THE ANTI-MUSLIM ENVIRONMENT
The ideas, the Profiles and the Concepts

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INTRODUCTION
Breivik does not stand alone in his hatred for Islam and Multiculturalism

The recent terrorist attacks in Norway had a shocking impact. Not simply because of the impalpable brutality in which they were carried out, but also because the culprit, to many people’s surprise, was a blond Norwegian man devoid of any Islamic leanings. So who was the perpetrator, and what within him triggered these acts? Initially, it was speculated whether or not he was a Nazi; however, the White Power Movement rejected any association to him. Instead, he was labelled a ‘Zionist’ or a ‘Freemason’- both dubiously ill-regarded rankings amid white power activists.

However, Anders Breivik derived his inspiration for the terror acts from notions similar to those of the political party the Sweden Democrats (SD). Yet, these ideas are exclusive to neither Breivik nor SD. On the contrary, Europe fosters a rather weak, yet palpable network of groups and parties that warns of ‘Islamization’ as an ongoing occupational force in Europe.

Many questions are being asked following the attacks. Expo Research is therefore presenting a first report which gives an abbreviated account of the current anti-Muslim environment. The report will be followed by a more thorough mapping.

Contents of the Report
The purpose of the report is to provide an insight into the loose structure that forms the anti-Muslim environment. We have chosen to focus on the following topics:
· The problem with online opinions that glorify the use of violence.
· Which particular individuals that set the tone of the anti-Muslim environment, both in Sweden and abroad. Among these are individuals from which Anders Behring Breivik derived inspiration.
· Concepts such as Islamization, Eurabia, and the demographic bomb among others are explained with the use of examples from posts and comments found on Swedish internet blogs.

The text is produced by Expo Research, a branch of the Expo Foundation. Expo Research gathers and analyses information about intolerant groups, networks and phenomena. Expo research is among things responsible for Expo’s archive which stores Scandinavia’s largest collection of Rightist extremist propaganda, and publishes a yearly report about the White Power Movement.

Conclusively, the authors would like to thank the volunteers that assisted in the data collection.

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Restrictions and Definitions

The report deals with the anti-Muslim environment. However, the confines of this environment are hard to define due to the wide array of people - from parliamentarians to internet activists - active in this environment. While there are anti-Muslim organisations such as the English Defence League, informal ties and meetings between influential anti-Muslim activists occur outside of these organisations. Some of these activists write books on the topic, and/or are influential voices in the blogosphere.

Part of the report investigates anti-Muslim posts and comments in the blogosphere. It therefore needs to be clarified what we mean by anti-Muslim posts. The posts imply a view of Islam as one unified ideal and/or a totalitarian and hostile ideology. Central to the discussions is the view that there is an ongoing Muslim invasion occurring in the West, which the politicians and the media choose to give in to. Islam is perceived to be incompatible with Western ideals which are described as being superior. From time to time, the posts argue against the right to practice Islam.

Despite the fact that many of these anti-Muslim ideas show similarities to white-power conspiracy theories, there are some perceived differences; especially regarding the view of Muslims as an occupational force. In fact, the White Power Movement, as oppose to the anti-Muslim environment, normally view the Jews as the ultimate enemy and occupational force in the West, controlling both politics and media. While Muslims and multiculturalism are seen as enemies, they could also be seen as tools of the supposed Jewish conspiracy. Some white-power groups have viewed Islamic states and extremists as useful in the fight against Israel and the Jews.

Conversely, in the anti-Muslim environment, the Muslims along with elite groups in the West comprise the root of the conspiracy. Some of the blogs which have been investigated even give themselves out to be Israel sympathisers, which would be inconceivable within the White Power Movement. It seems that Muslims have been given the role of scapegoats and threats, traditionally associated with Jews in anti-Semitic propaganda. Consequently, there are ideological similarities, but also differences which are hard to overcome.
PART 1

Violence-glorifying Attitudes

Europe is occupied by Muslims. They are perceived as a ‘demographic bomb’ through immigration and high birth rates. They are slowly becoming the majority all while the European governments choose to look the other way. Soon we will see the emergence of Eurabia; an Arabic Europe.

Such ideas have for long circulated Swedish and foreign blogs. These could easily have been written off as foolish or silly, if it was not for the breakthrough that these ideas have had. The fact is that the ideas are shared by the Sweden Democrats, who have seats in the Swedish Parliament. The views are also marketed by parliamentarians, writers and anti-Muslim opinion formers in other parts of the world. However, worst of all, these same ideas were motivating factors for Anders Behring Breivik in the lead-up to his terrorist attacks.

The ideas share striking similarities with conspiracy thinking within the White Power Movement. However, in white-power propaganda, the Muslims are more seen as tools in a Jewish world conspiracy, which cunningly control the governments of the West. The goal is to exterminate ‘the white race’. The solution, according to some in the White Power Movement, is an armed conflict against the Jewish Conspiracy.

Violence is less present in the anti-Muslim environment than in the White Power Movement, but occurs every so often in the examined material. The idea of a Muslim occupation taking place with the politicians looking the other way provides a breeding ground for the Glorification of Violence and violent ideas.

In the scrutinized material, comments and posts were found that threaten to kill Muslims and to execute Muslim-sympathetic journalists with a bullet in the neck.1 Periodically, statements outlining possible future scenarios are presented. An example of this is a comment made on the Member of Parliament Kent Ekeroth’s blog:2

“The only evident result of these immigrant tendencies in the long run will be the use of lethal violence against all immigrants, especially Muhammedians, or civil war between old Nordic inhabitants and new immigrants. It is not a question of IF, but when.”

Another example is a comment made on the Facebook page “HATE MONA MUSLIM”:3

“send both the Social Democrats and the Alliance into the Baltic Sea.....and practice target shooting with jas on them....thank goodness for the sweden democrats...or implement presidency and declare jimme åkesson sweden’s first....and last....ha..ha”

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1 Every Kinda People: http://everykindapeople.blogspot.com/2010/12/lulea-en-av-is-grisarna-vandaliserades.html (101126) och Demokratbloggen, shut down, Googles cache 110618 is saved.
3 Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/pages/HATA-MONA-MUSLIM-mona-sahlin/279645759982 (101114)
After the terrorist attacks in Norway the comments varied from obvious condemnation to a kind of understanding for Breivik. Some blame the terrorist attacks on the politicians’ inability to listen. One post comes from a Facebook group that belongs to the Swedish Defence League:

“He is a product of modern-day society, if one disregards people’s opinions and thoughts, and does not remotely bother to listen, a person like this will show up sooner or later. It is tragic that some have not learned a damn thing...” 4

Others take it a step further:

“The whole thing may be terrible. But do not forget that the dead people were not innocent. Norwegian ssu is just like ssu here. Traitors and Islam-friendly. It was simply a politically motivated attack for the people and the nation, and for the future. EVERYTHING FOR THE PEOPLE!” 5

Expressions like these of course do not automatically lead to violence. It would thus be convenient if they could be viewed as mere expressions from the provocateurs of the internet. Yet words matter. Likeminded people meeting on blogs, discussion threads and forums provide a confirmation that extreme and violent opinions are okay. It reinforces individual opinions and a risk of lowering the threshold for what is perceived acceptable with regards to violence. This is especially true when considering the violence in the context of a wider system where Sweden as a nation is threatened with Islamization, and where the country’s leaders are choosing to look the other way - or even worse - to be contributing to the Islamization.

**Inspired to terrorise**

While the amount of expressions that glorify violence presented in this survey are restricted, these nonetheless give an indication as to the opinions that thrive within the anti-Muslim environment. Very few of these expressions receive condemnation; rather they are met by silence or appreciation. It is unclear whether the lack of criticism is a sign of approval or merely an unwillingness to become involved in the debate.

Undoubtedly the responsibility for the bomb and the shootings lies with no one but Breivik himself. However, violence-glorifying propaganda nevertheless risks inspiring people into committing terrorist acts. An example of this is Turner Diaries; a novel which more or less has achieved cult status within the White power Movement. The book was written in the 1970s by William Pierce who up until his death was leader of the Nazi group National Alliance. The book is about a fictional underground ‘Aryan’ guerrilla group that initiate an armed battle against the American government which are perceived to be ‘racial traitors’.

The book is more than just a novel. It functions as a handbook for terrorism. A man inspired by this book was Timothy McVeigh who in 1995 detonated a bomb killing 168 people. A bomb similar to this is described in Turner Diaries of which Timothy McVeigh was an enthusiastic reader and advocate. 6

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6 ADL: http://www.adl.org/presrele/militi_71/2737_71.asp (960516)
Further to this the FBI retrieved a copy of an extract from the book in the car that McVeigh was driving on the day that the bomb detonated. The underlined text talked of fictional bombings and the psychological effect of terrorist attacks on the surroundings.7

There are both similarities and dissimilarities between McVeigh and Breivik. While McVeigh was active in an American rightist extremist environment that demonises Jews, the Norwegian terrorist Breivik mainly focused on Muslims. At the same time, the Oklahoma Massacre was the deadliest terrorist attack in the history of the US up until 9/11. Likewise, Breivik will be remembered for the most lethal terrorist attack Norway has ever seen, probably for a long time to come. 8

The respective ideas that influenced McVeigh and Breivik to commit terrorist acts, ideas which sometimes overlap, take root in an extremely black and white view of the world which sees a struggle between good and evil, within which their own people’s survival is at stake. The opinions that are spread in anti-Muslim as well as anti-Semitic environments highlight how we supposedly live in a time where nothing matters but the struggle. It creates a notion of a state of siege where violent comments and posts risk justifying violent acts. A recently removed blog concluded the following situation in December 2009:

“The Third World War which we are currently facing is much more dangerous for civilization than the First and the Second World War combined. If we are to survive these developments, our motto must be ‘A good Muslim is a dead Muslim!” 9

**Lowering the threshold for violence**

Equivalent illusions of an ongoing war have been motivations for some of the Swedish White Power Movement’s most notorious violent acts; the police murders in Malexander, where two policemen were shot after a bank robbery, and the murder of the syndicalist Björn Söderberg in 1999. The White Power Movement believes in a low-intensity war conducted by a Jewish world conspiracy. As has previously been mentioned, the immigration of Muslims is encouraged as part of this war. However, the main enemy is the government and parliament as well as their ‘helpers’ like the police, journalists and other ‘national traitors’. Shortly after the police murders, the Nazi paper Info14 published a special side issue called ‘Battle News’ defending these actions: 10

“Whether it is right or wrong that two policemen have died, our position remains clear. (...) The ones that died were neither fathers nor someone’s children, they were not innocent. They made a choice just like the men that stepped into the bank in Kista did. They wear the uniform of the state to uphold its criminal laws.”

Incidentally, the murders were accepted as having been fine, and could be justified and defended as part of the ongoing war. The White Power Movement has pumped out messages like these for years. When groups glorify violence it can give fuel to - and work as moral support for - the commitment of violent acts. The consequent risk is that someone takes these words seriously and does something incredibly bad.

Breivik, McVeigh and those who murdered the two policemen can be described as lone madmen. However, the thoughts, ideas, and ideologies that have influenced these violent acts are collective creations.

9 Demokratbloggen - removed from the internet, Googles cache 110618 is saved.
10 Kampnytt, supplement to Info14 nr 24 1999
PART 2

The anti-Muslim Environment and its Profiles

Within the anti-Muslim environment there are a number of people, blogs and pseudonyms that set the ideological tone. Some of these are public, whilst others try to hide their identities like the now world known ‘Fjordman’ who was cited frequently in Anders Behring Breivik’s manifesto. After the terrorist attack in Norway, Fjordman chose to reveal his identity.

Edward S May / ‘Baron Bodissey’

The American Edward S May, also known as Baron Bodissey, writes the blog Gates of Vienna, which has been mentioned over 100 times in Breivik’s manifesto. The title of the blog refers to the occupation of Vienna in 1683; symbolising the point of the Ottoman Empire’s expansion into Europe.

In 2007 a conference known as The UK and Scandinavia Counter-Jihad Summit took place in Copenhagen. The politician TedEkeroth, member of the Sweden Democrats participated in the conference. 11 May, one of the driving forces behind the conference spoke: 12

“The biggest threat to our rights comes from the Demonic Convergence — the evil combination of the powerful socialist state, the poison of multiculturalism, and the violent intolerance of Islam.”

Several meeting similar to this were held throughout Europe in the following years, and the expression counter-jihad has consequently become increasingly established in the anti-Muslim environment.

Peter Jensen / Fjordman

Known as Fjordman, he has contributed to several of the leading anti-Muslim blogs. He has regularly been advertised on the websites Jihad Watch, Gates of Vienna and Brussels Journal. Jensen is openly a supporter of the British activist group English Defence League (EDL). Breivik’s manifesto reveals that Fjordman’s ideology was a major source of inspiration to him. Fjordman revealed his real name in an article in the paper Verdens Gang on August 5th. 13

Pamela Geller

Pamela Geller is one of the most prominent characters in the American anti-Muslim environment. Along with Robert Spencer she manages the network ‘Stop Islamization of America (SIOA) and writes the blog Atlas Shrugs. In 2010 Geller was subject of much attention in conjunction with the protests against building a mosque near Ground Zero. She was one of the primary advocates of the myth that President Barack Obama is a secret

Muslim, and therefore unreliable and disloyal to America. 14 Pamela Geller has become an important voice of the anti-Muslim forces within the Tea-Party Movement. 15

**Geert Wilders**

Geert Wilders, the leader of the Dutch Freedom Party, has in recent years become one of the most vocal characters in the European and International anti-Muslim environment. Wilders is looking to cooperate with forces in Europe, North America and Israel towards a ban on immigration from Muslim countries. The Dutch politician was taken to court under the suspicion of hate-crime, but was relieved of the allegations in June 2011. 16

**Robert Spencer**

The activist, writer and blogger Robert Spencer runs the organisation Stop Islamization in America (SIOA). Spencer specialises in using quotations from the Quran and the Hadiths to illustrate the dangerous nature of Islam. In an interview Spencer stated that “there will be civil war in Europe” as a result of a growing Muslim population. 17

He has also spread claims stating that the massacre of Bosnian Muslims in Srebrenica is a myth. 18 Spencer is regularly involved in David Horowitz’ (see below) online magazine Frontline Magazine. Additionally, the blog Jihad Watch is connected to David Horowitz’ Freedom Center.

**David Horowitz**

The once Marxist David Horowitz, is the leader of the David Horowitz Freedom Center: an organisation that claims to care for “the defense of free societies whose moral, cultural and economic foundations are under attack by enemies both secular and religious, at home and abroad.” Horowitz organised the campaign “Islamo-fascist Awareness Week” in 2007 and has supported Robert Spencer’s website Jihad Watch economically. 19

**Gisèle Littman - "Bat Ye'or"**

Gisèle Littman is an Egyptian born author who goes under the pseudonym Bat Ye’or (“Daughter of the Nile” in Hebrew). Her best known book is ‘Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis’ (2005). It received a warm welcome in the Sweden Democrats’ magazine SD-Kuriren in which the writer Harry Vinter wrote: “Extensive deporting of Muslims living in Europe is the only thing that can prevent Europe’s transformation into a dhimmi area in the outskirts of the stagnating Muslim world”. 20 Dhimmi is in the Quran a description of someone who lives in an Islamic state but belongs to a different religion.

Littman argues that throughout the history of Islam, Muslims have fought a war to achieve world domination. The current phase of the war stretches back to the 1973 oil crisis. It has been suggested that during the time of the crisis, European leaders allowed for the introduction of an Arab-Muslim population in Europe, consequently initiating the transformation from Europe to Eurabia.

20 SD-kuriren: “Eurabia - Europas integration med islam” (nr 63, April 2005)
According to Littman, the Arab council and the EC formed a secret body (the Euro-Arab dialogue for the implementation of the demands of OPEC). It is claimed that this supposed conspiracy has driven politics, the banks, the universities and the media into the hands of a foreign power. 21

Alan Lake
The wealthy IT-consultant Alan Lake finances and supports the anti-Muslim activist network English Defence League (EDL) and runs the portal 4 Freedoms Community. Lake’s connection to EDL has been known ever since he in September 2009 took part in an ‘anti-Islamization meeting’ arranged by the Sweden Democrats. At the meeting, Lake explained EDL’s activism as well as his role within the organisation.

Alan Lake networks with ideologists in the international anti-Muslim environment. In September of 2010 Lake and several other EDL activists took part in the demonstrations arranged by Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer against the planned Islamic Centre of Culture on Manhattan, New York. 22

Mark Steyn
The Canadian columnist Mark Steyn is the writer of the frequently quoted book ‘America Alone- The End of the World as We Know It’ published in 2006. In the book Steyn argues that the West currently lives in a state of demographic and cultural stagnation. Steyn’s argument is that a large part of the Western world is becoming Muslim and that the US will soon stand alone as a Western state. Additionally, Steyn is critical of gender equality and welfare as he argues that this creates a feminine and vulnerable society, and simultaneously decreases childbirth. 23

Kent Ekeroth
The Sweden Democrat MP and international secretary Kent Ekeroth has together with his brother Ted played an important role in integrating the Sweden Democrats into the international anti-Muslim environment. 24 The brothers run the anti-Islamization fund and Kent Ekeroth has made his bank account subject to donations to the meaningful and Sweden Democrat friendly ‘Politically Incorrect’. 25

René Stadtkewitz
The German Christian Democrat and former parliamentarian René Stadtkewitz was banned from the party after he invited Geert Wilders to a meeting. Soon after this, Stadtkewitz founded the party Die Freiheit, modelled on Wilders anti-Muslim party in the Netherlands. 26 Moreover, he participated in the the ten-year anniversary of 9/11 at Ground Zero. The organisers of the ceremony were the organisations American Freedom Defence Initiative (AFDI) and Stop Islamization of America (SIOA) run by Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer. 27

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21 Ut ur skuggan – En kritisk granskning av Sverigedemokraterna (Natur & Kultur, 2010)
23 Ut ur skuggan – En kritisk granskning av Sverigedemokraterna (Natur & Kultur, 2010)
24 Ut ur skuggan – En kritisk granskning av Sverigedemokraterna (Natur & Kultur, 2010)
25 Sydsvenskan: http://www.sydsvenskan.se/sverige/article1521081/SD-politiker-hjalert-politisk-sajt.html (110803)
26 Reuters: http://uk.reuters.com/article/2010/09/14/uk-europe-immigrants-analysis-idUKTRE68D1Z520100914 (100914)
PART 3

Anti-Muslim Concepts

The anti-Muslim rhetoric is full of concepts. These concepts are normally used in everyday speech but are given a different and often hostile meaning in this environment. The expression ‘Islamization’ is for example used to describe a planned and hostile conquering of Europe, not necessarily through violent means, but through high birth rates and demands for special rights.

Conspiracy theories and great generalisations play important part in the rhetoric. Influential individuals may one minute state that not all Muslims are hostile - like secular and liberal Muslims - only to declare them silent participants in the next. The perception of Islam thus revolves around stereotypes, and lacks any nuance. Together they create a sense of a state of siege where time is nigh. Soon, Europe will be transformed into Eurabia. Some of the frequently reoccurring expressions will be explained in this section. We will also present the ways in which these expressions, concepts and definitions are reflected in the anti-Muslim blogosphere.

Eurabia

There are two strands of what is called the ‘Eurabia Theory’. One is a conspiracy theory about a secret agreement. The other is a more general theory. What the two have in common is the belief that Europe is becoming a Muslim state, i.e. a European Arabia.

The conspiracy theory can be dated back to the October War in 1973 when the oil-states in the Middle East decided to impose an embargo on the West. According to the anti-Muslim ideologist Bat Ye’or, the Arabs used this as an opportunity to bring the EC to the negotiating table. The Arab states consequently negotiated an agreement whereby Europe received oil in exchange for accepting a large Muslim population into Europe. This population would be allowed to import Islamic culture and live according to their own customs and ways of life.

Swedish anti-Muslim blogs like ‘476’ 28 and ‘Klartexten’ 29 have links connecting to a video clip of Bat Ye’or explaining her theory. The blog ‘Vår stund i Sverige’ or ‘Our (brief) time in Sweden’ joined to the Eurabia Theory in 2010:

“We can now expect the final and detrimental invasion (...) It is hardly a coincidence that the first observable sign of the Eurabia project was made evident the same year that the EU-politicians quietly decided that we are to have an Office of Surveillance to control the media’s and the citizens’ opinions on the politics of the European Union in each individual EU state. The European Union was consequently well aware that they had not had discussions with people in Europe”. 30

Following a Swedish TV programme in 2011, in which the public service broadcaster SVT scrutinized the ‘Eurabia Theory’, the Sweden Democrat and MP Kent Ekeroth bitterly wrote that “SVT is of course questioning the Eurabia concept”. 31

28 476: http://fyrahundrasjuttiosex.blogspot.com/ (undated)
According to Bat Ye’or, this highly confidential cooperation has been administered by something she calls the Euro-Arab Dialogue which in modern Europe functions as a secret government. The dialogue is present in all important spheres and forums like the universities, media, the trade and industry and in parliaments.

The concept Eurabia can in some cases take a more general expression. A blog that first and foremost does not belong to the anti-Muslim environment is ‘Rent principiellt’ or ‘Simply by principle’. The blog is rather a product of the White Power Movement and is connected to the white power portal ‘Motpol’. On August 3rd 2011 there was a post discussing Bat Ye’or’s theory. Even if the writer does not agree with the theory completely, there is nonetheless some agreement.

“The street level there is according to information something called ‘fining’, which is the process whereby Muslim gangs demand ‘djizya’ from ethnical Swedes. They take their mobile phones and their money etc because they regard it as their right as Muslims towards the unfaithful. That is where we can see Eurabia in its full glory”. 32

Islamization

In the anti-Muslim realm of concepts, Islamization is linked to most things in society and is closely associated with the Eurabia Theory. The idea is based on the assumption that Islam is one unified religion or a single entity which vastly differs from the Western way of life. According to anti-Muslim conviction, Europe is in the process of adapting to Islam. The frequently visited Swedish blog ‘Politically Incorrect’ published a post on September 13th 2010 with the heading “The Islamization of Sweden - SVT leads the way” in which readers are encouraged to watch a documentary:

“Those who, despite all the facts, do not believe that Sweden is on its way of transforming into the caliphate Swedistan, could have had the chance to get it confirmed today by watching SVT2 at 4.35pm”. 33

A reoccurring fear is that Islam is becoming the Swedish national religion. The blog “MXp” writes:

“One does not know whether to laugh or cry. But maybe it is time to give up and accept that we have become a country where the national religion now is Islam. It is not quite right for me to write this; the risk is that I become associated with the Norwegian mass murderer. But I do not give a damn. Because the truth shall set you free, says the lord”. 34

The blog ‘Alexander the Great’ blames the decision to stop the ringing of church bells in Malmö on Islamization:

“The ringing of church bells are now to disappear. A sanitary inconvenience is what they call it. However, who is actually behind this is easy to figure out; it is called something else in the language of the corrupt politicians”. 35

32 Rent principiellt: http://princip.motpol.nu/eurabia/ (2011-08-03)
Criminal offences such as rape and riots in the suburbs of big cities are also blamed on Islamization. Violent conflicts of ethinical or religious character are in a similar vein seen as a result of Islamization and not as a result of racism, exaggerated nationalism or intolerance. Building of mosques is presented as a visual evidence of these developments. The blog ‘Sweden today’ writes:

“In the Järva area with its high immigrant density and giant concrete ghettos, there are now plans to build even more mosques. The need for mosques is increasing sharply in accordance with the increase of Muslims. Swedish politicians have decided to let the Muslims take over Sweden without letting anyone questioning it. Five new mosques are to be built in Järva as a product of Islamization in addition to all the other mosques still at the planning stage throughout the country.” 36

The banning of the veil or Niqab is also a reoccurring theme. In 2009, the now frequently updated blog ‘Allahu Akbar’ claimed Islam to be equivalent with Nazism and came to the following conclusion:

“Allah is not a religion. Our politicians and leaders must realise this. Islam is a ‘hard-core’ form of Nazism. What is it that our politicians and experts are missing? Allowing the Niqab and the veil are steps backwards, not forward.” 37

Another reoccurring demand is a complete ban on immigration from Muslim countries. In the blog ‘Pettersson is trying to make a difference’, the pseudonym ‘Ollirein’ writes the following comment about the Middle Eastern and Northern African region:

“The statistics make clear that we need to ban all immigration from the MENA countries as all these murderers and rapists almost exclusively are from those places”. 38

In 2007 the blog ‘Every Kinda People’ writes:

“Scandinavia’s politicians need to make a great effort to relieve clans and Imams of power. Assimilate the Muslim immigrants before we end up with parallel societies like those in France, where no non-Muslim dares stepping foot. And stop the immigration from Muslim countries”. 39

To illustrate the risks of Islamization, radical-Islamic statements and terrorist acts are used as examples. Additionally, carefully chosen quotations from the Quran are used to attach blame and suspicion to Muslims. Secular Muslims are often described as people with hidden agendas.

**Sharia laws**

Implementation of Sharia law is portrayed as a constant threat, and something which will eventually come to be a reality in all of Europe. “Do you want to see the same happening in Sweden?” is a question that the Sweden Democrat Ted Ekeroth asks his readers in a blog post concerning radical Islamists who fight for the implementation of Sharia law in England. 40 The Sharia laws are based on texts from the Quran and the Prophet Muhammad’s Sunnah. Sharia involves both guidance and things considered obligatory. There are different interpretations of Sharia, and legal practice of Sharia differs depending on the country in which it is being practiced. 41 Among these countries are for example Iran, Saudi Arabia and Israel. In the latter case the laws are directed towards the Muslim minority. However, the anti-Muslim rhetoric does not differentiate between the Sharia laws in the different Muslim countries and is instead seen as a cohesive phenomenon. According to the anti-Muslim environment the most extreme legal interpretations will be implemented in Europe as a result of Islamization. The blog ‘MXp’ writes:

“We can learn more about Islam and Sharia. We can ask the government to put a stop to the ongoing developments in Europe, Sweden and Malmö. We can get in contact with the Radio, TV and local newspapers. Do we want to protect Human Rights in Sweden or will we just ignore this ongoing process?” 42

In 2008 the Sweden Democrat and MP Thoralf Alfsson wrote about a journalist in Afghanistan who was sentenced to death because he had downloaded material about the status of women in different countries. He consequently asks the rhetorical question: “Are these the Sharia Courts that our new Swedes wish for in Sweden?” 43

In the same post, Alfsson complains about a statement made by Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt about barbarism.

“It is in the 55 countries that can be counted Muslim countries that barbarism still occurs. What is very surprising is that all these Muslims that come to Sweden want the same inhuman legal system and religion as the one from which they have fled. I recommend that they choose one of these 55 countries instead of Sweden”. 44

**Jihad**

The concept takes on different meanings throughout the Muslim world. It can mean anything from soul-searching to struggle. In the anti-Muslim environment however, the concept has a single and clear meaning. Anti-Muslim actors see jihad and war as synonymous. Consequently, parts of the anti-Muslim environment call themselves the counter-jihad movement.

In anti-Muslim rhetoric, this holy war has come to Europe as a product of immigration from Muslim countries. In February 2009 the Sweden Democrat Ted Ekeroth claimed a connection between vandalism in the suburbs Sofielund and Tensta, and ‘jihad’.

41 Utbildningsradion - Muslim i Europa: http://www.ur.se/Serie/Muslim-i-Europa/Fem-sharia-kategorier/ (odaterad, besökt 110915)
“‘Youths?’ Jihad and multiculturalism in Sweden...Tensta and Sofielund. Mid Sweden and the South of Sweden. Multiculturalism shows its face in two places at the same time!” 45

That same year, the blog ‘In my Sweden’ wrote about the throwing of stones in the suburbs of Gothenburg. The post has the heading “Jihad in Gothenburg. Firemen injured in a stone attack last night”. 46 The writer then states:

“Yes, people become so calm, generous and loving during Ramadan. We now see that every year. Half of Sweden is on fire with jihad and our established politicians look the other way as usual”. 47

The blog “Unsaid with Grandmo” claims that jihad is embedded in the Constitution:

“Since jihad is being defended by seven out of the eight parties of parliament, and has been imprinted into the Constitution, the door is left wide open for the Islamization of our country. The people have never been asked about the desirability of such developments. If anyone makes so much as a noise, they will get the core values shoved down their throats: ‘Everyone is equally worth’.” 48

The blog ‘MXp’ connects the murder of a young woman in Gothenburg in the summer of 2010 with jihad and gives the following explanation:

“Criminal immigrants who simply have been let into Sweden are responsible for 4.5 times as many rapes as native offenders. What should also be observed is the Islamic tradition of rape as the men’s jihad”. 49

**The Demographic Bomb**

The idea that Muslims will become a majority in Europe in the near future is one that constantly reappears in the anti-Muslim environment. The great fear of this happening is based on the belief that Muslims act in unison to, among other things, abolish democracy and eventually cause the downfall of Western culture. The argument is based on the assumption that those who have emigrated from Muslim countries de facto are Muslim and that everyone that forms a family in Europe do so with another Muslim. The rhetoric describes this as ‘the demographic bomb’.

The Sweden Democrat MP Kent Ekeroth commented on the fact that the first child that was born in Malmö in 2011 had been given the name Ahmed in the following way:

“A symptom of Malmö - a symptom of Islamization - a symptom of the demographic bomb.” 50

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One of the anti-Muslim driving forces behind this supposed demographic threat is the Canadian Mark Steyn. In the book ‘America Alone’ he paints a dark picture of Europe’s future, claiming it will be burdened by radical Islamism which will lead to the abolition of democracy.

In order to prevent this supposed development, a ban on immigration is a frequent demand from anti-Muslim actors. After the terrorist attack in Norway, the blog ‘Klartexten’ stated that they had never believed in Bat Ye’or’s Eurabia Theory, but that the immigration still will result in something similar:

“Conspiracy or not, the result will be the same if the mass-immigration continues in this way! Eventually we will have a Muslim majority. It is inevitable.” 51

‘Dhimmification’

Dhimmis in the Quran described as a person who lives in an Islamic state but who belongs to a different religion. This status entailed that the person was not allowed to participate in wars, and that they had to pay a form of tax which only non-Muslims had to pay. In other words they were paying for their own protection. Ideologists, bloggers and politicians sometimes argue that if the Muslim population become a majority, this ancient system will be re-implemented. The European societies’ supposed adaption to Islam is occasionally described as a ‘dhimmification’ or a self-dhimmification’. The quotation below is a comment made following the news that a Belgian company had changed the pattern of their toilet rolls as a result of protests against them. The reason was that the symbols on the paper could mistakenly be read for ‘Allah’, claims the blog:

“The large French retail chain Carrefour has decided to withdraw all samples of a certain style of toilet roll from its shops in Belgium. This is the latest example of self-dhimmification in Belgium”. 52

An Occupying Power

According to the anti-Muslim vision, Europe is under occupation. Bat Ye’or’s ‘Eurabia’ is soon to be a fact where the leaders and the media have become subordinate to the Muslim conspiracy. The blog MXp has published extracts from an anti-Muslim book:

“Resistance against the ideology is in most cases meaningless and the only alternative for the conquered people in a geographical enclave is to convert to Islam. The man is then turned into an Islamic drone in the war against the unfaithful, and the woman is turned into a slaving child-producing mother. The ones that survive the invasion and do not surrender often have no choice but to flee into another friendly area, from which they eventually might be able to fight the further spread of Islamism.” 53

Certain bitterness is noticeable especially among bloggers. In conjunction with the celebrations of the National Day in 2011 the blog ‘Verkligheten’ or ‘The Reality’ writes:

“But when I today read about how the Swedish National day has been kidnapped and gravely ridiculed by advocates of the deeply hostile multiculturalism, my devastation has turned into rage. I want to rip the flag out of their hands and deport them back to their rotten caves, at least for this one day. I would like not having to see representatives of the World’s most detrimental and totalitarian ideology step all over the memory of Swedish democracy and fighters of equality, at least on this one day. On this one day, I would like to be free from the sight of oppressed female slaves in black sheets, and self-righteous, benefit-claiming bearded men in dresses. On this single day, I would like to avoid getting my nose rubbed in the multicultural pile of dung. Is that too much to ask?” 54

Certain elements in the rhetoric surrounding the supposed occupational power draw parallels between the Muslims today and the Nazis during the Second World War. In this way, anti-Muslim actors portray themselves as a movement of opposition. Politicians that do not share their worldview are often labelled ‘quislings’. ‘Germund’s blog’ writes:

“These developments can be compared to the idiots of the Nazis and Communists who became national traitors and secret informants”. 55

**Political correctness**

In the anti-Muslim environment the concept “politically correct” is an abusive term. For ideologists and actors in the anti-Muslim environment, who often define themselves as ‘politically incorrect’, ‘political correctness’ is nothing but a conspiracy consistent of politicians, journalists and others who do not share the anti-Muslim vision. The leading racially prejudiced Swedish blog is called ‘Politically Incorrect’ and has reproduced a speech explaining the creation of the supposed conspiracy. The speech connects political correctness and Marxism. Something that Anders Behring Breivik mentions in his manifesto: 56

“Where do all these things that you have heard about this morning come from; the victim feminism, the homosexual rights movement, the manufactured statistics, the re-written history, the lies, the demands, and the rest. Where does it come from? For the first time in history Americans must be worried about what they say, write and think. They have to worry about using the wrong word, a word deemed offensive or insensitive, or racist, sexist or homophobic.”

“We have seen other countries, especially during this century, where this has been the case. And we have always looked at them with a combination of compassion, and to be honest, some humour, since it has struck us as so odd that people would allow a situation to develop where they would become wary of what words to use. But we now have this situation in this country.”

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“We primarily have it on college-campuses, but it is spreading throughout the whole society. Where does it come from? What is it? We call it ‘political correctness’. The name arose as something of a joke, literally speaking in a comic sketch, and we still tend to think of it as merely semi-serious. In actuality it is deadly serious. It is the big disease of our century, the disease which has left behind tens of millions of dead people in Europe, in Russia, in China; yes, actually all over the world. It is the disease ideology. PC is not fun. PC is deadly serious. If we look at it analytically, if we look at it historically, we will quickly discover exactly what it is. Political Correctness is cultural Marxism.”

Political correctness as a word of abuse reoccurs frequently. On September 5th this year, the Sweden Democrat MP Kent Ekeroth criticised the plans of policemen to take Arabic lessons:

“Political Correctness in Sweden knows no bounds. We can now read that a number of policemen voluntarily have signed up to take classes in Arabic in order to allow them to be polite to immigrants that are guilty of violent acts. This for one is a Swedish tale the Norwegians can laugh at. It should be strictly forbidden to speak anything but Swedish to policemen on duty. To adapt oneself and society in this way may be one of the most pathetic things I have heard in a long time”. 57

A reappearing illustration that can be seen on the blog of the Sweden Democrat Ted Ekeroth among others, is one where the half-moon (Islam), the Swastika (Nazism), the hammer and reaping-hook (Communism) and the letters PK (political correctness, PC) are all linked together. 58

58 Ted Ekeroth: http://tedekeroth.se/ (illustration in the header, checked 110913)