

---

# Ouverture du colloque

Florence Bergeaud-Blackler\*†<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Groupe Sociétés, Religions, Laïcités (GSRL) – Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique – Site Pouchet 59-61, rue Pouchet 75849 Paris, cedex 17. Campus Condorcet, 14, cours des Humanités, Bâtiment Recherche Nord - 5ème étage, 93322 Aubervilliers cedex., France

## Résumé

L'islamisme en contexte minoritaire a fait l'objet d'un nombre limité de travaux comparé à celui des enquêtes et analyses consacrées à l'islamisme dans les pays à majorité musulmane. Cependant les années 2000 ont été celles de la prise de conscience de la présence durable des courants fondamentalistes de l'islam dit politique/culturel/légaliste dans les sociétés sécularisées.

Comment les islamismes dits légalistes (et est-ce bien la bonne terminologie) interagissent-ils avec les sociétés sécularisées ? Comment se distinguent-ils des islamismes dans les zones non sécularisées où l'islam inspire directement la législation ? Comment agissent-ils dans les pays européens où ils ont formé trois générations de musulmans ? Sont-ils ou non devenus hégémoniques dans le paysage islamique ? Quel rôle les idéologies "woke" ont-elles joué dans leur développement ? Le néolibéralisme favorise-t-il leur influence ? Quels sont leurs liens avec les idéologies antisémites ? Nous explorerons ces sujets grâce à l'expertise de scientifiques renommés portant sur divers pays tels que l'Autriche, le Danemark, la France, l'Allemagne, l'Italie, le Royaume-Uni, les Etats-Unis, la Suède, etc.

Ce colloque scientifique a pour objectifs de : - faire le point et interroger les connaissances sur les différentes tendances islamistes légalistes actives en Europe, leurs projets, leurs méthodes, leurs stratégies et leurs ressources. - évaluer leur influence sur les populations, les modèles de société et leur capacité à menacer les régimes démocratiques laïques - faire le point sur la prévention et les réponses apportées dans les différents pays européens.

---

\*Intervenant

†Auteur correspondant: [florence.blackler@gmail.com](mailto:florence.blackler@gmail.com)

---

# The prevention strategy and its obstacles

Sir John Jenkins\*<sup>1,2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The Royal Institut for International Affairs London – Royaume-Uni

<sup>2</sup>Centre for Geopolitics, Cambridge University – Royaume-Uni

## Résumé

I propose to address the complex question of the relationship between Islamisms and the Middle Eastern state and Islamisms and the western secular state. I will talk about the lessons of the Arab Spring, the ways in which Islamisms have adapted themselves to the different context of Europe and the difficulty our governments have in addressing the ideological challenge which this poses to the liberal order. I shall draw on my experience in writing the Muslim Brotherhood Review (MBR) and its aftermath and the work I have subsequently done on the subject for Policy Exchange. After completing his undergraduate and doctoral studies at Cambridge, Sir John Jenkins worked as a British diplomat from 1980 to 2015, mainly in the Middle East and North Africa, including head of mission appointments in Saudi Arabia, Libya, Iraq, Syria, Jerusalem and Rangoon and other diplomatic postings to the UAE, Kuwait and Malaysia. He was Director for the Middle East and N Africa in the FCO between 2007 and 2009. In 2014 he was asked, as the British government's senior Arabist, to undertake the MBR by the then Prime Minister, David Cameron. The Review addressed a range of policy issues arising from the challenge of Islamism both externally and in the UK. From 2015 to 2018 he ran the Middle East Programme for the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), based in Bahrain, organising the annual Manama Dialogue. He taught Middle Eastern Politics at Yale University's Jackson Institute for Global Affairs for two semesters in 2017. He has worked for Policy Exchange, for whom he has written extensively on Islamism, since 2018. He now also co-lead the programme, A New Westphalia for the Middle East, designed to bring historical perspectives to bear on the issue of conflict in the region, at the CfG in Cambridge.

---

\*Intervenant

---

# The Danish Cartoon, the OIC and the issue of blasphemy

Heini Skorini\*<sup>1,2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>University of the Faroe Islands – Îles Féroé

<sup>2</sup>King's College London – Royaume-Uni

## Résumé

The clash between free speech and religious censorship manifests itself in various ways in the realm of international politics. From the Rushdie affair and the Danish cartoon affair to the Charlie Hebdo massacre and draconian anti-blasphemy laws worldwide, the tensions between free speech ideals and religious sensitivities have polarized global public opinion and the international community of states. And recently, controversial public destructions of the Quran in capitals like Copenhagen and Stockholm has paved the way for the re-introduction of new blasphemy legislation in Denmark as well as a regular showdown between Sweden and Turkey regarding the Swedish application for NATO-membership.

However, behind these conflicts, there is an ongoing diplomatic struggle to define the limits of free speech in international law and international norms within the UN system. One central actor in this regard is the intergovernmental organization for the Muslim-majority world, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). Despite profound internal divisions, the OIC is a powerful alliance whose long-term ambition is to criminalize blasphemy or "defamation of religions" in international law. The presentation will examine how non-democratic states strategically apply mainstream human rights language and secular human rights law in order to justify authoritarian religious censorship norms both nationally and internationally.

Heini í Skorini holds a Ph.D. in International Relations from King's College London, Department of War Studies, and he works as an Associate Professor in his home country at the University of the Faroe Islands (Denmark). His doctoral thesis examined the clash between free speech ideals and religious sensitivities in the realm of International Relations and how the intergovernmental umbrella organization of the Muslim-majority world, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is lobbying for a new international ban against blasphemous expressions in the UN system. He has published several peer-reviewed articles on the subject, and in 2020, he published the book *Free Speech, Religion and the United Nations: The Political Struggle to Define International Free Speech Norms* (Routledge). In 2023, he published an updated and popularized version on the same subject in Danish. Currently, Heini í Skorini examines the role of self-declared religious actors in contemporary international conflicts, from the Russian Orthodox Church and the Jewish Israeli Settler Movements to "Evangelical Christianity" in the US presidential election and Islamist movements in Europe.

---

\*Intervenant

---

# La Scène islamiste en Espagne

Sergio Altuna\*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The George Washington University – États-Unis

## Résumé

After forty years of organized associative presence, and although it does not have the relevance at the European level that it enjoyed during the 1980s, the Muslim Brotherhood in Spain inexorably approaches a turning point.

The Islamist scene in Spain is monopolized by different –and opposing– iterations of the Muslim Brotherhood: older vs younger; Middle Eastern born vs North African; On the one hand, holding the uncontested representation of institutional Islam in Spain, the group of pioneers exemplifies the movement’s fondness for positions close to decision-making. On the other hand, the different entities under the umbrella of FIOE’s local showcase constitute the prototypical example of implantation and work at the local.

The generation governing institutional Islam is being challenged by a batch of new leaders ready and willing to take over. The coming years should serve to further democratize official institutions which will also require the government to facilitate a more democratic election for the representatives of Spanish Muslims, even if this means having to face new and more complex interlocutors at its head.

My contribution will revolve around analyzing the current situation and drawing lessons from the Spanish case and its possible echoes due to similar contexts in other European countries.

Dr. Sergio Altuna is a Senior Research Fellow for the Program on Extremism at The George Washington University. His areas of expertise include contemporary Islamist thought; Islamist narratives; and the development of alternative narratives and counternarratives. He has participated in several research projects and has published extensively both on Muslim Brotherhood networks in Europe in general and in Spain in particular.

---

\*Intervenant

---

# Le Frérisme comme système d'action

Florence Bergeaud-Blackler\*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Groupe Sociétés, Religions, Laïcités – Groupe Sociétés, Religions et Laïcité-GSRL – France

## Résumé

Dans mes derniers travaux j'explore l'idéologie produite par l'internationalisation du mouvement des Frères musulmans, je nomme " frérisme " cette espèce d'islamisme adapté aux sociétés sécularisées.

J'explore de façon factuelle et documentée, l'origine du mouvement, son fondement doctrinal, son organisation et ses modes opératoires, ainsi que ses méthodes de recrutement et d'endoctrinement. Je montre comment il étend son emprise au cœur même des sociétés européennes en s'appuyant sur leurs institutions, en subvertissant les valeurs des droits de l'homme ou en "islamisant" la connaissance.

Dans cette communication j'expliquerai pourquoi je considère le frérisme comme un système d'action, concept que j'emprunte à la sociologie des organisations.

*Florence Bergeaud-Blackler est docteur en anthropologie (HDR), chargée de recherche CNRS. Elle est une des meilleurs spécialistes françaises des normativités islamiques en contexte sécularisé et du frérisme, l'idéologie mondialisée des frères musulmans.*

---

\*Intervenant

---

# Islamist extremism in Britain: between politics and culture

Damon Lee Perry\*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>King's College London – Royaume-Uni

## Résumé

Islamism's primary challenge to Western democracy is not just an alternative governance system, but a deeper battle over core values and perspectives. This involves a conflict of epistemologies. While academic focus remains on Islamism's political goals and strategies, this risks overlooking its profound cultural underpinnings promoting separatism. Connecting Islamism as a political ideology and a cultural phenomenon is the matter of identity. Britain's mainstream Islamist groups have transitioned from serving distinct Muslim communities to advocating for a broader Muslim identity – the *umma* – through political grievance narratives. However, questions of identity permeate this transition. The field of education exemplifies this blurring of political activism against "Islamophobia" with cultural dissent manifest in blasphemy protests outside school gates. The British Government's dealing with Islamism is hampered by its fragmented departmental structure unsuitable for dealing with this multi-faceted problem. And not only does it lack a counter-extremism strategy, it sees extremism too narrowly either as an upstream counter-terrorism issue or as a problem of hate speech.

Dr Damon L. Perry is the author of *The Global Muslim Brotherhood in Britain: Non-Violent Extremism and the Battle of Ideas*, published in 2018 by Routledge. He is an Associate Research Fellow at the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR), London, and a former Senior Research Fellow at Policy Exchange. He also the author or co-author of numerous reports including 'Blasphemy in Schools' and 'The Trojan Horse Affair: a Documentary Record', both published by Policy Exchange, and 'The Islamic Movement in Britain', published by ICSR. He received his PhD from the Department of War Studies, King's College London, in 2016.

---

\*Intervenant

---

# Islamism: the Italian case in Europe

Tommaso Virgili\*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>WZB Berlin Social Science Center – Allemagne

## Résumé

This presentation will offer insights from a forthcoming chapter publication focusing on the manifestation of Islamism in Italy. Drawing from extensive literature review and interviews conducted with experts and representatives of Muslim communities, the study provides evidence supporting the assertion that political Islam presents a legalistic challenge to the integration of Muslims and the maintenance of the liberal democratic order in Italy. The primary focus of the chapter is on the Muslim Brotherhood network, particularly on the Union of Muslim Communities of Italy (UCOII). By illuminating the organization's ties to the MB, the analysis delves into controversies, accusations of extremism, and opaque connections surrounding the UCOII and its leadership. Furthermore, the chapter critically evaluates the interconnections between the UCOII network and Italian institutions, both at the national and local levels.

Additionally, it offers a succinct overview of Shia Islamism in Italy, emphasizing the growing organic associations between Khomeinist groups and MB-affiliated actors.

In conclusion, the chapter puts forward a set of policy recommendations aimed at addressing the challenges posed by Islamism in Italy, advocating for measures that foster integration while safeguarding the principles of liberal democracy.

Holding a Ph.D. in Comparative Public Law from Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies in Pisa, Tommaso Virgili is a postdoctoral research fellow at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center and a research associate at the Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies in Brussels. His research focuses on the interplay between Islamism, liberal Islam and individual rights in Europe and the MENA region, from a scholarly and a policy perspective.

He was previously programme manager at the European Foundation for Democracy, a Brussels-based think tank devoted to prevention of radicalisation, where he conducted research, undertook advocacy and handled projects aimed at countering Islamist extremism. On these topics, he has published scholarly works, policy reports and op-eds. Among others, he authored the book *Islam, Constitutional Law and Human Rights. Sexual Minorities and Freethinkers in Egypt and Tunisia*, Routledge, 2022; the report *Network of Networks: The Muslim Brotherhood in Europe* (with Paul Stott), ECR Group at the European Parliament, 2021; and the recent chapter *Islamism in Italy: The Muslim Brotherhood Network and Its Allies* in the collective book *Handbook of Political Islam in Europe. Activities, Means, and Strategies from Salafists to the Muslim Brotherhood and Beyond*, edited by Thomas Jäger and Ralph Thiele, Springer, (May 2024)

---

\*Intervenant

---

# Islamism and the woke left. A disastrous alliance for liberal democracies.

Susanne Schröter\*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Goethe-University Frankfurt – Allemagne

## Résumé

A study conducted in April 2024 among Muslim pupils in a German federal state revealed that half of them considered Islam to be the best form of government or believed that only Islam was capable of solving the problems of the time. More than a third were in favour of violence in the name of Islam and almost 70 percent considered the laws of the Koran to be more important than the laws of Germany. Since a major survey by the German government published in 2009, all surveys conducted according to scientific criteria have shown a similar result.

One might actually assume that such findings would trigger a process of intensive reflection on current Islam policy among politicians of all parties - but this has not happened so far. Muslim anti-Semitism, which has been rampant for years, massive problems in schools and the increasing violence of young Muslim men, which leads to women being pushed out of public spaces, have also been consistently ignored; instead, even the mention of such problems is increasingly being defamed as "anti-Muslim racism". Responsible for this is a woke left that refers to so-called post-colonial theory and has been able to establish a new identity politics. In a paraphrasing of Edward E. Said's orientalism thesis, it is claimed that white people always need a devalued other in order to be able to develop their dominance. The result is a structurally racist society. Muslims are constructed as a victim group, while the indigenous population of Western countries are constructed as intrinsically racist perpetrators, and this theory has repeatedly led to alliances between the left and Islamists, who have so far successfully prevented Islamism from being recognised as a form of political extremism.

Dr Schröter is Professor of Anthropology at Goethe University Frankfurt, where I have headed the Frankfurt Research Centre Global Islam since 2014, conducting ethnographic research in Asia, Africa and Europe. My own research focuses on Islamism, women's and minority rights as well as immigration and Islam policy in Western countries.

---

\*Intervenant

---

# How Islamists are using the current war in Gaza to project and present themselves as the only true Moslems

Magnus Norell\*<sup>1,2,3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The Washington Institute for Near East Policy (Washington D.C.) – États-Unis

<sup>2</sup>The Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies (Brussels) – Belgique

<sup>3</sup>The European Foundation for Democracy (Brussels) – Belgique

## Résumé

This is part and parcel of tactics and strategies used for a long time, to penetrate European political structures and gain influence and positions as the main Moslem interlocutors for mainstream polities. To combat this, a combination of more accurate information, a less subservient attitude to Islam and Islamism and a more robust and distinct separation of various issues are needed.

Magnus Norell holds a PhD in Political Science and Peace & Conflict Research from the University of Stockholm and has worked and/or studied at the Universities of Stockholm, Uppsala, Genève, Jerusalem (The Hebrew University) and Haifa. The focus of his research focus mainly on International Terrorism, in particularly of the religiously motivated Islamic kind, Security Politics in the Middle East as well as political violence and the tension between religion and politics in general.

He has written and researched extensively on issues concerning issues of national security and democracy-changes in the Middle East/North Africa region (MENA) and Pakistan and Afghanistan. He has a background in Military and Civil Intelligence where I worked on Counter- Terrorism and International Terrorism.

---

\*Intervenant

---

# Hizb ut-Tahrir and its legal affiliates in Germany

Andreas Jacobs\*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung – Allemagne

## Résumé

From the 1990s on Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) became increasingly active in Germany. After its ban in 2003 HT adapted by establishing several legal replacement organisations. It also gradually changed its approach.

While the call for caliphate steps in the background it now tries to change the discourse on Islam. With charismatic speakers and a modern social media presence HT affiliated groups increasingly address the political and social situation in Germany and the living conditions of young Muslims. This use of "progressive" language and visual imagery makes HT the most prominent example of "woke Islamism" in Germany.

Andreas Jacobs, Ph.D., is Deputy Head of Division Analysis and Consulting at the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) in Berlin. Between 2013 and 2016, he was Researcher at the Middle East Faculty of the NATO Defence College in Rome/Italy. From 2007-2012 he headed the KAS office in Cairo/Egypt. Andreas Jacobs studied Political Science and Middle Eastern Studies. He published extensively on Religion and Politics, Islamism, Middle Eastern Affairs, Muslim Communities in Europe and Security Politics. He taught Middle Eastern Studies at Cologne University and the Free University of Berlin and is a board member of the Institute for Research on Religious and Ideological Issues (EZW) in Berlin.

---

\*Intervenant

---

# Global brotherhood

Sameh Egyptson\*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Centre for Theology and Religious Studies, Lund University – Suède

## Résumé

In my dissertation *Global Political Islam?* (2023) (Swedish) I investigated if the Islamic Association of Sweden (Islamiska förbundet, IFiS, founded 1981) is a branch of the global Muslim Brotherhood. This question is highly controversial in the Swedish debate, where any such affiliation is denied by the Islamists themselves, the Islamology discipline as well as the "Islamogauche". I studied the two organizations regarding: organizational structure and cooperation, ideological similarity and political strategy.

The primary sources were both Arabic and Swedish. Eight indicators of affiliation were developed (elaborating on Lorenzo Vidino) like historical origin, organizational and personal contacts as well as ideological or strategic similarities. The analytical concepts of fundamental and operative ideology, borrowed from Political Science, proved extremely fruitful.

The result was that the two movements have a similar organizational structure and have many personal contacts, with an "inner circle" holding the leading positions. Regarding ideology there is a striking similarity of fundamental ideas; Islam is interpreted politically as a comprehensive blue-print for a society ruled by sharia. In practical politics the Swedish IFiS strictly follows the "European strategy" developed by the main MB ideologist Yusuf al-Qaradawi from 1995 with the four main pillars: da'wah, enclavism, lobbyism and entryism.

Sameh Egyptson is a Swedish citizen with Egyptian origin. He met both Islamism and the MB during his studies in History in the 1990s at the Ain Sham university in Cairo, where he studied at the Coptic institute. As a student he participated in protests against the Islamists, and later also in the events of 2011-2012. During his doctoral work, and before the defense, I was the target of fierce attacks and cancelling attempts from the Islamists and the "Islamogauche". A letter was sent to Lund University charging me for "unethical research" and implying that the defense ought to be stopped.

---

\*Intervenant

---

# Can we speak of legalist Islamism?

Eliane Ettmueller\*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Hesse University of Public Management and Security (HöMS) – Allemagne

## Résumé

The term "legalist Islamism" was established to designate Islamism supposedly in accordance with the laws. This juxtaposition of words, however, seems contradictory: How can Islamism be "legalistic" being defined as a political ideology with the aim of establishing an Islamic state and therefore hostile to democracy and the rule of law? Why "legalistic" and not "legal"? Is there a space between the legal and the illegal called "legalist"? The groups or movements that are part of this category vary over time and from one European country to another. The Hizb ut-Tahrir movement was banned in Germany in 2003. However, it is still free to organize in France. In Great Britain it was banned very recently because of anti-Semitic demonstrations following the terrorist attacks guided by HAMAS in Israel on October 7, 2023. In Germany the same thing happened to the "legalist" group HAMAS in November 2023 although it is put on the EU list of terrorist groups already in 2001. This presentation shows the different ways in which European Union countries are used to deal with these "legalistic" Islamist groups and questions the usefulness of a "legalistic" category to qualify extremism.

Dr. Ettmüller is a scholar of Islamic and political science interested in Islamism and other extremisms. She has worked as an advisor for the ICRC and the Police in this field. Her most recent publication is a manual for German security forces about Islamism.

---

\*Intervenant

---

# Brotherhood in Europe - Prevention and response

Lorenzo Vidino\*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The George Washington University – États-Unis

## Résumé

Political Islamists have been able to obtain the status of disproportionate influence they currently enjoy in the West due to a combination of factors. Arguably some of the most important are a) large funding; b) clever political alliances; c) widespread ignorance on Islam and Islamism; d) Islamist exploitation of Western cultural trends. A viable challenge to Islamists focuses on all these four factors.

When it comes to funding, in recent years various European governments have taken measure to block or render more transparent Islamist sources of funding. More can be done, and also not at the government level.

When it comes to political alliances, there are ways to expose and make unfeasible the Islamist approach of partnering with disparate political forces, from the extreme left to parts of the right.

When it comes to ignorance of Islamism, there are initiatives both at the public level and with civil society to improve this dynamic.

Finally, and arguably more challengingly, a more permanent blow to Islamist influence comes from a change in various cultural trends (excessive political correctness, fear of bigotry accusations...) that have been weaponized by Islamists.

Dr. Vidino has researched Islamist networks in the West for almost 25 years. Dr. Vidino's most prominent works are on the Muslim Brotherhood in the West and they include *The New Muslim Brotherhood in the West* (Columbia University Press, 2010) and *The Closed Circle: Joining and Leaving the Muslim Brotherhood in the West* (Columbia University Press, 2020), which has been translated into Arabic,

Spanish, French and Italian. Dr. Vidino has testified before the U.S. Congress and other parliaments; advised law enforcement officials around the world; and taught at universities in the U.S. and Europe. He is a columnist for the Italian newspaper *La Repubblica* and in 2016 he was appointed by Italian Prime Minister Matteo Renzi as Coordinator of the National Commission on Jihadist Radicalization. He is the founder and director of the Program on Extremism at the George Washington University since 2015.

---

\*Intervenant