

## Summaries

*Justitiële verkenningen* (Judicial explorations) is published nine times a year by the Research and Documentation Centre of the Dutch Ministry of Justice in cooperation with Boom Juridische uitgevers. Each issue focuses on a central theme related to judicial policy. The section Summaries contains abstracts of the internationally most relevant articles of each issue. The central theme of this issue (vol. 31, nr. 2, 2005) is Radicalisation and Jihad.

### **Islamic terrorism; weeding perceptions and dragging breeding grounds**

*R. Coolsaet*

The author compares fact and fiction in today's international terrorism. Underestimating terrorism is dangerous. But exaggerating the threat is just as dangerous – so is groupthink, he argues. When dealing with al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden myth and reality tend to get mixed up. The author sees a historical parallel with the terrorist violence of the anarchist movement in Europe during the last decennium of the nineteenth century. Al-Qaeda has become kind of a myth just like the anarchist terrorist International only existed in the public's mind. Today's al-Qaeda is like a broken thermometer whose mercury has burst into a multitude of small blobs, all highly toxic, but unrelated to one another. Al-Qaeda no longer exists as the global disciplined and centralized terrorist organization it once was. It has turned into a grassroots phenomenon. It is a unifying flag, carried by a loosely connected body of home-grown terror groups and even freelance jihadists, each going their own way without central command, unaffiliated with any group. This transformation of today's terrorism implies that counterterrorism efforts will have to be borne by policy instruments with a more pronounced political character, domestically as well as internationally.

### **Euro islam; the jihad from within?**

*O. Roy*

The Islam in Europe and the emergence of a new generation of Islamic youth are the central issues in this article. Many young Muslims feel no ties with their (parental) country of origin, nor with the culture of Diaspora in their host country. The road out of the

Diaspora can lead into three directions: assimilation, integration or forming a new supranational muslim identity. The expressions of radical islamism in Europe should not be considered as an import product from Arab countries, but as a phenomenon with European roots. The radical islam appeals to rebels without a cause, to the uprooted muslim youth and working class dropouts. The leaders of radical Islamic groups are often well educated en have a middle class background. This is a pattern familiar with the composition of radical groups like Rote Armee Fraktion in Germany, the Italian Brigada Rossa en Action Directe in France. The author feels moderate Islam in Europe should develop from within, by Muslims themselves and not under political pressure or in a forced theological debate. Such a debate will certainly get going and maybe will even have its influence on the traditional societies in the Middle East.

#### **Counter terrorism; a strategy of 'hearts and minds', isolation and neutralisation**

*R. de Wijk*

The debate on counter terrorism in the Netherlands is primarily a debate on social and economical deprivation of muslims, their failed integration into society and the nature of islam. There is little understanding of the root causes of extremism and of those factors contributing to radicalization. Effective policies, however, should be based on a basic understanding of both root causes and catalysts. Root causes lie outside the Netherlands. Hence Dutch policy makers can do very little to prevent terrorism in general. The policy option left is trying to manage the risks by taking away some of the catalysts, including marginalizing and stigmatizing of groups linked to extremism. Moreover, they should learn from the British approach, which aims at winning the hearts and minds of groups, while at the same time taking a strong stance against extremists.

#### **Facilitating the violent jihad**

*P. Mascini and M. Verhoeven*

Muslims who do not actively contribute to the violent jihad but who tacitly or openly sympathize with it are vital to the persistence of this kind of terrorism according to some terrorist fighters and scholars. We used interviews and public information in order to examine the accuracy of this claim. The analysis points out that sympathizers are indeed crucial to some preparative terrorist activities, yet not to other.

Muslim extremists depend less on sympathizers for making foreign journeys, generating revenues, and communication than they do for recruiting and sponsoring. This conclusion implies that receding of sympathy for the violent jihad will not automatically reduce it.

#### **Jihadist recruitment in Europe**

*M. van Leeuwen*

The author discusses jihadist recruitment in Europe. She addresses radical islam and the problems it may pose to democratic societies. She points at the role of 'professional' recruiters, peer pressure and autonomous recruitment (or spontaneous combustion). She explains the attraction of jihad to islamic youngsters and converts in European countries. Mosques, while still a prominent recruitment hot spot, may be losing some importance as such, as public and political awareness of the dangers of recruitment grow. Prisons are a potential hunting ground for recruiters as is the Internet. Internet is also important in the process of spontaneous combustion. As a rule, radicalisation precedes recruitment. Countering radicalisation for that reason (among others) is an important responsibility for the authorities and for Islamic opinion leaders. Unlike radicalisation, recruitment is a crime in The Netherlands as it is elsewhere in Europe. Security services, police and the public prosecutor have to cooperate efficiently and professionally in spotting, proving and prosecuting it.

#### **Drug trade and political violence**

*H.T. van der Veen*

Since the international terror attacks in New York, Washington and Madrid substantial coverage has been given to the relationship between these forms of political violence and the drug trade. Afghanistan and Morocco are hereby frequently impugned as the source of both evils. This article weighs the evidence that is brought forward as well as the relevance of a possible link between drugs and terrorism against insights generated in historical sociology as to how violence, politics and commerce come together in the drug economy. The goal is to unravel the relationship between the drug trade and political violence in such a way as to clarify the context, causality and motives by which such relationships are established and by which both might bolster each other. On the basis of the analysis of the relative anarchy that – under present conditions – characterises the drug trade, it is concluded that indeed this state of affairs offers a particular opportu-

nity for various kinds of violent entrepreneurs as well as for drug entrepreneurs to accumulate resources and to further political goals by violent means. Much of how the mutually enforcing dynamics between political violence and the drug trade will develop, this article argues, may depend on the capacity of the affected states and societies to perform some core regulatory functions towards the drug trade and so rein in the leverage of violent entrepreneurs.