

## **MUSLIM DIASPORA: THE TEMPTATION OF RADICALISATION**

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**1/ THE EMERGENCE OF A MUSLIM DIASPORA IS A  
CONSEQUENCE OF THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION POLICY**

**2/ THE RADICALIST IDEOLOGY TRIES TO USE THE WESTERN  
DIASPORA AS A RELAY IN ITS WORLDWIDE STRATEGY OF  
EXPANSION.**

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**THE CONCEPT OF « DIASPORA » IS AT THE CENTER OF THE  
ARTICULATION BETWEEN INTEGRATION AND  
RADICALISATION.**

**EVERY ONE HERE IS USING THE TERM OF DIASPORA TO  
DESCRIBE A MIGRATION GROUP WHO REFERS TO A COUNTRY  
OF ORIGINE. I'D LIKE TO GO BACK TO THE REAL  
SIGNIFICATION OF THIS CONCEPT IN ORDER TO AGREE ON  
WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT.**

**TO SPEAK ABOUT DIASPORA IMPLIES A POSITIONING  
OUTSIDE A MAJORITY, AS WELL AS A SPECIFICITY, A  
PARTICULARISM, AN OTHER IDENTITY.**

**DIASPORA IS OFFICIALLY DESCRIBED AS « THE DISPERSAL  
OF A NATION OR AN ETHNIC GROUP THROUGHOUT THE  
WORLD ». SO, IT IS BASED ON AN UNIFIED ETHNIC REALITY. SO  
IS IT MATCHING THE CURRENT SITUATION?**

**HOWEVER, THE EUROPEAN MUSLIM COMMUNITIES ARE  
MADE UP OF SEVERAL GEOGRAPHICAL AND DOCTRINAL  
ORIGINS – NORTH AFRICA, MIDDLE-EAST, ASIA, AFRICA ;  
SUNNIS, SHITES, DEOBANDIS, ETC. THEY ARE ALSO  
DIFFERENTLY ORGANIZED : THE RELIGIOUS PRACTICES, AND  
THE CHOSEN WAYS OF REPRESENTATION REMAIN LINKED TO  
THE ENFORCED LEGISLATION IN EACH NATIONAL  
ENVIRONMENT.**

**NOWADAYS, THE PROPER WAY TO DESCRIBE THE REAL  
MUSLIM PRESENCE IN EUROPE, IN ORDER TO BE AS PRECISE AS  
POSSIBLE, IS TO SPEAK OF MUSLIM POPULATIONS, IN THE SAME  
WAY THAN WE SAY THE YOUNG POPULATION, THE GAY  
POPULATION, ETC**

**HOWEVER, WE ACTUALLY DO RECOGNIZE A CURRENT PROCESS OF DIASPORA-MAKING INSIDE THESE POPULATIONS.**

**THE PROCESS COMES AS THE LOGICAL NEXT STEP OF THE HISTORICAL DYNAMIC OF ISLAM INTEGRATION WHICH EUROPEAN DECISION MAKERS HAVE IMPLEMENTED AND LOOKED FOR.**

**THE MUSLIM MIGRATION WAVES TAKING ROOTS IN EUROPEAN CHRISTIAN-BASED TERRITORIES ON ONE SIDE, AND THEN THE DYNAMIC OF OTHER BECOMING LOCAL NATIONALS ON THE OTHER SIDE, HAD PUSHED THE NATIONAL AUTHORITIES TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE SPECIFIC NEEDS AND CLAIMS OF THIS POPULATION IN THEIR OWN LEGAL ENVIRONMENT .**

**THE OBJECTIVE OF AN ISLAM INTEGRATION POLICY WAS THEN TO AIM AT GIVING A FRAME TO RELIGIOUS PRACTICES, WHICH WERE STILL A MINORITY COMPARED TO EITHER THE CHRISTIAN OR THE NON RELIGIOUS MAJORITY, THIS BEING DONE ACCORDING TO STANDARDS COMPATIBLE WITH THE NATIONAL LAWS, SYSTEM, VALUES AND MORALS, AND THEREFORE ENSURING A SOCIAL HARMONY.**

**THE LEGAL AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONALISATION OF ISLAM HOWEVER DID NOT BRING ANY STRUCTURED REPRESENTATION OF THE COMMUNITY, EXCEPT FOR THE UK, WHICH HAS A SPECIFIC WAY OF DEALING WITH THESE ISLAMIC COMMUNITIES.**

**AS ISLAM WAS GETTING MORE VISIBILITY, IN THE SAME TIME ITS INSTITUTIONALISATION OPENED THE WAY TO A STRATEGY OF IDENTITY CLAIMING, BUT WHICH REMAINS UNDER THE LEAD AND THE SUPERVISION OF AN ACTIVE MINORITY THAT SEIZED IT – AND IN WHICH THE MAJORITY OF THE MUSLIM DO NOT IDENTIFY WITH.**

**THIS STRATEGY STANDS IN CONFRONTATION, INDEED IN OPPOSITION, TO THE WESTERNIZATION PROCESS FOR THE MUSLIM EUROPEAN CITIZENS.**

**THIS PRO-COMMUNITY GROUP IS IN FAVOUR OF GIVING TO EUROPEAN MUSLIMS SPECIFIC RIGHTS, THE SORT OF RIGHTS THAT REFER TO AN UPPER STANDARD – THE CORAN – ABOVE THE LAWS, SYSTEM AND VALUES OF THE COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE.**

**THESE RIGHTS RELY USUALLY UPON RELIGIOUS PRACTICES ( PRAYERS, RAMADAN, VEIL WEARING) HEAVILY LOADED WITH SYMBOLIC AND SENSITIVE ISSUES REGARDING MORALS, AS IT IS THE CASE FOR A SECULARIST STATE LIKE FRANCE, AND SOCIAL ISSUES ALSO, SINCE THOSE PRACTICES AFFECT THE COLLECTIVE SCALE (SCHOOL AND WORK AREAS).**

**INDEED, WE CLEARLY DO HAVE HERE A DIASPORA LOGIC AT WORK, SINCE WE HAVE A GROUP OF PEOPLE, BEING CITIZENS OR RESIDENTS, WHO PUT FORWARD AND ASSERT ANOTHER ORDER OF ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT THAN THE PRE-EXISTING ONE, ANOTHER STANDARD OR MODEL THAT REFERS TO AN « ELSEWHERE »...**

**THIS DIASPORA MOVEMENT IS BASED ON A RIGORIST INTERPRETATION OF ISLAM, WHICH DOES NOT SEARCH FOR COMPROMISE, DIFFERENTLY THAN THE LOBBY LOGIC. THE RIGHTS CLAIMED ARE NOT NEGOTIABLE IN THAT CASE, AS THEY ARE ASSOCIATED TO DUTIES REQUIRED AND IMPOSED BY THE RELIGION.**

**THE BELIEVER'S IDENTITY IS ALWAYS PROMINENT ON THE NATIONALITY OF ORIGIN OR ON THE CITIZENSHIP. RELIGIOSITY IS NOT BASED ON A PRE-EXISTING PATTERN, NOR IT DRAWS ITS SOURCES FROM LOCAL LEGAL PRECEDENT RESULTING FROM LOCAL CUSTOMS INHERITED FROM COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN.**

**THE TRANSMISSION OF CUSTOMS OR RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES PECULIAR TO THE FIRST GENERATION, HAS LASTED LONG; THE SECOND GENERATION AND EVEN MORE THE THIRD ONE, HAD ESSENTIALLY STRUCTURED IN A EUROPEAN NATIONAL ENVIRONMENT AND THUS, A NON MUSLIM ONE.**

**REPRESENTATIVES OF THIS RADICAL MINORITY SIMPLY REJECT THE IDEA OF EUROPEAN ISLAM. THE ABSORPTION OF MUSLIMS IN AN IDENTITY THAT WOULD FIRST BE EUROPEAN IS PERCEIVED AS A THREAT. ACCORDING TO THEM, THEY NEED TO AGREE ON INVIOLEABLE VALUES IN ORDER TO UNIFY THE DIVERSITY.**

**THE SPECIFIC PITCH OF THE DIASPORA IS BASED ON THE FOLLOWING TRUTH:**

**MUSLIMS WHO LIVE IN EUROPE ARE TO SERVE ISLAM, WHEREVER THEY ARE AND WHATEVER IS THEIR CITIZENSHIP, WHETHER THEY ARE ALGERIAN, SYRIAN, MOROCCAN, PAKISTANIS, SENEGALESE, OR CONVERTS. THEY DO BELONG TO THE « OUMMA », THE COMMUNITY OF BELIEVERS.**

**THEY AIM TO RE-CREATE THE MYTH OF AN ISLAM WITHOUT FRONTIERS, A GLOBAL ISLAM EMBRACING THE WORLDWIDE COMMUNITY.**

**THIS CONCEPTION MATCHES THE INTERNATIONALIST IDEOLOGY OF THE RADICALIST NETWORKS THAT LIES ON THE SAME BASIS AS THE EUROPEAN DIASPORA : THE RETURN TO THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF ISLAM, AND ITS STRICT INTERPRETATION, ARE THE ONLY WAY TO PROVIDE A STRUCTURE TO AN IMAGINARY SPACE, TO RE-CREATE A FICTIVE TERRITORY OF RETURN AND TO GATHER MUSLIMS AROUND THE SAME REFERENCES THAT WOULD PREVAIL ON ANY SPECIFIC ENVIRONMENT.**

**TO REACH THAT, THEY NEED TO CREATE SIMILARITIES, ECHOES, BETWEEN WHAT MUSLIMS LIVE IN THE WEST AND WHAT THEY LIVE IN THE REST OF THE WORLD. INJUSTICE, DISCRIMINATION, OPPRESSION, RACISM, HUMILIATION, FRUSTRATION, ...**

**THIS IDEOLOGY LIES ON A DOUBLE BASE ; WHILE THE FIRST ONE ASSERTS THAT ISLAM IS THREATENED AND THE MUSLIM ARE TARGETED AS ENEMIES, THE SECOND ONE TENDS TO USE AN UNIFYING STRATEGY THROUGH THE CONCEPT OF « THE STRUGGLE AGAINST », OR « THE FIGHT BACK ».**

**THE RECRUITMENT POLICIES CHOSEN BY THIS IDEOLOGY ARE ALL BASED ON A SAME GENERIC LEVER WHATEVER OR WHEREVER IS THE TARGET, IN THE WEST OR ELSEWHERE.**

**THE MESSAGE IS AS FOLLOWS : « IT IS THE DUTY OF EVERY MUSLIM TO DEFEND ISLAM AND HIS MUSLIM BROTHERS WORLDWIDE, AS DEFENDING THE « OUMMA » (THE BELIEVER COMMUNITY), AS LONG AS IT IS DECLARED ATTACKED OR PUT IN JEOPARDY. MUSLIM WHO WOULD NOT RESPECT THIS HOLY DUTY , JIHAD FOR INSTANCE, WILL BE CONSIDERED AS PEOPLE WHO DENY THEIR RELIGION AND WHO THEREFORE SUPPORT THE ENEMIES OF ISLAM ».**

**TO BE A MUSLIM BELONGING TO A TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNITY OF BELIEVERS IS ONLY POSSIBLE WHEN THERE IS A UNIFYING FACTOR: « THE COMMON ENEMY ». THIS ENEMY CAN BE EITHER A GLOBAL ONE, « THE AMERICANS », « THE JEWS », OR A PARTICULAR ONE AT A NATIONAL SCALE LIKE « THE REGIME », « DEMOCRACY », « SECULARISM » AND EVEN THE « MODERATED MUSLIM ».**

**THE ENEMY IS THAT ONE WHO DECLARES JIHAD AND RESISTANCE MOVEMENT AS TERRORISM, WHILE KILLING CIVILIANS, TERRORIZING, TORTURING, RAPPING, PUTTING IN JAIL, ROBBING THE MUSLIM WEALTHES, IMPOSING ITS UNFAIR SUPREMACY,...**

**ARGUMENTS DEVELOPED BY THESE RADICAL IDEOLOGISTS LIE ON A STRONG CRITICISM OF WESTERN VALUES IN THE LIGHT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT ESPECIALLY WHEN THESE ARGUMENTS AIM AT CONVINCING MUSLIM COMMUNITY WHO LIVE IN A WESTERN ENVIRONMENT. THEY TRY TO SHARE A COMMON ENNEMY.**

**[ I WILL SHOW YOU NOW A SHORT FILM THAT ILLUSTRATES THIS STRATEGY. THE PICTURES YOU ARE GOING TO WATCH COME FROM VIDEOS MADE BY THE RADICALIST GROUPS. THEY ARE THEN SENT THROUGH THE WEB IN SPECIFIC CHAT ROOMS, ....]**

**FOR INSTANCE « THE WESTERN LIE », « THE ILLUSION OF DEMOCRACY », « TERRORISM OF CHRISTIAN VALUES », INCLUDING « THE KILLING OF CIVILIANS », « HUMILIATIONS », « RACISM », « THE GUANTANAMO AND ABU GHREIB CASES », AND SO ON.**

**IN OTHER WORDS, AS A CONCLUSION, THEY ASSUME THAT « DEMOCRATIC VALUES AS USED BY THE WEST ARE WAR-TOOLS AIMING AT DESTROYING ISLAM », AND IT DOES REMIND THEM HISTORY, THE CRUSADES, AND SO ON.**

**ONE OF THE MAIN LEVER USED BY RECRUITERS TO TRIGGER TENSIONS IS TO PLAY ON THE LOGIC OF CROSSED CULTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CLASH.**

**EUROPEAN BORN MUSLIMS REPRESENT A PREFERENTIAL AND VALUABLE TARGET: SEPTEMBER 11 AND THE WAR AGAINST TERROR THAT IT HAS TRIGGERED HAD UNPREDICTABLE CONSEQUENCES ON MUSLIM POPULATIONS, THOUGH IT IS STILL DIFFICULT TO MEASURE ALL ITS EFFECTS.**

**HOWEVER, IT HAS DEFINITELY REVIVED TENSIONS WITH MUSLIMS OF THE THIRD GENERATION AS WELL AS IT HAS CONTRIBUTED TO HAMPER DIALOGUE WITH THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY.**

**EVEN THOUGH MANY EUROPEAN MUSLIMS HAVE NO CONNECTION WITH THEIR COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, THEY WENT THROUGH THESE EVENTS IN AN UNCOMFORTABLE IN-BETWEEN POSITION REFLECTING THEIR BELONGING TO RELIGION IN ONE HAND AND THEIR BELONGING TO A COUNTRY IN WHICH THEY FEEL EXCLUDED ON THE OTHER HAND.**

**ALL OF THAT LEADS TO CREATE A RELEVANT GROUND IN FAVOUR OF A SHIFTING TO A RADICALIZED IDEOLOGY.**

**THE RADICALIST PROPAGANDA DRAWS ON RESENTMENT AND POWERLESSNESS FEELINGS, AS WE SAW IT. IT HAS NO NEED TO GO THROUGH ORGANIZED NETWORKS OR EXISTING CLANDESTINE CELLS TO REACH THE TARGET.**

**ON ANOTHER HAND, THE OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES, WHO PROMOTE A TRADITIONAL ISLAM, HAVE NO REAL INFLUENCE UPON THE EUROPEAN BORN MUSLIMS. THEY MOST OF THE TIME LOST THEIR CREDIBILITY, BECAUSE OF EITHER THEIR INTERNAL POWER STRUGGLES, OR THEIR – NECESSARY – COMPROMISES WITH THE EUROPEAN STATE INSTITUTIONS AND THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN.**

**STANDING IN THIS NO MAN'S LAND, THE YOUNG EUROPEAN MUSLIM WHO WANTS TO LIVE HIS FAITH IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DOGMA, HAS TO SEARCH AND FIND BY HIMSELF ITS OWN DIALECTIC.**

**THE FIRST RESPONSE THEY FOUND IS TO CREATE THEIR OWN CULTURE WHICH ALLOW THEM TO LIVE THEIR FAITH IN THEIR WAY WITH THEIR OWN SPECIFIC STORY THAT THEY ALL SHARE. MANY SMALL LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS HAVE APPEARED, WHICH ARE NOT AFFILIATED TO ANY INSTITUTIONALIZED MUSLIM ORGANIZATIONS OR COUNTRIES OR ORIGINE, MIXING RELIGIOUS ASPECTS, ISLAMIC WAYS OF MAKING BUSINESS, HALLAL WAY OF DRESSING... WE DO RECOGNIZE IN EUROPE THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW DIASPORA SUB-CULTURE CREATED BY A NEW BORN GENERATION. THEIR DISCOURSE IS AS FOLLOW: "WE ARE EUROPEAN CITIZEN, MEANING WE HAVE THE SAME RIGHTS THAT OUR COMPATRIOTS, BUT WE DO NOT SHARE YOUR VALUES AND WAY OF LIFE".**

**THE SOLUTION COULD BE FOR EUROPEAN DECISION MAKERS TO ACCEPT THAT A PART OF THEIR CITIZENS ONLY WANT TO BENEFIT FROM THESE INTEGRATION POLICIES WITHOUT SHARING THE VALUES AND THE MORAL SYSTEM, TO ASSUME THAT THEY HAVE ALLOWED A PART OF THEIR CITIZENS TO LIVE BESIDES THEIR OWN SOCIETY.**