

The Jihad Escalates in Europe Yossef Bodansky Issue No. 419 May 2016

The Jihad Escalates in Europe

Yossef Bodansky

May 2016

Executive Summary

The recent terror attacks throughout Europe - both big and small - are all part and parcel of an escalating Jihadist offensive at the heart of Europe. Although the media arm of the Islamic State/Caliphate has been claiming responsibility for these attacks - they have no merit. The Jihad in Europe originates with, and is waged by, European Jihadists in the newly defined Dar ul-Kuffar. The Jihad in Europe will continue to expand and escalate because the on-site leaders, commanders and mujahedin are all convinced that they are on the verge of historic triumph - the subjugation and Islamicization of Europe.

About ISPSW

The Institute for Strategic, Political, Security and Economic Consultancy (ISPSW) is a private institute for research and consultancy. The ISPSW is objective and task oriented, and impartial to party politics.

In an ever more complex international environment of globalized economic processes and worldwide political, ecological, social and cultural change, that bring major opportunities but also risks, decision makers in enterprises and politics depend more than ever before on the advice of highly qualified experts.

ISPSW offers a range of services, including strategic analyses, security consultancy, executive coaching and intercultural competency. ISPSW publications examine a wide range of topics relating to politics, economy, international relations, and security/defence. ISPSW network experts have operated in executive positions, in some cases for decades, and command wide-ranging experience in their respective areas of specialization.



The Jihad Escalates in Europe Yossef Bodansky Issue No. 419 May 2016

Analysis

The mid-November 2015 Jihadist strike at the heart of Paris, the late-March 2016 Jihadist strike at the heart of Brussels, as well as the host of smaller "incidents" such as the mid-May 2016 stabbing attack in Munich or the September 2015 stabbing attack in Berlin, and other clashes with security forces throughout the EU, are all part and parcel of an escalating Jihadist offensive at the heart of Europe. Although the media arm of the Islamic State/Caliphate has been claiming responsibility for these attacks, and although the Western political elites and media have eagerly embraced these claims – they have no merit. For more than a decade now, and particularly in the aftermath of the early-January 2015 attack in Paris, the spate of Islamist terrorism in Europe has been an indigenous insurrection – an Intifada – waged by Europe's own Muslims against the social and political order in which they live. The Jihad in Europe will continue to expand and escalate because the leaders, commanders and fighters are all convinced that they are on the verge of historic triumph – the Islamicization of Europe.

The writing was on the wall, I wrote in 'The Paris Jihad, Ready or Not, Has Begun, and Will Widen' back in early-January 2015. "The escalation of Islamist-Jihadist violence – the current wave of which has been spreading and escalating since the French Intifada of 2005 – is uniquely Western in theological terms and has little to do with the concurrent Jihads in Muslim lands. ... The radicalization, transformation, and organization of the Islamist communities in France have been indigenous. The key to the Islamists' success is the intentionally self-inflicted building of mistrust and hostility in the name of establishing Islam and Islamic way of life. Consequently, although French citizens, younger-generation Muslims feel very alienated and are convinced they have no future in a modern Western France. In contrast, radical Islam gives their lives sense of meaning and belonging. ... The Islamist no-go areas provide fertile grounds for both the recruitment and the sustenance of a myriad of Jihadist networks. The Jihadists in Western Europe are organized in their own web of networks which are neither al-Qaida nor Caliphate/ISIS/IS. These networks are built around the inspiration by charismatic Imams in the Muslim neighborhoods and are professionally run by veterans of overseas Jihads." Until the political elites in the West recognize and confront the phenomenon of indigenous Intifada - the Jihad at the heart of Europe will continue to spread, escalate and win.

*

The emergence and consolidation of the unique Islamist-Jihadist milieu in Western Europe, and increasingly in the US-Canada, can be traced back to the early-1990s when Hassan al-Turabi's Sudan (the source of Sunni Islamist ideology-theology and outreach to the veterans of Afghanistan) and Iranian intelligence (the source of professional expertise, unique equipment and funds) jointly launched the building of long-term Islamist subversion of, and presence in, the heart of Western Europe. Specially trained experts, organizers and imams were dispatched to subvert Western Europe's Muslim communities from within, while Iranian embassies became the purveyors of specialized equipment, weapons, funds and secured communications.

This undertaking received a huge boost from the US-led Western intervention in the Balkans in the 1990s on the side of the Bosnian, and later Kosovo, Muslims. Consequently, both Muslim youth from Europe and highly experienced Jihadist cadres from the Middle East and South Asia converged on the former Yugoslavia. With the benign endorsement of Western governments, the European Muslim youth were indoctrinated, trained and recruited by the Jihadist cadres. These European youth would lay the foundations for today's Islamist-Jihadist

¹See the author's report "The Paris Jihad, Ready or Not, Has Begun, and Will Widen" (Issue 309, January 2015).



The Jihad Escalates in Europe Yossef Bodansky Issue No. 419 May 2016

milieu when they returned home from their stints at Jihad in the Balkans.

The contemporary Islamist-Jihadist posture in Western Europe was defined in 2004-05 when the Islamist-Jihadist movement underwent the most profound evolution of its onslaught within the Muslim world as well as against the West. The transformation of 2004-05 focused on the launching of an uncompromising Islamist-Jihadist surge against all the foes of Islamdom – internal and external alike – in the form of a global and irreversible offensive. It is a total war in which, as far as Islamdom is concerned, there can be no coexistence, or even compromise, with their hated foes. Elaborating on this Jihadist surge in August 2005, Ayman al-Zawahiri stressed that the center of the Jihad has moved into the heart of the West. He envisaged a campaign of retaliation for all of the West's transgressions against Islam. The ensuing deliberations about the implementation of the new Islamist-Jihadist doctrine would prove crucial to the rise of European Islamism.

Significantly, the Jihadist leadership throughout the transformation phase remained in close contact with the Islamist-Jihadist milieu in Europe. Volunteers arriving from Western Europe to the lands of Jihad – Afghanistan-Pakistan, Iraq and Chechnya – were thoroughly consulted about their analysis of the situation of, and prospects for, the Islamist trend in the West. Moreover, several operational leaders and theological luminaries – mainly North Africans and Indians-Pakistanis – were dispatched to Western Europe (and subsequently the US and Canada) in order to personally study and assess the situation. As well, they made contact with local Muslim leaders, preachers and community activists in order to get their input. Several Islamist leaders in Western Europe were formally anointed "the eyes and ears" of both al-Qaida and bin Laden in their areas. The uppermost leaders of al-Qaida also maintained extensive correspondence with Islamist-Jihadist notables in the West in order to ensure that the steps undertaken and recommended by the al-Qaida Shurah Kabirah were in line with the perceptions of the evolving Muslim communities in the West and that discernable segments of these communities will follow these steps. Consequently, the emerging vision of the roles and objectives of the Islamist-Jihadist milieu in Europe (and subsequently the US and Canada) would prove very pragmatic, attainable and sustainable.

At these crucial times, two theological leaders and commanders affiliated with the al-Qaida Shurah Kabirah influenced the Jihadist doctrine regarding the Muslim communities in the West. Significantly, their teachings are now implemented by the Islamic State/Caliphate even more than by the post-Osama bin Laden al-Qaida. They are Sheikh Abu Bakr Naji (real name Muhammad Khalil al-Hakaymah) and Abu-Musab al-Suri (real name Mustafa Setmariam Nasr). Very little is known about Naji except that he is an Egyptian born around 1960-1, participated in the Jihadist conspiracies against Anwar Saadat, and was apparently killed in a US drone strike in North Waziristan, Pakistan, on October 31, 2008. In contrast, Abu-Musab al-Suri (b. 1958) has an illustrious biography that includes operational command in Syria, Iraq and Western Europe. He spent most of 2002-5 sheltered by Iranian Intelligence mainly in Marivan, northwestern Iran, where he wrote his seminal work. Abu-Musab al-Suri was arrested in Spain in March 2006 as he was assuming command of regional networks, and sent by the CIA to Damascus as a special rendition. He was released in late-2011 at the demand of Iranian Intelligence and assumed, at the behest of Iran's Qods Forces, a crucial position in the subversion from within of the Jihadist trend in the Middle East that he is still holding.

In 2004, Sheikh Abu Bakr Naji published his main book titled *Management of Savagery: The Most Critical Stage Through Which the Islamic Nation Will Pass* that would define the Jihadist doctrine in both the Muslim World and the West. (The book is also known as *Administration of Savagery* and *Governance in the Wilderness*.) Naji articulated a strategy for the entire Jihadist trend how to establish a Caliphate under the prevailing conditions.



The Jihad Escalates in Europe Yossef Bodansky Issue No. 419 May 2016

Naji rejected al-Qaida's core doctrine that the "the infidel" would succumb in the aftermath of a few spectacular strikes at the heart of the West. Instead, the Jihadists would have to advance in incremental steps in both the West and the Muslim World. The Jihad must become global – fighting everywhere, all the time, and against everybody. Terror-by-savagery is the primary instrument facilitating the spread and advance of the Jihadist movement. "No one should feel safe without submitting, and those who refuse to submit must pay a high price. The aim of our movement is to turn the world into a series of wildernesses in which only those under our rule enjoy security."

After the fall of Afghanistan, Naji argued, it would take a long time before it would be possible to establish a Jihadist state in the Muslim World. Instead, the Jihadists should undermine existing states and regimes through long-term strategy of attrition by both violence and propaganda. A campaign of relentless savage attacks within Muslim states "would eventually exhaust their ability and will to enforce their authority" making the population beholden to the Jihadists "by implementing security, providing social services, and imposing Sharia." The regions liberated this way — "the regions of savagery" — would serve as the nuclei of the new Caliphate. Naji identified Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, North Africa, Nigeria and Pakistan as the most vulnerable to such incremental Jihadist campaigns.

In the "Crusader's world", the Jihadists must create an archipelago of "wildernesses" – localized parallel societies from where it would be possible to strike the surrounding Western society and sow terror through "countless small operations" making daily life unbearable. Naji warns the leadership not to underestimate the effectiveness of such waves of savagery. "Those who have not boldly entered wars during their lifetimes do not understand the role of violence and coarseness against the infidels in combat and media battles," he observes. Ultimately, the campaigns of savagery launched from wildernesses at the heart of the West will deter the West from intervening militarily at the heart of Islamdom in order to contain the ascent of the local Jihadist nuclei. "It behooves us to make [our enemies] think one thousand times before attacking us," Naji asserts.

Naji concludes by describing global strategic dynamics that would emerge with the establishment of the Islamic State/Caliphate a decade later. As the Jihadists expand their liberated zones and begin to build their Caliphate, the Jihadists "will confront the problem of the aerial attacks of the enemy – Crusader or apostate – on military training camps or residential regions in areas which [the Jihadists] administer," Naji writes. "The policy of 'paying the price' in this situation will deter the enemy and make him think one thousand times before attacking regions managed by a regime of the administration of savagery because [the enemy] knows that he will pay the price (for doing so), even if (the retribution) comes later. Thus, the enemy will be inclined toward reconciliation, which will enable the regions of savagery to catch their breath and progress. This reconciliation means a temporary stop to fighting without any kind of treaties and concessions. We do not believe in an armistice with the apostate enemy, even if it was brokered with the primary infidel." It is the relentless launching of raids of savagery from localized wildernesses at the heart of the West that will keep the hostile governments from attempting to stifle the ascent of the Jihadist Caliphate, Naji concluded *Management of Savagery*.

In August 2005, Abu-Musab al-Suri completed a 1,600-page book called *The Global Islamic Resistance Call*. This book is still the most prescient thesis on the long-term evolution of the Jihadist movement and particularly the conduct of "Global Jihad". *The Global Islamic Resistance Call* provided both the practical and theological framework for the profound changes that the Jihadist movement underwent in 2004-5 and articulated the future course. Abu-Musab al-Suri did so by adapting the Jihadist doctrines of such luminaries as Abdallah Azzam to the prevailing conditions in the post-9/11 world. *The Global Islamic Resistance Call* is ultimately an



The Jihad Escalates in Europe Yossef Bodansky Issue No. 419 May 2016

extremely practical and pragmatic study of previous Jihads, emerging trends in the world, and realistically attainable objectives of the Jihadist trend.

Abu-Musab al-Suri concluded that "Global Jihad" will ultimately be won by evolving, pragmatic and adapting vanguard whose spectacular struggle will excite and mobilize the grassroots into politically-significant "awakening" that will ultimately change the Arab-Muslim World. Despite al-Qaida's post-9/11 notoriety, he warned against self-aggrandizement. "Al-Qaida is not an organization, it is not a group, nor do we want it to be," Abu-Musab al-Suri wrote. "It is a call, a reference, a methodology." Although al-Qaida was playing a major role in the then current phase of the worldwide Islamist uprising, it would ultimately give way to a new generation of populist movements. Al-Qaida's leadership would be eliminated eventually, he predicted, and the Jihadist trend must be ready to smoothly hand over the mantle to a next generation of leaders whose task will be to consolidate Jihadist movements in Islamdom. Abu-Musab al-Suri stressed that "without confrontation in the field and seizing control of the land, we cannot establish a state, which is the strategic goal of the resistance."

In the West, the Jihadist ideology for the mobilization of global Jihad and struggle presently represented through al-Qaida will provide cover for the evolution of "leaderless resistance" comprised of a myriad of elite vanguard entities – that is, highly trained individuals or very small autonomous groups operating separately but in accordance with a common master-plan and grand strategy. Abu-Musab al-Suri stressed that these vanguards must be "small, completely separate non-central cells so that they will not be linked" with al-Qaida or higher echelons of the Jihadist movement. The initial objective of their campaign will be to "awaken the spirit of Jihad and resistance in Muslims" living in the West. The ultimate objective of these vanguard groups will be to wear down the enemy's society and governments through relentless and ceaseless localized terrorism – or "raids". Progress will differ from one country to another and from one region to another. Ultimately, Abu-Musab al-Suri asserted, sooner or later the "individuals' Jihad" will transform in some countries or regions into "open fronts" – that is, overt Islamist insurrections.

*

Over the next few years, the Jihadist trend as guided by Osama bin Laden and his Shurah Kabirah focused mainly on sustaining and escalating the Jihad throughout the Hub of Islam. Support and guidance for the Jihadists in the West continued mainly via Afghanistan-Pakistan and the North Caucasus, but this was not a major priority. Nevertheless, the Muslim communities in the West, and particularly Western Europe, kept evolving and radicalizing on their own. Major strikes such as the March 2004 bombing in Madrid, the July 2005 bombing in London, or the June 2007 failed attacks in Glasgow and London, served as grim reminders of the presence and resolve of the Jihadists at the heart of the West.

However, the driving engine of the evolution and radicalization of the Muslim communities of Western Europe was homegrown and locally motivated. The initial alienation of grassroots European-born and educated Muslim youth was a result of the overall deteriorating economic and social conditions throughout Western Europe. However, this socio-economic frustration quickly transformed into a Jihadist upsurge and fervor as radical preachers and their message of enmity toward, and confrontation with, Western society and civilization became immensely popular. Unemployed frustrated youth were taught their plight was a result of the infidels' anti-Muslim conspiracies and discrimination and not their own lack of skills and all-European economic downturn. This transformation was clearly demonstrated in the French Intifada of 2005 and the grassroots reaction to the economic crisis starting 2008 – particularly the ensuing widespread unemployment among Muslim youth in Europe's growing rust zones.

© Institut für Strategie- Politik- Sicherheits- und Wirtschaftsberatung ISPSW

Giesebrechtstr. 9 10629 Berlin Germany Tel +49 (0)30 88 91 89 05 Fax +49 (0)30 88 91 89 06



The Jihad Escalates in Europe Yossef Bodansky Issue No. 419 May 2016

Under these conditions, the impact of returning Jihadists from the lands of Jihad and radicalized migrants from the Hub of Islam was immense. The message of avenging Jihad against the West played into the frustration and rage of the European-born Muslim youth. The Jihadists argued that there could be no compromise or reconciliation between Europe's Judeo-Christian authorities and the Muslim communities in their midst. The new goal of Europe's Muslim youth, the returning Jihadists taught, was to neither avenge the discrimination by the hostile West nor restore the socio-economic conditions of their parents' past – but rather to gradually destroy the tormenting West from within "until Islam rules the earth".

Despite the declared commitment to destroying the West, the leaders of European Islam remained cognizant of the inherent strength of the lands they were living in and their inability to wage an all-out Jihad. The emerging Islamist-Jihadist posture in Western Europe necessitated a profound analysis of the situation and audacious theological assertions. With the Shurah Kabirah still focused on the Hub of Islam – Islamist luminaries in Europe endeavored to provide their own remedies and guidelines through a series of Fatwas. This process served to further distance Europe's Muslim communities from the traditional Islamist-Jihadist establishment.

Hence, the luminaries of European Islam revisited the situation of their own communities in a profound manner — culminating in the emerging definition of Dar ul-Kuffar (The Abode of Infidels) as a new state of being. Indeed, the theological transformation over the last decade or so has been unprecedented for the Islamists-Jihadists defined for themselves the third new state of being — Dar ul-Kuffar — to describe life in strong affluent Judeo-Christian society in the West that had to be fought, subverted and defeated from within over time. This is the first and only change to Islam's division of the world since the 7th Century AD when the first Caliphs divided the world into the Dar ul-Islam (the Abode of Islam where Islam ruled the land) and the Dar ul-Harb (the Abode of War where infidels lived and which must be occupied by Muslim forces in the immediate future). In daring to assert and define the new Abode they were living in — the Islamist-Jihadist leaders in Western Europe also stated their independence of the guidance and leadership of the Shurah Kabirah in Afghanistan-Pakistan.

This, however, does not mean that Europe's Jihadists separated completely from the lands of Jihad. On the contrary, the Jihadists of Europe are traveling to the lands of Jihad (Syria-Iraq, Chechnya, Afghanistan-Pakistan, Libya, etc.) in growing numbers in order to gain training, expertise and tempering-by-combat. They make friends and partners there. However, when they return to Western Europe (and US-Canada for that matter) they gravitate anew around local charismatic Imams and combat leaders who float in the European/Western milieu. Together they wage their own unique Jihad for the Dar ul-Kuffar. They are inspired to a point by the teachings of al-Qaida and the Islamic State/Caliphate about the imperative to resurrect the Muslim World by the uncompromising sword of Jihad – but they do NOT take orders or even guidance. Thus, bombing Raqqa has no tangible impact on the Jihad in Paris or Brussels. It will only confirm the Jihadists' conviction that the West is adamant on preventing the resurrection of Islam in the Dar ul-Islam and will therefore embolden the Jihadists of Europe to further subvert the Dar ul-Kuffar from within through Jihad.

The theological ascent of the Islamic State/Caliphate since mid-2014 has proven to be a profound development for the European Jihadist trend. From the very beginning, the theological leaders of the Caliphate endeavored to reexamine all contemporary issues of the Muslim World in the context of the original surge of Islam in the 7th Century AD. They found precedents and guidance for the current Jihad in the Dar ul-Kuffar in the early struggles of Prophet Muhammad and his small group of devotees against the hostile and disbelieving society around them. With that, the Islamic State/Caliphate endeavored to provide theological leadership for the



The Jihad Escalates in Europe Yossef Bodansky Issue No. 419 May 2016

escalating Jihad at the heart of the West without attempting to take over operationally.

On May 14, 2015, the Caliphate released a sermon by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi titled "March Forth Whether Light or Heavy" that provided an up-to-date articulation of the role of the Caliphate in the worldwide Muslim and Jihadist trends. It was a call for Jihad and action all over the world.

There can be no conciliation between the Believers and the rest of the world, starting with the Jews and Crusaders, even for Muslims living in the midst of foreign societies. For Muslims living in the West there are only the options of either immigrating to Muslim lands or fighting Allah's enemies at home. Baghdadi emphasizes that "fighting the disbelievers, Hijrah (emigration), and Jihad will remain until the establishment of the Hour." The Caliphate as the leading Islamic State is but the guide and beacon for this all-Islamic struggle.

Baghdadi repeatedly emphasized that it is the obligation of all Muslims to wage the Jihad. He stressed that "every Muslim in every place [has] to perform Hijrah to the Islamic State or fight in his land wherever that may be." The quintessence of Islam, Baghdadi explains, has always been fighting the Jihad for the dominance of the world. "O Muslims, Islam was never for a day the religion of peace. Islam is the religion of war. Your Prophet ... was dispatched with the sword as a mercy to the creation. He was ordered with war until Allah is worshipped alone. ... His companions after him and their followers carried on similarly. They did not soften and abandon war, until they possessed the Earth, conquered the East and the West, the nations submitted to them, and the lands yielded to them, by the edge of the sword. And similarly, this will remain the condition of those who follow them until the Day of Recompense."

It is therefore the sacred obligation of the current generation of Believers to persevere and continue fighting the sacred Jihad. For the Muslims living in the West, Baghdadi specifies, there is no hope or prospect for acceptance by the Jewish and Christian societies. He warns the Muslims in the West that "the Jews, the Christians, and the rest of the disbelievers will not approve of you nor abandon waging war against you until you follow their religion and apostatize from yours." The only way to prevent the subjugation of the Muslims of Europe is by a Jihadist insurrection that will devour the West from within, al-Baghdadi asserted.

In this new capacity, the Islamic State/Caliphate continued to intensify the call for the unleashing of waves of home-grown (aka "lone wolf") attacks throughout the West and other non-Muslim states. The Caliphate would set the theological guidelines but implementation would be at the hands of the on-site commanders — many of whom fought in the ranks of the Islamic State's forces in Syria-Iraq. In early September 2015, Abu Muhammad al-Adnani briefed West European Jihadist commanders that the Caliphate would soon issue "a call to Muslims in Europe, the infidel West, and everywhere [else] to target the Crusaders in their home countries and wherever they find them." Ominously, Adnani warned that the Jihadists of the Islamist State would be instructed to also purge Muslim communities in foreign lands if they refuse to participate in the new Jihadist campaign. "We will be enemies, in front of God, to any Muslim who can shed a drop of blood of a Crusader and abstains from doing that with a bomb, bullet, knife, car, rock or even a kick or a punch," Adnani asserted.

By now, the al-Qaida Shurah Kabirah could no longer ignore the evolution of Jihad in the West and the growing influence of the Islamic State/Caliphate. On 13 September, Ayman al-Zawahiri issued an audio tape (originally recorded around January 2015) in which he reiterated the new doctrine of al-Qaida — namely, to join hands with the forces of the Islamic State/Caliphate against common enemies and to focus on "lone wolf" operations at the heart of enemy states and societies. Zawahiri stressed that irrespective of claims of Fitna (schism or discord) at the leadership-theological level — all mujahedin in theater must cooperate and "help each other"



The Jihad Escalates in Europe Yossef Bodansky Issue No. 419 May 2016

against the vicious enemies of Jihad and Islam.

Zawahiri restated the growing imperative to strike out at the heart of the West – that is, foreign societies where Muslims are minority and where daily life is determined by others' non-Sharia laws and customs. "I call on all Muslims who can harm the countries of the Crusader coalition not to hesitate. We must now focus on moving the war to the heart of the homes and cities of the Crusader West and specifically America," Zawahiri said. He appealed to the local "Muslim youths" living in the West to carry out "martyrdom-seeking" operations at the heart of the West instead of traveling to the Middle East for Jihad. Under current conditions, the urgent imperative is to prevent the spread of foreign influence and presence into the lands of Islamdom, Zawahiri explained, and this can only be achieved by deterring foreign governments and societies from intervening in the lands of Islam through terrorist strikes. "Therefore, if we strike the head, then the wings and the body will fall, and if the war reaches the home of the great criminals, then they would stop the war and revise their policies, Allah permitting," Zawahiri concluded.

*

By mid-2015, the Islamic State/Caliphate had in place the most important training system for would-be Jihadists at the heart of the West. The key to long-term operations are the Inghemasiyoun forces of the Caliphate. The Inghemasiyoun (those who immerse themselves) are an elite martyrdom unit specializing in terrorist operations in hostile urban areas. The Inghemasiyoun fighters infiltrate their objectives (mainly enemy's cities) and stay concealed until activated. Once ordered into action, these fighters start indiscriminate attacks, unleash mayhem, and fight to the death. Most of the time they go into action wearing explosives belts to blow themselves up once their enemies are closing in on them.

Initially, the majority of the Inghemasiyoun forces were Iraqis and Syrians from major cities such as Baghdad, Aleppo and Damascus. They trained how to penetrate these cities, establish clandestine cells – Jamaat-type – and await orders to strike. In mid-2015, mujahedin from the North Caucasus (Chechens, Dagestanis, Russian converts, etc.) who had lived in Moscow and other Russian major cities joined the Inghemasiyoun training in anticipation for future strikes. They were followed by mujahedin from the greater Central Asia (including Uighurs from China). Only after the initial successes of the Inghemasiyoun training program – did the Islamic State/Caliphate opened them to Jihadists from Western Europe with emphasis on local converts and second/third-generation migrants. By late-2015, there were about 100 West European Jihadists in the Inghemasiyoun training program. The first graduates are expected to deploy in Spring-Summer 2016 depending on their overall progress and passing of extremely demanding graduation exams.

Meanwhile, the Internet-based distribution system of training and operational manuals developed by al-Qaida – primarily bomb-making techniques from readily available commercial products and methods to improve security against Western counter-intelligence – continues to dominate the Jihadist milieu. After early set-backs and localized failures – mainly in the US and the UK – the Jihadists developed an exceptionally sophisticated online training program that enables the would be terrorists in the Dar ul-Kuffar to master the skills of bomb-making and strike planning on their own with no communications with the lands of Jihad that might expose them. These training programs are extremely detailed and include, for example, pictures of commercially available products and step-by-step techniques.

Significantly, the inspirational theological communications – of both al-Qaida and the Islamic State/Caliphate – is very precise in defining the message and setting the tone, but refrains from making specific demands or

Institut für Strategie- Politik- Sicherheits- und Wirtschaftsberatung ISPSW

Giesebrechtstr. 9 10629 Berlin Germany Tel +49 (0)30 88 91 89 05 Fax +49 (0)30 88 91 89 06



The Jihad Escalates in Europe Yossef Bodansky Issue No. 419 May 2016

giving instructions. The local imams are expected to interpret the theological messages properly and impart the sense of urgency and the extent punishment that needs to be inflicted. The Jihadist cells and networks decide on their own whether to strike out at any given time, and then select the specific objective and weaponry on their own. The supreme leaders at the lands of Jihad have no way of communicating directly with these cells and networks and thus cannot impart real-time instructions even if they wanted to. The only specific communications (as distinct from dissemination of propaganda) is done by emissaries previously known to the members of the European cells and networks. Such contacts are very rare for fear of exposure.

To bolster their presence in the European Dar ul-Kuffar, all elements of the Jihadist Trend are exploiting the tidal wave of migrants into Europe. Indeed, the majority of the migrants flooding Europe are predominantly Muslim young men. According to UNHCR data in late-2015, 72% of the migrants were young men, only 13% were women and 15% children. In early 2016, the UNHCR changed the definition of "children" to people under the age of 21. Consequently, only 45% of the migrants are men, 35% are children and 20% are women (according to the old criteria, more than 70% of the migrants are still Muslim young men). Since early 2014, well over two million refugees reached Europe and the pace of migration keeps rising. There are more than six million dislocated people in Lebanon-Syria-Iraq-Jordan alone, and there are over three million dislocated people in the Sahel and western Africa. They have all set their eyes on Europe.

In both Turkey and Libya – the main springboards of migrants into Europe – Islamist-Jihadist entities affiliated with the Islamic State/Caliphate organize the migrants in order to provide cover for the infiltration of their own operatives. One Syrian operative in Turkey, a former Mukhabarat officer who had joined the ranks of the Jihadists, boasted in early September 2015 about their success to-date. He claimed that there are already more than 4,000 covert operatives "ready" throughout the European Union. These operatives are the first round of clandestine infiltration among the refugees. Their objective is to unleash revenge attacks at the heart of the West. "If someone attacks me then for sure I will attack them back," he explained. "I'm sending some [European] fighters who want to go and visit their families. Others just go to Europe to be ready." The Syrian operative emphasized that the ultimate objective of the clandestine infiltration of Jihadists is to contribute to the rise of the Caliphate. "It's our dream that there should be a Caliphate not only in ash-Sham but in all the world," he said, "and we will have it soon, God willing."

Indeed, some of the perpetrators of the latest attacks in Paris and Brussels arrived in Europe as refugees and were processed into the heart of the West. EU authorities gradually come to grips with the magnitude of the crisis at hand. In February 2016, Europol reported that more than 10,000 "children" and about 150,000 men were already missing (130,000 in Germany alone) from refugee centers. In April, German authorities warned that over 500,000 migrants that had crossed into Germany over the previous 18 months failed to register with the authorities, their whereabouts were unknown, and since they were not getting any welfare they were likely involved in illegal/terrorist activities. There is no longer doubt that a large number of Jihadists snuck into Europe. In February 2016, Europol estimated that "between 3,000 and 5,000 Jihadists have been able to slip back into Europe after training with ISIS in the Middle East." Jihadist sources put the number at well over 10,000. In April 2016, Frontex warned that a "staggering number of EU citizens" trained as Jihadists in the Middle East before sneaking back into Europe in the ranks of the migrants.

Both Europol and Frontex estimated that some 800,000 weapons were "in illegal civilian possession" in Bosnia-Herzegovina alone and thus available for the building Jihadist networks. Indeed, the weapons used in both Paris and Brussels originated in the former Yugoslavia. Moreover, Western security authorities are worried



The Jihad Escalates in Europe Yossef Bodansky Issue No. 419 May 2016

about the emergence of a new Jihadist organization/entity called Harausham in the western Balkans. The Harausham was recently established by a few hundred Albanians and Kosovo-Albanians who fought in the ranks of the al-Qaida-affiliated Jabhat al-Nusra in Syria between November 2013 and July 2014 — about a quarter of those known to have left for Syria. They have since been joined by several hundreds of Albanians and Bosniaks who had fought in the ranks of the Islamic State/Caliphate in both Syria and Iraq. These new Balkan-based networks provide support and sustenance to the Jihadist networks in Western Europe.

*

The current cycle of Jihadist messianism started already in late-December 2015 with an audio message from Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi that addressed the unfolding Jihadist campaign in the context of the quest for Judgement Day. Already starting mid-November, the Islamic State/Caliphate released a series of videos in the aftermath of the Paris attack — termed "the raid on Paris" by the Jihadists. The Caliphate assumed responsibility for the carnage in Paris and promised the spread of the Jihadist raids and strikes throughout the West — including the destruction of the White House. From one video to another the message was getting more and more theologically precise. The overall theme was the promise of an endless campaign of raids delivering pain and carnage until the collapse of Western society and its ultimate surrender to Islam.

With tension and anticipation building within the Jihadist milieu, al-Baghdadi articulated the precise definition of the objectives of the Caliphate in an audio message posted on 26 December. He acknowledged that the Islamic State/Caliphate were facing and fighting an unprecedented global coalition that was inflicting setbacks and pain on the Jihadist forces. For Baghdadi, this is part of a Divine testing of the Jihadists' resolve and commitment to Allah. "So if we persist in the face of the world and fight all its armies with all their capabilities and then triumph, it will be of no surprise. It is Allah's promise to us."

The ongoing escalation in the Middle East cannot but precede the End-of-Time Battle, Baghdadi declared. Therefore, the entire Muslim World must steel itself for the challenges and climax ahead. "So prepare your-selves for your war, O Muslims everywhere," Baghdadi implored. The enemies of Islam already sense the calamity that inevitably awaits them and therefore are escalating their anti-Islam campaign. But Allah already put fear in their hearts through the Jihadist raids in the heart of the West. "Here are the Christian crusaders and the nations and religions of disbelief gathered alongside them, with the Jews behind them all, not daring to come by land to fight a small group of mujahedin," Baghdadi gloated. "They know what awaits them at Dabiq and Ghouta of defeat, ruin, and devastation. They know that it will be the final war, and thereafter – by Allah's permission – we will raid them and they will not raid us, and Islam will lead the world once more until the establishment of the Hour [of Judgment Day]."

Indeed, celebrating the strikes in Paris and Brussels, as well as the blowing up of the Russian passenger plane over the Sinai Peninsula, the Islamic State/Caliphate stressed that justice was done and revenge was executed against those who dared to strike the Caliphate. The Islamic State/Caliphate acknowledged that some of the perpetrators of the strikes fought and trained in the ranks of the Islamic State forces. However, the Islamic State/Caliphate did not claim responsibility for, or guidance of, the Jihadists who struck at the heart of the West. On the contrary, the Caliphate considers these strike spontaneous uprisings in the Dar ul-Kuffar by the locally oppressed Muslims – some of whom guided by their experience at the lands of Jihad.

In mid-November 2015, *DABIQ* Issue 12 analyzed the Paris strike. "The divided crusaders of the East and West thought themselves safe in their jets as they cowardly bombarded the Muslims of the Khilafah. ... But Allah

Dinstitut für Strategie- Politik- Sicherheits- und Wirtschaftsberatung ISPSW

Giesebrechtstr. 9 10629 Berlin Germany Tel +49 (0)30 88 91 89 05 Fax +49 (0)30 88 91 89 06

ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security The Jihad Escalates in Europe Yossef Bodansky

Issue No. 419 May 2016

decreed that punishment befall the warring crusaders from where they had not expected. Thus, the blessed attacks against the Russians and the French were successfully executed despite the international intelligence war against the Islamic State. ... And so revenge was exacted upon those who felt safe in the cockpits of their jets." Similarly, in mid-April 2016, DABIQ Issue 14 analyzed the Brussels strike. "The yearning for revenge has taken seed and has grown steadily in the hearts of the grieving widows, distressed orphans, and solemn soldiers; and the fruits are ready for harvest. ... Brussels, the heart of Europe, has been struck. ... Flames ignited years ago in Iraq have now scorched the battleground of Belgium, soon to spread to the rest of crusader Europe and the West. Paris was a warning. Brussels was a reminder. What is yet to come will be more devastating and more bitter by the permission of Allah, and Allah prevails over His affair, but most people do not know. Having heeded the lessons of years spent fighting the harshest of wars in modern times, the soldiers of the Islamic State promise their adversaries dark days of death and destruction in their own lands."

The authors of DABIQ Issue 14 argue that the wave of Jihadist terrorism engulfing Europe is the harbinger of the fateful Jihad that will bring Europe to knees and enshrine Muslim rule. "Bullets and shrapnel will slash and pierce all those whom Allah's soldiers reach. Survivors will be scarred physically and mentally, haunted whenever their eyes are closed, whenever they blink. The sounds of sirens will fill the air, preceded by blasts from bombs planted in all the right places. The damage to their economy, their infrastructure, and their sources of income will make their lives harder than they now imagine. And it will not end there, not until the rule of Allah reaches east to west and the Muslims walk undisturbed by the kafir filth beneath them." There will be no stopping of the Jihadists for they are committed to martyrdom, and "[t]here is thus no possibility of their surrender to humans. The crusaders, on the other hand, have no eventual choice but to accept defeat. While arrogance will prevent them today, it is only a matter of time – after as many blessed operations as Allah facilitates for His soldiers in their lands – before the crusaders' resolve dissipates and they fall at the feet of the invading lions, appealing for amnesty and begging to pay jizyah."

With the German government desperately trying to conceal the Jihadist character of the latest attack in Munich, and with the flow of illegal migrants into Europe continuing - there is every reason for the Jihadist leaders and the on-site mujahedin to be optimistic about the course of their Jihad.

Remarks: Opinions expressed in this contribution are those of the author.

Tel +49 (0)30 88 91 89 05 Fax +49 (0)30 88 91 89 06

I S P S W

ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security

The Jihad Escalates in Europe Yossef Bodansky Issue No. 419 May 2016

About the Author of this Issue

Yossef Bodansky has been the Director of Research at the International Strategic Studies Association [ISSA], as well as a Senior Editor for the *Defense & Foreign Affairs* group of publications, since 1983. He was the Director of the Congressional Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare at the U.S. House of Representatives between 1988 and 2004, and stayed on as a special adviser to Congress till January 2009. In the mid-1980s, he acted as a senior consultant for the U.S. Department of Defense and the Department of State.

He is the author of eleven books – including *Bin Laden: The Man Who Declared War on America* (*New York Times* No. 1 Bestseller & *Washington Post* No. 1 Bestseller), *The Secret History of the Iraq War* (*New York Times* Bestseller & *Foreign Affairs Magazine* Bestseller), and *Chechen Jihad: Al Qaeda's Training Ground and the Next Wave of Terror* – and hundreds of articles, book chapters and Congressional reports.

Mr Bodansky is a Director at the Prague Society for International Cooperation, and serves on the Board of the Global Panel Foundation and several other institutions worldwide.



Yossef Bodansky