[5]

The Van Gogh Murder and Beyond

BEATRICE DE GRAAF

In 2007, the Dutch General Intelligence and Security Service (Algemene Inlichtingen- en Veiligheidsdienst, AIVD) defined a jihadist network as "a fluid, dynamic, vaguely bounded structure, consisting of a number of individuals (radical Muslims). They are interrelated at both individual and aggregated level (cells/groups) and are at least temporarily linked by a common interest. That interest is the striving towards an objective that can be related to jihadism (including terrorism)."[1] In the Netherlands, such networks manifested themselves with different degrees of national versus international embeddedness. In this chapter, I will submit these purported compositions and the shifts between them to a historicizing analysis.

This chapter discusses the shifting nature of jihadist networks in the Netherlands as attributed to them by the AIVD and counterterrorist organizations, with a special focus on the network dubbed the "Hofstad Group," which was identified and manifested itself in 2003. Other authors, notably Lorenzo Vidino in his seminal text on the Hofstad Group, have argued that these groups were strictly homegrown.[2] Vidino's description and many of his conclusions still stand. However, upon closer examination, the definitions and boundaries proposed by intelligence officials and academics between internationally organized terrorist attacks by existent terrorist groups with top-down command structures, on the one hand, and the "new," loosely knit, bottom-up terror cells that have emerged in Europe since 2002, on the other, seem to

be much more fluid. The gradual shift from internationally organized plots to more localized plots and back again appears, in the Dutch case, to be a result, first, of the urgency to map this new phenomenon and to attribute meaning to it in order to politicize, institutionalize, and enable new policy approaches to tackle this threat. On the other hand, the framing and defining of a trend from the international to the homegrown (and vice versa) seems to depend on the counterterrorism measures employed, rather than solely on a shift in the make-up or motivational background of the jihadists involved.

The chapter starts with a discussion of the murder of Theodoor (Theo) Van Gogh on November 2, 2004, and the nature of the Hofstad Group, the network to which the perpetrator, Mohammed Bouyeri, belonged. It will then, drawing on assessments of the group's background and command structure as presented by the Dutch intelligence services, embed this plot within the broader context of the emergence of Dutch jihadism, in both its transnational and national manifestations since the late 1990s. It addresses how the perception of homegrown jihadism became fixed around 2004. Finally, it concludes with a brief introduction to the current trend—back to internationally led jihadist plots. The discussion draws from a list of terrorism arrests, releases, convictions, acquittals, and other outcomes composed by the author based on public reports, newspaper articles, and some interviews conducted with intelligence and counterterrorism employees (see table 5.1 at the end of this chapter). The table builds on an overview compiled by the Dutch newspaper *NRC Handelsblad*.

As the Dutch case illustrates, the division between international and homegrown jihadism, as made by the counterterrorism agencies, is largely semantic and artificial. The true threat to the Netherlands, and to Europe as a whole, does not depend on whether jihadist activity fits neatly into a "foreign" or "domestic" frame, nor in a "leader-led" or "leaderless" framework. Rather, at any given point the established networks and radicalization patterns have the potential to spurn both internationally directed and locally grown plots, based on a variety of internal and external pressures. In other words, Dutch terrorism—and European terrorism writ large—takes the form most expedient to the needs and origins of the plotters. Having said this, it remains rather hazardous to draw positive conclusions about trends and currents based on only a

handful of incidents and arrests.[3] A caveat thus should stay in place while discussing the threat assessments made by security agencies.

THE ASSASSINATION OF VAN GOGH: A SINGLE ACT OF A RELIGIOUS FANATIC OR PART OF THE GLOBAL JIHAD?

On the early morning of November 2, 2004, Mohammed Bouyeri, a twenty-six-year old Dutch Moroccan born and raised in Amsterdam, awaited publicist Theo Van Gogh in an Amsterdam street, shot him off his bicycle, and slaughtered him with a knife in the middle of the street in front of many witnesses.[4] Under the new Dutch antiterror laws passed in August 2004, Bouyeri was arrested and tried for murder with "terrorist intent."[5] On July 26, 2005, he received a life sentence without parole—unusually harsh in Dutch judicial history.[6]

Bouyeri's action took the security services by surprise. From 2002, the AIVD had monitored a group of some jihadi radicals whom Bouyeri was acquainted with, a network the service internally dubbed the "Hofstad Group," since it operated in the governmental residence city the Hague (Hofstad translates as "court city").[7] Its core members were under surveillance, but Bouyeri was not one of them. He did not take part in the foreign trips some of the members made and was not considered a main actor in the Netherlands jihadi scene.[8] Bouyeri's radical texts calling for violent jihad, disseminated under the name "Abu Zubair," were only noticed after the police and the AIVD stepped up their investigation into the Hofstad Group after the murder of Van Gogh on November 2, 2004, when the service discovered that Bouyeri and Abu Zubair were the same person.[9]

The central question for the judiciary (and the police and security services) was simple: did Bouyeri commit this attack on his own, or did other members of the group assist him as part of a wider jihadist campaign? Similarly, it was important to ascertain if this target selection was a new development for jihad in the Netherlands. Answers to the first question came immediately after Bouyeri's arrest, but they were not conclusive.

First of all, Bouyeri's radicalization process had taken some time, and he did not radicalize on his own. He grew up in a dreary area in Amsterdam-West as the eldest son (after his sister Saïda) of eight children, but he

was able to attend high school and engaged in community development. From 1999, he rented his own flat at the Marianne Philipsstraat and studied business informatics. His behavior became more radical and aggressive; for example, he held his sister prisoner for having a boyfriend.[10] In the summer of 2000, he was involved in a pub brawl, an attempt to stab police officers, and in the spring of 2001, he attacked his sister's boyfriend. In October, he was sentenced to twelve weeks in prison, where he intensively studied the Quran.

At the end of 2001, when he was released, his father was declared disabled, and his mother died of cancer. In 2002, Bouyeri's plans to set up a youth center in his neighborhood stalled. He quit college and started to live on social security. He now completely devoted his time to studying radical Islamic texts and started wearing fundamentalist clothes. In the el-Tawheed mosque, which he frequently visited, he met with similarly radicalizing Muslim youngsters and a self-proclaimed jihadi veteran of Syrian descent, Redouan al-Issa, or Abu Khaled, an opaque figure.[11]

Bouyeri invited his new soulmates to his house, where he organized living-room meetings and listened to lectures by Abu Khaled. He also accommodated one of the leaders of this Hofstad Group, Nouredine el-Fatmi, and two other members. His mentor, Abu Khaled, taught him and the other members of the Hofstad Group about "*tawheed*" (the unity of Allah) and instructed them in how to live as radical salafist Muslims and oppose the Western lifestyle. Bouyeri embraced these ideas.[12] After Abu Khaled was expelled from the Netherlands as an illegal immigrant in October 2003, Bouyeri tried to take over Khaled's role as spiritual leader. As the ideologue of the Hofstad Group, Bouyeri wrote, translated, and disseminated via the Internet more than fifty texts in which he increasingly called his brothers to arms against Dutch society rather than on behalf of international jihad elsewhere.[13]

In May 2004, he abused an employer at the Social Service, and on September 29, 2004, the police arrested him because he refused being fined for fare dodging. The officers found notes with telephone numbers and e-mail addresses of Hofstad Group members with him and a paper bearing similarities to a last will, which they sent to the AIVD. Bouyeri was released since he had committed only a minor offense, and he was not on the list of approximately 150 jihadi radicals that the AIVD had identified as security risks. Neither the police nor the AIVD judged Bouyeri to be a

grave danger at that time, nor did they take his participation in the jihadi network of the Hofstad Group seriously enough.[14]

Second, although Bouyeri carried out the immediate preparations for his attack on his own initiative, he was surrounded all the time during this preparatory stage by his jihadi comrades, who must have supported him one way or another. On May 19, 2004, Bouyeri received his last social security check. Between May 19 and October 28, he withdrew only €200, not an amount someone can live on for five months. On October 28, he withdrew his last money, €930, and reached his maximum overdraft. That same day, he handed Rachid Bousana an envelope with €1650, intended for his family. Where did he find the additional €720, and how could he have afforded his firearm, a HS 2000 pistol, which probably cost a €1,000 to €1,500? It is therefore hard to accept that the other defendants were not involved in one way or another, although the prosecution could prove no concrete evidence for his support.[15]

On Monday evening, November 1, 2004, during Ramadan, Bouyeri had a late supper together with his friends from the Hofstad Group. He also left behind some letters—later to be discovered as his will. Early in the morning, Bouyeri prayed with his comrades, had breakfast with them, and left the house on his bike with his pistol, a ritual kukri (a Nepalese dagger), and a fillet knife in his rucksack. His housemate, Bousana, denied having known anything about these weapons, although they lived together in his cramped two-room flat (the living room measured fifteen square meters, the single bed room only ten). Nor did he explain how Bouyeri could have purchased it.[16]

According to the public prosecutor, Bouyeri carefully planned the attack on his victim, the controversial publicist and filmmaker Theo Van Gogh. Van Gogh was known, among other things, for his anti-Islamist feelings, and he produced the provocative documentary *Submission* (an attempt to liberate Muslim women from oppression, broadcast in August 2004) with the Somali-born Dutch representative Ayaan Hirsi Ali. Hirsi Ali was well protected at that time, but Van Gogh rejected protection and seemed a good second choice. For weeks, Bouyeri observed Van Gogh's house and daily cycling route, and he picked the place, in one of the most crowded streets on the route, where he would slay his target. At 8:40, on Tuesday morning, November 2, Bouyeri overhauled Van Gogh on the Linnaeusstraat, shot him from his bike, followed him to the other side of

the street, fired another salvo of bullets (eight in total) and then cut his throat with the kukri, in front of fifty-three witnesses. With the smaller knife, he pinned an "Open letter to Hirsi Ali" to Van Gogh's chest and then fled, fruitlessly shooting at some passersby before engaging in gunfire with the police. He tried to kill the officers that pursued him, planning to be killed in the process and become a martyr, but he was shot in the leg and overpowered.[17]

Bouyeri had a farewell letter with him titled "Drenched in Blood." This verse-form text read as an incitement to holy war and was signed "Saifu Deen al-Muwahhied," which, according to Ruud Peters, a Dutch Islam expert and witness for the prosecution, is a combination of two Arabic terms: "sword of religion" (*saif al-din*) and "confessor of *tawheed*" (*al-muwahhid*).[18] In the "Open Letter" he directly threatened Ayaan Hirsi Ali and blamed politicians for allowing Jewish influences in politics. According to the Norwegian researcher Petter Nesser, the conclusion of the letter shows "the essence of al-Qaidaism," by prophesying the defeat of the enemy on the individual, local, regional, and global levels in order of priority:

> And like a great prophet once said: "I deem thee lost, O Pharaoh." (17:102) And so we want to use similar words and send these before us, so that the heavens and the stars will gather this news and spread it over the corners of the universe like a tidal wave. "I deem thee lost, O America." "I deem thee lost, O Europe." "I deem thee lost, O Holland." "I deem thee lost, O Hirshi Ali" "I deem thee lost, O unbelieving fundamentalist."[19]

These two texts showed that Bouyeri's attack was the outcome of an ideological turn to violent jihad against the Netherlands that evolved from the Hofstad Group since Bouyeri wrote these texts as spiritual support for this network.[20] In one of Bouyeri's last writings, "Open Letter to the Dutch Population," dated August 12, 2004 (which he left on a USB stick for other Hofstad Group members to disseminate within "the Umma"), he announced attacks against Dutch public places, justifying the attacks because of the support of the Dutch government for the United States and Israel.[21] His argument echoed a fatwa announced by the dissident Saudi sheikh Hamoud bin Oqlaa' al-Sjou'abi that legitimized the September 11

attacks.[22] A translation of this and other texts was found on the computers of other Hofstad Group members.[23]

The public prosecutor charged him on November 11 with murder, attempted murder (of a police officer), attempted manslaughter (of bystanders and police officers), violation of gun-control laws, suspicion of participation in a criminal organization with terrorist aims, and conspiracy to murder with a terrorist purpose Van Gogh, Hirsi Ali, and others who were mentioned in his open letter. The prosecutor demanded a life sentence.[24] The public prosecutor also set out to detain the other members of the Hofstad Group for taking part in a conspiracy to commit terrorism in the Netherlands.

The nature and character of the terrorist threat captured Dutch public debate for many months. The attacks by al-Qaeda in New York and Washington, D.C., had, of course, already shocked the Dutch government and awoken a public that had been rather indifferent to international terrorism until that time. The murder of Van Gogh, however, triggered public and political vigilance vis-à-vis the terrorist threat within Dutch society. For example, the Dutch minister of economic affairs, Gerrit Zalm, declared "war" on Muslim terrorists.[25] Fear of the terrorist threat was enhanced by emerging concerns about globalization, immigration, and Islam and transformed these fears into a state of moral panic. From that moment, policy efforts, research projects, and public debate centered on whether Bouyeri was a lone wolf or one of many radicalized Muslim youths in the Netherlands who were being recruited and organized to inflict more damage to Dutch society.[26]

JIHADISM IN THE NETHERLANDS: THREE TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS

Indeed, Bouyeri was not the first jihadi terrorist arrested in the Netherlands, nor was the Hofstad Group the first network to surface, as table 5.1 shows. Although it is hard to estimate since terrorism was only made a punishable offence in August 2004, between September 2001 and November 2, 2004, at least seventy-four people were apprehended based on suspicion of terrorism-related activities (twelve were convicted). Between August 2004, after the new terrorism law was adopted, and

December 2005, the Office of National Prosecution counted fifty-seven arrests of terrorist suspects. In fourteen of these cases the public prosecutor achieved convictions. The other suspects were released immediately or acquitted in court. Some suspects were expelled from the country because they turned out to be illegal immigrants (see table 5.1). This relatively low conviction percentage does not mean, however, that no "real" terrorist plots were uncovered and thwarted. Some acquittals are attributable to the absence of a Dutch terrorism law before 2004. But even before 2004, the AIVD and the police did uncover and disrupt various jihadist activities.[27]

From the late 1990s, the AIVD firstly identified so-called jihadist transnational networks, composed of immigrant jihadist mujaheddin who supported international jihad (MI5's al-Qaeda "facilitation networks").[28] Around 1999 or 2000, the AIVD identified "internationally-oriented local networks," the product of successful radicalization and recruitment efforts through the transnational networks of Muslims raised or born in the West. These new groups undertook the same activities as the original transnational networks but included more native members. Finally, the AIVD recognized "local-autonomous networks" made up entirely of young Muslim immigrants who were radicalized or radicalized themselves under the influence of various sources. These jihadists still viewed their activities as part of the international jihad but directed them against their country of residence.[29]

This endogenous shift took place, according to another AIVD report, from 2003 onward, when radical Islamic groups started operating inside the Netherlands but outside existing structures. The networks no longer sought shelter in mosques, where radical Muslims had found inspiration up until 2003. Instead, they looked for inspiration from veterans of the jihad who had fought in places such as Afghanistan and Chechnya or from foreign preachers. The command structures of the groups that were formed in this stage were spontaneous and local. At the same time, according to the AIVD and the Dutch National Coordinator for Counterterrorism (Nationaal Coördinator Terrorismebestrijding, NCTb), the role of the Internet increased within these groups from 2003 on—in terms of both the process of radicalization and maintaining internal communication—while the part played by mosques dwindled.[30]

In December 2002 the AIVD for the first time publicly warned in a report that "recruitment for the jihad in the Netherlands" had developed "from incident to trend." The service saw "some dozens of young Muslims . . . being prepared for the jihad, the holy Islamic war. This recruitment is an expression of a violent radical-Islamic (Islamistic) movement that has crept into the Dutch society." Most of the youths that were recruited were of Moroccan descent, and their recruiters generally were "immigrants who are either legally or illegally resident in the Netherlands" and had "a mujahedeen background." According to the report,

> most of them underwent religious-ideological and military training, mostly in Al-Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan, and some of them actually participated in the Islamistic war. They approach the young Muslims while visiting, for example, orthodox mosques. Islamic centres, coffee shops and especially prisons have also turned out to be suitable places for making contacts. Following a successful approach, the recruited youths are isolated from their environment and subjected to indoctrination. The recruitment process is completed by a testimony for posterity and a paramilitary training.[31]

Between 2001 and 2004 the service uncovered three transnational jihadist networks in the Netherlands that seemed to follow this pattern to some extent and that I will discuss below: the Eik case, the Jihad case, and the case of the Hofstad Group.[32]

THE EIK CASE, 2001

On July 28, 2001, a Frenchman of Algerian descent, Djamel Beghal, or Abu Hamza, was arrested in Dubai for preparing an attack against the U.S. embassy in Paris and the U.S. Army base at Kleine Brogel in Belgium.[33] Beghal had close contacts with the al-Qaeda leadership.[34] Through this arrest, four members of the radical self-proclaimed Takfir wal-Hijra group living in Rotterdam were arrested as well. Among those four were the French Algerian Jerome Courtailler (27) and the Algerian Abdelghani Rabia (30). Their apartments turned out to be "safe houses" or transit stations belonging or connected to an international al-Qaeda network,

according to police sources.[35] In one Rotterdam safe house, the police retrieved stolen and forged travel documents and identity cards.[36] In Belgium, the police found an Uzi submachinegun, 220 pounds of sulfur, and around 50 liters acetone. [37] Courtailler and Rabia were involved in the planned attack against the American embassy in Paris and pivotal figures in Takfir wal-Hijra. The "delivery area" for their forged documents extended throughout Europe, demonstrated by the numerous rendition requests that the Belgian, German, British, and Spanish governments submitted to the Dutch Ministry of Justice. Both Courtaller and Rabia had close contact with the former professional soccer player Nizar Trabelsi, who had traveled from an al-Qaeda training camp to the Netherlands in June 2001. Abu Hamza had charged Trabelsi with carrying out the attack on the American embassy, and Courtailler and Rabia were to assist him with the preparations.[38]

Courtailler was a pivotal figure in the Takfir wal-Hijra network in Europe as he was heavily involved in credit-card fraud and supplying radical members with false passports, identity cards, mobile phones, and safe houses. Interestingly, no Dutch citizens were involved, and no evidence was found that the network was planning attacks on Dutch soil or against Dutch targets. The Algerian and French terrorists appeared to be using Rotterdam only as a safe haven, not as a recruiting base. As a result, the court acquitted Courtailler and Rabia of all charges and released them because the whole case had been built on inadmissible AIVD reports—the two suspects had not carried out punishable offences after the police started to monitor them.[39] The acquittal was upheld on appeal in June 2004 and confirmed by the Supreme Court of the Netherlands in 2006.[40] As illegal residents, Courtailler and Rabia were deported to France and Algeria.[41]

THE JIHAD CASE, 2002

On August 27, 2002, the intelligence service alerted the national counterterrorism prosecutor to an active network of extremist Muslims that committed crimes (such as forgery and passport fraud) with the intent of materially, financially, and otherwise supporting and facilitating a terrorist organization in the Netherlands.[42] According to the AIVD report to

the National Prosecution Office, the network furthermore "supported or participated in the al-Qaeda organization of Osama bin Laden."[43] Three days later, the police arrested twelve suspects and conducted several raids on apartments in Rotterdam. Numerous recordings of Salafist texts and two martyr's wills were found in the safe houses.[44]

Moreover, the police and AIVD discovered that this network had close links to yet another network, which the AIVD had kept under surveillance since April 2002. The two networks, according to the Dutch security forces, were closely joined and displayed strong international links to al-Qaeda training camps, functioning as an al-Qaeda "facilitation network."[45] One member, the Belgian citizen Jawad M., was extradited to Belgium for taking part in the murder of an Afghan warlord, Ahmad Shah Massoud, commander of the United Front opposition to the Taliban regime, on September 9, 2001.[46] This fear was enhanced by the discovery of the telephone number of one of the arrested suspects, Anwar al-M., among the possessions of three Saudi jihadists who had been planning an attack on British and American vessels in the Strait of Gibraltar in 2002 (which was thwarted by Moroccan authorities).[47]

Apart from these international connections to al-Qaeda, the "Jihad case" also revealed new characteristics in the emergent Dutch threat: this time, Dutch citizens, of Moroccan descent, were involved in supporting terrorist activity.[48] A twenty-five-year old Algerian named Rodoin Daoud had used his religious knowledge and charisma to recruit and indoctrinate Dutch Muslims to wage jihad abroad. As a result, two young Dutch citizens from Eindhoven, Khariq el-Hassnoui and Ahmed el-Bakiouli went to Kashmir to take part in global jihad, but were shot dead by the Indian Border Security Forces in January 2002.[49]

The suspects arrested in August 2002 were tried in Rotterdam. Again, the verdict proved a defeat for the prosecution: all twelve suspects were acquitted of the principal charges (human trafficking, illegal possession of firearms, handling stolen goods, and "assisting enemies of the Dutch state and/or its allies during armed conflict"). One French suspect was sentenced to three months in prison for possessing a false passport, and an Algerian received a four-month sentence for forgery.[50] Dutch law was not prepared yet to address terrorism offenses: preparatory activities and recruiting or training on behalf of violent jihad were still not punishable under the law. Moreover, the investigation team had messed up

the evidence, mislabeling the Arabic documents and recordings.[51] However, according to Bart Nieuwenhuizen, head of the National Prosecutor's Office, while the case might have been lost, the network was disrupted. A signal had also been sent to the legislative power that new legal measures against terrorism were urgently needed.[52]

THE CASE OF THE HOFSTAD GROUP, 2002–2004: A TURN TO HOMEGROWN, LOCALLY ORGANIZED TERRORISM?

The network in the Eik case had an international command structure (Abu Hamza instructed the members), was linked to al-Qaeda, operated on a transnational basis, and did not include Dutch citizens nor direct its actions against Dutch targets. The Jihad case involved Dutch citizens but still was oriented outward (jihadists targeting the Afghan warlord Massoud) and seemed to use the Netherlands only as a safe haven. Only in 2003, when the Hofstad Group surfaced, were homegrown jihadists identified.[53]

However, the same AIVD reports, court cases, and media sources can lead to another conclusion: that amorphous transnational networks, emerging after 9/11, employed both foreign and indigenous Islamists, operated both in the Netherlands and abroad, directed their activities against a wide range of targets (Kashmir, Chechnya, Paris), and carried out a broad scope of criminal activities. The command structures of these networks precludes division into the distinct categories that the AIVD typology suggests.[54] The Eik case was the only network that featured a hierarchical command structure and involved international al-Qaeda connections. But even this network was already rather autonomous in 2001 and 2002, as were the others that were uncovered in subsequent years. This amorphous character and the parallelism of both foreign inspiration and local activity become more clear if we take a closer look at the Hofstad Group network.

From December 2001, the AIVD had been monitoring the radical Salafist el-Tawheed mosque in the north of Amsterdam for suspicion of Egyptian and Saudi influences (the mosque had financial relations to a Saudi nongovernmental organization, al-Haramein).[55] In the summer of 2002, the service identified a group of Muslim youth that met in or near

the mosque and gravitated around Redouan al-Issa (43), also known as "Abu Khaled" or "the Sheikh," who had ties to radical Muslims in Spain and Belgium. Abu Khaled was an illegal immigrant from Syria, a former member of the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood, and—according to the Dutch police and AIVD—a Takfir wal-Hijra adherent who came to the Netherlands in 1995. He became a mentor for a number of radical muslims.[56]

He inspired, among others, the seventeen-year-old high school student Samir Azzouz, of Moroccan origin but born and raised in the Netherlands. Samir Azzouz came to the notice of the AIVD in January 2003, when he took a train to Berlin, bound for Chechnya to join local jihadists in their fight against the Russian forces; he was accompanied by his friend Khalid (or Hussam, age seventeen). They brought luggage with them, including dried fruits, energy drinks, lots of clothes, cooking gear, a laptop, and a map, under the cover story of being tourists traveling to the Ukraine. At the Ukrainian border, they were arrested and put back on a train to Western Europe. The media described their adventurous journey as an amateurish endeavor, but the two young Islamists had prepared for their trip thoroughly. The police found night-vision goggles and a GPS system (which turned out to have been used in Russia) at Samir's residence after their return. The police suspect the two students were recruited by Redouan al-Issa. After his return, Azzouz's status rose; he started his own Islamic book company and began associating only with Moroccan youths.[57]

Ismail Aknikh was another Hofstad Group member with international aspirations. Aknikh, born in Amsterdam in 1982 to Moroccan immigrants, regularly attended the el-Tawheed mosque in Amsterdam, where he became acquainted with Azzouz and helped form the Hofstad Group in the fall of 2002. In the summer of 2003, he traveled with Azzouz to Barcelona to meet with Abdeladim Akoudad for guidance and instructions. Akoudad (or "Naoufel"), a Moroccan living in Spain, was suspected by the Moroccan security services of involvement in the Casablanca attacks of March 16, 2003.[58]

In October 2003, Akoudad and Azzouz discussed over the phone "shoes, first and second rate, coming from Greece or Italy and that will do well in Spain," and "documents." At this point, the Spanish authorities intervened and arrested Akoudad on October 14.[59] Two days later, the AIVD alerted the national prosecutor that Azzouz and other members of

the Hofstad Group, all regular visitors to the el-Tawheed mosque and a phone shop in Schiedam that functioned as a meeting point, were probably preparing a terrorist attack. On October 17, arrests were made in the Hague, Schiedam, and Amsterdam: Samir Azzouz, Redouan al-Issa, Jason Walters, Ismail Akhnikh, and Mohamed Fahmi Boughaba were apprehended. Apartments were raided, including the house of Mohammed Bouyeri in Amsterdam.[60]

However, the authorities could not substantiate the allegation of terrorism and released the Hofstad Group members after only eleven days. Even the retrieval of a supermarket bag filled with goods resembling ingredients for constructing explosive devices, including six security glasses, fertilizer, power tape, distilled water, liquid ammonia, hydrochloric acid, batteries, a timer, kitchen gloves, halogen bulbs, and chemical cleaner kept by Mohamed Fahmi Boughaba on Azzouz's instructions was not enough evidence to keep the men in custody. The bag did not suffice in establishing a direct link to a terrorist organization or individual terrorist intent.[61]

After their temporary detainment in October 2003, Akhnikh, Azzouz, and Walters further developed their skills as jihadists and urged other Muslims to go abroad to wage jihad.[62] Aknikh already went to Pakistan earlier that year, as did Zakaria Taybi and Jason Walters (who went twice, in July and December 2003). Walters and Akhnikh even bragged about contacts with Maulana Masood Azhar, a core al-Qaeda member—something they later downplayed in court. In June 2004, Nouredine el-Fatmi went to Portugal with three friends. The AIVD warned the Portugese authorities, out of fear that the members were planning to kill José Manuel Durao Barroso (then president-designate of the European Commission) and other guests during a reception in Oporto within the context of the European Soccer Championship that was taking place in Portugal. The four were arrested and sent back to the Netherlands, where the AIVD and the special antiterrorism unit of the KLPD interrogated them. No evidence of concrete preparations was found, not even an indication of terrorist activity. Again, the men walked free.[63] Only then, when they felt the security forces in Pakistan, Portugal, and the Netherlands were closing in on them did they start conspiring at home and confine their scope to their local environment. The next time the security forces intervened to arrest them was after the murder of Van Gogh in November 2004.

The foreign inspiration and organizational impulse of the Hofstad Group came mainly from Redouan al-Issa, who also acted as Bouyeri's mentor until October 2003. With his alleged experience as a jihadist, he seemed to function as the charismatic "magnet" that bound the group together from 2002 onward. In his seminal study *Leaderless Jihad*, Marc Sageman dismisses the role of al-Issa because "he seemed to have simply disappeared from his group" and "the remaining members of the Hofstad Group rarely mentioned him."[64] Sageman correctly warns against viewing types like al-Issa as hierarchical leaders or recruiters in the traditional sense of the word. However, precisely because terrorist networks are not static organizations, we should be careful not to dismiss him too soon from the picture.

Moreover, it is only logical that the remaining Hofstad Group members did not mention al-Issa *after their arrests in 2004*, since they all tried to escape conviction and did not plead guilty to terrorism charges. On the contrary, they denied being part of a terrorist organization altogether.[65] It would have been foolish to admit their attachment to al-Issa or dwell on his role as inspiration of the group. There is another explanation for his disappearance from the scene: after the first arrests in October 2003, al-Issa, as an illegal immigrant, was expelled from the country and declared an "unwanted alien." His role as inspirer, ideologist, and proselytizer was taken over by other leader personalities, such as Azzouz and Bouyeri.[66] Al-Issa did return in the course of 2004 (and had contact with Mohammed Bouyeri) but had too little time to regain his former position or build another network because he fled the country again on the morning of the November 2, when Bouyeri committed his assassination.

Al-Issa's real role within the network still remains vague (because of the group members' silence) and fluctuated over time (because of counterterrorist pressure). He should not be underestimated, however. He brought the Hofstad Group members together, first through meetings in the el-Tawheed mosque in Amsterdam and later, on a more informal basis, at Mohammed Bouyeri's place, where he inspired them with stories of international jihad, taught them radical Takfir wal-Hijra ideology, and conducted Islamic marriages.[67] After his apprehension in October 2003, al-Issa compared himself to a "Christian evangelist." A witness in court, who attended the living-room meetings at Bouyeri's place, saw him as a "priest" and the youngsters surrounding him as "disciples."[68]

Only in the course of 2004 did the remaining Dutch members of the network take over his role.[69]

In short, the Hofstad Group was organized locally, without any demonstrable direction from an al-Qaeda command center or from any other identifiable, preexisting terrorist organisation.[70] It started with some individuals prone to radical jihadist philosophy who actively sought inspiration from international contacts, from a foreign preacher and whom they viewed as a jihadi veteran, and from international Salafist texts. They subsequently actively supported and subscribed to international jihad in Chechnya and established contact with terrorists abroad. Only after these attempts in 2002 and 2003 were thwarted by the intelligence services and their mentor was expelled did they start conspiring against Dutch targets in 2004.[71]

THE HOFSTAD GROUP DISSOLVED, 2004–2006

After the murder of Van Gogh, the national prosecutor decided to round up again the other Hofstad Group members. Most of the arrests went smoothly, but on November 10, 2004, an arrest squad entered the apartment in The Hague where Aknikh and Jason Walters resided. They threw a hand grenade, wounding five police officers and turning the arrest into a fourteen-hour siege and a national spectacle.[72] In the meantime, two other leaders, al-Issa (who had illegally entered the country again) and Noureddine el-Fatmi, fled the country. In June 2005, when el-Fatmi returned, he was arrested together with his wife, Soumaya Sahla, and friend Martine van den Oever (a Dutch Islamist convert), while trying to pull an automatic weapon (a Croatian Agram 2000) from his rucksack.[73] A few months later, on October 14, 2005, Azzouz and Jermaine Walters (the brother of Jason Walters), who were suspects in the first Hofstad case but not incarcerated, and five other coconspirators were arrested on suspicion of preparing an attack against unnamed national politicians, the AIVD, and other targets.[74]

On December 5, 2005, the case against the fourteen Hofstad Group members started under overwhelming media presence. The court dealt with the defendants one at a time, starting with Bouyeri, whom the prosecution identified as the leader of the group. Bouyeri had remained

silent during his first trial in July 2005. This time, he delivered a three-hour-long speech where he confessed that he was filled with "joy and pride" that the prosecution compared him to Osama bin Laden. He also explained that he had killed Theo Van Gogh because he had insulted "the Prophet."[75] The other suspects, however, denied being real terrorists. Jason Walters defended himself by explaining that he only acted along with the Hofstad Group to "look cool."[76]

On March 10, 2006, Jason Walters, Aknikh, and el-Fatmi were convicted and sentenced to fifteen, thirteen, and five years in prison, respectively. Nine other suspects were convicted of being members of a criminal terrorist organization. The other five suspected members were acquitted of this charge. The Hofstad Group was also placed on the EU blacklist of terrorist organizations.[77] A second group, including Azzouz, named the "Piranha case," was convicted on December 1, 2006. Azzouz received a sentence of eight years, the others sentences of four and three years.[78]

However, on January 23, 2008 the Court of Appeal in the Hague overturned the sentences in the Hofstad case, judging that there was too little evidence to define the Hofstad Group as a terrorist organization whose members shared an ideological viewpoint and conspired and associated on a regular basis.[79] According to the judge, "the Hofstad Group displayed insufficient organizational substance to conclude the existence of an organization as laid out in the paragraphs 140 and 140a of the Penal Law."[80] The court upheld only the sentences of Jason Walters (fifteen years for attempted murder for throwing the hand grenade), Aknikh (fifteen months for possession of illegal firearms and munitions), el-Fatmi (five years for possession of illegal firearms), and his wife (nine months, same charge).[81]

In the Piranha case, the suspects also filed for appeal, and the Hague court upheld its decision on October 2, 2008. Moreover, they received even higher sentences since the prosecutor proved their involvement in concrete criminal acts (possession of firearms, etc.), rather than charging them with membership of an terrorist organization or possessing terrorist intentions, which is more difficult to substantiate.[82] Azzouz was sentenced to nine years imprisonment, Noureddine el-Fatmi to eight years, Mohammed Chentouf to six years, Soumaya Sahla to four years, and Mohammed Hamid to three months.

The Hofstad Group won their acquittals in Dutch court in reference to articles 9 and 10 of the European Treaty on Human Rights (freedom of religion and freedom of speech). In the Piranha case, the prosecution could prove that the suspects possessed illegal firearms and munitions and had collected the names and addresses of politicians and were therefore in a much later stage of preparations than the Hofstad Group suspects.[83] The Hofstad Group case depended heavily on ideological writing, which according to the judge did not provide sufficient evidence for labeling the Hofstad Group as a terrorist organization. The court emphasized that it attached great importance to religious pluralism and freedom of speech, even if this pluralism included fundamentalist and antidemocratic opinions, such as those expressed by the members of the Hofstad Group.[84]

This ruling, however, did not mark the end of the Hofstad Group saga. The public prosecutor filed for cassation, and on February 2, 2010, the Dutch Supreme Court ordered a retrial.[85] The Supreme Court rejected the argument that the suspects' organization was too loosely structured to merit the conviction. According to the Supreme Court, the Hague court had too narrowly applied the legal definition of what constitutes a terrorist organization and should bring the definition more in line with other cases of criminal organizations that specialized in stock fraud or money laundering.[86] The case was referred to the Amsterdam court again.[87] In December 2010, the court again ruled the terrorist paragraph admissible and sentenced seven defendants for participating in a terrorist and criminal organization; five of them received a sentence of fifteen months, one thirty-eight months, and one thirteen years.[88] The Hofstad Group network was defined as an organization aimed at inciting to hatred, violence, and intimidation, partly with a terrorist intent.[89] Six of the seven defendants lodged a cassation appeal and are awaiting a response.[90] The ruling of the Amsterdam court of appeal nevertheless had a large impact on legal counterterrorism instruments since it lowered the standards for defining a group as a terrorist organization.

PRELIMINARY LESSONS FOR COUNTERTERRORISM, 2004–2008

Although the AIVD had been perspicacious in identifying homegrown domestic threats by organizationally unaffiliated militants as early as

1998 and 2002,[91] antiterrorism legislation was only adopted in August 2004. This meant many cases failed for procedural reasons (see table 5.1). Only under the influence of the Madrid bombings of March 2004 and the European Framework Decision of 2002,[92] did the Dutch parliament agree to new counterterrorism laws that made it possible to prosecute and arrest suspects for terrorist offences such as taking part in preparations for terrorist attacks, recruitment, receiving training, or being a member of a terrorist organization.[93]

In 2004, the "comprehensive approach to terrorism" propagated by the AIVD and the National Coordinator for Counterterrorism found enough political and public support.[94] This approach entailed appeals to school teachers, youth workers, and imams to report radicalization signs to the police.[95] The NCTb also initiated a number of publicity campaigns and advertisements appealing to the population to exercise vigilance against possible terrorism.[96]

From the failures to get convictions in the Eik, Jihad, and Hofstad cases, the prosecution learned that vague allusions to international terrorism did not hold up in court. Nor was it easy to convince the court of the existence of a terrorist organization according to the new Law on Terrorist Crimes adopted in August 2004.[97] Therefore, the prosecution after 2004 concentrated more on hard evidence (such as possession of firearms) than on trying to demonstrate wider but vaguer connections to terrorist networks or trying to prove (ideological) terrorist intentions.[98] This new approach was more fruitful, as with the Piranha case (whereas the prosecution lost the first rounds of appeals in the Hofstad Group case because the evidence relied too heavily on ideological semantics).[99]

Moreover, because of intelligence efforts, the Hofstad Group network and other similar homegrown networks seem defeated, disrupted, or divided from within.[100] The AIVD's close tail on jihadists like Samir Azzouz, for example, prevented him from developing extensive professional skills or international terrorist contacts. Intelligence services frustrated his early trip to Chechnya in 2003 and his contacts with Mohammed Achraf (an Algerian arrested in Switzerland in 2004) and Abdeladim Akoudad (which proved that Azzouz had been serious about soliciting more international contacts and experience).[101]

According to the AIVD, the activities of homegrown radicals have been disrupted. Even if it could not arrest suspects for terrorism, it could

expel them from the country, according to AIVD official reports ("*ambtsberichten*") to the IND. This procedure was deployed against three immigrants, of Algerian, Moroccan and Turkish origin, who were consequently declared "unwanted aliens"[102]—a procedure that has earned criticism on human rights grounds because neither the immigrants nor their lawyers are entitled to study the evidence (since the expelled immigrants were not arrested for terrorism, they do not feature on table 5.1).[103]

The radicalization of Moroccan youngsters continued, according to the AIVD. Young Muslims met on the Internet or while attending the sermons of traveling youth preachers. However, this radicalization trend should be viewed more as part of an Islamist youth counterculture that uses radicalism as a way to express a separate identity within the Dutch context. Moreover, the scale of radicalization has been reduced. On the contrary, the AIVD noticed that Dutch Moroccan Muslims increasingly found ways of articulating their grievances and frustrations through democratic and activist channels. The Israeli bombing of Gaza, in December 2007/January 2008, for example, led to an explosion of nonviolent initiatives, such as demonstrations, petitions, fund-raising activities, and appeals to boycott certain products. In comparison, the movies of Geert Wilders (*Fitna*) and Ehsan Jami attracted much less response and indignation than suspected. Within the Dutch salafist milieu, the AIVD therefore noted a "self-cleansing power" and an increased resilience against (violent) radical tendencies within the Muslim community, an estimate confirmed by newspaper reports.[104]

A RETURN TO THE INTERNATIONAL, 2008–2011

Since 2008, both the NCTb, or National Coordinator for Terrorism and Security (formerly the Nationaal Coördinator Terrorisme en Veiligheid, NCTV; renamed in 2011) and the AIVD have claimed to have these homegrown networks under control.[105] In its 2008 annual report, the AIVD concluded, "The terrorist threat increasingly emanates from transnational and local networks with an international orientation, but less from local-autonomous networks." The transnational or international threat, in the form of returning trainees from the Afghanistan/Pakistan regions or from Somalia and Yemen is therefore back on the national

counterterrorist agenda.[106] This international turn showed itself in at least three concrete ways in 2008 and 2009.

First, Dutch authorities identified direct links between networks or individuals operating on Dutch soil and networks and organizations in Pakistan or Afghanistan. In May 2008, a Dutch citizen of Turkish descent was apprehended and extradited to France for taking part in the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), a terrorist organization that had been operating in the Pakistan-Afghanistan border region since 2001. In August 2008, a Pakistani known as Aqeel A., who resided in the Netherlands on a student visa, was handed over to the Spanish authorities under a European arrest warrant. According to the Spanish authorities, he was part of a jihadist network of fourteen people (almost all of Pakistani origin) that they arrested in January 2008 in Barcelona that planned suicide attacks in Western Europe. Aqeel was designated for a suicide mission in Germany. Unlike in the United Kingdom or Germany, where similar networks with Pakistani or Afghan links were uncovered, this "Barcelona case" showed no homegrown component. The network consisted of "Pakistani-born, long-term residents of Europe," who acted primarily as facilitators for younger "operatives," also from Pakistan, who had been radicalized and trained there before being sent to Europe specifically to carry out suicide attacks.[107] In December 2008, the first national coordinator for counterterrorism, Tjibbe Joustra, warned against a "substantial" terrorism threat (he even added to that in defining the threat as "substantial with a little plus"), he meant exactly this kind of international terrorism, triggered by the notoriety the Dutch had gained through anti-Islam movies like Geert Wilders's *Fitna*, Ayaan Hirsi Ali's *Submission*, and Ehsan Jami's *An Interview with Muhammed*.[108]

Second, in late July 2009 three Dutch youngsters of Moroccan descent and one Moroccan citizen with a residence permit (all aged twenty-one) were arrested in Kenya, while allegedly trying to join the Islamist movement al-Shabaab in Somalia.[109] These arrests coincided with the exposure of an al-Shabaab plot involving four Australian citizens the same month and the heightened awareness of the FBI vis-à-vis the threat of Somali recruiters in the United States. It showed that al-Qaeda-affiliated groups elsewhere, but especially in the Horn of Africa, were regrouping and recruiting young supporters through the Somali diaspora in the West, thus creating a safe haven for jihadists from all over the world.[110]

Third, on Christmas Day 2009, an attack by the twenty-three-year old Nigerian Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, who intended to blow up a plane with high explosives sewn into his underwear, was foiled at the last minute. Abdulmutallab arrived from Yemen and transferred at Schiphol Airport to a flight to Detroit. The Nigerian claimed to have been trained by al-Qaeda.[111] The attack demonstrated that even although the level of the terrorism alert in the Netherlands had been lowered to "restricted" only a few weeks before, the country could still be used as a transit point for international terrorism. The National Coordinator for Counterterrorism immediately started an investigation into security checks at Schiphol; moreover, the ministry for Home Affairs announced the introduction of body scans.[112]

In addition to these solid cases based on material evidEnce, a series of arrests based on preliminary AIVD warnings and alerts from foreign agencies failed to achieve convictions. Between 2008 and 2011, thirty-seven arrests were made, involving alleged hijacking plots in August 2008, fake warnings about Moroccan jihadist attacks in March 2009, purported "dry runs" for terrorist attacks carried out by Yemenis en, culminating in the arrest of twelve Somali men suspected of preparing terrorist attacks on behalf of al-Shabaab (see table 5.1). All suspects were released within a couple of days. The rise in arrests shows the enhanced legal and operational competence and increased alertness by the Dutch security services, police, and judicial authorities. They also displayed the focus on foreign threats, immigrant networks, and new centers of disturbance in the Horn of Africa, especially Somalia.

In sum, according to the AIVD and the National Coordinator for Counterterrorism, the development of jihadism in the Netherlands had again become international, including jihadists being flown in from outside Europe expressly to commit acts of terror here,[113] Dutch citizens being recruited for jihad abroad, or terrorists using Dutch airport Schiphol as a transit. This lead the NCTb to raise intermittently the alert level from "restricted" to "substantial" in March 2008 (which it had also been from May 2005 until April 2007).[114] This level was confirmed in the Sixteenth Terrorist Threat Assessment, issued in April 2009, and in the Tenth Anti-Terrorism Progress Report, published two months later.[115] It was lowered to "restricted" again in December 2009 since jihadist attacks against targeting the Netherlands no longer seemed to be imminent, a status that

was confirmed in December 2011.[116] However, the Christmas Day plot of 2009 and a number of foreign alerts showed that the Netherlands, with Schiphol as a global airport, could still function as a transit site for international terrorism.

It is difficult to assess clearly the extent to which the jihadist plots, notably the assassination of Theo Van Gogh, were leader-led or leaderless and—correspondingly—whether they were internationally, transnationally, or locally oriented. As demonstrated by the most important cases of jihadist networks in the Netherlands since 2001, it is impossible to strictly divide the terrorist threat in the Netherlands along a pre-2004 international/transnational, leader-led and a post-2004 homegrown and leaderless line, as argued by the AVID.

First, the numbers are too low to derive statistically convincing trends from them. Second, and more important, the different jihadist networks uncovered in 2001 and 2002 displayed a mixture of both indigenous, spontaneous activities and an international orientation and inspiration. The Jihad case revealed both transnational links and domestic activities. And, in addition to its local center of gravity, the Hofstad Group demonstrated an international orientation as well, demonstrated by visits to training camps, participation in international jihad, contacts with terrorist suspects in other countries, preparation for terrorist attacks abroad, and inspiration by a foreign mentor. The Hofstad Group was built on the foundation of its predecessors, proving that terrorism does not emerge from a vacuum. In almost all cases, an amalgam of domestic, transnational, and international activities and actors could be identified, brought together by means of the Internet and facilitated by various personal circumstances.[117] The homegrown jihadists of the Hofstad Group and the alleged al-Shabaab recruits from the Hague arrested in July 2009 did not spontaneously radicalize:[118] they needed real-life jihadist veterans, preachers, or inspirers who could offer them leadership, ideology, connections, and instruments, at least in the initial stages, as Redouan al-Issa offered to the Hofstad Group.

In 2004, Dutch political and public debate focused on the supposedly new threat of homegrown jihadism. This resulted in new counterterrorism measures, the expansion of existing security forces, and the adoption

of a range of national and local deradicalization programs. Through these initiatives, the AIVD, NCTb, and other security organs claim to have effectively contained or disrupted the threat of locally organized jihadi networks in the Netherlands.

Given the warnings against a new international terrorism threat after 2008, we should however be careful to identify this as a new type of terrorism. Rather than focusing again strictly on the division between leader-led and leaderless jihad, we should see this development as underlining the fact that jihadists also learn from the past and adapt to circumstances in a gradual and organic way. Terrorist strategies and organization forms are often determined by the security measures undertaken by their counterparts.[119] In the Netherlands, an increase in security measures and disruptive efforts partly caused the transformation of internationally organized groups into local networks, which gave way to a new international jihadist threat again in 2008 and 2009—a trend that persisted after 2011 and transformed into a wave of Dutch youngsters joining the "foreign fight" in Syria. In 2013, the National Coordinator for Security and Counterterrorism counted more than one hundred "foreign fighters" and increased the national threat level to "substantial." Based on this acceleration of events, it should be stressed that terrorism is also a highly reactive phenomenon. Radicals are adaptive to counterterrorism measures and are able to switch quickly among local, national, and international structures than general trend assessments and strict definitions might suggest.

A final remark and caution is called for here. Since 2009, the increased number of dead-end arrests under the 2004 laws has sparked serious criticism in the media and among suspected and targeted minority communities (Moroccans, Somalis, and Yemenis).[120] Moreover, the latest terrorist attacks in the Netherlands involved lone white male operators, a tendency mirrored by the attacks of Anders Breivik on July 22, 2011, in Norway.[121] Thus, authorities were pressed to shift their attention to other types of violent extremist behavior. Notwithstanding the value of disturbance and preventative arrests, counterterrorism focused on jihadist terrorism needs to be calibrated and put into perspective against other types of threats in order to be perceived as legitimate by (targeted) minority groups and society as a whole.

TABLE 5.1

Terrorism arrests in the Netherlands, September 13, 2001–December 2011

Date	Place	Reason for Arrest	Arrested	Released	Convicted	Acquitted	Expelled	Extradited	Escaped
September 13, 2001	Rotterdam	Eik case, suspicion of preparation for terrorist attack	4		2	1	1		
September 24, 2001	Rotterdam	"Eik case	1	1					
November 2001	Amsterdam	Primary school janitor arrested for lack of identification	1	1					
December 22, 2001	Eindhoven	Involvement in attack on Afghan warlord Massoud	1					1	
February 22, 2002	Schiphol	As above	1					1	
April 24, 2002	Bergen op Zoom / Groningen / Eindhoven	Recruiting on behalf of "jihad" (the Jihad case)	10	5	2[a]	1		1	1
June 24, 2002	Canada	Involvement in preparations for terrorist attacks (Eik case)	1		1				

(*continued*)

TABLE 5.1
(Continued)

Date	Place	Reason for Arrest	Arrested	Released	Convicted	Acquitted	Expelled	Extradited	Escaped
August 30, 2002	Den Bosch, Den Helder, Eindhoven, Rotterdam, Roosendaal	Recruiting on behalf of "jihad" (the Jihad case)	12	5		7	2		
November 4, 2002	Eindhoven	Recruiting on behalf of "jihad" (the Jihad case)	2	1		1			
March 2003	Germany	Involvement in preparations for terrorist attacks (Eik case)	1		1		1		
September 2003	Amsterdam	Rendition request from the U.S., based on charges of telecom fraud and support for al-Qaeda	3	1			1	1	
October 2003	Amersfoort, Amsterdam, The Hague, Schiedam	Preparation of terrorist attacks (first arrest of Hofstad Group members)	5	5					
November 2003	Schiedam	ThreateningMember of Parliament Geert Wilders	1		1				
December 7, 2003	Schiphol	Jihadist recruitment	1					1	

January 27, 2004	North Limburg	Arrested during traffic stop for involvement in Casablanca bombings	1				1	
June 30, 2004	The Hague	Preparing terrorist attacks (second arrest of Samir Azzouz)	1			1		
July 17, 2004	Nijmegen	Preparing terrorist attacks during the Nijmegen "Avondvierdaagse" (a national walking event)	2	1			1	
July 2004	Rotterdam	Preparing terrorist attacks against the Efteling (theme park) and Diergaarde Blijdorp (zoo)	4	1	3[a]			
August 19, 2004	Roosendaal	Involvement in Madrid bombings	9	2			7	
September 21, 2004	Brunssum	Behaving suspiciously around NATO Headquarters	4	4				
September 26, 2004	Utrecht	AIVD indications that explosives were hidden at an address in Buchelius Street	4	4				

(*continued*)

TABLE 5.1
(Continued)

Date	Place	Reason for Arrest	Arrested	Released	Convicted	Acquitted	Expelled	Extradited	Escaped
September 24, 2004	Sas van Gent	Threatening MP Geert Wilders	1		1				
September 30, 2004	Leidschendam	AIVD employee (interpreter, Moroccan origin) arrested for leaking state secrets to members of the Hofstad Group, among others	1		1				
October 1, 2004	Utrecht	Handling state secrets	1	1					
October 2, 2004	Utrecht	Transporting explosives	1	1					
October 4, 2004	Utrecht	Handling state secrets	1	1					
November 2, 2004	Amsterdam	Assassination of Van Gogh (Mohammed Bouyeri)	1		1				
November 2–3, 2004	Amsterdam	Involvement in assassination of Van Gogh (Hofstad Group)	7	2		5		1	
November 5, 2004	Amsterdam	As above	1			1			

November 5 and 8, 2004	The Hague	Threatening MP Geert Wilders	4	3	1			
November 10, 2004	The Hague	Arrested in Antheunis Street for involvement in Van Gogh assassination (Hofstad Group: Jason Walters and Ismail Akhnikh)	2		2			
November 10, 2004	Amersfoort, Amsterdam	Involvement in Van Gogh assassination (Hofstad Group)	5			5		
March 24, 2005	Amsterdam	Jihadist recruitment	1		1			
April 15, 2005	Schiedam	Involvement in Van Gogh assassination	1	1				
May 18, 2005	Tours (France)	As above	1	1				
June 9, 2005	Amersfoort	Involvement in jihadist travels to Iraq (Wesam al D.)	4	3			1	
June 15, 2005	Amsterdam	Connections to Hofstad Group	1	1				
June 22, 2005	Amsterdam	Automatic weapon (“Piranha” case: Noureddine el-Fatmi, Martine van den Oever, Soumaya Sahla)	3	1	2			

(*continued*)

TABLE 5.1
(Continued)

Date	Place	Reason for Arrest	Arrested	Released	Convicted	Acquitted	Expelled	Extradited	Escaped
July 11, 2005	Amsterdam	Threatening MP Geert Wilders and possession of homemade explosives	1		1				
July 11, 2005	Dordrecht	Preparing a terrorist attack against Schiphol	3	1	2[a]				
July 29, 2005	Rotterdam	Anonymous phone call	7	7				2	
October 14, 2005	Leiden, Almere, Amsterdam, The Hague	Preparing terrorist attacks ("Piranha" case)	7	2	5				
October 28, 2005	Rotterdam	Preparing attacks	1	1					
November 1, 2005	Amsterdam	Suspicious behaviour on international train	2	2					
November 5, 2005	Rijswijk	Preparing attacks	1	1					
December 14, 2005	Schiphol	Possession of suspicious handbag on Schiphol regional train	1	1					

Late December 2005	Azerbaijan	Arrested in Azerbaijan for allegedly trying to join international jihad; claimed to be “on holiday”	3	3	
April 7, 2006	Schiphol	Making threats in an airplane	5	5	
No date	Leiden	Suspicion of being terrorists (“Nooitgedagt” case)	6	6	
October 3, 2007	Rotterdam	Hiding explosives	2	2	
December 31, 2007	Rotterdam	Preparing terrorist attacks against the Erasmus Bridge	3	3	
August 2008	Rotterdam	False reporting of an airplane hijacking by al-Qaeda	3	2	1
March 12, 2009	Amsterdam	Anonymous phone call about an imminent terrorist threat against IKEA and other stores in Amsterdam South East	7	7	
May 4, 2009	Amsterdam	Maker of the anonymous phone call that resulted in the arrests of March 12	1	1	

(*continued*)

TABLE 5.1
(Continued)

Date	Place	Reason for Arrest	Arrested	Released	Convicted	Acquitted	Expelled	Extradited	Escaped
July 30, 2009	Kenya	Trying to join a jihadist training camp of al-Shabaab in Somalia[b]	4	4					
September 19, 2009	The Hague	Director of the TodaysArt festival arrested for showing movies about terrorist attacks in The Hague that could lead to copy-cat behavior; released the same day	1	1					
November 8, 2009	Dronten	Request by the United States because of involvement and support of the international jihad	1					1	
August 30, 2010	Amsterdam	Dry run and preparation for terrorist attacks[c]	2	2					
September 19, 2010	Amsterdam	Tip from the British authorities[d]	1	1					
November 23, 2010	Amsterdam	Request of Belgian government	3	1					

December 24, 2010	Rotterdam	Preparing terrorist attacks and involvement with al-Shabaab[e]	12	12					
February 22, 2011	Rotterdam	Human trafficking and preparing attacks on oil pipelines in Nigeria	1	1					
April 2011		Suspicion of trying to kill American soldiers in Afghanistan and al-Qaeda[f]	1						
Total			184	112	28	22	5	19	1

[a] Not for terrorist-related activities.
[b] Four suspects (three Dutch citizens of Moroccan descent and one Moroccan with a residence permit) arrested in Kenya, transported to Brussels, extradited to the Netherlands; inquiry is still pending.
[c] Two Yemeni men arrested at Schiphol Airport. Several suspicious objects had been found in their luggage in the United States. Nothing illegal is found, and the men are released a day after their arrest.
[d] A British citizen of Somali descent is arrested on Schiphol Airport after a tip from British authorities that he might be involved in foreign terrorist activities; released for lack of evidence.
[e] Twelve men from Somali descent are arrested in Rotterdam after the Dutch Intelligence Agency (AIVD) tips the police; all suspects are released within a couple of days.
[f] A Dutch citizen of Moroccan descent was arrested in Pakistan in 2010 and extradited to the Netherlands in April 2011. A district court ruled in November that he could be extradited to the United States, case sent to the Court of Appeals.

Source: Based on research conducted by *NRC Weekblad*, "Vals alarm," June 6, 2009; numbers provided by the Dutch Public Prosecution Office. Terrorism (and terrorism-related activities such as recruitment, training, and preparation) was defined as a punishable offence only in August 2004. Before that date, terrorism as such could not be prosecuted; the arrests listed before 2004 were based on other grounds (e.g., possession of firearms, lack of identification). Also based on research conducted by *Onderzoeksjournalistiek van de Publieke Omroep*, "Overzicht van aan terrorisme gerelateerde arrestaties in Nederland sinds 11 september 2011," September 10, 2011, http://www.onjo.nl/Item.2558.0.html?&no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=49511.

NOTES

The author wishes to express her sincere thanks to Bart Schuurman, Quirine Eijkman, Liesbeth van der Heide, Edwin Bakker (Centre for Terrorism and Counterterrorism, the Hague/Leiden Univeristy) and the editors of this volume for their contributions and comments.

1. Roel Willemse, senior policy adviser with the Dutch General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD), "Terrorism and Radicalisation, a Study in the Dutch Context," in *Radicalisation in Broader Perspective*, ed. The National Coordinator for Counterterrorism (NCTb) (The Hague: NCTb, 2007), 25. Cf. also General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD), *Violent Jihad in the Netherlands: Current Trends in the Islamist Terrorist Threat* (The Hague: AIVD, 2006), 13–14.

2. Lorenzo Vidino, "The Hofstad Group: The New Face of Terrorist Networks in Europe," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 30, no. 7 (2007): 579–92; Lorenzo Vidino, *Al Qaeda in Europe: The New Battleground of International Jihad* (New York: Prometheus Books, 2006), esp. chapter 12, "The Van Gogh Assassination." See also Bart Schuurman, Quirine Eijkman, and Edwin Bakker, "The Hofstadgroup Revisited: Questioning the Status of a 'Quintessential' Homegrown Jihadist Network," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 25 (2014, forthcoming): 1–23.

3. Cf. the discussion by Nassim Taleb on the danger of measuring the risk of rare events, making society dependent on spurious measurements: Nassim Nicholas Taleb, *The Black Swan: The Impact of the Highly Improbable* (New York: Random House, 2007).

4. A highly informative account of the assassination of Van Gogh and the development of the Hofstad Group can be found in Albert Benschop, "Jihad in the Netherlands: Chronicle of a Political Murder Foretold," http://www.sociosite.org/jihad_nl_en.php (accessed June 2009).

5. Verdict against Bouyeri, District Court of Amsterdam, Case Number LJN: AU0025, Rechtbank Amsterdam, 13/129227-04, July 26, 2005.

6. In the Netherlands, life sentences are rare. Bouyeri was the twenty-eighth person to receive such a sentence since 1945, war criminals included. Capital felonies, such as murder, usually result in sentences of ten to fifteen years. The new terrorism law, however, states that if there is a terrorist motive for a crime, the sentence can be increased by half. Imprisonments ordinarily in excess of fifteen years can be upgraded to life imprisonment, as was the case with Bouyeri.

7. Description of this case is based, among others, on the records of the national prosecutor in the Hofstad Group case: National Prosecutor's Office, *Requisitoir van de officier van Justitie*, part 1, January 23, 2006, and part 2, January 25, 2006; verdict in the Hofstad Group Case, District Court of Rotterdam, March 10, 2006; verdict against Bouyeri, District Court of Amsterdam; also see http://zoeken.rechtspraak.nl/resultpage.aspx?snelzoeken=true&searchtype=ljn&ljn=AU0025&u_ljn=AU0025;

verdict in the Hofstad Group case; Appeal Court; "The 'Hofstadgroep,'" *Transnational Terrorism, Security, and the Rule of Law*, Working Paper, April 2008, available at www.transnationalterrorism.eu.

8. The Review Committee on the Intelligence and Security Services officially established in March 2008 that this had been a serious intelligence failure as evidence surfaced before the attack that Bouyeri was at least affiliated with Dutch jihadist groups. See the official report by the Review Committee on the Intelligence and Security Services, "Toezichtsrapport inzake de afwegingsprocessen van de AIVD met betrekking tot Mohammed B," *Commissie van Toezicht betreffende de Inlichtingen- en Veiligheidsdiensten (CTIVD)*, no. 17 (March 2008).

9. Siem Eikelenboom, *Niet bang om te sterven. Dertig jaar terrorisme in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Nieuw Amsterdam, 2007), 23–27; see also National Prosecutor's Office (Landelijk Parket), "Repliek van de officier van justitie in de strafzaken tegen Nadir A. etc.," Amsterdam, February 6, 2005, 4–5, 9–10, 17–23.

10. *Trouw*, July 9, 2005.

11. Jutta Chorus and Ahmet Olgun, *In godsnaam. Het jaar van Theo van Gogh* (Amsterdam: Contact, 2005), 64, 200.

12. Ruud Peters, "De ideologische en religieuze ontwikkeling van Mohammed B. Deskundigenrapport in de strafzaak tegen Mohammed B. in opdracht van het Openbaar Ministerie opgesteld voor de arrondissementsrechtbank Amsterdam," (2005), http://www.sociosite.org/jihad/peters_rapport.pdf, 8; Peters was an expert witness for the prosecution in the trial. Also see Verdict in the Hofstad Group case, paragraph 109, 116.

13. For his religious and ideological ideas and their development, see Peters, "De ideologische en religieuze ontwikkeling."

14. Statement of Interior Minister Johan Remkes during the parliamentary debate on the murder, Handelingen Tweede Kamer, November 11, 2004, No. 22-1303; Chorus and Olgun, *In godsnaam*, 200.

15. National Prosecutor's Office, *Requisitoir van de officier van Justitie in de strafzaak tegen Mohammed B.*, Amsterdam, July 12, 2005, 7–8.

16. Ibid., 7.

17. Ibid., 10–26.

18. Ruud Peters, "Dutch Extremist Islamism: Van Gogh's Murderer and His Ideas," in *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge in Europe*, ed. Rik Coolsaet (London: Ashgate, 2008) 115–30.

19. Petter Nesser, "The Slaying of the Dutch Filmmaker: Religiously Motivated Violence or Islamist Terrorism in the Name of Global Jihad?," FFI/Rapport-2005/0376 (Kjeller, Norway, 2005), 25.

20. National Prosecutor's Office, *Requisitoir van de officier van Justitie in de strafzaak tegen Mohammed B.*, 29.

21. National Prosecutor's Office, *Repliek van de officier van justitie in de strafzaken tegen Nadir A.*, 31–32.

22. A Dutch biography of this sheikh is available on the website of the "Marokko Community," in which references to the September 11 fatwa are found: "Sheikh Hamoud bin Uqla as-Shu'aybi. De levensloop van een groot geleerde," posted July 24, 2008, http://forums.marokko.nl/showthread.php?t=2092457 (accessed July 11, 2009).

23. National Prosecutor's Office, *Requisitoir van de officier van Justitie in de strafzaak tegen Mohammed B.*, 43.

24. Ibid., 49; District Court of Amsterdam, *Verdict against Bouyeri*, LJN AU0025, 13/129227–04, July 26, 2005.

25. "Zalm: we zijn in oorlog! Regering: terrorisme met wortel en tak uitroeien," *Algemeen Dagblad*, November 6, 2004; "Terroristen met dubbele nationaliteit raken Nederlands paspoort kwijt. Kabinet verklaart de oorlog aan terreur," *Het Parool*, November 6, 2004; "Overheid wil meer armslag: anti-terreurmaatregelen," *Trouw*, November 6, 2004.

26. See, for example, Ron Eyerman, *The Assassination of Theo van Gogh: From Social Drama to Cultural Trauma* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008); Ian Buruma, *Murder in Amsterdam: The Death of Theo van Gogh and the Limits of Tolerance* (New York: Penguin, 2006).

27. Interview with an AIVD official, the Hague, October 10, 2008.

28. This term is used by MI5 to "refer to groups of extremists who support the Al-Qaida cause and who are involved in providing financial and logistical support, rather than being directly involved in terrorist attack planning" (Intelligence and Security Committee [ISC], *Could 7/7 Have Been Prevented? Review of the Intelligence on the London Terrorist Attacks on 7 July 2005* [London: HMSO, 2009], 7).

29. AIVD, *Violent Jihad in the Netherlands*, 17–26.

30. Ibid., 29, 37, 43–50.

31. AIVD, "Recruitment for the Jihad in the Netherlands: From Incident to Trend," press release, December 9, 2002.

32. C. J. De Poot and A. Sonnenschein published a highly interesting description of the general characteristics of jihadist networks that were active between 2001 and 2005 in the Netherlands. However, since they based their research on police records, they had to anonymize their text and combined the data from the different networks into one account. That still makes the report crucial in understanding the nature and dynamics of jihadi networks in the Netherlands, but it (intentionally) does not offer concrete information on separate networks, cases, or individuals. See C. J. de Poot and A. Sonnenschein, *Jihadistisch terrorisme in Nederland. Een beschrijving op basis van afgesloten opsporingsonderzoeken* (The Hague: WODC, 2010).

33. "Threats and Responses: The Trail in Europe: Four Suspected of Dutch Plot Go on Trial," *New York Times*, December 3, 2002, http://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/03/world/threats-and-responses-the-trail-in-europe-4-suspected-of-dutch-plot-go-on-trial.html.

34. Chris Marsden, "Why Did It Take So Long to Bring Abu Hamza to Trial?," *Global Research*, February 20, 2006. http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=2014 (accessed December 28, 2009).

35. Police records on the "Eik zaak," Criminal Investigation, Rotterdam; paraphrased in Eikelenboom, *Niet bang om te sterven*, 66–73.

36. LJN AP3601, Hoger beroep, 2200071203, June 21, 2004, http://www.wetboek-online.nl/jurisprudentie/ljnAP3601.html.

37. "Thwarting Terror Cells in Europe," CNN, January 23, 2002; "In Paris, a Frightening Look at Terror's Inconspicuous Face," *Los Angeles Times*, October 21, 2001.

38. LJN AP3601, Hoger beroep, 2200071203, Gerechtshof 's-Gravenhage, June 21, 2004, http://www.wetboek-online.nl/jurisprudentie/ljnAP3601.html.

39. LJN AF2141, Rechtbank Rotterdam, 10/150080/01, December 18, 2002, http://zoeken.rechtspraak.nl/detailpage.aspx?ljn=af2141; Polyan Spoon, national prosecutor for terrorism affairs, interview Rotterdam, September 7, 2009.

40. Verdict, LJN AP3601, Gerechtshof 's-Gravenhage , 2200071203, June 21, 2004, http://jure.nl/ljn%20ap3601, point 11; verdict, LJN AP2058, Gerechtshof 's-Gravenhage, 2200071403, June 21, 2004, http://jure.nl/ap2058; verdict, LJN AV4122, Hoge Raad, 01422/05, September 5, 2006, http://jure.nl/av4122.

41. Eikelenboom, *Niet bang om te sterven*, 72–73.

42. Verdict of the Hague Court of appeal, June 12, 2004, No. 1015008001.

43. Cf. "Echte terreur of een hetze," *Trouw*, August 15, 2005; legal file on the "Jihad" case, Rotterdam police; Eikelenboom, *Niet bang om te sterven*, 73–74.

44. National Prosecutor's Office, "Requisitoir in de strafzaak tegen Jerome Courtailler en Abdelghani Rabia," December 4, 2002.

45. ISC, *Could 7/7 Have Been Prevented?*, 7.

46. For an account of Massoud's assassination, see Jon Lee Anderson, *The Lion's Grave: Dispatches from Afghanistan* (New York: Grove Press, 2002); see also "Major Terror Trial in Belgium," CNN, May 21, 2003.

47. Lorenzo Vidino and Erick Stakelbeck, "Dutch Lessons," *Wall Street Journal Europe*, August 7, 2003, http://www.investigativeproject.org/169/dutch-lessons.

48. AIVD, "Recruitment for the Jihad in the Netherlands," 8.

49. "Herdenking in kaftans en jeans," *NRC Handelsblad*, January 23, 2002; AIVD, "Recruitment for the Jihad in the Netherlands."

50. Verdict by the Court of Rotterdam, December 18, 2002, No. 10/150080/01.

51. Ibid.

52. Eikelenboom, *Niet bang om te sterven*, 78–81.

53. See Rick Coolsaet and Teun van de Voorde, "The Evolution of Terrorism in 2005: A Statistical Assessment," University of Gent Research Paper, February 2006.

54. Spoon, interview.

55. NCTb, *Salafisme in Nederland* (The Hague: NCTb, 2008), 25; "De omstreden El Tawheed-Moskee," NOVA broadcast, November 9, 2004, http://www.novatv.nl/page/detail/uitzendingen/3011 (accessed June 2009). According to NOVA, the Saudi businessman Aqeel Alaqeel financed the el-Tawheed mosque with 1.3 million euros. Al-Haramein was blacklisted as an al-Qaeda charity, but the accusations were not substantiated and the mosque continued to operate. I am grateful to Dennis de Widt for these references.

56. Ministers of the interior and justice, "Feitenrelaas," attachment to Letter to Parliament, November 10, 2004, Handelingen van de Tweede Kamer, No. 29854.

57. For an account of this story, see "Samir A. Staatsvijand nr.één," *KRO Reporter*, October 1, 2006; the documentary includes interviews with Azzouz and his wife. Also see Eric Vrijsen, "Van Samir A tot Marad J," *Elsevier*, December 1, 2005; Arjan Erkel, *Samir* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2007).

58. Nesser, "The Slaying of the Dutch Filmmaker," 17–19.

59. Ibid.; "Spanish Link to Dutch Film-Maker's Killing Is Probed," *El País*, November 9, 2004; Craig S. Smith, "Dutch Look for Qaeda Link After Killing of Filmmaker," *New York Times*, November 6, 2004; "Muslims Arrested in Van Gogh Murder Belong to Militant Group," *Haaretz*, November 13, 2004.

60. Emerson Vermaat, *De Hofstadgroep. Portret van een radicaal-islamitisch netwerk* (Soesterberg: Uitgeverij Aksent, 2005), 76–77.

61. Eikelenboom, *Niet bang om te sterven*, 81–83; National Prosecutor's Office, *Requisitoir in de strafzaak tegen de verdachten van de Hofstadgroep*, part 1; Spoon, interview.

62. National Prosecutor's Office (Landelijk Parket), *Repliek van de officier van justitie in de strafzaken tegen Nadir A.*, 7, 13.

63. "Dutch Radical Islamic Group Planned Euro 2004 Attack in Portugal," Agence France-Presse, November 15, 2004; "Dutch Islamists Planned Barroso Attack," Reuters, November 15, 2004; Ministry of Justice, Letter to Parliament, with a Report on the Assassination of Theo van Gogh, November 10, 2004, Handelingen van de Tweede Kamer (HTK) 2004–2005, 29,854, No. 3. Also see the parliamentary debate on this report on November 11, 2004; HTK 2004–2005, No. 22, 1,278–1,332.

64. Marc Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 79; also see Vidino, "The Hofstad Group," 585–87; Marc Sageman, "Hofstad Case and The Blob Theory," in *Theoretical Frames on Pathways to Violent Radicalization* (Artis Research and Risk Modelling, August 2009), http://www.artisresearch.com/articles/ARTIS_Theoretical_Frames_August_2009.pdf, 14.

65. See their defense in the court cases in Rotterdam and Amsterdam, 2006; "Hofstadgroep bestaat helemaal niet," *NRC Handelsblad*, February 1, 2006.

66. National Prosecutor's Office, *Requisitoir van de officier van Justitie*, 44–45. For the role of al-Issar also see Vermaat, *De Hofstadgroep*, 69–74.

67. Peters, "Dutch Extremist Islamism," 118.

68. Verdict in the case of the Hofstad Group, paragraph 109.

69. At present, al-Issar is supposedly arrested and detained in Syria.

70. See also Vidino, "The Hofstad Group," 585;

71. National Prosecutor's Office, *Requisitoir van de officier van Justitie*; verdict in the Hofstad Group case; "The 'Hofstadgroep,'" *Transnational Terrorism, Security, and the Rule of Law*, Working Paper.

72. "Gewonden bij politieactie in Den Haag," *De Telegraaf*, November 10, 2004.

73. Verdict in the Hofstad Group case. For the story of female radicalization around the Hofstad Group, also see Beatrice de Graaf, *Gevaarlijke vrouwen. Tien militante vrouwen in het vizier* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2012) 249–89.

74. Verdict on appeal, Court of the Hague, October 2, 2008, No. 2200734906.

75. "Bouyeri: Vergelijking met Bin Laden te veel eer," *Elsevier*, February 2, 2006.

76. "Jason W.: Ik wilde interessant doen," *Elsevier*, December 9, 2005.

77. Verdict, LJN AV5108, Rechtbank Rotterdam, 10/000322-04; 10/000328-04; 10/000396-04; 10/000393-04; 10000325-04; 10/000323-04; 10/000395-04, March 10, 2006, http://jure.nl/av5108.

78. Verdict in the Piranha case, Court of Rotterdam, December 1, 2006; "Samir A.: acht jaar cel voor terreurplannen," *Elsevier*, December 1, 2006.

79. "Hofstadgroep vrijgesproken van terrorisme," *De Volkskrant*, January 23, 2008.

80. The Hague Court of Appeals, decision in the appeal of Jason Walters, LJN: BC2576, Gerechtshof 's-Gravenhage, 2200189706, January 23, 2008.

81. Spoon, interview.

82. The Hague Court of Appeals, decision in the appeal in the Piranha case, October 2, 2008, No. 2200734906.

83. Ibid.

84. Verdict in the Piranha case, LJN: AZ3589, 10/600052-05, 10/600108-05, 10/600134-05, 10/600109-05, 10/600122-05, 10/600023-06, 10/600100-06.

85. "Hoge Raad vernietigt vrijspraken in de Hofstadgroep zaken," *Hoge Raad*, February 2, 2010.

86. Verdict, LJN BK5196, Supreme Court of the Netherlands, 08/00740, February 2, 2010, http://jure.nl/bk5196.

87. "Hoge Raad vernietigt vrijspraak Hofstadgroep," *NRC Handelsblad*, February 2, 2010.

88. Verdict, LJN: BO7690, Court of Amsterdam, nr. 2300075110, December 17, 2010, http://jure.nl/bo7690.

89. Verdict, LJN: BO9018, BO9017, BO9016, BO9015, BO9014, Gerechtshof Amsterdam, 23-000748-10, December 17, 2010; LJN: BO8032, Gerechtshof Amsterdam, 23-000747-10; 17 December 2010, http://jure.nl/bo8032; LJN: BO7690, Gerechtshof Amsterdam, 23-000751-10; December 17, 2010, http://jure.nl/bo7690.

90. Federal Prosecutor (Openbaar Ministerie), "Evaluatie Perspectief op 2010," May 19, 2011, http://www.om.nl/publish/pages/137849/evaluatie_perspectief_op_2010.pdf, 23.

91. AIVD, De politieke Islam in Nederland, May 1998; Ministry of Interior and Kingdom Relations (BZK), "BVD Focuses on Forces Against Integration," May 22, 2001; AIVD, "Recruitment for the Jihad in the Netherlands."

92. "Kaderbesluit van de Raad van 13 juni 2002 (2002/475/JBZ) inzake terrorismebestrijding," Publicatieblad van de Europese Gemeenschappen, L164/3, June 22, 2002.

93. W. Koopstra and P. Ende, *Wettelijk kader terrorismebestrijding* (The Hague: Sdu, 2007); M. J Borgers, *De vlucht naar voren* (The Hague: Boom Juridische uitgevers, 2007); T. Roos, "Terrorisme en strafrecht in Nederland," in *Hedendaags radicalisme. Verklaringen & aanpak*, ed. S. Harchaoui (Apeldoorn/Antwerp: Het Spinhuis, 2006), 81–113; see also B. de Graaf and B. de Graaff, "Counterterrorism in the Netherlands: The 'Dutch Approach,'" in *Intelligence, Security, and Policing Post-9/11: The UK's Response to the War on Terror*, ed. Jon Moran and Mark Phythian (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 183–202.

94. The Netherlands Counterterrorism Coordinator, "Comprehensive Approach to Radicalism and Radicalisation Required," press release, October 3, 2005, available at http://english.minbzk.nl//news-and-press/@63738/comprehensive_0; Monica den Boer, "Wake-up Call for the Lowlands: Dutch Counterterrorism from a Comparative Perspective," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 20, no. 2 (2007): 285–302. This support for new, sometimes rather intrusive measures also inspired criticism. See Herman van Gunsteren, *Gevaarlijk veilig* (Amsterdam: Van Gennep, 2004); the Wiardi Beckman Stichting criticized the fact that the social-democrats (the PvDA) took part in this antiterrorism hype: WBS, ed., *De bedreigde rechtsstaat. Sociaal-democratie, terrorismebestrijding en burgerschap* (Amsterdam: Wiardi Beckman Stichting, 2007), 53–60.

95. See, for example, the more than 200 research projects initiated in the Netherlands since 2004 that deal with Muslim radicalization and deradicalization. Such projects have received the bulk of government research funds, even if the violence perpetrated by Muslim extremists has resulted in only one victim so far, Theo Van Gogh. See http://www.terrorismdata.leiden.edu/, a project coordinated by the Centre for Terrorism and Counterterrorism/the Hague. A detailed and interesting example of such research projects on radicalization is made by Frank Buijs, Froukje Demant, and Atef Hamdy, *Strijders van eigen bodem. Radicale en democratische moslims in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

96. "Campagne 'Nederland tegen terrorisme' legt nadruk op voorkomen radicalisering," *Persbericht NCTb*, November 19, 2007; "Minder privacy, makkelijker straffen," *NRC Handelsblad*, September 8, 2007; E. Bakker, "Contraterrorismebeleid: mag het een onsje minder?," *Internationale Spectator* 62, no. 2 (2008): 61–62.

97. See "Dutch Struggle to Prevent Terror and Protect Rights," *New York Times*, December 25, 2005.

98. Spoon, interview.

99. "Terror Plot Trial Opens," *Radio Netherlands*, February 24, 2005. This article described the second trial of Samir Azzouz, who was arrested in June 2004 for alleged robbery of a supermarket but was released in April 2005—only to be arrested for the third time in October 2005 (and convicted in December 2006).

100. "The 'Hofstadgroep,'" *Transnational Terrorism, Security, and the Rule of Law*, Working Paper 16; AIVD, *Annual Report 2006* (The Hague: AIVD, 2007), 33 (in Dutch).

101. "AIVD zoekt link met aanslag Casablanca," *De Volkskrant*, July 25, 2004; "Terror Plot Trial Opens," *Radio Netherlands*.

102. AIVD, *Annual Report 2008* (The Hague: AIVD, April 2009), 20–22.

103. "Ministerie knoeit met ambtsberichten," *De Volkskrant*, April 18, 2005.

104. AIVD, *Annual Report 2008*, 27–29; A. Olgun, "Nuance keert terug in Nederland," *NRC Handelsblad*, February 13, 2008; "Bijna 3000 digitale knuffels voor PVV-voorman Wilders," *Metro*, January 30, 2008; B. Heijne, "Waarom ik Geert Wilders dankbaar ben," *NRC Handelsblad*, January 26 , 2008.

105. AIVD, *Annual Report 2008*, 20–22; NCTb, "Samenvatting Dreigingsbeeld Terrorisme Nederland," September 2011 (DTN26), p. 2.

106. AIVD, *Annual Report 2008*, 20–22.

107. Ibid.,, 17–19, 23–24.

108. *Submission*, dir. Theo van Gogh, written by Ayaan Hirsi Ali, 10 mins., in English. The movie was broadcast on August 29, 2004, and caused considerable uproar in the Muslim world. See "Ex-Muslim Turns Her Lens on a Taboo," *New York Times*, September 27, 2004. *Submission* was allegedly one of the reasons Bouyeri selected Theo van Gogh as his victim. Ehsan Jami, *An Interview with Muhammed*, in English, December 9, 2008. On *Fitna*, see "Fitna belangrijkste reden dreiging," *De Volkskrant*, December 3, 2008.

Joustra's warnings did not cause much upheaval. Instead, fear of terrorism began to fade, which is also apparent elsewhere in Europe. See "Fears of an Islamic Revolt in Europe Begin to Fade," *Observer* (London), July 26, 2009.

109. "Strijd in Somalië lokt jongeren," *De Volkskrant*, July 31, 2009.

110. The NCTb had already warned against these recruiting efforts within the Somali community in the Netherlands in June. See NCTb, Letter to Parliament with the Tenth counterterrorism Progress Report, June 22, 2009, http://english.nctb.nl/current_topics/Anti_terrorism_progress_report (accessed August 3, 2009); also see "Police Swoop on Melbourne Homes After Somali Islamists' Terror Plot Exposed," *Australian*, August 4, 2009; "Minnesota Men Charged in Somali Recruiting," CNN, July 16, 2009.

111. "Terror Suspect Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab Faces Twenty Years, $250,000 Fine for Attack on Flight 253," *New York Daily News*, December 26, 2009.

112. "Onderzoek naar veiligheid Schiphol," *De Pers*, December 26, 2009; "Nederland loopt voor de troepen uit met bodyscan," *De Volkskrant*, December 30, 2009.

113. See also Bruce Hoffman, "Covering the Waterfront: The Continuing, Myriad Threats From Both Leader-Led and Leader-Less Terrorism," *SITE* 2, no. 6 (June 2009): 3–6. The Dutch prosecutor for terrorist affairs, Polyan Spoon, however warns correctly that the number of incidents is rather low for identifying and defining a real trend with any certainty yet (Spoon, interview).

114. NCTb, Letter to Parliament with a Summary of the Twelfth Threat Report, March 6, 2008.

115. NCTb, Letter to Parliament with a Summary of the Sixteenth Terrorist Threat Assessment Netherlands, April 6, 2009; NCTb, Letter to Parliament with the Tenth

Counterterrorism Progress Report, June 22, 2009, http://english.nctb.nl/current_topics/Anti_terrorism_progress_report (accessed July 3, 2009).

116. NCTb, Letter to Parliament with the Eleventh Counterterrorism Progress Report, December 15, 2009; NCTV, DTN 27, 12 December 2011.

117. NCTb, *Jihadisten en het internet* (The Hague: NCTb, December 2006).

118. "Kenya Arrests Dutchmen Headed for Somalia," *NRC Handelsblad*, July 30, 2009. The suspects had to be released for lack of evidence.

119. See also Bob de Graaff, "Winnen de dark mobs het van hun bestrijders?," *Beleid, Politiek en Maatschappij* 36, no. 2 (2009): 132–239.

120. Cf. news item by *Onderzoeksjournalistiek van de Publieke Omroep*, "Overzicht van aan terrorisme gerelateerde arrestaties in Nederland sinds 11 september 2011," http://www.onjo.nl/Item.2558.0.html?&no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=49511, September 10, 2011; cf. also B. A. de Graaf and Quirine Eijkman, "Terrorismebestrijding & securitisering: een rechtssociologische verkenning van de neveneffecten," *Justitiële Verkenningen* 37, no. 8 (2011): 33–52.

121. On April 30, 2009, thirty-eight-year-old Karst Tates drove a car into a crowd celebrating Queen's Day in Apeldoorn, killing eight, including himself. His intentions remain unclear; he was possibly driven by antimonarchical resentment. Cf. www.Karsttates.com; "Karst T. had hekel aan koningshuis," *NU.nl*, 16 May 2009. On April 9, 2011, twenty-four-year-old Tristan van der Vlis went on a shooting spree in a local mall in Alphen aan de Rijn, killing six beforfe shooting himself. He had a history of psychiatric problems. See "Netherlands Shooting Kills Six," *BBC News*, April 9, 2011.