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# Policy Paper 2/2009

Countering Jihadist Ideology by the EU:  
European War of Ideas against Radical Islam

—  
February 2009

## Countering Jihadist Ideology by the EU: European *War of Ideas* against Radical Islam

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**Jan Kužvart**



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## Acknowledgements

I give special thanks to **Eliška Prchlíková** from *Information Centre on NATO* for her great help with translation into English and final editing of this paper.

## Author's note

The first version of this paper was created for the *Robinson-Martin Security Scholars Program (RMSSP)* at *Prague Security Studies Institute (PSSI)* in 2008.



## Executive Summary & Recommendations

### Keywords

Jihad, terrorism, security, the European Union, Islam, cyberspace, media, ideology.

### Summary

**Policy paper “*Countering Jihadist Ideology by the EU*” suggests a partial change and extending of the existing EU’s strategy against terrorism and violent radicalisation which support this phenomenon. The emphasis is put on the media and cyberspace which are being systematically exploited by the terrorist entities.**

Since 11 September 2001 the world has experienced an increase in terrorist attacks. Terrorist attacks in Madrid and London further stimulated the European Union to analyse possibilities how to fight terrorism and how to prevent it. *The European Union Counter-Terrorism Strategy* was adopted in 2005. This document states that we must combat terrorism globally but on the other hand we have to respect human rights. Islamic radicals are behind a great number of terrorist attacks. As I am convinced that terrorism gains its attractivity and sympathizers on the basis of ideology, I decided to outline possible ways of how to fight jihadist ideology (I also use abbreviation JI), a form of Islamism, both inside the EU and beyond its borders. Due to its totalitarian nature, JI is a threat for the European democracy and security.

The most important space where the JI attracts people is the cyberspace and media. Therefore I suggest a strategy called *War of Ideas* which is focused predominantly on fighting JI in cyberspace and media inside the EU as well as beyond its borders. *War of Ideas* is an information-security strategy which aim is to weaken jihadist ideology by disproving its claims and by preventing its spreading in media and cyberspace. European minorities (e.g. Muslims) should also actively participate in implementing this strategy.

Important aspect of the implementation of the European strategy against *jihadist ideology* is our general attitude towards the threat of radical Islam. If we want to find solution for the evil scourge of terrorism, we must not slide towards short-sighted populist or nationalist solutions. In the same time, the EU should face JI with strong determination to defeat it bearing in mind that negotiations with jihadists are impossible.



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### Recommendations for the European Union<sup>1</sup>

- Cancel European secret “*common lexicon*”<sup>2</sup> and stop avoiding public debate about Islamism.
- Arrange enlightenment campaigns about terrorism and jihadism aimed predominantly at European Muslim communities and immigrants.
- Help moderate and liberal-minded Muslims publish their opinions about Islamism on internet (in Arabic, English/French).
- Establish training centres for imams and work on creation of European Islam which will give precedence to citizenship before strict application of Islamic doctrine of state and religion.
- In cooperation with islamologues, arabists and security services open international debates and forums to identify, clarify, and specify roots and causes of jihadi doctrines.
- Support development programmes for the training of Muslim civil society leadership.
- Provide funding and infrastructure to ‘progressive’ individuals, organisations and for communities of practitioners already dealing with radicalisation issues on the ground.
- Support programmes focused on training of Middle Eastern journalists aimed at functioning of media in civil society .
- Support university departments dealing with Islam and Arabic world.
- Use Islamologues and Arabists in fight against terrorism, in work with Muslim communities, in intercultural dialogue, and to help with the training of Middle Eastern journalists.

### Recommendations for the European Security Services

- Work on disruption of network of jihadist media and exchange information about them among European security services.
- Analyze and study jihadist releases.

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<sup>1</sup> For the complete list of recommendations see page 17 and following.

<sup>2</sup> For more information about lexicon see: Waterfield, Bruno: *Don't confuse terrorism with Islam, says EU*.



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## Introduction

“Almost all European countries have been touched by [Iraq] recruiting...’ including... Norway, Switzerland, Poland, Bulgaria, and the Czech Republic.”<sup>3</sup>

Terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 in the USA, 11 March 2004 in Madrid, and 7 July 2005 in London were crucial for development of measures in the European framework of fight against terrorism<sup>4</sup>. In December 2005 the Justice and Home Affairs Council adopted the *European Union Counter-Terrorism Strategy*. The EU’s Counter-Terrorism Strategy covers four strands of work, fitting under its strategic commitment “to combat terrorism globally while respecting human rights, and make Europe safer, allowing its citizens to live in an area of freedom, security and justice”<sup>5</sup>. These four strands of work are called: prevention, protection, pursuance and response.

The first pillar – prevention – contains prevention of “violent radicalisation”<sup>6</sup> which contribute to the growth of terrorist<sup>7</sup> activities in the EU. The European Commission contributed to the formulation of the Strategy through a communication it adopted on the subject on 21 September 2005 entitled *Terrorist recruitment: addressing the factors contributing to violent radicalisation*. This document focused on the protection of the European citizens and mainly youth against violent radicalisation which can lead to terrorist acts. This protection concentrates on “broadcast media, the internet, education, youth engagement, employment, social exclusion and integration issues, equal opportunities and non-discrimination and inter-cultural dialogue”<sup>8</sup>. Its purpose is to protect its target groups before the causes of violent radicalisation and to provide incentives for active participation in society.

Here I am coming to the theme of our policy paper. Terrorism is not caused by violent radicalisation only on the basis of situation in certain community or motivation of individual. Terrorism gains its dynamics, attractivity, legitimacy, and mobilization effect first and foremost on the basis of ideology. Islam is not a homogenous religion but *Islamists*<sup>9</sup> share a certain conception of violent *jihad* which is spread through terrorism as its instrument and *jihadist ideology*<sup>10</sup> as intellectual platform.

It is not possible to effectively face jihadist ideology only by offering other values and life options. It is necessary to disprove and rebut it. This policy paper therefore focuses on EU’s

<sup>3</sup> Says a chief terrorism investigator in Milan, Armando Spataro. In: *Europe’s Angry Muslims*. [www.foreignaffairs.org/20050701faessay84409-p30/robert-s-leiken/europe-s-angry-muslims.html](http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20050701faessay84409-p30/robert-s-leiken/europe-s-angry-muslims.html)

<sup>4</sup> For the definition of terrorism see page 23.

<sup>5</sup> *The European Union Counter-Terrorism Strategy*.

<http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/05/st14/st14469-re04.en05.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> For the definition of violent radicalisation see page 23.

<sup>7</sup> When I use term terrorism, I am always talking about terrorism perpetrated by Islamists/jihadists.

<sup>8</sup> *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council concerning Terrorist recruitment: addressing the factors contributing to violent radicalisation*, page 3.

<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2005:0313:FIN:EN:PDF>

<sup>9</sup> For definition of term *islamists* see page 21.

<sup>10</sup> For term *jihadist ideology* see page 8.



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fight against jihadist ideology, on change and extension of the EU's policy towards radical Islam and its rhetorics and terrorism which spreads out of it. The strategy which I suggest and call *War of Ideas* does not refer only to the European Union and its member states' territories. Nowadays media and cyberspace are the most important battlefields for Islamic terrorism. They are the places where information is created and communicated. The second most important space are the communities themselves, but even though some of our recommendations concern this sphere as well, the theme of Muslim communities is not directly involved in our policy paper. Neither is it focused on problems of integration or assimilation of Muslims and/or refugees.

The aim of the policy paper is to suggest measures which will prevent spreading of jihadist ideology. Other aims are to create not only European capabilities which will effectively disprove jihadist ideology - mainly before those, who can become its victims. Last but not least I suggest creation of sane *information environment*<sup>11</sup> both inside and outside the EU's territory, so that spreading of jihadist ideology becomes more difficult and less effective.

In the first chapter called "*Growing Threat of Jihadist Ideology*" is a description of the jihadist ideology and its relation to democracy and media. In the chapter entitled "*How not to react to Jihadist Ideology*" are four general predominantly value-driven policy options which can determinate EU's stance towards jihadists and their ideology. The third chapter "*European Strategy against Jihadist Ideology*" is concise description of the proposed strategy *War of Ideas*. This chapter is followed by the enumeration of "*Concrete Recommendations*" which should be undertaken in order to implement strategy *War of Ideas*.

For the creation of this policy paper I used information from the official documents of the EU and the Council of Europe dealing with problems of terrorism and related topics. I also used literature of some European and American think-tanks and personally find out attitudes to problems of terrorism, media and Islam from experts like Reuel Marc Gerecht<sup>12</sup>, Walid Phares<sup>13</sup>, Daniel Kimmage<sup>14</sup> and Jack G. Shaheen<sup>15</sup>. I also personally met journalists from Iraq and Lebanon and monitored some Czech internet pages which tend to Islamophobia or vice versa to Islamism.

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<sup>11</sup> For definition of *information environment* see page 21.

<sup>12</sup> Reuel Marc Gerecht is a former Middle East specialist at the CIA's directorate of operations, now resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. - [www.aei.org/scholars/scholarID.19/scholar.asp](http://www.aei.org/scholars/scholarID.19/scholar.asp)

<sup>13</sup> Professor Walid Phares is a Senior Fellow and the director for Future Terrorism Project at the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies in Washington. He is also a Visiting Fellow with the European Foundation for Democracies in Brussels. [www.walidphares.com](http://www.walidphares.com)

<sup>14</sup> Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty senior analyst

<sup>15</sup> Dr. Jack G. Shaheen, author and media critic - [www.reelbadarabs.com/drjack.html](http://www.reelbadarabs.com/drjack.html)



## Growing Threat of Jihadist Ideology

### What is Jihadist Ideology

Jihadist ideology is a form of Islamism. It is a totalitarian ideology incompatible with democracy. Intellectual structure of jihadist ideology is polycentric not homogenous.<sup>16</sup> Due to the prevalent character of our society, jihadist ideology is spreading mainly via internet and media<sup>17</sup>. Europe is threatened predominantly by the salafist form of jihadist ideology.

*“The complex ideology of the Salafi jihadist movement could be defined in simple terms in this way: It is a movement that wants to return the Muslim world to the times of its early conquests and move forward from there. This movement wants to bring back Muslim society to a strict application of Sharia laws, despite all the intervening evolution accomplished by Muslims through history. Finally, it is a movement that wants to resume fatah and conquests despite all norms of international relations and laws. The Salafi current rejects any laws higher than its own, any institution above the caliphate, and any authority beyond the one of the clerics. The Salafi ideology, called al Aqida al Islamiya al salafiya (the Islamic Salafi doctrine), is grounded in the works of many clerics, chronicles, imams, and a panoply of leaders.”<sup>18</sup>*

### Jihadist ideology has three fundamental goals:

- **Tahrīru** (liberation) – Jihadists want to liberate all Muslim lands from non-Muslim powers. “Muslim lands consist of all lands that were conquered by the legitimate caliphate or surrendered to it, or whose population had at some time submitted to the caliphate.”<sup>19</sup>
- **Tawhīdu** (unification) – “After the land is liberated, or while the process is taking place, all Muslim countries must be reunified within common borders.”<sup>20</sup>
- **Chilāfatu** (the caliphate) – “Once the land is freed from infidels and unified, the most important task is to reestablish the caliphate.”<sup>21</sup> The term caliphate here means the caliphate in its early form following after the death of prophet Muhammad.

<sup>16</sup> See appendix “Ideological Influence Map”, page 24.

<sup>17</sup> See appendix “Number of Disseminated Jihadi Movement Communiqués 1996-2005”, page 25.

<sup>18</sup> Phares, Walid: *Future Jihad*, page 59.

<sup>19</sup> Phares, Walid: *Future Jihad*, page 60.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.



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### Its ideological tools contain for example:

- **Takfīru** (excommunication from the faith) of Muslim leaders for failing to rule by *šarī'atu*, and, for some including the generality of Muslims, for complicity or failure to believe and practice a form of Islam acceptable to extremists.
- **The world as an abode of war (*Dāru 'l-Ḥarbi*)**; the Muslim and non-Muslim worlds are assumed to be in a state of war until the rule of *šarī'atu* is established. This means all rules for Muslim conduct can be suspended.
- **The principle of non-discrimination between civilian and military targets**; Civilians are seen as culpable, e.g. by voting and paying taxes to the state, or seen as collateral damage.

### Practical application of jihadist ideology in their struggle result in (e.g.):

- **Suicide bombing**; justified as a part of asymmetric warfare and the weak position of Muslims. As suicide is a sin in Islam, suicide bombing is recast as self-martyrdom and sacrifice for the cause.
- **The killing of other Muslims**; is justified on the grounds that they are either complicit through voting / paying taxes to Western or apostate Muslim governments, that they oppose the establishment of an Islamic state, or that they are collateral damage and, as Muslims, martyrs to the cause. Dependent on the school of Islam they may also be regarded as heretic.

## Why the EU Must Face Jihadist Ideology

### The EU must face the Jihadist ideology, because JI e.g.:

- supports violent radicalisation and terrorism
- destroys civil society, pluralism and democratic system
- tries to prevent integration of Muslims and other immigrants into European society
- is against gender equality
- supports criminality by imparting false legitimacy to it
- is used for terrorist recruitment

## Jihadist Ideology and Western Media

Spread of jihadist ideology in Western media is based on misuse of their functioning. Open society makes it further easier – unlike in the Middle Eastern regimes. Jihadist ideology is spread predominantly by internet: “*For the first time in history, cyberspace allows for there to be direct communication between a terrorist and his “public.” Terrorists control their messages well, always saying exactly what they want to say and when they want to say it.*”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Soriano, Manuel R. Torres: *Terrorism and the Mass Media after Al Qaeda: A Change of Course?* [www.athenaintelligence.org/Al\\_Qaeda\\_and\\_the\\_Mass\\_Media-\\_Athena.pdf](http://www.athenaintelligence.org/Al_Qaeda_and_the_Mass_Media-_Athena.pdf), page 16.



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### Western media obtain jihadist ideology in three ways:

- as a part of message in **terrorist attacks** (for instance choice of aims and tools)
- from cyberspace – e.g. media products prepared by jihadist media, videos from Youtube which celebrates terrorists or information from radical Muslims, from Muslim internet forums or webpages
- directly from media product created by **jihadist media**

### Why Western media obtain and further spread jihadist ideology:

- **Terrorist attacks** gain media coverage because of their **dramatic character** and **spectacularity**, which ensures their **attractiveness** and so promises to boost audience.
- **Effort to inform society** and **desire to be the first one** also play part in considering reporting about terrorist attacks. Important is also awareness that if I do not report, someone else will – either other professional medium or whoever on internet, and very often with full carnage, which official media often cannot afford to broadcast.
- **Cyberspace** is used for example for **easy acquisition** of material about already accomplished terrorist attack or for boosting attractiveness of war coverage by adding “*opinions*” of the other side; gained materials can be published on the internet by supporters of given movement or directly by that movement through its own jihadist medium
- **Jihadist media** are being established in order to achieve the highest possible level of professionalism. They product for example record of terrorist attack supplemented with their own propaganda and additional material (e.g. how to prepare attack). Western media like to use their **visual attractiveness** to attract audience.<sup>23</sup>

### Jihadist<sup>24</sup> and Middle Eastern Media

Jihadist media are an established media production or distribution entity. While jihadist forums make available a wide array of materials that express support for *al-Qā'idatu* and affiliated movements, jihadist media post media products predominantly through internet with a clearly stated affiliation to a known armed group.<sup>25</sup>

The Middle Eastern regimes with their censorship and underdeveloped education system create information underpressure which is ideal for development of illegal alternative

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<sup>23</sup> For *al-Qā'idatu* strategy via official media see: *Terrorism and the Mass Media after Al Qaeda: A Change of Course?* www.athenaintelligence.org/Al\_Qaeda\_and\_the\_Mass\_Media-\_Athena.pdf, p. 15.

<sup>24</sup> For jihadist media types and relations see appendix “*Full Al-Qaeda Media Nexus (July 2007)*”, page 26.

<sup>25</sup> For more information about jihadist media and relation between media and terrorism see: *The Al-Qaeda Media Nexus*, page 3 or *Studies into violent radicalisation*, pages 49-60.

[http://ec.europa.eu/justice\\_home/fsj/terrorism/prevention/docs/ec\\_radicalisation\\_study\\_on\\_ideology\\_and\\_narrative\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/terrorism/prevention/docs/ec_radicalisation_study_on_ideology_and_narrative_en.pdf) or *Terrorism and the Mass Media after Al Qaeda: A Change of Course?*



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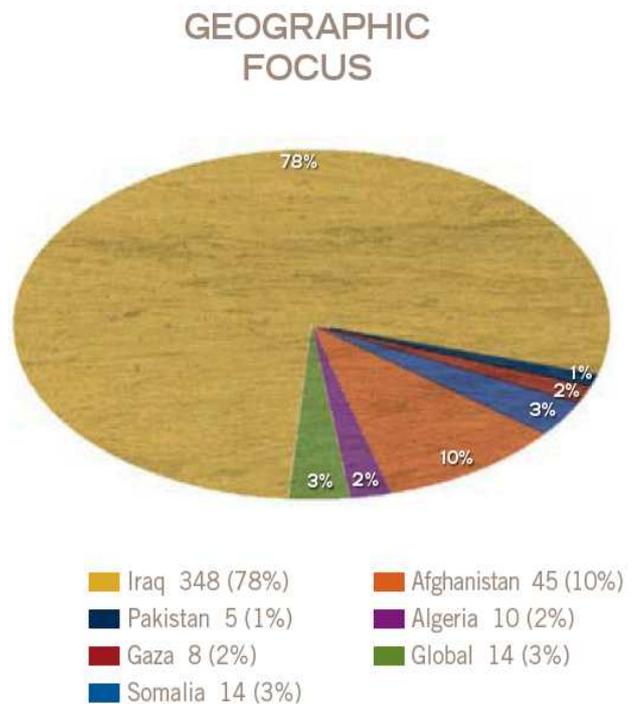
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information resources. Terrorists are aware of this fact and try to offer answers for banned topics and react on discontent in the Middle Eastern societies.

In countries like Lebanon, Iraq or Afghanistan freedom of speech is also restricted and independent journalists are in danger. There is no Middle Eastern country with full freedom of press and speech. In a sharp contrast is a production of jihadist media focused on these countries. Jihadists in Lebanon have even their own television channel *al-Manāru*, which is banned in the EU.<sup>26</sup> Important element for the success of jihadist message is also low quality of erudition and knowledge in population.

Chart on the right shows the geographic focus of jihadist media products that appeared in July 2007. Lebanon is not included. You can see that Iraq is the overwhelming focus of attention. We see that 78 % of jihadist media products with a readily identifiable geographic focus (348 out of a total of approximately 446 items) concentrated on Iraq.

It is easy to derive from this chart how important the development of quality and independent media in the Middle East is. Quality media will take audience and support away from the jihadist media, which contribute to *violent radicalisation* also in Europe.



source: Daniel Kimmage: *The Al-Qaeda Media Nexus*, p. 18. [http://docs.rferl.org/en-US/AQ\\_Media\\_Nexus.pdf](http://docs.rferl.org/en-US/AQ_Media_Nexus.pdf)

<sup>26</sup> Television *al-Manāru* is managed by *Hizbu 'llāhi*. So, they are *shī'a* jihadists who are (in sharp contrast to the sunni movements like *al-Qā'idatu*) subordinated to strict command from Iran. Moreover, *Hizbu 'llāhi* is trying to islamize only Lebanon.



## How (Not) to React to Jihadist Ideology

Here we briefly present general approaches towards Islamism, terrorism and other related topics (e.g. immigration) which are presented in the EU. We strongly recommend approach “*Willingness to Diversity and Tradition*” relating to the strategy *War of ideas*.

### Tilt Ears

When the problem is so immense that I cannot or do not want to dedicate effort and sources to its solution, I put it on an edge of my interests or simply deny it. In fact, I gave up in advance and I will probably pay for my inaction in future. An example of this approach is the EU’s effort not to connect Islam with terrorism<sup>27</sup>. The EU is focusing on “*Islamophobia*” instead of discussing problem of Islamism. - The effort of the EU is here mistakenly focused on the result not on the cause of Islamic terrorism.

### Return to *Blut und Boden*

Second possible approach is “*solution*” of the problem via its elimination. European public is still not able to understand either the complexity of Islam or problems of integration and fight against terrorism and therefore begins to simplify problem to an understandable level (e.g. Muslim=terrorist). Radical rightists take advantage of it and by xenophobic attitudes and straightforward solutions make the situation even more radical. The outcome is effort to broadly reduce immigration and strengthen national identities, not multiculturalism. Consequences of this approach would be for example lack of people in working age (because of ageing of European population) and so weakened economic power of the EU. The EU would also lose an opportunity for mutual cultural and religious enrichment with the Middle East.

### *Laissez Faire*

The third approach is not to solve the problem from the governmental level, because of conviction that already existing tools (civil society, free market, democracy...) are sufficient to overcome problems with integration, assimilation and radicalisation of European Muslims. It cannot work because civil society is not omnipotent and only state (and partly the EU) is capable to fight against terrorism and provide funds and coordination for successful policies concerning above mentioned problems. The greater extent of freedom and rights, the greater need of sophisticated solutions and mutual cooperation and coordination.

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<sup>27</sup> See Waterfield, Bruno: *Don't confuse terrorism with Islam, says EU*.

[www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1547133/Don%27t-confuse-terrorism-with-Islam%2C-says-EU.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1547133/Don%27t-confuse-terrorism-with-Islam%2C-says-EU.html)



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### Willingness to Diversity and Preserving Traditions

Europe has to preserve its cultural diversity and traditions, although political correctness which we maintained particularly in Western Europe, forces us to avoid topics, which are controversial and could harm someone (e.g. reconquista). This “*correct approach*” again makes an effort to reconciliation or agreement when confronted with jihadist ideology and its supporters. The EU has to realise that an agreement with jihadists is impossible and the price of action (financial, political and security) is still lower than the price of gradual loss of own identity, freedom and values, which jihadist ideology and radicalisation of European public against Islam endanger.

## European Strategy Against J. I.

Our suggested strategy *War of Ideas* is part of a general approach described in chapter “*Willingness to Diversity and Preserving Traditions*”.

### What is *War of Ideas*

It is an information-security strategy which aim is to weaken jihadist ideology by disproving it via information campaign and to prevent its dissemination in media and cyberspace by blocking and/or destroying its platforms. It is not only defensive strategy and exceeds the first pillar of the *European Counter-Terrorism Strategy*, which is prevention.

### Why It Is Necessary to Face Jihadist Ideology through *War of ideas*

#### Because:

- The most effective suppression of ideology lies in offering positive values<sup>28</sup> and contra-argumentation.
- Jihadist ideology is not a simple ideological concept, it is a well-developed ideology which was being created for more than a century. Like every ideology it tries to give (especially to the youth) a comprehensible (though distorted) explanation of the world and role of an individual in it.
- The saner a society is (e.g. in an information and educational sense), the lower chance jihadist ideology has.

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<sup>28</sup> For example inter-cultural exchanges among youth, see: *Preventing violent radicalisation*.  
[http://ec.europa.eu/justice\\_home/fsj/terrorism/prevention/fsj\\_terrorism\\_prevention\\_prevent\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/terrorism/prevention/fsj_terrorism_prevention_prevent_en.htm)

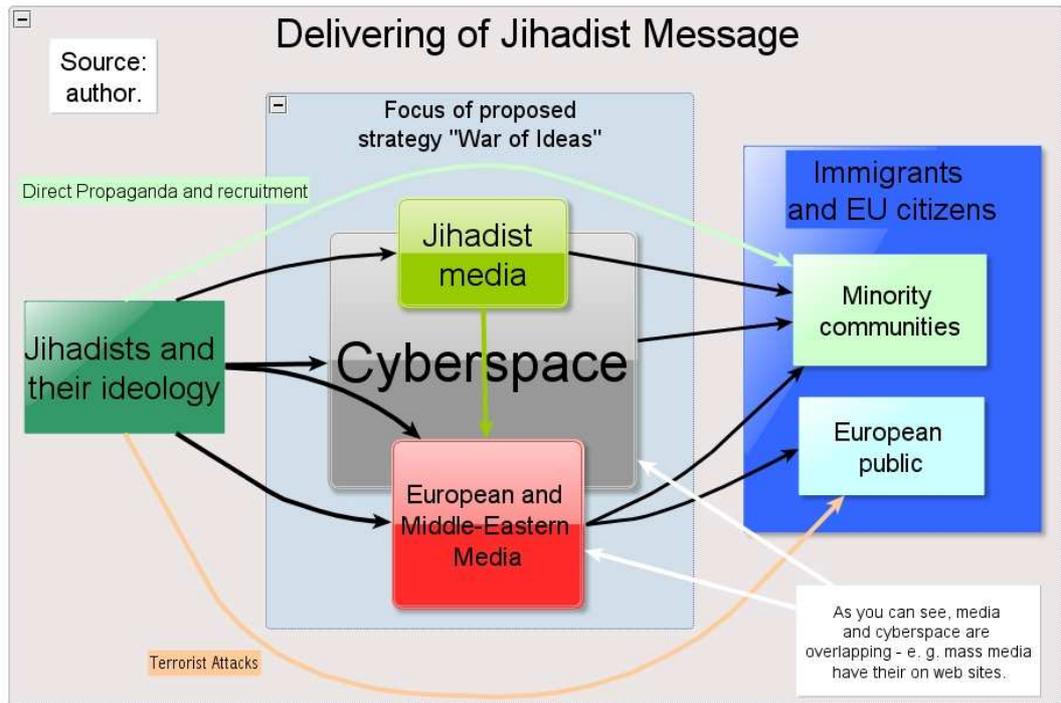


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The threat to which strategy *War of Ideas* has to react, is jihadist ideology and its spreading. The way by which jihadist ideology is spread shows the following chart:



### Structure of the Strategy *War of Ideas*

The EU should approach problems of Islam and related topics:

- **Actively** – means speaking openly about the problem and a priori do not avoid connecting Islam with Islamism or Islamism with terrorism, because restriction of public debate helps radicals on both sides – European rightists and jihadists as well.
- **Proudly** – do not feel ashamed for being Europeans with our histories (reconquista, crusades...) and foreign policy. - Do not consider European support for Israel, European colonial past or Christian-Jewish roots of modern Europe as an insuperable obstacle in dialogue with Muslims.
- **Rationally** – realise that current EU's policy deals insufficiently with the threat of JI and related topics and thus only postpones its outbreak in future in greater extent.

Strategy *War of Ideas* should consist of four pillars: public awareness, dialogue, sane information environment and measures relating to information security. We should bear in mind three above mentioned rules while applying them.



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### 1.) Public Awareness

Improving awareness of the European public about problems of Islam, Islamism, terrorism, immigration, integration, assimilation, violent radicalisation and jihadist ideology. Center of this pillar is conviction that unawareness of these topics among public leads to fear and fear leads to hatred and creation of simplified schemes such as Muslim=terrorist which makes the situation even more complicated.

**Desired Effect:** Lower propensity of European society towards radicalisation and xenophobia against immigrants and European Muslims. Via informing public enable a debate among citizens about desirable improvements.

### 2.) Dialogue

Create public space for wide discussion about Islam, jihadist ideology and terrorism. This discussion should be focused mainly on immigrants and Muslim communities and should be conducted first and foremost inside these communities with participation of all sides of the debate (e.g. not only radicals who are heard the most). The debate should be conducted also via internet in order to let it open for incentives from other communities. For greater impact at least part of the discussion's outcomes should be published in 2 or 3 language mutations.

**Desired Effect:** Push out radicals in communities to an edge of political spectrum and by stimulation of the debate about European Islam prevent Islamists to be the only ones who have minimal problems with ideological agitation in communities.

### 3.) Sane Information Environment

It is about quality news coverage of terrorist attacks or about support for development of independent Middle Eastern media (as competitor to jihadist media) or about support for European academics dealing with Islam and their publication activities.

**Desired effect:** Creation of information environment which will not support spreading of JI.

### 4.) Measures relating to information security

Information security means protecting information and information systems from unauthorized access, use, disclosure, disruption, modification, or destruction. *War of Ideas* uses this term inside out: it calls for implementation of measures concerning mainly internet which will lead exactly to disclosure, disruption, modification, or destruction of jihadists files on the web. Moreover it calls for using founded jihadists files against their authors.

**Generally it has 3 "frontlines":**

- **Do not let jihadist message in:** Set the system (e.g. satellite broadcasting in the EU) in such a way that jihadist message cannot get in (in accordance with this TV *al-Manāru* managed by *Hizbu 'llāhi* was banned in the EU).
- **If it is in, eliminate it:** When the message enters the system, suppress it (e. g. via destroying of the webpages, revoking broadcasting licences...).



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- **Disprove what is left:** by published counter-argumentation. Published alternative has to be more visible (e.g. via enlightenment campaign) and more attractive (i. e. elaborated in a more professional way).

**Desired effect:** Make publication of jihadist message via internet, jihadist media or official media impossible or at least much more difficult.

### Few Remarks about Implementation of the Strategy *War of Ideas*

Strategy *War of Ideas* is focused on European decision makers but it is necessary to bear in mind that the EU should only give finances and suggest and coordinate individual measures and policies. *War of Ideas* itself should be based on people from the communities, journalists from Middle Eastern media and on European academics dealing with Islam and Arabian world. The EU should not look for solutions instead of them, but should motivate them to find their own solutions and help them by removing obstacles they might be confronted with in doing their job.

The European Union also should not expect that Muslims will be like we are. We have to refrain from national dogmatism which for example says that Muslim living in Germany is not German because he/she does not celebrate Oktoberfest. Muslims will differ from native Europeans as well as future Middle Eastern democracies will differ from Western democracies. By Reuel Gerecht's words: "*Islamic democracy is a real thing and it will grow.*"<sup>29</sup>

Differences between Muslim identity and old European national identities as well as burden of our traditions and histories (unlike "young" USA) make integration or assimilation very difficult. Islam which in principle takes a stand above any state secular authority plays here a great role on the Muslim side. Creation of **European Islam** which will give precedence to citizenship before strict application of Islamic doctrine of state and religion is necessary if we want integration of Muslims and other immigrants into Europe. This European Islam will put rules of democratic coexistence higher than its norms preserved for centuries. Only **common European identity**, which is slowly rising, will **enable the integration of different cultures** such as Muslim and Arabic.

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<sup>29</sup> Said Reuel Gerecht during lecture in the PSSI called "*US Foreign Policy in the Middle East*", 9 April 2008.



## Concrete Recommendations

Here are the measures necessary for implementation of the strategy *War of Ideas*.

### For the European Union<sup>30</sup>

#### European Union

- **Cancel European secret “common lexicon”<sup>31</sup> and stop avoiding public debate about Islamism.**
- **Arrange enlightenment campaign about terrorism and jihadism** which would show to potential recruits where jihadism can lead (suffering of innocent victims – here put emphasis in particular on Muslims) and what happens when Jihadists come to power. The campaign should be realistic and if possible it should contain personal confessions of those Muslims who reject JI. Reserve also “...appropriate space [in public media] for educators who can provide material and research on terrorism and Jihadism, nad for dissident voices from the Muslim world (...) who can testify to the persecution, oppression, and radicalization taking place at the hands of the jihadists, as well as to the necessity of enabling civil societies to acquire democratic institutions, rights, and processes.”<sup>32</sup> A part of campaign could also be “...a movie in which the setting is the Middle East governed by the Jihadi caliphate.”<sup>33</sup>
- **Establish training centres for imams and work on creation of European Islam.**
- In cooperation with islamologues, arabists and security services “**open national and international debates and forums (including legislators and intellectuals) to identify, clarify, and specify the terrorist roots of (...) jihadi doctrines.**”<sup>34</sup>

#### Muslim communities

- **Help** (technically and financially) **moderate**, liberal, mainstream and anti-islamist elements in local communities **to publish their opinions about Islamism**, terrorism and integration. Materials should be published on the internet in Arabic and English or French language mutations. Their content should be controlled by security services and Islamological experts. Authors should have possibility to publish anonymously (because of security reasons) but their identity should be known to the security services.

<sup>30</sup> It seems that the EU’s activity relating to the internet security is sufficient. Proof is for example European *Safer Internet Programme 2005-2008* či *The Safer Internet programme 2009-2013*.

<sup>31</sup> For more information about lexicon see: Waterfield, Bruno: *Don’t confuse terrorism with Islam, says EU*.

<sup>32</sup> Phares, Walid: *The War of Ideas*, page 250.

<sup>33</sup> Brachman, Jarret – Felter, Joseph – McCants, William: *Militant Ideology Atlas - Executive Report*, page 11.

<sup>34</sup> Phares, Walid: *The War of Ideas*, page 250.



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- *“Provide funding and infrastructure to ‘progressive’ individuals, organisations and for communities of practitioners **already dealing with radicalisation issues on the ground...**”<sup>35</sup> and support propagation of their achievements in the European public.*
- *“Support development programmes for the training of Muslim civil society leadership potential to create an ideologically and theologically literate leadership and counter weight within community settings. This should particularly include women and young people..”<sup>36</sup>*

### European media

The Council of Europe has also extensively dealt with the problems of relationship between media and terrorism. I enclose its most important recommendations in an attachment “*Media and Terrorism: Recommendations for Media Professionals and Governments*” on page 27.

### Middle-Eastern Media

- **Support** NGOs programmes (both European and Middle Eastern) which would be focused on **training** and improvement of equipment of **Middle Eastern journalists**, especially in those countries, where jihadist media are most represented.
- In a framework of the above mentioned programmes **support** involvement of European media and NGOs to hand over their experience with **functioning of media in civil society**. Special emphasis should be put on journalists from countries which have experience with transition to democracy such as the Czech Republic<sup>37</sup>.

### European Academic Sphere

- **Support university departments dealing with Islam and Arabic world** and publication activities of their students and graduates in order to offer information about Islam and show in which ways the jihadist ideology differs from major Islam or how to face jihadist ideology in Arabic society.
- **Use Islamologues and Arabists in fight against terrorism**, in work with Muslim communities, in intercultural dialogue or to help with the training of Middle Eastern journalists.

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<sup>35</sup> *Studies into violent radicalisation*, page 6.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> For example the Czech NGO People in Need organized in cooperation with the Czech government training course for Iraqi journalists in Amman in 2005. [www.pinf.cz/index2.php?id=294&idArt=87](http://www.pinf.cz/index2.php?id=294&idArt=87)



### For the European Security services

- **Work on disruption of network of jihadist media and exchange information about them among European security services.**
- **Analyze and study jihadist releases** and take important information from them, for example (by the words of one jihadist): *“To what extent has [jihadist] media work developed, and is it possible to learn the identity of an individual through a style that recurs in more than one product? What is the nature of the message that a product is sending to the masses, the extent of incitement, changes in rhetorical style, and to what extent do Muslims rely on news of the mujahidin (...) and is there an effect from Western stations and Arab hypocrite stations?”*<sup>38</sup>

## Conclusion

Not only Europe but also Islam faces problem with deep roots. - Jihadist ideology and Islamism are not new phenomena. Islamism did not begin by deposing of shah in Iran, by war against the USSR in Afghanistan and did not culminated on 9/11 2001. Jihadist ideology presents the top of Islamism nowadays. Islamism creates its ideological background since Middle Ages and it is a very complicated intellectual world as well as the whole universe of Muslim thinking.

Europe has got used to being so politically correct that it lost possibility to profit from confrontation of Western European secularism with Islam. The majority of Islamic world is in a state of superficial stagnation which is artificially maintained by Middle Eastern regimes. In reality Islam is in a deep internal conflict. In state of *fitnatu* (means separation, disagreement among Muslims) when Muslims kill one another in fratricidal wars in Iraq, Afghanistan or elsewhere, Islam tries to cope with modernness by turning back to times of its fame after all liberal, national and socialistic ideological attempts failed.

Immigrants from underdeveloped Muslim countries come to Europe which is not able to enrich them sufficiently by its wealth and cultural heritage. Nor it is able to cause democratic change in countries of their origin at all – either via immigrants themselves or via European foreign policy.

Nowadays Europe tries to avoid potential conflicts - for instance in some parts of the United Kingdom the Christian character of Christmas is being removed. Paradoxically some Muslims are against such an approach because it deprives Europe of religious values. In the same time the lack of political will to solve emerging problems of Islamism in the EU leads to publication of lexicon which only contributes to neutrality of European policy. If the EU's attitude towards Islam does not change, Islamists will be strengthened and on the other side the European public will radicalise as well. Moreover, the individuals from Muslim and immigrant communities who do not agree with jihadism and Islamism will also be on the

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<sup>38</sup> Daniel Kimmage: *The Al-Qaeda Media Nexus*, page 5. [http://docs.rferl.org/en-US/AQ\\_Media\\_Nexus.pdf](http://docs.rferl.org/en-US/AQ_Media_Nexus.pdf)



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edge of social and political spectrum because their opinions do not get as large public space in Europe as dialogue with Islamists.

By Abdalwahhab Meddeb's words: *"In Islam, both sides exist: those who want conversion by the sword and want to kill all non-believers, and those who call for an end to coercion as part of religion. What is worrying is that in spite of this split, the violent side is the only one present in the media and in the self-image of Muslims."*<sup>39</sup> – This message expresses one of the most important aspects of our *War of Ideas*. Meddeb also adds: *"What Europe must do – above all the Germans and the French – is to face Islam with solid convictions and to make clear to the Arab states what a danger the fundamentalists pose to the world."*<sup>40</sup>

If the EU's attitude does not change, the situation in the future will develop in such a way that former Islamophobia will prevail in the EU and populist solutions of Muslim and immigrant problems will destroy a unique opportunity to mutual enrichment of two cultures which has not happened in all-European scale so far. The EU will not be able to help the immigrants inside its borders or even itself in order to protect pluralism of cultures and nations which is forming the whole EU project. We should not forget that the shared values are a key for creation of common European identity – with no collective values, there is no strength. The EU will either „*Europenize*“ Islam or Islam will „*Islamize*“ the EU.

*"There are no shortcuts to any place worth going."* - Beverly Sills

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<sup>39</sup> [www.signandsight.com/features/978.html](http://www.signandsight.com/features/978.html)

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.



## Glossary of Terms

### Information Environment

The aggregate of individuals, organizations, or systems that collect, process, or disseminate information; also included is the information itself.<sup>41</sup>

### Information Security

Information security means protecting information and information systems from unauthorized access, use, disclosure, disruption, modification, or destruction.<sup>42</sup>

### Islamists

Radical Muslims who are capable and willing to undergo *jihad* against other Muslims.

### Jihadists

Jihadist (*al-ġihādīju*) is the term chosen by all those who believe that the concept of jihad is historically legitimate and that they are pursuing the orders of Allah in following this call for mobilization. Jihadists are both global and local and their perception of strategy (oscillating on an attack-temporization scale) differs. They consider themselves true Muslims and are led by Jihadist Ideology.

There is no universally accepted definition. Daniel Kimmage uses term jihadist “...*neutrally to refer to armed groups that describe themselves as fighting a violent ‘jihad’ against all perceived enemies.*”<sup>43</sup> I understand this term in its wider meaning and involve into it all those who identify themselves with Jihadist Ideology as described in the chapter “*What Is Jihadist Ideology*”.

### Jihad<sup>44</sup> (*ġihād*)

Following explanation includes only basic information about this Islamic theological and legal term. It is necessary to say that the role of jihad differs between the Sunnis and Shiites as well as among Islamic sects or law schools.

Both theological and legal explanation of jihad expects spending effort in individual and collective sense and with all possible means which are chosen according to existing conditions. Ideal which should be the highest aim of Islamic community (and actually of the whole mankind) is God’s reign (*hukmu’llāhi*). This ideal state should be reached in a process

<sup>41</sup> Definition taken from: [www.thefreedictionary.com/information+environment](http://www.thefreedictionary.com/information+environment)

<sup>42</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Information\\_security](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Information_security)

<sup>43</sup> *The Al-Qaeda Media Nexus*, page 2. [http://docs.rferl.org/en-US/AQ\\_Media\\_Nexus.pdf](http://docs.rferl.org/en-US/AQ_Media_Nexus.pdf)

<sup>44</sup> For more information see: Miloš Mendel: *Džihád*, page 24-27.



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of universal jihad, during which both peaceful and violent means can be used as well as combination of all available and effective methods – starting with deepening of own devoutness, missionary work and ending with war. Jihad in its broadest meaning is a synonym for Islamic way of life, for good behaviour personified in personal example of the prophet Muhammad.

Law experts (*‘ulamā’u*) recognise four levels in which believers can participate in jihad:

1. Jihad by Heart (*al-ġihādu bi’l-qalbi*) – concerns constant deepening of personal devoutness, fighting down sin and temptation to which a Muslim is continuously exposed by God.
2. Jihad by Tongue (*al-ġihādu bi’l-lisāni*) – concerns supporting and spreading of the Truth by missionary work and pointing out wickedness.
3. Jihad by Hand (*al-ġihādu bi’l-jadi*) – consists of meritable work and charity.
4. Jihad by Sword (*al-ġihādu bi’s-sajfi*) – in a sense of promoting Islam by different ways of violence; either by repression against infidels in the field of Islam, by waging war in the name of Islamization, by fight against instigators of internal decline or – and maybe foremost – by defense against external enemy.

As far as the Koran is concerned, the God calls the eternal fight between believer and temptation “*The Greatest Jihad*” (*al-ġihādu ‘l-akbaru*), while all the other forms are only “*The Smallest Jihad*” (*al-ġihādu ‘l-aṣgharu*).

For the Sunnis both offensive and defensive jihad is a collective duty, offensive jihad is not possible for the Shiites (because they are waiting for arrival of a Hidden Imam) and defensive jihad is for them a duty of every individual.

For members of Islamic sect Khajirites (*chawāriġi*) and members of Sunni *maḏhabu* (school of religious law) *Hanbalī* is jihad the sixth pillar of faith (after *aš-šahādatu*, *ṣalātu*, *zakātu*, *ṣawmu* and *ḥaġġu*). Islamism follows up with the legacy of *Hanbalī maḏhab* to a large extent.

### Salafists

The Salafists (*salafījūna*) are the members of *salafī* (“predecessors” or “early generations”) which is a Sunni Islamic movement that takes the pious ancestors (*Salaf*) of the patristic period of early Islam as exemplary models. They are often connected with wahhabism, however these two terms are not the same. Not every Jihadist is Salafist. Truthfulness of statement “*not every Salafist is Jihadist*” depends on definitions of both terms, which are not still universally accepted.



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## Terrorism

For the purpose of this policy paper we use the Council Framework Decision 2002/475/JHA of 13 June 2002 Article 1<sup>45</sup> which defines terrorism as specified acts which: “*given their nature or context, may seriously damage a country or an international organisation where committed with the aim of seriously intimidating a population, or unduly compelling a Government or international organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act, or seriously destabilising or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organisation.*”

## Violent Radicalisation<sup>46</sup>

“*Violent radicalisation*” is the phenomenon of people embracing opinions, views and ideas which could lead to acts of terrorism as defined in Article 1 of the *Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism 2002/475/JHA* of 13 June 2002.

## Translator’s Note

Arabic words in this paper have been transliterated according to a system that allows those who know the Arabic alphabet to reconstruct original spelling and writing. Those who do not know Arabic will not miss much if they simply ignore the dots and bars of the transliteration and pronounce the words as if they were in English.

Where a word has a standard English form (like *jihad*), it has been used.

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<sup>45</sup> See: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2002:164:0003:0007:EN:PDF>

<sup>46</sup> Definition taken from: *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council concerning Terrorist recruitment: addressing the factors contributing to violent radicalisation*. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2005:0313:FIN:EN:PDF>, page 2.

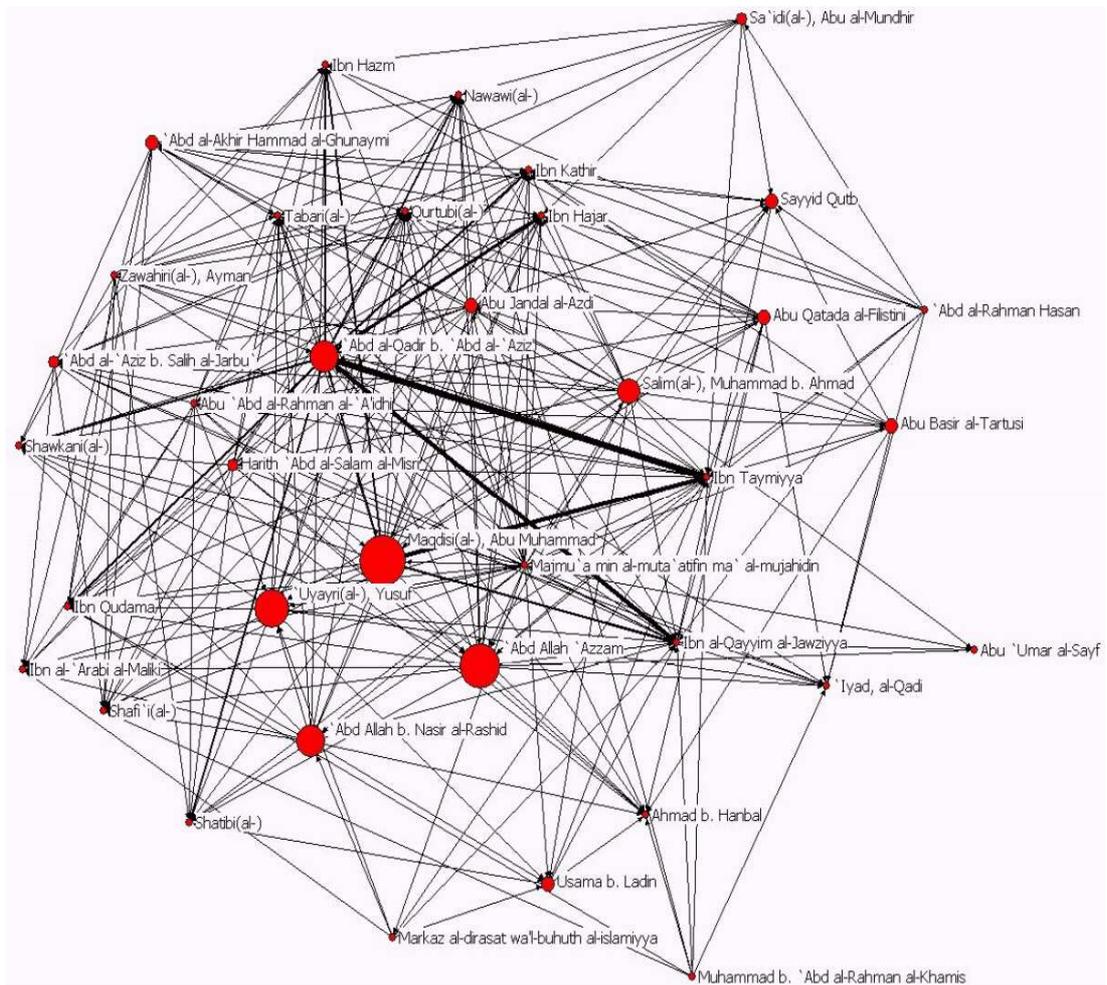


## Appendices

### Ideological Influence Map

source: *Militant Ideology Atlas - executive report*, page 12.

[www.ctc.usma.edu/atlas/Atlas-ExecutiveReport.pdf](http://www.ctc.usma.edu/atlas/Atlas-ExecutiveReport.pdf)



Arrows indicate who is citing whom. Thick lines are for an author who cites another author repeatedly. Size of node indicates someone who is a key broker of information in the network.



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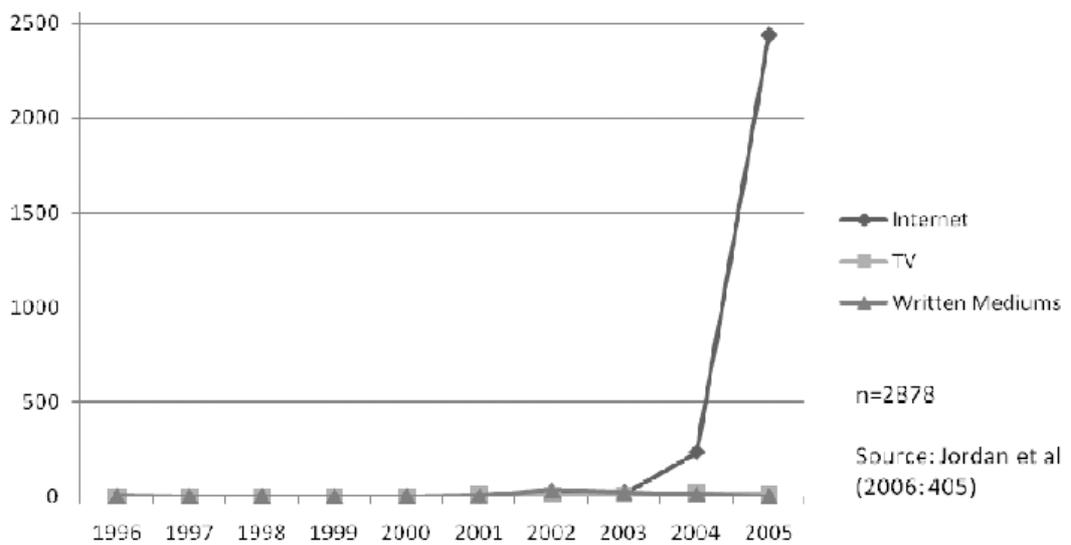
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## Number of Disseminated Jihadi Movement Commniqués 1996-2005

source: *Studies into violent radicalisation; Lot 2 - The beliefs ideologies and narratives*, page 49.

[http://ec.europa.eu/justice\\_home/fsj/terrorism/prevention/docs/ec\\_radicalisation\\_study\\_on\\_ideology\\_and\\_narrative\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/terrorism/prevention/docs/ec_radicalisation_study_on_ideology_and_narrative_en.pdf)





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## Full Al-Qaeda Media Nexus (July 2007)

source: Kimmage, Daniel: *The Al-Qaeda Media Nexus*, page 12.

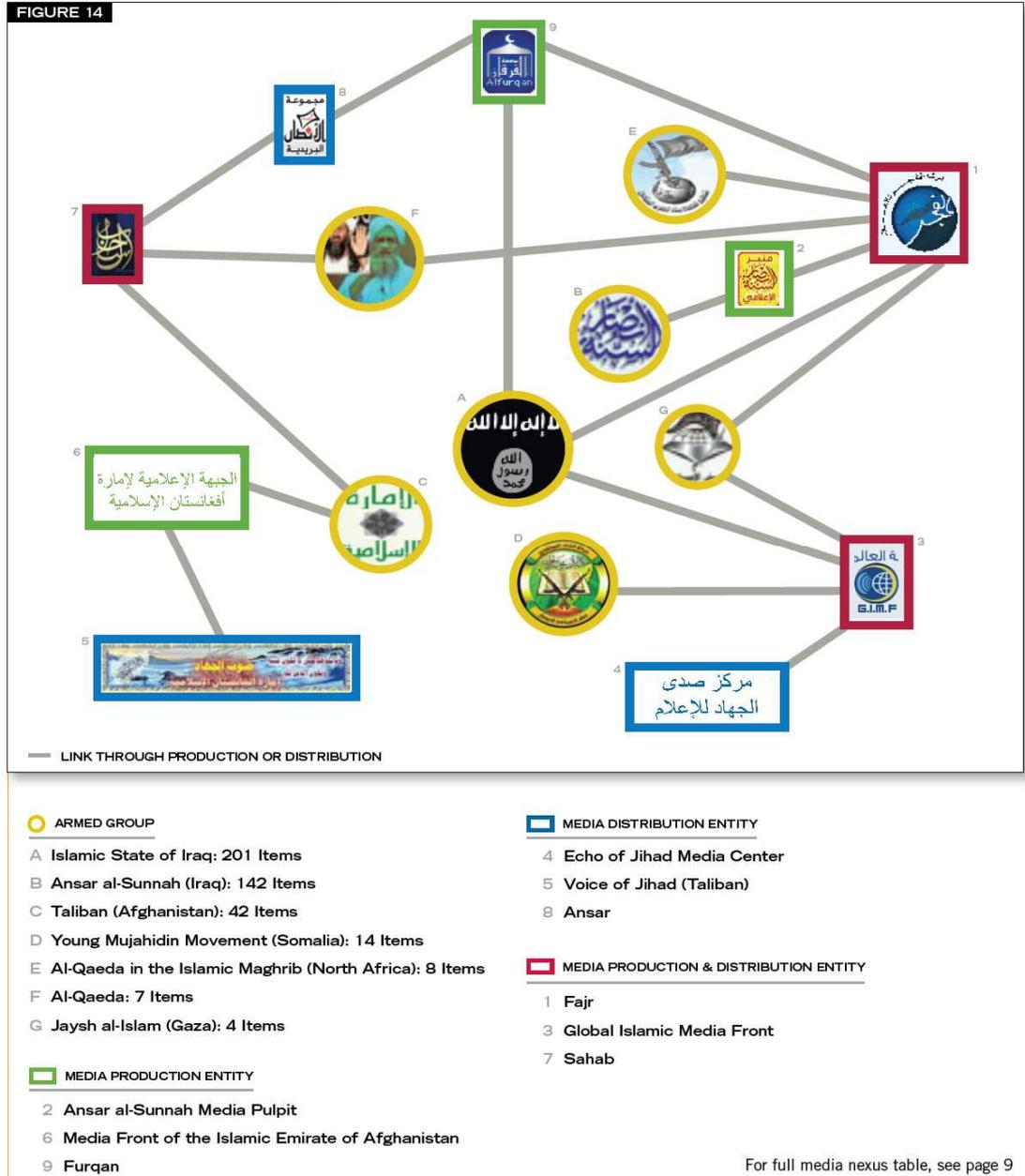
[http://docs.rferl.org/en-US/AQ\\_Media\\_Nexus.pdf](http://docs.rferl.org/en-US/AQ_Media_Nexus.pdf)



### THE AL-QAEDA MEDIA NEXUS

#### Full Al-Qaeda Media Nexus (July 2007)

All Main Links between Armed Groups and Media Production and Distribution Entities





### **Media and Terrorism: Recommendations for Media and Governments**

Source: *Media and Terrorism*. Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Doc. 10557, 20 May 2005. Part I. – Draft recommendation, article 8 and 10 (its relevant part). <http://assembly.coe.int/Documents/WorkingDocs/Doc05/EDOC10557.htm>

8. The Assembly invites media professionals to:

- i. develop through their professional organisations a code of conduct for journalists, photographers and editors dealing with terrorist acts and threats, in order to keep the public informed without contributing unduly to the impact of terrorism;
- ii. organise training courses for media professionals aimed at increasing awareness of the sensitive nature of media reports on terrorism;
- iii. co-operate between themselves, for instance through their professional organisations, in order to avoid a race for sensational news and images which plays into the hands of terrorists;
- iv. avoid contributing to the aims of terrorists by adding to the feeling of public fear which terrorist acts can create or by offering terrorists a platform of high publicity;
- v. refrain from disseminating shocking pictures or images of terrorist acts which violate the privacy and human dignity of victims or contribute to the terrorising effect of such acts on the public as well as on the victims and their families;
- vi. avoid aggravating through their news and comments the societal tensions underlying terrorism, and in particular to refrain from disseminating hate speech.

10. The Assembly recommends that the Committee of Ministers ask member and observer states to:

- i. inform regularly the public and the media about government strategies and action towards combating terrorism as well as its causes;
  - ii. abstain from prohibiting or even restricting unduly the provision of information and opinions in the media about terrorism as well as about the reaction by state authorities to terrorist acts and threats under the pretext of fighting terrorism;
  - iii. inform, upon their request, media dealing with terrorism about the specific security situation in each context, in order to avoid that journalists investigating terrorism be unnecessarily exposed to dangers caused by terrorists or anti-terrorist action of state authorities;
  - iv. include media literacy in their school curricula, in order to educate society towards a critical and informed consumption of media content and raise awareness of the horror of terrorist acts;
- (...)



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### Analysis of Jihadist propaganda 1996-2005

Source: *Studies into violent radicalisation; Lot 2 - The beliefs ideologies and narratives*, page 48. the Change Institute for the European Commission, February 2008.  
[http://ec.europa.eu/justice\\_home/fsj/terrorism/prevention/docs/ec\\_radicalisation\\_study\\_on\\_ideology\\_and\\_narrative\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/terrorism/prevention/docs/ec_radicalisation_study_on_ideology_and_narrative_en.pdf)

Year	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Number of communiqués sent	3	1	12	3	1	19	63	60	266	2450
Target Audience of propaganda	Muslims 91.4% Non-Muslims 1.9% Both 6.4%									
Medium of diffusion used	Internet 95.9% TV 1.8% Written mediums 2.3%									
Principal Content	Re-vindication of an attack 76.0% Commentary on current affairs 12.5% Threat 5.0% Political-religious discourse (exclusively) 1.9% Assassination of hostages 1.4% Mobilisation 1.4% Blackmail for hostage taking 1.3% Denial of responsibility for an attack 0.5%									



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[http://ec.europa.eu/justice\\_home/fsj/criminal/terrorism/fsj\\_criminal\\_terrorism\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/criminal/terrorism/fsj_criminal_terrorism_en.htm)



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## Author

### Jan Kužvart

Studies towards bachelor's degree of Politics and International Relations at Faculty of Social Sciences at Charles University in Prague. He also studies Arabistic and History at Faculty of Philosophy and Arts at Charles University. He is a member of the Czech-Arab Society, and secretary of the Middle Eastern Programme of the Association for International Affairs.