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Quarterly . review

SUMMER 2017



Democracy

PREVENT

Prevent is the UK's counter-radicalisation strategy to safeguard vulnerable individuals from being drawn into extremism.

- The Counter-Terrorism and Security Act (2015) imposed a statutory duty on public bodies to deliver Prevent.
- When concerns about extremism exist, public bodies refer an individual to a designated safeguarding professional (Prevent Officer) for assessment by a Channel panel. Support and mentorship are offered on a voluntary basis.
- Approximately 7,500 individuals were referred to Prevent in 2015-16, but Prevent receives only 1% of the total counter-terrorism budget.
- Approximately 70% of people referred to a Channel panel have associations with Islamist extremism; 15% of referrals concern Far Right extremism.

PROTECT

Protect covers efforts made to stop terrorist attacks in the UK. It includes:

- Improving border security to prevent dangerous individuals from entering the UK or travelling abroad to join a terrorist organisation.
- Interdicting the entry of hazardous items into the United Kingdom, such as chemical and radioactive material, weapons, and drugs.
- Increasing the resilience of critical infrastructure, such as nuclear power stations, power stations, and energy facilities for both individuals and consignments.
- Protecting high concentration civilian public spaces including transport networks, tourist areas, bridges, and theatres.

PURSUE

Pursue aims to prevent terrorist attacks by detecting, prosecuting, and disrupting individuals who plot to

PREPARE

Prepare mitigates the impact of an attack that cannot be stopped or prevented. This includes:

Freedom



Human Rights

Director's foreword



Dr. Alan Mendoza

Welcome to the Summer edition of The Henry Jackson Society's Quarterly Review.

Four terrorist attacks, a horrific fire, and an uncertain General Election – the past three months have been a torrid time for the UK. After the atrocities in Westminster on March 22nd came the suicide bombing attack in Manchester Arena on May 22nd, followed by the vicious London Bridge attack on June 3rd. Together with the attack against Muslim worshippers in Finsbury Park on June 19th, 37 people have died and over 200 injured in the recent wave of terrorism. With MI5 keeping the threat level of terror in the UK as Severe – one below the highest, suggesting that another attack in our streets is highly likely – it is clear that Britain will need to radically change its strategy to stop Jihadi attacks. While we may not be able to stop every attack, we at the HJS believe that a huge step forward can, and should, be taken to combat the threat posed by terrorism.

Indeed, during these difficult times, HJS has been working tirelessly to provide both the public and policy-makers with clear and impartial analysis, direction, and thought leadership on counter-terrorism and Radical Islam. As the following section in this review demonstrates, when terror struck, our experts were ready to comment and analyse events as they unfolded. Our media presence and outreach has been

almost unparalleled over the past quarter, with HJS experts appearing in national broadcast and print media almost on a daily basis. The HJS has also taken an official stance that points out the steps needed to be taken to combat radicalisation and terrorism in the UK, and more generally in the West. Our efforts to educate, inform and advise policy-makers on these issues will continue with the new Government. HJS has also been at the forefront on wider policy discussions related to the issue – our report *Foreign Funded Islamist Extremism in the UK* dominated the news agenda the week it was published.

Over the last three months, HJS has also continued to release research papers and briefings focusing on Islamist terrorism. *Spotting the Signs: Identifying Vulnerability to Radicalisation among Students* examines 29 cases of 'student fighters' – British students who have travelled, or attempted to travel, to fight for terrorist organisations in Iraq and Syria. The study interestingly reveals that online influence is secondary to face-to-face interaction with extremists in the process of radicalisation, often taking place in spaces provided by religious and educational institutions.

In light of the recent terror attacks in the UK, our team at the Centre for the Response to Radicalisation and Terrorism (CRT) has prepared two briefings to provide a short and contextual summary for both the UK's 2006 counter-terrorism strategy CONTEST, and the home-grown threat of terrorism. As our data suggests, offenders are getting younger, tend to live in neighbourhoods with both a higher than average deprivation and Muslim population, and in most cases (75 percent!) have been previously known to the authorities.

Our research centres have flourished this quarter, with the HJS welcoming ten new members of staff across the organisation. As we continue to grow, our mission and commitment remain steady and unwavering: to provide a voice of reason

and clarity through innovative and practical research, and ensure that both the public and policy-makers have access to the facts, as well as possible solutions to some of today's most pressing problems.

The last quarter has also seen a superb range of scholars, diplomats, and world-leading experts speak on a wide range of issues in our highly popular events programme, hosted in Parliament and our nearby London headquarters. Speakers included French philosopher Bernard-Henri Levy, who spoke about his recent documentary *The Battle of Mosul* and the French elections; Professor William Inboden, who served as Senior Director in president Bush's National Security Council, and came to discuss American foreign policy in the 21st century against the backdrop of President Trump's first foreign trip; and the former German Vice-Chancellor Joschka Fischer, who gave a fascinating talk on the future of the EU following Brexit.

Looking forward, we expect to publish nine research papers later this summer and in the autumn on a diverse range of topics. These include studies on extremism among Muslim converts, the Islamic State in South Asia, a comprehensive audit of the UK's strategic assets post-Brexit, and a project on new ways that women and their bodies are used by terrorist organisations. On the political scene, September will see President Trump's first UN General Assembly, and Angela Merkel will seek a historic fourth term as the German leader. Whatever that election result one thing is certain: you should always expect the unexpected in our politics these days. As with previous examples, it will be our job to make sense of the world in whatever state we find it.

Dr Alan Mendoza
Executive Director

Britain Under Attack



Douglas Murray

How We Can Combat Terrorism and Defeat It

Over the past three months, horrific scenes of terror have returned to the UK in four tragic events, claiming the lives of 37 people and injuring over 200. While counter-terrorism measures are being re-examined by the government, it is vital that a few points are understood if future attacks are to be prevented and if terrorism is to be ultimately defeated.

Crucially, it must be understood that we can only defeat Islamist terrorism if we combat the ideology driving it. That means being honest about recognising that Islamist extremism stems from ideological origins within Islam itself.

How do we win the ideological war? By taking direct measures to shut down the promotion of extremist ideas and denying those who drive this ideology the oxygen of funding and publicity. Far more attention needs to be paid to the flourishing extremism industry that exists in the UK. Continuing to allow extremists to encourage others to engage in violence, whilst stopping short of remarks that would prompt prosecution, is an intolerable status quo.

We should also look into banning non-violent Islamist groups operating in the UK. It must be acknowledged that their ideology helps indoctrinate young British Muslims into a worldview that can often make them more susceptible to being recruited by terrorists.

It is also important to understand that it is not 'Islamophobic' to speak out against Islamism. Those who seek to counter the threat posed are not Islamophobic, and groups within the Muslim community that either imply or suggest this, such as MEND and CAGE, need to be publicly confronted about the role they are playing in hindering responses against terrorism.

During the London bridge attack, many lives were saved thanks to a rapid intervention by the police. This demonstrates the crucial importance of maintaining a strong and well-armed police presence on British streets. The security services must fully utilise the wide-ranging intelligence gathering and counter-terror powers available to them. At the same time, policy-makers must continue to refine and enhance those powers to make them fully effective.

The public sector and British civil society will also need to proactively embrace the national counter-radicalisation strategy, Prevent, rather than allowing others to undermine it. As demonstrated by the Manchester Arena bomber, the threat from British-born returning foreign fighters is one of the most serious security concerns this country now faces.

Equally, terror attacks perpetrated by the far-right aimed at Muslim worshippers, such as the recent incident in Finsbury Park, should be understood as exactly the sort of despicable attack that the Islamic State would want to happen, to foment discord. All communities and sections of British society will need to play their part in challenging extremists, and speak out against those engaged in the bad-faith campaign to undermine counter-extremism efforts.

Finally, we must defeat terrorist non-state actors in the territories in which they operate and train in such as Syria, Libya and Afghanistan, particularly Islamic State in the territories it still controls in Iraq and Syria.

Terrorism is neither inevitable nor unstoppable and it must not be allowed to become an accepted part of modern life in our liberal democracies. If both our government and British civil society are willing to embrace a comprehensive approach to combating all forms of extremism, then terrorism can, and will, be defeated.

Douglas Murray
Associate Director

Front Cover Images: **Event:** Evolution of Protests in Russia;
Publication: *Understanding CONTEST: The Foundation and The Future*;
and **Event:** Bernard-Henri Lévy and Lord Risby

Back Cover Images: Kyle Orton on *BBC WM TV*; Dr. Alan Mendoza on *BBC's Big Questions*; Julia Ruschenko on *Voice of America*; and Douglas Murray on *BBC's Daily Politics*;

Britain Under Attack *continued*



Tom Wilson on i24 News response to Manchester attack
24 May 2017



Douglas Murray on BBC's Daily Politics on the Manchester Attack and the Prevent strategy
24 May 2017



Alan Mendoza on Sky News on Troop Deployments after Manchester Attack
24 May 2017

Media Response to the Manchester Terror Attack

The appalling Manchester terrorist attack on 22nd May 2017 at the exit of Manchester Arena following a concert by American singer Ariana Grande, was the most significant on UK soil since the London 7/7 bombings. As details emerged, HJS experts offered ongoing analysis in the media and assess the implications for counter-terrorism and foreign policy.



Alan Mendoza on BBC's Victoria Derbyshire Show – Foreign Policy Impact on Terrorism
26 May 2017



Douglas Murray – Confronting Extremism After Manchester on BBC's Sunday Politics
28 May 2017

Britain Under Attack *continued*

Statement on the London Bridge attacks from Executive Director, Dr Alan Mendoza

On Saturday 3rd June, 8 people were brutally murdered and 48 injured when three Islamist terrorists launched a combined vehicular-stabbing attack in London Bridge, 21 people remain in critical condition. This marks the third attack on British soil in three months, and occurred just two weeks after the Manchester suicide attack which resulted in 22 fatalities and 199 casualties, many of whom were children.

Accepting such horrific attacks as a feature of life in modern liberal democracies is unacceptable. The threat must be faced with an informed policy response that deals with the problem at its root. The Henry Jackson Society analysts have provided comprehensive analysis of the attack itself and the UK's counter-extremism strategy options, and provided challenging insights into the nature of the threat posed by Islamist terrorism in the UK and abroad.



Julia Rushchenko on Voice of America on the response to the London Bridge attack
6 June 2017



Nikita Malik on France 24 on responses to the London Bridge attack
5 June 2017



Alan Mendoza on Channel 4 News – Response to the London Attacks
4 June 2017



Nikita Malik on ABC News 24 on the London Bridge attack and online extremism
5 June 2017



Tom Wilson on i24news on terrorism and the general election
8 June 2017

New Staff

Over the past three months, we have welcomed several excellent new members of staff:



Timothy Stafford

Research Director

Timothy has previously held research posts with the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) in London and Pacific Forum–CSIS in Honolulu, Hawaii, in addition to working in the Parliamentary offices of Theresa May and Sir Malcolm Rifkind. He holds an undergraduate degree in history and politics from Oxford University, and a Master degree in Security Studies from Georgetown University. His research focuses on US foreign policy and alliance issues, nuclear weapons and extended deterrence.

James Rogers

Director, Global Britain Programme

A founding member of The Henry Jackson Society, James returns to us as Director of our new 'Global Britain' Programme. He holds expertise in British grand strategy, European geopolitics and Baltic security, and European influence in the Indo-Pacific region. Previously, James held a number of positions with the Baltic Defence College in Tartu, Estonia, the EU Institute for Security Studies in Paris, RAND Europe, Egmont Institute, and the European Council on Foreign Relations. James holds an M.Phil. in Contemporary European Studies from Cambridge University.



Nikita Malik

Senior Research Fellow, the Centre for the Response to Radicalisation and Terrorism

An expert in violent radicalisation and extremism, with a specialism in the use of women and children by terrorist organisations, Nikita published several ground breaking reports backed by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Child Soldiers, Solidarity for Refugees, and Child to Child. She has presented evidence to the EU and UK Parliaments, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), the Department of State (DoS), the EU Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN), and the UN. Nikita holds a BA in Economics and Management and an MSc in South Asian Studies, both from Oxford University.

Dr Julia Rushchenko

Associate Fellow, the Centre for the Response to Radicalisation and Terrorism

An expert on terrorism, counter-terrorism and crime prevention, Julia holds a Ph.D. in Global Criminology from Utrecht University, a project that was fully funded by the European Commission. She currently teaches modules in Global Security at the School of Law and Criminology at West London University. Previously, she worked as a Doctoral Fellow at Kent University (2012-2015) and was a visiting fellow at San Diego University. Julia has also consulted non-profit organisations (Amnesty for Women), think tanks (Hudson Institute), and private companies, and is fluent in six languages.



New Staff *continued*



Najah Alotaibi

Research Fellow, the Centre for the Response to Radicalisation and Terrorism

An experienced analyst focussing on geopolitics, public policy in the Middle East and counter-extremism policy, Najah was among the winners of the 'Every Human Has Rights' media awards. She has an extensive track record of writing for international and Arab media outlets, including Al-Arabiya. Whilst completing her Ph.D., Najah has worked as a researcher at the Tony Blair Foundation and the Centre for Public Diplomacy.

Richard Black

Director, Student Rights

Richard holds a BA in History and an MSc in Modern British and European History from Oxford University. Whilst at university, Richard was involved in journalism and served on the committees of a number of student societies. He has written for the Daily Telegraph, Conservative Home, Standpoint and the Jewish Chronicle, among others, and has previously worked as an intern with The Henry Jackson Society, the Daily Telegraph, and the UK Parliament.



Emma Fox

National Organiser,
Student Rights

Emma completed a BA in Classical Civilisation at Leeds University, undertaking several modules in Politics and Philosophy. Whilst at university, she acted as Campaigns Officer for the Jewish Society, organising interfaith and charity events, and was involved in mental health awareness across campus. Prior to joining HJS, Emma worked as a magazine researcher at Time Inc., a Public Affairs intern, and taught Classics. She also volunteered at the Calais refugee camp.



Ross Cypher-Burley

Communications Director

A specialist in strategic communications, media relations and crisis management, Ross has over ten years of international experience working for the Foreign & Commonwealth Office and the private sector. He has led communications campaigns across the Middle East, Central Asia and the U.S. With a keen interest in international politics and policy, Ross has advised governments and foundations on three continents. A former advisor to the Conservative Party's foreign affairs team, Ross has a background in anthropology, with a BA and an MSc in Anthropology from Oxford University.

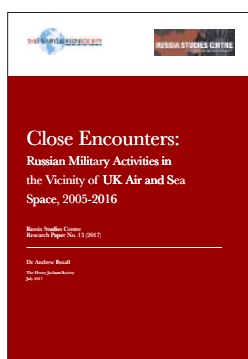
Hannah Elliott

Office Co-ordinator

Hannah is of dual nationality, Brazilian and English, and has lived in different countries whilst studying and working. Previously, she worked in Brazil as a Course Coordinator for the French-founded Research Institute against Digestive Cancer. Hannah studied at the Oxford Media and Business School and gained an Executive PA Diploma with Distinction Honours. Hannah speaks four languages.



Publications



Close Encounters: Russian Military Activities in the Vicinity of UK Air and Sea Space, 2005-2016

Dr Andrew Foxall

This research paper, which updates an earlier HJS study, analyses Russia's military aggressions toward the UK between 2005 and 2016. According to figures released by the Ministry of Defence, the Royal Air Force's Quick Reach Alert was launched on a total of 186 days over this period, 101 days of which were in response to Russian military aircrafts. The Ministry does not hold commensurate figures for the number of times Royal Naval vessels were mobilised in response to Russian vessels, however. Using media reports of such incidents, the paper catalogues and maps when and where Russian airplanes and naval vessels have encroached upon UK air and sea space.

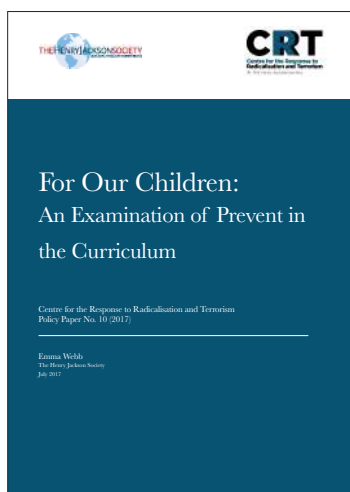
Spotting the Signs: Identifying Vulnerability to Radicalisation among Students

Emma Webb

Following the major increase in the number of UK students who have travelled abroad to join Islamist militant groups in Iraq and Syria, this report set out to examine 29 cases of students who have either travelled, or attempted to travel, from the UK to join terrorist organisation in Syria and Iraq. Contrary to popular belief, the study found that online extremist activity was often subsidiary to real-world relationships with other extremists. In most of the cases examined, radicalised students had face-to-face contact with other extremists, often in spaces provided by religious and educational institutions: 62 percent of cases were part of a friendship group connected to extremism, while 55 percent of cases had contact with an extremist, cleric or fighter suggested as a source of their radicalisation. The study also found that signs of radicalisation, including sudden expressions of extreme political views and behaviours commonly associated with increasing religious observance, were noticeable but often misidentified: nearly 60 percent of the cases studied exhibited changes in their behaviour. The paper concludes with three key policy recommendations: to anchor Prevent training in real cases to improve the reliability and confidence of front-line staff; to increase the support available to families that gives them the skills and knowledge to identify the signs of radicalisation; and to support and create awareness of case-based research pertaining to government guidelines.

Spotting the Signs: Identifying Vulnerability to Radicalisation Among Students

Emma Webb

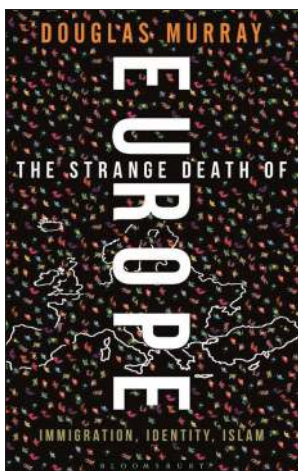


For Our Children

Emma Webb

The Counter-Terrorism and Security Act (2015) introduced a duty for public bodies, including schools, to pay 'due regard to the need to prevent people from being drawn into terrorism'. Since the duty was introduced, its implementation has been controversial and uneven across schools in the UK. This study aimed to assess the views of practitioners across the sector regarding the implementation of Prevent in primary and secondary schools, with particular emphasis on the incorporation of the Prevent Duty into the curriculum. The findings in the paper were primarily drawn from interviews and surveys with educational practitioners and others relevant for the duty's implementation, including representatives from the Ministry for Education, Ofsted, the police, counter-terrorism agencies, schoolteachers and head teachers. Interviewees were concerned about the effectiveness of available resources, and claimed that schools' knowledge of high quality resources is *ad hoc*. The study led to a roundtable discussion at the HJS headquarters, in which practitioners shared views and discussed solutions to the challenges facing schools in the implementation of Prevent.

Publications *continued*

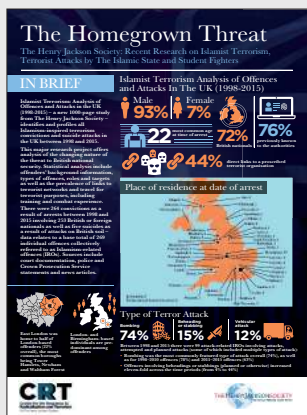


The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam

Douglas Murray

In his new book, HJS Associate Director Douglas Murray provides a thorough examination of recent trends in Europe, including declining birth rates, mass immigration and cultivated self-distrust, arguing that these trends have come together to make Europeans unable to argue for themselves, and incapable of resisting their own comprehensive change as a society. The analysis of demographic and changing political realities in Europe is conveyed in the book through a highly personal, eyewitness account of a continent and culture caught in self-destruction. Reporting from various corners of Europe, including Berlin, Paris, Scandinavia, Lampedusa and Greece, and backed with intensive research and evidence, the book addresses issues such as the disappointing failure of multiculturalism, Angela Merkel's U-turn on migration, the lack of repatriation, and the Western fixation on guilt. Told from this first-hand perspective, Murray aims to uncover the malaise at the very heart of the European culture, while also exposing some of the stories of those who have arrived

in Europe from far away. In each chapter, he takes a step back to look at the bigger issues that lie behind Europe's 'death-wish', asking why anyone, let alone an entire civilisation, would do this to themselves? The book ends with two visions of Europe, one hopeful, one pessimistic, painting a picture of a continent in crisis and offering a choice as to what we can do next. Resonating with many of the issues tackled by The Henry Jackson Society, from immigration and social change to Radical Islam and terrorism, this book is a valuable addition to the global battle of ideas about democracy, security, human rights, and the future of Europe.



The Home-grown Threat

Nikita Malik, Tom Wilson, Kyle Orton, Timothy Stafford

Given the recent terror attacks in the UK, this infographic utilises some of The Henry Jackson Society's recent research projects on Islamist Terrorism, to turn findings into an informative resource about the problem of home-grown terrorism threat facing the UK. The data suggests that offenders are getting younger, with more than half (56%) of all offences committed by individuals in their 20s, and that they tend to live in neighbourhoods with both a higher than average deprivation, and Muslim population. There is little correlation, however, between involvement in terrorism and educational achievement and employment status – with about a quarter of offences committed by individuals who had some form of higher education, while 38% committed by unemployed individuals. Crucially, three-quarters of Islamic terror offences in the UK were committed by individuals who were previously known to the authorities.

Non-Violent Extremism in the UK

Tom Wilson

A new report from The Henry Jackson Society, *Foreign Funded Islamist Extremism in the UK*, highlighted the need for a public inquiry into the foreign-based funding of Islamist extremism. We report on a growing body of evidence on the considerable impact that foreign funding has had on advancing Islamist extremism in Britain and other Western countries. The makes clear that the foreign funding for Islamist extremism in Britain primarily comes from governments and government linked foundations based in the Gulf, as well as Iran. Foremost among these has been Saudi Arabia, which since the 1960s has sponsored a multimillion dollar effort to export Wahhabi Islam across the Islamic world, including to Muslim communities in the West. In the UK, this funding has primarily taken the form of endowments to mosques and Islamic educational institutions, which have apparently, in turn, played host to Islamist extremist preachers and the distribution of extremist literature. Influence has also been exerted through the training of British Muslim religious leaders in Saudi Arabia, as well as the use of Saudi textbooks in several of the UK's independent Islamic schools. Many of Britain's most serious Islamist hate preachers sit within the Salafi-Wahhabi ideology and are apparently linked to Islamist extremism sponsored from overseas, either by having studied in Saudi Arabia as part of scholarship programmes, or by having been provided with extreme literature and material within the UK itself. There have been numerous cases of British individuals who have joined Jihadist groups in Iraq and Syria whose radicalisation is thought to link back to foreign funded institutions and preachers.

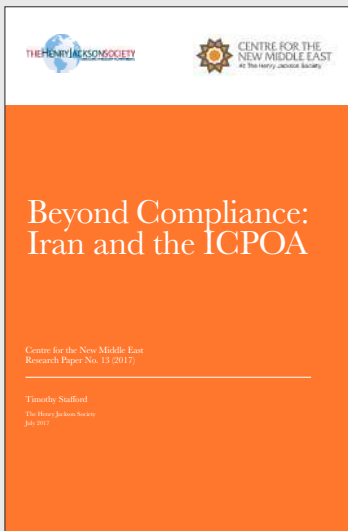
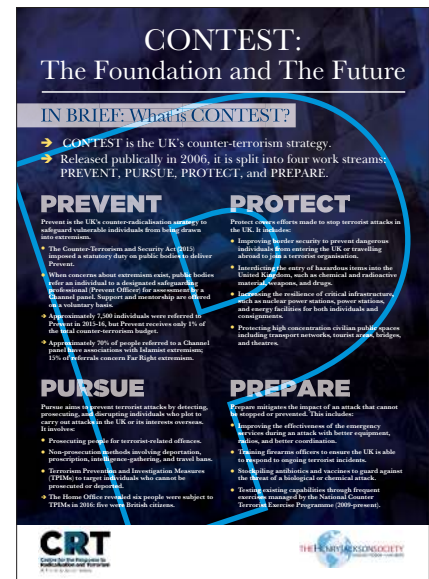


Publications *continued*

Understanding CONTEST: The Foundation and The Future

Nikita Malik, Tom Wilson, Kyle Orton, Julia Rushchenko

CONTEST, the UK's counter-terrorism strategy, was made publically available in 2006, with further revisions following in 2009 and 2011. It is split into four work streams – *Prevent, Pursue, Protect, and Prepare*. In light of the recent terror attacks in the UK, this research briefing provides a short and contextual summary of each of the four 'P's within the CONTEST strategy, illustrating concerns within the strategy that can, and should, be considered by the UK government as it works to counter extremism, radicalism and terrorism in the years ahead. The paper also discusses key challenges to CONTEST in the post-2017 era. It makes the following suggestions: (1) Existing legislation regarding terrorism and extremism must be used more effectively; (2) Steps must be taken to reiterate that Prevent is not discriminatory; (3) The definition of 'extremism' contained within the 2015 Counter-Extremism Strategy must be supplemented; (4) Public spaces at risk of a terror threat must be made more resilient; (5) Intelligence gathering, sharing and analysis regarding extremism must be improved, particularly data analysis; (6) Deportation should form a much more central part of the government's strategy.



Beyond Compliance: Two Years of the Iranian Nuclear Deal

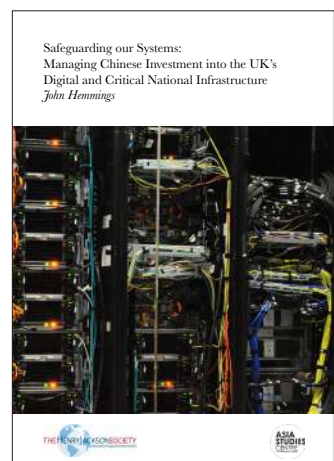
Timothy Stafford

July 14th will mark the two-year anniversary of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), the nuclear agreement with Iran. The agreement remains controversial, largely because Iran's level of compliance with the specific terms of the accord is disputed: though the State Department formally deemed Iran to be in full compliance last month, the US Secretary of State, Rex Tillerson, simultaneously referred to the deal as a 'failure'. This is largely due to Iran's continued progress in developing ballistic missiles, which remains a 'grey area', having never been fully clarified at the time the JCPOA was negotiated. In addition, broader relations between Iran and the international community remain negative due to Tehran's sponsorship of terrorism throughout the wider Middle East. The JCPOA intended to prompt Iran's re-engagement into the international community, so that Iran will be unwilling to return to the nuclearisation process once the limits on its enrichment and other activity expire. The former has not transpired, casting doubt on the likelihood that the latter can be avoided. **The paper will be published in July.**

Safeguarding Our Systems

Timothy Stafford

The UK is the largest European recipient for Chinese FDI, much of which is going into critical national infrastructure and the UK's digital infrastructure. While George Osborne's 'Golden Era' of relations was successful in drawing in much of this inward-bound investment, there has been little transparent oversight over Chinese investments into the more sensitive parts of the UK's economy, particularly those that deal with data protection or those that affect national security. This report seeks to investigate what the current system of oversight is for the UK, and ascertain whether it is sufficient for adequately monitoring Chinese-directed investment in areas of concern. Given that the UK government still excludes telecommunications, data centres, and high tech from its definition of 'critical national infrastructure', it is likely that Chinese state and public-owned corporations are currently able to access these at will. The paper will also suggest various institutional models for implementing a process that takes into account British business and government culture. **The paper will be published in July.**



Events

Maidan: Three Years On

On the 3rd of April, The Henry Jackson Society welcomed Orysia Lutsevych, manager of Ukraine Forum at Chatham House, Roland Oliphant, Moscow correspondent for the Daily Telegraph, and Dr Rory Finnin, Head of the Department of Slavonic Studies at Cambridge University, to mark three years since the Maidan Revolution. The discussion revolved around the roots of the Euromaidan movement, a wave of heavily repressed pro-Western demonstrations that started in late 2013 and led to the collapse of Viktor Yanukovich's government. Lutsevych argued that although the revolution could have been predicted, it could not have been prevented: the extent of Russia's control over Ukraine and the exacerbated polarisation of the country's society was inevitably leading to crisis. Finnin concluded that Ukrainian civil society took an increasingly important role in the revolution and has now inspired many legislative reforms that Maidan protestors called for three years ago.



Dr. Andrew Foxall, Orysia Lutsevych, Roland Oliphant, Dr. Rory Finnin



Tarek Osman, Tom Wilson

Islamism

On the 20th of April, The Henry Jackson Society welcomed Tarek Osman, author of *Egypt on the Brink* and presenter of the BBC series *Islam Divided*. Osman discussed his new book *Islamism: What it Means for the Middle East and the World*. The book explores the development of the largest, most influential Islamic groups in the Middle East over the past century. In his talk, Osman highlighted how technology has created a unique scenario for the proliferation of different ideas and movements. With 40% of the world's Muslims under the age of 25 years old, he suggested that social media presents an opportunity – neither intrinsically bad nor good – for what

he calls 'theological entrepreneurship'. Due to an increase in competition of sources of religious ideas and information, Osman claimed that it poses the risk of rendering traditional seats of learning as obsolete. He also argued that converts to Islam, more so in Europe than in the United States, often develop their own unique interpretation of Islam.

Bernard-Henri Lévy on Mosul and the French elections

On the 26th of April, The Henry Jackson Society and Lord Risby welcomed French philosopher, journalist and writer Bernard-Henri Lévy, to talk about his recent documentary, *The Battle of Mosul*, and his thoughts on the upcoming second round of the French presidential elections. *The Battle of Mosul* features the intense work of Iraqi security services in their effort to oust Islamic State from their 'Second City' and main bastion in Iraq. Recounting his time in Iraq, Lévy argued that the battle against extremism and fascism is an obligation and a necessity that makes the war against the Islamic State a just war. He depicted the Kurds as a beacon of hope in the Middle East, a place where democratic Islam has taken place. On the French elections, Lévy asserted that French politics has turned into a reality show and that voters are no longer concerned with policies – but with personalities, inspired by the US. Lévy stated that in his view, Le Pen is a 'racist who is bad for France', and warned that her economic policies will bring France to financial ruin. He expressed hope that France will see a revival of republicanism, but was not optimistic about such outcome.



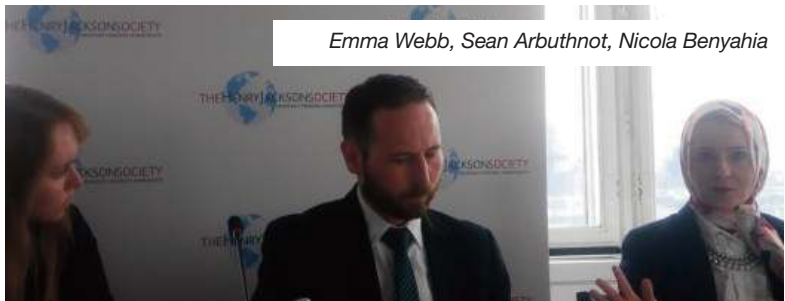
Bernard-Henri Lévy, Lord Risby

Events *continued*

Report Launch: Spotting the Signs of Extremism

On the 27th of April, we welcomed Nicola Benyahia, a counsellor at Families for Life, a support service for individuals affected by radicalisation, and Sean Arbuthnot, a specialist who consults on the Prevent Duty. Together with HJS Research Fellow Emma Webb, the panellists launched an interesting discussion on

radicalisation among British youth and the reasons behind it, based on Webb's recently published report on the topic. Arbuthnot, who had spent several years as a Prevent officer experiencing first-hand radicalised youth, and Benyahia, whose son was killed two years ago after joining the Islamic State, both profoundly agreed with the report's findings, according to which socialisation plays a vital role in the process of radicalisation, particularly face-to-face socialisation with recruiters. Arbuthnot stated that 'no one is born a terrorist', and that preventative measures are vital. Benyahia agreed that the human element was a decisive factor, noting that her son could not have planned and executed such a complex journey without assistance.



Emma Webb, Sean Arbuthnot, Nicola Benyahia

Black Wind, White Snow: The Rise of Russia's New Nationalism

On the 8th of May, The Henry Jackson Society welcomed Charles Clover, author and journalist in Beijing for the *Financial Times*. Clover discussed his new book *Black Wind, White Snow: The Rise of Russia's New Nationalism*, which focuses on the ideological underpinnings of President Putin's Russia and the Eurasianism theory. Clover suggested that Russian nationalism is a recent phenomenon: before 2008, Russian nationalists were widely marginalised. From 2008 to 2010, this group suddenly invaded all forms of media and became extremely mainstream. Incidentally, as these ideas gained importance in Russia, Russia's foreign policy started to change accordingly by establishing its own national identity. Clover pointed out that nationalist ideology in today's Russia is useful to the Kremlin for its own interests.



Dr. Andrew Foxall, Charles Clover



Dr Wu Shichun, Timothy Stafford

One Belt, One Road

On the 8th of May, The Henry Jackson Society hosted Dr Wu Shichun, President of the National Institute for South China Sea Studies and a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute. Dr Shichun discussed new Chinese initiatives, such as *One Belt One Road*, and the potential impact on the Eurasia region. He stated that China's main goal in such initiatives is to build a common society with a shared future, and to strengthen economic ties between China, Russia, Europe and Central Asia. The *One Belt, One Road* project will link China to South, South East, and Central Asia and ultimately Europe through new infrastructure projects. Dr Shichun also suggested that the competition between the US and China will continue, as from China's prospective, this competition is a natural defence for its national security.

Dr Shichun concluded by stating he places great confidence in the future of China-ASEAN discussions, and suggested that a focus on cooperative development should be prioritised, thereby setting aside questions of sovereignty.

Events *continued*

The Fate of the West

On the 9th of May, The Henry Jackson Society welcomed journalist and consultant Bill Emmott to debate the findings in his new book, *The Fate of the West*. The book argues that Western states are reacting to global insecurity and economic uncertainty by closing borders, hoarding wealth and solidifying power, and that wealth inequality and insularity are some of the biggest threats to democracies. For Western democracy to survive, he believes, states need to resist the temptation to be rigid and unequal. Emmott further argued that the recent electoral success of Trump, the rise of the far right in Europe, and the Brexit vote in the UK are all symptoms of a growing problem within democratic nations. However, the problems can be repairable, if liberals speak up and work to attain both openness (transparency reform) and equality (the equal rights of citizens across the wealth and political spectrum). Emmott concluded that an open society, in the face of an increasingly globalised world order, is not only possible but may be the only solution.



Dr. Alan Mendoza, Bill Emmott

On the 11th of May, The Henry Jackson Society welcomed Professor Joan C. Williams, the Founding Director of the Center for WorkLife Law at University of California, Hastings College of the Law. Williams discussed the findings of her new book *White Working Class: Overcoming Class Cluelessness in America*. In an attempt to clarify the stimulus behind Donald Trump's electoral base, the book offers a straightforward explanation of why so much of the Washington-class' analysis of the white working class is misguided, and their assumptions fundamentally flawed. According to Williams, analysts and correspondents often confuse the term 'working class' with 'poor', and fail to recognise the motivations and desires of Trump's voters. She further argued that the Clinton election campaign stigmatised every insult, apart from those directed to the white working classes. By abandoning the concerns of such a group to other equality groups and failing to add class insults under the broad umbrella of political correctness, Professor Williams called Trump's election a *cri de coeur* of the working class against a neglectful business and professional elite.

White Working Class: Overcoming Class Cluelessness in America

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Kyle Orton, Professor Joan Williams

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Dr. Alan Mendoza, Mohammed Amin MBE,
Azhar Aslam, Dr Usama Hasan



Islamic Foundations of a Free Society

On the 15th of May, The Henry Jackson Society welcomed Mohammed Amin MBE, the Chairman of the Conservative Muslim Forum, Azhar Aslam, a founding member of the Istanbul Network for Liberty and CEO of the EO Vision21 Foundation, and Sheikh Dr Usama Hasan, ex-Mujahid, and the Head of Islamic Studies at the Quilliam Foundation, for an open discussion on their works on Islam and its compatibility with liberal and Western values. Amin explained the differences between the Sunni and Shia branches of Islam, before turning towards defining Islamism versus rationalism. The term 'Islamism' was coined during the 1930s during the rise of fascism, an ideology that Islamism was built on according to Amin. Amin argued that Islam, depending on one's interpretation, is indeed compatible with Western societies. As an example, he compared the holy book with article 18 of the UN charter of Human rights. Hasan stated that the Quran advocates open debate, reflection, as well as 'turning the other cheek'. Aslam added that many of liberalism's ideas were in fact taken, or at least deeply influenced, by Islamic ideology.

Events *continued*



Douglas Murray

The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam

On the 16th of May, Douglas Murray, Associate Director of The Henry Jackson Society, launched his latest book, *The Strange Death of Europe: Immigration, Identity, Islam*, to a packed audience at the HJS headquarters in Milbank Tower. Born from the idea that more substantive analysis on Europe's migration crisis is required, Murray set forth in this book to answer the fundamental questions of who, and what, Europe is for, and if it can indeed be a home for everyone who wants a better life. Combining an eyewitness account of the reality in Europe with careful analysis, the book eviscerates popular fallacies that have plagued European thinking. In his talk, Douglas argued that although much of Europe's response to the migration crisis has been based in good intentions, resettling those migrants would be nothing more than a temporary and unwise solution. Murray also described to the audience the efforts of George Soros' network to facilitate migration from North Africa by providing migrants with prepared, fraudulent narratives for the best chances of resettlement. He concluded with the observation that much of Western Europe suffers from a 'fatigue of history', culminating in a reticence to engage with challenges and difficult discussions. This, he argued, must be changed.

David Goodhart: The Road to Somewhere

On the 23rd of May, we welcomed journalist, author and think tanker David Goodhart, currently the Head of the Demography Unit at Policy Exchange. Goodhart came to discuss the thesis of his new book *The Road to Somewhere*. In an attempt to address the issues of the divisions in British society in regards to Brexit, the book offers an explanation of why the views and wishes of the liberal urban elite were pushed aside, and the more populist, patriotic, and rural wave won through. According to Goodhart, the societal division in regards to Brexit was split into two main camps: the so-called 'anywheres' and the 'somewheres'. While the former group is educated, mobile, and cherishes fluidity, openness, and movement, the latter is usually more well-rooted, generally less well-educated, and prefer group attachments and security. While the elite, liberal tribe sees the world from 'anywhere', the other only sees it from 'somewhere'. With this distinction in mind, Goodhart argued that the Labour government's decision to allow a surplus of Eastern European workers in 2004 ignited the defiance of the 'somewheres', along with Labour's recent political endeavours un-grounding them from their traditional past. Goodhart concluded that this dichotomy was the stimulus accounting for the overwhelming result of Brexit.



David Goodhart



Dr. Alan Mendoza, Joschka Fischer

Joschka Fischer: The View from the Continent

On the 22nd of May, The Henry Jackson Society welcomed the former German Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer for a fascinating discussion on EU and Brexit-related topics. As one of the most experienced popular politicians of the Schroder era, his insights into the future Brexit negotiations and the future of the EU were thought provoking. The former minister stated that as a strong believer in the European project, he regrets the decision of the referendum. He then unfolded his nightmare scenario, which was that following Brexit and Trump's victory, the populist surge would culminate in the election of Marine Le Pen in the French elections. In regards to the Brexit negotiations, Fischer urged restraint from both sides stating that it would be wise to avoid a so-called 'poisonous divorce'. He concluded that 'in' or 'out' would ultimately not change how Britain is effected by the continent.

Events *continued*

What Will Trump Do Next? Lessons on How Presidents Learn and Change in Office

On the 24th of May, Professor William Inboden, who served as Senior Director for Strategic Planning and Institutional Reform in president George W. Bush's National Security Council, visited The Henry Jackson Society to discuss American foreign policy in the 21st century against the backdrop of President Trump's first foreign trip. Inboden began by challenging misconceptions regarding the foreign policies of presidents Bush and Obama, underlining the fact that both presidents exercised their executive authority and resorted to the unilateral application of military force. He outlined their foreign policies in phases, tracking president Bush's evolution from a believer in 'nationalist pragmatism' to an ideological leader with an 'agenda of freedom', and that of president Obama from idealistically 'hoping for change' as candidate and president-elect to reverting to policies resembling Bush's own during his first term in office. Looking to the future under President Trump, Inboden reassured the audience that whatever candidates may say on the campaign trail, presidents entering the White House inherit certain grand strategic principles and end up maintaining some degree of continuity.



Timothy Stafford, Professor William Inboden

On the 25th of May, The Henry Jackson Society welcomed Gilles Kepel, political science professor at the École Normale Supérieure in Paris, to discuss his latest book *Terror in France: The Rise of Jihad in the West*. The book draws on the history of Islam to elucidate the roots of the new virulent wave of jihadi terrorism in the West. Kepel paralleled Paris's Bataclan and Stade de France attacks in November 2015 and the recent Manchester bombing. He argued that while both terror attacks targeted young crowds, the two incidents were in fact radically different in terms of planning and modus operandi, thus epitomising the evolution of jihadist terrorism in Europe over recent years. According to Kepel, we have now entered the 'third wave of jihadism': a network-based, digitalised jihadism. To fully grasp this generation of jihadism, one would have to rewind History. Citing Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Al-Jazeera broadcaster associated with the Muslim Brotherhood, Kepel suggested that the third wave of jihad, unlike the ones before, will not be achieved through the military but through persuasion.



Tom Wilson, Gilles Kepel

Terror in France: The Rise of Jihad in the West

On the 16th of June, The Henry Jackson Society welcomed Stephen King, specialist adviser to the House of Commons Treasury Committee and Senior Economic Adviser at HSBC, to discuss his new book, *A Grave New World*. The book examines the recent rejection of globalization – defined as the dissolving of borders and nations developing economic interdependence – by world powers. King gave an overview of globalisation at its height and new low, and warned about the possible effects of the US stepping out of its role as a world power. As an example, he noted the US' abandonment of the TPP, which has allowed a power vacuum to be created in the Pacific that China will respond to by increasing its global influence. As the second largest economy, China is looking to exert its power and with the recent rejection of globalisation by the West, this is becoming more and more possible.



James Rogers, Stephen King

A Grave New World

On the 19th of June, The Henry Jackson Society welcomed Klaus Dodds, Professor of Geopolitics at Royal Holloway, University of London, and the Author of *Geopolitics, A Very Short Introduction*. According to Dodds, geopolitics is a way of looking at the world, one that considers the links between political power, geography, and cultural diversity. A country's location and size, as well as its sovereignty and resources, all affect its perceptions and interactions with the wider world. With this definition in mind, Dodds expanded on what we mean by the concept of 'geopolitics' in Britain, using the Government's most recent political strategy of 'Global Britain' as an example. Post-Brexit, he noted, our geopolitical 'culture' has swung in favour of addressing the so-called rise of populism. Dodds noted that geopolitical trends can be an investment for the nation state implementing such trends: as Britain approaches Brexit, Dodds was wondering what 'we' as a society can be doing to promote Britain to be ahead of its game in the international arena.

Why Geopolitics Matter



Professor Klaus Dodds

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Events *continued*

China's Economic Future: Problems and Opportunities

On the 20th of June, The Henry Jackson Society welcomed Ann Lee, CEO of Coterie, a new technology investment consortium, the Author of *Will China's Economy Collapse?*, and a leading authority on China's economic relations. Lee discussed the recent downturn in the Chinese economy, which has become a focal point of global attention, with some analysts warning that China is edging dangerously close to economic meltdown. Is it possible that the second largest economy in the world could collapse and drag the rest of the world with it, or will China simply implode under the strain of its many problems and recede from the world stage like Japan?



Professor Ann Lee



Professor Kenneth Benoit

The Brexit Debate through Social Media

On the 27th of June, The Henry Jackson Society and Kevin Hollinrake MP will welcome Professor Kenneth Benoit, Head of the Department of Methodology at the LSE. Professor Benoit has analysed over 35 million tweets sent since January 2016, in order to monitor changing opinions on immigration control, fiscal implications and the economic effects of leaving the EU. He will present his findings and ask: were arguments supporting the Remain and Leave sides disseminated through social media, and what implications might these findings have for the politics of the future?



Dr. Ted Malloch

The Future of the 'Special Relationship'

On the 28th of June, Dr Ted Malloch, Chairman and CEO of The Global Fiduciary Governance LLC, a leading strategy thought leadership company, will come to discuss the impact of Brexit on the UK-US 'special relationship'. With the UK leaving the European Union and the Donald Trump's election as President, what does the future hold for the 'special relationship' – the exceptionally close political, diplomatic, cultural, economic, military and historical relations between the two countries?

Kleptocrats without Borders: How Post-Soviet Ruling Elites Export Their Money and Power to the West

On the 29th of June, The Henry Jackson Society will welcome Ilya Zaslavskiy, Research Expert at the Free Russia Foundation and an Academy Associate at Chatham House.

Zaslavskiy will be presenting his 'underminers' project, which documents the kleptocratic practices of ruling elites from three post-soviet countries – Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Russia. He will answer questions such as: What can the West do to combat kleptocrats, both in the West and in their home countries? And how can the West help educate citizens in post-Soviet countries (and elsewhere) about their ruling elite, and in doing so promote transparency and accountability?



Ilya Zaslavskiy

Events *continued*

The 20th Anniversary of Hong Kong's Handover

On the 3rd of July, The Henry Jackson Society and Nigel Evans MP welcomed Sir Malcolm Rifkind, the activist Edward Leung, Dr. Malte Kaeding of Surrey University, and Anson Chan, former Chief Secretary in both the British colonial government of Hong Kong and the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region government under Chinese sovereignty, to discuss the 20th anniversary of Hong Kong's handover. Sir Rifkind argued that in the past

twenty years, the fundamentals of 'one country two systems' have been respected: Hong Kong remains different to the rest of China – it has a capital system, freedom of speech, rule of law, and other aspects associated with a free society. However, various attempts have been made to erode the freedom of the people of Hong Kong and to reduce the quality of the rule of law. Leung, who had some trouble with the Chinese authorities running for office in Hong Kong, claimed that Hong Kong's democratization was delayed for over a decade and that now is a time of 'democratic recession' because Hong Kong's elected lawmakers can be removed by Beijing's interpretation of their constitution. Dr. Kaeding challenged the supposed calmness regarding the handover of Hong Kong to China, and argued that over the last decade, the situation has become more polarized as a direct consequence of China's policies towards Hong Kong, which have been geared towards achieving a certain level of control.



Anson Chan, Nigel Evans MP,
Sir Malcolm Rifkind and Edward Leung

Evolution of Protests in Russia

On the 5th of July, The Henry Jackson Society and Lord Trimble hosted a panel of prominent speakers in collaboration with Open Russia, to explore Russian issues pertaining to the Russian opposition movements and recent developments in unsanctioned mass street protests across the country. In attendance were Vladimir Ashurkov, a prominent figure in the

Russian opposition and an associate of Russian opposition leader Alexey Navalny, Polina Nemirovskaia, a human rights researcher representing Open Russia, Dr. Sam Greene, Director of the Russia institute at Kings College London, and Dr Andrew Foxall, Director of the Russia Studies Centre at the Henry Jackson Society. Ashurkov proposed that a new movement is forming around the opposition and civil society organisations which has a 'virtual roundtable' on the future of Russia. The opposition, lacking state media coverage, has resorted to increasingly effective alternative media, reaching 20 million people. Mass protests, Ashurkov contends, are integral to the Russian opposition's strategy. Nemirovskaia described how Open Russia has played an increasing role in facilitating the opposition, by providing legal assistance to those unduly arrested and charged for participating in protests not sanctioned by the state. Dr Greene noted the successes of the Navalny opposition in forcing the Kremlin to defend the less popular figures in the Russian political elite.



Polina Nemirovskaia, Dr Andrew Foxall, Lord Trimble,
Vladimir Ashurkov and Dr Sam Greene

Transitional Justice and Violent Extremism in Asia

On the 19th of July, The Henry Jackson Society and John Hemmings, Director of the Asia Studies Centre, hosted Benedict Rogers of Solidarity Worldwide, Patrick Burges of Asia Justice and Rights, and Galuh Wandita of Asia Justice and Rights. The panel engaged in a roundtable discussion regarding the importance of transitional justice in Asia for victims of

human rights abuses to reduce the number of individuals turning to violent extremism. Burges explained his aims to reduce the culture of impunity, particularly in Indonesia, through bolstering avenues for accountability. His experience in the area has made him aware of the necessity of transitional justice to combat extremism. Wandita reiterated Burger's support for accountability, calling it "the foundation for lasting peace and security". She also reminded the audience that religion has been the catalyst to obtain political support all over the world for many years. Rogers illustrated a transition of actors perpetrating atrocities in the country. He recalled that five years ago, violations were committed solely by the military with religion used as an element of repression. However, recently he has seen the violence evolve to a socially and governmentally perpetrated issue.



Benedict Rogers, Patrick Burges,
John Hemmings and Galuh Wandita

Events *continued*

Dr Alan Mendoza, Andrew Haldane and Chris Philp MP



The Productivity Puzzle

On the 19th of July, Chris Philp MP, PPS to HM Treasury Ministers, and Dr Alan Mendoza, Director of the Henry Jackson Society, hosted Andrew Haldane, the Chief Economist and Executive Director of Monetary Analysis and Statistics at the Bank of England. Haldane, who was named in the 2014 TIME 100 most influential people list, outlined his analysis of the British and global productivity stagnation that he described as 'The productivity puzzle'. Haldane stressed that there has always been a concrete relationship

between productivity and GDP, one that could be traced back to the industrial revolution. While the recent flat-lining of productivity is in many ways a global puzzle, the stagnation of the UK falls far behind many other developed nations with what Haldane described as a 'lost decade' of productivity since 2007. Furthermore, he contended, where productivity leads pay follows and the widening dispersion in productivity would therefore translate into wider inequalities in pay.

Dr Ava Avila-Goldman, John Hemmings and Justin Goldman



ISIS in the Philippines: Terror Groups to Grow in SE Asia?

On the 20th of July, The Henry Jackson Society and John Hemmings, Director of the Asia Studies Centre, hosted Dr Ava Avila-Goldman, a doctoral graduate from the University of Cranfield, and Justin Goldman, ex-US Marine Corps soldier and current Non-Resident Fellow with Pacific Forum CSIS. The panel engaged in a roundtable discussion regarding the growth of the Islamic State and extremism in the Philippines, particularly in response to the group's siege of Marawi this May. Avila-Goldman described how 90% of Marawi's population had been evacuated yet, 58 days on from the siege, a significant humanitarian challenge remained. For her, there exists five important and interrelated questions: Who is behind the siege? What is the role of foreign fighters? Are the armed forces capable of mounting a response? Is Martial law the right thing to do? And, does the government have a grand strategy capable of resolving the crisis? In response to territorial losses elsewhere, it was argued that the Islamic State have revitalised terrorist networks in South East Asia. Avila-Goldman noted that it is unclear whether the military is capable of dislodging the threat.



Jamie Bartlett

Radicals: Outsiders Changing the World

On the 26th of July, The Henry Jackson Society welcomed Jamie Bartlett, Director of The Centre for the Analysis of Social Media for Demos, at an event chaired by HJS Research Fellow Tom Wilson. Bartlett came to discuss his new book *Radicals*, in which he chronicles his experiences with several of the world's 'outsiders' – those who claim to have identified society's problems, as well as their methods for fixing it. Bartlett noted that, given the historically low level of trust the public has for politicians, something was always going to give. It was argued that history instantiates the possibility for fringe movements, given the necessary context, to become mainstream. Having spent the past few years embedded into some of the most prominent fringe movements in Britain, Bartlett offered a distinctly personal account of their methods, strengths and weaknesses. He discussed the 'Radical Right', as well as Radical Environmentalism, which, according to Bartlett, are increasing in relevance.

Media



Kyle Orton on *BBC WM TV* on Islamist Terrorism in Birmingham



Andrew Foxall on *Sky News* following the St Petersburg Metro Bomb



Dr Alan Mendoza on *BBC's The Big Questions* on issues in the General Election Campaign



John Hemmings on *Sky News* on North Korea stand-off with USA



Andrew Foxall on *Sky News* on Merkel and Putin Meeting



Dr Alan Mendoza on *BBC's The Big Questions* on humanitarian intervention

Headlines Shaped by HJS

theguardian

Report calls for public inquiry into Gulf funding of British extremism

Henry Jackson Society says Saudi Arabia is 'undoubtedly at the top of the list' of countries advancing terrorism

EveningStandard.

Lifestyle • London Life

Douglas Murray on immigration, Islam and identity

In an incendiary new book, neo-conservative Douglas Murray holds forth on immigration, Islam and identity. Here, the writer tells Katie Law why he is predicting the imminent death of Europe

THE SPECTATOR

Is Marine Le Pen really far-right?

By smearing all opponents as fascists, the left blurs the line between democracy and thuggery

Douglas Murray

THE TIMES

Europe signs its own death warrant

With the continent wrestling with mass immigration and losing faith in its traditions and beliefs, its civilisation faces collapse

The Telegraph

The French want a President who will finally bring the threat of terrorism to an end

TOM WILSON
RESEARCH FELLOW AT THE HENRY JACKSON SOCIETY

sky NEWS

Saudi Arabia 'top of the list' in funding extremism in Britain

Saudi Arabia is "undoubtedly at the top of the list" when it comes to funding Islamist extremism in Britain, it has been claimed.

The Henry Jackson Society said a clear and growing link can be drawn between overseas money, which mainly comes from Saudi Arabia, and the recent wave of attacks in the UK and Europe.

Newsweek

WORLD

SAUDI ARABIA FUNDING ISLAMIST EXTREMISTS IN BRITAIN, SAYS NEW REPORT

TIME

UNITED KINGDOM

A Report Claims That Saudi Arabia Has a 'Clear Link' to Violent Jihadist Groups in the U.K.

THE NATIONAL INTEREST

America, Japan and the UK: A New Three-Way Alliance against China?



Three of the most powerful democracies in the world are teaming up.

John Hemmings

Upcoming Publications



Russia's Policies towards a Changing Arctic: Implications for UK Security

Russia Studies Centre
Research Paper No. 12 (2017)

Dr Andrew Foxall
The Henry Jackson Society
June 2017

The Changing Arctic: Implications for UK Security

Dr Andrew Foxall

This research paper explores the extent to which Russia's foreign policy actions and rhetoric over recent years have had implications for the Arctic. Since early 2014, it has been clear that Russia is an openly revisionist power and that it no longer believes that its interests are properly served within existing international laws and norms. The Kremlin has clear and well-articulated geopolitical ambitions in the Arctic, and it has suggested that it is willing to take its current standoff with the West to the region. This has the potential to have profound implications both for UK security and the broader defence landscape in the Arctic. The paper will be published this summer.

An Audit of Geopolitical Capabilities: How Does the United Kingdom Compare?

James Rogers

The outcome of the UK referendum on the European Union has provoked widespread discussion in many quarters – national and international – regarding Britain's international role. Many, particularly on the 'Remain' side, have simply assumed that the UK will decline after Brexit, without understanding the character or size of the capabilities the British state either can draw upon, or has directly at its disposal. Equally, some on the 'Leave' side look hopefully to a shrunken and more insular UK role. This paper explores the confusion generated by the two conflicting narratives, which together allow for the resurgence of a certain 'declinist' narrative in British foreign and defence policy circles, and argues that this has potential political implications, not least for the UK's longstanding role as a promoter of the institutionalisation of liberal principles, both in Europe and worldwide. The paper will be published in the autumn.



Trafficking and Terrorism

Nikita Malik

This research project will focus on the new and evolving ways that women and their bodies are used by terrorist organisations. Divided into two shorter papers, the project will examine the use of women's bodies as financial currency in terrorism (to incentivise new fighters, as slaves, in prostitution, or as ransom), and the way that criminal and trafficking networks work together to achieve this. It will also explore the use of women in a strategic way by terrorist organisations (as human shields, suicide bombers, to transfer drugs and arms, and as nodes of information), and the use and normalisation of sexual violence by both criminals and terrorist organisations in relation to women, as well as men. The paper will be published in the autumn.

Upcoming Publications *continued*

Muslim Converts and Violent Radicalisation: Threats and Vulnerabilities

Julia Rushchenko

Converts to Islam represent a small percentage of the Muslim community in Western countries. Yet when it comes to Islamist extremism and terrorism, research suggests that converts are significantly overrepresented. According to the recent report by the George Washington University, for example, around 40% of ISIS recruits in the United States are converts. ISIS welcomes recruits from all ethnic origins without any limits on membership as long as they are committed to the cause. This research aims to examine the dynamic of conversion to Islam in the UK considering converts, religious leaders and practitioners who work with the communities, to uncover possible links between conversion and homegrown jihadism. The paper will be published in the autumn.



ISIS in South Asia

Sarah Ashraf

This project aims to analyse the presence and potential of the Islamic State's influence in South Asia – specifically the Af-Pak corridor, and its evolution from potential security risk to tangible threat. It considers the rise of the organisation in the region, its recruitment trends and ability to exploit disaffected militant groups, in addition to assessing the effectiveness of the joint NATO-US Afghan counter-terrorism strategy. The study also assesses the changing pattern of Islamist violence in the region with reference to several corresponding trends, such as the spread of the Salafi jihadist narrative propagating the cause of a global Islamic caliphate, the proliferation of extremist ideas and discourses in cyberspace and social media platforms, and the growing influence of the Islamic State in the region that targets both inter-sectarian divisions (Sunni vs Shia) and intra-sectarian (Salafi vs Sunnis) cleavages. In order to inform a more effective policy, this report seeks to assess whether the Islamic State, in addition to the Taliban, should be considered a viable threat and factored into the UK's Afghan and overseas counter-terrorism policy. The paper will be published in the autumn.



Foreign Fighters and the PKK

Kyle Orton

This research paper examines the profiles of those who have gone to Syria to fight in the ranks of the Kurdish People's Protection Units (YPG). It examines their places of origin, their age, and the motives that animated them to join this conflict. Since the YPG is the Syrian department of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), registered as a terrorist organization by most Western governments, the paper also looks at what can be done to staunch this flow of foreign fighters. The paper will be published in July.

Upcoming Events

Merchants of Men: How Kidnapping, Ransom and Trafficking Funds Terrorism and ISIS

In September, The Henry Jackson Society will host author, journalist and political analyst Loretta Napoleoni to discuss her latest book. Every day, a powerful and sophisticated underground business delivers thousands of refugees along the Mediterranean coasts of Europe. A new breed of criminals, risen from the post-9/11 political chaos and the fi-asco of the Arab Spring, coupled with the destabilization of Syria and Iraq and the rise of ISIS, controls it. The ever-increasing political volatility has offered them new business opportunities, from trafficking millions of refugees to selling Western hostages to jihadist groups. The kidnapping industry in the Middle East is now worth hundreds of billions of dollars annually. Loretta Napoleoni's exclusive and meticulous research into the business of kidnap and ransom, and its link to terrorist activity, is based on first-hand accounts - from interviews with hostage negotiators to the experiences of former hostages themselves. *Merchants of Men* is a fascinating and eye-opening exploration of this most shocking of financial interdependencies.



Loretta Napoleoni



Sir Paul Lever

Berlin Rules: Europe and the German Way

In September, The Henry Jackson Society will welcome the former British Ambassador in Berlin, Sir Paul Lever, to discuss his latest book *Berlin Rules: Europe and the German Way*. In the second half of the twentieth century, Germany became the dominant political and economic power in Europe - and the arbiter of all important EU decisions. Yet Germany's leadership of the EU is geared principally to the defence of German national interests. Germany exercises power in order to protect the German economy and to enable it to play an influential role in the wider world. Beyond that there is no underlying vision or purpose. In this book, Paul Lever provides a unique insight into modern Germany. He shows how the country's history has influenced its current economic and political structures and provides important perspectives on its likely future challenges and choices, especially in the context of the 2015 refugee crisis which saw over one million immigrants offered a home in Germany. As Britain prepares to leave the European Union, this book will be an essential reading, suggesting the future shape of a Germany-dominated Europe.

Age of Discovery

In October, The Henry Jackson Society will welcome Ian Goldin and Chris Kutarna to discuss their latest book *Age of Discovery*. The present is a contest between the bright and dark sides of discovery. To avoid being torn apart by its stresses, we need to recognize the fact and gain courage and wisdom from the past. *Age of Discovery* claims to show how: 'Now is the best moment in history to be alive, but we have never felt more anxious or divided. Human health, aggregate wealth and education are flourishing. Scientific discovery is racing forward. But the same global flows of trade, capital, people and ideas that make gains possible for some people deliver big losses to others and make us all more vulnerable to one another'. To make sense of present shocks, the writers argue, we need to step back and recognize that we have been here before. The first Renaissance - the time of Columbus - democratized communication and sparked a flourishing of creative achievement. But their world also grappled with the same dark side of rapid change: social division, political extremism, insecurity, pandemics and other unintended consequences of discovery. Now is the second Renaissance. We can still flourish if we learn from the first.

On Tyranny

In October, The Henry Jackson Society will welcome author and historian Timothy Snyder to discuss twenty lessons from the twentieth century. According to Snyder, history does not repeat, but it does instruct. In the twentieth century, European democracies collapsed into fascism, Nazism and communism. These were movements in which a leader or a party claimed to give voice to the people, promised to protect them from global existential threats, and rejected reason in favour of myth. European history shows us that societies can break, democracies can fall, ethics can collapse, and ordinary people can find themselves in unimaginable circumstances. History can familiarise, and it can warn. Today, we are no wiser than the Europeans who saw democracy yield to totalitarianism in the twentieth century. But when the political order seems imperilled, our advantage is that we can learn from their experience to resist the advance of tyranny. Now is a good time to do so.

Supporting HJS

The important work of The Henry Jackson Society would not be possible without the generosity and support of our dedicated donor community. As an organisation reliant entirely on private donations to fund its programme of activities, we welcome your support for either general purposes or specified projects.

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The Henry Jackson Society

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Wire details are available on request.

US check and wire contributions will be processed in the US.

For more information on The Henry Jackson Society and supporting its activities, please contact:

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