1</sup>. Between 2001 and 2019, according to our estimate, the Turkestan Islamic Party (TIP), a Uyghurs jihadist group close to Al-Qaeda since the 1990s, carried out 6 attacks, killing 107 people. These terrorist actions include the double attack of 28 July 2014 in Xinjiang province against Chinese government offices, and a police station in Elixku as well as against civilians in Huangdi.

The terrorist acts of the TIP are the only ones we have considered to be clearly motivated by an Islamist agenda in the Chinese context. However, with reference to what we propose as a "possible" estimate, there are 97 attacks and 513 deaths, counting all the attacks perpetrated by Uyghurs separatists, whose religious dimension, beyond the political claim, is not clearly predominant.

1. Marc Julienne, "La Chine, nouvel acteur de la lutte contre le terrorisme international", *Les Champs de Mars*, n° 30, supplement, May 2018, p. 276.



## 4. Additional data: the estimation of attacks in 2018 and 2019 by an extrapolation of trends

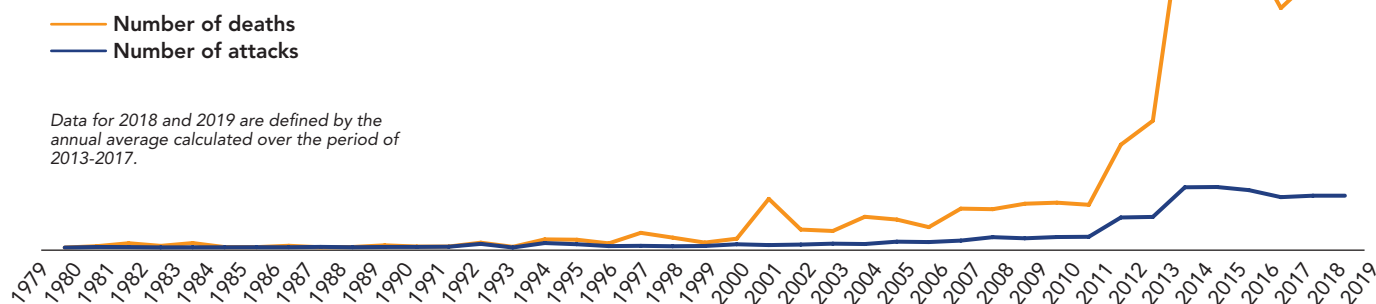
For 2018 and for the period January-August 2019, the identification of Islamist terrorist attacks in the world is still to be specified, completed and consolidated. We sought to provide information for the year 2018 and the months of January to August 2019. For 2018, we have 1,606 attacks and 8,715 deaths. In 2019, there were 826 attacks and 4,953 deaths. However, we believe that these figures substantially underestimate the reality. At this stage of our work, to better approach this reality, which evades us in part, we propose the use of a simple method of extrapolation based on the aggregation of our data to the extent that the importance of the volume gives them a value of meaning.

**First extrapolation.** From the consolidated database for the period 2013-2017, we calculate two annual averages, that of the number of Islamist terrorist attacks (4,177) and the number of deaths (21,685) due to Islamist terrorist attacks, which we then allocate to the years 2018 and 2019.

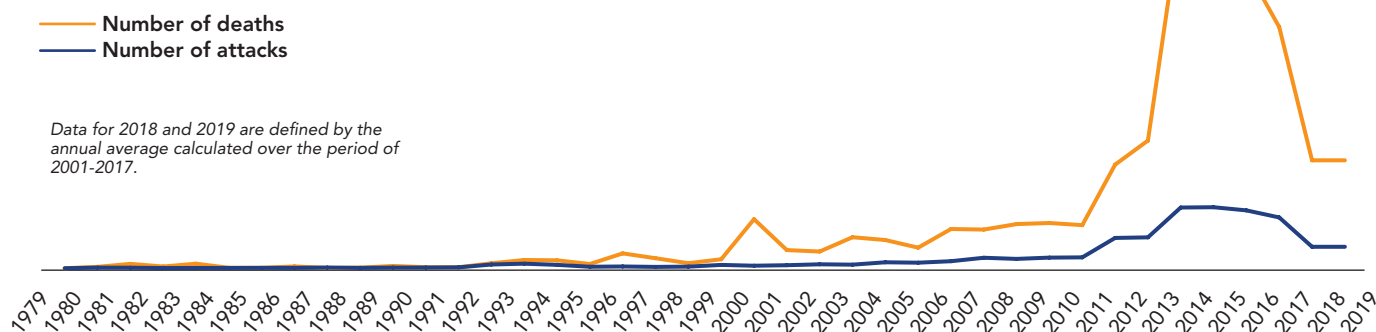
However, our data concern political realities that are highly dependent on a historical context, which is by definition subject to change, sometimes suddenly. This is what the rapid growth of the Islamic State starting from 2013 and the intensification of its terrorist activism until its alleged fall, in 2017, shows us. Our first extrapolation being based on this time frame, it calls for at least another one. We will assume a "post-IS" era here of Islamist violence.

**Second extrapolation.** From our data for the period 2001-2017, we calculate two annual averages, that of the number of attacks Islamists (1,715) and the number of deaths (8,624) due to Islamist terrorist attacks, which we then allocated to the years 2018 and 2019.

### First extrapolation: terrorist attacks in the world (1979-2019)



### Second extrapolation: terrorist attacks in the world (1979-2019)



## IV. The territories of Islamist terrorism (1979-2019)

The globalisation of Islamist terrorism can refer to the global visibility that digital technology provides to their attacks, but it can also designate a geographical reality: more or less, all the regions of the world have been hit. Of course, the damage caused vary considerably depending on the parts of the world. On the number of attacks since 1979, almost all of them (94.7%, or 31,963 attacks) took place in the countries of the Middle East and North Africa, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. With regard

to the 167,096 deaths, a considerable proportion (95.6% or 159,723 deaths) was also recorded in these three regions. Undeniably, the Western world is less affected. However, Europe and the United States have faced an increasing and changing threat, with particularly murderous attacks, such as in the United States in 2001, in Spain in 2004, in the United Kingdom in 2005, in France in 2015 and 2016. A multifold of tragedies that remain present in our collective memories.

### WORLD

#### NUMBER OF ATTACKS

**33,769** [retained estimate]

**37,156** [possible estimate]

#### NUMBER OF DEATHS

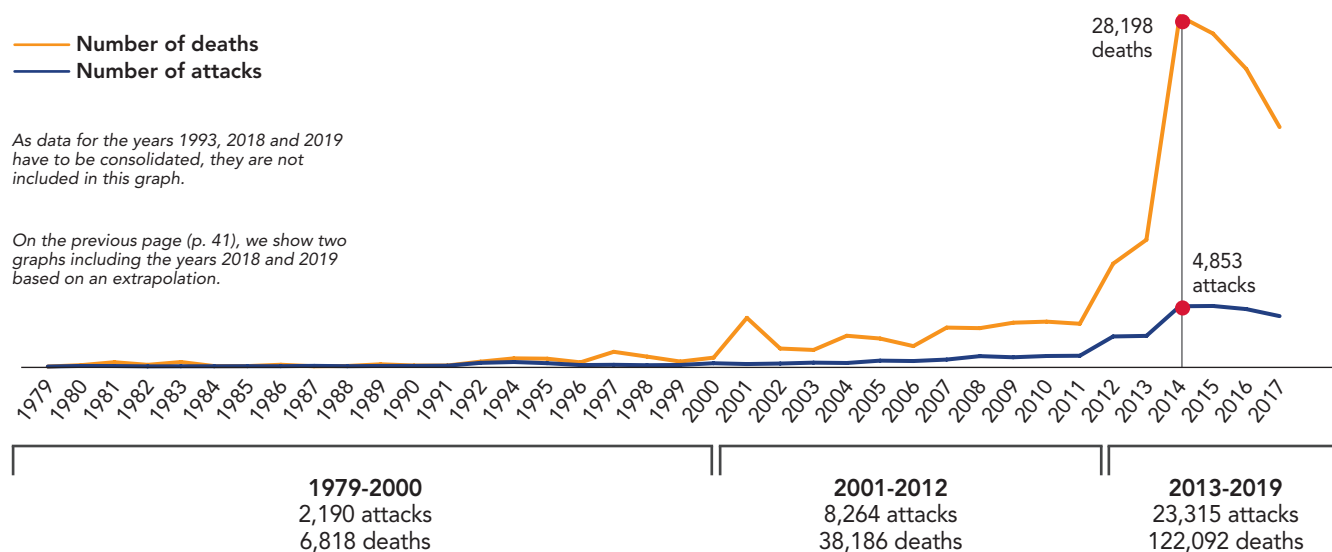
**167,096** [retained estimate]

**175,084** [possible estimate]

— Number of deaths  
— Number of attacks

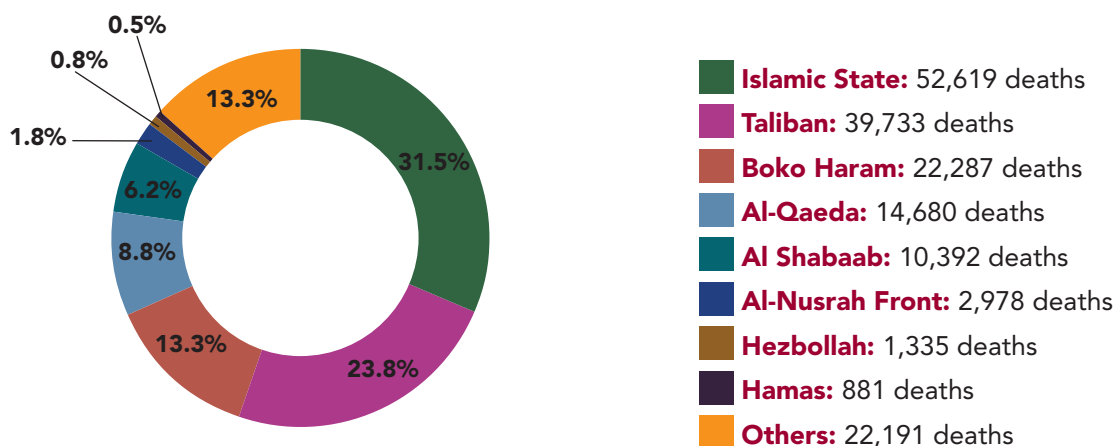
As data for the years 1993, 2018 and 2019 have to be consolidated, they are not included in this graph.

On the previous page (p. 41), we show two graphs including the years 2018 and 2019 based on an extrapolation.



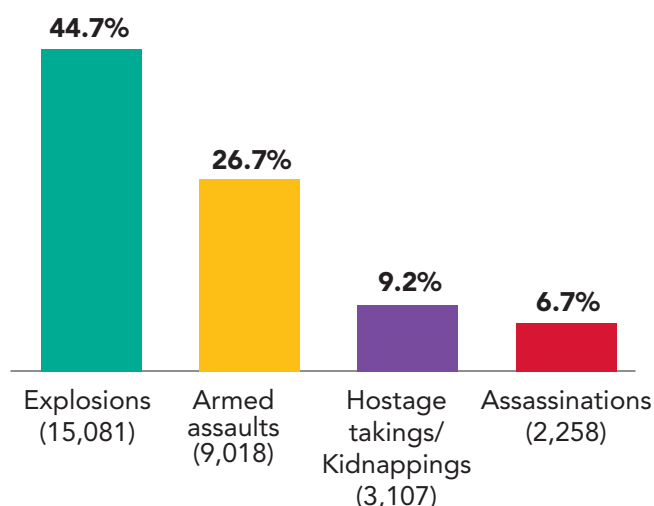
## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUPS IN THE WORLD

As a % of the number of victims of attacks worldwide between 1979 and 2019



Main targets	Number of attacks
Civilians	9,634
Military	8,274
Police	6,187
Government	2,695
Business	1,565
Religious institutions	874
Unknown	867
Terrorist groups and militias	849
Educational institutions	657
Transportation	550
Diplomacy	398
Journalists and Media	296

## TYPE OF ATTACKS



### Sunni terrorist organisations claimed responsibility for 89.4% of Islamist terrorist acts

The question arises as to what is the respective share of Sunni and Shia organisations in the Islamist terrorist attacks. In most cases, we were able to provide this information for organisations whose responsibility for an attack could be identified. The more well-known, which often means the deadlier, a group is, the easier it is to identify its affiliation. If we consider terrorist groups that carried out at least 10 attacks worldwide during the period 1979-2019, we see that they are responsible for almost all (93.8%) of Islamist terrorist attacks. The observation of these groups, whose affiliation is generally possible, shows that Sunni terrorist organisations are responsible for 89.4% of all terrorist acts over the period studied and that 2% come from Shia groups. The remaining 8.9% are from organisations that have committed at least 10 attacks but whose affiliation is not recorded in our database due to a lack of clear information. Finally, it is important to note that more than half (55.4%) of all Islamist terrorist attacks are carried out by Sunni organisations claiming to be part of the Jihadist Salafist ideology.

# MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

## NUMBER OF ATTACKS

**13,527** [retained estimate]

**15,797** [possible estimate]

## NUMBER OF DEATHS

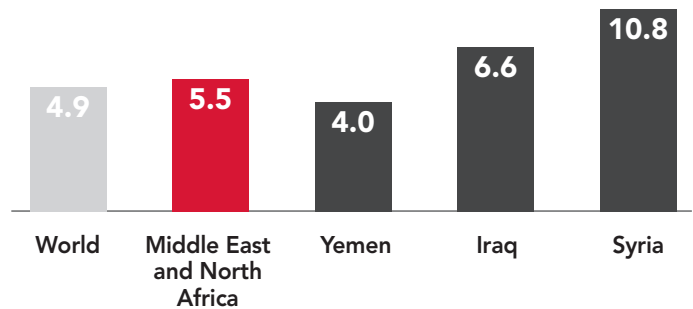
**73,984** [retained estimate]

**79,117** [possible estimate]

## ISLAMIST TERRORISM IN THE REGION COMPARED TO THE WORLD

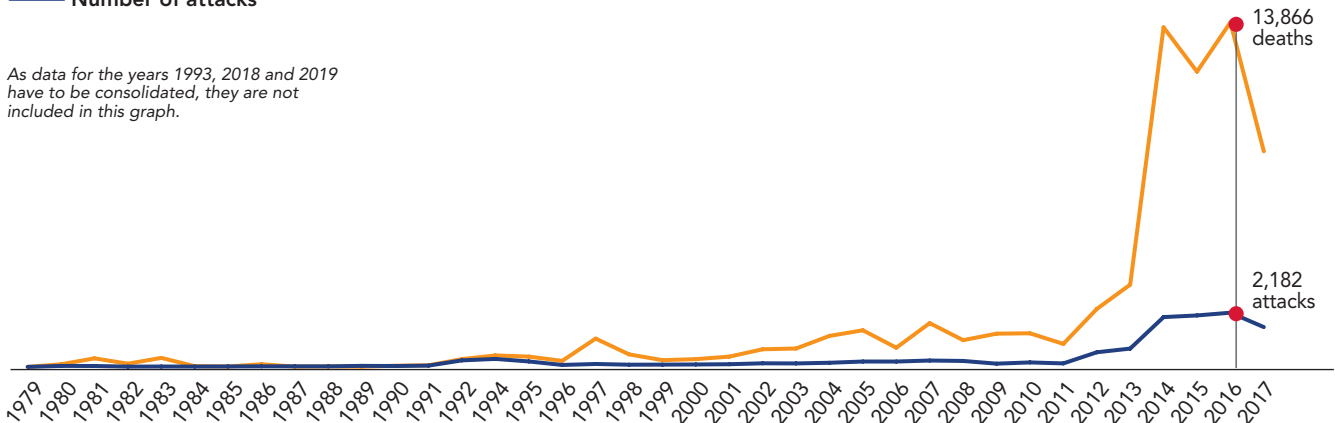


## AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK

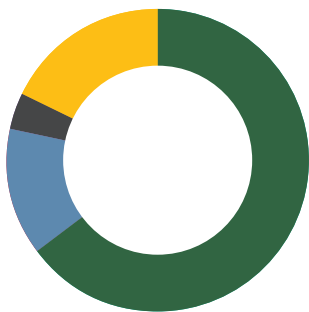


— Number of deaths  
— Number of attacks

As data for the years 1993, 2018 and 2019 have to be consolidated, they are not included in this graph.



## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUPS



- Islamic State:** responsible for **64.8%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the region (7,473 attacks, 47,939 deaths)
- Al-Qaeda:** responsible for **13.6%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the region (1,946 attacks, 10,026 deaths)
- Al-Nusrah Front:** responsible for **4%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the region (277 attacks, 2,978 deaths)
- Others:** responsible for **17.6%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the region (3,831 attacks, 13,041 deaths)

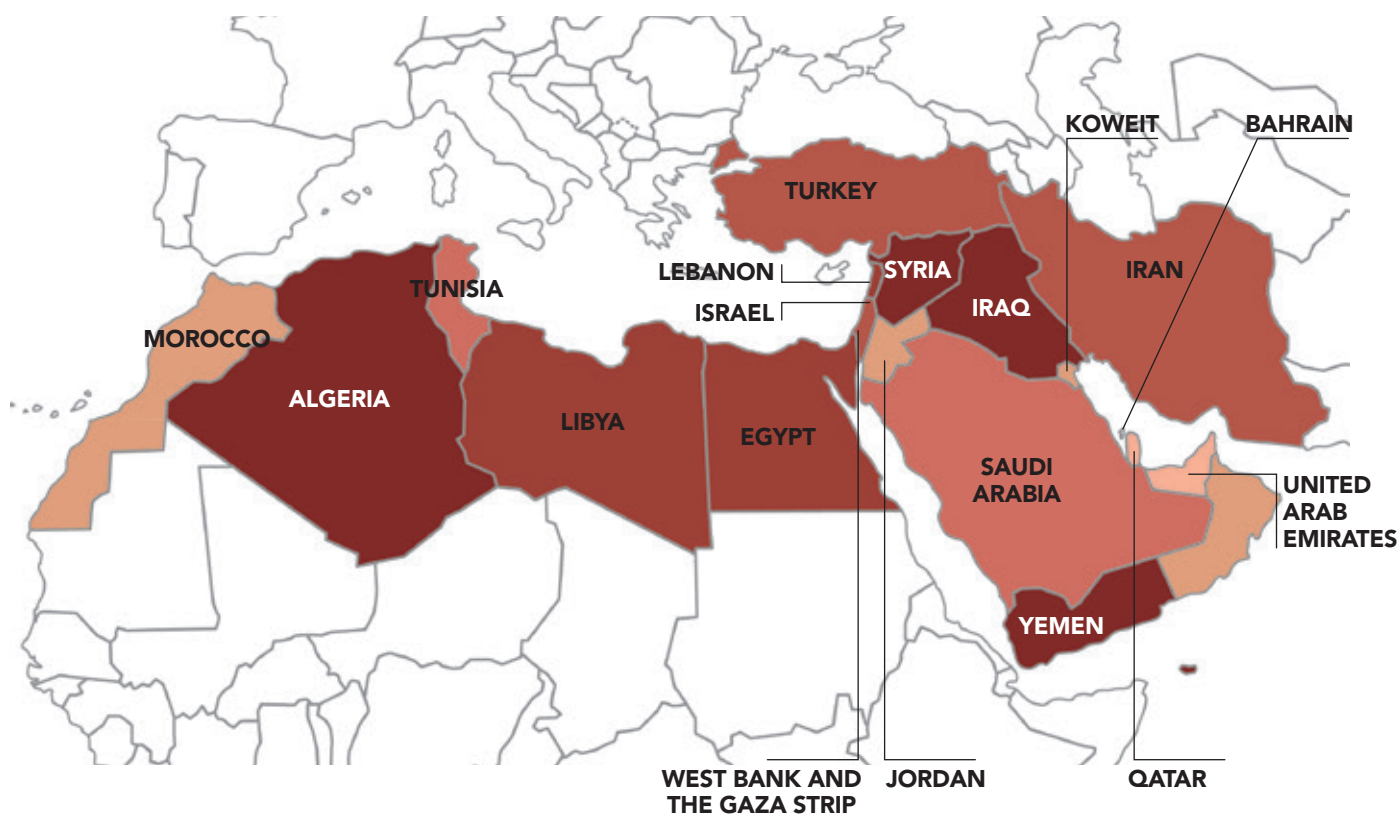


## Ongoing conflicts

- Yemeni civil war since July 2014
- Second Libyan civil war since May 2014
- Sinai insurgency in Egypt since February 2011
- Syrian civil war since March 2011
- Sahel War since January 2003

# 90.4%

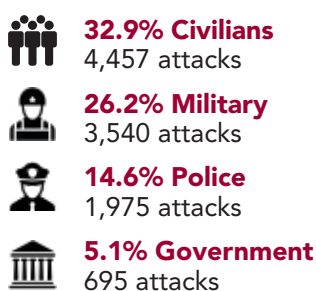
attacks by Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State have occurred in the Middle East and North Africa.



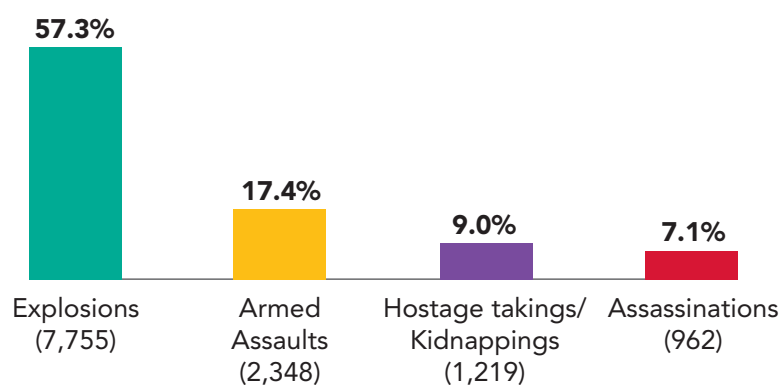
Number of attacks (1979-2019)

Between 1 and 10 Between 11 and 50 Between 51 and 100 Between 101 and 500 Between 501 and 1,000 More than 1,000

## MAIN TARGETS



## TYPE OF ATTACKS





## SOUTH ASIA

### NUMBER OF ATTACKS

**11,661** [retained estimate]

**12,291** [possible estimate]

### NUMBER OF DEATHS

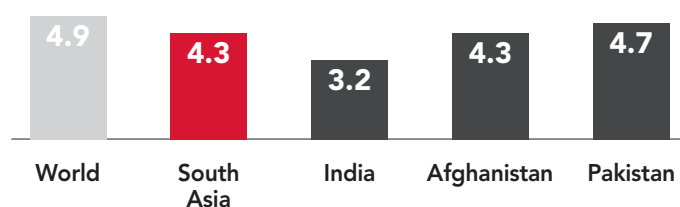
**50,063** [retained estimate]

**51,780** [possible estimate]

### ISLAMIST TERRORISM IN THE REGION COMPARED TO THE WORLD

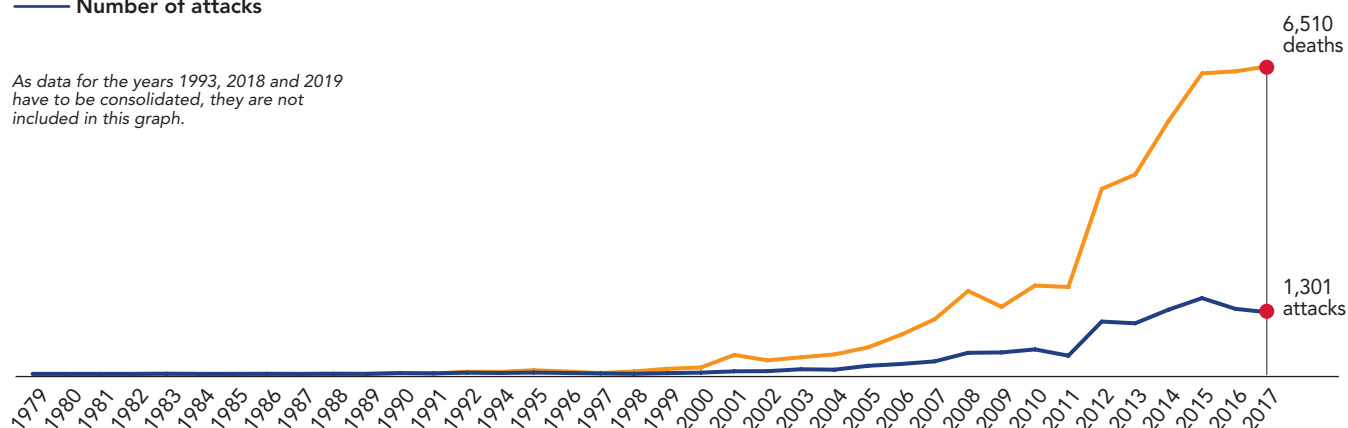


### AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK

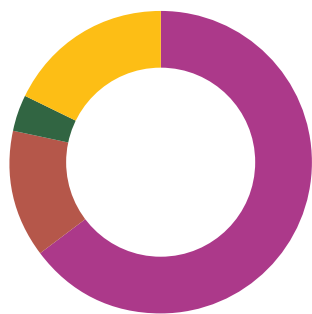


— Number of deaths  
— Number of attacks

As data for the years 1993, 2018 and 2019 have to be consolidated, they are not included in this graph.



### DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUPS



- Taliban:** responsible for **65.7%** of all deaths caused by the Islamist terrorist attacks in the region (7,887 attacks, 32,912 deaths)
- Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP):** responsible for **12.1%** of all deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the region (1,351 attacks, 6,042 deaths)
- Islamic State:** responsible for **7.5%** of all deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the region (522 attacks, 3,737 deaths)
- Others:** responsible for **14.7%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the region (1,901 attacks, 7,372 deaths)



## Ongoing conflicts

- War in Afghanistan since January 2015
- Insurgency in Jammu and Kashmir since July 1989
- Armed conflict in northwest Pakistan since March 2004

# 98.3%

of attacks in the region are concentrated in three countries: Afghanistan, Pakistan and India.



Number of attacks (1979-2019)



## MAIN TARGETS



**29.4% Police**  
3,432 attacks



**21.7% Civilians**  
2,528 attacks

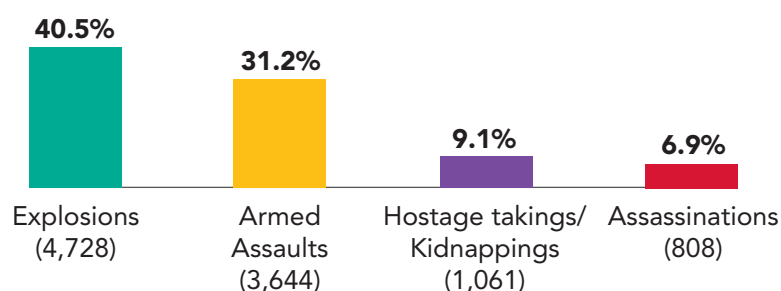


**20.2% Military**  
2,353 attacks



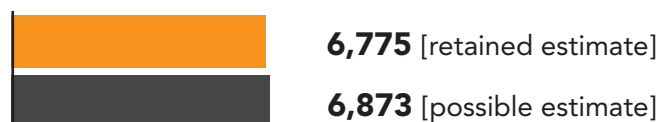
**10.7% Government**  
1,246 attacks

## TYPE OF ATTACKS

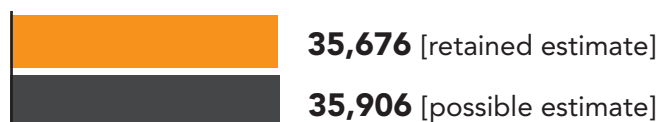


## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

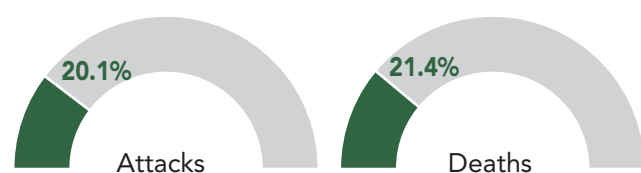
### NUMBER OF ATTACKS



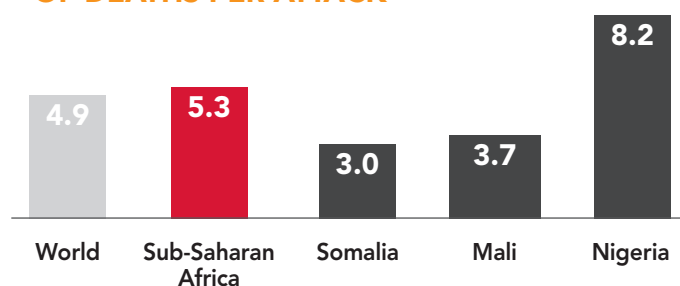
### NUMBER OF DEATHS



### ISLAMIST TERRORISM IN THE REGION COMPARED TO THE WORLD

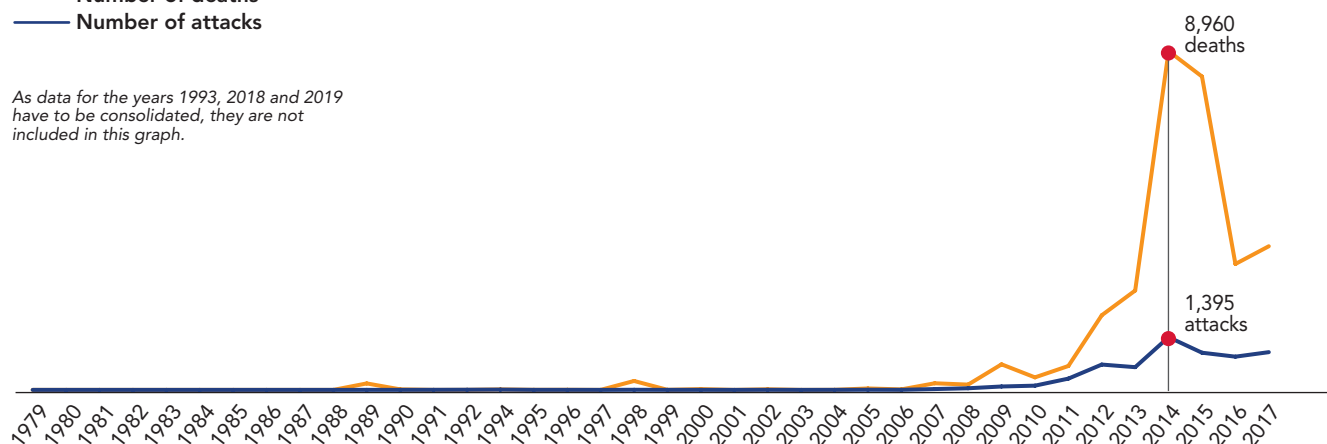


### AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK

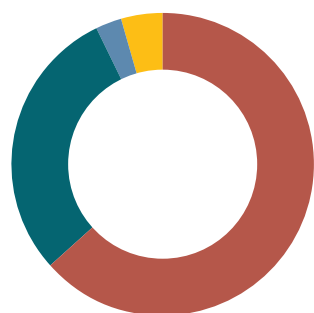


— Number of deaths  
— Number of attacks

As data for the years 1993, 2018 and 2019 have to be consolidated, they are not included in this graph.



### DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUPS



- Boko Haram:** responsible for **62.5%** of all deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the region (2,649 attacks, 22,287 deaths)
- Al-Shabaab:** responsible for **29.1%** of all deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the region (3,486 attacks, 10,386 deaths)
- Al-Qaeda:** responsible for **2.7%** of all deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the region (186 attacks, 975 deaths)
- Others:** responsible for **5.7%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the region (454 attacks, 2,028 deaths)

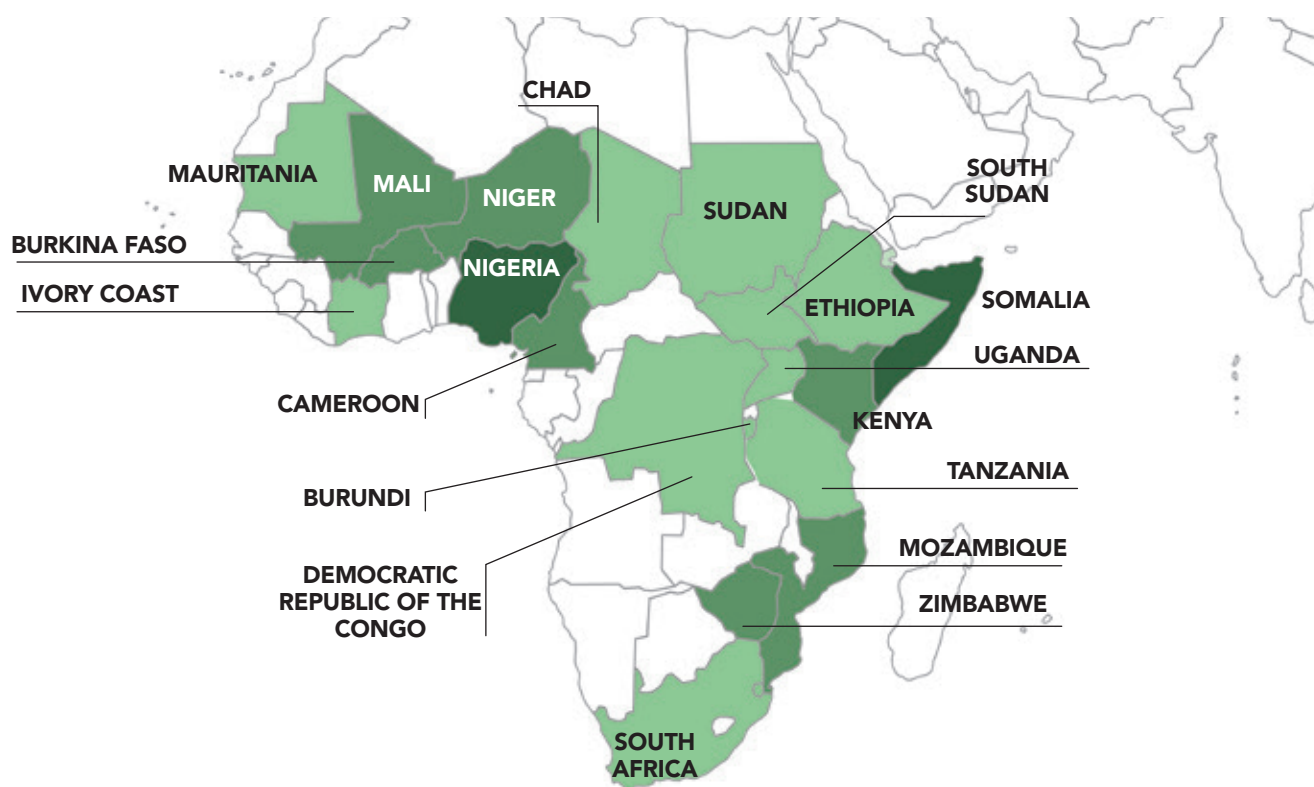


## Ongoing conflicts

- Sahel War since January 2003
- Mali War since January 2012
- Crisis in the Niger Delta since 2004
- Boko Haram insurgency since July 2009

# 8.5

people are killed on average per attack committed by Boko Haram in the region.



Number of attacks (1979-2019)

Between 1 and 10   Between 11 and 50   Between 51 and 100   Between 101 and 500   Between 501 and 1,000   More than 1,000

## MAIN TARGETS



**32% Civilians**  
2,171 attacks



**31,1% Military**  
2,110 attacks



**9,7% Government**  
660 attacks



**8,5% Police**  
574 attacks

## TYPE OF ATTACKS

37.1%

Armed Assaults  
(2,513)

36.2%

Explosions  
(2,453)

8.6%

Hostage takings/  
Kidnappings  
(586)

6.3%

Assassinations  
(428)

# EUROPE AND RUSSIA

## NUMBER OF ATTACKS



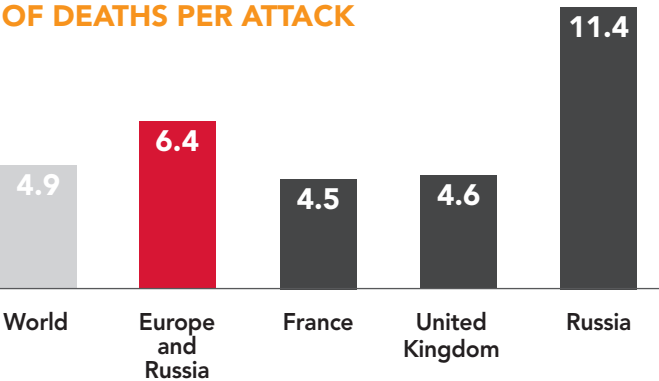
## NUMBER OF DEATHS



## ISLAMIST TERRORISM IN THE REGION COMPARED TO THE WORLD

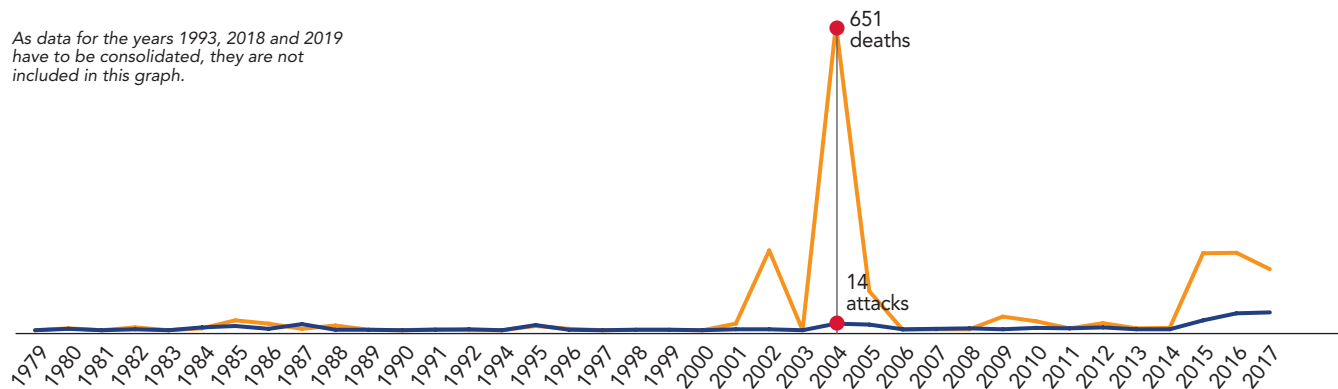


## AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK



— Number of deaths  
— Number of attacks

As data for the years 1993, 2018 and 2019 have to be consolidated, they are not included in this graph.



## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUPS



- Al-Qaeda:** responsible for **23.8%** of all deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the region (25 attacks, 373 deaths)
- Islamic State:** responsible for **20.2%** of all deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the region (69 attacks, 316 deaths)
- Hezbollah:** responsible for **3.5%** of all deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the region (20 attacks, 55 deaths)
- Others:** responsible for **52.5%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the region (129 attacks, 823 deaths)



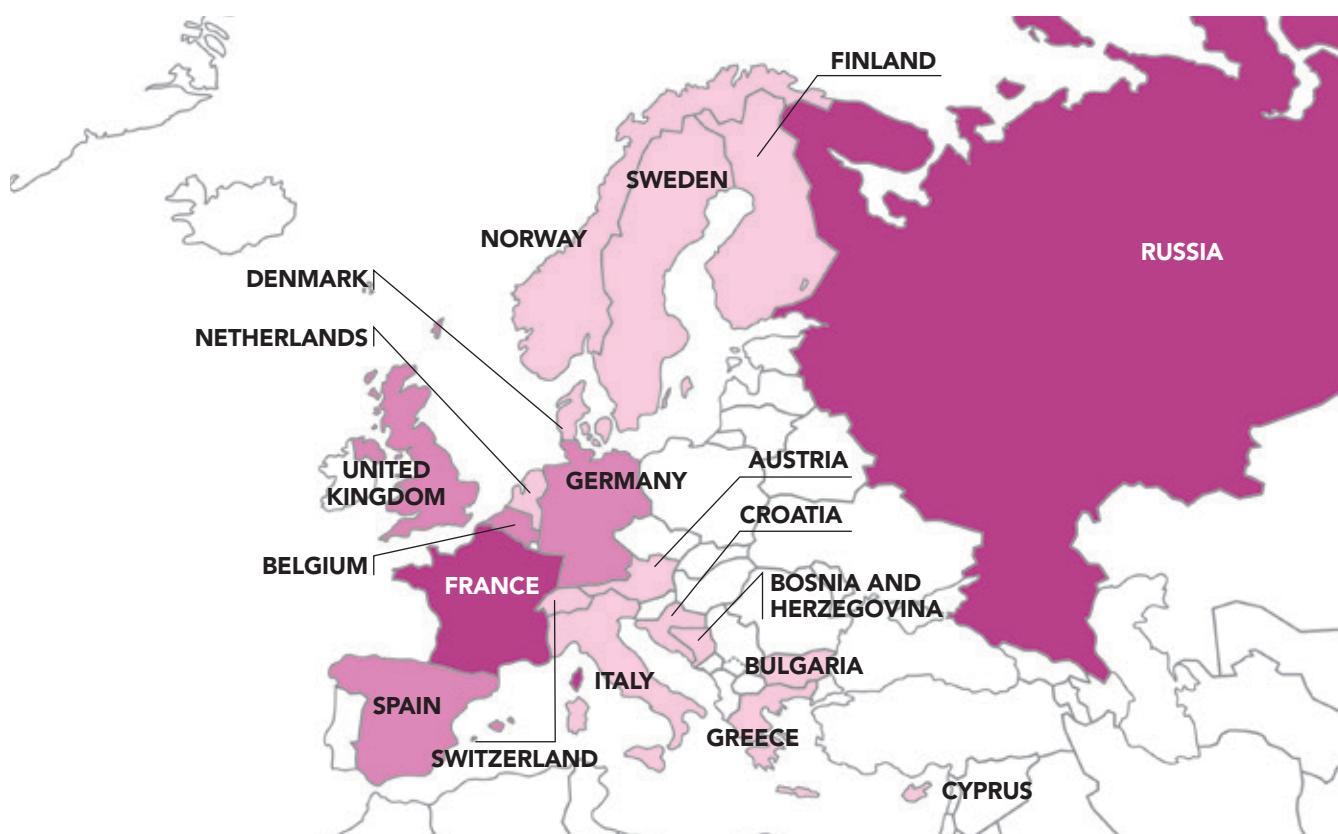


## Ongoing conflicts

- Guerilla in Ciscaucasia since April 2009
- Donbass War since March 2014

# 51.6%

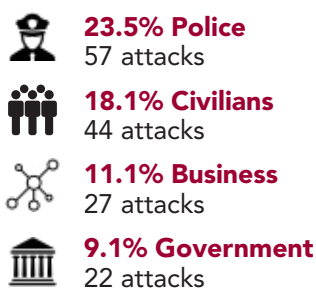
of those who died  
in Islamist terrorist attacks  
in Europe were killed  
in Russia.



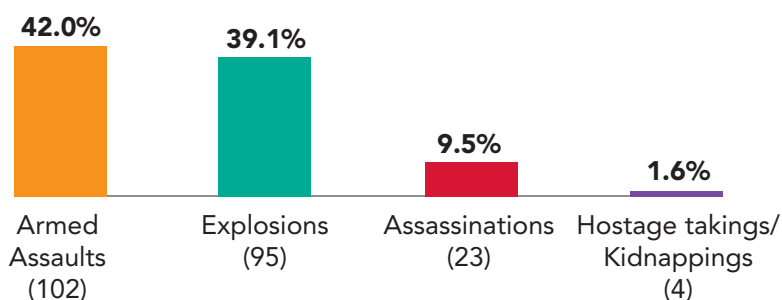
Number of attacks (1979-2019)

Between 1 and 10   Between 11 and 50   Between 51 and 100   Between 101 and 500   Between 501 and 1,000   More than 1,000

## MAIN TARGETS



## TYPE OF ATTACKS



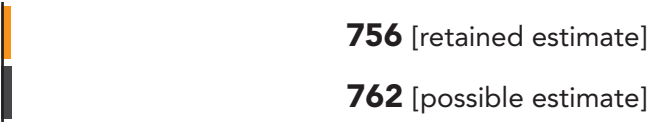


# EUROPEAN UNION

## NUMBER OF ATTACKS



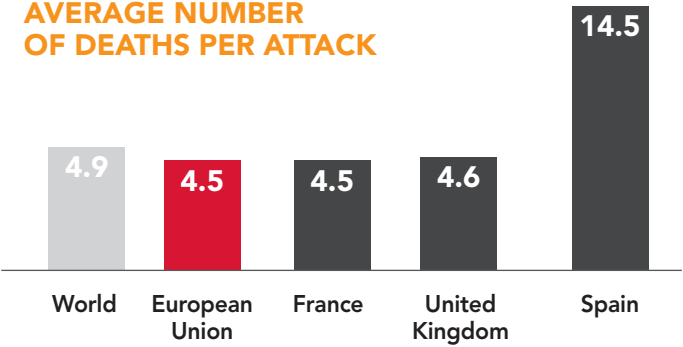
## NUMBER OF DEATHS



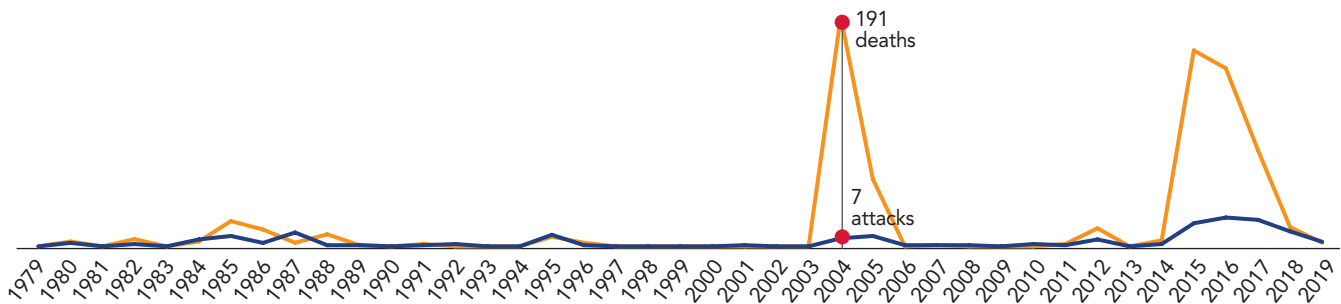
## ISLAMIST TERRORISM IN THE REGION COMPARED TO THE WORLD



## AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK



Number of deaths  
Number of attacks



## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUPS



- Al-Qaeda:** responsible for **34.7%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the EU (21 attacks, 262 deaths)
- Islamic State:** responsible for **33.5%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the EU (35 attacks, 253 deaths)
- Hezbollah:** responsible for **7.3%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the EU (20 attacks, 55 deaths)
- Others:** responsible for **24.6%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the EU (91 attacks, 186 deaths)

# 54.3%

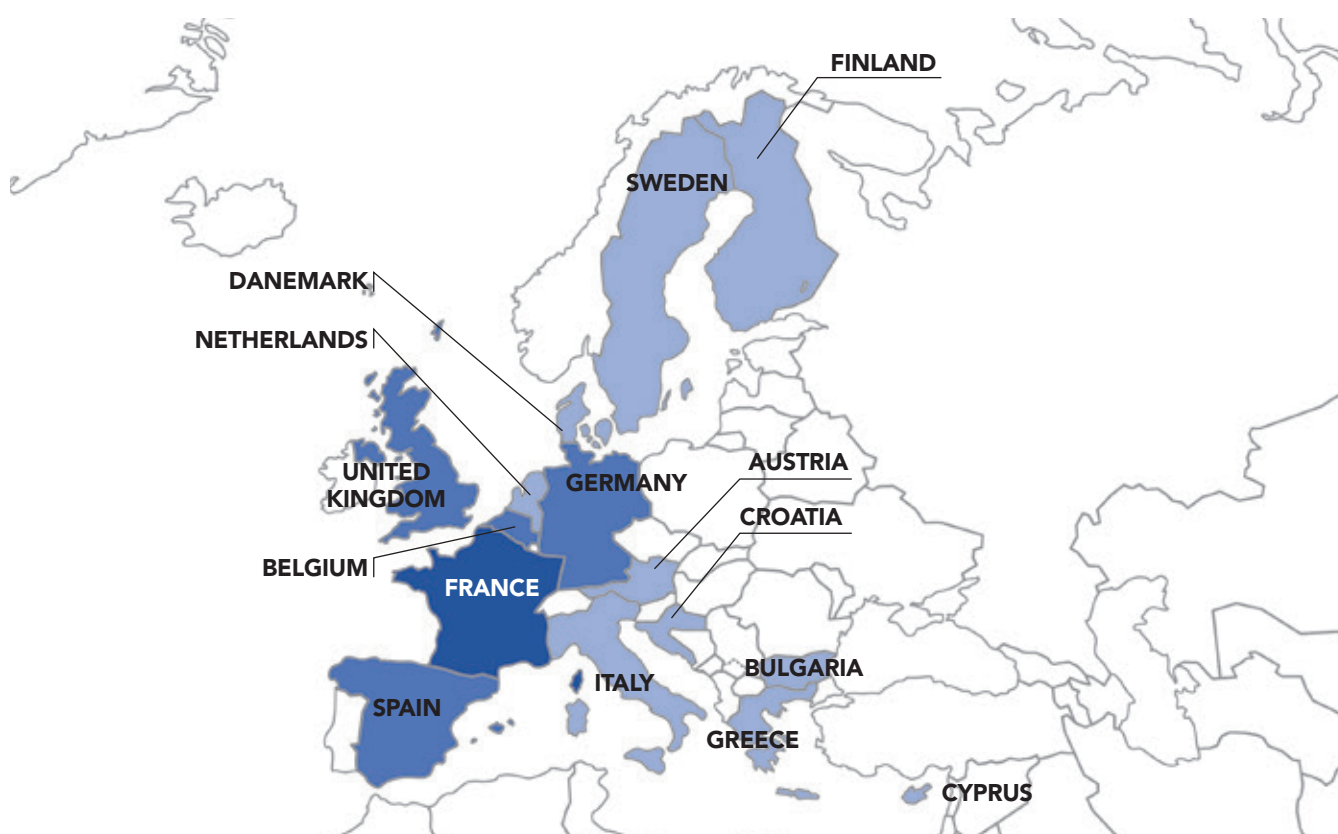
of the attacks claimed by the Islamic State in the European Union took place in France.

# 7.2

deaths on average per attack perpetrated by the Islamic State in the European Union.

# 52.1%

of Islamist terrorist attacks in the European Union took place between 2013 and 2019.



Number of attacks (1979-2019)

Between 1 and 10 Between 11 and 50 Between 51 and 100 Between 101 and 500 Between 501 and 1,000 More than 1,000

## MAIN TARGETS



**24% Civilians**  
40 attacks



**14.4% Police**  
24 attacks

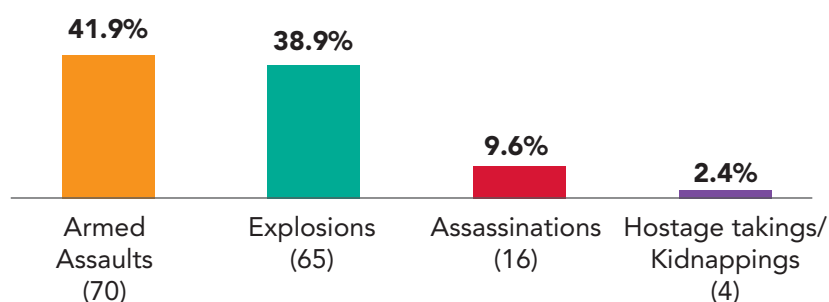


**14.4% Business**  
24 attacks



**7.2% Government**  
12 attacks

## TYPE OF ATTACKS



## V. The most affected countries (1979-2019)

Over the period studied, 81 countries were affected by at least one Islamist attack. Among these countries, 19 are European countries (20 including Russia), 15 of which are members of the European Union. Overall, 23 countries have a democratic system. It is also observed that countries most affected by Islamist terrorist attacks in the last forty years are those who have experienced periods of war: Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Turkey, Somalia, Syria... Most of the 81 countries affected by Islamist violence are developing countries.

Finally, it should be noted that the vast majority (89.2%) of Islamist terrorist attacks have been committed in Muslim countries. As a result, most of them deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks (91.2%) are also recorded in Muslim countries. These figures underestimate the reality since they do not take into account the attacks Islamists perpetrated in countries with a majority of non-Muslim where Muslim populations are concentrated in certain provinces. Most of the lives lost are therefore Muslim lives.

### The 81 countries affected by Islamist terrorism in the world (1979-2019)

Country	Number of attacks	Number of deaths	Average number of deaths per attack
Afghanistan	8,460	36,725	4.3
Iraq	6,265	41,544	6.6
Somalia	3,134	9,334	3.0
Nigeria	2,260	18,525	8.2
Pakistan	2,184	10,233	4.7
Algeria	1,390	4,800	3.5
Syria	1,340	14,410	10.8
Yemen	1,185	4,702	4.0
Philippines	1,037	1,803	1.7
Egypt	977	2,972	3.
India	816	2,616	3.2
Libya	699	1,472	2.1
Lebanon	506	1,103	2.2
Kenya	442	1,310	3.0
Israel	414	776	1.9
West Bank and the Gaza Strip	320	458	1.4
Mali	316	1,180	3.7
Cameroon	272	2,306	8.5
Thailand	264	147	0.6
Bangladesh	192	258	1.3
Indonesia	134	402	3.0
Niger	122	1,432	11.7
Turkey	116	584	5.0
Iran	113	354	3.1
Burkina Faso	82	446	5.4
Russia	71	809	11.4
France	71	317	4.5
Tunisia	67	266	4.0
Saudi Arabia	65	319	4.9
Mozambique	52	235	4.5
United States	48	3,114	64.9
Chad	43	465	10.8
Malaysia	24	9	0.4
United Kingdom	22	101	4.6
Jordan	19	101	5.3
Koweit	19	44	2.3
Spain	16	232	14.5
Germany	15	18	1.2
Bahrain	15	6	0.4
Morocco	14	71	5.1
Belgium	13	50	3.8
Mauritania	12	43	3.6

Country	Number of attacks	Number of deaths	Average number of deaths per attack
Tajikistan	11	48	4.4
Ethiopia	10	120	12.0
Australia	9	10	1.1
Sri Lanka	8	230	28.8
Tanzania	8	19	2.4
Canada	8	5	0.6
Cyprus	8	1	0.1
China	6	107	17.8
Myanmar	6	29	4.8
Uganda	5	76	15.2
Sudan	5	26	5.2
Uzbekistan	5	10	2.0
Denmark	5	4	0.8
Democratic Republic of the Congo	4	18	4.5
Kyrgyzstan	4	2	0.5
Italy	4	2	0.5
Argentina	3	115	38.3
Sweden	3	5	1.7
Austria	3	2	0.7
Norway	3	0	–
South Sudan	2	84	42.0
Greece	2	11	5.5
Netherlands	2	3	1.5
South Africa	2	2	1.0
Kazakhstan	2	1	0.5
United Arab Emirates	2	0	–
Burundi	1	26	26.0
Ivory Coast	1	22	22.0
Bulgaria	1	7	7.0
Djibouti	1	5	5.0
Turkmenistan	1	3	3.0
Qatar	1	2	2.0
Finland	1	2	2.0
Zimbabwe	1	2	2.0
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1	1	1.0
Georgia	1	1	1.0
Nepal	1	1	1.0
Switzerland	1	1	1.0
Croatia	1	1	1.0



# AFGHANISTAN

## NUMBER OF ATTACKS

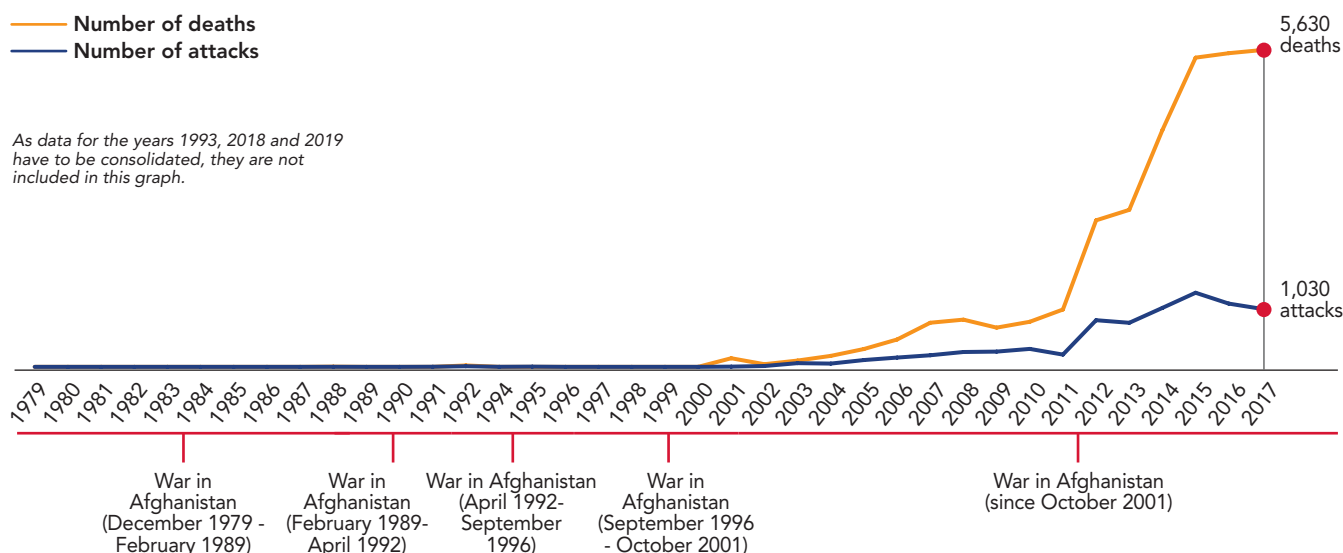
**8,460** [retained estimate]

**8,483** [possible estimate]

## NUMBER OF DEATHS

**36,725** [retained estimate]

**36,795** [possible estimate]



## MAIN TARGETS



**32.8% Police**  
2,776 attacks



**20.5% Civilians**  
1,736 attacks



**20.1% Military**  
1,704 attacks



**11.7% Government**  
994 attacks

## TYPE OF ATTACKS



3,310 Explosions (39.1%)



2,542 Armed assault (30.0%)



806 Hostage takings/Kidnappings (9.5%)



556 Assassinations (6.6%)



1,246 Others (14.7%)

## MOST AFFECTED PROVINCES

Province	Number of attacks
Helmand	832
Kandahar	668
Nangarhar	596
Ghazni	563
Kabul	498

**78%** of those who died in Islamist terrorist attacks in Afghanistan were killed between 2012 and 2019.

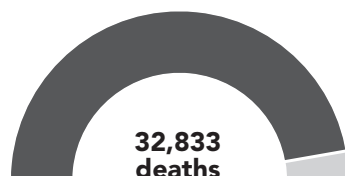
**72.5%** of Islamist terrorist attacks in South Asia occurred in Afghanistan.

**22%** of those who died in Islamist terrorist attacks in the world were killed in Afghanistan.

## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUP

### Taliban

Responsible for **89.4%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in Afghanistan



## AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK







# IRAQ

## NUMBER OF ATTACKS

**6,265** [retained estimate]

**6,326** [possible estimate]

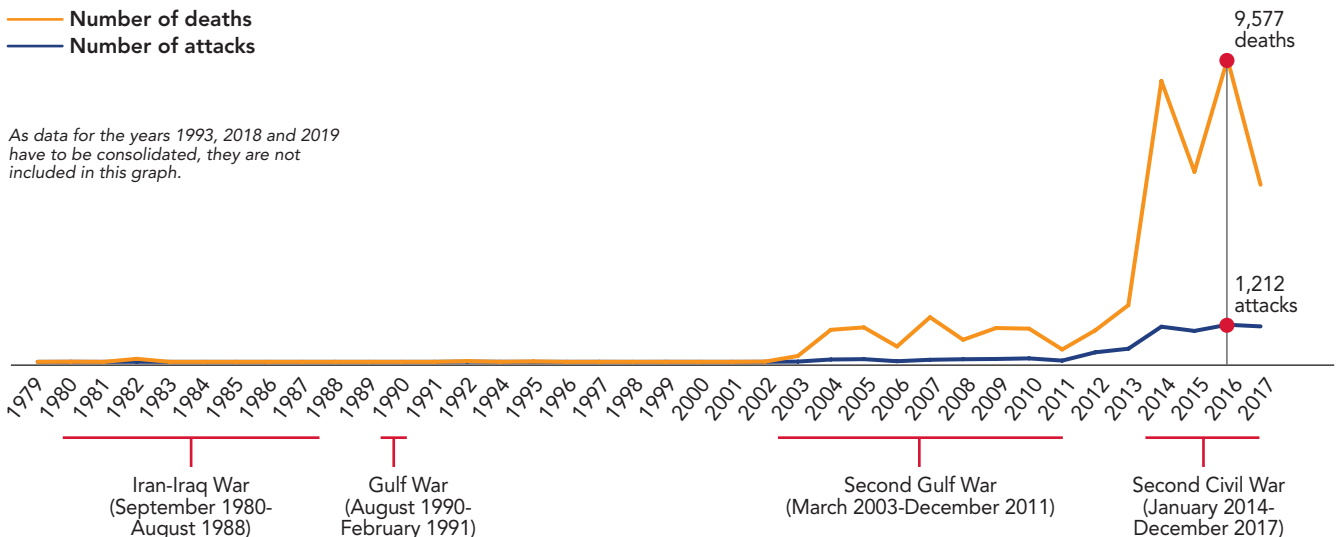
## NUMBER OF DEATHS

**41,544** [retained estimate]

**41,924** [possible estimate]

— Number of deaths  
— Number of attacks

As data for the years 1993, 2018 and 2019 have to be consolidated, they are not included in this graph.



## MAIN TARGETS



**40.7% Civilians**  
2,550 attacks



**23.5% Military**  
1,474 attacks



**13.7% Police**  
859 attacks



**4.4% Government**  
277 attacks

## TYPE OF ATTACKS



4,219 Explosions (67.3%)



629 Armed assaults (10.0%)



553 Hostage takings/Kidnappings (8.8%)



171 Assassinations (2.7%)



693 Others (11.1%)

## MOST AFFECTED PROVINCES

Province	Number of attacks
Nineveh	1,225
Al Anbar	1,125
Saladin	1,121
Baghdad	1,048
Diyala	684

**Bagdad** is the city in the world most affected by Islamist terrorist attacks, with 1,048 attacks and 7,231 deaths.

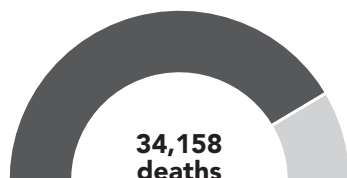
**44.2%** of Islamist terrorist attacks worldwide using vehicles took place in Iraq.

**56.2%** of people killed in Islamist terrorist attacks in the Middle East and North Africa were killed in Iraq.

## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUP

### Islamic State

Responsible for **82.2%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in Iraq



## AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK



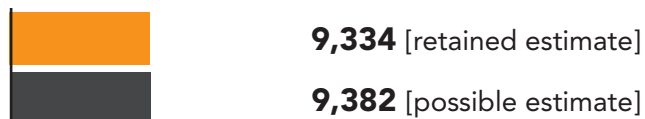


# SOMALIA

## NUMBER OF ATTACKS

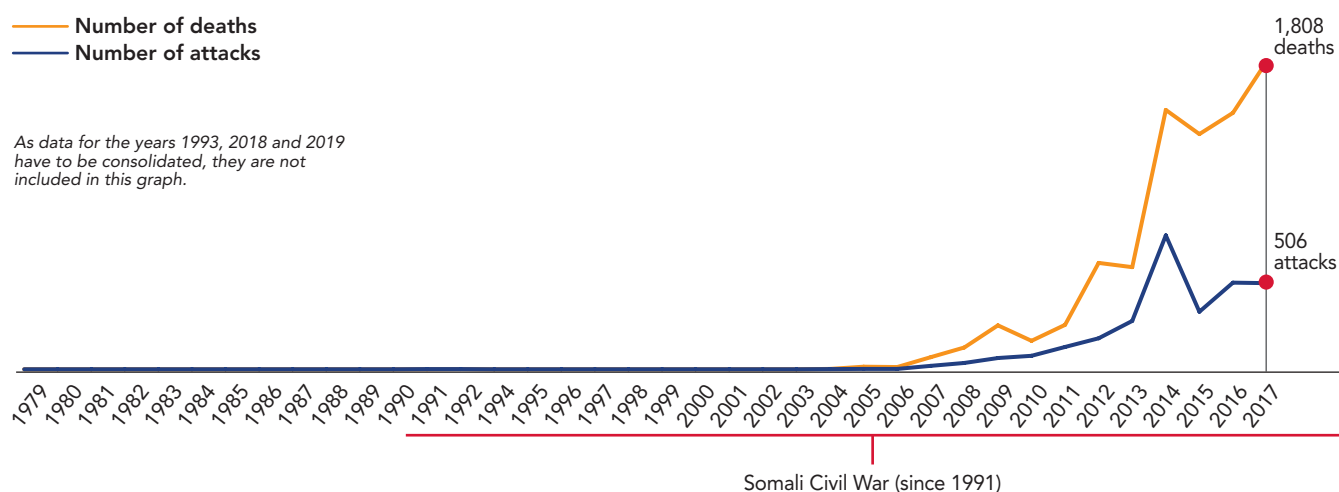


## NUMBER OF DEATHS



— Number of deaths  
— Number of attacks

As data for the years 1993, 2018 and 2019 have to be consolidated, they are not included in this graph.



## MAIN TARGETS

**46.2% Military**  
1,448 attacks

**20% Civilians**  
627 attacks

**15.1% Government**  
473 attacks

## TYPE OF ATTACKS

1,164 Explosions (37.1%)

928 Armed assaults (29.6%)

327 Assassinations (10.4%)

283 Hostage takings/Kidnappings (9.0%)

432 Others (13.8%)

## MOST AFFECTED PROVINCES

Province	Number of attacks
Banaadir	1,092
Lower Shabelle (Shabeellaha Hoose)	612
Lower Juba (Jubbada Hoose)	279
Bay	265
Gedo	229

**34%** of Islamist terrorist attacks in Somalia occurred in Mogadishu, the country's capital (1,064).

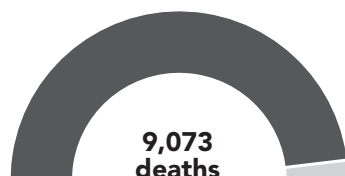
**2017** is the year in which Islamist terrorism was the deadliest in Somalia (506 attacks, 1,808 deaths).

**26.2%** of those who died in Islamist terrorist attacks in sub-Saharan Africa were killed in Somalia.

## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUP

### Al-Shabaab

Responsible for **97.2%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in Somalia



## AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK





# NIGERIA

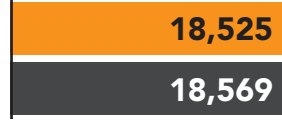
## NUMBER OF ATTACKS



**2,260** [retained estimate]

**2,272** [possible estimate]

## NUMBER OF DEATHS

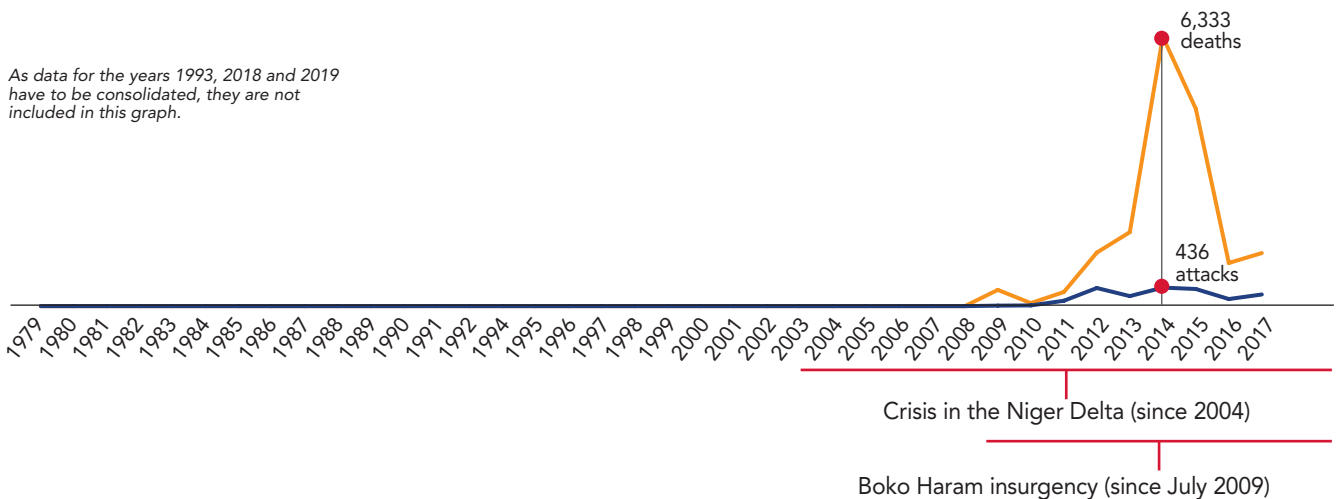


[retained estimate]

[possible estimate]

— Number of deaths  
— Number of attacks

As data for the years 1993, 2018 and 2019 have to be consolidated, they are not included in this graph.



## MAIN TARGETS



**46.3% Civilians**  
1,047 attacks



**14.1% Military**  
319 attacks



**10.4% Police**  
234 attacks



**6.7% Religious institutions**  
152 attacks

## TYPE OF ATTACKS



1,051 Armed assaults (46.5%)



759 Explosions (33.6%)



172 Hostage takings/Kidnappings (7.6%)



63 Assassinations (2.8%)



215 Others (9.5%)

## MOST AFFECTED PROVINCES

Province	Number of attacks
Borno	1,464
Yobe	240
Adamawa	168
Kano	106
Plateau	32

**64.8%** of Islamist terrorist attacks in Nigeria are concentrated in Borno State (1,464 attacks).

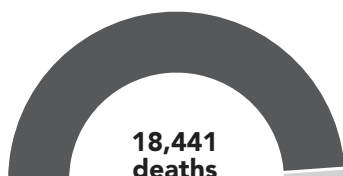
**8.2** people on average die in a terrorist attack committed by Boko Haram in Nigeria.

**51.9%** of those who died in Islamist terrorist attacks in sub-Saharan Africa were killed in Nigeria.

## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUP

### Boko Haram

Responsible for **99.5%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in Nigeria



## AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK





# PAKISTAN

## NUMBER OF ATTACKS

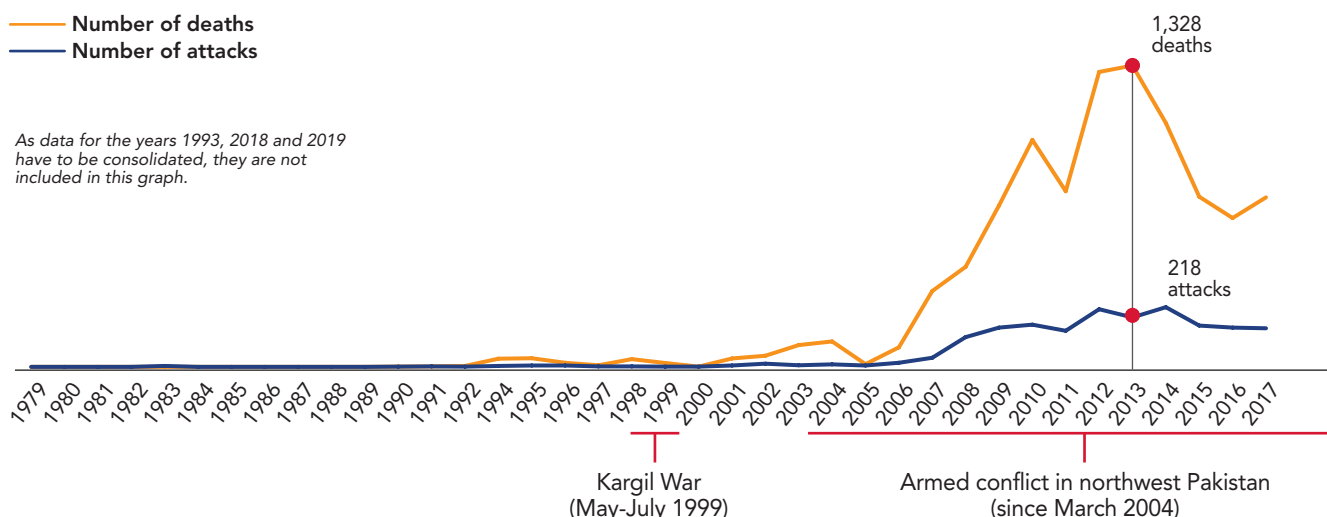


## NUMBER OF DEATHS



— Number of deaths  
— Number of attacks

As data for the years 1993, 2018 and 2019 have to be consolidated, they are not included in this graph.



## MAIN TARGETS

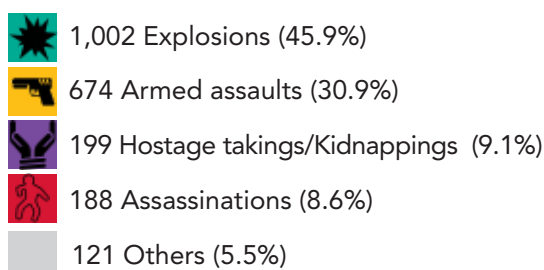
**26.2% Civilians**  
572 attacks

**21.2% Military**  
462 attacks

**17.3% Police**  
377 attacks

**6.4% Government**  
140 attacks

## TYPE OF ATTACKS



## MOST AFFECTED PROVINCES

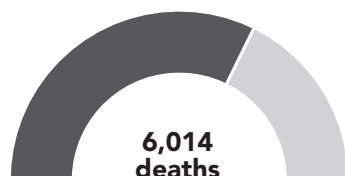
Province	Number of attacks
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	588
Sindh	273
Balochistan	248
Punjab	158
Islamabad Capital Territory	29

**9.9%** of Islamist terrorist attacks in Pakistan were suicide attacks.

**20.4%** of those who died in Islamist terrorist attacks in South Asia were killed in Pakistan.

## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUP

**Tehrik-i-Taliban**  
Responsible for **58.8%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in Pakistan



## AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK





# ALGERIA

## NUMBER OF ATTACKS

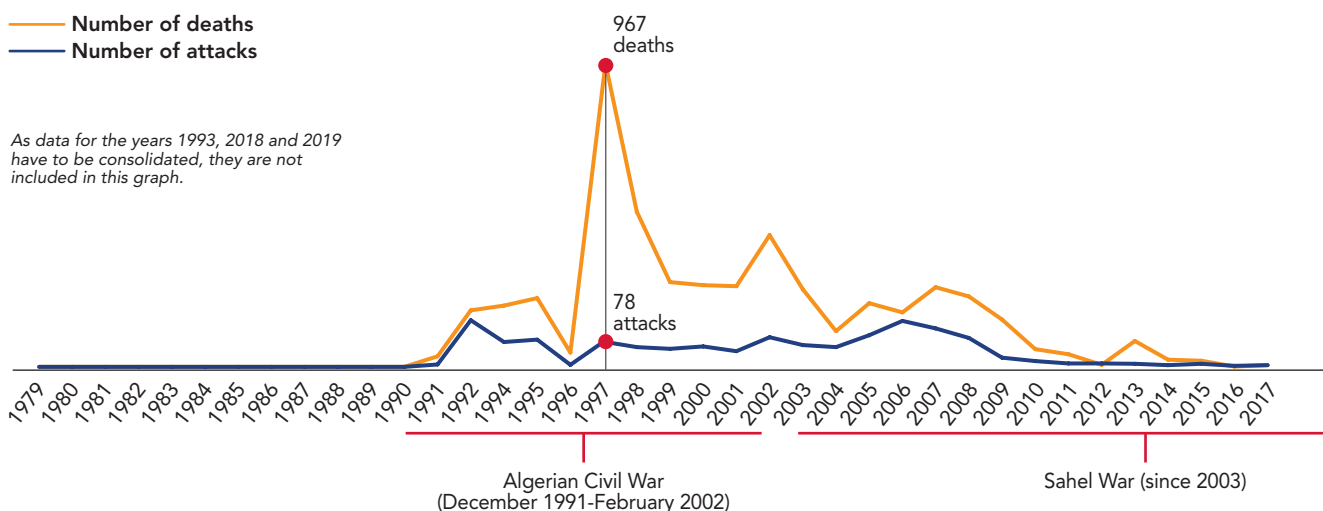


## NUMBER OF DEATHS

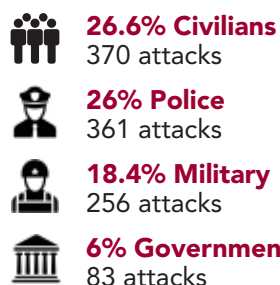


— Number of deaths  
— Number of attacks

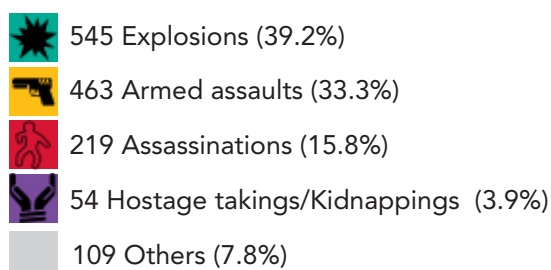
As data for the years 1993, 2018 and 2019 have to be consolidated, they are not included in this graph.



## MAIN TARGETS



## TYPE OF ATTACKS



## MOST AFFECTED PROVINCES

Province	Number of attacks
Algiers	226
Boumerdès	213
Tizi Ouzou	115
Bouira	80
Jijel	75

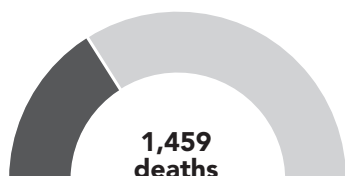
**4 of the 5 provinces** most affected by the Islamist terrorist attacks in Algeria are located in Kabylia, a mountainous territory of Berber tradition.

**10.3%** of Islamist terrorist attacks in the Middle East and North Africa occurred in Algeria.

**53.2%** of Islamist terrorist attacks in Algeria took place during the Algerian civil war between 1991 and 2002.

## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUP

**Armed Islamic Group**  
Responsible for **30.4%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in Algeria



## AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK







# SYRIA

## NUMBER OF ATTACKS

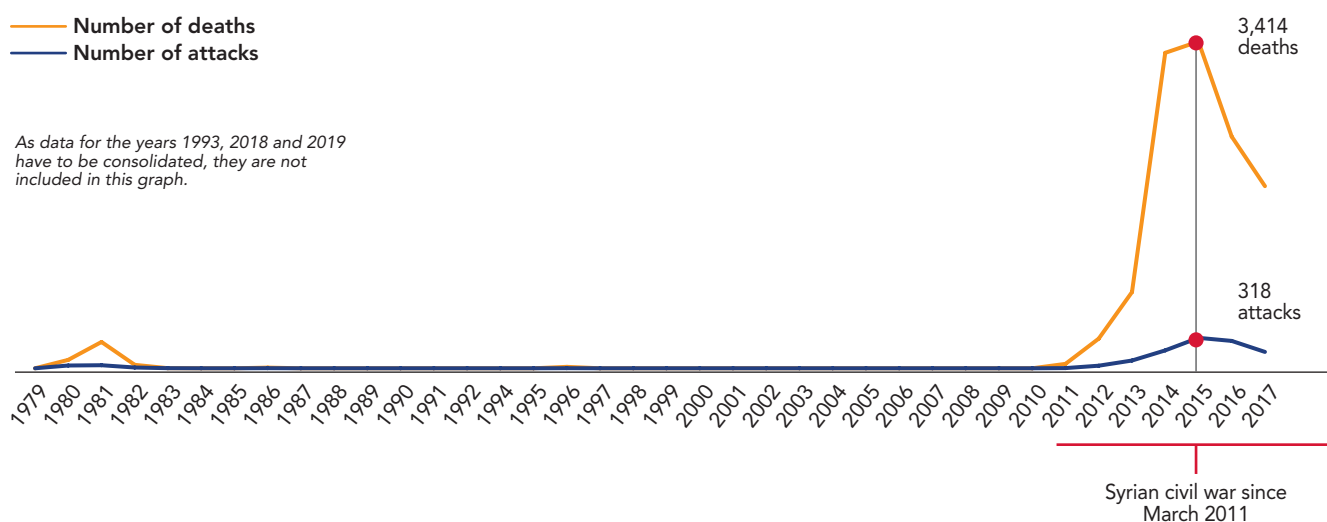


## NUMBER OF DEATHS

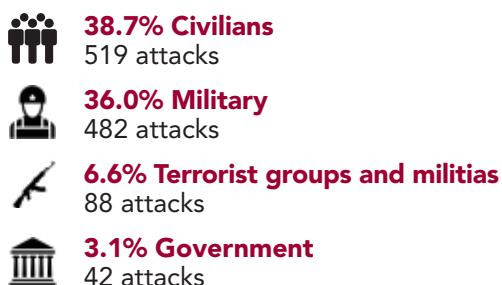


— Number of deaths  
— Number of attacks

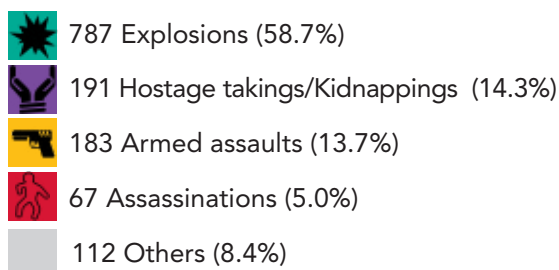
As data for the years 1993, 2018 and 2019 have to be consolidated, they are not included in this graph.



## MAIN TARGETS



## TYPE OF ATTACKS



## MOST AFFECTED PROVINCES

Province	Number of attacks
Aleppo	410
Deir ez-Zor	149
Homs	134
Idlib	123
Damascus	115

**18.4%** of Islamist terrorist attacks in Syria are committed by the Al-Nusrah Front (247 attacks, 2,926 deaths).

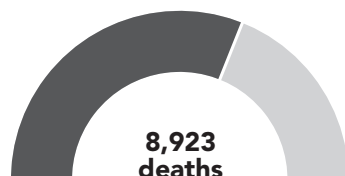
**9.9%** of Islamist terrorist attacks in the Middle East and North Africa occurred in Syria.

**68.8%** of all hostage takings and kidnappings in Syria were committed by the Islamic State.

## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUP

### Islamic State

Responsible for **61.9%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in Syria



## AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK





# YEMEN

## NUMBER OF ATTACKS

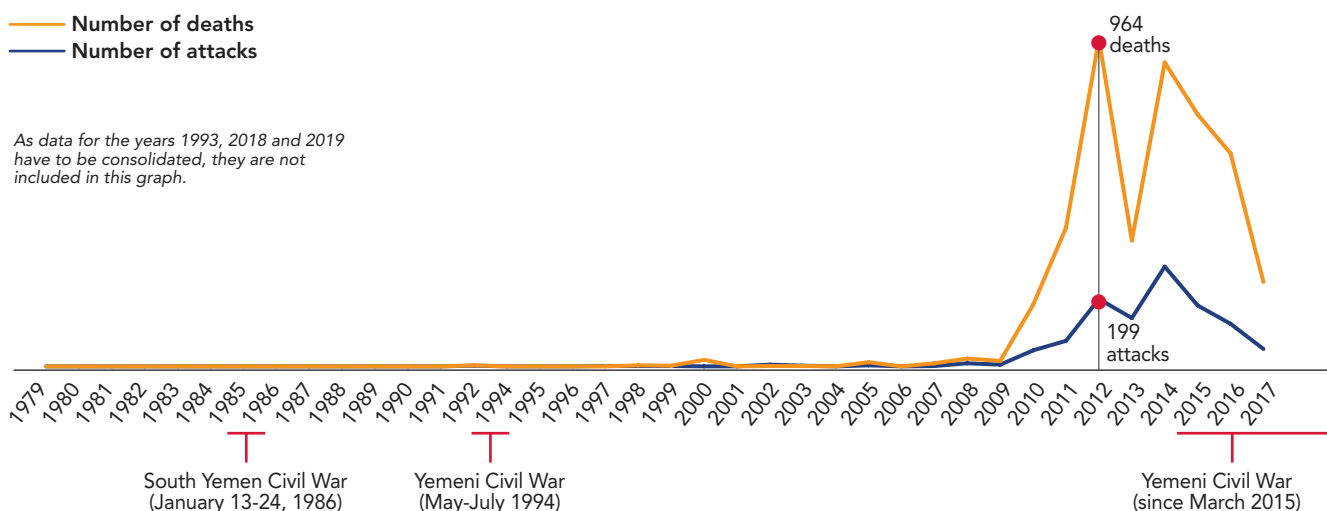


## NUMBER OF DEATHS

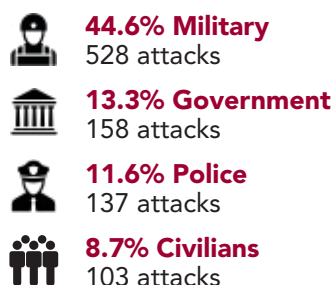


— Number of deaths  
— Number of attacks

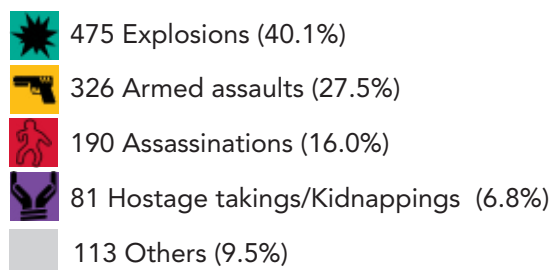
As data for the years 1993, 2018 and 2019 have to be consolidated, they are not included in this graph.



## MAIN TARGETS



## TYPE OF ATTACKS



## MOST AFFECTED PROVINCES

Province	Number of attacks
Hadramaut	244
Abyan	237
Aden	170
Amanat Al Asimah (Sana'a city)	130
Shabwah	103

An average of **4 people** die in an Islamist attack in Yemen.

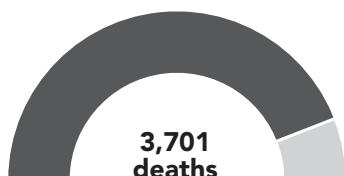
**8.8%** of Islamist terrorist attacks in the Middle East and North Africa took place in Yemen.

**65%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in Yemen are recorded between 2012 and 2019.

## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUP

### Al-Qaeda

Responsible for **78.7%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in Yemen



## AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK





# PHILIPPINES

## NUMBER OF ATTACKS



**1,037** [retained estimate]

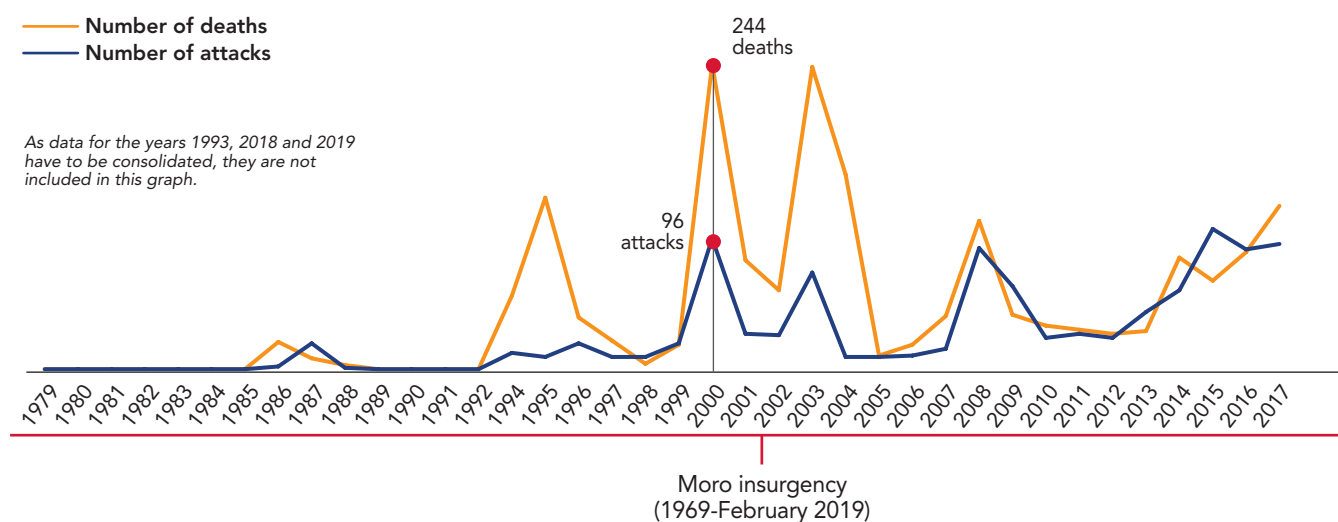
**1,107** [possible estimate]

## NUMBER OF DEATHS



**1,803** [retained estimate]

**2,053** [possible estimate]



## MAIN TARGETS



**30.4% Civilians**

315 attacks



**20.6% Military**

214 attacks



**11.4% Business**

118 attacks



**7.8% Government**

81 attacks

## TYPE OF ATTACKS



461 Explosions (44.5%)



277 Armed assaults (26.7%)



208 Hostage takings/Kidnappings (20.1%)



25 Assassinations (2.4%)



66 Others (6.4%)

## MOST AFFECTED PROVINCES

Province	Number of attacks
Basilan	222
Sulu	211
Cotabato	150
Maguindaonao	111
Lanao Del Sur	64

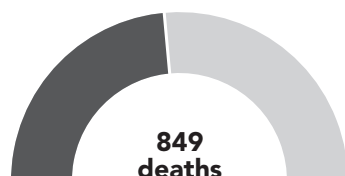
**2000** was the year in which Islamist terrorism was the deadliest in the Philippines (96 attacks, 244 deaths).

**75.4%** of those killed in Islamist terrorist attacks in Southeast Asia were killed in the Philippines.

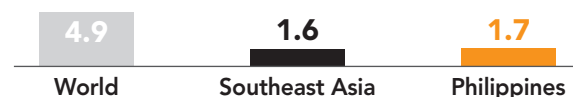
## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUP

**Abu Sayyaf**

Responsible for **47.1%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in the Philippines



## AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK



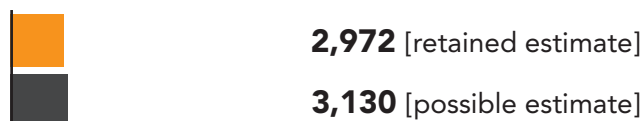


# EGYPT

## NUMBER OF ATTACKS

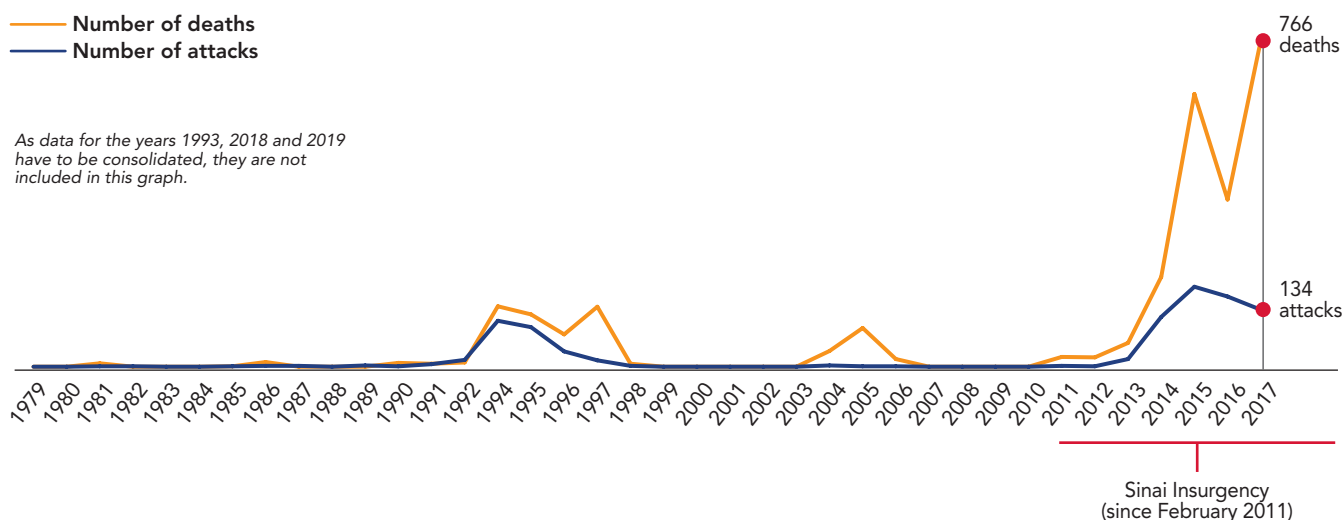


## NUMBER OF DEATHS



— Number of deaths  
— Number of attacks

As data for the years 1993, 2018 and 2019 have to be consolidated, they are not included in this graph.



## MAIN TARGETS



**42.9% Police**  
419 attacks



**20.8% Military**  
203 attacks



**12.9% Civilians**  
126 attacks

## TYPE OF ATTACKS



374 Explosions (38.3%)



312 Armed assaults (31.9%)



174 Assassinations (17.8%)



64 Hostage takings/Kidnappings (6.6%)



53 Others (5.4%)

## MOST AFFECTED PROVINCES

Province	Number of attacks
North Sinai	493
Minya	140
Cairo	88
Asyut	77
Giza	41

**100%** of Islamist terrorist attacks in North Sinai province occurred between 2011 and 2019.

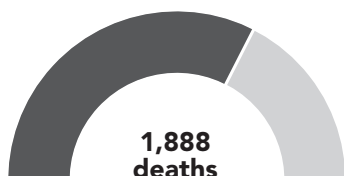
**90.9%** of Islamist terrorist attacks in North Sinai Province have been claimed by the Islamic state.

**35 attacks** were claimed by the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt between 1979 and 2019.

## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUP

### Islamic State

Responsible for **63.5%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in Egypt



## AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK



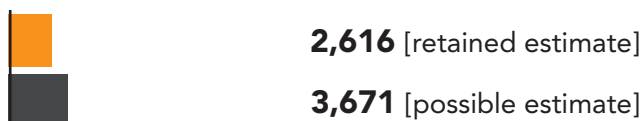


# INDIA

## NUMBER OF ATTACKS

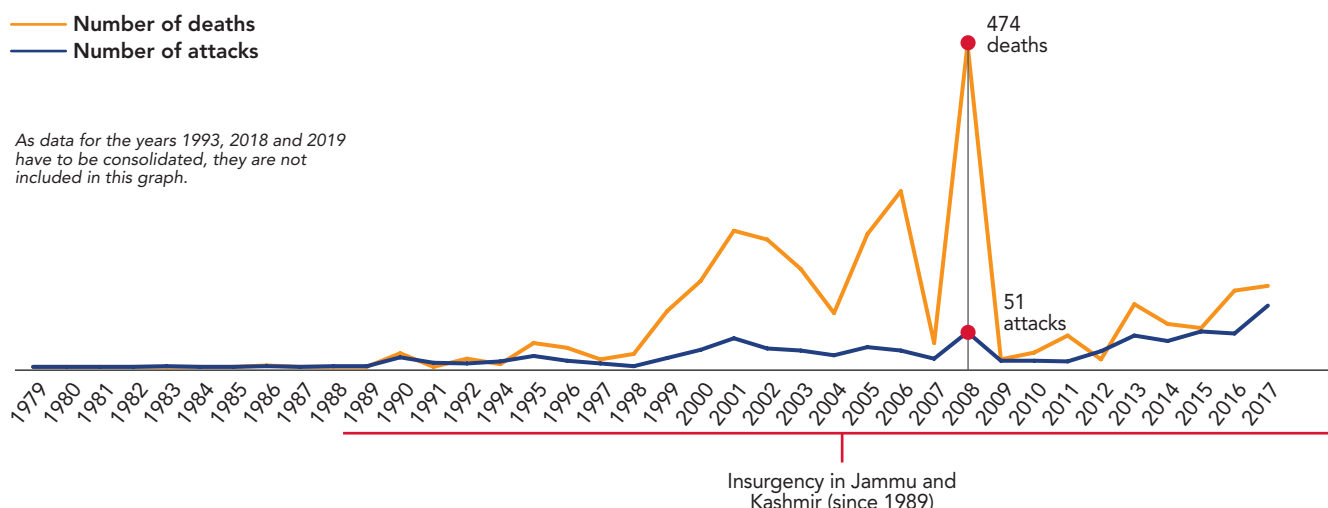


## NUMBER OF DEATHS



— Number of deaths  
— Number of attacks

As data for the years 1993, 2018 and 2019 have to be consolidated, they are not included in this graph.



## MAIN TARGETS



**29% Police**  
237 attacks



**22.9% Military**  
187 attacks



**20.6% Civilians**  
168 attacks



**10.5% Government**  
86 attacks

## TYPE OF ATTACKS



365 Armed assaults (44.7%)



329 Explosions (40.3%)



53 Hostage takings/Kidnappings (6.5%)



40 Assassinations (4.9%)



29 Others (3.6%)

## MOST AFFECTED PROVINCES

Province	Number of attacks
Jammu and Kashmir	665
Delhi	33
Maharashtra	26
Gujarat	20
Bihar	15

**81.5%** of Islamist terrorist attacks in India have occurred in Jammu and Kashmir province.

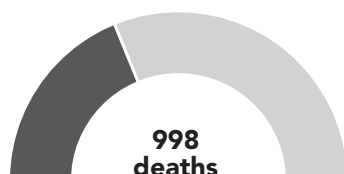
**2008** was the year in which Islamist terrorism was the deadliest in India (51 attacks, 474 deaths).

**44.7%** of Islamist terrorist attacks in India were armed assaults.

## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUP

### Lashkar-e-Taiba

Responsible for **38.1%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in India



## AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK







# LIBYA

## NUMBER OF ATTACKS



**699** [retained estimate]

**813** [possible estimate]

## NUMBER OF DEATHS

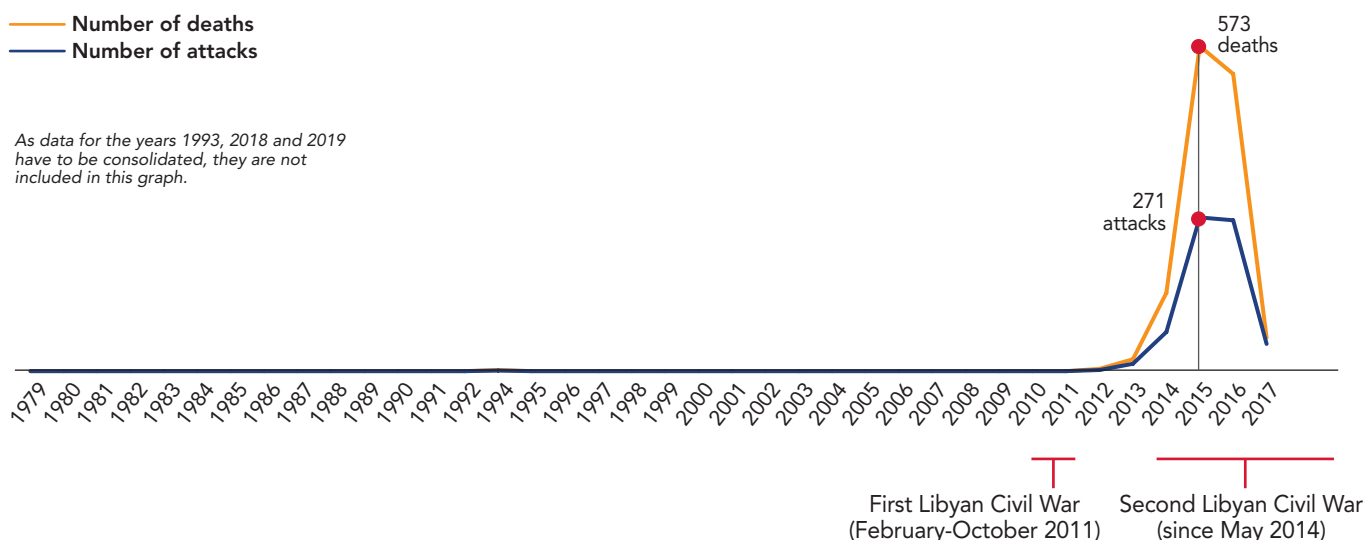


**1,472** [retained estimate]

**1,541** [possible estimate]

— Number of deaths  
— Number of attacks

As data for the years 1993, 2018 and 2019 have to be consolidated, they are not included in this graph.



## MAIN TARGETS



**38.6% Civilians**

270 attacks



**23.5% Military**

164 attacks



**7.2% Terrorist groups and militias**

50 attacks



**6.9% Police**

48 attacks

## TYPE OF ATTACKS



283 Explosions (40.5%)



178 Hostage takings/Kidnappings (25.5%)



99 Armed assaults (14.2%)



29 Assassinations (4.1%)



110 Others (15.7%)

## MOST AFFECTED PROVINCES

Province	Number of attacks
Sirte	278
Benghazi	141
Derna	88
Misrata	42
Tripoli	42

**39.8%** of Islamist terrorist attacks in Libya took place in Sirte Province.

**40.5%** of Islamist terrorist attacks in Libya were explosions.

**15 Islamist terrorist attacks** have targeted diplomatic institutions in Libya.

## DEADLIEST TERRORIST GROUP

**Islamic State**

Responsible for **79.6%** of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in Libya



## AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEATHS PER ATTACK



# In conclusion, the main lessons of our study

**1. Between 1979 and 2019, we counted 33,769 Islamist terrorist attacks around the world, which have resulted in the deaths of at least 167,096 people.**

- 1979-2000: 2,190 attacks and 6,818 deaths.
- 2001-2012: 8,264 attacks and 38,186 deaths.
- 2013-2019: 23,315 attacks and 122,092 deaths.

For 2018 and for the period January-August 2019, the database is still to be specified and completed. In 2018, we recorded 1,606 attacks and 8,715 deaths; in 2019, 826 attacks and 4,953 deaths. In the introduction we give some of the reasons why these figures underestimate the reality. With an extrapolation exercise, which is precisely allowed by the volume of data collected, we can provide information for the years 2018 and 2019 with the annual mean 2001-2017 of the number of attacks (1,715) and the number of deaths (8,624). We hereby obtain 34,766 Islamist terrorist attacks worldwide between 1979 and 2019 and 170,676 deaths.

**2. Islamist terrorist attacks accounted for 18.8% of all attacks worldwide between 1979 and 2019.**

- 1979-2000: 3.5% (2,190 Islamist terrorist attacks out of 61,746 attacks).
- 2001-2012: 19.8% (8,264 Islamist terrorist attacks out of 41,650 attacks).
- 2013-2019: 29.9% (24,312 Islamist terrorist attacks out of 81,337 attacks).

For this chronological sequence, concerning the years 2018 and 2019, we used the extrapolation presented above.

**3. Between 1979 and 2019, terrorist attacks (Islamist and other) around the world killed at least 436,170 people. Over the same period, Islamist terrorist attacks accounted for 39.1% of all deaths in all attacks. But Islamism has become the major cause of death by terrorism from 2013 onwards.**

- 1979-2000: 5% (6,818 deaths out of 137,690).
- 2001-2012: 38.1% (38,186 deaths out of 100,129).
- 2013 and 2019: 63.4% (125,672 deaths out of 198,351).

For this chronological sequence, concerning the years 2018 and 2019, we used the extrapolation previously presented.

**4. On average, an Islamist attack caused the deaths of 4.9 people. The number of deaths per attack tends to increase.**

- 1979-2000: An attack killed an average of 3.1 people.
- 2001-2012: An attack killed an average of 4.6 people.
- 2013-2019: An attack killed 5.2 people on average.

## 5. There were 2,518 suicide attacks over the entire period, which represents 7.5% of all Islamist terrorist attacks.

- 1979-2000: 19 suicide attacks (0.9% of attacks).
- 2001-2012: 679 suicide attacks (8.2% of attacks).
- 2013-2019: 1,820 suicide attacks (7.8% of attacks).

Among the main terrorist organisations in the database, the one that has used suicide attacks most often is Boko Haram: 16.5% of its attacks were suicide attacks.

## 6. Half (51.2%) of Islamist terrorist attacks were caused by explosives. It is the most commonly used type of weapon (17,303 attacks), followed by firearms (10,501 attacks), incendiary weapons (810 attacks) and melee weapons, such as knives or machetes (785 attacks).

- 1979-2000: firearms (910), explosives (853), melee weapons (124), incendiary weapons (68).
- 2001-2012: explosives (4,515), firearms (2,572), incendiary weapons (234), melee weapons (198).
- 2013-2019: explosives (11,935), firearms (7,019), melee weapons (463), incendiary weapons (508).

## 7. The Middle East and North Africa, South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa accounted for 94.7% of Islamist terrorist attacks between 1979 and 2019.

- Middle East and North Africa: 40.1% of attacks, 44.3% of deaths.
- South Asia: 34.5% of attacks, 30% of deaths.
- Sub-Saharan Africa: 20.1% of attacks, 21.4% of deaths.
- South-East Asia: 4.3% of attacks, 1.4% of the deaths.
- Europe: 0.7% of attacks, 0.9% of deaths.

- North America: 0.2% of attacks, 1.9% of the deaths.
- Oceania: 0.03% of all attacks, 0.01% of the deaths.
- South America: 0.01% of attacks, 0.1% of the deaths.

## 8. Afghanistan was the country most affected by Islamist terrorism, ahead of Iraq and Somalia.

The most affected countries are Afghanistan (8,460 attacks), Iraq (6,265 attacks), Somalia (3,134 attacks), Nigeria (2,260 attacks), Pakistan (2,184 attacks), Algeria (1,390 attacks), Syria (1,340 attacks), Yemen (1,185 attacks), the Philippines (1,037 attacks), Egypt (977 attacks), India (816 attacks) and Libya (699 attacks).

In these twelve countries, 149,136 deaths were recorded as a result of Islamist terrorist attacks, representing 89.3% of the total number of deaths recorded worldwide.

## 9. France was the most affected country in the entire European Union, with 71 Islamist terrorist attacks on its territory between 1979 and 2019. At least 317 people were killed in these attacks.

- 1979-2000: 21 attacks, 37 deaths.
- 2001-2012: 8 attacks, 8 deaths.
- 2013-2019: 42 attacks, 272 deaths (given the ongoing investigation, we have chosen not to take into account the attack that took place on 3 October 2019 at the Paris Police Headquarters).

## 10. The indirect clashes in Afghanistan between the American and Soviet powers are one of the major causes of Islamist violence of the 21st century.

The United States and Russia have also been hit by jihadist terrorism. During the period 1979-2019, we recorded 48 attacks and 3,114 deaths in the United States and 71 attacks in Russia, responsible for the deaths of 809 people.

## **11. Civilians are the main target (28.5%) of Islamist terrorists, ahead of the military (24.5%) and police forces (18.3%).**

- 1979-2000: civilians (424 attacks, 19.4%), military (343 attacks, 15.7%), police forces (407 attacks, 18.6%).
- 2001-2012: civilians (2,168 attacks, 26.2%), military (1,411 attacks, 17.1%), police forces (1,427 attacks, 17.3%).
- 2013-2019: civilians (7,042 attacks, 30.2%), military (6,520 attacks, 28%), police forces (4,353 attacks, 18.7%).

## **12. Most (89.1%) of Islamist terrorist attacks were committed in Muslim countries\*. Similarly, the vast majority of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks (91.2%) were recorded in Muslim countries.**

- Number of Islamist terrorist attacks in Muslim countries: 30,105 attacks (89.1% of Islamist terrorist attacks worldwide).
- Number of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks in Muslim countries: 152,353 deaths (91.2% of deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks worldwide).

It should be noted that these figures underestimate the reality since they do not take into account the Islamist terrorist attacks perpetrated in countries with a non-Muslim majority where Muslim populations are concentrated in certain provinces. This is the case, for example, in southern Thailand, where Muslims are in the majority in Satun, Yala, Pattani and Narathiwat provinces, but also in the Philippines, in the Mindanao region; in India, in Jammu and Kashmir province; or in China, in the Xinjiang Uyghur autonomous region.

\*Muslim countries: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, West Bank and the Gaza Strip<sup>1</sup>, Chad, Djibouti, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Qatar, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tajikistan, Tunisia, Turkmenistan, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, Uzbekistan.

## **13. Over the entire studied period, the deadliest organisation was the Islamic State (IS), including its various branches. Its terrorist actions have caused the deaths of 52,619 people.**

The deadliest terrorist organisations, taking into account their different ramifications, were the Islamic State (52,619 deaths), the Taliban (39,733 deaths), Boko Haram (22,287 deaths) and Al-Qaeda (14,680 deaths). These four terrorist groups were responsible for more than three-quarters (77.4%) of the victims of Islamist terrorist attacks between 1979 and 2019.

## **14. Between 1979 and 2019, Sunni terrorist organisations are responsible for 89.4% of the Islamist terrorist acts and 93% of the deaths caused by Islamist terrorist attacks.**

Since 1979, Sunni terrorist organisations have been responsible for 89.4% of Islamist terrorist acts, while Shia groups have accounted for 2% of them. The remaining 8.9% have been committed by organisations whose affiliation is not known. Our data also show that more than half (55.4%) of Islamist terrorist attacks are carried out by Sunni organisations claiming to be part of the Jihadist Salafist ideology.

1. We include here some territories that have a special status such as the Occupied Palestinian Territories, composed of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.



# LES ATTENTATS ISLAMISTES DANS LE MONDE 1979-2019

NOVEMBRE 2019

Sub-Saharan Africa	Hiran	Unknown	street	Jihadist Salafist	1	2	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Somalia	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Pakistan	South Asia	North
Sub-Saharan Africa	Banaadir	Mogadishu	Koodka neighbourhood	Jihadist Salafist	2	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Somalia	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Ghaz
South Asia	Kunar	Unknown	security checkpoint	Jihadist Salafist	3	8	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Cameroun	Sub-Saharan Africa	Far N
South Asia	Oruzgan	Unknown	army camp	Deobandi	9	20	Armed assault	Military	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Farah
Middle East & North Af	Anbar	Qa'im	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	1	1	Bombing/Explosive	Police	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Pakistan	South Asia	Pesh
Middle East & North Af	Baghdad	Baghdad	market	Jihadist Salafist	1	7	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Somalia	Sub-Saharan Africa	Bana
Sub-Saharan Africa	Far North	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	1	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Cameroun	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Hiran	Bedweyr	army checkpoint	Jihadist Salafist	0	2	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Somalia	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Balochistan	Quetta	street	Deobandi	7	23	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Pakistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Banaadir	Mogadishu	street	Jihadist Salafist	0	3	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Somalia	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Kunduz	Unknown	Unknown	Deobandi	5	2	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Far North	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	3	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Cameroun	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Diyala	Mogadishu	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	1	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Shabwah	Unknown	military vehicle	Jihadist Salafist	3	3	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Yemen	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Helmand	Nawa	Unknown	Deobandi	6	0	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Far North	Amchide	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	2	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Cameroun	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Western Europe	Hauts-de-France	Vendin le	Prison	Jihadist Salafist	0	4	Armed assault	Police	France	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Menaka	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	3	Bombing/Explosive	Military	France	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Banaadir	Mogadishu	Near the president	Jihadist Salafist	1	1	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Somalia	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Ghor	Chaghchar	Unknown	Deobandi	2	6	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Farah	Farah	Unknown	Deobandi	3	0	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk	Kirkuk	residence	Jihadist Salafist	3	1	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	North Sinai	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	1	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Egypt	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Baghdad	Baghdad	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	8	24	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Lamu	Nongoro	highway	Jihadist Salafist	1	3	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Kenya	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Farah	Farah	Unknown	Deobandi	7	3	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Qaynar	Faryab	checkpoint	Deobandi	6	4	Armed assault	Military	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	North Sinai	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	1	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Egypt	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Banaadir	Mogadishu	military vehicle	Jihadist Salafist	0	5	Armed assault	Military	Somalia	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Lower Shabelle	Unknown	military base	Jihadist Salafist	2	0	Armed assault	Military	Somalia	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Far North	Mayo-Tsan	residences, church	Jihadist Salafist	4	2	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Cameroun	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Baghdad	Baghdad	al tayyarin square	Jihadist Salafist	0	3	Bombing/Explosive	Military	France	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Adamawa	Madagali	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	France	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Faryab	Khwaja Sa	Unknown	Deobandi	25	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Logar	Mohammad	Unknown	Deobandi	0	0	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Far North	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	2	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Cameroun	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Balochistan	Quetta	Unknown	Deobandi	0	0	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Diyala	Bagdabad	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	1	Armed assault	Police	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Diyala	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	7	8	Armed assault	Police	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Diffla	Toumour	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Borno	Medjoug	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Helmand	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Adamawa	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Balochistan	Quetta	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Balch	Unknown	Unknown	Deobandi	18	0	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Kabul	Kabul	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	22	11	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Helmand	Garmser	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	1	1	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Herat	Gulran	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	1	0	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Helmand	Nahri Saraj	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	3	0	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Balochistan	Quetta	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Armed assault	Police	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Al Anbar	Rawa	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	2	4	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Unknown	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Benghazi	Benghazi	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	41	80	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Libya	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Banaadir	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Cameroun	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Nangarhar	Jalalabad	save the	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Unknown	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Koulikoro	Toulikoro	Village	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Unknown	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk	Daquq	mosque	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Mopti	Yowwarou	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Armed assault	Military	Unknown	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Mopti	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	0	0	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Unknown	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Kandahar	Kandahar	street	Deobandi	4	13	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Ghazni	Unknown	residence	Deobandi	7	3	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Adamawa	Unknown	village	Jihadist Salafist	3	3	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Niger	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Kabul	Kabul	ambulance	Deobandi	103	325	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Civilians	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Helmand	Nad Ali	street	Deobandi	0	6	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Garissa	Handaro	road	Jihadist Salafist	2	3	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Kenya	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Timbuktu	Soumali	camp	Jihadist Salafist	14	22	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Civilians	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Lower Shabelle	Wanlaweyi	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	1	0	Bombing/Explosive	Government (General)	Somali	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Kabul	Kabul	army post	Jihadist Salafist	11	16	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Afghanistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Gao	Menaka	military base	Jihadist Salafist	0	2	Armed assault	Military	Mali	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Sahel	Baraboule	Police patrol	Jihadist Salafist	2	0	Armed assault	Police	Burkina Faso	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk	al Murtaja	village	Jihadist Salafist	1	1	Bombing/Explosive	Police	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk	Hawija	checkpoint	Jihadist Salafist	1	3	Armed assault	Military	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Diffla	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	2	0	Armed assault	Military	Nigeria	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Ilay	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	4	0	Armed assault	Military	Somalia	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Mosul	Mosul	house	Jihadist Salafist	0	2	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Gao	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	2	7	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Mali	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Borno	Unknown	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	5	4	Armed assault	Private Citizens & Prep	Niger	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
South Asia	Kurram	Unknown	Agency	Deobandi	8	1	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Pakistan	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Bani	Gagala	hills	Jihadist Salafist	1	3	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Somalia	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Shabwah	Unknown	military checkpoint	Jihadist Salafist	22	0	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Yemen	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Baghdad	Baghdad	road	Jihadist Salafist	1	3	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Kirkuk	Hawija	Unknown	Jihadist Salafist	3	2	Bombing/Explosive	Military	Iraq	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Sub-Saharan Africa	Borno	Konduga	residence	Jihadist Salafist	4	44	Bombing/Explosive	Private Citizens & Prep	Niger	Explosives	2018-02-21	2018	02	21	Afghanistan	South Asia	Kabul
Middle East & North Af	Al An																







Edited by Dominique Reynié

# WHAT NEXT FOR DEMOCRACY?

AN INTERNATIONAL SURVEY BY  
THE FONDATION POUR L'INNOVATION POLITIQUE



Sous la direction de Dominique Reynié

# OÙ VA LA DÉMOCRATIE ?

UNE ENQUÊTE INTERNATIONALE DE LA  
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The Fondation pour l'innovation politique provides an independent forum for expertise, reflection and exchange aimed at producing and disseminating ideas and proposals. It contributes to pluralism of thought and the renewal of public discussion from a free-market, forward-thinking and European perspective. Four main priorities guide the Foundation's work: economic growth, the environment, values and digital technology.

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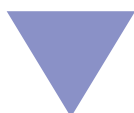
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5 000 €	2 000	1 700	1 250
10 000 €	4 000	3 400	2 500
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Organisation or individual

Name	First name
Organisation name	
N°	Street
Zip code	City
Country	
Phone number	
Email	

Date	Signature
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Iran
Banadir
Asia
Kunar
Asia
Oruzgan
ie East & North Af Anbar
ie East & North Af Baghdad
aharan Africa
Far North
aharan Africa
Hiran
Asia
Balochista
aharan Africa
Banaadir
Asia
Kunduz
aharan Africa
Far North
ie East & North Af Diyala
ie East & North Af Shabwah
Asia
Helmand
aharan Africa
Far North
ern Europe
Hauts-de-France
Vendin le Prison
aharan Africa
Menaka
Unknown
Unknown
Jihadist Salafist
aharan Africa
Banaadir
Mogadishu
Near the president
Jihadist Salafist
Asia
Ghor
Chagchar
Unknown
Deobandi
Asia
Farah
Farah
Unknown
Deobandi
ie East & North Af Kirkuk
ie East & North Af North Sina
ie East & North Af Baghdad
aharan Africa
Lamu
Asia
Farah
Asia
Qaysar
ie East & North Af North Sina
aharan Africa
Banaadir
aharan Africa
Lower Sha
aharan Africa
Far North
ie East & North Af Baghdad
aharan Africa
Adamawa
Asia
Faryab
Asia
Logar
aharan Africa
Far North
Asia
Balochista
ie East & North Af Diyala
ie East & North Af Diyala
aharan Africa
Diffa
aharan Africa
Borno
Asia
Helmand
aharan Africa
Adamawa
Asia
Balochista
Balkh
Asia
Kabul
Asia
Helmand
Asia
Herat
Asia
Helmand
Asia
Balochista
ie East & North Af Al Anbar
ie East & North Af Benghazi
aharan Africa
Banaadir
aharan Africa
Nangarhar
aharan Africa
Koulikoro
ie East & North Af Kirkuk
aharan Africa
Mopti
aharan Africa
Mopti
Asia
Kandahar
Asia
Ghazni
aharan Africa
Adamawa
Asia
Kabul
Asia
Helmand
aharan Africa
Garissa
aharan Africa
Timbuktu
aharan Africa
Lower Sha
Asia
Kabul
aharan Africa
Gao
aharan Africa
Sahel
ie East & North Af Kirkuk
ie East & North Af Kirkuk
aharan Africa
Diffa
aharan Africa
Bay
ie East & North Af Mosul
aharan Africa
Gao
aharan Africa
Borno
Unknown
Unknown
Jihadist Salafist
Asia
Kurram
Unknown
Agency
Deobandi
aharan Africa
Bari
Gagala
hills
Jihadist Salafist
ie East & North Af Shabwah
Unknown
military checkpoint
Jihadist Salafist
ie East & North Af Baghdad
Baghdad
road
Jihadist Salafist
ie East & North Af Kirkuk
Hawija
Unknown
Jihadist Salafist
aharan Africa
Borno
Konduga
residence
Jihadist Salafist
ie East & North Af Al Anbar
Unknown
border guard post
Jihadist S
ie East Asia
Sulu
Patikul
Unknown
Jihadist S
aharan Africa
Banaadir
Unknown
road
Jihadist S
Asia
Ghazni
Gelan
Unknown
Deobandi
aharan Africa
Gao
Talataye
Unknown
Jihadist Salafist
Asia
Farah
Bala Baluk
Unknown
Deobandi
aharan Africa
Far North
Kolofata
Unknown
Jihadist Salafist
Asia
Khyber Pakhtunk Swat
military camp
Deobandi
aharan Africa
Far North
Hitawa
village
Jihadist Salafist
ie East & North Af North Sinai
Unknown
road
Jihadist Salafist
ie East & North Af North
Tripoli
port
Jihadist Salafist
aharan Africa
Timbuktu
Gossi
Unknown
Jihadist Salafist
aharan Africa
Mopti
Hombori
Police station
Jihadist Salafist
aharan Africa
Borno
Kala, Balge
village
Jihadist Salafist
aharan Africa
Borno
Unknown
village
Jihadist Salafist
aharan Africa
Banaadir
Mogadishu
Unknown
Jihadist Salafist
Asia
Helmand
Nahri Saraj
checkpost
Deobandi
ie East & North Af Diyala
Unknown
Unknown
Jihadist Salafist
Asia
Sindh
Karachi
port
Jihadist Salafist
aharan Africa
Hiran
Unknown
Beledweyne
Jihadist Salafist
Asia
Oruzgan
Akhtar
Police station
Deobandi
Asia
Oruzgan
Unknown
Unknown
Deobandi
Asia
Oruzgan
Unknown
Private Citizens & Prop
Afghanistan
Firearms
2018-03-18
2018
02
18
Iraq
Middle East & North Af
Al Anbar
2
0
Armed assault
Private Citizens & Prop
Somalia
Explosives
2018-02-18
2018
02
18
Iraq
Middle East & North Af
Al-Kirkuk
3
8
Armed assault
Private Citizens & Prop
Afghanistan
Firearms
2018-02-18
2018
02
18
Iraq
Middle East & North Af
Al Anbar
9
20
Armed assault
Military
Afghanistan
Firearms
2018-02-18
2018
02
18
Russia
Eastern Europe
Dagestan
1
1
Bombing/Explosi
Police
Iraq
Explosives
2018-02-18
2018
02
18
Syria
Middle East & North Af
Al-Hasakah
1
7
Bombing/Explosi
Private Citizens & Prop
Iraq
Explosives
2018-02-19
2018
02
19
Afghanistan
South Asia
Helmand
1
0
Armed assault
Private Citizens & Prop
Cameroon
Firearms
2018-02-19
2018
02
19
Nigeria
Sub-Saharan Africa
Farah
0
2
Bombing/Explosi
Military
Somalia
Explosives
2018-02-19
2018
02
19
Afghanistan
South Asia
Yobe
7
23
Bombing/Explosi
Private Citizens & Prop
Pakistan
Explosives
2018-02-20
2018
02
20
Afghanistan
South Asia
Nangarhar
0
3
Bombing/Explosi
Military
Somalia
Explosives
2018-02-20
2018
02
20
Cameroon
Sub-Saharan Africa
Far North
5
2
Armed assault
Police
Afghanistan
Firearms
2018-02-21
2018
02
21
Afghanistan
South Asia
Parwan
3
0
Armed assault
Private Citizens & Prop
Cameroon
Firearms
2018-02-21
2018
02
21
Afghanistan
South Asia
Zabul
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1
Bombing/Explosi
Private Citizens & Prop
Iraq
Explosives
2018-02-21
2018
02
21
Chad
Sub-Saharan Africa
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Bombing/Explosi
Private Citizens & Prop
Yemen
Explosives
2018-02-21
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Iraq
Middle East & North Af
Al Anbar
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Armed assault
Police
Afghanistan
Firearms
2018-02-21
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02
21
Libya
Middle East & North Af
Jufra
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2
Bombing/Explosi
Private Citizens & Prop
Cameroon
Explosives
2018-02-21
2018
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21
Mali
Sub-Saharan Africa
Gao
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Armed Assault
Police
France
Melee
2018-02-21
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02
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Pakistan
South Asia
North-W
Ghazni
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Bombing/Explosi
Military
France
Explosives
2018-02-21
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Afghanistan
South Asia
aharan Africa
Far North
1
Armed assault
Private Citizens & Prop
Somalia
Firearms
2018-02-22
2018
02
22
Cameroon
Sub-Saharan Africa
Far North
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6
Bombing/Explosi
Private Citizens & Prop
Afghanistan
Explosives
2018-02-23
2018
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23
Afghanistan
South Asia
Farah
3
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Armed assault
Police
Afghanistan
Firearms
2018-02-23
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Pakistan
South Asia
Peshawa
aharan Africa
Banaadir
Asia
Kabul
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Kabul
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Helmand
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Helmand
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Oruzgan
ie East & North Af Kirkuk
ie East & North Af North Sina
ie East & North Af Baghdad
aharan Africa
Lamu
Asia
Farah
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Qaysar
ie East & North Af North Sina
aharan Africa
Banaadir
aharan Africa
Lower Sha
aharan Africa
Far North
ie East & North Af Baghdad
aharan Africa
Adamawa
Asia
Faryab
Asia
Logar
aharan Africa
Far North
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Balochista
ie East & North Af Diyala
ie East & North Af Diyala
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Diffa
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Borno
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Adamawa
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Balochista
Balkh
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Kabul
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Herat
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Helmand
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Balochista
ie East & North Af Al Anbar
ie East & North Af Benghazi
aharan Africa
Banaadir
aharan Africa
Nangarhar
aharan Africa
Koulikoro
ie East & North Af Kirkuk
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Mopti
aharan Africa
Mopti
Asia
Kandahar
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Ghazni
aharan Africa
Adamawa
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Kabul
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Helmand
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Garissa
aharan Africa
Timbuktu
aharan Africa
Lower Sha
Asia
Kabul
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aharan Africa
Sahel
ie East & North Af Kirkuk
ie East & North Af Kirkuk
aharan Africa
Diffa
aharan Africa
Bay
ie East & North Af Mosul
aharan Africa
Gao
aharan Africa
Borno
Unknown
Unknown
Jihadist Salafist
Asia
Kurram
Unknown
Agency
Deobandi
aharan Africa
Bari
Gagala
hills
Jihadist Salafist
ie East & North Af Shabwah
Unknown
military checkpoint
Jihadist Salafist
ie East & North Af Baghdad
Baghdad
road
Jihadist Salafist
ie East & North Af Kirkuk
Hawija
Unknown
Jihadist Salafist
aharan Africa
Borno
Konduga
residence
Jihadist Salafist
ie East & North Af Al Anbar
Unknown
border guard post
Jihadist S
ie East Asia
Sulu
Patikul
Unknown
Jihadist S
aharan Africa
Banaadir
Unknown
road
Jihadist S
Asia
Ghazni
Gelan
Unknown
Deobandi
aharan Africa
Gao
Talataye
Unknown
Jihadist Salafist
Asia
Farah
Bala Baluk
Unknown
Deobandi
aharan Africa
Far North
Kolofata
Unknown
Jihadist Salafist
Asia
Khyber Pakhtunk Swat
military camp
Deobandi
aharan Africa
Far North
Hitawa
village
Jihadist Salafist
ie East & North Af North Sinai
Unknown
road
Jihadist Salafist
ie East & North Af North
Tripoli
port
Jihadist Salafist
aharan Africa
Timbuktu
Gossi
Unknown
Jihadist Salafist
aharan Africa
Mopti
Hombori
Police station
Jihadist Salafist
aharan Africa
Borno
Kala, Balge
village
Jihadist Salafist
aharan Africa
Borno
Unknown
village
Jihadist Salafist
aharan Africa
Banaadir
Mogadishu
Unknown
Jihadist Salafist
Asia
Helmand
Nahri Saraj
checkpost
Deobandi
ie East & North Af Diyala
Unknown
Unknown
Jihadist Salafist
Asia
Sindh
Karachi
port
Jihadist Salafist
aharan Africa
Hiran
Unknown
Beledweyne
Jihadist Salafist
Asia
Oruzgan
Akhtar
Police station
Deobandi
Asia
Oruzgan
Unknown
Unknown
Deobandi
Asia
Oruzgan
Unknown
Private Citizens & Prop
Afghanistan
Firearms
2018-03-18
2018
03
11
Afghanistan
South Asia
Nangarhar
4
1
Bombing/Explosi
Private Citizens & Prop
Pakistan
Explosives
2018-03-11
2018
03
11
Austria
Western Europe
Vienna
1
3
Bombing/Explosi
Military
Somalia
Explosives
2018-03-11
2018
03
11
India
South Asia
Jammu and
22
Bombing/Explosi
Military
Yemen
Explosives
2018-03-11
2018
03
11
Iran
Middle East & North Af
Sistan and
1
3
Bombing/Explosi
Private Citizens & Prop
Iraq
Explosives
2018-03-11
2018
03
11
Iraq
Middle East & North Af
Kirkuk
3
2
Bombing/Explosi
Military
Iraq
Explosives
2018-03-11
2018
03
11
Iraq
Middle East & North Af
Kirkuk
4
44
Bombing/Explosi
Private Citizens & Prop
Niger
Explosives
2018-03-11
2018
03
11
Somalia
Sub-Saharan Africa
Banaadir
2018-03-12
2018
03
12
Afghanistan
South Asia
Farah
2018-03-12
2018
03
12
Afghanistan
South Asia
Farah
2018-03-12
2018
03
12
Afghanistan
South Asia
Kunar
2018-03-12
2018
03
12
Afghanistan
South Asia
Middle East & North Af
Anbar
2018-03-12
2018
03
12
Somalia
Sub-Saharan Africa
Banaadir
2018-03-12
2018
03
12
Syria
Middle East & North Af
Deir ez-Zor
2018-03-13
2018
03
13
Philippines
Southeast Asia
Sulu
2018-03-13
2018
03
13
Yemen
Middle East & North Af
Aden
2018-03-14
2018
03
14
Afghanistan
South Asia