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Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: I want to thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today to discuss the critical issue of Islamist extremism in Europe. The growth of radicalism in virtually every part of the world today is a matter of concern. But there may be no regions in which American interests will be more profoundly affected by this phenomenon than in Europe. In my view, Europe has become a central "field of jihad," and so I commend the committee for taking an interest in this issue. I am particularly pleased to have the chance to speak with you just one day after the publication of "Currents and Crosscurrents of Radical Islamism: A Report of the Center for Strategic and International Studies Transatlantic Dialogue on Terrorism." European jihadism has been a core issue for the Transatlantic Dialogue, which is now in its third year, and I am glad to be able to share some insights from our conferences and to provide you with copies of the report.

It is an unwelcome irony that Europe, which emerged from the Cold War more united, peaceful and prosperous than at any other time in history, may be threatened by jihadist violence as much as any other part of the world outside Iraq. Europe, as home to the world's largest Muslim diaspora, is at the heart of the battle over Muslim identity. Europe's experience with jihadist terror is already a long one: It served as the logistics and planning base for the September 11 attacks, which were prepared principally in Hamburg and as a haven for many Islamists who fled repression over several decades. In the 1990s the continent was roiled by fighting between Muslims and Christians in the Balkans that was primarily an ethnic conflict, but one that was exploited skillfully by jihadists for operational and propaganda purposes.

The March 2004 Madrid bombings, the assassination of Dutch artist Theo van Gogh in November 2004 and the July 2005 London attacks affected Europe profoundly, puncturing the feeling that many shared after September 11 that the United States was the primary target and that Europeans had little to fear. But the awakening came not because of a change in jihadist targeting but because the terrorists had failed repeatedly in their earlier attempts. In 2001 they had tried to bomb the Strasbourg Cathedral and the U.S. air force base in Kleine Brogel, Belgium; a cell in London was broken up in 2003 for conspiring to produce the toxic agent ricin, while another in Germany was planning a series of attacks against Jewish targets. European intelligence services estimate that radical Islamists have planned as many as thirty "spectaculars" since September 11. As one British official put it before the attacks of July 2005, "We've been very, very lucky."

In light of a Home Office estimate of 10,000-15,000 British Muslims who 'actively support' al Qaeda or related groups," strong evidence that Abu Musaab al Zarqawi's network is growing in Europe and a raft of other indicators, the verdict remains a fair one even after July 7 of last year.

Much of Europe's problem owes to the fact that the individual Muslim's identity is sharply tested there. Most of the continent's Muslims arrived in the 1950s and 1960s as workers to fill postwar Europe's labor shortage, and they stayed on in countries that, for the most part, neither expected nor wanted to integrate them into their societies. It soon became apparent, however, that there was no easy way to send these workers back or to stanch the flow of family members seeking reunification with loved ones – let alone to stop them from having children.

As a result, Europe has sleepwalked into an awkward multiculturalism. Its Muslim residents, many of them now citizens, live for the most part in ghetto-like segregation, receive second-rate schooling, suffer much higher unemployment than the general population and those who do work are more likely than their Christian counterparts to have low-wage, dead-end jobs.

Indeed, it is this marginality that helps to explain the appeal of radicalization. The Madrid cell was composed of a host of men on the margins – drug dealers, part-time workers, drifting students – and this has been a pattern among jihadists for some time. The Hamburg cell that carried out the September 11 attacks was financially better off and its members tended to come from higher income families, but they too were drifting through Europe as their hatred deepened. L'Houssaine Kherchtou, a Moroccan al Qaeda member in the 1990s, described in a U.S. court how he had floated around the continent, working haphazardly and often illegally before finding his way to Milan and recruitment for jihad. This class of potential terrorists may continue to exist for as long as Europe absorbs cheap labor from across the Mediterranean in North Africa.

A parallel development has arisen out of the continent's ongoing political and economic unification, which has undercut the power of traditional national identity, especially among young people. The citizens of the various member states of the European Union still consider themselves to be French, or Polish, or British, but with the emergence of a single currency and EU passports, a world in which individuals choose from among multiple identities has come to be taken for granted. European Muslims have the same sense of choice when it comes to identity, and many are picking religion as their determining trait.

For example, according to a 2002 survey of Muslims in Great Britain, 41 percent of the respondents under thirty-five years of age described themselves as solely "Muslim," rather than "British and Muslim," which was one of the other choices on the questionnaire. (One out of three respondents over the age of thirty-five felt the same.) Much the same trend has been documented in France, as well, where preferential identification with Islam among Muslims increased by 25 percent between 1994 and 2001. Given the inclination that Christian Europeans feel for a broader, transnational

identity, it is not surprising that many Muslims also want to feel that they are part of something bigger. Identification with the new *umma,* or global community of Muslims, and its predominantly salafi orientation has become an attractive alternative. The Internet, which delivers both news and an unambiguous interpretation of events from such distant places as the Palestinian territories, Chechnya and Kashmir, has had a profound impact in increasing the distribution of radical ideas.   As a result, we have seen the emergence of the transnational identity in which there is a powerful sense of grievance in which the global and local are merged.

As the just-issued report of the CSIS Transatlantic Dialogue on Terrorism observes:

> Among individuals who actually do commit violence or seek to do so, there appears to be a greater sense of the inseparability of global and local grievances. Many Dialogue participants have echoed the generalization of former German Chancellery counterterrorism official Guido Steinberg's assessment that "Local motivations are key in what we call the global terrorist threat, but these local factors have diminished in recent years and are being replaced by international inspirations, by the international jihad." As one European participant put it, "recruitment takes place at a local level, but the motivations that guide the group can be both local, such as unemployment, discrimination, etc., and global, such as Iraq, Afghanistan and Guantanamo."

> An oft-cited example of how local and global grievances merge, the case of Mohammed Bouyeri, the young Dutch Muslim who murdered Theo van Gogh is frequently cited.   In the manifesto-cum-poem that Bouyeri pinned to the chest of his victim, outrage was expressed at the United States, for the invasion of Iraq, and Israel for the plight of the Palestinians, and, interestingly, comparable animus was directed against the Dutch state for considering a proposal to screen Muslim applicants for public sector jobs for radical leanings.

Iraq, as you have heard, receives prominent mention in this discussion. Let me simply note that, without a doubt, European Muslims had ample discontents before the U.S. toppled the regime of Saddam Hussein. Nonetheless, the invasion has had the effect of turbo-charging that unhappiness. The Madrid bombers were obsessed with Iraq and watched with delight a videotape of Iraqis gloating over the bodies of seven Spanish intelligence agents killed outside Baghdad in November 2003. The London bombers and Bouyeri are all known to have been outraged by America's military action.

The spread of salafism – and within salafism, the jihadist ideology, which has a potent minority voice – in Europe has been further facilitated by a lack of homegrown clerics. The number of mosques has grown dramatically in the past decade along with the sharp increase in Muslim population, but Europe does not have the thousands of clerics needed to meet this need. There are no privately endowed institutions for religious training, as are commonplace in the United States, and there are no state-funded seminaries, as are provided for officially recognized faiths. European governments are now wrestling with

the complex issue of providing religious training and licensing preachers, but it will be years before such a system is in place and begins to graduate the imams needed to meet the spiritual needs of Europe's Muslims. In the meantime, European Muslims communities must rely on clerics from the Middle East and South Asia for religious guidance and leadership in prayer. Saudi Arabia, Egypt, North Africa and Pakistan have been producing a surplus of imams, but many of them are imbued with a salafist orientation and hostility toward secular European values. The result is that salafist clerics wield an outsized influence on the debate over the evolving shape of Islamic belief and practice in Europe.

Prospects for the containment of radicalism must be seen in the near term as limited. Although the news media have paid much attention in recent years to the reemergence of European anti-Semitism, a burgeoning anti-Muslim sentiment may yet become the bigger and more troubling phenomenon; it is already helping to drive the deepening alienation of European Muslims. In France, researchers found that 20 percent of those they spoke with conceded a dislike of North Africans, the largest Muslim group in the nation, and 62 percent told pollsters that Islamic values were incompatible with the French Republic. A larger percentage said that they considered Islam to be an intolerant religion, and almost two in three respondents stated that there are too many immigrants in France – immigrants, of course, being code for Muslims. The situation in Germany is similar. One in five Germans agrees with the statement, "Germany is a Christian country and Muslims have no business here." More than two out of three respondents believe that Islam does not fit in with Western culture and almost as many say Germany has too many foreigners. Over 80 percent of those polled in 2004 associate Islam with the word "terrorism." In Britain, one in ten people think that peaceful coexistence of non-Muslims and Muslims in Britain is impossible. One in three disagreed with the statement, "In general, Muslims play a valuable role in British society," and two-thirds thought that Britain's Muslims do "little" or "nothing" to promote tolerance.

Not surprisingly, Britain's Muslims are not particularly happy with how they are treated by the wider society. One-third of them say that either they or someone they personally know has been subjected to abuse or hostility because of their religion; over half say that the position of Muslims has worsened since the Iraq war began in March 2003. Two in three stated that anti-terrorism laws are applied unfairly against Muslims, nearly half would oppose an oath of allegiance to Britain, and 70 percent think that Muslims are politically underrepresented. When some of the British government's top civil servants met after the Madrid bombings to discuss how to defeat al Qaeda domestically, the picture that confronted them was deeply unsettling. Muslims had three times the unemployment rate of the entire population -- only 48 percent of the Muslim population was working, well below the level for the population as a whole (68 percent) -- and Britain's ten most underprivileged districts were home to three times as many Muslims as non-Muslims. Although terrorists rarely come from the poorest sectors of society, their sense of grievance is often nourished by the impoverishment of their fellow Muslims. In all, the Home Office estimated, "There may be between 10,000 and 15,000 British Muslims who 'actively support' al Qaeda or related groups."

This is more than a matter of a bad atmosphere: Europe's right-wing political parties have profited significantly from popular antipathy to Islam and have made real inroads by stressing anti-immigration politics. In the 2002 presidential election in France, Jean-Marie Le-Pen of the National Front won a place in the runoff against incumbent Jacques Chirac. Belgium's Flemish Bloc, Denmark's People's Party, Italy's Northern League, and Switzerland's People's Party have all registered gains, though none has actually gained power. In Britain the Conservative Party leader Michael Howard centered much of his 2005 election campaign against Prime Minister Tony Blair on an anti-immigration theme. The ascendancy of nativist sentiment has pushed political discourse to the right. The center has moved and popular support for the liberal policies that have long characterized the relationship between state and society within Europe has diminished. Among the first fruits of the rightward shift has been the ban on headscarves in French schools and the Dutch decision to expel 26,000 asylum seekers from the Netherlands. The next steps will likely be in the realm of tightened law enforcement and immigration controls. European Muslims will naturally interpret these measures as being directed against them and may well become even more defensive and less interested in assimilation. Thus accelerates a dynamic of alienation, with the Christian Europeans becoming increasingly hostile to the self-segregating Muslims.

The sense of antipathy Muslims encounter in Europe is not just a matter of quiet slights on the street. Anti-immigrant sentiment is on the rise, and the inroads made by right-wing parties that espouse it have fueled many Muslims' sense of embattlement. The remarks of some European leaders have also displayed a remarkable hostility. In 2001, Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi set off an international furor when he declared the superiority of European civilization to that of Islam, adding that the West, "is bound to occidentalize and conquer new people. It has done it with the Communist world and part of the Islamic world, but unfortunately, a part of the Islamic world is 1,400 years behind." More recently, the Queen of Denmark announced flatly that "We are being challenged by Islam these years…We have to show our opposition to Islam."

These tensions will worsen in the coming years as Europe's demographic crisis and its antipathy to outsiders sharpen – as Christian Europe continues to shrink and Muslim Europe grows. Approximately one million Muslims arrive in Western Europe every year, about half seeking family reunification and half in search of asylum. As many as another half a million are believed to be entering the EU illegally annually as well. More important is the fact that the fertility rate among these immigrants is triple that of other Europeans. Consequently, the Muslim population is younger than the non-Muslim population, and Europe's Muslim population is likely to double from about 15 million in 2005 to 30 million by 2025. At the same time, current demographic projections show that Europe's non-Muslim population is stagnant or shrinking. Europe could well be 20 percent Muslim by 2050. Bernard Lewis, the renowned historian of Islam, may turn out to be right in his prediction that by the end of the twenty-first century the European continent would be "part of the Arabic west, the Maghreb."

Friction in Europe between Muslims and non-Muslims is likely to increase as these demographic changes take hold and as anti-immigration policies become more

commonplace. Larger youth populations tend to be associated with higher levels of criminal activity, which will further rankle the non-Muslim population. Some of the greatest irritants will be over matters of religious practice: wearing headscarves, obtaining halal meat – ritual slaughter is controversial in several European countries and is banned in Switzerland because it is seen an inhumane – and the provision of workplace facilities for prayer five times a day. The socioeconomic problems that make the lives of many Muslims in Europe miserable – ghettoization, unemployment, lower wages, unequal access to education, discrimination in the workplace – are unlikely to disappear and the resulting discontent is likely to be expressed in religious terms. Against this background of anomie, jihad looks good to young European Muslims. It is empowering, promising the chance to do something dramatic, to assert oneself and punish one's tormenters.

It is impossible to say how far the radicalization will go. Olivier Roy, the French scholar who has done the most to describe the globalization of Islam, argues that the jihadist phenomenon will be contained by Muslim communities that recognize it as a danger to their well being. If that means that jihadists are not likely to dominate the communities, the prediction is probably correct -- the numbers of those committed to violence is low. But we should not commit the fallacy of numbers. Small increases in the number of terrorists can make a big difference in the dimensions of the threat in an era when the technologies of destruction are increasingly available.

The eruption of jihadist violence in Europe must become a major concern for Washington for reasons that transcend concern for the safety of friends across the Atlantic. For one thing, the United States and Europe share a security perimeter. Not only are there more Americans and American businesses in Europe than virtually anywhere else, but most Europeans have easy access to the United States through the visa waiver program. (It is a disturbing oddity that the U.S. immigration system is now optimized to allow in people from the area of the world where Islamist radicalism may be growing fastest.) Moreover, the numbers of radicals in Europe and the civil liberties protections means that the continent will remain the most likely launching pad for attacks against America.

If terrorist attacks multiply, the consequences for intercommunal relations in Europe could be severe. After the Madrid bombings, there was little backlash against Spain's Muslim community. But after the van Gogh murder, the story in the Netherlands, historically one of Europe's most tolerant societies, was different. Within a week, there were at least twenty reported cases of arson involving Muslim schools and mosques. After the London bombings, half a dozen more arson attacks were reported in Britain, though there was no serious damage.

A Europe distracted by intercommunal tensions and violence will make a poor partner for America in many areas, not least dealing with the global threat of radical Islam. As we all know, pressing broad reform agenda in the Muslim world will, over the long term, be a vital part of a strategy for rolling back the jihadist threat. Yet if European countries become absorbed by strife within their borders, their willingness to work with the United States on a more global approach could well decline. Already, there are clear signs that

Europe will not follow through on its commitment to allow Turkey to negotiate accession to the European Union, and this is a source of real worry because strengthening Turkey's place in the West is one of the steps that has widely been considered a key part of the effort to strengthen moderates in the Muslim world. Moreover, if Europe becomes preoccupied with its own internal security issues, and in the very worst case, if the continent is incapable of controlling the terrorists within its borders, the security challenge for America could be of profound proportions.

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