

Viewing the World through an anti-Islamic lens.

A comparative contemporary history of the ideology of Stopp Islamiseringen av
Norge

and the English Defence League online.

1999-2016.

Mattis Christensen Oldeide Vaaland



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Det Humanistiske fakultet.
Institutt for arkeologi, konservering og historie.

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Abstract.

This thesis is on the English Defence League (EDL) and Stopp Islamiseringen av Norge (SIAN) ideology based on the content at their websites. Both groups had been fighting against what they perceive as an islamisation of Europe and their respective countries, England and Norway. Stopp Islamiseringen av Norge have a history which stretches back to Aksjonen Mot Bønnerop in 2000, and later involved into FOMI. In 2002 FOMI established a website which they used to spread their anti-Islamic ideology. FOMI later evolved into the contemporary organisation Stopp Islamiseringen av Norge which continued FOMI's work with enlightening the public about the real danger of Islam. EDL on the other hand is a much more recent phenomenon, established in 2009 as the continuation of the group United People of Luton, which was founded as a response in the early 2009 against a demonstration by the Islamist group Islam4UK against a parade of British soldiers returning from Afghanistan. The EDL established a website in the autumn of 2009. This thesis sets out to gain an understanding of how the ideology developed at the two groups websites and then compare the ideological development as well as the ideology to see if there are any similarities and/or differences. As the title of this thesis reflects, the movements ideology reflected on events in the world, where both groups understand themselves and their culture to be under a threat from Islam. Their reactions to events such as the Syrian refugee crisis reflected this premise, and was a major cause amongst others which led to the radicalized state of which the groups exist in today.

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1 Introduction.

This main subject of this thesis will be the ideological development of the two groups Stop Islamiseringen av Norge (SIAN) and the English Defence League (EDL) as expressed in the articles published at their websites. These two groups are usually considered to belong to the same anti-Islamic social movement.¹ Nonetheless, there has not been a single report, book or academic paper which has done a comparative study of the ideology of the two organizations as expressed online. There are several reasons for this, which deserve to be discussed to some extent. Firstly, there is a certain lack of academic web analysis of the two groups in general. Norway has to some degree been in the front, with several master thesis's directly on the ideology expressed on the SIAN website. In the report *The ideology and the discourse of The English Defence League: 'Not racist, Not violent, Just No Longer Silent'* first published in January 2014 George Kassimeris and Leonie Jackson stated that it was "remarkable the extent to which the group's own justification for its existence and ideological position has been ignored."² This is a truth with some modifications, but to some extent it is still valid. I will come back to this in the theory chapter.

As mentioned above, Norway has had some academic analysis of the website of SIAN. This has been done almost exclusively by master students within various disciplines. Apart from Lars Erik Berntzen who published his thesis in the spring of 2011,³ the master theses on the subject was published in the wake of the terrorist attack at the 11th of July 2011 by Anders Behring Breivik. None of them gave any consideration towards the website of SIANs predecessor FOMI, or the group AMB. This thesis will therefore to demonstrate the development of AMB to FOMI and then SIAN. As the history of FOMI can be roughly divided into two periods as the movement reorganized in 2002.⁴ I have termed FOMI before the reorganization as the old FOMI and FOMI after the reorganization as the new FOMI.

¹ Williams, David and Nick Lowles. "The Counter-Jihad Movement: The global trend feeding anti-Muslim hatred". Report. HOPE not hate. 2012. P. 69.

² Kassimeris, George and Leonie Jackson. "The ideology and the discourse of The English Defence League: 'Not racist, Not violent, Just No Longer Silent'". *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. Volume 17, Issue 1 (2015): 171-188. P. 172

³ Berntzen, Lars Erik. "Den eksistensielle trusselen En sosiologisk studie av politisk motstand mot islam, muslimsk kultur og innvandring til Norge." Master Thesis. University of Bergen. 2011.

⁴ FOMI. Home Page. (Archived: 13.06.2006.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20060613150912/http://rto73.0catch.com/>

1.1 Thesis Questions.

On the background of the problems proposed in the introduction, this thesis will attempt to answer the following three questions:

1.) *How did the ideology develop from Aksjonen Mot Bønnerop to Stopp Islamiseringen av Norge, and what were its key aspects?*

This is the main part of the thesis which will attempt to give a historical account of the ideological development from Aksjonen mot Bønnerop 2000, the old Forum mot Islamisering 2000-2002, the new Forum mot Islamisering 2002-2008 and finally Stop Islamiseringen av Norge 2008- present. As both the AMB and the old FOMI did not have a website the sources will be interviews of the members found in other literature, as well as newspaper articles. The parts of the thesis on the new FOMI's website will be exclusively based upon material from the website, as well as some news articles to support the arguments made. To our knowledge no-one has written about the new FOMI, therefore the sources will predominantly be material from my own findings. The part on SIAN will be focused exclusively on the content of the website as well, but will refer to findings from other master theses and academic books as there are some already written on the subject.

2.) *How did the ideology develop at the English Defence League website, and what was its key aspects?*

This is the second part of the thesis. Here I will attempt to identify changes, or a development, of the ideology of the English Defence League. This part will also attempt to identify the main features of the ideology. This part of the thesis will mostly rely on primary sources, but due to the excessive amount of reports written about the EDL it will refer to them when the findings are valuable for the thesis question.

3.) *Are there similarities in the ideological development of the two organisations? To what extent do they represent the same ideology?*

This is the last thesis question. Here I will compare my findings of the two organizations and see if they can be said to truly represent the same ideological current. I will also attempt to problematize the nature of the two movements. As this is a history thesis, the development of the organizations' ideology over time is of essence. It will therefore be emphasized how historical events from outside of the organizations such as the legal controversy concerning

calls for prayer, the terror attack at the July 22nd and the Syrian refugee crisis affected the ideology of the two organizations. Happenings inside the organizations, such as the change of leadership and schisms will be highlighted to explain changes in ideology.

1.2 The limitations of the thesis.

Writing a master thesis in history is a difficult task. This is not merely just due to the extent of the number of pages one must write, or the endless sleepless nights worrying over whether one will manage to hand in the thesis in the nominated time. A master thesis in history is difficult to write because of all the interesting subjects that necessarily must be left out of the thesis. There are several subjects which will not be discussed due to the limited number of pages, and time of which a thesis can use.

1.2.1 Limits of topic.

As written in the previous section, this thesis will limit itself to the study of the ideology as expressed in the articles on the two movements websites. Due to the excessive number of articles which will be used in the thesis it will not focus on comments from readers in the reply section. Web forums have also been left out, as well as the Facebook groups and Twitter pages of the movements. There are several reasons for this choice which need to be addressed.

Firstly, this choice was done due to the limited amount of time and that this thesis is not a web analysis per se, nor a discourse analysis. Going through almost 16 years of websites for the part on SIAN and roughly 6 years on the part of EDL took a large amount of time, and I might add, patience. Secondly, this thesis has used the search tool ‘WayBackMachine’⁵ at the Internet Archive,⁶ it will be explained in further detail how it works in the next section but for now it must be stated that it has some limitations. In short, it archived websites as they were the date of archiving, this does not mean however that everything at a website is archived. The ‘WayBackMachine’ have been used to gain access to the new FOMI website as well as the EDL website⁷. Thirdly, it is also a question of wanting to find sources which are representative, to what extent does the user comments represent the ideology of the movements? As this was not a thesis primarily on the discourse online it was taken the tough

⁵ Internet Archive. “WayBackMachine”. <https://archive.org/web/> (Accessed 01.11.2016)

⁶ Internet Archive. “Internet Arcive”. <https://archive.org/> (Accessed 01.11.2016)

⁷ The EDL website has been attacked by hackers quite often since the movements rise to prominence, and therefore there are longer periods which it was impossible to gain access.

choice of not using user comments.⁸ For discourse or web analyses which have done this, see the already mentioned article by Kassimeris or the discourse analysis of Ole Jakob Michelsen on SIAN which was published the spring of 2012.⁹

1.2.2 Limits in time.

The thesis has chosen a chronological narrative to highlight the developments which took place in the ideology. The thesis operates with the time frame from 1999 to mid-2016. The year of 1999 was a natural start for this thesis as to highlight the main cause of the origin of the AMB, the calls of prayer debate. Nonetheless, during writing I have become observant that several of the ideas, such as cultural Marxism, proposed by the EDL and SIAN, have its origin previously to this thesis.¹⁰ It is also clear that anti-Islamic sentiment is something which has developed over a period before the rise of AMB and other anti-Islamic organizations. Mattias Gardell with his book *Islamofobi* first published in 2011,¹¹ and Allan Gardner's *Islamophobia* published in 2010,¹² is two academic works which have taken the task of demonstrating the development of Islamophobia. The end of the timeframe, the midst of 2016, was chosen primarily to highlight how the change of leadership, the Syrian war and the refugee crisis affected both movements.

1.3 The structure of the thesis.

Chapter II first part describes the events which lead to the foundation fo Aksjonen Mot Bønnerop and the later old and new FOMI. The second part of the chapter will attempt to demonstrate the ideological development from the new FOMI until SIAN. Chapter III will attempt to demonstrate SIAN's ideological development over the years. Chapter IV will give a short account of the origin of the EDL before attempting to demonstrate the ideological development of the EDL. Chapter V will attempt to compare the ideology and the ideological

⁸ For the most part, as I have used user comments from Gates of Vienna to shine some light on how the English Defence League Mission Statement was received, and interpreted in the wider counter-jihad milieu.

⁹ Michelsen, Ole Jakob. "En analyse av Stopp islamiseringen av Norge (SIAN) sin anti-islamske diskurs". Master Thesis. University of Oslo. 2012.

¹⁰ It is William S. Lind who has been recognized in spreading the idea that Political Correctness was in fact Cultural Marxism. See: Bangstad, Sindre. *Anders Behring Breivik and the Rise of Islamophobia*. London: Zed Books. P. 87-88. And: Berkowitz, Bill. "Cultural Marxism catching on," Southern Poverty Law Centre. Published: 15.08.2003. (Accessed 02.11.2016): <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2003/%E2%80%98cultural-marxism%E2%80%99-catching>

¹¹ Gardell, Mattias. *Islamofobi*. Oslo: Spartacus Forlag, 2011.

¹² Chris, Allen. *Islamophobia*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010.

development of the two organizations. All four chapters will in majority use a chronological narrative to highlight changes in the ideology over time. The chapters will be ordered thematically after which expressions that were

1.4 Existing Literature.

There has been written an extensive amount of reports and literature on Islamophobia after the 9th of September 2011 in the West, and the attack the 22nd of July 2011 on Norway specifically. The available literature will be discussed short in this section, the literature which directly corresponds with this thesis will be described in more detail.

Mattias Gardell's book *Islamofobi* was published in 2010 are one of the major academic works about Islamophobia in Scandinavia.¹³ Chris Allens book *Islamophobia* published in 2011 is another work about modern prejudice against Muslims in the U.K and Europe.¹⁴ In 2014 the book *Anders Behring Breivik and the Rise of Islamophobia* was published. It was written by the social-anthropologist. Bangstad's book is a good place to start to understand the conditions that prepared for Anders Behring Breivik's actions at July 22nd 2011 as well as Islamophobia as a phenomenon. Bangstad mentions FOMI in the book in a small section, but mainly as the precursor to SIAN.¹⁵ Bangstad mentions SIAN but mostly in relation to other agents or Breivik,¹⁶ the same goes for the EDL.¹⁷ Nonetheless, Bangstad's book is a good guide into the ideas of the anti-Islamic movement and will be used in this thesis as a reference point.

The Counter-Jihad movement is the name of a wider social-movement primarily in the U.S and Europe. Included in the Counter-Jihad movement are the likes of *Gates of Vienna*, English Defence League, Fjordman, *Jihad Watch* and several other organizations, individuals and movements.¹⁸ The academic report which goes into the greatest depth on the ideology of the movement is *A Neo-Nationalist Network: The English Defence League and Europe's Counter-Jihad Movement* by Alexander Melegrau Hitchens and Hans Brun published in 2013. The report utilizes a broad array of sources, from interviews, leaflets and some information

¹³ Gardell, Mattias. *Islamofobi*. Oslo: Spartacus Forlag, 2011.

¹⁴ Chris, Allen. *Islamophobia*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010.

¹⁵ Bangstad. *Islamophobia*. P. 167-168

¹⁶ See: Bangstad. *Islamophobia*. P. 8, 20, 94, 127, 135 and 167.

¹⁷ Ibid. P. 7, 82 and 84.

¹⁸ Williams, David and Nick Lowles. "The Counter-Jihad Movement: The global trend feeding anti-Muslim hatred". Report. HOPE not hate. 2012.

from the websites of the groups analysed in the report. The report concluded that the EDL along with the European Counter-Jihad network championed a cultural form of nationalism.¹⁹ Books by journalists such as Øyvind Strømme's *Det Mørke Nettet: Om Høyreekstremisme, kontrajihadisme og terror I Europa* published in 2011, *Den Sorte Tråden: Europeisk høyre-radikalisme fra 1920 til idag* published 2013 and *I hatets fotspor* published 2014, deals in some form with the development of the Counter-Jihad ideology. Other books such as *Fjordman: Potrett av en antiislamist* by Simen Sætre published in 2013, a biography on the Norwegian blogger Fjordman, indirectly refers to the wider Counter-Jihad movement in Norway as well as the west. There have also been published reports such as 'The Counter-Jihad' Movement: *The global trend feeding anti-Muslim hatred* by the civil rights organization HOPE not hate and *Høyreekstremisme i Norge* by *Antirasitisk senter*, an anti-racist organization, published 2012.

Several academic studies have been written about the English Defence League, however as already stated most of them focus on the supporters or EDL as a part of a wider social movement. Nonetheless, it will be attempted to list up some of the major studies here. One of the first studies on the group was *The English Defence League: Challenging our Country and our Values of Social Inclusion, Fairness and Equality* by Nigel Copsey. He argued in the at the time of writing in 2010, that EDL was best understood as a social movement concerned with protecting English culture and identity against the threat of Islam.²⁰ Copsey further argued that EDL was symptomatic for an identity crisis where English identity was reinforced against the foreign threat of Islam.²¹ Another academic work which focuses on the EDL as a movement is Joe Busher's chapter on the EDL in the book *The Changing faces of Populism Systematic Challengers in Europe and the U.S*, published in 2013.²²

To my knowledge, there are no works which have focused primarily on the development of the EDL ideology at the website. There are however some reports of which have included the EDL website as a part of their analysis. One that does analyse the articles at the website of the English Defence League is the former mentioned the *The Ideology and Discourse of the*

¹⁹ Hans Brun, Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens. *A Neo-nationalist Network: The English Defence League and Europe's Counter-Jihad Movement*. Kings College, London: The Centre for Asymmetric Threat Studies (CATS), 2013. P. 1

²⁰ Copsey, Nigel. "The English Defence League: Challenging our Country and our values of social inclusion, fairness and equality." Report. Faith Matters, 2010. P. 11

²¹ Ibid. P. 5

²² Busher, Joe. "Anti-Muslim populism in the UK: The development of the English Defence League." In *The Changing Faces of Populism: Systemic Challengers in Europe & the US*. Edited by: H. Giusto, S. Rizzo & D. Kitching, 165- 278. Brussels: FEPS, 2013.

English Defence League: 'Not Racist, Not Violent, Just No Longer Silent' first published in 2014 by George Kassimeris and Leonie Jackson. This article was a discourse study based on content at the EDL website in the period of 2011-2012. Kassimeris and Jackson identified three central narratives in the EDL discourse “that Muslims are uniquely problematic, that ‘Islamic ideology’ is the source of these problems, and that all Muslims share responsibility for reforming their religion”.²³ Using critical methodology, the report concluded that the EDL espoused a cultural form of racism.²⁴ Another report which takes an interest in the content at the EDL website is *The EDL: Britain's 'New Far Right' social movement* by Paul Jackson and Matthew Feldman, published in 2011.²⁵ As a part of a broader analysis of the EDL's use of the media, Jackson and Feldman analysed the articles published at the EDL news section on the website in May 2011.²⁶ Jackson and Feldman stated that contrary to other EDL online media, the articles at the news section tried to distinguish between radical and moderate Islam. Nonetheless, Jackson and Feldman stated that there was a clear anti-Muslim tendency in addition they warned that EDL news was the representable front which covered a much darker side of the EDL as an organization.²⁷

There is little written on the AMB and FOMI, however, the master thesis *En symbolsk kamp om sted – En analyse av bønneropdebatten i Oslo* by Cecilie Wingerei Lilleheil, published in 2005 does use two members of FOMI as sources in the thesis.²⁸ Her focus on the call for prayer debate forms a good background for this thesis. Another academic book which mentioned FOMI was *Gud i norsk politikk: Religion og politisk makt* by Torkel Brekke was published in 2002.²⁹ The spokesperson of the old FOMI is used as a source for a small part of the book which gives a unique insight into FOMI before their website was founded.³⁰ Brekke concluded that FOMI was espousing an ethnic-religious-nationalist ideology.³¹ Brekke's interview will be used in the beginning of the first chapter to demonstrate the ideology of FOMI before they reorganized into the new FOMI.

²³ Kassimeris and Jackson. “Not racist, not violent, Just no Longer Silent” P. 172

²⁴ Ibid. P. 184.

²⁵ Jackson, Paul and Matthew Feldman. *The EDL: Britain's 'New Far Right' social movement*. Northampton: The University of Northampton, 2011. P. 32-43.

²⁶ Ibid. P. 34-36.

²⁷ Ibid. P. 36

²⁸ Lilleheil, Wingerei Cecilie. “En symbolsk kamp om sted – En analyse av bønneropsdebatten i Oslo”. Master Thesis. University of Oslo, 2005. P. 80-94, 92-94, 97-100.

²⁹ Brekke, Torkil. *Gud i norsk politikk: Religion og politisk makt*. Oslo: Pax Forlag A/S, 2002. P. 74-78.

³⁰ Ibid. P. 76-78.

³¹ Ibid. P. 105.

Den eksistensielle trusselen En sosiologisk studie av politisk motstand mot islam, muslimsk kultur og innvandringen til Norge by Lars Erik Berntzen, published the spring of 2011, was a sociological study of several agents from anti-Islamic organizations in Norway, amongst them SIAN leader Arne Tumyr.³² Berntzen concluded that one could speak of an anti-Islamic social movement, and that for the individuals concerned, Islam posed an existential threat.³³ Berntzen did not use data from the SIAN website in his analysis, a thesis which did was *En analyse av Stopp islamiseringen av Norge (SIAN) sin anti-islamske diskurs* by Ole Jakob Michelsen, published the spring of 2012. This thesis was a study of SIANs discourse online in the period between May – October 2011.³⁴ Michelsen concluded that while having extremist positions on some issues, SIAN was closer to a right-wing populist discourse.³⁵ SIAN could not be said to adhere to the Eurabia conspiracy as defined by Bat Ye'or and Fjordman.³⁶ An interesting finding in Michelsens thesis was that SIANs anti-Islamic discourse sprung from two identities, one Christina conservative and one Humanist.³⁷

Another thesis which focused on SIAN was *Anders Behring Breiviks meningsfeller: En innholdsanalyse av Stopp Islamiseringen av Norge (SIAN)* by Stine Johansen Utler, published in 2014. Her thesis was a web analysis of the articles published at SIANs website in the period from the 1st of January 2010 until the 1st of January 2013.³⁸ While some of her data material converged with that of Michelsen, she concluded contrary to Michelsen's findings that SIAN was a far-right Extremist organization³⁹ and adhered to the Eurabia conspiracy.⁴⁰

³² Berntzen. *Den eksistensielle trusselen*. P. 2.

³³ Ibid. P. 99, 101.

³⁴ Michelsen, Ole Jakob. "En analyse av Stopp islamiseringen av Norge (SIAN) sin anti-islamske diskurs". Master Thesis. University of Oslo. 2012. P. 12.

³⁵ Ibid. P. 86

³⁶ Ibid. P. 115.

³⁷ Ibid. P. 88-89.

³⁸ Utler, Stine Johansen. "Anders Behring Breiviks meningsfeller: En innholdsanalyse av Stopp Islamiseringen av Norge (SIAN): Hvem er de? Og hva kan forklare deres anti-Islamske holdninger?". Master Thesis. Norwegian University of Science and Technology. 2014. P. 7

³⁹ Ibid. 12-13.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 68-69.

1.5 Sources and Method.

1.5.1 Methodological problems on the Internet.

In this section, it will be attempted to highlight and discuss some of the problems of using web as a source and as a tool. It will also be demonstrated some of the solutions for these issues. At the University of Oslo, a notable master thesis which has exclusively written contemporary history by sources found online is Turner Stone Jacobs and his master thesis *White Pride World Wide A Contemporary History of Online, International Right-wing Extremist Ideology and Culture* published at the 20th of May, 2015,⁴¹ other which used the Internet is Gine Haugland in her *Norske islamistiske grupperinger? En komperativ analyse av Islam Net og Profetens Ummah* published the spring of 2016.⁴² While using the Internet as a tool to write history is a unique opportunity for 21st century historians, there are several methodological problems which need to be addressed in general, as well as some specific problems for this thesis.

A central tenet in history as a discipline is the use of reliable sources to understand and attempt to narrate the history as it was. A research conducted on articles published in two major history journals over seven years in 2008 found that as many as 18 percent of the links cited was inactive.⁴³ Another major problem was the fact that the producer of the information at the website can easily change it which the result that the reliability of the information provided by the historian may become false.⁴⁴ In many ways, the Internet provides the historian with a paradox. It gives the historian access to an enormous amount of data, which at the same time are what Russel Edmund and Jennifer Kane addressed as “ephemeral”.⁴⁵ There are several ways to address these problems. The researcher can construct his own database by downloading the information which is given. However, this will create a new problem which is similar to the time before the internet as the data will not be accessible for peer-reviewing unless the researchers hand over the sources which have been used.⁴⁶ Another way to solve

⁴¹ Jacobs, Turner Stone. “White Pride World White: A Contemporary History of Online, International Right-wing Extremist Ideology and Culture.” Master Thesis. University of Oslo. 2015.

⁴² Haugland, Gine. “Norske islamistiske grupperinger? En komparativ analyse av Islam Net og Profetens Ummah.” Master Thesis. University of Oslo. 2016.

⁴³ Russel, Edmund and Jeniffer Kane. “The Missing Link: Assessing the Reliability of Internet Citations in History Journals”. *Technology and Culture* Vol. 49, No. 2. (2008): 420-429. P. 420

⁴⁴ Ibid. P. 423

⁴⁵ Ibid. P. 421

⁴⁶ Ibid. P. 423

the problem is to use public accessible digital archives. This is the approach which has been used for most of this thesis and it will be discussed in detail in the next section.

Web Archiving.

The use of Web archives is an enormously helpful tool for an Internet Historian as it gives the opportunity to visit websites that no longer exist on the contemporary internet. Brugger from the Centre of Internet Studies at the Aarhus University⁴⁷ understood web archiving as “any form of deliberate and purposive preserving of web material”.⁴⁸ Brügger states that the most common form of web archiving “is the use of web crawlers that contact web servers and download their files to the archive”.⁴⁹ However, the web crawling process does often not create an exact replica of the archived page which is due to the choice of different strategies for preserving the web, or technical problems which may have occurred when the archiving took place. Brügger states therefore that web archiving in effect “creates the archived web based on what was once online: the born-digital web material is reborn in the archive.”⁵⁰

The WayBackMachine.

This thesis has used the search tool WayBackMachine⁵¹ by the Internet Archive. The internet archive is a non-profit organization which was established in 1996 with the purpose of creating an internet library.⁵² The WayBackMachine utilizes snap shots which archives a large amount of the web.⁵³ The broad archiving of the WayBackMachine presents some methodological problems. The internet pages which are archived are often incomplete and several sections of the website or pictures may be missing and the archived content are often not archived on the same date. Brügger concluded that “All in all the broad web archive constitutes a patchwork of overlapping, but not identical times and spaces, and it is therefore less consistent than the online web from which it is created.”⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Brügger, Niels. “When the Present Web is Later the Past: Web Historiography, Digital History, and Internet Studies”. *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* Vol. 37, No. 4: (2012):102-117. P. 102.

⁴⁸ Brügger quoted in «When the present web is the later past: Web historiography, Digital history, and internet studies” by Niels Brügger. P. 108

⁴⁹Brügger. *When the present web is the later past.* P. 108

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Internet Archive. “WayBackMachine.” (Accessed: 02.11.2016): <https://archive.org/web/>

⁵² Internet Archive. “About the Internet Archive”. (Accessed: 25.10.2016): <https://archive.org/about/>

⁵³ Brügger, *When the present web is the later past.* P.108

⁵⁴ Brügger, *When the present web is the later past.* P. 109

Brügger identifies three general challenges for researching at the web. Firstly, most web archives do not support free text search and the only option is to have the correct web address to gain access. In addition, the incomplete nature of the archived page present makes the use of a free text search problematic, and will most likely lead to the results being marked by confirmation bias. Secondly, if the relevant information is found in the internet archive one must make the choice of what versions of the archived webpage one should use for one's study. Thirdly, the process of making an individual archive or list of the empirical findings is complicated by the fact that information of the start and end of a website is usually not found in the archive, and the website may have existed before the archiving began, or had been archived after the website stopped updating, or that the archived had stopped archiving the website even if it was still active.⁵⁵

The methodological problems this thesis met and how it was solved.

As has been highlighted above, using internet archives to write history was, and is, not an easy task. Several of the general challenges which Brügger identified were met during the writing of this thesis. The first problem was that of accessibility. As stated the internet archives don't support free text search. The address for the FOMI website was found by using Google search. However, it was impossible to state the exact date of foundation for the first FOMI website as well as that of the EDL website. In addition, the FOMI website changed servers several times, while not always providing hyperlinks to the new website. Further, several of the early articles did not have any date of publishing, and often the snap shot of the article was from a later date than of the date for the publishing. Thus, the content of the articles may have been changed between publication and the snap shot. Another challenge was that several of the articles or hyperlinks did not work or where inactive. This was solved at some occasions as by holding the pointer over the article one would be able to get hold of the URL. This could then be used in the free text search function at the WayBackMachine. By this method one also escapes the danger of confirmation bias as the search is only for missing texts which one knows was present at the website at the time.

A significant problem that could be pointed out for this thesis is the incomplete nature of the websites which have been used. From the foundation of the www.sian.no website in 2008 the contemporary version was used to gain access to the articles rather than the archived one. This was done to escape the incompleteness of what Brügger called the new born web. There are

⁵⁵ Brügger, *When the present web is the later past*. P. 110-111

some dangers with this method as SIAN could have rewritten the article or removed aspects of the articles over the years. To counter this, there have been done random checks and comparison of the articles currently available at their website with the articles archived by the WayBackMachine.

In writing this thesis some challenges regarding the selection of data used were encountered. Due to the large number of articles published over the years there a selective approach has been taken and therefore there is a danger that some key aspects may have been overlooked. Due to the incompleteness of the reborn web this thesis will only focus on the published texts because, as stated, several of them were missing. In addition, a semiotic analysis of images or symbols has also been left out as they were often missing and to minimise the scope of the thesis. This is perhaps the most significant missing aspect of this thesis, but, hopefully it will be corrected by another thesis or academic study in the future.

Representability.

As this thesis will attempt to demonstrate the ideological development at the websites of SIAN and the EDL it is worth highlighting the relationship between the agent, which is the author of the articles at the website, and the group (EDL, or SIAN). In the book *Historie: En introduksjon til grunnlagsproblemer* Jan Eivind Myhre discusses the relationship between the agent and the group. Myhre writes: “En aktør kan bestå av en guppe individer, om de handler samlet, som et kollektiv.”⁵⁶ He goes on to elaborate:

For å gi en gruppe status som aktør i en historisk framstilling, må ikke nødvendigvis handlingen gruppen star for begrunnes i en felles formell beslutning, men individene som utgjør gruppen bør handle ut fra en form for felles bevissthet.⁵⁷

In this thesis, I will argue that when the articles posted form a consensus, this can be recognized as representative for the group. Sørensen, Hagtvat and Steine have argued that one must be able to differ between extreme ideologies, and extreme positions on single-issues.⁵⁸ As such, this thesis will also attempt to differ between extreme statements that may not be representative for the group.

⁵⁶ Myhre, Jan Eivind. *Historie En introduksjon til grunnlagsproblemer*. Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2014. P.169

⁵⁷ Ibid. P. 169-170

⁵⁸ Sørensen, Øystein, Bernt Hagtvat and Bjørn Arne Steine (red.). *Høyreekstremisme: Ideer og bevegelser i Europa*. Oslo: Dreyers Forlag, 2012. P. 10-11.

Comparing EDL and SIAN.

History Professor Knut Kjeldstadli differs between two methods of comparisons. First, one can look for similarities in the subjects. This method is utilized between two subjects which are different to gain further knowledge of a phenomena which they might share. Second, one can look for differences between two subjects which are recognized to be alike, this is done in order to gain a deeper understanding of the unique character of a phenomenon. Kjeldstadli also states that it is possible to combine these two methods and look at both the similarities and the differences of a subject.⁵⁹ It is the last method that have been used for this thesis. Since there are obvious differences between the two phenomena's as well as similarities.

1.6 Theory.

As this is a thesis on the ideological development on two movements who, as demonstrated in the literature section, are recognized to belong to the far-right it is necessary to give a short explanation of the theory which will be used in the thesis.

1.6.1 The different fluctuations of the far-right.

In *Høyreekstremisme Ideer og bevegelser i Europa* Sørensen, Hagtvet and Steine states that extremism must be understood in its ideological and political context. An extremist view is when the view is in opposition or in the outskirts of the political consensus within that society. In a country where there is broad consensus of a set of ideas and institutions, such as democracy and liberal rights, an extremist is someone who wants to completely change the current order with something completely different.⁶⁰

Extremism is defined by the intention, or the ideal society, of the subject. Further, they argue that the choice of strategy is another factor which differs the extremist from the rest. To use violence to achieve political goals are to be considered extremist in a democratic society. Not all extremists are proponents of violence, as such; the emphasis is again on the intentions and the nature of the idealized future of the political goals of an individual. This definition also includes agent who are not the proponents of violence but with the intentional goal of a new

⁵⁹ Kjeldstadli, Knut. *Historie er ikke som den en gang var* En innføring i historiefaget. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1999. P. 266-267

⁶⁰ Sørensen, Hagtvet and Steine "Høyreekstremisme". P. 7

organization of society, institutions and politics.⁶¹ A significant aspect of far-right extremism is the intention to replace the democratic society with an authoritarian and collective form of government.⁶²

The populist-right might share some of the political positions of the extreme-right but are pro-democratic and have no intentions to change the political system.⁶³ *The Routledge Companion to Fascism and the Far right* defines populism as “an approach to politics that appeals to the ‘man or woman in the street’ and cast them in a favourable light relative to wealthy, educated or influential elites.”⁶⁴ Sørensen, Hagtvet and Steine states that the radical-right is located between the extremist and populist right, it is often hard to define but they tend to be more extreme in some areas than the populists.⁶⁵

1.6.2 Cultural Nationalism.

Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens and Hans Brun demonstrated in their report on the European Counter-Jihad movement the movement championed a cultural form of nationalism.⁶⁶ It is therefore of interest to continue in the same framework and see if cultural nationalism was a dominant trend in the ideology expressed at the websites of SIAN as well. John Hutchinson argued that a central theme for Cultural nationalism was the wish for a “distinctive and historically-rooted way of life.”⁶⁷ The cultural nationalist wants to “revive what they regard as distinctive and primordial collective personality which has a name, unique origins, history, culture, homeland, and social and political practices”⁶⁸ In some instances, cultural nationalism has a potential to manifest itself with a “fervent religious character, with exaggerated proclamations of national virtues and denunciations of a threatening “other”.”⁶⁹ Hutchinson argued that there existed a cultural nationalism sometimes detached from the political goals of the nationalism, for them the main goal was to defend and revive the historical community.⁷⁰

⁶¹ Ibid. P. 8

⁶² Ibid. P 10

⁶³ Ibid. P. 10-11.

⁶⁴ Davies, Peter and Derek Lynch. *The Routledge Companion to Fascism and the Far Right*. London: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2002. P.332

⁶⁵ Sørensen, Hatvet and Steine “Høyreekstremisme”. P. 11

⁶⁶ Hans Brun, Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens. *A Neo-nationalist Network*. P. 1

⁶⁷ Hutchinson, John. “Re-Interpreting Cultural Nationalism”. *Australian Journal of Politics & History* Vol.45, Issue 3. (1999): 392-409. P. 393.

⁶⁸ Hutchinson. *Re-Interpreting Cultural Nationalism*. P. 394.

⁶⁹ Ibid. P. 395

⁷⁰ Ibid. P.398

1.6.3 Islamophobia.

There have been several attempts to define islamophobia as a concept for it to work as a theoretical framework to analyse hatred against Muslims.⁷¹ Islamophobia has also been critiqued as a term.⁷² In this thesis the term Islamophobia will not be used, but rather the terms anti-Islamic and anti-Islamist. The main reason for this is that it allows for a more descriptive approach of how the rhetoric develops over the years. It must be stressed that the goal of this thesis is not to prove the racism of the two groups but rather to attempt to understand the development in ideology. The terms anti-Islamic and anti-Muslim relate to what has been called a solid form of Islamophobia where a Muslim is understood on the same terms as biological racists would understand race.⁷³

1.6.4 Some key aspects of the Worldview of anti-Islamic movements.

This section will give a short introduction to some of the key ideas in the anti-Islamic worldview.

Eurabia and dhimmitude.

What Bangstad calls the “Eurabia genre”⁷⁴ is driven by the fear that Europe eventually will become a Muslim dominion, the theory itself can take many forms but at the core of the Eurabia genre is the fear amongst white Europeans of becoming a minority due to immigration. Often related to this fear is the idea that Muslims are the proponents of Sharia Law and an Islamic rule. The Eurabia genre has produced several books, which some of the most influential are Oriana Fallaci’s *The Force of Reason*, published in 2004, and perhaps the most influential, *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis* by Bat Ye’or, published in 2005.⁷⁵

In *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis* Bat Ye’or launched the theory in which Europe was under a process of Islamization, which had been occurring since the creation of the Euro-Arab dialogue in 1973. An important aspect of Bat Ye’or’s theory is the colluding between profit-chasing or scared politicians in Europe and Arab-Muslim leaders. Bat Ye’or believed Islam’s

⁷¹ See: Gardell, Mattias. *Islamofobi*. Oslo: Spartacus Forlag, 2011. P. 17.; Chris, Allen. *Islamophobia*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2010. P. 190. and Bangstad, Sindre and Alexa Cora. *Hva er rasisme?*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 2015. P. 144-145

⁷² Example: Malik, Kenan. “When does criticism of islam become islamophobia?”. *Pandemonium* (Blog). 14.11.2013. (Accessed: 29.10.2016): <https://kenanmalik.wordpress.com/2013/11/14/when-does-criticism-of-islam-become-islamophobia/>

⁷³ Bangstad, Sindre. “Islamofobi og rasisme”. *Agora* No. 3-4. (2014): 5-29. P. 6

⁷⁴ Bangstad. *Islamophobia*. P. 144

⁷⁵ Bangstad, *Islamophobia*. P. 144-145.

main goal was to achieve world domination and annihilation of the Jewish people. These ultimate goals have expressed themselves throughout history. An important concept in the Eurabia theory, although emptied of its historical meaning, is dhimmitude, which Bat Ye'or argues is a condition which resembles slavery. The real history of minorities living under Islamic rule has been deliberately manipulated, concealing how terrible it was. Bat Ye'or argues that the European states are already under a state of dhimmitude.⁷⁶ Notable for this thesis, Bangstad have argued that the themes found in the Eurabia genre existed in far-right and populist milieus long before the publication of the books by Fallaci and Bat Ye'or.⁷⁷

Political Correctness, Cultural Marxism and the hate against the political left.

The anti-Islamic movements use of the word political correctness can have two related but different meanings. Political Correctness was a term used by Cultural Conservatives in the U.S which used it originally in the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s as a derogatory remark towards persons who fronted liberal values.⁷⁸ The cultural conservative William S. Lind is credited with popularising the idea that political correctness has its roots in cultural Marxism with the essay *The origins of political Correctness* first published in 2000. In the essay Lind argued that Cultural Marxism was an “an attempt to translate the classical economic terms of Marxism of Karl Marx and Friedich Engels into Cultural terms.”⁷⁹ Lind implied that the West was controlled by an elite which censored the public. His essay has also been referred to by other notables in the Counter-Jihad movement such as Fjordman.^{80 81}

1.6.5 Conspiracy theories.

This thesis will use Professor Øystein Sørensen definition of conspiracy theories as “[...] forestillinger om og frykt for påståtte, ikke beviste, konspirasjoner.”⁸² He further differs

⁷⁶ Hans Brun, Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens. *A Neo-Nationalist Network: The English Defence League and Europe's Counter-Jihad Movement*. Kings College, London: The Centre for Asymmetric Threat Studies (CATS), 2013. P. 45

⁷⁷ Bangstad, *Islamophobia*. P.145

⁷⁸ Ibid. P. 87

⁷⁹ Ibid. P. 87

⁸⁰ In 1995 Lind published a futuristic essay in the Washington Post, which was a look back from the future where the 'retro-culture' movement had established a new society after multiculturalism had led to war and the collapse of society. This essay was later reworked into a book, published in 2014, in which a resistance led by U.S marines and Christians turns into a revolution against political correctness. For the essay see: Lind, William S. "Understanding Oklahoma". *Washington Post*. 30.04.1995. Link:

https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/1995/04/30/understanding-oklahoma/a03eb6e2-14df-434a-b6cb-d355aaf5f587/?utm_term=.3a49bb989662 and the book; Hobbes, Thomas. *Victoria: A novel of a 4th generation war*. Castalia House, 2014.

⁸¹ Bangstad, *Islamophobia*. P. 87

⁸² Sørensen, Øystein. *Den store sammensvergelsen*. Oslo: Aschehoug, 2010. P.14

between two types of conspiracy theories, small ones and big ones.⁸³ Big conspiracy theories are concerned with major world changing events such as creating a new world order. The small ones concern themselves primarily with events on a smaller scale such as the assassination of JFK.⁸⁴ Using these definitions we can identify several conspiracy theories, both small and big in SIAN and its predecessors and the EDL. There were however several different conspiracies existing side by side in the groups and some of them were small while others were big. Most of the conspiracy theories were related to several of the big theories. Sørsensens definition is therefore useful in differentiating between the two types of conspiracies.

⁸³ Ibid. P. 15

⁸⁴ Ibid. P. 15-16

2 The History of SIANs predecessors

Stretching over a period of 16 years up until today, SIAN and its precursors has undergone several changes, in leadership, ideology and more. This chapter will tell the history of the precursor groups and the group's ideology until the foundation of SIAN. This chapter will be split into two parts; the first focusing on the first group, Aksjonskomiteen mot Bønnerop and the old Forum Mot Islamisering (FOMI), and the second part will focus on the new Forum Mot Islamisering.

2.1 Aksjonskomiteen mot bønnerop, 2000.

On November 22nd, 1999, the World Islamic Mission (WIM) mosque sent an application to the Department of health of the Oslo borough, Bydel Gamle Oslo, requesting to allow calls for prayer for the Muslim Friday prayer. In the beginning of the year 2000 the application unleashed a political debate on whether to allow the application. In the middle of January, it was decided by the Oslo City Council that it would not disallow calls for prayer in Oslo. Due to the expected length of the application process the WIM sent another application in the meantime asking for permission to hold calls for prayer at the end of Ramadan, and the beginning of Eid.⁸⁵

After the first call for prayer the Mosque started gaining interest from journalists. The debate about the calls for prayer started spreading around to other boroughs in Oslo, with journalists visiting other mosques asking them for their view of the calls for prayer. The media noticing the popularity of the debate, arranged opinion-polls on the issue.⁸⁶

In January 28th, 2000, Aftenposten published a letter to the editor from the Christian Conservative activist Anne-Liv Gamlem. She was strongly opposed to the call for prayer which she saw as a violation of the Christian society. For her, the calls for prayer was an instant reminder that one was on Muslim territory. She argued that the Muslims could not demand that the Norwegian population were to recognize, or accommodate Islam.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Lilleheil, *En symbolsk kamp om sted*. P. 47

⁸⁶ Ibid. P. 48

⁸⁷ Strømme, Øyvind. *Det mørke nettet. Om høyreekstremisme, kontrajihadisme og terror i Europa*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm. 2011. P. 105-106

On February, the 3rd, 2000, the leader of the Norwegian Progress Party, Carl I. Hagen, proposed a private bill on integration and the denial of ‘calls for prayer’.⁸⁸ This bill was later rejected by Stortinget, the Norwegian National Assembly, and the Department of Justice argued that a ban against ‘calls for prayer’ would not be permitted due to the law on freedom of religion.⁸⁹

On March 25th, 2000, a demonstration against the calls for prayer was held at Youngstorget, Oslo by the protest movement Aksjonskomiteen mot Bønnerop (AMB). The AMB was made up of members from the Progress Party (PP), Christian Democratic Party and the Christian Unity Party (CUP).⁹⁰ The demonstration was rather small, with only 150 to 160 people attending.⁹¹⁹² Most of the demonstrators were elders, with only a small amount of young people attending.⁹³ A newsletter published by the national-democratic website www.frittforum.org in April, 2000 claimed that in addition to members of the PP and the CUP, there were anti-abortionists, anti-immigrant activists, members of the anti-immigration movement Folkebevegelsen mot Innvandring (FMI) and some young nationalists present at the demonstration.⁹⁴ Notable people mentioned in the newsletter were Eirik Gjems-Onstad, a former resistance fighter under the Second World War, and Norvald Aasen from the FMI.⁹⁵ Eirik Gjems-Onstad explained that he was demonstrating because of the same reasons that drove him to fight under the Second World War, love for the fatherland and the nation.⁹⁶ Other sources have stated that individuals from the radical nationalist political parties Hvit Valgalliance, Norsk Folkeparti and the neo-Nazi Boot Boys were in attendance.⁹⁷

At the demonstration, there were two horn-blowers carrying antelope horns. One of the carriers explained the function of the antelope horns as “Dette instrumentet ble brukt av Josva da han inntok Jeriko. Nå bruker vi det for å vise vår motstand mot muslimske bønnerop”.⁹⁸

⁸⁸ Larsen, Ernst. “Hagen vil forby bønnerop”. *Dagbladet*. 03.02.2000. (Accessed 7.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/2000/02/03/191159.html>

⁸⁹ Lilleheil, *En symbolsk kamp om sted*. P. 49-50

⁹⁰ Kolsrud, Kjetil. “Vil demonstrere mot bønnerop.” *Aftenposten Aften*. 23.03.2000.

⁹¹ Laugen, Stig Tore. “Antilopehorn mot bønnerop.” *NTB*. 25.03.2000. Link: <http://web.retriever-info.com/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=055013190003250058&serviceId=2>

⁹² Haakaas, Einar. “Demonstrasjon mot muslimske bønnerop samlet få.» *Aftenposten Morgen*. 26.03.2000.

⁹³ Laugen, “Antilopehorn mot bønnerop”.

⁹⁴ Fritt Forum “Nettrapport” *Uavhengig nasjonalt nyhetsbrev* April, No. 4. (2000). 14.04.2000. (Accessed 07.10.2016.) Link: https://groups.google.com/forum/#!msg/no.stortinget/MELApBEc4to/HxnmWql2l_YJ

⁹⁵ Ibid

⁹⁶ Haakaas. “Demonstrasjon mot Muslimske bønnerop samlet få.”

⁹⁷ Løkeland-Stai, Espen. “Skal demonstrere mot bønnerop.” *Klassekampen*. 21.11.2000.

⁹⁸ Laugen, “Antilopehorn mot bønnerop”.

The demonstrators were also reported singing “Jesus er stor, Jesus er stor”.⁹⁹ The banners used by the demonstrators had the slogans “En gang i uken er for mye”¹⁰⁰ referring to the Muslim call for prayer once a week on Fridays, and “Skal Oslo bli en Muslimske by? Nei!”¹⁰¹ The demonstration was ended with the Norwegian Christian hymn “Gud signe vårt dyre fedreland”.¹⁰² It is clear that the demonstration was of largely a Christian in character and that much of the opposition towards the Muslim call for prayer was of religious character. However, this demonstration served to bring together an odd coalition of populist politicians, anti-abortionists, fundamentalist Christians, anti-immigrationist’s, nationalists and neo-Nazis, concerned with one issue, Islam. Later that year, at the September 11th, 2000, the AMB changed name to Forum mot Islamisering.¹⁰³

2.2 From AMB to FOMI

On November 21st, 2000, the newspaper Klassekampen wrote that Forum against Islamization had been permitted to stage a demonstration against ‘calls for prayer’ against WIM, the same Mosque as AMB had demonstrated against earlier that year. The demonstration was to be held in front of Stortinget at the 23rd of November. The newspaper stated that the group was combined of Christian fundamentalist and far-right activists with the same organizers as at the last demonstration held by AMB.¹⁰⁴

When AMB became FOMI there was a shift in opposition towards the building of mosques, as well as concerns regarding city planning. The group was calling for Mosque-free zones and highlighting a concern over what they saw a lack of plan or analysis over the consequences of the current development.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ Haakaas. «Demonstrasjon mot muslimske bønnerop samlet få».

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ FOMI. Main Page. FOMI. (Archived: 06.02.2006.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20060206082800/http://www.fomi.no/>

¹⁰⁴ Løkeland-Stai. «Skal demonstrere mot bønnerop».

¹⁰⁵ Lilleheil. *En symbolsk kamp om sted*. P. 83

The demonstration took place on November 23rd. It was on a rather small scale, described by a newspaper at the time as a small group of people¹⁰⁶, and other newspapers estimating that only around a dozen people, mostly elders, had met up.¹⁰⁷

Like the AMB demonstration earlier that year the demonstrators had brought horns. This time it was a Buckhorn, an ancient Norwegian instrument, which was used as a form of protest-instrument calling for the divine invention of God to stop the Muslim call to prayer. While the demonstration was held, there was a vote held inside Stortinget where the Norwegian Parliament was voting over the bill put forward by PP leader Carl I. Hagen to ban Muslim call for prayers. The demonstrators were rather pessimistic to the vote taking place, arguing that most of the political parties would vote against the bill.¹⁰⁸

Anne-Liv Gamlem, which had become the FOMI leader, expressed frustration over the Christian Democrats as he argued that they were accommodating for other religions and thus were responsible of the de-Christianization of Norway. She recommended people to vote for either the Progress Party or the Christian Unity Party, as they were the only political parties which did not submit to the demands of the Muslims.¹⁰⁹ When asked by a journalist if not the Muslim call for prayer was the same as church bells she responded no, telling that she had studied Arabic, and that the Muslim call to prayer is preaching that Allah is the greatest, and that there is no God but Allah, and Muhammed is his prophet.¹¹⁰ For Anne-Liv Gamlem, this conflicted with the Christian Creed and was considered as more than just a call to prayer. She argued that nothing in the Constitution allowed for the use of call for prayer by the mosques. Another person who was at the demonstration was board member of FOMI, Egil Dreyer. He argued that his opposition to the calls for prayer was due to Islam being barbaric, claiming that ex-Muslims were sentenced to death for leaving the religion.¹¹¹

Erik Gjems-Onstad also attended the demonstration. He argued that the acceptance of Muslim calls for prayer was one step on the way to more power for immigrants in Norway. Gjems-Onstad stated that last year, 22.000 people were granted permanent residence in Norway,

¹⁰⁶ NTBtekst. "Påkalte Guds hjelp mot Islam med bukkehorn". *NTB*. 23.11.2000. (Accessed 07.10.2016) Link: <https://web.retriever-info.com/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=055013190011230097&serviceId=2>

¹⁰⁷ Aarseth, Kjetil and John Rasmussen. "Islam er en barbarisk religion" *Dagbladet*. 23.11.2000. (Accessed 07.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/2000/11/23/229420.html>

¹⁰⁸ NTBtekst. "Påkalte Guds hjelp mot Islam med bukkehorn".

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Arseth. "Islam er en barbarisk religion."

viewing immigrants a threat to the nation. Gjems-Onstad argued that the politicians did not understand this threat, and that it was unfortunate that opposition to this development was branded as racism.¹¹² Erik Gjems-Onstad claimed that he did not have any formal position in FOMI, claiming that he only attended at the demonstration because he supporter the cause.¹¹³ He is still an example of who the attendees at FOMIs early demonstrations was, namely individuals motivated by nationalism combined with an anti-immigrant ideology.

Common for Dreyer, Gamlem and Gjems-Onstad was the notion of Islam as something threatening to Norwegian culture, with the anger especially directed towards the politicians whom they saw as responsible. These three represented the early combination of Christian Conservatives, secularist and anti-immigrationist which had allied against the common threat of Islam to national identity, cultural nationalism served as a common ground for both positions.

In 2001, FOMI was for the most part unnoticed by the major Norwegian newspapers. The only sign of activity from the group was small note in an article by the newspaper *Bergens Tidende* published the 7th of September, 2001, where it said that FOMI was given permit to hold a protest against the call for prayer in front of Stortinget that day.¹¹⁴

2.2.1 The 11th of September 2001.

On September 11th, 2001, members of the Islamist terrorist organization al-Qaeda hijacked four airplanes of which two of them crashed into the two skyscrapers which made up the World Trade Center. After approximately an hour of burning the two skyscrapers collapsed, killing over 400 of the firemen and police officers which had tried to help the civilians who were stuck inside the buildings, leading to over 3000 killed. The coverage of the attack, including images of the planes crashing into the towers, was televised over the whole world. The images of desperate people jumping from the towers to escape the flames, was immortalized in the picture “The falling Man”,¹¹⁵ as well as the havoc of destruction raging in the heart of the sovereign world power USA made an impression on people all over the world. Islamic terror was broadcasted into the living room of people in the West.

¹¹² NTBtekst. “Påkalte Guds hjelp mot Islam med bukkehorn”.

¹¹³ Aarseth. “Islam er en barbarisk religion.”

¹¹⁴ *Bergens Tidende*. «BT det skjer i dag/arrangementer.» *Bergens Tidende Morgen*. 07.09.2001.

¹¹⁵ Junod, Tom. “The Falling Man”. *Esquire*. 09.11.2016. (Accessed 08.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.esquire.com/news-politics/a48031/the-falling-man-tom-junod/>

In the book *Gud i Norsk politikk*, Torkel Brekke had interviewed FOMI's spokesperson at the time.¹¹⁶ The spokesperson, Ingrid Marie Løkling stated that after the terror attack on the Twin Towers there had been a significant rise of interest in the organization. Løkling hoped that FOMI could take advantage of this and develop the organization further. In the autumn of 2001 FOMI had not yet established a formal membership, mission statement or statutes, and had mostly been a loosely organized network of individuals concerned of the same political issues. In addition, FOMI had been reaching out to other organizations in Norway, which the leadership hoped would give gains in their work against the Islamisation of Norway.¹¹⁷

Løkling claimed that the organization was made up of several well-educated individuals. Amongst its members FOMI had a diplomat with experience from Muslim countries. The leader of FOMI, Anne-Liv Gamlem had studied Arabic and Urdu and had lived several years in Pakistan and India. Løkling stated that the organization was not racist nor had anything against individuals based on race or religion. There had been some developments over the year as the FOMI had shifted their focus from just protesting Mosque building and city planning to a broader concern with immigration and Islam. While not being Christian herself, Løkling saw Christianity as a central part of Norwegian culture and was against the removal of Christianity from the curriculum of Norwegian schools. Ethnic Norwegian politicians, especially liberals and leftists were perceived as an even graver danger than the Muslims, as they were the ones primarily responsible for the development.¹¹⁸ Løkling also blamed Norwegian teachers as responsible as they strove to be politically correct and therefore capitulating to Muslim demands.¹¹⁹

Løkling stated that the the main cause of the islamisation was Norwegian naivety. It was understandable that the Muslims took what they could get, but the problem was that Norwegians did not set any limits. Now, Løkling stated, several political parties had Muslims up for election to Stortinget which furthered the influence of the Muslims in Norway on behalf of the Norwegian majority. Norwegian politicians were blamed for ignoring the increase in the building of Mosques, which FOMI saw as the prime example of a Muslim strategy to spread Islam and Muslim culture.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Brekke, Torkel. *Gud i Norsk politikk*. Oslo: Pax Forlag A/S, 2002. P. 76-78.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. P. 75

¹¹⁸ Ibid. P. 76

¹¹⁹ Ibid. P.77

¹²⁰ Ibid.

FOMI's political goal was to stop the Islamisation of Norway. The Islamisation was visible in several areas, such as arranged marriages, mistreatment of animals, lack of respect for women and children and Norwegians and Norwegian culture. Løkling saw the Norwegian policy of family-reunions as one of the main problems of Norwegian immigration politics. It was imperative to stop Muslims bringing in their family members to the country, if this was ensured the number of Muslims would go down. Allowing for better integration of the Muslims already in the country.¹²¹

It is clear that the early FOMI was cultural nationalist, intent of stopping what they saw as the attack of the culture and traditions of Norway. The Cultural nationalism had although manifested differently. The hate was also directed towards the liberal politicians whom they saw as traitors that was selling the nation to Islam. At the time the ideology was first and foremost national with little consideration towards the status quo of the islamisation in other countries. However, what Bangstad identified as the core of the Eurabia genre was clearly visible from the onset. The FOMI members expressed a fear of an increasing islamisation which in the future would lead to the majority becoming a minority. A key aspect of the early FOMI was also the intellectual side of the organization. It is perhaps this intellectual identity which later would lead to the new FOMI meta-political position.

Nonetheless, because of the newfound interest into the organization after the attack at September, 11, 2001 FOMI had managed to convert the newfound interest into a reorganization of the movement.

2.3 Forum Mot Islamisering reorganized.

The 19th of January, 2002, the Forum mot Islamisering was established.¹²² In the period between the 19th of January and the 10th of March there was also established a webpage for the organization. The design of the webpage was like other webpages of the early 2000's, some text on a simple yellow background, with the FOMI logo in the centre.¹²³ Under the logo, there is the "welcome" text of the webpage:

¹²¹ Ibid. P. 77

¹²² Forum Mot Islamisering. "Index." FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 10.03.2002.). Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20020310024822/http://wam50.zuiker.com/index.htm>

¹²³ The earliest archived version of the webpage was archived at the 10th of March. Therefore, the webpage had to be created earliest at the foundation of the new organization of FOMI, and latest at the 10th of March. Unfortunate, the version of the webpage which is saved at the Internet archive don't show any pictures.

Forum mot islamisering ble stiftet 19 januar 2002. Foreningens formal er å bekjempe islam og muslimsk innflytelse i Norge ved å avsløre islams sanne karakter gjennom nøkternt og sannferdig informasjonsarbeide. Disse internet-sidene er et ledd i dette arbeidet.¹²⁴

The movement was no longer just concerned on minimizing the effects of immigration or the building of mosques; the group was now focusing on Islam, working to reveal the *true* character of the religion. In the last section, it was mentioned the intellectual identity of the old FOMI, it was perhaps this factor which led to the new FOMI's new meta-political orientation into working to present *true* information in order to influence the political climate against Islam.

On the webpage there were seven sections, each on a different theme in the following order from top to bottom; Vedtekter- FOMI's vedtekter, Muslimske forbrytelser verden rundt- Omfatter nå 32 land/områder verden over, Temaartikler, Nyheter- Aktuelle nyheter fra hele verden, Linker- Linker til aktuelle/relevante sider på internet, Humor- Vitser om islam og muslimer, Nedlasting- Ny seksjon – Informasjonsmateriale for nedlasting.¹²⁵ The new international orientation is visible in the sections of the new FOMI website. There was now a new conscience that the battle against Islam had an international dimension, not only a national.

2.3.1 The FOMI Mission statement.

In addition to creating a website, FOMI had got a mission statement and as well as a statement of purpose. The statement of purpose explained what the goal and nature of the organization was, under paragraph two it is explained the purpose of the organization:

Forumet er en sammenslutning av enkeltpersoner med eller uten politisk tilknytning. Forumet anser Islam og dens lære og livsformer for å være uforenlig med de verdier den vestlige kulturkrets og det norske samfunn er bygget på. Herunder vises det spesielt til FNs universelle menneskerettighetserklæring og Kongeriket Norges Grunnlov. Forumet vil derfor arbeide for at den pågående islamisering blir motarbeidet, stanset og reversert. Dette skal skje gjennom nøkternt og sannferdig informasjonsarbeide.¹²⁶

Compared with the earlier statements in the year 2000 from the former FOMI leader Anne-Liv Gamlem, we see a shift in ideology. While Anne-Liv Gamlem ideological opposition to Islam was motivated by her radical Christian conservatism, she did not necessarily deny the existence of a peaceful co-existence between 'culturally-christian westerners and Muslims if

¹²⁴ Forum Mot Islamisering. "Index." FOMI. (Archived: 10.03.2002.)

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ FOMI. "Vedtekter for Forum mot Islamisering." FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 20.03.2002.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20020320014437/http://wam50.zuiker.com/Vedtekter.htm>

the Muslims respected the Christian tradition. However, she did imply anti-immigration sentiment.

The new FOMI stated that Islam is incompatible with Western and Norwegian values and that it will work towards stopping and reversing the ongoing Islamization. How FOMI is supposed to reverse the Islamization was described in paragraph five, which was by spreading information about the true nature of Islam. In paragraph three FOMI stated that the organization was non-political, and that its sole purpose was to fight against Islam. The organizations ideological foundation was stated to be United Nations declaration of Human rights charter.¹²⁷

To use the U.N human rights as an ideological foundation was later used by other anti-Islamic groups, such as the EDL. FOMIs mission statement was also expressed a highly cultural nationalist identity which saw Islam incompatible with Norwegian and Western culture.

In FOMIs statement, we also learn about how the group was organized. FOMIs statement of purpose was only changed once in the history of the organization. It was a minor change where the number of extra-representatives increased from two to three.¹²⁸ Everyone who agreed with FOMIs stated purpose could become a member. Members who disregarded paragraph two, and paragraph three which was described as FOMIs ideological fundament, could be excluded from the organization if two thirds of the FOMI board ruled for exclusion. Before any exclusion could take place, the indicted member was given two weeks to defend herself (or him) from getting excluded.¹²⁹ It must be argued that the two ideological paragraphs, created a very broad ideological platform, allowing a wide range of persons into the organization, from non-fascist far-right nationalists to Christian fundamentalists. The creation of such a vague ideological platform might have its origin in the compromise between the different ideological background of the individuals from the AMB and the old FOMI. Therefore, in practice, if the FOMI members concerned themselves with Islam, their political affiliation did not matter.

In paragraph five FOMI stated that the organization was to have an international outlook, and when possible support the fight against Islam in other countries.¹³⁰ This international

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ FOMI. "Vedtekter." FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 15.06.2006.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20060615224231/http://rto73.0catch.com/Vedtekter.htm>

¹²⁹ FOMI. "Vedtekter for Forum Mot Islamisering." FOMI. (Archived: 20.03.2003.)

¹³⁰ Ibid.

orientation was given concrete form through sections of the FOMI website re-written and published in English between June and August, 2003.¹³¹ There was also established a Swedish FOMI at the June 16th, 2004,¹³² between June, 10th and July 3rd, 2004, there was added a Dutch section to the FOMI website, which FOMI stated was in cooperation with Dutch anti-Islamists.¹³³ Sometime between December 2004 and April 2005 there was added a section in Turkish at the FOMI website.¹³⁴ This demonstrates that FOMI's contact with other international anti-Islamic groups was not only one-sided, with FOMI having hyperlinks at their website to other groups, but that other anti-Islamic groups must have seen FOMI as a valuable co-operation partner. There must have been a number of visitors from other countries besides Norway, suggesting that FOMI's ideas and worldview was a trustworthy supplier of information about Islam, backed by a larger group of people than merely the Norwegian FOMI supporters. It is important to keep in mind that FOMI's website established in 2002 was amongst the first primarily anti-Islamist websites on the web, before influential counter-jihad websites and blogs such as Jihad Watch, 2003, Atlas Shrugs, 2004, Gates of Vienna, 2004 and the blog *Fjordman*, 2005.¹³⁵ FOMI must be considered a pioneer in using the internet to spread their anti-Islamic ideology. The organization may have been seen as marginal by contemporaries at the time,¹³⁶ but, it could influence a large number of people at the internet.

2.3.2 The new FOMI website and worldview.

In the section “Muslimske forbrytelser verden rundt” FOMI published reports on what they saw as Muslim aggression in other countries. FOMI argued that the closer to the geographical center of Islam one comes, and the purer Islam is; the closer it becomes a hell on earth for non-Muslims.¹³⁷ FOMI tried with the reports published on the webpage to prove that fact. In

¹³¹ FOMI. Main page. FOMI. Published: Between June and August, 2003. (Archived: 06.08.2003.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20030806220504/http://fomi.ytring.dk/>

¹³² FOMI. (Swedish). Main Page. Swedish FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 13.10.2008.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20081013112918/http://www.forummotislamisering.org/>

¹³³ FOMI. “FOMI Presents the Dutch section.” FOMI. Published: Between June, 10th and July 3rd, 2004. (Archived: 15.07.2004.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20040715114223/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Dutch/Dutchindex.htm>

¹³⁴ FOMI. Main Page. FOMI. Published: Between December 2004 and April 2005. (Archived: 03.04. 2005.)

Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20050403174449/http://fomi.ytring.dk/> Shows the Turkish flag, if you click on it the archive will take you to a Turkish version of the page from 2006; Forum Mot Islamisering. “SİZLERE TÜRKÇE SUNUYOR.” FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 20.02.2006.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20060220201435/http://rto73.0catch.com/Turkish/Turkishindex.htm>

¹³⁵ Williams and Lowles. *The Counter-Jihad Movement*. P. 13

¹³⁶ Strømmen, *Det mørke nettet*. P. 108

¹³⁷ FOMI. “Muslimske Forbrytelser Verden Rundt.” FOMI. Date: Unknown. (Archived: 20.03.2002.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20020320023305/http://wam50.zuiker.com/Verdenrundt/Verdenrundt.htm>

the Norwegian section, FOMI wrote an introduction which explained in a large degree their view at Muslims at the time:

Det som gjør kriminalitet fra muslimer spesiell er at den i stor grad er religiøst fundert, dvs den springer direkte ut fra islam og har hjemmel i islamlæregrunnlag [...] Dette ser man også på det internasjonale plan. Det har knapt noen gang eksistert en muslims stat som har vært i nærheten av å kunne kalles demokrati [...] At norske muslimer skulle være fundamentalt forskjellige fra hva praktisk talt alle andre muslimer har vært overalt og til alle ider kan vel knapt noen for ramme alvor ro på [...] Norske muslimer har forbindelser til terrorisme, de tvangsgifter, omskjærer og æresdreper sine egne kvinner, de raner, plyndrer, knivstikker, voldtar og dreper vantrø, alt sammen kjennetegn på islam gjennom det meste av dens historie, og fundert og hjemlet i Koranen, Hadith og Muhammeds ord og eksempel for øvrig.¹³⁸

For FOMI Muslims are not only essentially incompatible with Western and Norwegian culture, they are essentially non-democratic, an enemy of civilization. What is interesting is how the FOMI view of Islam is of a secular character more interested in the content of Islam. While Gamlem and Løkling were protesting what they saw as Islam advancing on the expense of Norwegian culture they had little interest in the content of Islam. The quote above is of a clear anti-Islamic sentiment as well as an essentialist view of Muslims.

What in part explained this shift of rhetoric was the change of leadership in FOMI. A newspaper article from the March 25th, 2002, mentioned that Jarle Synnevåg, former researcher at Forsvarets Forsknings Institutt (FFI), had sent a letter to Ligestillingsombudet about stricter control of teaching tools at Muslim schools, presenting himself as leader of FOMI.¹³⁹ It is reasonable to suggest that he was elected as the new leader in the time around the reorganization of FOMI the Januray, 19th, 2001. Jarle Synnevåg's background as a researcher and expert at electronic warfare at the FFI came to an end after he was discovered, amongst other things, writing anti-Muslim texts online. Some of the texts had an anti-Muslim content; he was reported writing that a Muslim could not be trusted until he was six feet under, and that "bare det å være muslim er en av de verste forbrytelser mot menneskeheten en person kan være skyldig i".¹⁴⁰ It is possible that, due to his knowledge of electronic warfare, Jarle Synnevåg was the administrator and possibly the author of several of the texts at the FOMI website from its beginning. This may also explain the essentialist anti-Islamic view of Islam which was different from the early FOMI and AMB. Strengthening this theory, Jarle Synnevåg was later in 2004 confirmed as one of three or four people that were responsible of

¹³⁸ FOMI. "Norge Halvmånens terror i Midnattssol." FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 23.04.2002.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20020423224552/http://rto73.0catch.com/Verdenrundt/Norge.htm>

¹³⁹ Skjalg, Fremo. "Søkelys på lærebøker ved muslimske skoler." *NTBtekst*. 25.03.2002. Link: <http://web.retriever-info.com/services/archive/displayDocument?documentId=055013190203250032&serviceId=2>

¹⁴⁰ Johansen, Per Anders. "Forsvarsekspert sprer muslim-hets." *Aftenposten Morgen*. 23.09.2001.

writing at the FOMI websites in an interview with Christen Krogvik, one of the FOMI founders by the Norwegian Newspaper *Morgenbladet*.¹⁴¹

Another interesting section of their early Website was the section “Linker”.¹⁴² In this section FOMI has posted several links to Norwegian, as well as international, websites writing that more would be added over time. FOMI argued that the purpose of these links is to spread information as *true* information about Islam was the worst thing in the eyes of the Muslims.¹⁴³ At the page it was also given a description of the background of the FOMI members. FOMI stated that the movement was founded by an alliance between Christian Conservatives, probably the same Christian Conservatives from the earlier AMB/FOMI, radical humanists and secular anti-Islamists such as Jarle Synnevåg.¹⁴⁴

The common cause for this coalition was most likely an antipathy towards Islam. The cooperation between Christian Conservatives and secular anti-Islamists had other ideological common grounds as well. Both groups supported Israel, the Christians because of the Jewish God-given right to the sacred land and being the people of God, while for the secular anti-Islamists the Jews was an ally against Islam. And most likely, all factions saw Islam as a threat towards Norwegian distinctiveness. This tactical alliance was behind much of the ideological drive at FOMI.

An information brochure available at an archived version of their website, at the April 8th, 2002 gives further insight into the new FOMI’s ideology.¹⁴⁵ The brochure was meant to be printed and spread out by FOMI’s sympathizers. The introduction of the brochure emphasized Islam as the fastest growing religion in many Western countries, and that historical experience proved that once the Muslim population reaches a certain percentage of the population this will create trouble for the non-Muslim part of the population.¹⁴⁶ FOMI argued that in Norway, Islam was the fastest growing religion, implying that if the numbers raise any further it would be devastating for the Norwegian population.¹⁴⁷ FOMI continued to demonstrate some

¹⁴¹ Strøknes, A. Morten. “Antisemettisme på godt norsk?”. *Morgenbladet*. 27.02.2004.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ FOMI. “Presterer Linker.” FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 20.03.2002). Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20020320012645/http://wam50.zuiker.com/Linker.htm>

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ FOMI. “Presterer Nedlastning.” Date: Unknown. (Archived: 08.04.2002). Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20020408084513/http://rto73.0catch.com/Nedlastning.htm>

¹⁴⁶ FOMI. “Islam bak sløret: Fakta om Norges raskest voksende religion.” FOMI Brochure. Page 1. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 08.04.2002). Press the link above for download.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid

examples of what they saw as crime perpetrated by Muslims in the recent years. On page two of the brochure, FOMI stated how Islam conflicted with the U.N Human Rights charter, arguing that Islam was in fact the opposite.¹⁴⁸

It was with similar brochures and propaganda that Islam positioned as the anti-thesis of the U.N Human Rights, that the new FOMI hoped to enlighten the Norwegian population in the period of 2002-2007. The fear of numbers is directly expressed through the focus on Muslim immigration. It also tells a lot about FOMI's activism which was a manifestation of the meta-political goal set forth in the mission statement.

FOMI also focused on what they saw as racism perpetrated by Muslims against Norwegians. In an article, which was a response against a New York Times article on racism in Norway after the murder of Benjamin Hermansen, a black teenage boy by neo-Nazis, FOMI wrote of what they saw as a graver issue¹⁴⁹:

Still, in a way you are right. We do have a problem with racism in Norway. Roughly speaking racists in this country can be divided into two categories. Firstly there are the nazis, a few hundred perhaps of freaked-out youth. Secondly, there are the muslims. There are about 62.000 registered of them, while unofficial estimates run as high as 90.000.¹⁵⁰

This idea of ethnic Norwegians being the real victim of racism was an example of another narrative which was central in FOMI and the later SIAN. It was the Muslims who were aggressors and racists towards the ethnic Norwegian population, not the other way. This was a core view at FOMI, expressed in several articles over the years, such as in an article published in 2004 where FOMI argued that a new discrimination law was in fact creating ethnic-discrimination against Norwegians.¹⁵¹ This trivialization of the far-right, as well as the stipulation of the Muslims as racist is an expression of a FOMI worldview where the Muslims were infringing on their given rights; therefore, it was the Muslim who was the aggressor.

Taqyya/Taqija.

A key idea to consider when understanding FOMI's view on the credibility of Muslims was the concept of the Muslim liar. A hyperlink at FOMI's section at their website,

¹⁴⁸ Ibid

¹⁴⁹ FOMI. "The Crescent and the Midnight Sun." Published: Available at the website at 20.03.2002. (Not archived until 17.09.2002). Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20020917170259/http://rto73.0catch.com/Tema/Crms.htm>

¹⁵⁰ Ibid

¹⁵¹ FOMI. "Lov om etnisk diskriminering av Nordmenn." Published: Unknown. (Archived:21.06.2004): <https://web.archive.org/web/20040621182829/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/Etnisk.htm>

“SPESIALRAPPORTER & ANBEFALTE ARTIKLER”,¹⁵² forwarded to the article *Muslimer bruker løgn som våpen* which was originally published on April 29th, 2000 in the Norwegian Christian newspaper Norge Idag. The article told of an Arab-Christian leader who criticized Norway for treating Islam too lightly. The Arab-Christian leader, which in the article is named Ralph, argued that Islam was not a religion, but a social-political movement concerned with all aspects of society. Ralph argued that the existence of Muslims in Norway was a part of a plan to change the Norwegian society into an Islamic society, following the guidelines put forth in the document *Islamic Movement in the West* by the Islamic Foundation. In the end of the article, Ralph stated that in Islam, Muslims are permitted to lie on three occasions; “Med dine kvinner, i spionasje under hellig krig der muslimer er en minoritet og for å opprettholde freden.”¹⁵³ Ralph argued that this permit to lie made interfaith dialogue between Muslims and non-Muslims hard.¹⁵⁴ That FOMI refers to this article on a Christian website demonstrates further the Christian influence in the organization. Equally important, Ralph’s idea of Muslims being allowed to lie in Islam has a striking resonance to Taqija, or Taqyya, as well as to the core ideas of FOMI, SIAN and the later EDL.

The concept of the Muslim liar was further explored in the article *Taqija – Den lovlige løgn*, published some time before August the 6th, 2002. The article was originally written by the Danish, anti-Islamic and cultural-nationalist, group ‘Dansk Kultur’.¹⁵⁵ The article explained Taqija as an emittance of Muslims from telling the truth if it gains Islam. The Muslim is also permitted to lie when confronted with infidels, whether it is individuals or political systems. The article argued that Taqija is used when Muslims applies for asylum, tax declarations and more. The article emphasized the practice of Taqija is usually not admitted by Muslims to exist. However, the article stated that Taqija was widespread amongst Sunni-Muslims and mandatory for Shia-Muslims, denying Taqija is a part of Taqija. The article continued to highlight Taqija as a tactical weapon that can be utilized to create confusion amongst non-Muslims with the function of covering up the true truth about Islam.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² FOMI. “Spesialrapporter & anbefalte linker”. (Archived: 06.08.2002.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20020806112907/http://rto73.0catch.com/Spesial/Spesial.htm>

¹⁵³ Kleiveland, Øyvind. “Muslimer bruker løgn som våpen.” *Norge Idag*. 29.04.2000. (Archived: 14.05.2002.)

Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20020514061338/http://idag.no/aktuelt-oppslag.php3?ID=1861>

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Dansk Kultur. “Info om foreningen Dansk Kultur”. (Archived: 11.08.2002.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20020811012422/http://www.danskkultur.dk/>

¹⁵⁶ Dansk Kultur. “Presenterer Taqija- Den lovlige løgn.” FOMI. Published: Before August 6th, 2002. (Archived: 13.09.2002.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20020913085836/http://rto73.0catch.com/Spesial/Taqija.htm>

The concept of Taqija as FOMI understood it have been argued by Bangstad to have similarities to anti-Semitic discourse as found Hitler's *Mein Kampf*,¹⁵⁷ and that individuals which believe in the concept usually don't accept the notion of moderate Muslims.¹⁵⁸

The function of the concept may be understood as explaining the contradictions between the ideas of the anti-Islamic individual of the evil Muslim and the actions of Muslims which don't behave accordingly to this worldview. A second function of the concept of Taqija is that the individual being a proponent of this idea are free to apply his own concepts to the Muslim since the Muslim is removed of his power to prove that the opponent's accusations are wrong. Consequently, the road to conspiracies is short.

On November 23rd, 2002, there had been several updates on the FOMI website. There had been added eight new topics, amongst them a guestbook, a web forum on Islam in Scandinavia, AntiJihad Forum- an international forum for anti-Islamists and an opinion poll on whether USA should go to war against Iraq.¹⁵⁹ FOMI had reinforced their international outlook at that time, using web forums to establish contact and exchange ideas with other anti-Islamic groups across the web.

There were mixed feelings towards war in Iraq amongst the members of FOMI, with the result from the poll showing that only 45 percent voted for.¹⁶⁰ This was partly due to a negative view towards the USA in general on the basis that the country supported Saudi Arabia, and was therefore seen as a traitor.¹⁶¹ FOMI was also unsure whether removing Saddam Hussein was a victory or defeat for Islam.¹⁶² The negative view towards the U.S created a breeding ground for conspiracies, exemplified by the inclination on the website towards the conspiracy that George Bush knew about the attack at the September, 11th beforehand.¹⁶³ Typically for the anti-Islamic movements was the idea of a hard approach towards Islam. All politicians who had a dialogue with Muslim countries or in any way supported Muslims were a traitor towards the Western culture.

¹⁵⁷ Bangstad, *Islamophobia*. P. 130

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. P. 131

¹⁵⁹ FOMI. Main Page. FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 23.11.2002.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20021123193500/http://rto73.0catch.com/> there's a link to the poll at the page.

¹⁶⁰ FOMI. "Krig mot Irak? – Krig mot Islam?". FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 14.06.2003.)

Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20030614052713/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/Spesial16.htm>

¹⁶¹ FOMI. "USA: Guds eller Allahs eget land?". FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 02.02.2003.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20030202023640/http://rto73.0catch.com/Verdenrundt/USA.htm>

¹⁶² FOMI "Krig mot Irak? – Krig mot Islam?" (Archived: 14.06.2003.)

¹⁶³ Clifford, Josph (Comments by FOMI), "It is the Oil, Stupid!" FOMI. Date: Unknown. (Archived:

05.03.2003.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20030305013935/http://rto73.0catch.com/Spesial/Oil.htm>

The 24th of July, 2003, FOMIs website changed server from '0catch' to ytring.dk, a Danish server. FOMI kept the old website but wrote that it was the new website that was going to be updated. On the new website, the interface was updated as well as the information text. FOMI had around the 6th of March, 2003 started publishing a magazine for members, as well as a new electronic newsletter. FOMI had also started a library, where members could loan anti-Islamic literature. The introduction text was also translated into English, directing English speaking visitors to FOMIs international news section as some of it was in English. FOMI had also created a "What's New"¹⁶⁴ section, where visitors could keep in track with new content published on the website. On the What's New section in an archived version of how it was the 10th of October, 2004 shows that over a hundred updates of articles and new articles had been published at the time since FOMI changed server.¹⁶⁵

There is no moderate Islam or Muslims.

FOMI had argued in 2002 that it was impossible to trust Muslims due to the Muslims strategic lying, Taqija. In the article *Mytene om de moderate og loylydige flertall* from FOMIs member magazine, first published as an expanded version online between the end of April 2003 and the June 2nd, 2003, FOMI argued against the existence of a moderate Muslim majority. The article was again expanded the 4th of October, 2003,¹⁶⁶ which is the version that will be analysed here. The article began by stating that after terror attacks by Islamists the first reaction by Muslims is to conceal it. The author argued that this lie has been proven due to the elections in several Muslim countries the last months. The examples given are from news articles by various Norwegian media and the Telegraph on elections in Morocco, Bahrain, along the Pakistani border to Afghanistan and Turkey where Islamist parties have gained votes.¹⁶⁷

In a comment to the Norwegian newspaper Aftenposten's coverage of the Turkish election, the author argued that the use of the term Islamist is confusing and is a part of the Muslim propaganda of lies. By applying the term Islamist, the Muslims are trying to brand the

¹⁶⁴ FOMI. Main Page. FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 06.08.2003.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20030806220504/http://fomi.ytring.dk/>

¹⁶⁵ FOMI. "Hva er nytt?". FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived 10.10.2004.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20041010213039/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Whatsnew.htm>

¹⁶⁶ FOMI. "Hva er nytt?". FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 10.03.2004.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20040310032027/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Whatsnew.htm>

¹⁶⁷ FOMI. "Mytene om det moderate og loylydige flertall." FOMI. 04.10.2003. (Archived: 05.11.2003.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20031105183459/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/Myten.htm>

Muslims as good and the Islamists as the bad, but, the author argued, the recent results of the elections proved that most Muslims are extreme or as the author puts it, pro-terror. He or she continued to argue that opinion polls confirm this observation, showing to a poll conducted in Saudi-Arabia by the country's secret service where showed that supposedly 95 percent of the educated population supported Osama bin Laden. The author also points to an article by the cultural-nationalist website Norsk Kultur where it is claimed that after 9/11, 253 French North-African children were given the name Osama. It is also referred to an article by the Norwegian newspaper Dagbladet where it says that seven out of ten children born at the hospital in the city Kano in Nigeria after 9/11 were given the name Osama. For the author the articles mentioned above confirmed that there did not exist such a thing as a moderate Muslim. For the author, the real Islam was evil, and violent to its core.¹⁶⁸

This view of Islam is symptomatic for the new FOMI. The struggle against Islam was no longer only preserving a Christian-liberal-secular Norwegian or Western society, but a war of survival against an enemy which inhabits a demonic destructive character. The evil nature of Islam becomes close to biblical, resembling more of Satan than of any political ideology in existence, except from the totalitarian regimes of the 20th century which explains slogans such as Nazislam which was used by FOMI.¹⁶⁹

In the end of the first section the author refers to a news article which reported that several North African youths had been celebrating the night after the 9/11 attack in Antwerp, Netherlands, and that a many young Muslim men had been celebrating the attack in another Dutch town. The quoted article also mentions that the day after the attack 80 percent of the Muslims who had participated in a survey, answered that they were in favour of the terror attack on the Twin Towers. This leads the author of the article to conclude that the result of the vote was the *true* nature of the Muslims, also in the West, using capital letters to demonstrate it.¹⁷⁰

The author and FOMI understood Islam and Muslims as an organic body. The actions or opinions by Muslims in Pakistan or in the Netherlands were valid to Muslims everywhere

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ FOMI. "Nazislam: Nazister og muslimer, brødre i jødehat". FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 16.05.2005.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20040516111112/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/NaziIslam.htm>

¹⁷⁰ FOMI. "Mytene om det moderate og lovlidige flertall." FOMI. 04.10.2003. (Archived: 05.11.2003.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20031105183459/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/Myten.htm>

across the globe.¹⁷¹ As FOMI stated in their statement of purpose, the goal of the organization was to reveal Islam's *true* character. FOMI understood Islam as essentially evil, and Muslims being the proponents of evil. When Muslims behaved well or did good actions or deeds this was only to cover up the real Islam, or to trick non-Muslims into trusting them, gaining a strategic advantage.

In the second part of the article, the author discusses the claim that most Muslims are abiding the law:

En beslektet myte med at flertallet av muslimer er moderate er at flertallet av muslimske innvandrere er lovlydige, at kriminaliteten bare utøves av et lite mindretall som angivelig ødelegger for det "lovlydige" flertallet. Det er gjerne den slags man hører fra de som tydeligvis vil fylle opp de nordiske og andre vestlige land med muslimske voldsaper og terroristyngel.¹⁷²

The phrase Muslim violent monkeys and the neologism terrorist-spawn are phrases with a clear racist content which was a clear radicalized shift from the rhetoric of the 'old' FOMI. Other phrases such as parasite and comparing Islam with cancer were also to be used over the years by the new FOMI.¹⁷³ The article *Mytene om de moderate og lovlydige flertall* continued discussing several other newspapers amongst them three articles from three Danish newspapers and one Swedish newspaper. When discussing the last article from the Swedish newspaper Aftonbladet, which highlighted that immigrants, was overrepresented in the criminal statistics; the author claimed that this was because of Islam. Immigrants from Muslim countries representing nine out of ten of the countries which most of the offenders have their origin. The author concludes that these statistics roughly represents Norway and Denmark as well.¹⁷⁴ The belief that crime is motivated by Islam and not social factors is another example of the minimalistic worldview in the new FOMI ideology. Their argument was quite simple, get rid of Islam and get rid of crime.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ See: FOMI. "Presterer Myten om den moderate Muslim." Date: Unknown. (Archived: 24.06.2004.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20040624182355/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/Myten2.htm> and

¹⁷⁴ Ibid

FOMI and the political establishment.

The new FOMI did not have any sympathy towards the established political spectrum. In 2003 FOMI had argued that a vote for the Conservatives was a crime against humanity,¹⁷⁵ as well as arguing that the all the political parties, including the PP was politically correct.¹⁷⁶

After the Norwegian Prime Minister Kjell Magne Bondevik had held a speech at the celebration for the national day of Pakistan on August 14th 2005,¹⁷⁷ FOMI published an article where they strongly condemned his attendance, and republished his speech where they condemned and critiqued every line.¹⁷⁸ FOMI saw Bondevik as a traitor for allowing the immigration of Muslims to Norway,¹⁷⁹ which FOMI also stated was valid for the rest of the political establishment:

Denne skylden er selvsagt ikke Bondevik alene om. Den appliserer, i noen varierende grad, på praktisk talt hver eneste statsråd og stortingsrepresentant de siste 10-15 år, minst, og på store deler av embedsverket, ikke minst på biskoper og prester. De er personlig medskyldige i det alt sammen, og vi hvet hvor de bor.¹⁸⁰

The last line was clearly formulated as a threat. Furthermore, if almost the entire political establishment the last ten to 15 years were traitors that constitute a severe distrust in the political government and the political system. Before the election of 2005 to the Norwegian assembly FOMI made a brochure with the intention of handing it out to try to scare people from voting for the wrong political parties. In line with their quest to spread the true information about Islam the brochure was similar to earlier brochures only this time with accusations towards the Conservatives and the Socialist Left Party for allowing the spread of Islam into the country.¹⁸¹

While statements such as this draws FOMI towards extremism, FOMI members where often seen joining the radical right-wing party the Democrats on several occasions. At a ceremony marking the 66th anniversary of the Kristallnacht, members of the Norsk Israel Senter were

¹⁷⁵ FOMI. "Høyre – Partiet for terror, apartheid og etnisk rensing". FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 07.06.2003.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20031103080554/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/Hoeyre-no.htm>

¹⁷⁶ FOMI. "De politisk halvkorrekte eller halvt ukorrekte?" FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 04.02.2004.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20040204171054/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/Halvkorrekt.htm>

¹⁷⁷ Statsministerens kontor. "Tale på Pakistans National Dag." Regjeringen.no. 14.08.2005. (Accessed: 28.10.2016) Link: https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/tale_til_pakistans_nasjonaldag/id269976/

¹⁷⁸ FOMI. "Kjell Magne BondeSVIK sin tale til de muslimske okkupasjonstroppene fra Pakistan 14 august 2005". FOMI. Published: Unknown. Archived: 18.06.2006.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20060618035851/http://rto73.0catch.com/Norge/BondeSVIK.htm>

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ FOMI. "Norge under økende Islam." Election Brochure. 2005. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 11.01.2006.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20060618191434/http://rto73.0catch.com/nedlasting/Stortingsvalg2005.pdf>

trying to meet up with individuals from the Democrats, among them the leader Vidar Kleppe, and members of FOMI, one of them being Christen Krogvik.¹⁸² The anti-fascist magazine Monitor also wrote that they recognized several FOMI members at the demonstration.¹⁸³ Christen Krogvik had also claimed in an interview with the Norwegian newspaper Morgenbladet, published on the February, 27th, 2004 that FOMI had over a hundred members, with several of the members also having a membership in political parties such as the Progress Party, the Christian Democrats, Christian Unity Party and the Democrats of which Krogvik was a member. He said that several of the FOMI members of the political parties were active immigration politicians in their respective parties, being against immigration from Muslim countries.¹⁸⁴ It is therefore a possibility that the extreme antagonism against the political mainstream visible in several of the FOMI articles was the positions of the administrators such as Jarle Synnevåg and others. However, FOMI's view on Islam as well as its denunciation of mainstream political parties and its member's political positions, Gamlem in the Christian Unity Party and Christen Krogvik in the Democrats is a factor which clearly pushes FOMI towards the radical right. Further, Christen Krogvik had been involved with the nationalist magazine *Nation og Kultur*.¹⁸⁵

The fear of numbers.

FOMI believed that a result of the Muslim immigration would be civil war. The analysis differed from country to country and depended on the number of Muslims in the country. Countries such as France were seen to be almost on the end of annihilation. There was a firm belief that when the number of Muslims reached over 10 percent of the populations the Muslims would start to adhere to Jihad as it was prescribed in the Koran that one Muslim could defeat 10 infidels. However, not all countries were doomed as some had managed to keep the Muslims out of their lands. When the Civil war broke out the remaining non-Muslims would flee to the countries which had the least Muslims and they would then be enforced by the amount of non-Muslim refugees.¹⁸⁶ The EU was seen as a central accommodator for the future Civil War. This was primarily because of EU's negotiation of a

¹⁸² Natasza, Sandbu P. "Krystallnatt-bråk endte med eksklusjon." *Aftenposten Morgen*. 18.11.2004.

¹⁸³ Vepsen. «Stanset Provokasjon.» Vepsen Antifascistisk monitor. 10.11.2004. (Accessed: 10.10.2016) Link: <http://www.vepsen.no/monitorarkiv/artikler/fomi101104.htm>

¹⁸⁴ Strøknes, A. Morten. "Antisemittisme på godt norsk?". *Morgenbladet*. 27.02.2004.

¹⁸⁵ Strøknes, A. Morten. "Antisemittisme på godt norsk?". *Morgenbladet*. 27.02.2004.

¹⁸⁶ FOMI. "Presenterer EU Romerrikert som gjennopstår – og Fallor." FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 17.06.2006.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20060617210316/http://rto73.0catch.com/Verdenrundt/EU.htm#Eurabia>

Turkish membership which FOMI believed would flood Europe with Muslims and because of the Euro-Arabian dialogue as described by Bat Ye'or.¹⁸⁷

As have been demonstrated, a central fear for FOMI was the numbers of Muslims who entered the country. This fear was closely related to the fear of a change in culture, which FOMI in 2003 argued would be the most severe change in Norwegian history since Norway was Christianized under Olav Den hellige.¹⁸⁸ On June, 25, 2004 FOMI published the article *Den demografiske bomben – Når er det muslimsk flertall i Norge ?* which discussed when it would be a majority of Muslims in Norway. The article concluded that Oslo would be lost in 2020, and Norway as a whole in 2040.¹⁸⁹ This article was the first of a series of articles which stressed the number of immigration to Norway. In the successor article, FOMI described that a best-case scenario would be to close the borders for Muslim immigration and the deportation of those already inside of Norway.¹⁹⁰

2.3.3 Conspiracy theories and Extremist positions.

Political Correctness had been a part of FOMI from the beginning, and had a significant presence in the articles published at website.¹⁹¹ Political correctness was usually understood as a form of liberal-self hating,¹⁹² similar to the way in which political correctness was used in the US. However, there were also deeper conspiracies of the use of language at the FOMI website. The January, 22nd 2004, FOMI published the article *Språket som våpen – Psykologiske operasjoner*. The main argument of the article was that the media, usually unwittingly was broadcasting propaganda about Islam. This propaganda was a part of a larger conspiracy which was a form of psychological operations, called PSYOPS, which had the goal of “påvirke menneskers måte å tenke og reagere på – ubevisst. Å utbasunere at “islam er

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ FOMI, “Kulturendring som følge av Islams fremvekst og innflytelse i Norge.” FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 03.11.2003.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20031103082348/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/Kulturendring.htm>

¹⁸⁹ FOMI. “Den demografiske bomben – Når er det muslimsk flertall i Norge ?” FOMI. 25.07.2004. (Archived: 26.08.2004.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20040826024243/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/DemoBomb.htm>

¹⁹⁰ FOMI. “Den demografiske bomben II – Når er det muslimsk flertall i Norge?” FOMI. 18.09.2004. (Archived: 29.09.2004.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20040929034743/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/DemoBomb2.htm>

¹⁹¹ Examples: FOMI. “Det politisk korrekte galehus?” FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 16.05.2004)

Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20040516110814/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/Galehus.htm> and FOMI.

“Bokomtale – ”Sinnet og stoltheten” av Oriana Fallaci” FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 08.11.2003.)

Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20031108032257/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/Sinnet.htm>

¹⁹² FOMI. “De politisk korrektes yndlingsløgn.” FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 16.05.2004) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20040620061023/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/Favorittloegn.htm>

en fredelig religion” er ikke PSYOPS, det er for primitivt. PSYOPS er de mer subtile drypp av ordvalg som det høljregner med fra norske medier hver eneste dag [...]”¹⁹³ It was not specified at the time who was behind this propaganda, except that the news bureau Reuters had a role to play.¹⁹⁴

FOMI’s extreme rhetoric was visible in another article, *Hiroshima-opsjonen: Terroriser terroristene*, published the 21st of May, 2004.¹⁹⁵ The article was a translated version of a letter to George W. Bush published on Hindutva by administrator Robin McArthur. FOMI described Hindutva as one of the most radical anti-Islamic movements and as anti-Islamic fundamentalists, but as they were pro-democratic and non-religious it seems that FOMI tacitly agreed with at least some of Hindutva’s ideology. As demonstrated by the previous article, other articles published on FOMI’s website were also from Hindutva, building under this conclusion. In short, the letter addressed the problem on how to fight effectively against the guerrilla tactics used in Afghanistan and Iraq. Robin MacArthur proposed a radical solution:

Hvis eller når, vi etter presidentvalget i 2004 skal vurdere å gjenta den samme strategien f eks i Syria og andre steder er det på høy tid at vi også vurderer en annen mulighet: Hiroshima-opsjonen. Hadde vi ikke brukt den ved å bombe Hiroshima, og noen få dager senere Nagasaki, ville Japan antakelig ikke ha overgitt seg så raskt, og mange flere både amerikanske og japanske liv ville gått tapt. Å sende våre tropper inn i nye muslimske land i dagens krig mot terror vil bare resultere i at de forblør i en snikskytter-krig, slik tilfellet er i Irak. I stedet skulle vi bruke Hiroshima-taktikken, dvs utslette noen utvalgte byer i det aktuelle muslimske landet, og så presentere våre betingelser for våpenhvile.¹⁹⁶

What Robin McArthur is proposing is to use the Atomic bomb against Muslim countries, a rather extreme option as the Atomic bomb has only been used two times throughout history and would have caused international outrage. Robin Mac Arthur also gave a list of demands which would hand over to the Muslim government of the nuked country. The demands have the form of a total unconditional surrender, the Muslims were to give up Islam, the Koran and Sharia, if not there was going to be more Atomic bombs. The Muslims were also demanded to destroy all Mosques and Koran schools, to forbid the growing of beards and the use of the Muslim keffiyeh, the police and the army had to be disbanded and all weapons had to be given over to allied forces, presumably American given the authors nationality. It was also demanded that the Muslim had to convert to any religion as they could not stay Muslims. The

¹⁹³ FOMI. “Språket som våpen – Psykologiske operasjoner.” FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 16.05.2004.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20040516111025/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/PSYOPS.htm>

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ MacArthur, Robin (Translation and comments by FOMI). “Hiroshima-opsjonen: Terroriser Terroristene.” FOMI. 21.05.2004. (Archived: 23.06.2004.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20040623013114/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/Hiroshima.htm>

¹⁹⁶ Ibid

Muslims had to establish a secular state and parliament, if none of the demands were fulfilled more nukes would come.¹⁹⁷

Robin MacArthur argued that if what he called the Hiroshima solution is going to work, there is limited time as jihadists are in the process of getting hold of the Atomic bomb, Robin MacArthur also stressed that Pakistan, a Muslim country, was in possession of Atomic bombs already. To stop this development every Muslim state which have nuclear ambitions or already had them in possession, a nuclear arsenal had to be taken care of. MacArthur admitted that there would be opposition to the plan from what he termed as left-wing radicals in the Noam Chomsky clan, defeated communists and idiot's blind of the realities, but, this had to be ignored to use unconventional methods against an unconventional enemy. MacArthur justified these 'unconventional' methods on the basis that Islam, different from Japan and Germany under the Second World War, had hated 'us' which must be understood as non-Muslims, and the civilization gap which had existed since Islam's foundation. In the last section of the Article, MacArthur argued that all American and foreign exchange students, of Muslim and Arab origin or from the Middle East, and individuals whose support for America was questionable, had to be put in concentration camps.¹⁹⁸

FOMI wrote in its comments to the article that they agreed with the basic arguments of MacArthur, even if the plan was extreme:

Vi er selvfølgelig klar over at den strategi som Robin McArthur skisserer er svært dramatisk – og svært blodig. Det er imidlertid antakelig den absolutt eneste farbare vei å gå hvis sivilisasjon skal reddes på denne planeten. Enten innser man det i tide, og gjennomfører det, eller man innser det ikke, og et globalt mørke av satanistisk barbari senker seg over hele verden.¹⁹⁹

For FOMI, the dystopic future of a possible Islamic conquest of the world justified the extreme means of using the Atomic bomb against Muslim countries. However, FOMI did not agree with MacArthur at one point, namely holding individuals with origin from the Middle East in concentration camps. FOMI argued that amongst these individuals there were several Christians and Ex-Muslims arguing that ethnicity or race had nothing to do with the problem of Islam. FOMI also questioned the likelihood of such a radical plan to come into existence since an overwhelming majority of the population in the West was oblivious of the demonic nature of Islam.²⁰⁰ If people had understood this, FOMI argued, they would have demanded

¹⁹⁷ Ibid

¹⁹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹⁹ Ibid

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

that the plan, in other words the use of the Atomic bomb against Muslim countries, had been put into action. With this obstacle in the way, FOMI argued that:

Før MacArtur sitt forslag kan settes ut i livet må det derfor åpnes en ideologisk front mot islam. Det betyr å flerle sløret djevleskapen i all dens gru. Det betyr å kalle Muhammed hva han var, en pervers pedofil voldtektsmann, landeveisrøver og slavehandler, som under drapstrussler påtvang folk islam, som tok gisler, som torturerte og drepte fanger, som legalisere [sic] konemishadling [sic], tvangsekteskap og æresdrap, og som lovpriste løgn og snikmord. Det er på denne fronten, i Norge, FOMI sin oppgave og utfordring primært ligger.²⁰¹

It would be a folly to argue that this view was representative for all the members of FOMI. But, the article highlights several important aspects of the FOMI ideology. First, the fact that this article was published must be understood as a, at least, partly consent from the FOMI moderators and leadership. Second, the article gives highlights possible future goals of the movement when FOMI had finished its self-given task of enlightening the public of the dangers of Islam. If Islam was as demonic as FOMI believed and worse than cancer as they implied in the former article a possible next step would be to remove Islam through the procedures described in this article. The article is an example of a far-right extremist position in FOMI. Deportation is hard to reconcile with liberal democratic society.

The article *Vestlige muslimers rasistiske voldeksfest*,²⁰² published on January 7th, 2006,²⁰³ was originally from the website FrontPage Magazine but was translated by a member of FOMI. The article lashed out against rapes of non-Muslim women in the West committed by Muslims. The original author and FOMI considered the rapes to be motivated by Islam and criticized the media for not mentioning this. In a section below the translated article, a FOMI member wrote several comments on the content of the article. In short the FOMI member stated that by raping non-Muslims the Muslim fulfils some of the demands of Islam, the member also argued that:

[...] man kan vel bare fastslå at muslimer har satt hykleri, løgn og ondskap i system. De kan ikke eksistere i den siviliserte verden. De er parasitter på den vestlige kultur og kan ikke integreres. Muslimer voldtar, dreper og terroriserer. Man kan ikke forvente at noen arbeidsgivere vil ansette voldtektsforbrytere og mordere og terrorister. Så beskylder de arbeidsgivere for rasisme og lager de bråk for at de ikke får jobb. Islam ødelegger det muslimer måtte ha av vett og forstand.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Ibid

²⁰² FrontPage Magazine (translated and commented by FOMI). "Vestlige Muslimers rasistiske voldeksfest." FOMI. 07.01.2006. (Archived: 20.02.2006.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20060220201547/http://rto73.0catch.com/Spesial/Voldtektsfest.htm>

²⁰³ FOMI. "Hva er nytt?/ What's New?". FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 15.06.2006.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20060615223959/http://rto73.0catch.com/Whatsnew.htm>

²⁰⁴ FOMI. "Vestlige muslimers voldeksfest". Archived: 20.02.2006.

The language in this quote is similar to an article from 2004, *Myten om den moderate muslim*.²⁰⁵ However, while the article from 2004 states that a moderate Muslim is as hard to find as a cure for cancer, implicitly comparing cancer with Muslims and Islam, this article uses a direct negative biological denominator calling Islam a parasite on Western culture. The FOMI member also explained what the real motive for Western politicians was in allowing Muslims into the Western countries:

1. De ønsker å utrydde kristendommen og gjøre seg av med vår kristne kulturarv.
2. De ønsker å øke kriminaliteten og skape kaos for å få et påskudd til å avskaffe demokratiet og innføre diktatur.

Politikernes intensjon med den nye diskrimineringsloven er å skape rase- og kulturmessige motsetninger for å derved utløse opptøyer. Det vil gi politikerne påskudd til ytterligere innstramminger av ytrings- og bevegelsesfriheten. Ved å innføre Islam blir nordmenn gradvis “kondisjonert” til å akseptere diktatur og den nye verdensorden (Novus Ordo Seclorum).²⁰⁶

The new discrimination law that FOMI was so angered with made it illegal to discriminate on the background of ethnicity or religion. However, the writer of this article saw it as a part of a plan by the New World Order to establish a dictatorship. What is clear is that the belief in the political system and status quo was non-existent. For the author, the politicians wanted to destroy the national-cultural identity of Norway. It was statements such as this which pushed FOMI towards right-wing extremism.

Because of the anti-Muslim content of this text FOMI was reported to the police by Antirasistisk Senter for racism. The complaint was dismissed as the new FOMI leader Inger Marie Løkling could not give any information of who had posted the article.²⁰⁷

As demonstrated the fear of an Islamic conquest of Europe and Norway was core of FOMI's drive. This fear often manifested itself through conspiracy theories. On April 30th, 2006, FOMI published an article with the title “*Prosjektet*” – *En plan for islamsk herredømme i Europa- Det Muslimske Broderskaps plan for verdenserobring er ikke en konspirasjonsteori*. The article described a document which was supposed to have been found by Swiss police under a razzia in 2001. The document described a long-term plan by the Muslim Brotherhood on how to conquer the whole world. FOMI did not contend the nature of the content, but argued that the last year's expansion of Islam into the west was not planned by anybody but is

²⁰⁵ FOMI. “Myten om den moderate Muslim.” FOMI. Published: Unknown. Archived: 24.06.2004. Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20040624182355/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Spesial/Myten2.htm>

²⁰⁶ FOMI. “Vestlige muslimers voldeksfest”. Archived: 20.02.2006.

²⁰⁷ Antirasistisk senter. “Juli 2006”. Antirasistisk senter. Date: 10.07.2006. (Accessed: 10.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.antirasistisk-senter.no/juli-2006/>

rather a result of progressive politician's actions. However, FOMI argued that the document could tell something about the motive and goal of Islamists movement, effectively confirming the documents validity.²⁰⁸ This was a typical Eurabia conspiracy of which one would find later in SIAN as well.

2.3.4 From Forum mot Islamisering to Stopp Islamiseringen Av Norge, 2006-2008.

On December 6th, 2006, the FOMI blog reported that the website and the blog was under reconstruction and that as long as the reconstruction lasted there would be no more posts on the blog.²⁰⁹ The last archived version of FOMI's website was on June 13th, 2006, and it was not archived again until August 11th, 2011, where the Website was for the most part blank, the only visible symbols and texts being the FOMI logo and a text stating that "FOMI's nettsider er for tiden under omorganisering[:] For nærmere detaljer klikk her."²¹⁰ By pressing the hyperlink attached to 'klikk her' one is brought to the FOMI blog-post from December, 6th, 2006.

A schism in the organization.

In the beginning of 2007 there was created a new anti-Islamic website under the name AntiJihad Norge.²¹¹ A text at the main page of the website stated that a lot of the content was taken from the website of FOMI, while that this new website was a part of a larger international AntiJihad network.²¹² AntiJihad website also used the same web provider, <http://0catch.com>, as the FOMI site did. There was also created an AntiJihad blog with the

²⁰⁸ FOMI. "Prosjektet"- En plan for islamsk herredømme i Europa Det Muslimske Broderskaps plan for verdenserobring er ikke en konspirasjonsteori." FOMI. 30.04.2006. (Archived: 15.06.2006.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20060615224635/http://rto73.0catch.com/Spesial/Prosjektet.htm>

²⁰⁹ FOMI. "Omorganisering." *FOMI Norge Bloggspot* (Blog.) 06.12.2006. (Accessed: 10.10.2016.) Link: <http://fomi-norge.blogspot.no/2006/12/omorganisering.html>

²¹⁰ FOMI. "FOMI's nettsider er for tiden under omorganisering." Published: Unknown. Archived: 11.08.2011. Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110811093908/http://rto73.0catch.com/>

²¹¹ Based on the date of one of the first posts in the 'What's new' section of this website which was published the March, 6th, 2007: AntiJihad Norge. "Hva er nytt?/ What's New?" Last Updated: 25.04.2008. Link: <http://ajnorway.0catch.com/Whatsnew.htm> Which was last updated the 23rd of June, 2008,

²¹² AntiJihad Norge. "Main Page." Last updated: 23.06.2008. (Accessed: 29.11.2016.) Link: <http://ajnorway.0catch.com/>

first post published the 2nd of July, 2007.²¹³ The rhetoric at the AntiJihad website is similar to the rhetoric used by FOMI:

Dagens norske politikere reduserer med andre ord nærmest Vidkun Quisling til en småkriminell. Og dette gjelder praktisk talt hele det politiske spekter. Det er ikke SV som har invitert til Stortinget representanter for en muslimsk terrororganisasjon som står på USAs og EUs terrorlister, det er FrP. Det er ikke Kristin Halvorsen som uoppfordret har sagt at hun kunne tenke seg en muslim som sekretær, det er Siv Jensen. Finsortering av islamofile blondinevitser er ikke bryderiet verdt. Fienden er med andre ord ikke bare ideologien islam, den er også dagens norske politikere, og vestlige politikere generelt[...]²¹⁴

Branding the political establishment as Quislings represents a continuity of the new FOMI rhetoric. In the report *Høyrekestremisme i Norge* by Antirasistisk Senter it is claimed that it was Jarle Synnevåg which was behind AntiJihad Norge. The authors of the report write that the blog was shut down in the days after the terror attack at the 22nd of July, 2011. Days before the attack there was published articles on the blog which compared killing police officers at that time with the killings of police officers under the German occupation of Norway under the Second World War which had co-operated with the Germans. The blog had also argued that the killings of Somalis would benefit economically.²¹⁵ It seems that there had been a schism in FOMI, which probably led to Jarle Synnevåg leaving the organization and starting his own.

S-I-A-N.com

FOMI's website did not become active again until the new FOMI website S-I-A-N.com was established sometime in the end of the year 2007 due to the earliest archived version of the internet-site was archived on December 14th, 2007.^{216,217}

The new FOMI website, S-I-A-N.com, had organized the website into seven sections in addition to the main page, the subjects were: Om oss, Islams historie og koranreferanser,

²¹³ AntiJihad Norge. "Main Page." *AntiJihad Norge*. (Blog) Last updated article: 2.07.2007. (Archived: 03.07.2007.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20070703045013/http://antijihadnorge.blogspot.com/>

²¹⁴ AntiJihad Norge. "Main Page." Last updated: 23.06.2008. (Accessed: 11.10.2016.) Link: <http://ajnorway.0catch.com/>

²¹⁵ Shoaib Sultan, Rune Berglund Steen and Kari Helene Partapuoli (Red.) *Høyrekestremisme i Norge*. Oslo: Antirasistisk senter, 2012. P.19

²¹⁶ FOMI, "Main page." S-I-A-N.com. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 14.12.2007.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20071214220553/http://www.s-i-a-n.com/>

²¹⁷ Supporting this, a blogpost at a Norwegian online discussion forum from the November 21st, 2007, referred to the old FOMI internet-page but stated that it was currently under reconstruction. : Webforum at Diskusjon.no. <http://www.diskusjon.no/index.php?showtopic=866131> It is possible that S-I-A-N.com was established in September as one of the earliest articles at their main page described a public debate meeting in Kristiansand, on the removal of drawings of pigs at the local Hospital, taking place at the September 25th; FOMI "Main page." . S-I-A-N.com. Date: Unknown. Archived: 14.12.2007. Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20071214220553/http://www.s-i-a-n.com/>

Islamiseringen av Norge – Nyhetsarkiv, Linker, Nedlastning, Islamiseringen internasjonalt – Nyhetsarkiv, Blogg.²¹⁸ It was at the main page where most of the articles were to be found. At the section ‘About Us’ FOMI, or SIAN, wrote a new introduction to the organization. The stated goal of the organization was the same as of the ‘new FOMI’, using the same description as found on their old website “Foreningens formål er å bekjempe islam og muslimsk innflytelse i alminnelighet og i Norge i særdeleshet ved å avsløre islams sanne karakter gjennom nøkternt og sannferdig informasjonsarbeide.”²¹⁹ There was a notable change at the new SIAN websites rhetoric. The dehumanizing language which was recognizable from the old FOMI websites with phrases such as parasites, the comparison of Islam with cancer, violent Muslim monkeys and terrorist spawn had been heavily toned down on their main page.²²⁰ While the aesthetics of the language had transformed, the core of the ideology had remained unchanged. SIAN stated in the about us section that:

Vi i SIAN ser på Islam som en totalitær bevegelse på linje med nazismen og kommunismen. Vi ønsker å bekjempe Islams utbredelse i Norge fordi vi vet at overalt der Islam vokser seg sterkere forsvinner etter hvert frihet og demokrati. Vi ønsker å bygge opp en motstandsbevegelse mot islamisering av Norge på et lovlig grunnlag.²²¹

The understanding of Islam a totalitarian movement on par with Nazism and communism was shared with FOMI's new website SIAN and its predecessor the new FOMI. The dystopic visions of the future which was so constant at the FOMI website also showed up on the SIAN website. In one of the articles published at the SIAN website about shootings against the police by Muslims in one of the suburbs outside of Paris, SIAN asks rhetorically in the headline of the article “Lever vi i begynnelsen av borgerkrigen i Europa?”²²² FOMI along with other anti-Islamic movements reacted towards real happenings in the world and interpreted them on the basis on their worldview. For FOMI, the events in France were only seen through the lenses of their anti-Islamic view. As have been demonstrated, the fear of a future civil war was expressed at the former FOMI website as well.²²³

²¹⁸ FOMI, “Main page.” S-I-A-N.com. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 14.12.2007.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20071214220553/http://www.s-i-a-n.com/>

²¹⁹ FOMI, “Om oss.” S-I-A-N.com. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 14.12.2007.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20071214220628/http://www.s-i-a-n.com/Omoss.aspx>

²²⁰ FOMI, “Main Page.” S-I-A-N.com. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 03.02.2008.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20080203123356/http://www.s-i-a-n.com/>

²²¹ FOMI, “Om oss.” S-I-A-N.com. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 14.12.2007.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20071214220628/http://www.s-i-a-n.com/Omoss.aspx>

²²² FOMI, “Main Page.” S-I-A-N.com. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 14.12.2007.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20071214220553/http://www.s-i-a-n.com/>

²²³ The belief in a future civil war was an idea also shared by contemporary anti-Islamists. The Norwegian blogger Fjordman had mentioned a future civil war and the collapse of the European civilization in a blog post at

As on the old FOMI website, SIAN went in length to discredit the common Abrahamic origin of Islam with Judaism and Christianity. At the sub-page “Islams historie og Koran referanser” SIAN wrote about Islams origin, stressing that Allah in fact was a heathen moon god unrelated to the Abrahamic God of the Jews and the Christians.²²⁴ The branding of Allah as a heathen moon god was an attempt to convince Jews and especially Christians of the ungodliness of Islam. The same understanding of Islam was to be found at one of the Christian websites, <http://www.bible.ca/>, that the old FOMI website had hyperlinked to.²²⁵ The article *Islam Is Paganism In Monotheistic Wrapping Paper* at the Christian website have a similar understanding on Islam’s origin as demonstrated in the FOMI quote above.²²⁶

The motive for doubting the monotheistic origin on a religious basis and not just being comfortable with dismissing Islam as a totalitarian political ideology points to the continued existence of the conservative Christian faction that had existed in both the AMB and the ‘old’ and new FOMI. At the SIAN sub-page “Islams historie og Koranreferanser”, FOMI continued to stress Islam’s alleged dubious origin.²²⁷ At the section “Muhammed” FOMI claimed that Mohammed had suffered from seizures from the age of three, and that these seizures explained the divine revelations of Allah he had in adulthood.²²⁸ FOMI argued that these divine revelations were made up by Mohammed so he could act as he pleased.²²⁹ Lastly, FOMI claimed that at in Mohammed’s lifetime the Koran contained the ‘Satanic Verses’ which allowed the worship of Allah’s three daughters. However, FOMI claimed, the ‘Satanic Verses’ were removed before Mohammed’s death, making Islam pose as a monotheistic religion.²³⁰

At the subject “Muslimer” FOMI explained the relation between the Islam and the Muslim:

published the 26th of April, 2004. Fjordman. “Archieve.” *Fjordman* (blog). Last updated: 21.12.2005. (Accessed: 04.10.2016.) Link: http://fjordman.blogspot.no/2005_04_01_archive.html and published essays on the topic: Fjordman. “The retreat of the Western World Order.” *Gates of Vienna* (blog). 17.04.2006. Link: <http://gatesofvienna.net/2006/04/the-retreat-of-the-western-world-order/> and Fjordman. “The Fall of France and the Multicultural World War.” *Gates of Vienna* (Blog). 18.04.2006. Link: <http://gatesofvienna.net/2006/04/the-fall-of-france-and-the-multicultural-world-war/>

²²⁴ FOMI. “Islams Historie.” S-I-A-N.com. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 14.12.2007.) Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20071214220612/http://www.s-i-a-n.com/Islams_historie.aspx

²²⁵ FOMI. “Prestenterer Linker.” S-I-A-N.com. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 05.02.2005.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20050205082508/http://fomi.ytring.dk/Linker.htm>

²²⁶ Brother Andrew “Islam Is Paganism In Monotheistic Wrapping Paper.” Bible.Ca. Date: Unknown. (Archived: 06.02.2005.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20050206231501/http://www.bible.ca/islam/islam-polytheism.htm>

²²⁷ FOMI. “Islams Historie.” S-I-A-N.com. Date: Unknown. (Archived: 14.12.2007.) Link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20071214220612/http://www.s-i-a-n.com/Islams_historie.aspx

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

Islam gjennomsyrrer en muslims liv. Det er navnet som alt annet stråler ut fra. Hver aktivitet, hver tanke, følelse eller skikk er regulert av islams lover og Koranen. Muslimene tror blindt på at Koranen er Guds endelige og sanne åpenbaring, og den bakvasker jødene som et lumsk folk som bare er verdig forakt, straff og død.²³¹

The rationale behind FOMI's argument that Islam is a totalitarian religion is explained through this quote. Every action of a Muslim has its background in the Koran, and every act committed by a Muslim or Muslim state is to be found in the Koran. Conflicts between the Jews and the Muslims are also explained through sutras in the Koran which condemn the Jews. FOMI argued that the background for the conflict between Israel and the other states in the Middle East was also to be found in Islam and the Koran.

Dagens hendelser kan gi inntrykk av at de arabiske landene egentlig ønsker fred med sin felles fiende, men fordi Israel er så umedgjørlige så går ikke dette. Sannheten er at så lenge Koranen forbyr den jødiske statens eksistens, kan det ikke bli noen fred i Midtøsten. Muhammed sa det slik: "To religioner eksisterer aldri i Arabia".²³²

It is reason to believe that the events which FOMI referred to was the Annapolis Peace Conference between Israeli and Palestinian authorities held on the 27th of November, 2007.²³³ FOMI saw the peace conference as a tactical manoeuvre of the Palestinians, arguing that:

Arabernes hensikt med "fredsavtaler" er ikke å stifte varig fred, men å skape en taktisk islamsk "våpenhvile" for å kunne ødelegge Israel i rett tid. Strategien er enkel og er kalt Hudabajjah-avtalen. Denne tillater muslimene å bygge opp styrken, mens fienden reduserer sin styrke fordi de har inngått en "fredsavtale".²³⁴

This idea of the Muslims arranging strategically peace agreements was closely connected to FOMI's understanding of the Muslim Jihad which they wrote about in the following section "Jihad og verdensherredømme". FOMI argued that the Muslims saw themselves as a single state and that this state's goal was to conquer the world to create an Islamic world republic. In the Islamic worldview, the world was split into two opposing groups:

Dar al-islam (islams hus) og dar al-harb (krigens hus). De nasjonene som er under muslimsk kontroll, tilhører "islams hus". Alle andre hører med til "krigens hus". Nasjoner i "krigens hus" kan utsettes for jihad, eller hellig krig, inntil de underordner seg islam og blir en del av "islams hus". Det kan ikke eksistere "noen fred eller noen avtale". [...] Derfor er det praktisk talt slik at alle steder der muslimer finnes i store antall, finner man også vold. Hvis et område ikke er under islam, blir jihad igangsatt for å bringe det under islam. Hvis det allerede er under islam, kjemper det fanatiske muslimske brødreskapet for å få dem til å overholde islam nøyere.²³⁵

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Ibid

²³³ The Guardian. "Annapolis agreement: full text." *The Guardian*. 27.11.2007. (Accessed 05.10.2016.) Link: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/nov/27/israel.usa1>

²³⁴ FOMI. "Islams Historie." S-I-A-N.com. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 14.12.2007.) Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20071214220612/http://www.s-i-a-n.com/Islams_historie.aspx

²³⁵ Ibid

Following this logic, FOMI implicitly argued that the West belonged to the the house of war. FOMI claimed that the goal for the Muslim Jihadist was to gain access to paradise where the virgins were waiting for them. For FOMI, this explained the Muslims willingness to get to paradise.²³⁶

2.3.5 Summary:

The movement Aksjonen mot muslimske Bønnerop was founded in the beginning of the year of 2000 as a protest towards the WIM Mosque's application for allowing calls for prayer. Following Hutchinson definition of Cultural Nationalism AMB can be argued to be a representative of its religious form. AMB was a single-issue movement which primary concern was the opposition towards the building of Mosques. An important aspect of the early AMB and old FOMI was the national focus of the ideology. The resistance against Islam was not expressed as a battle between Western civilization and Islam, but rather as a threat against the hegemony of Norwegian cultural and religious traditions. When the AMB transformed in to a more coherent movement, the 'old' FOMI, the movement developed a broader concern with what they saw as an islamisation of Norway. Arenas such as the curriculum at Norwegian schools to Muslim politicians became a battleground. There was also expressed a populist fervour directed against the politicians of which the movement saw as facilitating for Islam's takeover, however, there were no intentions of demolishing or changing the political status quo. Both the AMB and the 'old' FOMI can be classified belonging to the populist-right wing with a cultural-nationalist identity. It is important to note that there are several positions within AMB and FOMI which must be identified as radical-right, especially in regards to the Christian fundamentalism espoused by the likes of Anne-Liv Gamlem.

As a consequence of the attack on September 9th, 2001, there was an increase in interest in the organization. At the same time, Jarle Synnevåg, expert in electronic warfare FFI, was fired after writing anti-Muslim comments online. These two factors led to the reorganization of FOMI in January 2002, and the foundation of a FOMI website. The movement had now turned into an organization with membership, mission statement and statutes.

As with AMB and the 'old' FOMI, the 'new' FOMI was an alliance between a broad spectre of individuals ranging from hardcore Humanists to Christian Conservatives such as Anne-Liv Gamlem. As Jarle Synnevåg was one of the main administrators of the FOMI website, most

²³⁶ Ibid.

of the anti-Islamic content had a secular character. Nonetheless, there was a heavy presence of articles and hyperlinked websites of which had a Christian Conservative, or fundamentalist, character. The glue in this alliance must be understood as a cultural nationalist view, where both sides was bent on preserving what they saw as the unique character of the Norwegian culture. This notion of culture resulted in coalition towards Islam which was seen as an alien intruder.

The new FOMI website demonstrated early on its new international orientation with the integration of the international AntiJihad web forum. However, the relation between FOMI and the international anti-Islamic community was not one sided. This is demonstrated through the translated sections at the FOMI website into English, 2003, Dutch, Turkish, 2005 as well as the establishment of a Swedish FOMI website in 2004. FOMI has been a marginal organization by many. While it may be true that the organization had a relatively small membership, the website must have been a provider of information by anti-Islamic individuals in other countries, thus it can be argued that the organization was more important than has been acknowledged. Another important factor is FOMI's worldview of which was an early developed anti-Islamic ideology, before the coming of the likes of Gates of Vienna and Fjordman.

While the drive of the 'old' FOMI had been primarily motivated by the fear that Islam was gaining domination of behalf of the Norwegian-Cultural Christian hegemony, the 'new' FOMI had turned its attention towards the content and nature of Islam itself. The main concern of the 'new' FOMI website was to document and spread information about the evil nature of Islam. It was an essentialist view in that everything a Muslim did was related to Islam. The idea of Taqiya was also present from early on, and as Bangstad argued, effectively dismissing the notion of a moderate Muslim or Islam.

The difference might best be explained by terming AMB and the 'old' FOMI as defensive organizations concerned with the manifestation, or intrusion of Islam rather than Islam itself, a notable exception in the AMB was Dreyer which stated that Islam was a barbaric religion. For the 'new' FOMI, Islam was the anti-thesis of Civilization, it was an existential enemy for all non-Muslims. It may be, for groups such as FOMI, that the 9th of September, 2001 attack reoriented the national focus towards a civilizational struggle against Islam. Leading individuals such as Jarle Synnevåg must also have been an origin of this reorientation. A fact which strengthens this theory is his work at the FFI made concerned with Islamic terror and a

concern towards the content of Islam as seen in the posts that was the cause of him being fired from his workplace.

Another aspect was the antagonism against the mainstream political spectre, which ranged from denouncing the whole political establishment the previous years as traitors to denouncing political parties or individuals. The drive behind the anti-political position of the 'new' FOMI was mainly due to what the organization saw as a collaboration, or compliance by the politicians towards Muslim demands. The organization was particularly against laws, such as the discrimination law, which FOMI saw as racism against the ethnic Norwegian population. This idea of victimhood was another frequent position expressed by FOMI. Antagonism towards liberal ideas, or the political left, was often expressed through the denunciation of politicians and others as political correct.

The ideology expressed at the new FOMI website was the unrelenting characteristics of Islam which often included the use of biological denominators, the existence of big conspiracy theories which ranged from new world order to the conspiracy that George W. Bush knew about the attack at 9/11. While these conspiracies were frequently expressed it is difficult to argue whether they represented the movement, or rather were extreme ideas expressed by individuals such as Synnevåg.

In its most extreme form FOMI argued that there was psychological operation, PSYOPS, utilized against the Western population by an unknown adversary. And the use of nuclear bombs against Arab states and the deportation of Muslims. This was probably an extreme position held by an individual, but it still demonstrates of what was acceptable to be published at the website.

It was the wish to remove the organization from the extreme rhetoric at the website which led to the creation of the new S-I-A-N.com website, as well as establishment of a transnational European anti-Islamic movement, the SIOE. This led to a schism whereas Jarle Synnevåg remained the owner of the content at the old FOMI website and transferred it over to the AntiJihad website. The rhetoric at this website was closer to far-right extremist as it denounced all politicians in the West as traitors, a similar position to that of Fjordman and later, Anders Behring Breivik.

3 Stopp Islamiseringen av Norge.

At the FOMI year assembly at the on February 16th, 2008, it was decided to change the name of the organization from Forum mot Islamisering to Stopp Islamiseringen av Norge. A new board was elected with Arne Tumyr as the new leader. Arne Tumyr, had been a member of FOMI and the leader of SIAN from 2008-2004 and must also be considered an intellectual. Before Arne Tumyr became involved in FOMI he had been the regional leader of the humanist organization Humanistisk-Forbund in Vest-Agder Norway, but was forced to leave the organization after he had published the article, *Stopp islamiseringen av Norge*, in a newspaper in 1999 comparing immigration to Norway with the invasion by Nazi-Germany under the Second World War.²³⁷ After he became the leader of SIAN, Arne Tumyr published his book *Vardene Brenner* in 2008. The book was highly critical of both Christianity and Islam.²³⁸ Tumyr stated that he wanted to give the new organization, SIAN, a more activist profile. SIAN wrote in a press statement sent to what SIAN described as their international contacts:²³⁹

Navneskiftet har sin bakgrunn i at FOMI til tider har hatt et for sterkt ordvalg i karakteristikken av våre motstandere – med den følge at organisasjonen i noen grad ble satt på sidelinjen i den offentlige debatt. En annen grunn er at man vil tilpasse seg situasjonen i Europa – der flere nasjonale motstandsgrupper mot islam ser dagens lys. Bl.a. har man "Stop islamiseringen af Danmark (SIAD)." Dermed har årsmøtet 16. februar lagt grunnlaget for en ny giv i kampen mot islamiseringen. Det må imidlertid presiseres at det ideologisk og praktisk er ingen forskjell mellom FOMI og SIAN. Det spørsmålet dreier seg om er fortsatt å bekjempe islam som anses for å være en udemokratisk, ond religiøs og politisk ideologi.²⁴⁰

That SIANs ideological platform was supposed to be the same as FOMI's is demonstrated by comparing the two group's mission statements where the formulations are much of the same character.²⁴¹ On October, 7th, 2008, SIAN could report at that a new SIAN website, www.sian.no, was registered and operational. SIAN stated that the new web domain confirmed SIAN as a national organization and would be seen as more legitimate by the Norwegian population.²⁴²

²³⁷ Michelsen. *En analyse av Stopp .Islamiseringen av Norge*. P. 26-27.

²³⁸ Ibid. P. 88.

²³⁹ Ibid

²⁴⁰ Ibid

SIAN. "Hva vil SIAN?". S-I-A-N.com. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 26.02.2008.) Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20080226093909/http://www.s-i-a-n.com/Hva_vil_SIAN.aspx and FOMI.

"Vedtekter." FOMI. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 15.06.2005). Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20060615224231/http://rto73.0catch.com/Vedtekter.htm>

²⁴² SIANs nettsted, "Nyheter og Kommentarer.". S-I-A-N.com. Last updated: 16.10.2008. (Archived: 29.10.2008.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20081029101733/http://www.sian.no/>

3.1.1 SIANs Mission Statement.

SIANs Mission statement was constituted for the first time at the organizations year meeting at the foundation of SIAN on February 16th, 2008. SIAN was to work against, stop and reverses the Islamisation of Norway. Islam was stated as a totalitarian political ideology and movement which conflicted with the Norwegian constitution and laws. Islam was also in conflict with democratic and human values through Sharia Law. The purpose of the organization was to work against Islamic ideology and practice through spreading information about Islam and what the consequences of the Islamisation would be. The international outlook was also present as the organization stated that they were willing to co-operate with other democratic forces against Islam. The ideology was to be based upon democracy the rule of law and the U.N declaration of human rights Rights. SIAN was also supposed to be independent of political and religious views. All individuals who followed the rules and practices of the organization could become a member.²⁴³ On March 23rd, 2013, there was added a another paragraph which stated that SIAN goals was to be a locally active organization, with the establishment county representatives which had to be elected by the local divisions and that could apply for funds from SIAN to cover the costs of activities.²⁴⁴ The Mission Statement was similar to FOMIs reflecting mostly the same goals it was the same branding of Islam as incompatible with Norwegian values. SIAN adhered to the same form of cultural nationalism which FOMI did.

SIANs worldview.

SIANs new activist approach was visible at their website and the organization could report of a successful stand in the Norwegian capital, Oslo, at the June 7th, 2008. SIAN stated that this date was chosen because of its history, with the June 7th being the day that the Norway became a sovereign nation after leaving the Swedish-Norwegian union in 1905. This was also the day that king Haakon VII had to leave Norway because of the German occupation of Norway in 1940 and returned the same day five years later, after the German occupation had ended.

²⁴³ SIAN, "Hva vil SIAN?". S-I-A-N.com . Published: Unknown. (Archived: 16.06.2009.) Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20090616090305/http://www.sian.no/Hva_vil_SIAN.php

²⁴⁴ SIAN, "Vedtekter." SIAN. Published: Unknown. (Accessed: 06.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/vedtekter>

For alle oss som ønsker å bevare Norge som et demokratisk samfunn som ikke er styrt av det islamske lovsystemet SHARIA markerer nå også datoen 7. juni 2008 dagen da motstandsbevegelsen mot islamiseringen av Norge holdt sitt første åpne møte.²⁴⁵

SIAN implied a similarity between the resistance movements against the Nazi occupation, and itself. SIAN also claimed that they had gained several new members this day and were met with interest and sympathy from many people, as well as their members confronting Muslims with the content of the Koran, of which SIAN stated “Ingen var i stand til å svare. De kjente ikke surene og hatbudskapet i Koranen.”²⁴⁶ SIAN gave a similar description of another stand held in the southern Norwegian city Kristiansand, the August 30th, 2008, where SIAN reported that people from the Oslo and Agder division had handed out flyers and discussed with people passing by. SIAN stated that they received positive feedback also at this demonstration. SIAN also mentioned that in the last minutes before closing the activists at the stand entered a discussion with five Somali men. The discussion was described as civilized, but:

[...] men skjæringspunktet mellom vår og muslimenes ideologi ble tydelig opptegnet da muslimene fullt ut forsvarte Saudi-Arabias apartheidpolitikk. Alle måtte forstå at ikke-muslimer kunne ikke ha adgang til Mekka, sa de. Videre ville de belære SIANs representanter om "islam som fredens religion". SIANs representant konfronterte dem med betydningen av islamsk taqiyya, men de nektet å svare på dette.²⁴⁷

SIAN believed that they inherited the true understanding of Islam accusing the Muslims of using taqiyya when they argued that Islam was the religion of peace. In the comments added to this news article SIAN argued that “Mange nordmenn er grepet av den politiske korrekthetens forbannelse.”²⁴⁸ Leading them to believe that Islam is a race and that standing up against islamisation is racism. SIAN was in the opinion of that a lot of Norwegians knew nothing of Islam’s nature, and history, which led them to accept what the Islam friendly politicians said. SIAN continued to state that Islam was no race and its worshippers being from different races which, SIAN adds, is the case for anti-Islamists to. SIAN again stated that Islam was a religious-political ideology with the goal of introducing sharia law everywhere whereas Muslim was in majority, Islam SIAN argued:

[...] er ikke en personlig bekjennelsestro, men en totalitær bevegelse med klare militære og økonomiske aspekter. Islams militære aspekt kan oppsummeres i ordet jihad, som er krigen alle muslimer må sverge å føre mot de vantrø (sure 9,5). Det økonomiske aspektet kalles i dag shariabanking der Saudi-Arabia

²⁴⁵ SIAN, “Nyheter og Kommentarer.” S-I-A-N.com Published: Unknown. (Archived: 18.09.2008.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20080918080705/http://www.s-i-a-n.com/>

²⁴⁶ Ibid

²⁴⁷ SIAN, “Nyheter og Kommentarer.” S-I-A-N.com. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 18.09.2008.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20080918080705/http://www.s-i-a-n.com/>

²⁴⁸ Ibid

står i spissen for å opprette islamske banker over hele Europa for å finansiere islamistisk terror og islams videre ekspansjon.²⁴⁹

As demonstrated the view of Islam as a totalitarian religious-political ideology was repeated by SIAN and its predecessor FOMI, what was new for SIAN in this quote was the dividing of Islam into a military and an economical part. This army rhetoric was also seen in the last part of the article where SIAN described mosques as political offices for Islam,²⁵⁰ as demonstrated earlier, before FOMI became SIAN, they had argued on the same website that Mosques was used as a last stop for suicide bombers.

SIAN new activism manifested itself in other ways as well. At the 19th of August 2008 SIAN wrote that a request to arrange a meeting in the city hall in Kristiansand to screen the movie Fitna by the Dutch politician Geert Wilders was denied by the local representatives, which SIAN named “dhimmisauene”²⁵¹, because of the films racist content. SIAN saw this as political censorship.²⁵²

In an article published at the SIAN website archived the 26th of February, 2008, former priest Olav Andreas Dovland argued that the European Union was responsible for bringing Islam into Europe. Islam was a culture which was “en kultur som er dramatisk ulik vår egen” Dovland stated. He claimed that EU had gotten into a deal with several Muslims states brokered in 1995. The Barcelona declaration in 1995 was also seen as a secretive deal which in fact was preparing the ground for a Muslim takeover. However, the worst consequence of this development was that Europe was losing its culture, and that Christianity was losing its ground as a religion “Barnetegninger av grisen krenker religionen, sanger og eventyr som hører vår kultur til blir ulovlige. Det avslører også at Nordens og øvrige Europas folkevalgte politikere rett og slett avkristner Europa.”²⁵³ Dovland was not alone with having these fears of a rapidly changing world. In another article archived at the May, 8th, 2008, SIAN pulled forth the old FOMI theory which stated that after a certain percentage of a Muslim population there would become a Civil War. SIAN stated that it was already in the first stages of that war.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid

²⁵³ Dovland, Andreas Olav, “Oslo – Eurabia – Media.” S-I-A-N-.com. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 26.02.2008.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20080226093921/http://www.s-i-a-n.com/Kronikk.aspx>

²⁵⁴ SIAN. “Sånn blir det hvis Islam vinner!” S-I-A-N.com. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 08.05.2008.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20080508032015/http://www.s-i-a-n.com/>

While the departure of Jarle Synnevåg and the reorganization of FOMI into SIAN had toned down a lot of the rhetoric there were still individuals active in SIAN which held extreme positions. In the article *Saudi-Arabia og Iran: To stater som må utraderes*, published the October 10th, 2008, SIAN representative Thomas Christensen argued for the use of bombs against the Islamofascism in the same way as FOMI had done:

Vi ville ikke ha det minste imot at sentra for den islamske fascismen ble ødelagt en gang for alle. På samme måte som Berlin og Japan ble bombet til overgivelse i 1945 bør Vesten vurdere det samme i dag i forhold til den islamske fascismen. Vi føler stor sympati med befolkningen i de to landene. Mange kristne iranere støtter også oss, men islam, som en militær og politisk bevegelse, må stoppes en gang for alle om så med bomber. Det haster!²⁵⁵

While Thomas Christensen argued for bombing Iran and Saudi-Arabia into submission, he did claim that SIAN had nothing against Muslims in general or what they believed in in this World or in the Afterlife, arguing that SIANs opposition was against “den islamske fascismen – mafiaen som tvinger alle muslimer til å vende seg mot og be til verdens mest avskyelige område, nemlig Mekka – der hvor alle tenkende mennesker blir et hode kortere.”²⁵⁶ These ideas testified that while SIAN had undergone reorganization from the former FOMI some of the extreme ideas which were present at the old FOMI websites also had a habitat at the new SIAN website.

The same can be said of SIANs view of Muslims. In the article *Strekke ut hånden til “moderate” muslimer?* Published on November 6th, 2009, Arne Tumyr responded to accusations from the website AntiJihad, who blamed him for having said that he did not have anything against Islam as a religion and that many Muslims was against Islam. AntiJihad also claimed that Tumyr was reaching out to moderate Muslims. Tumyr protested these accusations and stated that most SIAN members shared AntiJihads opinion that there did not exist any moderate Muslim and that a reformation of Islam was impossible. For the EDL chapter it is worth noting that AntiJihad questioned what they saw as EDL reaching out to moderate Muslims.²⁵⁷ However, there were instances before the coming debate over the moderate Muslim in 2012-2014, when SIAN members posted articles where the position on Islam was milder than usual. On January, 7th, 2011 Thomas Christensen, on behalf of SIAN, appealed moderate Muslims to:

²⁵⁵ Christensen, Thomas. “Saudi-Arabia og Iran: To stater som må utraderes.” SIAN. Published: 10.10.2008. (Accessed: 06.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/to-stater-som-ma-utraderes>

²⁵⁶ Ibid

²⁵⁷ Tumyr, Arne. “Strekke ut hånden til “Moderate” Muslimer?” SIAN. Published: 06.11.2009. (Accessed: 06.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/strekke-ut-handen-til-moderate-muslimer>

å ta avstand fra de politiske delene av islam. I praksis betyr dette å vende ryggen til sharia, jihad og Muhammad Ibn Abdulla,s eksempel. Det handler med andre ord om å ta avstand fra islam som et politisk/religiøst system som skal organisere alle aspekter ved det menneskelige liv fra vugge til grav.²⁵⁸

However, it is hard to see how Muslims could renounce Muhammed and still be Muslims. Thomas Christensen also mentioned the use of Taqyya in the article,²⁵⁹ so it seems that SIAN statement was not meant to be a handout to Muslims. However, in another article published January, 5th, 2011 Christian Krogvig stated that he thought that several moderate Muslims would share SIANs view against Sharia.²⁶⁰ Nonetheless, the general line of SIAN was that Islam was an totalitarian ideology which could not take any moderate form and that there did not exist something which could be called moderate Muslims, as expressed by Tumyr in an article published April, 14th 2011 “En gang muslim – alltid muslim – og man er en bundet slave på livstid i det islamske diktatur. Den som velger å bryte ut gjør det med livet som innsats.”²⁶¹ However, this did not mean that there did not exist a moderate wing in SIAN as seen in the moderate Muslim debate from 2012-2014.

Dhimmitude.

As have been demonstrated above the word had been used at the FOMI website but it gained further frequency at the new SIAN website. On May, 16th 2010, SIAN published the article *Er spørsmålet om ”ytringsfrihet” i bunn og grunn en dhimmi problemstilling?* The article was on the movie Submission by the Dutch film producer Theo Van Gogh. The film was on the life of Muhammed from a clear anti-Islamic viewpoint and unleashed a discussion over freedom of speech in the media. Rolf Eriksen argued that every time media arranged meetings with what he described as Islamists was one step towards dhimmitude.²⁶² The understanding of the concept of Dhimmitude converged clearly with Bat Ye’or’s theory, as described by Arne Tumyr in an article published in 2011:

Dhimmien hadde ikke sivile rettigheter. En dhimmi kunne ikke saksøke eller rettsforfølge en muslim for forbrytelser begått mot dhimmien. Når dhimmien hvert år kom for å betale jizya-skatten ble de normalt

²⁵⁸ Christensen, Thomas, “Stavanger 8.januar 2011 – vend islam ryggen!” 07.01.2011. (Accessed: 06.10.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/stavanger-8januar-2011-vend-islam-ryggen>

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ SIANs Nettredaksjon, “Oslo fylkeslag av Stopp islamiseringen av Norge (SIAN) dannet 04.02.11 .” SIAN. 05.02.2011. (Accessed: 06.10.2011.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/oslo-fylkeslag-av-stopp-islamiseringen-av-norge-sian-dannet-040211>

²⁶¹ Tumyr, Arne, “”Uttrykket moderat islam" er fornærmende”. SIAN. 14.04.2011. (Accessed: 06.10.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/uttrykket-moderat-islam-er-fornaermende>

²⁶² Eriksen, Rolf. “Er spørsmålet om ”ytringsfrihet” i bunn og grunn en dhimmi problemstilling?” SIAN. 16.05.2010. (Accessed: 01.10.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/er-sporsmalet-om-ytringsfrihet-i-bunn-og-grunn-en-dhimmi-problemstilling>

ydmyket på ulike måter. De ble dratt i skjegget, slått i ansiktet eller tvunget til å knele og krype frem til innkreveren på hender og føtter. De ble ydmyket fordi Koranen krever at dhimmien blir ydmyket.²⁶³

As have been described in the theory chapter, dhimmitude was a condition which was almost worse than death. In SIAN the term dhimmitude was used every time politicians or media did actions which SIAN saw as submitting to Islam. Such as when a Norwegian Bishop had spoken about interfaith dialogue in 2013, SIAN claimed that he was guilty of being a Dhimmi.²⁶⁴

3.1.2 SIAN, an alliance between Christian and secular anti-Islamists.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, FOMI was a coalition between several different individuals of a different ideological or religious background, the most prominent being the Christian conservatives represented by Gamlem and ‘secular anti-islamists’ such as the leaders of the new FOMI, Jarle Synnevåg and Løking. In the Master thesis *En analyse av Stopp islamiseringen av Norge (SIAN) sin anti-islamske diskurs*, published in the spring of 2012, Ole Jakob Michelsen analyzed the discourse of the articles published on SIANs website between May and October, 2011. Michelsen concluded that there were two major subject positions in SIANs understanding of religion, one Christian and one secular humanist.²⁶⁵ These two subject positions were, as demonstrated, found in FOMI as well, though also valid for several articles published at the SIAN website before the time of Michelsen’s analysis.

An early example of the early Christian discourse in SIAN was the article *Kosovo tilhører Serbia!*, published the August 3rd, 2008,²⁶⁶ in response to Kosovo’s soon-to-be secession from Serbia in September, 2008. In the article the Christians of Kosovo are mentioned as “våre kristne brødre og søstre” by the SIAN web-editors.²⁶⁷ This view was repeated in an article published in the January 1st, 2009, where SIAN condemned Europe and the US support for Kosovo, again stating that SIAN supported “kristne brødre og søstre i Kosovo-Methohija.”²⁶⁸ While this Christian rhetoric has had a presence in several of the articles published on SIANs

²⁶³ Tumyr, Arne. “Universiteter fortier dhimmienes historie!” SIAN. 26.04.2012. (Accessed: 01.10.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/universiteter-fortier-dhimmienes-historie>

²⁶⁴ Tumyr, Arne. “Den tidligere biskop er i dag indirekte talsmann for islam”. SIAN. 08.03.2013. (Accessed: 01.10.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/den-tidligere-biskop-er-i-dag-indirekte-talsmann-for-islam>

²⁶⁵ Michelsen, Ole Jakob. “En analyse av Stopp islamiseringen av Norge (SIAN) sin anti-islamske diskurs”. Master Thesis. University of Oslo. 2012. P. 112

²⁶⁶ SIANs internettredaksjon. “Kosovo tilhører Serbia!”. SIAN. 30.08.2008. (Accessed: 06.10.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/kosovo-tilhorer-serbia>

²⁶⁷ Ibid

²⁶⁸ SIANs internettredaksjon. “Pressekonferanse om Kosovo-Methohija.” SIAN. 20.01.2009. (Accessed: 06.10.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/pressekonferanse-om-kosovo-methohija>

website until this date members of SIAN questioned the role of Christianity in regards to SIAN.

In the article *Korset skal fjernes i Italienske skoler – et ledd i islamiseringen*, published the November 22nd, 2011, after the period of Ole Michelsen's analysis, Rolf Eriksen wrote about a verdict by the European Court of Human rights that had ruled that Italy had to remove crucifixes from Italian schools. Rolf Eriksen protested this decision and warned atheists as seeing the verdict as a victory for the secular state as he argued it was another step towards islamisation. Eriksen argued that atheists had to join the Christians to fight against the islamisation and that the critique had to be directed against:

[...] svikerne i kirken på protestantisk og katolsk side som tror på dialog med et religiøst diktatur som har forsøkt å innvandre Europa flere ganger og hedninger som av politisk korrekthet begrenser sin kritikk til kristendommen og ikke tør å se problemet i øynene. Problemet heter islam.²⁶⁹

In the article *Kampen mot Islam er en kamp for friheten*, published November 26th, 2011, SIANs leader Arne Tumyr responded to Rolf Eriksen's article. Although Tumyr agreed that atheists and Christians had an interest in a common alliance against Islam, Tumyr argued that "Spørsmålet er imidlertid om Rolf Eriksen har oversett at praktisk talt hele kristenheten avviser kamp mot islam, tvert imot vil de kristne samarbeide med islamistene."²⁷⁰ Tumyr argued that most Christian organizations was already collaborating with Islam and therefore could not be trusted, highlighting incidents where Protestants or Catholics had submitted or cooperated with Islam, Tumyr concluded that "Rolf Eriksen skriver at "kristne og ateister må slutte rekkene og bygge opp fronten mot islamiseringen", men dessverre er også de kristne fraværende. De vil ikke fronte – de vil samarbeide med de onde kreftene!"²⁷¹, the Christians could not be convinced to join the fight against Islam on religious grounds, but through the common interest in freedom of speech, freedom of religion, human rights and democracy.²⁷² Tumyr agreed with Rolf Eriksen's analysis of Islam, stating that Islam wanted to annihilate all other cultures, religions and political systems that did not submit to Allah and Mohammed. Tumyr stated that "Ingen "god muslim" kan bli en god nordmann. Hvis vi ikke klarer å fristille muslimene fra hjernevasking og islams slaveri, vil nordmenn om 100 år eller så, når

²⁶⁹ Eriksen, Rolf. "Korset skal fjernes i Italienske skoler – et ledd i islamiseringen." SIAN. 22.11.2009. (Accessed: 06.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/korset-skal-fjernes-i-italienske-skoler-et-ledd-i-islamiseringen>

²⁷⁰ Tumyr, Arne. "Kampen mot islam er en kamp for friheten!". SIAN. 26.11.2009. (Accessed: 06.10.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/kampen-mot-islam-er-en-kamp-for-friheten>

²⁷¹ Ibid

²⁷² Ibid

muslimene kommer i flertall, også være slaver under islam.”²⁷³ While disagreements such as this were of a minor character it still represents the difference of opinions in the organization on how Islam was to be defeated.

3.1.3 SIAN and Anders Behring Breivik.

The events occurring the July 22nd, 2011 were a shock to the Norwegian public. Only a few days after the attack SIAN was mentioned in the same breath as Breivik due to the organizations anti-Islamic ideology.²⁷⁴ SIAN reacted fast, and condemned the violent actions of Breivik, while shifting the blame over on the politically correct establishment.²⁷⁵ However, both Arne Tumyr, Bjørg Irene Ljones had admitted some of their ideology was similar to Breiviks.²⁷⁶ While she did not support his actions, Ljones had openly stated support for Breiviks ideology, leading to condemnation from Christen Krovgig and Thomas Christensen.²⁷⁷ Other SIAN members such as Kjersti Margrethe Adelheid Gilje later came out with full support for Breivik’s ideology.²⁷⁸ Notably, Gilje was also a member of the Christian Unity Party.²⁷⁹

Further media attention towards SIAN followed as Arne Tumyr was called in to testify in the 2012 trial against Anders Behring Breivik. Because of the attack, SIAN was often denied the use of meeting facilities as the landlords was afraid of being identified as supporting the organization. Nonetheless, there are some indicators that the membership of SIAN increased as soon as it became clear that Breivik had not been a member of the organization. Stine Johansen Utler argued in her master thesis that the sympathy Breivik got did neither represent the organization nor did she find any support for the violence.²⁸⁰ Michelsen have reached a similar conclusion, arguing that the rules of the SIAN discourse did not allow any support for Breivik, or violence.²⁸¹ At the year meeting in 2012 there was added that SIAN was a non-violent organization and that racists or Nazis could not become members.²⁸² This decision

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Krokfjord, P. Torgeir, Meldalen, Granly Sindre and Astrid Meland. “

http://www.dagbladet.no/2011/08/24/nyheter/anders_behring_breivik/innenriks/terrorangrepet/17803023/

²⁷⁵ Utler. *Anders Behring Breiviks meningsfeller*. P. 74

²⁷⁶ Michelsen. *En analyse av Stopp .Islamiseringen av Norge (SIAN)*. P.84

²⁷⁷ Utler. «Breiviks meningsfeller» P. 74-75

²⁷⁸ Bangstad. *Islamophobia*. P. 8

²⁷⁹ Michelsen. *En analyse av Stopp .Islamiseringen av Norge (SIAN)*. P. 89

²⁸⁰ Utler. «Breiviks meningsfeller» P. 75

²⁸¹ Michelsen. *En analyse av Stopp .Islamiseringen av Norge (SIAN)*. P. 85

²⁸² Utler. *Breiviks meningsfeller*. P.75

was most likely made in order to distance the organization from Breivik and any further incidents that might occur.

In the wake of the July, 22nd there was several narratives in the SIAN articles which tried to explain the actions of Breivik. For an organization, which in 2010 had stated that “Ikke alle muslimer er terrorister, men alle terrorister er muslimer. (Man finner nok unntak som imidlertid bare bekrefter regelen.)”²⁸³ the existence of an ethnic Norwegian anti-Islamic terrorist was difficult to cope with. Some, such as Torgils Skajaa stated that as Islamists could justify their actions in the Koran, Breivik could justify his actions from the Bible. This article sparked a debate in the comment section where several of the commenters were angered by the article, which led Tumyr to state that SIAN did not agree with Skajaa views.²⁸⁴ Another view fronted by Arne Tumyr blamed Islam and the Labour Party for the actions of Breivik articulated in the maxim “Ikke islam i Norge – ikke 22. juli.”²⁸⁵

After the first psychological examination declared Breivik mentally insane Arne Tumyr declared it was a victory for the good cause, in an article published on November 30th, 2011. From then on, nobody could claim that the atrocities at the July 22nd were caused by Islam critique.²⁸⁶ The conclusion that Breivik was insane was critiqued by several and soon led to demands for a new examination of his psychological health.²⁸⁷ SIAN saw this decision as a conspiracy by “Det politiske maktapparat som står bak 22. juli vil at ABB ikke bare skal erklæres strafferettslig tilregnelig; han skal også klistres til en ideologi som er forankret i ”høyre-ekstreme” miljøer – som også SIAN angivelig er en del av..”²⁸⁸ SIAN feared that if he was declared sane would lead to SIANs ‘Islam critique’ being declared illegal.²⁸⁹ Nonetheless, Breivik was declared sane by a second pair of psychologist the April 10th, 2012.²⁹⁰

²⁸³ Tumyr, Arne. “Feil å klandre Muslimer for Terrorisme?” SIAN. 02.09.2010. (Accessed: 25.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/feil-a-klandre-muslimer-for-terrorisme>

²⁸⁴ Michelsen. *En analyse av Stopp .Islamiseringen av Norge (SIAN)*. P. 102

²⁸⁵ Tumyr, Arne. “Ny Advokat som ikke er med i Ap!” SIAN. 06.12.2011. (Accessed: 25.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/ny-advokat-som-ikke-er-med-i-ap>

²⁸⁶ Tumyr, Arne. “Nå går fokuset vekk fra de ”høyreekstreme” SIAN. 30.11.2011. (Accessed: 25.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/na-gar-fokuset-vekk-fra-de-hoyreekstreme>

²⁸⁷ Barth-Heyerdahl, Lars. “Bistandsadvokater vil ha ny Breivik-rapport.” TV2. 08.12.2011. (Accessed: 25.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.tv2.no/a/3655746>

²⁸⁸ Tumyr, Arne. “”Islamkritikk er å spre gift i samfunnet”.” SIAN. 23.12.2011. (Accessed: 24.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/islamkritikk-er-a-spre-gift-i-samfunnet>

²⁸⁹ Ibid

²⁹⁰ NTB. “Breivik er tilregnelig.” *Stavanger Aftenblad*. 10.04.2012. (Accessed: 24.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.aftenbladet.no/innenriks/--Breivik-er-tilregnelig-450432b.html>

In the article *Folket skal ikke få se Anders Behring Breiviks forklaring: Skandale, Høyesterett sa nei* published at the 16th of April 2012, Tumyr was outraged by the fact that the Breivik trial was being closed off from the media. The article asked a series of rhetoric questions to why this decision was made. SIAN still claimed that multiculturalism and Islam was one of the main causes for Breivik's actions, asking if the elite feared that "Breiviks ideologi, hans verdensbilde og hans argumenter kan han forlede de "upopplyste" – slik at de mister troen på multikulturalismen?"²⁹¹ In the same way as Herman Goring could explain his actions for the world Breivik should be given the same opportunity as "Et opplyst folk og rettsstatens voktere skal normalt kunne skille klinten fra hveten."²⁹² It seemed as Tumyr hoped that an televised trial would give some insight to how multiculturalism was the cause of Breivik's terror attack but also to demonstrate his difference from the likes of SIAN. Breivik was convicted to 21 years and containment for the murders at the 22nd of July, at the 24th of August 2012.²⁹³ As demonstrated above, this verdict was not seen as positive by SIAN. In an article published the same day as the verdict, SIAN again stressed Breivik's unstable psychology, as well as Islam as the main cause for his radicalization. However, during the trial it had come up that Breivik had referred to the terror tactics used by Al-Qaeda, for SIAN this was an opportunity to claim Breivik had learned terror tactics from the Koran and Al-Qaeda, thus Breivik served as another proof to the vile and evil nature of the Koran. At the anniversary of 22nd of July, Tumyr summed up SIANs future explanation of Breivik's radicalization in five sentences:

Breivik er syk i hodet sitt.
Den vanvittige islamske lære gjorde Breivik politisk vanvittig.
Arbeiderpartiets «Det nye Norge» ble for mye.
Multikulturalismens motstandere ble tiet ihjel.
Breivik lot seg inspirere av islam og Al-Qaida.²⁹⁴

In many ways Breivik unleashed a serious existential crisis for SIAN. The organizations self-image was that of a peaceful defender of the good values of western civilization against the barbaric doctrine of Islam. Therefore, when an anti-Islamic ethnic Norwegian instigated a terror attack which was the largest attack on Norwegian soil since the Second World War reflecting a similar world analysis as the organization, they could not straight forward

²⁹¹ Tumyr, Arne. "Skandale, Høyesterett sa nei." SIAN. 16.04.2012. (Accessed: 24.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/skandale-hoyesterett-sa-nei>

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Peters, Tim, Eva-Therese Grøttum, Marianne Vikås, Geir Arne Kippernes, Dennis Ravndal, Morten S. Hopperstad and Tor-Erling Thømt-Ruud "Breivik tilregnelig - dømt til forvaring." VG. 27.08.2012. (Accessed: 24.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/terrorangrepet-22-juli-rettssaken/breivik-tilregnelig-doemt-til-forvaring/a/10060226/>

²⁹⁴ Tumyr, Arne. "Unnvikende ikke å sette islam på tiltalebenken: Folket sammen i sorgen." SIAN. 22.07.2012. (Accessed: 24.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/folket-sammen-i-sorgen>

condemn his ideology, nor could they support his actions. The way out of this identity crisis was to acknowledge Islam and Multiculturalism as the trigger for the attacks but condemn the attacks per se because of his psyche or Islam itself.

3.1.4 Opposition to Multiculturalism.

SIAN was an strong opponent of Multiculturalism. Multiculturalism was often spoken of using the term “Det nye Norge”.²⁹⁵ On July, the 6th 2010, Tumyr argued that Multiculturalism was in fact divisive and was destroying Norway. He argued that the current politicians from Gro Harlem Brundtland to Jonas Gahr Støre which was responsible for the uncontrolled mass immigration which was destroying Norway.²⁹⁶ Others, such as Morten Andresen argued in 2011 cultural Marxism and multiculturalism was to blame for the fact that the media did not give away the origin of a person in cases of rape.²⁹⁷ Terms such as political multiculturalism were also used in an article by Arne Tumyr, published on 2012.²⁹⁸ The main understanding was that multiculturalism was creating further division in society, and that multiculturalism was the greatest catastrophe that had happened Norway since the second world war.²⁹⁹ This was primarily because SIAN saw multiculturalism as opening for Islam.³⁰⁰ For SIAN, multiculturalism was a threat as it weakened the Norwegian cultural hegemony, which for them was destroying the society.

3.1.5 Conflicts and Disagreements over the Nature of Islam.

At the annual meeting of 2012 there had been a debate whether it was political Islam or Islam SIAN was fighting against. Nonetheless, it was concluded that SIANs purpose was still to fight against Islam. In 2011 there had been an increasing number of Christians in the

²⁹⁵ Tumyr, Arne. “Skam deg – mitt elskede land!” SIAN. 06.07.2010. (Accessed: 24.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/skam-deg-mitt-elskede-land>

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Andresen, Morten. “Vår i «Nye Norge»” SIAN. 05.04.2011. (Accessed: 24.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/var-i-nye-norge>

²⁹⁸ Tumyr, Arne. “Norges kulturminister er ideologisk forankret i islam” 29.12.2012. (Accessed: 24.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/norges-kulturminister-er-ideologisk-forankret-i-islam>

²⁹⁹ Tumyr, Arne. “Nei til islamske symboler i det offentlige samfunn,” SIAN. 03.12.2013. (Accessed: 25.09.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/nei-til-islamske-symboler-i-det-offentlige-samfunn>

³⁰⁰ Andersen, Stig. “En refleksjon fra SIANs leder,” SIAN. 02.09.2014. (Accessed: 25.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/en-refleksjon-fra-sians-leder>

organization.³⁰¹ On April, 7th of 2012 it became obvious that the Christian wing of SIAN and the secular wing were not always in agreement. On May 21st 2012, Norway's Parliament was to discuss whether the Norwegian state was to cease having Christianity as a state religion. This led to a tough debate amongst the SIAN board members of which there was a Christian wing and a Humanist wing.³⁰² This debate over whether it was political Islam or Islam SIAN was fighting against would spill over at the annual meeting the year after.

The annual year meeting of March 15th 2013 would signal the start of a schism inside the organization. While SIAN described their 2013 meeting as one of their best ones yet, there were signs of disagreement among the SIAN members during a debate over whether SIAN should differ between radical Islam and Islam.³⁰³ At the meeting Arne Tumyr was re-elected as the leader of the organisation, while Morten Schau was elected as vice-president. Christen Krogvik, one of the founders of the new FOMI, was elected secretary, the elections were described as unanimous.³⁰⁴ At the meeting Arne Tumyr held a speech where he spoke about the history of opposition to immigration, highlighting groups such as 'Folkebevegelsen mot innvandring', 'Fedrelandspartiet', 'Hvit valgallianse', 'Nasjonaldemokratene' and 'Norge mot innvandring' in a positive way, arguing that these organisations fought for the same cause as SIAN.³⁰⁵ At the end of his speech Tumyr addressed the debate over whether SIAN should change its ideology. Tumyr argued not to change the ideology; as such change, would conflict with SIAN's Mission Statement. Following the speech, there was a tough debate, where newly-elected vice president Morten Schau criticized Tumyr. Morten Schau argued that Islam, being the second largest religion in the world could not be dismissed and SIANs critique against Islam had to be reformed. Schau stated that critique against political Islam was acceptable but attacking Muslims' freedom of religion was against the UN human rights

³⁰¹ SIANs Nettavis, Bodil. "SIAN den største antiislamske organisasjon." . SIAN. 25.03.2012. (Accessed: 17.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/sian-den-storste-antiislamske-organisasjon>

³⁰² Tumyr, Arne. "Styret behandler saken over påske." SIAN. 07.04.2012. (Accessed: 17.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/styret-behandler-saken-over-paske>

³⁰³ Redaksjonen, Bodil. "Bør SIAN ha en mer nyansert kritikk av «moderate» muslimer? Tumyr gjenvalgt som leder i SIAN – Schau ble nestleder." SIAN. 17.03.2013. (Accessed: 07.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/tumyr-gjenvalgt-som-leder-i-sian-schau-ble-nestleder>

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

Charter. There was a vote over this discussion where Arne Tumyr won with a slight majority.³⁰⁶ Tumyr and SIAN had stated a support for FMI on other occasions as well.³⁰⁷

The disagreement over the question of the existence of moderate Muslims continued after the meeting on SIANs website. In the article *Ikke all trosutøvelse bør kritiseres*, published the 23rd of March 2013, Morten Schau again argued that not all practices of religion should be criticised. Schau stated that “Jeg er kort sagt imot de deler av religionsutøvelse som er negativ, undertrykkende og voldelig – det som strider mot rett og moral og som er politisk.”³⁰⁸ Schau was against religion having a role in public society in general, espousing a more secular stand.³⁰⁹ He argued that freedom from religion should be taken as serious as freedom of religion. However, Schau’s article differed greatly in one aspect from the other articles published at SIANs website. Contrary to other SIAN members he argued for a much more moderate stance as he wrote “Vi kan ikke *forby* det å være muslim. Det er en gal og urealistisk tanke. Vi må kunne se at islam ikke *må* være politisk for *alle* mennesker. Slik som det finnes ikke-personlige kristne, så finnes det sekulære, moderne og ikke minst opplyste muslimer.”³¹⁰ His argument for the existence of a moderate Muslim conflicted a great deal with Arne Tumyr’s view of Islam and was a further sign of a schism in the organization. Schau argued for a reformation of the organization, stating that in SIANs quest to defeat political Islam it was in danger of losing its own values. Schau argued that to stop the ongoing islamisation SIAN had to stop resembling those who the organization fought against.³¹¹

Morten Schau continued arguing for his view and highlighting that SIAN existed of people with different understandings of Islam in a speech he held in front of Stortinget at the April, 20th, 2013.³¹² In the speech, he criticized what he saw as inactive members who did nothing to

³⁰⁶ Redaksjonen, Bodil. “Bør SIAN ha en mer nyansert kritikk av «moderate» muslimer? Tumyr gjenvalgt som leder i SIAN – Schau ble nestleder.” SIAN. 17.03.2013. (Accessed: 07.09.2016.) Link:

<http://www.sian.no/artikkel/tumyr-gjenvalgt-som-leder-i-sian-schau-ble-nestleder>

³⁰⁷ Tumyr, Arne. “SIAN – et felles forum i kampen mot islamisme.” SIAN. 17.11.2008. (Accessed: 07.09.2016.)

Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/sian-et-felles-forum-i-kampen-mot-islamisme> and Tumyr, Arne. “SIAN gratulerer Jan Høeg.” SIAN. 19.03.2013. (Accessed: 07.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/sian-gratulerer-jan-hoeg>

³⁰⁸ Schau, Morten. “Ikke all trosutøvelse bør kritiseres.” SIAN. 23.03.2013. (Accessed: 08.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/ikke-all-trosutovelse-bor-kritiseres>

³⁰⁹ Ibid

³¹⁰ Ibid

³¹¹ Ibid

³¹² Schau, Morten. “Trenger ikke politikere som skiver problemene under teppet: Konflikter- fremmedgjøring dersom islam får dominere”. SIAN. 21.04.2013. (Accessed: 08.09.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/konflikter-fremmedgjoring-dersom-islam-far-dominere>

cope with the issues of Islam. Schau argued that issues such as genital mutilation, parallel communities and gender segregation had to be confronted to keep the good values in a free democratic society. He also criticized Islamist groups such as Islam-net and ‘Profetens Ummah’ which supported death punishments for apostasy, blasphemy and fidelity. Schau called for a cross-political front amongst the political parties against the illiberal sides of Islam,³¹³ in his speech Schau asked:

Noen vil spørre seg selv: Hvorfor skal folk flest støtte SIAN? For mange av oss som støtter SIAN er ikke enige i alle meninger som kommer fra SIAN. Om det er uttalelser fra den ene eller andre innen organisasjonen. Til dette spørsmålet finnes det et meget godt svar.; For det første; Det å ha forskjellige syn på konkrete saker er helt vanlig innen organisasjoner og partier. Da engasjerer man seg i det synet man selv støtter, og jobber for å få gjennomslag for det.³¹⁴

Even if Schau admitted that he did not agree with the likes of Arne Tumyr and their view of Islam, he still had faith in the organisation which he argued was taking a stance against Islamic values which conflicted with “norske grunnleggende verdiene vi ønsker å bevare i samfunnet.”³¹⁵ Something which the political parties were incapable of doing.

Schau continued to express his ambition to reform and improve SIAN as an organization later that year. On November 22nd, 2013, Morten Schau published another article titled *Hva kan SIAN gjøre?*³¹⁶ The article stressed the different areas where SIAN could improve as an organisation proposing solutions to what he perceived to be the organizations challenge with convincing and reaching out to, the public.³¹⁷

Schau called for a more serious approach to Islam, stating that the organization had to be better at pointing out the negative effect of Islam on the Norwegian society, and what could be done to stop the negative development. SIAN would need to reach out to the media and politicians to a larger degree, to push politicians to enact laws that would stop the Islamisation of Norway. Schau argued that as the situation was, there was little interest from the media and the politicians to meet with SIAN. Schau argued that there could be several reasons for this, but if SIAN argued in an objective and accurate way there was opening for improvement. This argument can be interpreted in line with Schau’s opinion that there was needed a reformation of SIAN. Schau stressed the need for more members. As SIAN was considered a small organization, it’s size could possibly be the underlying reason for the lack of interest in

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Ibid

³¹⁶ Schau, Morten. “Hva kan SIAN gjøre?” SIAN. 22.11.2013. (Accessed: 08.09.2016.) Link:

<http://www.sian.no/artikkel/hva-kan-sian-gjore>

³¹⁷ Ibid.

the organization. Schau additionally argued to improve SIAN's finances, through increased use of social media and more demonstrations. As the Islamisation of the Norwegian society became more visible, more people would become conscious of the threat that the islamisation posed. SIAN needed to gain advantage of this situation to have a real effect on the organization of the Norwegian society.³¹⁸

3.1.6 A schism in the organization.

The disagreements over which direction SIAN was headed culminated at the annual meeting the March 28th, 2014. At the meeting, Stig Andersen was elected as the new leader of SIAN, winning by a small majority of 20 votes against Rune Bye's 18 votes. Arne Tumyr did not re-apply for leadership but was elected reserve-representative. There was a major disagreement over what approach SIAN should have towards Islam and two proposals were submitted.³¹⁹

The two propositions represented the different positions of the two groups. Stig Andersen's proposition was a continuation of the confrontational SIAN approach towards Islam, warning of civil war conditions in Europe. Andersen listed several situations where he claimed that the islamisation was visible. He stressed that Norway's 200000 Muslims was becoming a political power and argued that a lot of people saw Islam as a threat since war and conflict followed Islam. The proposal stated that Islam was a religious-ideology which should not be given state support in the same way that had been done in Italy. It further asked that the government should set down a committee to discuss whether Islam was a religion in the western understanding of the concept or a totalitarian and political religion which collided with Norwegian and Western values.³²⁰

Rune Bye's proposition had another more moderate approach and did not mention Islam anywhere in the proposition but stressed that the politicians should give greater heed to the differences of the background and values of which immigrants from other parts of the world had. Bye stressed that egalitarianism was one of the strengths of the Norwegian society,

³¹⁸ Tumyr, Arne. «Stig Andersen ble valgt til ny leder i SIAN Benkeforslag med 20 mot 18 stemmer på årsmøte.» SIAN. 29.03.2014. (Accessed: 09.09.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/benkeforslag-med-20-mot-18-stemmer-pa-arsmotet>

³¹⁹ Ibid

³²⁰ Ibid

warning that not all aspects of the cultures of the new immigrants was to be viewed as positive.³²¹

The fallout between the two factions led to Rune Bye, Morten Schau and others leaving SIAN, walking out of the year meeting in protest of the decision.³²² SIAN dubbed the faction leaving the organization “Silkefronten” due to their wish for a more moderate approach to Islam. SIAN claimed that in revenge of the split, some of the members of “Silkefronten” took control over SIANs Facebook page and deleted all its members. SIAN also reported that several of the members of Silkefronten had written on their facebook pages that they had left SIAN due to the organization had become an organization of racist, Christian fundamentalists and Nazis³²³ something which SIAN refuted. Members of the so-called Silkefronten founded their own organisation called “Verdier i Sentrum”.³²⁴

3.1.7 The aftermath of the Schism.

The schism in SIAN affected the ideology of the organisation in several ways. It seemed that, in answer to the moderates leaving the organisation the question whether there existed moderate Muslims was actualized. Lars Thorsen’s article *Myten om det moderate Islam*, published the July 12th, 2014,³²⁵ was one of several articles published that year which debated this question. Thorsen questioned how a moderate Muslim could exist when there was no such thing as a moderate Islam. He argued that the true Islam was not the Islam which the Imams or the Muslim preached; Islam is what was written in the Islamic trilogy. Thorsen admitted the existence of Muslims which did not have a fundamental understanding of Islam, but for Thorsen these were not Muslims.³²⁶ Thorsen referred to Fjordman’s definition of Muslim reformists:

Fjordmann deler muslimske reformatorer inn i tre grupper; Den største gruppen er løgnere og opportuniste hvis mål er infiltrasjon av våre samfunn, den andre gruppen er velmenende folk som ikke forstår islam og islamsk historie. Den tredje og minste gruppen er kunnskapsrike mennesker som

³²¹ Ibid

³²² Ibid

³²³ Tumyr, Arne. «Går nå amok for å skade SIAN så mye som mulig.» SIAN. 04.04.2014. (Accessed: 10.09.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/gar-na-amok-for-a-skade-sian-sa-mye-som-mulig>

³²⁴ Ibid

³²⁵ Thorsen, Lars. “Myten om moderat Islam.” SIAN. 12.07.2014. (Accessed: 10.09.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/myten-moderat-islam>

³²⁶ Ibid

oppriktig ønsker å reformere islam. Kanskje kan sistnevnte kvalifisere som «moderat muslim», men jeg er usikker på om vi har slike i Norge.³²⁷

It seemed that Thorsen understood Fjordman to be more moderate than himself. Which is interesting as Fjordman was one of the more extreme and dystopic figures in the Counterjihad milieu. Thorsen also accused Muslims in Norway of using Taqyia to hide their true intentions; he concluded that if moderate Muslims did not confirm their existence the next step would be to ban Islam in Norway.³²⁸

Christen Krogvig also discussed the problem in his article *Er alle Muslimer ekstreme?*, later that year, the 15th of December 2014.³²⁹ Krogvig divided Muslims into three groups, the first being Muslims who lack any true understanding of Islam and support suppressive parts of the Islam out of ignorance. The second group of Muslims knew about the content of the Koran but argued that it had to be read historically, and that subjects such as slavery was to be explained from the time that the Koran was written. The third group of Muslims was the fundamentalists, who had a literal understanding of the Koran and saw the life of Muhammed to be a prime example of how to act. For Krogvig, Islamists belonged to the last group of Muslims. However, Krogvig argued that the two first groups were a minority, and in effect had very little influence. While Krogvig argued that not all Muslims was extreme, this did not matter based upon how little impact they had in reforming Islam. He argued that basing immigrant politics on the existence of moderate Muslims was the same as playing Russian roulette with the Norwegian people.³³⁰

The following month, in the article *Moderat Islam – Kan vi tro på det?* Published January, 3rd, 2015, it seems that Lars Thorsen had moderated his rhetoric since he penned the article *Myten om det moderate islam*. Thorsen argued that “Veldig mange muslimer – jeg vil håpe de fleste – lever et liv dedikert til en ideologi som de kaller islam, men som ikke samsvarer med den ideologi som er definert av koran, sira og hadith.”³³¹ In the same way as Krogvig, Lars Thorsen opened for the existence of Moderate Muslims who did not understand the true nature of Islam, but argued that Muslims permit to lie made it problematic to differ the moderates from the extremes. Thorsen argued that the idea of an Islamic reformation was

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Ibid

³²⁹ Krogvig, Christen. “Er alle Muslimer ekstreme?”. SIAN. 15.12.2014. (Accessed: 11.09.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/er-alle-muslimer-ekstreme>

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Lars, Thorsen. “Moderat Islam- Kan vi tro på det?”. SIAN. 03.01.2015. (Accessed 15.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/moderat-islam-kan-vi-tro-pa-det>

problematic because of the prohibition to interfere with Islam, and that any individual trying to reform Islam would be killed. Another problem which Thorsen highlights was the fact that a reform of Islam would at the same time mean a reform of the Muslims. He concluded that “Muslimenes hjerner må rebootes samtidig med at deres hellige skrifter må få en total makeover. Og muslimene må gjøre det selv. Er dette sannsynlig? Alternativet er sivilisasjoners undergang.”³³² While both Krogvig and Thorsen admitted that moderate Muslims did exist, or as they saw it, Muslims who did not understand or denied the true content of Islam, they had no real impact over Islam.

3.1.8 SIAN becoming more extreme.

When the moderates left SIAN, the more extreme views of some of the remaining members came into the open. Members of the old FOMI became more active, leading to an even stronger opposition to Islam. At the same time the Syrian War, and the Islamic and the following refugee crisis radicalized the rhetoric. As have been demonstrated the fear of numbers was central in the Worldview of the SIAN and FOMI members. The refugee crisis was seen as an invading army, while the Islamic State was a solid confirmation of SIANs view on Islam.

In the article *Når Politikken blir total*, published on March 17th, 2015,³³³ Christen Krogvig argued that Germany was a totalitarian country, especially in regards on issues such as immigration and islamisation. Germany had opened his boarders for the Syrian refugees something which in SIANs eyes qualified for the worst. Krogvig stated that multiculturalism was the totalitarian ideology of Europe at the time.³³⁴ A view which was more in line with the old FOMI and more extreme counter-jihad personas such as Fjordman and Anders Behring Breivik.

On July, 15th, 2015, Krogvig argued that the only real democracy in Europe was the Swiss democratic system. He argued that representative democracy was an illusion, and that power was only in the hands of a small group of people.³³⁵ On August 4th, 2015, he argued that Europe had to imitate Israel’s strong regulations of immigration. This meant setting up walls

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Krogvig, Christen. “Når politikken blir total.” SIAN.17.03.2015. (Accessed: 15.09.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/nar-politikken-blir-total>

³³⁴ Ibid

³³⁵ Krogvig, Christen. “Folket som beseiret eliten.” SIAN. 15.07.2015. (Accessed: 16.09.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/folket-som-beseiret-eliten>

and selection based upon religion and the regulation of marriage between Norwegian Muslims and Muslims from countries outside of Europe. Krogvik argued that Israel had disbanded multiculturalism after having bad experiences with it over 2600 years.³³⁶

Tumyr also feared the incoming numbers of refugees. In the article *Vil Norge på sikt bli et land der konflikter herjer?* Published September, 30, 2015 he stated that the incoming refugees were creating the “Nye Norge” which was SIANs multicultural dystopia. To stop the flow of refugees Tumyr argued for a tougher stance against the Islamic state.³³⁷ In an article published May, 27, 2015³³⁸ Lars Thorsen stated what was the SIAN view on the Islamic State “Realiteten er at ISIL slett ikke tolker islam. ISIL praktiserer islam nøyaktig slik profeten Muhammed selv gjorde det.”³³⁹ For SIAN, the Islamic State was a confirmation of their view on Islam all along, namely that it was a totalitarian fundamental ideology.

This radical development in the SIAN worldview followed in the articles published into 2016. In the article *Europa invaderes- politikeren svikter Islamsk turisme er dødelig for vesten*, published on January 26th,³⁴⁰ 2016 Lars Thorsen argued that the refugees coming into Europe was a part of a Muslim invasion which had its basis in the Koran, and the Muslim Brotherhood’s secret strategy document for conquering the non-Muslim west.³⁴¹ This conspiracy theory was the same as was mentioned at the FOMI webpage, called “Prosjektet”³⁴². Thorsen continued in this article to prove that the immigration of Muslims to the West was sanctioned by the Koran and as a part of a strategy to conquer the West. The use of dehumanizing denominators was another recurring aspect:

Koranen beskylder jødene for å være aper og svin. Så lang jeg er i stand til å observere er de eneste eksempler på menneskeskapninger med adferd som fortjener karakteristikk relatert til ville dyrearter, i all hovedsak muslimer. Det er en kjent sak at Sverige er Vestens voldtektshovedstad takket være importen av menneskemateriale fra islamske land.³⁴³

³³⁶ Krogvig, Christen. “Look to Israel” Verdens strengeste innvandringspolitikk overfor muslimer.” SIAN. 04.08.2015. (Accessed: 16.09.2016.) <http://sian.no/artikkel/verdens-strengeste-innvandringspolitikk-overfor-muslimer>

³³⁷ Tumyr, Arne. “Flyktninge-invasjonen skaper «Det nye Norge»”. SIAN. 30.09.2015. (Accessed: 16.09.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/flyktninge-invasjonen-skaper-det-nye-norge>

³³⁸ Thorsen, Lars. “Omskrivning av koranen og annet lurendreieri”. SIAN. 27.05.2015. (Accessed: 20.09.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/omskrivning-av-koranen-og-annet-lurendreieri>

³³⁹ Ibid.

³⁴⁰ Thorsen, Lars. “Europa invaderes- politikere svikter Islamsk turisme er dødelig for Vesten.” SIAN. 26.01.2016. (Accessed: 24.09.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/islamsk-turisme-er-dodelig-for-vesten>

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² FOMI. ”Prosjektet”- En plan for islamsk herredømme i Europa Det Muslimske Broderskaps plan for verdenserobring er ikke en konspirasjonsteori.” FOMI. 30.04.2006. (Archived: 15.06.2006.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20060615224635/http://rto73.0catch.com/Spesial/Prosjektet.htm>

³⁴³ Thorsen, Lars. “Europa invaderes- politikere svikter Islamsk turisme er dødelig for Vesten.” SIAN.

Calling Muslims “human matter”³⁴⁴ and giving them the characteristics of wild animal species is another feature which was frequent at the old FOMI website, and are severe cases of dehumanization. Thorsen again referred to a quote by Fjordman:

Fjordman oppsummerer realitetene tydelig og greit i et intervju i Dagen; «Jeg mener at islamsk kultur skal forskjellsbehandles, fordi den er forskjellig, kort og godt. De representerer helt andre trusler. – Du diskriminerer på grunnlag av religion? – Hva er galt med å diskriminere? Du har et immunforsvar for at det skal diskriminere ting som kan gjøre deg syk. Hvis du ikke har det immunforsvaret, dør du.»³⁴⁵

These characteristics are well related to concepts adhered to in biological racism and represented a new level of radicalization for SIAN. Thorsen concluded that “Det er ikke noe som heter uavgjort eller andre plass i denne krigen. Enten vinner islam eller så vinner sivilisasjonen. Du bestemmer. Stålsett deg, showet har knapt begynt.”³⁴⁶ A highly dystopic statement. It seemed as if Thorsen was now convinced that the war of civilization was inevitable.

This trend was reflected in amongst other Islamist contemporaries as well. At a conference arranged by SIAN at the 21st of May 2016 SIAN had invited the anti-Islamists Lars Hedegaard and Hans Erling Jensen to hold speeches,³⁴⁷ as Lars Thorsen the article author described it:

Her fikk de oppmøtte innsyn i våre broderfolks syn på status i kampen mot islamisering av våre land. Vi fikk også et gripende innsyn i de muslimske forferdeligheter som vederfares ikkemuslimske kvinner der hvor den islamske pesten tillates å spre seg.³⁴⁸

Lars Hedegaard had argued for the similarities between Nazism and Islam, noting that the difference was that Islam could not be defeated by arms. Hedegaard had also stated that violence and terror was not the only form of Jihad. The Muslim veil was also considered as some form of weapon. The veil had the function of signaling which women the Muslim was not allowed to approach, or rape.³⁴⁹ Hedegaard’s view of the future was highly dystopic. He predicted a best-case scenario after the Muslim invasion where Europeans was living in enclaves while the Muslims was living on the occupied land. Hedegaard stated the need for the European population to be able to defend itself as the state could no longer fulfil this function. It was also stated at the conference that the male population of Europe had been

26.01.2016. (Accessed: 24.09.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/islamsk-turisme-er-dodelig-for-vesten>

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ Thorsen, Lars. “SIAN konferanse om islams vederstyggeligheter.” SIAN. 22.05.2016. (Accessed: 09.10.2016.) Link: <http://sian.no/artikkel/sian-konferanse-om-islams-vederstyggeligheter>

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Ibid

feminized, incapable of defending themselves and their women from the Muslim threat.³⁵⁰

Lars Thorsen concluded the article with the words:

Det finnes ikke eksempler fra verdenshistorien på vellykket fredelig likeverdig sameksistens mellom gode muslimer og normale mennesker. Likevel velger våre kunnskapsløse hodeløse politikere å importere den islamske giften til Norge.³⁵¹

As this conference demonstrated, Lars Thorsen and other members of SIAN's radicalized world view was a part of a bigger trend in the anti-Islamist milieu which echoed outside of SIAN as an organization. It seemed as, partly driven by the large number of Muslim refugees coming to Europe, that the anti-Islamists was becoming more dystopic in their view of the future, as well as using terms and concepts which have been traditionally used in biological racist worldviews. The use of conspiracy theories was having resurgence as well.

In the article *Sannheten erkjennes av stadig flere i takt med de muslimske drapsorgier Islam er i krig med vesten*, published on the 16th of June these conspiracy theories and war rhetoric gained further currency. After stating how Islam have been in war with the West in 1400 years, the article author Lars Thorsen again highlights “the document conspiracy”:

Islams krigføring kommer også til uttrykk i deres strategier [...] Det Muslimske Brorskaps memorandum. Muslimene bruker selv betegnelsen «The Project» om prosessen med å overta Vesten. Brorskapet har også sine styrker utplassert og i aktiv tjeneste i Norge, feks i den terrorlistede Rabitamoskeen. Det onde Brorskapet er tydelige på sine ambisjoner om å ødelegge Vesten.³⁵²

The article again stated that immigration was a form of invasion. Thorsen also claimed that the elites, as well as the media, schools and Muslims had been trying to hide from the people the fact that there existed a war between Islam and the West. Another conspiracy occurring in the text is the ‘birther’ conspiracy³⁵³ claiming that Barack Obama is a Muslim.³⁵⁴ Thorsen argued that both, Barack Obama and Erna Solberg, was a danger for USA and Norway’s citizens.

Lars Thorsen continued with his extreme rhetoric in the article *Islams betydning for muslimers mentale helse [:] Terrorens årsaker*. Published July, 31st, 2016. The article

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² Thorsen, Lars. “Sannheten erkjennes av stadig flere i takt med de muslimske drapsorgier. Islam er i krig med Vesten.” SIAN. 16.06.2016. (Accessed: 09.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/islam-er-i-krig-med-vesten>

³⁵³ The ‘birther’ conspiracy over Obamas dubious Muslim origin has its roots back in 2006 when he ran for senate. It was later popularized by the Republican candidate for President, Donald Trump.

³⁵⁴ Thorsen, Lars. “Sannheten erkjennes av stadig flere i takt med de muslimske drapsorgier. Islam er i krig med Vesten.” SIAN. 16.06.2016. (Accessed: 09.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/islam-er-i-krig-med-vesten>

concluded that Muhammed was psychologically unstable and discussed the relation between Islams mental health and that of the Muslims:

Når vi har konstatert realitetene omkring Muhammeds bedervede karakter og syke sinn, melder umiddelbart spørsmålet seg; Hva er det som får mennesker til å følge en ideologi designet av et slikt menneske? Det er flere svar på dette, men ett av dem er den islamske innavlen, som påvirker den innavlede muslimens hjerne, og slik gjør ham disponert for å tiltales av det primitive budskapet i Muhammeds lære.³⁵⁵

For Thorsen, Muslim inbreeding throughout 50 generations had a massive effect on the cognitive brain function of the Muslims, referencing to a study by the Danish psychologist Nicolai Sannes which claimed that there was a link between Muslim inbreeding and terrorism. Sannes also claimed that about fifty percent of Muslims was inbred; with ten to sixteen percent lower IQ than normal children.³⁵⁶ Thorsen argued for this conclusion highlighting a Norwegian example:

En «norsk» muslim som ble dømt for trippeldrap forklarte sin morderiske adferd med at han har lav IQ og at hjernen hans ikke virker. Det er ingen grunn til å tvile på disse påstandene, og dette passer godt med Nicolai Sannels sine observasjoner av muslimers hjerner, men hvor smart er det å importere hundretusener av slike mennesker til Vesten?³⁵⁷

Thorsen's arguments are clearly biological racist, and while not all SIAN members at the time had the same ideas the fact that his article was kept on the SIAN website demonstrated that the ideas must have been accepted by more people than Thorsen. He continued arguing in the article for Islam's direct effect on Muslims health, describing it as a deadly virus which was responsible for one out of three Somalis being mentally ill. Thorsen also argued that brainwashing of children with Islam was another problem in the Muslim world which led to Muslims adhering to Jihad:³⁵⁸

Den sørgelige realitet er at enhver muslim, god eller dårlig, enten det defineres etter islamsk eller sivilisert målestokk, er disponert for å begå hellig krigføring mot ikkemuslimer i en eller annen form, simpelthen fordi alle muslimer har gjennomgått tilnærmedesvis den samme hjernevasken, og har derfor ondskapen tatovert på innsiden av panna.³⁵⁹

Thorsen also argued that after the number of Muslims reached ten percent of the population, the Muslim "erobrerplikten" was activated due to the content of the Koran. Thorsen argued that:

³⁵⁵ Thorsen, Lars. "Islams betydning for muslimers mentale helse Terrorrens årsaker." SIAN. 31.07.2016. (Accessed 09.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/terrorens-arsaker>

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

³⁵⁷ Ibid

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ Ibid

Muslimske erobrere jager best i flokk, og en stor flokk bringer frem «det beste» i de gode muslimer. Den økningen av muslimsk adferd som vi nå observerer i forbindelse med den stigende andelen muslimer i Europa, kan trolig relateres til den muslimske hjernevasken.³⁶⁰

The function of this rhetoric was a straight denial of the human capabilities of the Muslim, describing him more as a psychologically ill animal than of a human.³⁶¹ This direct dehumanization was also argued for by Thoresen:

Selv om gode muslimer ser ut som mennesker, kler seg som mennesker og snakker som mennesker, mangler de totalt menneskelighet. Menneskelighet innebærer godhet og barmhjertighet mot medmennesker. Dette er fraværende egenskaper hos en god muslim.³⁶²

To cope with the problem of the Muslims in the West Thoresen proposed a radical solution:

Mange muslimer lever et helt liv uten at viruset slår ut i hjernen deres, men vi kan ikke unnlate å ta islamproblemet på alvor av den grunn. Ved en rekke terroraksjoner de seneste årene har vi observert det såkalte «sudden jihad syndrome», der en muslimsk «god nabo» blir en god muslim uten forvarsel. Det skal svært få gode muslimer til, for å rive en sivilisasjon i filler. Lovverket må forbedres slik at gode muslimer kan interneres eller deporteres. Alternativet er borgerkrig og Midt-Østen lignende tilstander.³⁶³

This article was among the most extreme articles written at the SIAN webpage since its foundation. The language, ideas and rhetoric was more in line with the old FOMI. Several of the individuals which were active in SIAN after schism with the “Silkefronten” have a much more radicalized view of Islam than before the schism. This development has continued, with SIAN being described as more extreme than ever by the anti-racist group ‘Vepsen’ after a SIAN demonstration at the 20th of August 2016.³⁶⁴

3.1.9 Summary:

The reorganization of FOMI into SIAN was caused by primarily three aspects. First, SIAN wanted to distance itself from the ferocious and often openly racist rhetoric which FOMI had become characterized with. Second, SIAN had the goal of becoming a more national oriented organization with an activist profile. Third, the organization had the intention of joining a broader European network centred on the Danish organization SIAD. As SIAN, themselves stated, the core view of Islam as a totalitarian-religious ideology was the same as in FOMI. Continuity was that the organization was still a coalition between Christian conservatives and

³⁶⁰ Ibid

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Ibid

³⁶³ Ibid

³⁶⁴ Bach, Tor. “Sirkus SIAN på furuset.” Vepsen. 20.08.2016. (Accessed: 09.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.vepsen.no/2016/08/4246/>

secular humanists such as Arne Tumyr. The national orientation was visible in the articles produced as most of them was about either the content on Islam or related to Norway. A significant change between the content of the old FOMI website and the new SIAN website was the lack of the grand conspiracies at the SIAN website. However, the presence of the Eurabia genre was clearly recognizable at the website, expressing the fear of a Muslim takeover as well as a fear of numbers. In a few articles, there was also sign of support for the Eurabia theory of Bat Ye'or. SIAN often attacked politicians branding them as Quislings and traitors. While at best having an ambivalent attitude towards the PP, SIAN was in general positive towards the political party the Democrats. SIAN saw itself an anti-racist organization. However, on several occasions Arne Tumyr stressed that SIAN was fighting the same struggle as earlier white supremacists and anti-immigrant organizations had done. In addition to the organizations antipathy towards multiculturalism it is a possibility that there existed an antagonism against immigration in general. While SIAN did not condone the actions of Breivik at the July 22nd, they did admit an ideological relationship to some of his ideas. Some in SIAN directly supported his ideology. After the 22nd of July, there was an influx of Christian Conservatives into the organization. In 2013 there was a discussion amongst SIAN between what I have chosen to term a moderate wing and anti-Islamic wing. The moderate wing argued that SIAN had to modify its stance towards Islam and acknowledge the existence of a moderate Muslim. In the following year, this developed into a discussion at the SIAN website, between a moderate wing fronted by Morten Schau and the anti-Islamic wing fronted by Arne Tumyr. The disagreements culminated in the annual meeting in 2014 which led to Morten Schau and the moderate faction leaving the organisation. In the aftermath of this schism, there was a tendency in SIAN to moderate its attitude towards Muslim. In end, SIAN concluded that even if there existed moderate Muslims, the Islamists was still in power. With the moderates leaving the organization as well as the Syrian refugee crisis and the terror attacks in Paris, the coming of the Islamic State, the SIAN ideology was radicalized. There was a return to the same ideology espoused by the late FOMI. Now several of the SIAN articles argued for the deportation of Muslims, that fifty percent of Muslims was brain damaged through inbreeding and that Islam was a parasite on Western Culture. As with FOMI, SIAN can be considered to adhere to cultural nationalism. However, as SIAN had more members, the width of the ideology expressed was broader. While there was consensus over the role of Christianity as a cultural aspect, there was disagreements to which role Christianity should have in the organization. In addition, there existed clear differences

between a more moderate wing, represented in this thesis by Schau and a more radical wing represented by Tumyr. In general, from 2008 until 2015, it must be concluded that SIAN was an anti-Islamic populist-right-wing organisation, where individuals such as Tumyr sometimes expressed radical positions or Ljones on the border to extreme. From the radicalization from 2015 and onwards, there developed a more extreme wing of SIAN which dragged the organization further towards far-right extremism.

4 The English Defence League.

4.1.1 From the UPL to the English Defence League.

Luton, the birthplace of the EDL, had an industrial presence in the town through a Vauxhall factory which was built in the early 1900s. After the Second World War the city had demolished the slums around the city and built up new council estates which came to be inhabited by workers at the factory. Luton saw two waves of immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s with the first being Afro-Caribbean's and the second, Pakistanis. The Vauxhall plant started cutting down on its employees in the 1980s and closed in 2002. The combination of a troubled economy, ethnic diversity led to several ethnical conflicts amongst the city's population from the 1980s until the origin of the EDL.³⁶⁵ The city had by the 2000s become a futile ground for both anti-Muslim violence, as well as Islamist groups.³⁶⁶

The English Defence League had its origin in a small group called the United Peoples of Luton (UPL). The UPL was established 13th of April 2009 by Paul Ray and Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (using the alias Tommy Robinson.³⁶⁷) as a protest group marching against the Islam4UK, an Islamist group.³⁶⁸ Paul Ray had earlier been an active blogger with the counter-jihad blog *Lionheart*, which was partly inspired by the U.S. blog *Jihad Watch*.³⁶⁹ Paul Ray had also established contact with the American counter-jihad blogger Pamela Geller, responsible for the blog *Atlas Shrugs*, who interviewed Paul Ray, January 2007.³⁷⁰ As mentioned earlier, Pamela Geller was a participant at the counter-jihad conference in Brussel in 2007. Geller's involvement with Paul Ray connects him to the wider counter-jihad movement, and through him also the EDL from its beginning. UPLs first march was shut down by the police since Paul Ray and Tommy Robinson had not applied for a permit for the demonstration.³⁷¹ UPL organized a new march the 24th of May in association with Casuals

³⁶⁵ Jackson, Paul and Matthew Feldman. *The EDL: Britain's 'New Far Right' social movement*. Northampton: The University of Northampton, 2011. P. 16

³⁶⁶ Jackson, Paul and Matthew Feldman. *The EDL*. P. 17

³⁶⁷ Hill, Matt Rowland. "Who is the real Tommy Robinson?" *The Telegraph*. 18.10.2013.

(Accessed: 13.12.2015) Link: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/10389954/Who-is-the-real-Tommy-Robinson.html>

³⁶⁸ Hans Brun, Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens. *A Neo-nationalist Network: The English Defence League and Europe's Counter-Jihad Movement*. Kings College, London: The Centre for Asymmetric Threat Studies (CATS), 2013. P.11.

³⁶⁹ Brun and Meleagrou-Hitchens *A Neo-nationalist Network*. P.9

³⁷⁰ Ibid. P.11

³⁷¹ Ibid.

United, a coalition of football hooligan firms.³⁷² The march ended in havoc as some of the protesters managed to get away from the main crowd and wreaked destruction on property in a mainly Muslim area of Luton. There were also reports on racially motivated violence targeted on South-Asians.³⁷³

Because of the arrests in the aftermath of the demonstration, several of the leading figures in UPL were jailed, this led to the formation of a new organization in association with Casuals United in the end of June 2009, the English Defence League.³⁷⁴ After its formation, the English Defence League quickly gained new supporters. From just a handful of people attending the first demonstrations, by the end of the year 2009, EDL had managed to arrange marches with more than 1000 people attending. The Birmingham protest the 8 of August 2009 has been argued to be an example of the internal battle between more traditional far-right movements and the 'new far-right' inside the movement. Even the date of the demonstration caused some disturbance as the date 8/8 has been commonly used by neo-Nazis as a code for 'Heil Hitler' due to H being the 8th letter in the Latin alphabet.³⁷⁵ The disturbances caused the withdrawal of Paul Ray and led to the rise of Tommy Robinson as the new leader of EDL.³⁷⁶

4.2 The English Defence League Website.

The early EDL website was founded between the foundation of the organization in the end of June and before their first web article published at the 10th of August 2009. The early website was well organized with the following sections available: Home, news, Future Demo's, Press Release, EDL Forum, Contact the EDL and Merchandise.³⁷⁷ This setup changed over the years, but the section which is used the most in this thesis, EDL News stayed the same. Most the articles were published at the EDL news section, which was similar to the SIAN 'internet newspaper'. When entering the website one would see the introduction statement:

Welcome to the English Defence League

The English Defence League (EDL) has been formed by English people who are tired of our government being blind & Powerless to the threat of muslim Extremist terror threats. We are just

³⁷² Garland, Jon og Treadwell, James. No surrender to the Taliban: football hooliganism, islamophobia and the rise of the English Defence League. *Papers from the British Criminology Conference 2010*, 2010, no.10, pages 19-35. P. 24.

³⁷³ Garland and Treadwell. *No surrender to the Taliban* P.23.

³⁷⁴ Brun and Meleagrou-Hitchens *A Neo-nationalist Network*. P.12

³⁷⁵ Jackson, Paul and Matthew Feldman. *The EDL*. P. 15

³⁷⁶ Ibid. P. 16

³⁷⁷ EDL. "Welcome to the English Defence League." EDL. Date: Unknown. (Archived: 11.08.2009.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20090811075149/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/>

normal English Citizens of mixed races who have had enough of threats of terror attacks from militant Islamists.³⁷⁸

This text was supposed to give an insight into the movement's non-racist and anti-extremist identity. The claim that the movement was non-violent, non-political, non-racist and only intent of stopping Islamic fundamentalism was a central tenet in EDLs identity from the movement's foundation.³⁷⁹ During EDLs history, the organization made several attempts to brand itself as a non-racist, non-Nazi organization. Thus, the EDL have created its own LGBT division, Sikh divisions as well as a Jewish division. The leader of the Jewish division, Roberta Moore later stepped down because of what she saw as Neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic elements in the organization.³⁸⁰ EDL continued to stress their multi-ethnic, non-Racist nature at their website. Some reports claimed that the existence of such divisions and the EDL trying to show itself as an inclusive organization was a part of a strategy to whitewash the organization.³⁸¹

Opposing radical Islam.

As demonstrated above the EDL claimed that they were only intent on fighting radical Islam or Islamic fundamentalism. In the remaining part of 2009 the EDL differed between Islam and radical Islam or Islamic fundamentalism. It was especially Anjem Choudry which was mentioned in the articles.³⁸² A well-known Islamist, Choudry was also the spokesperson for Islam4UK, the group which had protested at the homecoming parade of the British soldiers in Luton.³⁸³ Naturally, the EDL was strongly opposed to him staying in the country as demonstrated in an where they offered to "fund your [Anjem Choudry] move, and any other members of your group who are sick of Britain."³⁸⁴ The antagonism against Choudry was also seen in an EDL flyer which promoted a demonstration to be held in Nottingham the 5th of December 2009. On the flyer, there was a large picture of Anjem Choudry with a microphone

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Kassimeris, George and Leonie Jackson. *The ideology and the discourse of The English Defence League*. P. 4

³⁸⁰ Brun and Meleagrou-Hitchens *A Neo-nationalist Network*. P. 14-15

³⁸¹ Jackson, Paul and Matthew Feldman. *The EDL: Britain's 'New Far Right' social movement*. P. 20 and Brun and Meleagrou-Hitchens *A Neo-nationalist Network*. P. 14-15

³⁸² EDL. "English Defence League Protest in Manchester on the 10th October 2009." EDL. Date: Unknown. (Archived: 14.10.2009.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20091014233636/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/10-10-09-English-Defence-League-EDL-Demonstration-in-Manchester-10th-October.html>

³⁸³ Harrison, David. "Luton's Muslim extremists defy public anger." *The Telegraph*. 14.03.2009. (Accessed: 29.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/4991313/Lutons-Muslim-extremists-defy-public-anger.html>

³⁸⁴ EDL. "Open letter to Mr Choudary and Islam4UK." EDL. Updated: 01.04.2010. (Archived: 08.01.2010.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20100108000132/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/100103-Open-letter-to-Anjem-Choudary-islam4uk-.html>

preaching, in big letters cross over the picture it said “TRAITOR”, and below the picture “Peacefully protesting NOTTINGHAM city centre 5th December 2009” and “Say “NO!” to Sharia Law [:] Say “NO!” to Radical Islam [:] ALL RACES UNITE FOR ENGLAND”.³⁸⁵ In general, EDL showed little interest in the content of Islam itself contrary to SIAN. It is important to note that several researches have warned that the EDLs rhetoric was often more extreme on other websites than the main website, and that there is a possibility that the content at the EDL website is strategically moderate as noted above. Nonetheless, it is of interest that at the time, EDL was viewed as too moderate by Anders Gravers, leader of Stop Islamisation of Europe.³⁸⁶ However, this was to change over the course of the next year.

4.2.1 The incoherent view of Islam and Muslims.

After Tommy Robinson became the official leader of the EDL in the end of 2009. There had been an increase of situations where a more radical rhetoric been used against Muslims in the public, notably in March 2010 when the Sikh Division leader Guramat Singh held a speech ending with a severe anti-Muslim message.³⁸⁷ The change in rhetoric was also notable at the main website where some of articles became more interested in the content of Islam and the Koran leading to an incoherent view over whether there existed a moderate Islam or not. The EDL often had at best an ambiguous view of Islam in the same article, exemplified in this article published the 10th of March 2010:

As many of you already know, the EDL has growing gay support comprised of people who are, like the rest of us, proud of our culture and heritage, but also especially concerned about the particularly virulent hatred that the Islamists reserve for gays. Islamic preachers have been filmed here in Britain calling for the execution of homosexuals [...]³⁸⁸

While this could as well be just a mishap this type of mixed signals was typical for several of the EDL texts. Nonetheless, some was considerably more anti-Islamic than others, but they usually existed side by side.

³⁸⁵ EDL. “Peacefully protesting Nottingham,” Nottingham Promo Flyer. (Archived: 16.12.2009.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20091216044357/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/> The Flyer is available at the bottom of the page.

³⁸⁶ SIAN. “Intervju med landsformann i SIAD, Anders Gravers.” SIAN. 01.11.2009. (Accessed: 25.10.2016). Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/intervju-med-landsformann-i-siad-anders-gravers>

³⁸⁷ Brun and Meleagrou-Hitchens *A Neo-nationalist Network*. P. 55

³⁸⁸ EDL News. “RMT Refuses to Allow Gay Member to Protest Islamic Homophobia.” EDL. 10.03.2010. (Archived: 12.06.2010.) Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20100612203339/http://englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=138%3Armt-refuses-to-allow-gay-member-to-protest-islamic-homophobia-&Itemid=112

The 28th of February 2010, EDL published the manifesto *Who are the EDL? - Exposing the Myth*.³⁸⁹ The manifesto stressed that EDL was a racially and socially diverse social-movement, the EDL argued that “We have members that represent our culturally rich, “patriotic” and nation-loving populace. People who can see the threat of “Islamism” for what it is: a vile and virulent ideology based on 7th century barbarity, intolerance, hatred, subjugation and war.”³⁹⁰ The EDL further stressed their opposition to Islamists arguing that they must be stopped at all cost. The article further stresses the anti-racist nature of the EDL movement:

Again we must re-iterate that we do not have any problem with law-abiding, respectful, peaceful Muslims who integrate and contribute positively to society. Muslims who love and respect our country are welcome. The EDL was never set up to discriminate against all Muslims.³⁹¹

The importance in branding themselves as anti-Islamists rather than anti-Islamic was of central importance for the EDL in the years before Tommy Robinson left the organization and was the movements official face outwards. This was done to establish their ideological distance from the BNP but also to further their anti-racist identity.

The 15th of March 2010 there was added a new section at the EDL website, “About” containing the subsection “What is Sharia?”.

By clicking at the “What is Sharia?” subsection one would find the article *Sharia Law – In Plain English*, published the 15th of March. The purpose of the article was to explain why the EDL was campaigning against Sharia, as a “A movement to allow sharia to govern personal status law, a set of regulations that pertain to marriage, divorce, inheritance, and custody, is even expanding into the West.”³⁹² In the article the EDL showed different aspects of Sharia highlighting its problematic content regarding criminal law. Another central argument in the text was that the imitation of Mohammed’s life and actions was central to all Muslims, as Mohammed was the perfect human being and the closest to Allah. The EDL quoted several Hadiths with the intention of demonstrating the barbaric nature of aspects of the Islamic faith. One of the Hadith’s quoted, described Mohammed’s marriage to “Aisha when she was a girl of six years of age, and he consumed that marriage when she was nine years old.”³⁹³ The EDL

³⁸⁹ EDL. “Who are the EDL?- Exposing the myth.” EDL. 28.02.2010. (Archived: 25.03.2010.) Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20100325023721/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=124:who-are-the-edl-exposing-the-myth&catid=42:feature-stories&Itemid=129

³⁹⁰Ibid.

³⁹¹Ibid.

³⁹² EDL. “Sharia Law- In plain English”. EDL. 15.03.2010. EDL (Archived: 25.03.2010.) Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20100325023539/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=168&Itemid=134

³⁹³Ibid

attempted to demonstrate the relation between Islam and paedophilia and hyperlinked to the website Australian Islamist Monitor (AIM) to “[...] further explore this phenomenon [...]”.³⁹⁴

[...] Mohammad's example and sharia allow the 'marriage' of pre-pubescent children ie child sexual abuse. It is irrelevant whether child marriage was common during Mohammad's time or not – it was clearly horrific for little girls yet Mohammad thoroughly endorsed and practiced it instead of stopping it (note: he stopped adoption so he could marry his adopted sons 'ex'-wife –previously regarded as incest by Arabs!). Muslims regard Mohammad's life as an exemplary example to follow forever.³⁹⁵

The view that Islamic scripture opened for paedophilia was an argument that would be used later by the EDL, notably Pyrus, in the aftermath of the Rochdale Grooming's in 2012.³⁹⁶

However, in effect the EDLs argument of the centrality of the Hadiths implied that Muslims had a possible hidden nature, which made every single Muslim a liability. The EDL stated that the political purpose for publishing a critique against Sharia was to “cause a much needed “schism” in the Muslim community, from a literal 7th century fundamentalist ideology”.³⁹⁷ It seemed that the EDL saw itself as morally positioned to the proponents of such a schism. As with several other texts, it ended with a disclaimer:

Although The English Defence League knows that the points made are contentious, we are not calling for discrimination against all Muslims as many Muslims do not adhere to the justification of 7th century misogyny, child molestation, barbarity, murder and intolerance. We wish to make that point perfectly clear to all our members and the general public.³⁹⁸

The mixed rhetoric made it hard to state if the text was directed against Muslims in general or against a minority, whether intentional or not, the reader of the text was free to draw his/her own conclusions.

At the 16th of March 2010, the EDL added another subsection to “About” with the name “About Islam”.

In this section EDL had published the article *Islam Explained for those who do not read the Koran*.³⁹⁹ It was a translated article from a French Counter-jihad site, written by a person

³⁹⁴ Ibid

³⁹⁵ Australian Islamist Monitor (AIM). “Islam endangers the freedom, equality and rights of Kooris and all Australians: Child marriage”. AIM. 22.05.2007. (Accessed: 23.10.2016.) Link:

http://islammonitor.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=701&Itemid=94

³⁹⁶ Pyrus, EDL. “Grooming Gangs: The Islamic Connection.” EDL News. 17.05.2012. (Archived: 12.03.2013.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130312085556/http://englishdefenceleague.org/edl-news-2/388-grooming-gangs-the-islamic-connection?tmpl=component&print=1&layout=default&page=>

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Gandalf (Translated by the EDL). “Islam Explained for those who do not read the Koran”. EDL. 16.03.2010. (Archived: 25.03.2010.) Link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20100325023746/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=173&Itemid=133

using the pseudonym Gandalf.⁴⁰⁰ The EDL praised the article as an “excellent short guide designed to help people who are otherwise unfamiliar with Islam understand Muslim practices and priorities”.⁴⁰¹ An anti-Muslim sentiment was openly stated in the text, as Gandalf wrote that “A Muslim (“one who submits” in Arabic) is one who accepts and seeks to conform to the rules of Sharia and tries to imitate Muhammad. If you do not fall into this category, you are a “kafir”.”⁴⁰² A kafir was a non-Muslim whom Islam considered as “[...] destined to burn in hell”. Muslims was not only a danger through the consequence of the removal liberal rights, they were an existential threat posed by the very nature of the Koran:

Islam is thus a process working towards the elimination of the kuffar and the destruction of their societies in order to install a universal Islamic civilization. The ostensible complexity of Islam is simply due to the different interpretations as to how to achieve this goal, but they all involve the disappearance of the kuffar at some stage...without exception.⁴⁰³

The different Muslim interpretations of Islam differed only on how they planned to remove the non-Muslim believer and the infidel aspects of Western, or non-Western societies. Even polite friends who happen to be Muslims were a danger for the non-Muslim:

“But that cannot be the whole story,” you will object. “My Muslim friends and neighbors (sic) are perfectly respectable and pleasant!” Indeed, outside the context of Islam, they are human beings like anyone else, neither better nor worse. But this does not change the fact that when they act as Muslims, even in a courteous and friendly manner, they are participating in a system that is working toward your extermination and the destruction of your society. People are not the problem here; the source of the problem is the Islamic ideology that demands the extermination of kuffar like you.⁴⁰⁴

In other words, it was impossible to be a moderate Muslim. If compared with the former article on Sharia, Islam regulated most of the aspects of the Muslim life in addition to this articles emphasis on the important role of Muhammed the Muslim is ruled by is ruled by Islam and is no longer a free individual. The “About Islam” section was removed sometime between the 8th of May 2010 and the 12th of June 2010,⁴⁰⁵ suggesting that either there was discussion amongst the EDL or it was removed for strategic purposes as it was too extreme due to its anti-Islamic content.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ The about Islam section existed on the first archived version here, but was removed around a month later.

See: EDLs main website. (Archived: 08.05.2010.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20100508063934/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/index.php> and EDLs main

website. (Archived: 12.06.2010.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20100612192045/http://englishdefenceleague.org/index.php>.

In an article published the 5th of May 2010, *Heroes Persecuted By Zeroes*, the English Defence League argued against claims that the EDL were racist. EDL claimed that it was impossible to be racist towards something which was not a race. For the EDL Islam was not a race in a biological sense, therefore criticism of Islam cannot be racism in the way that it is generally understood by society.⁴⁰⁶ In the next section of the text, titled “*Islam is not a race it is an IDEOLOGY.*” EDL claimed:

Its an ideology that Muslims (not all thankfully) will read and interpret LITTERALLY, this is when problems occur because a culture of hate for its national host brings about serious social problems [...] Have people forgotten about the kind of people living amongst us and the evil mindset that drives them to strive against us using every stratagem of war?⁴⁰⁷

If Islam is an ideology and radical Islam is a closely related ideological cousin to fascism it is difficult to argue for the existence of a moderate version of Islam, as there is no moderate version of fascism. EDL continued comparing radical Islam with fascism “Appeasing Nazis didn’t work so it sure as hell wont work now, why should we tolerate intolerance when it breeds segregation, suppression and murderous intent? Quite frankly we shouldn’t, so we wont!”⁴⁰⁸ In EDLs worldview radical Islam can be compared to the ‘new’ Nazis. But, this time it is not an open world war, but rather a battle waged against an ideological enemy which is already on the inside, a fifth column. EDL are the heroes, the man on the street fighting the Islamic enemy which wished to subdue England to a totalitarian tyranny.

The EDL claim to only oppose radical Islam and Islamism was further problematic as there was often an underlying premise that there existed a large number of ‘tacit’ supporters of the Islamists. After the Islamist group Muslims Against Crusades had protested at the 15th of June 2010 against parade by British troops,⁴⁰⁹ the EDL released a furious article condemning the protest

You guessed right it was Islamist scumbags again! [...] We don't want your kind here, we don't want your archaic laws here either, we don't want any of your "tacit" supporters here either. We don't care if you were born here or if you emigrated here, we just say loud and proud..... YOU'RE NOT WELCOME HERE!⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁶ EDL News. “Heroes Persecuted by Zeroes”. EDL. 05.05.2010. (Archived: 09.05.2010.) Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20100509162206/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=204:heroes-persecuted-by-zeros&catid=42:feature-stories

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ BBC News. “Soldiers heckled during homecoming parade in Barking.” *BBC*. 05.05.2010. (Accessed: 02.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.bbc.com/news/10324027>

⁴¹⁰ EDL. “Islamists Abuse Our Brave Soldiers”. EDL News. 15.06.2010. (Archived: 19.06.2010.) Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20100619132848/http://englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=212:islamists-abuse-our-brave-soldiers&catid=42:feature-stories

The EDL did not state who the ‘tacit’ supports were, but in an article released two days later at The 17th of June 2010⁴¹¹ written by Tommy Robinson implied who the ‘tacit’ supporter was. Robinson wrote that a British Boxer was a part of the demonstration against the troops, and then continued to call another British Boxer, Amir Khan:

We ask Amir Khan if he is prepared to denounce and condemn unreservedly this disgusting Islamofascist. Amir being a proud British Muslim who carries our union flag into the ring should have no qualms doing so!⁴¹²

This quote summarizes much of the EDL logic which could be understood in the maxim all Muslims are extremists unless they take a pro-active stance against Islamic fundamentalism. The burden of proof was put upon the individual in being a Muslim. This view was later segmented in the EDL Mission Statement in 2011.

4.2.2 Totalitarianism and Cultural Marxism.

The 12th of September 2009 John Denham, member of the British Parliament, accused the EDL for being fascists after several violent incidents at earlier EDL demonstrations in Birmingham.⁴¹³ As the identity of the EDL was based on the movement being anti-fascist and anti-racist this statement provoked the EDL. Not long after the EDL replied on their website and accused John Denham of using Orwellian language. The EDL stated that on the contrary; they were opposing fascism as radical Islam was closely related to fascism.⁴¹⁴ The word “Orwellian” was most likely referring to ‘newspeak’, the official language of the totalitarian state Oceania in George Orwell’s dystopian masterpiece *1984*.⁴¹⁵ Newspeak was designed as a political language to reduce the capability of free thought, by stripping the language for words and giving words a new meaning.⁴¹⁶ Orwell’s ‘newspeak’ is in fact quite similar to William S. Lind’s description of political correctness:

⁴¹¹ Robinson, Tommy. “An Act Of Solidarity, Unshakeable Kinship, Massive Respect And Support For Our Troops.” EDL News. 17.06.2010. (Archived: 19.06.2010.) Link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20100619132910/http://englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=215:an-act-of-solidarity-unshakeable-kinship-massive-respect-and-support-for-our-troops&catid=42:feature-stories

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ BBC News. “Denham condemns right-wing groups”. *BBC*. Last updated: 12.09.2009. (Accessed: 18.10.2016.) Link: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/london/8251958.stm

⁴¹⁴ EDL. “A Message to John Denham MP”. EDL. Published between 12-17.09.2009. (Archived:22.09.2009.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20090922185227/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/message-to-john-denham-from-the-english-defence-league.html>

⁴¹⁵ Orwell, George. *1984*. London: Penguin Books, 2008.P. 312

⁴¹⁶ Ibid. P.312-313.

It is deadly serious. It seeks to alter virtually all the rules, formal and informal, that govern relations among people and institutions. It wants to change behavior, thought, even the words we use. To a significant extent, it already has. Whoever or whatever controls language also controls thought.⁴¹⁷

The EDL did not state that the British state was totalitarian as such but it often implied that there were totalitarian elements in the state or state organizations such as in *EDL members arrested for 'thought crimes'* published the 20th of February 2010, where the EDL accused state officials in Scotland and England for breaching the European human rights declaration. EDL repeated a phrase that would often be used by the organization “Indeed, Winston Churchill said that the next wave of fascists would call themselves 'anti-fascists'; today, to Britain's shame, Churchill was once again proven right.”⁴¹⁸ As with SIAN the idea that EDL was a champion of free speech was central tenet both in their opposition to Islam, or Islamic extremism.

The 27th of February 2010 the Labour Environment minister Jim Fitzpatrick claimed that the Islamists organization the Islamic Forum of Europe (IFE) had managed to infiltrate Labour and other political parties in the U.K.⁴¹⁹ this was a confirmation for the EDL of the dubious nature of Labour. In the article *Labour- In bed with Radical Islam* published the 1st of March 2010, argued that “if the above statement by Labour MP Jim Fitzpatrick is true then it would most definitely shine a different light on the leaders and operations of organisations such as Unite Against Fascism, not to mention the Labour party.” The EDL was now discussing who the infiltrators could be and came up with several Muslims which had acted suspiciously:

So, Shahid Malik is but one example of a possible IFE infiltrator, there are obviously others, maybe Lord Ahmed who has threatened to bring 10,000 Muslims to London on the 5th march to oppose Geert Wilders free and democratic right to show his film Fitna in the House of Lords. [...] Another suspect surely should also be Salma Yaqoob of the Respect Party. Another Muslim MP who originally initiated the smear campaign against us, fabricating the idea that we were affiliated to the British National Party.⁴²⁰

Further, the EDL the argued, most likely the UAF was infiltrated by the IFE as well as this would explain their anti-democratic behaviour towards the EDL, as they were “[...] being used as pawns in a bid to silence those who stand up for our hard earned freedoms.”⁴²¹ These

⁴¹⁷ Lind, William S. *A Short History of Cultural-Marxism*. Free Congress Foundation, 2004. P.5

⁴¹⁸ EDL. “EDL Members arrested for 'thought crimes'.” EDL News. 20.02.2010. (Archived: 09.03.2010.) Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20100309192441/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=113:edl-members-arrested-for-thought-crimes&catid=42:feature-stories&Itemid=56

⁴¹⁹ Gilligan, Andrew. “Islamic radicals 'infiltrate' the Labour Party.” *The Telegraph*. 27.02.2010. (Accessed: 25.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/labour/7333420/Islamic-radicals-infiltrate-the-Labour-Party.html>

⁴²⁰ Road Rage. “Labour - In Bed with Radical Islam.” EDL News. 01.03.2010. (Archived: 09.03.2010.) Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20100309192509/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=126:labour-in-bed-with-radical-islam&catid=42:feature-stories&Itemid=56

⁴²¹ Ibid

conspiratorial worldviews was rather normal in a lot of the EDL articles. In general, it can be differed towards the “small” conspiracies such as when the EDL later claimed that the Government or other agents was the financial supporter of former EDL member, now scapegoat, Paul Ray to bring down the EDL from within.⁴²² The hatred against the ruling Labour party was further demonstrated in several EDL articles and fuelled conspiracy theories.

While the EDL official statements did not claim that they lived in a totalitarian dystopia, articles submitted by EDL supporters at their website did. In the article, *Why England Needs The English Defence League* published the 3rd of April 2010,⁴²³ the author Child Harold argued that the British Government had broken the social contract with the people:

[...] especially in the last thirteen of New Labour 'rule', we have been 'governed', but some would say terrorised, by a cabal or political class; an entire political class that seems to have declared war on its own Electorate, not only in threatening the very existence of the aforesaid Kingdom, but in handing us over wholesale to a Marxist power without reference to the Sovereign People itself to whom it is supposed to answer.⁴²⁴

This was a severe statement, but Child Harold argued further that “... the British People have the duty and Right, under Magna Carta and the various Acts mentioned above to remove the Executive and hold it to account by all and every means possible.”⁴²⁵ The content of the text was highly revolutionary as it argued that a “slow coup- d'etat has been ongoing to undermine the three pillars of the British State, Monarchy, Parliament and Church.”⁴²⁶ Child Harold stated that he saw the EDL as a peaceful organization and argued that they were fulfilling the tradition established by the “tenets and understanding of our ancient Laws.”⁴²⁷ The reason for the EDLs trouble with the UAF and law enforcement was due to traps laid out by the state and the far-left. Harold warned that if the Labour government, especially the prime minister at the time Gordon Brown, did not change their ways “It will not be football 'firms' they face but something a lot nastier, as I have warned time and again.”⁴²⁸ While the revolutionary and conspiratorial content of this article may not be representative for the EDL in general, the idea

⁴²² Robinson, Tommy. “A Message From Tommy.” EDL News.17.08.2010. (Archived: 18.08.2010.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20100818194204/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/>

⁴²³ Child Harold. “Why England Needs The English Defence League.” EDL News. 03.04.2010. (Archived: 12.06.2010.) Link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20100612193508/http://englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=189:why-england-needs-the-english-defence-league&catid=42:feature-stories

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

that Marxists was partially controlling a large amount of the public space through the ideology of Cultural Marxism appeared several times at the EDL website.

The idea of the existence of Cultural Marxism had been with the EDL since the early years of the organization. It was first mentioned in the article *EDL in Newcastle. No commies, No violence* published the 31st of May 2010 in frustration after The Guardian had published an editorial about the EDL as far-right, which led the EDL to state that “The Guardian seems to be implying that any opponent of the bankrupt ideology of cultural Marxism is somehow a neo-fascist, and its comparison of the multiracial EDL with the National Front is, in my opinion, a smear of epic proportions and a total outrage.”⁴²⁹ The next year at the 30th of January 2011, the EDL was to publish the article *The Prophet and the Proletariat* which told the history of the alliance between Cultural Marxism and Islam. The theory put forward in the article was that the Marxists had lost faith in the working-class and therefore looked for a new avant-garde which could be the front soldiers of the revolution:

The result was what is sometimes called “Cultural Marxism”. This began to emerge in the 1960s. The far-Left decided that if the “proletariat” would not instigate a revolution for them, then other disenfranchised groups might. Women, ethnic and religious minorities, and gays all became the target of the New Left.⁴³⁰

As the Islamists were later found to be more aggressive against the West they took the new position as vanguards for the Cultural Marxists. The main proponent of this alliance was Chris Harman which in 1994 published an essay titled *The Prophet and the Proletariat*, which called for an alliance with the Islamists. EDL pointed out the same year as Harman published his article “the Left-wing think tank the Runnymede Trust recommended that the it [sic] set up a commission to consider Islamophobia.”⁴³¹ The article implied that Islamophobia was in fact a political tool used by the Cultural Marxists to advance their own goals. This article was republished by the influential Counter-Jihad blog *Vlad Tepes* which have been publishing

⁴²⁹ EDL. “EDL In Newcastle. No Commies, No Violence.” EDL News. 31.05.2010. (Archived: 06.06.2010.) Link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20100606175153/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=209:edl-in-newcastle-no-commies-no-violence&catid=42:feature-stories

⁴³⁰ EDL. “The Prophet and the Proletariat.” EDL News. 30.01.2011. (Archived: 12.02.2011.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20110212143746/http://englishdefenceleague.org/content.php?204-The-Prophet-and-the-Proletariat&s=d65f98d4fc52706a298b14e333e62dd9>

⁴³¹ Ibid

several of Fjordman's articles.⁴³² The popularity of the conspiracy theory of Cultural Marxism is further demonstrated as it was found in the EDL forums in January 2012.⁴³³

4.2.3 Dhimmitude.

In the article *EDL Members arrested for 'thought crimes'*, published the 20th of February 2010 and had a much more radicalized view on both the Police and the Government. The article is a response to the arrest of 20 members of the EDL defence league who had the intention of joining a Scottish Defence League protest in Edinburgh the 20th of February 2009. EDL writes that they were [...] arrested for "incitement to cause a breach of the peace".⁴³⁴ The EDL goes on to argue that "It is clear that today's Police actions were politically motivated and that the Police Force as a whole can no longer be politically neutral. They have chosen their side."⁴³⁵ EDL does not tell us what the 'other' side is but implies it in the following sentences:

No further confirmation is needed other than the statement of the Scottish 'Justice' Minister, Kenny MacAskill (SNP), when he said that the "fact that the SDL didn't make it out of Waverley Station is testament to good policing". This comes as no surprise as this is the man who, just last year ordered the release of the Lockerbie Bomber, Abdelbaset Ali Mohamed al Megrahi. The word "Dhimmi" springs to mind.⁴³⁶

The word Dhimmi, or Dhimmitude, is originally an Islamic concept but was given a new meaning by the author Bat Ye'or. In Bat Ye'or's view Dhimmitude is a description of the terrible conditions in which non-Muslims suffered in the Muslim dynasties.⁴³⁷ When the EDL accuses the Justice Minister for Dhimmitude they are implying that he is a sub-ordinate to his Muslim-masters. The word Dhimmitude was used in other articles over the next months to describe areas or political aspect where the EDL saw the Islamisation or Sharia law to have gone too far.⁴³⁸ If politicians, the police or city council was acting against the intentions of the

⁴³² EDL. "The Prophet and the Proletariat". *Vlad Tepes* (Blog). 06.02.2011. (Accessed: 19.09.2016.) Link: <http://vladtapesblog.com/2011/02/06/the-prophet-and-the-proletariat/>

⁴³³ Collier, Nicholas. "Ending the nightmare - Let's make Cultural Marxism history." EDL web forum. 06.01.2012. (Archived: 09.01.2012.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20120109033420/http://englishdefenceleague.org/forum/edl-chat/ending-the-nightmare-lets-make-cultural-marxism-history/>

⁴³⁴ EDL. "EDL Members arrested for 'thought crimes'." EDL News. 20.02.2010. (Archived: 09.03.2010.) Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20100309192441/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=113:edl-members-arrested-for-thought-crimes&catid=42:feature-stories&Itemid=56

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ Brun and Meleagrou-Hitchens *A Neo-nationalist Network*. P. 45.

⁴³⁸ EDL News. "Heroes Persecuted By Zeros." EDL. 05.05.2010. (Archived: 09.05.2010.) Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20100509162206/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=204:heroes-persecuted-by-zeros&catid=42:feature-stories and Robinson, Tommy. "An

EDL, they claimed that they were in fact ‘dhimmis’ and submitting to Muslim demands.⁴³⁹ This was used in the same way as SIAN would use the concept, as a derogatory term for those which they saw had submitted to the will of Islam.

Problems in the EDL and reorganization.

As stated in the introduction, Paul Ray had been one of the founders of the English Defence League together with Tommy Robinson but had fallen out with the leadership of the EDL including Robinson after the Birmingham demo. At the 17th of August 2010, it was claimed in an article by Robinson that Paul Ray had been working to take control over the organization, attempting to recruit several of the EDL supporters into his own group. To combat this takeover, there was proclaimed a new organization and a “Code of Conduct”. The change was not only done because of the actions of Paul Ray, but also because of pressure from the outside and the fast expanding numbers of supporters. In the new organizational model “all regional demos have to be sanctioned by regional organisers who will submit their plans to leadership”.⁴⁴⁰ However, this change in organization also led to more power being given to the regional organizers, which would give the EDL several internal problems later. There was also other accusations not only from Paul Ray, but also from within the organization as the leadership was accused of stealing money made from the sale of EDL merchandise.⁴⁴¹ From October until December/January the EDL website was down for reconstruction, and when it was back online the EDL published the first ‘Mission Statement’.

4.2.4 The EDL Mission statement.

The EDL published its mission statement at the 23rd of January 2011.⁴⁴²

Act Of Solidarity, Unshakeable Kinship, Massive Respect And Support For Our Troops.” EDL. 17.06.2010. (Archived: 17.06.2010.) Link:

https://web.archive.org/web/20100619132910/http://englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=215:an-act-of-solidarity-unshakeable-kinship-massive-respect-and-support-for-our-troops&catid=42:feature-stories

⁴³⁹ Pyrus, EDL News. “Betrayed by Birmingham Dhimmi Council.” EDL. 25.10.2011. (Archived: 30.10.2011.) Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20111030015805/http://englishdefenceleague.org/birmingham_betrayed

⁴⁴⁰ Robinson, Tommy. “A Message From Tommy.” EDL News. 17.08.2010. (Archived: 18.08.2010.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20100818194204/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/>

⁴⁴¹ Robinson, Tommy. “So EDL Leadership Are Taking Monies From Their Members Are They?” EDL News. 07.09.2010. (Archived: 09.09.2010.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20100909100402/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/>

⁴⁴² EDL. “EDL Mission Statement.” EDL. 23.01.2011. (Archived: 26.01.2011.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20110126210801/http://englishdefenceleague.org/content.php?176-Where-we-are-heading>

In the first sentence EDL describes itself as “a human rights organisation that was founded in the wake of the shocking actions of a small group of Muslim extremists who, at a homecoming parade in Luton, openly mocked the sacrifices of our service personnel without any fear of censure.”⁴⁴³ This formulation was a direct expression of the EDL self-image as the champions of freedom and liberty. In general, the Mission Statement was a moderate text which had left out most of the anti-Islamic content which had been posted at the EDL website in 2010. Nonetheless, the main theme of the text was that a reformation of Islam was needed, but balanced this by stating that Muslims was often the victims of radical Islam themselves. The main emphasis was of the text was that it was the Muslims responsibility to reform Islam and that EDL was a pressure movement which would see that it happened:

It is important that they [British Muslims] completely reject the views of those who believe that Islam should be taken in its ‘original’, 7th century form, because these interpretations are the antithesis of Western democracy. The onus should be on British Muslims to overcome the problems that blight their religion and achieve nothing short of an Islamic reformation.⁴⁴⁴

Sharia Courts and Halal food was evidences of the increasing influence that Sharia law has on the British society. EDL argued that resentment was growing in the British society which could create division. Therefore, EDL argues that the jurisdiction of the British courts must be upheld and “fair criticism of religions and political ideologies must be permitted”.⁴⁴⁵ The EDL viewed Sharia as an apartheid system and wrote that it will oppose Sharia wherever it exists and work to remove Sharia which is already in existence.⁴⁴⁶

As with SIAN, EDL stressed their role in public education to ensure that the masses gain a balanced view of Islam. EDL also understood itself as the bearer of the full truth. EDL wrtoe that they wanted all the facts considering Islam’s impact on society put on the table and avoid what they perceive as unnecessary demonization of both Islam and Islam critics.⁴⁴⁷

[...] Islam is not just a religious system, but a political and social ideology that seeks to dominate all non-believers and impose a harsh legal system that rejects democratic accountability and human rights. It runs counter to all that we hold dear within our British liberal democracy [...]⁴⁴⁸

This was a view that was similar to that of SIAN’s. Establishing Islam as a religion intertwined with a system which was the antithesis of democracy.

⁴⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

EDL stated that their stance towards integration was that of an assimilation policy. EDL did argue that they don't view culture as static but opposed what they saw as politician's actions to undermine and expose British culture to foreign influences. It was the responsibility of foreign cultures to integrate into the British culture. EDL stressed the fact that if the cultures of the migrants are incompatible with democracy or the laws of England, law enforcement should not abstain from enforcing the laws due to what EDL views as cultural sensitivity.⁴⁴⁹ Brun and Melengrou-Hitches have argued that the the EDL Mission statement was a clear example of a cultural nationalist text.⁴⁵⁰ Other themes in the mission statement was the EDL support for the troops, as well as stating that they where against racism.⁴⁵¹ In general, the mission statement must be considered as a moderate text where the EDL tried to balance their anti-Islamic tendency. This understanding was visible in the reception amongst the counter-jihad milieu as well.

The Missions Statements reception amongst the Counter-Jihad.

The Mission Statement (first edition) published at *Gates of Vienna* the 15th of January 2011 received positive comments. *Gates of Vienna* described it as a text that could act as a prototype for groups in other countries. In the commentary section below most of the comments have a positive character, although many users commented its moderate character. The main view at comment section was that the document was strategically written to escape from negative accusation from the political establishment. One of the commentators, Richard, writes that "...the person who wrote this has been studying other documents about freedom. It is going to be hard for the left to tear this document apart". When two commentators criticise EDL for being too vague, user Sulber Nick replies "...think tactics! EDL is playing this just right."⁴⁵² The second edition of the Mission Statement published on *Gates of Vienna* 24th of January 2011 received further criticism for not going far enough. Several of the commentators was critical of what they saw as a lack of an ethnic dimension in the statement exemplified by commentator Empedocles "There should be something stating that the point of the EDL is to protect for perpetuity the existence of the English ethnic group".⁴⁵³ While the comments from *Gates of Vienna* may not be representative for the whole Counter-Jihad scene they do

⁴⁴⁹ EDL. "EDL Mission Statement." EDL. 23.01.2011. (Archived: 26.01.2011.)

⁴⁵⁰ Brun and Meleagrou-Hitchens *A Neo-nationalist Network*. P. 35.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

⁴⁵² Bodissey, Baron. "EDL Mission Statement". *Gates of Vienna*. 15.01.2011. (Accessed: 09.10.2016.) Link: <http://gatesofvienna.blogspot.co.uk/2011/01/edl-mission-statement.html>

⁴⁵³ Bodissey, Baron. "EDL Mission Statement: The final version". *Gates of Vienna*. 24.01.2011 (Accessed: 09.10.2016.) Link: <http://gatesofvienna.blogspot.co.uk/2011/01/edl-mission-statement-final-version.html>

illuminate how it was received by individuals in the milieu. Namely that the Mission Statement was a moderate text published for tactical reasons.

4.2.5 EDL and Breivik.

At the 19th of July 2011, the EDL posted an article written by Fjordman which the EDL titled *The Noted Blogger Fjordman Discusses the English Defence League*. Fjordman praised the movement which he saw as the best news “to come out of the repressive and dysfunctional country known as modern Britain in years.”⁴⁵⁴ Three days later Anders Behring Breivik committed his terror attacks in Oslo and Utøya. The EDL released an article the day after the attack where they condemned the terror attack and stressed their stand against the far-right, however, as with SIAN, the EDL simultaneously stated that Islamic extremism was still a larger threat and had to be condemned on the same basis.⁴⁵⁵ As the English Defence League was mentioned in Breivik's manifesto and had published messages in support of the movement at his Facebook page the media was fast in stating that there was a link between Breivik and the EDL. Thus, the EDL published an official statement at the 24th of July 2011. In order to defend themselves from the allegations the EDL quoted parts of Breivik's tract where Breivik distanced himself from the EDL stating that they were naïve and where a democratic movement and had faith in the democratic system. While this this was true the EDL consciously left out phrases where Breivik expressed support for the EDL as an organization, in *addition* to condemning their approach and moderate stance against Islam.⁴⁵⁶

Nonetheless, the EDL did not voice any familiarity with Breivik ideology such as several of the members of SIAN even if they repeatedly addressed the threat of Islamism in the same article.⁴⁵⁷ Three days after the attack the EDL released a new article arguing that while the terror attack was committed by Breivik the threat from Islamist extremist was still a pressing problem and that “This nation is gradually losing its identity and appealing various forms of

⁴⁵⁴ Fjordman (Postet by 657). “The Noted Blogger Fjordman Discusses the English Defence League.” EDL News. 19.07.2011. (Archived: 21.07.2011.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110721053307/http://englishdefenceleague.org/the-noted-blogger-fjordman-discusses-the-english-defence-league-2/>

⁴⁵⁵ Aenas. EDL News. “Extremism strikes in Norway.” EDL News. 23.07.2011. (Archived: 24.11.2011.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20111124065623/http://englishdefenceleague.org/extremism-strikes-in-norway/>

⁴⁵⁶ Berwick, Anders. 2083: *A European Declaration of Independence*. P. 1436. Link: <https://info.publicintelligence.net/AndersBehringBreivikManifesto.pdf>

⁴⁵⁷ BigJay. “Official Statement – Anders Breivik.” EDL News. 24.07.2011. (Archived: 31.07.2011.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110731204051/http://englishdefenceleague.org/official-statement-anders-brievik/>

Islamic extremism – that’s all we seek to highlight.”⁴⁵⁸ It seems that EDL tried to establish a counter narrative in order to draw the attention back to the problems caused by Islamic extremism which had its similarities with the response of SIAN. At the 27th of July, the EDL claimed that in fact, it was the EDL which was “One of the best forms of protection that this country has against far-right extremism is the English Defence League.”⁴⁵⁹ The 22nd of July would go on to haunt the EDL for the next years. At the 12th of March 2012, the EDL published an article in response to accusations by the UAF that in fact Tommy Robinson represented the same ideology as Breivik. Due to EDLs continued conflict with the UAF it was not surprising that the EDL was angered by the accusation and repeated an earlier claim that UAF was the real fascists. In this article, however, the EDL did accept that there was some similarities between Breivik’s concerns and that of the EDL:

One man, one psychopath, sharing similar, but far from identical concerns to the EDL, committed an unspeakable act of terrorism. His ideology was his own, cobbled together from whatever he could find, and you will not find a single statement ever issued by the EDL that could even go close as to justify such an act.⁴⁶⁰

Still, the tone was different from that of Bjørg Irene Ljones as the EDL did not recognize anything in his ideology as valid.

4.2.6 The EDL and the Far-Right.

The EDL did not view themselves as belonging to the far-right or having any connections with the BNP. Especially the BNP was viewed as enemies from early on, such as in one of the first articles posted at their website after the Birmingham demonstration, the 10th of August 2009, where the EDL stated negatively that UAF “[...] Still believe we are a racist BNP front”.⁴⁶¹ Later in 2009 EDL described an episode at a London demonstration where a group of people had tried to instigate violence with several EDL members, taunting them with ‘Sig Heil’.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁸ EDL. “A Week of Extremism.” EDL News. 25.07.2011. (Archived: 23.12.2011.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20111223113836/http://englishdefenceleague.org/a-week-of-extremism/>

⁴⁵⁹ BigJay. “The English Defence League: the Leading Force Against Far Right Extremism in the UK.” EDL News. 27.07.2011. (Archived: 28.09.2011.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20110928030625/http://englishdefenceleague.org/tommy-robinson-on-bbc-newsnight-25-july-2011/>

⁴⁶⁰ EDL News. “Unite Against Fascism: Churchill’s ‘Fascists of the Future’.” EDL News. 12.03.2012.

(Archived: 15.03.2012.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20120315232308/http://englishdefenceleague.org/uaf>

⁴⁶¹ EDL. “Latest News 10/08/09.” EDL News. 10.08.09. (Archived: 12.08.2009.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20090812053838/http://englishdefenceleague.org/edl-news-080809.html>

⁴⁶² EDL. “English Defence League Protest in London on the 31st October 2009.” EDL. Published: Unknown. (Archived: 05.11.2009.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20091105015509/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/31-10-09-news-EDL-Demonstration-in-London.html>

The negative view on the far-right and neo-Nazis continued into 2010, when the EDL published the article *Bradford..... A Reflection* the 29th of August 2010.⁴⁶³ The article was a response to the media's coverage of an EDL demonstration in Bradford where there had been violence against the police perpetrated by what media at the time said was members of the BNP.⁴⁶⁴ The EDL blamed this violence on "Islamist and Communist filth"⁴⁶⁵ as well as the neo-Nazi combat 18. EDLs opposition to Nazism was further stated here with phrases such as: "The English Defence League has made its position very clear on more than one occasion about those who follow the same nationalist supremacist ideals of Adolf Hitler..... FUCK OFF!!!!"⁴⁶⁶ EDL continued, stating that a user by the name of AngloSaxonSavage had been promoting the EDL at the white nationalist web-forum Stormfront, whom EDL told to not show up at any demonstration again. The EDL connected the appearance of neo-nazis at the demonstration to former EDL member Paul Ray.⁴⁶⁷ EDLs opposition to the Nazis was explained in the beginning of the article, "Nazis are a relic of a time in history where REAL patriots fought against fascist megalomania and tyranny. It was a war we won because real British spirit can overcome anything no matter the cost."⁴⁶⁸ The EDL in the same way as SIAN in Norway viewed itself as the continuation or the rebirth of the heroes of the Second World War, with the same nostalgia ascribed to the period.

In an article published the September 19th of 2011,⁴⁶⁹ criticizing a nationalist demonstration which was to be held in October, The EDL news team elaborated the EDL view of nationalism. EDL saw themselves as nationalists, contrary to the far-right, which they argued "give the word 'nationalist' a bad name, and by confusing patriotism with their own particular

⁴⁶³ EDL. "Bradford..... A Reflection." EDL News. 29.08.2010. (Archived: 01.09.2010.) Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20100901103907/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=248:bradford-a-reflection&catid=42:feature-stories

⁴⁶⁴ Taylor, Matthew and Martin Wainwright. "English Defence League supporters attack police at Bradford rally." *The Guardian*. 28.08.2010. (Accessed: 27.09.2016.) Link: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2010/aug/28/english-defence-league-bradford-demonstrations>

⁴⁶⁵ EDL. "Bradford..... A Reflection." EDL News. 29.08.2010. (Archived: 01.09.2010.) Link: https://web.archive.org/web/20100901103907/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=248:bradford-a-reflection&catid=42:feature-stories

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ EDL News Team. "Suspicions Raised About Nationalist Demonstration on 8th October... And Neo-Nazi Named and Shamed." EDL News. 19.09.2011. (Archived:23.09.2011.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110923231559/http://englishdefenceleague.org/suspicions-raised-about-nationalist-demonstration-on-8th-october-and-neo-nazi-named-and-shamed/>

extremist politics – be it racial segregation, neo-Nazism, or white supremacism – they undermine our efforts.”⁴⁷⁰ For the EDL nationalism was “sense of pride in your country that leads people to act in its defence, by whatever means.”⁴⁷¹ On what signified the nation or England the EDL listed several things:

We’re proud of our rich cultural heritage, the innovations we gave the world, our language, our pubs, our national football team (most of the time) our armed forces, and the sacrifices that previous generations made in defence of everything that we hold dear. We’re proud that England is a place where people are afforded a great many rights and freedoms, and that it is not a place ruled by barbaric Sharia Law.⁴⁷²

The text also took a stand against forced deportation of ethnic minorities, which it called “unpleasant fantasies of white supremacists” as well arguing that even if EDL would, stopping immigration was unachievable.⁴⁷³

In 2012 the EDL warned against the appearance of several splinter groups over the years which they saw as being false patriots. These groups appeared to have the same goals as a “Real patriot would want a, safe and prosperous country that restores pride in nationalism, a means to counter the Islamist menace within our national borders and a means to fight those battles with a political fervour that is unwavering in its desire”.⁴⁷⁴ Most of the article attacked Britain First and the BNP as scam organizations wanting to swindle “real patriots”⁴⁷⁵, but, it defined some of the goals of the EDL which had not been stated explicitly before:

Anyone who enters the foray of racial politics cannot ever claim to be representative of the EDL, the EDL does not, and never will support or condone racially motivated politics, it’s a relic of an unfortunate past that clearly hinders the future. How can we be an inclusive movement restoring the true definition of patriotism while at the same time allowing bonehead idiots to hijack our cause? Of course there had to be a point where we would act, a point of no return if you like.⁴⁷⁶

While the true definition of patriotism is not defined, restore meant something of a patriotic era, or a united era. With EDLs glorifying of the Second World War in mind it possibly that at least the author of this article has a longing for a more unified England in a glorious past.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² Ibid.

⁴⁷³ EDL News Team. “Suspicious Raised About Nationalist Demonstration on 8th October... And Neo-Nazi Named and Shamed.” EDL News. 19.09.2011. (Archived:23.09.2011.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110923231559/http://englishdefenceleague.org/suspicious-raised-about-nationalist-demonstration-on-8th-october-and-neo-nazi-named-and-shamed/>

⁴⁷⁴ Real Patriotism. “Beware False Patriots.” EDL News. 08.12.2012. (Archived:10.12.2012.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20121210231952/http://englishdefenceleague.org/edl-news-2/1838-beware-false-patriots>

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

In one of the most intellectual articles published at the EDL website, Pyrus a regular contributor to the EDL News articles, tried to demonstrate where the EDL was in the political spectrum. Pyrus argued that the political left valued rights, while the political right strived for freedom, therefore EDL had been:

[...] conscious of our 'right wing' identity from the start. We didn't start out to be either a right or a left wing movement, but we soon discovered that it is our freedoms rather than our rights that are most in need of defence. In modern Britain everyone seems aware of their rights, and more seem to be invented every day. But freedom is being eroded.⁴⁷⁷

The emphasis of freedom is constituent in the EDL ideology; it must be understood as freedom from Islam. Pyrus argued that one should be as worried with far-left and far-right as with Islamic extremism.⁴⁷⁸ Pyrus had published similar articles earlier and must have been one of the more intellectual in the EDL. He was also far more inclined into openly stating that Islam was an ideology than several others of the authors at the EDL website.⁴⁷⁹

4.2.7 Lee Rigby Murder and Tommy Robinson leaving the EDL.

On May 22nd, 2013 Lee Rigby, a British soldier was murdered and attempted decapitated by two Islamists in broad daylight in Woolwich, London.⁴⁸⁰ As have been demonstrated, the EDLs had tremendous respect for the armed forces in Britain, and thus, the EDL reaction to the murder was hard. The same day the EDL released the article *Woolwich: We Are At War* written by Pyrus.⁴⁸¹ The EDL condemned what they saw as the politician's lack of action against Islamic Extremism. The article also shared what was typical for the EDL articles as it struggled with differentiating between Islamic extremism and Islam. Pyrus argued in a way of which was typical for the more anti-Islamic movements "In fact, Islam has been at war with its neighbours since its inception. The Qur'an itself tells us how Mohammed butchered those who stood in his way."⁴⁸² This line of thought is representative for the same view as found in

⁴⁷⁷ Pyrus. "Who are the far right and should we be worried about them?". EDL News. 30.03.2013. (Archived: 03.04.2013.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130403113012/http://englishdefenceleague.org/edl-news-2/1868-who-are-the-far-right-and-should-we-be-worried-about-them>

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Pyrus. "No Race War For Us, Thanks." EDL News. 03.05.2013. (Archived: 06.05.2013.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130506121551/http://englishdefenceleague.org/edl-news-2/1880-no-race-war-for-us-thanks>

⁴⁸⁰ BBC. "Woolwich attack: Lee Rigby named as victim." BBC. 23.05.2013. (Accessed: 01.11.2016.) Link: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-22644857>

⁴⁸¹ Pyrus. "Woolwich: We Are At War." EDL News. 22.05.2013. (Archived: 07.06.2013.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130607230631/http://englishdefenceleague.org/edl-news-2/1917-woolwich-we-are-at-war>

⁴⁸² Ibid,

SIAN. Pyrus described the war as a war in defense of English culture and freedoms in line with the Cultural nationalism of which the EDL adhered to.⁴⁸³ The impact of the Whoolwhich murder was not just limited to Pyrus. On May 30th, there was released another article by Simon North which argued in a similar way, stating that the murder on Lee Rigby was in fact sanctioned in the Koran. North as well had the usual EDL disclaimer, arguing at the same time that it was important not to condemn all Muslims. However, he did argue that there was a trouble within moderate Islam as well, as one would find the same attitude towards Mohammed. North also stressed the need to do something with the immigration to the country as it posed a danger.⁴⁸⁴

On October 8th, 2013, it was announced that Tommy Robinson and Kevin Karoll had left the English Defence League. Tommy Robinson stated that his leave was due to a worry over far-right extremism.⁴⁸⁵ After Tommy Robinson's departure from the EDL, the movement addressed what could be a cause of the problem of reoccurring figures from the far right in the organization:

We have no official "membership" as such, no hierarchy, simply committed individuals who carry out particular tasks. This has always been our greatest strength, but also our greatest weakness since anyone with small brain and a big mouth can claim to be an organiser or whatever other "official title" they care to adopt. Sooner or later, though, they reveal themselves for what they are and their subsequent ejection is as swift as it is irrevocable.⁴⁸⁶

It seems as the reorganization which was done in the autumn of 2010 opened for Splinter groups such as the North-West Infidels, or other Neo-Nazi affiliated individuals which was a constant irritation moment to the EDL.

4.2.8 The EDL becoming more radical, 2014-2016.

Under Tommy's leadership, although not being consistent, the EDL had for the most part managed to avoid attacking all of Islam and stating the difference between radical Islam and Islam, while at the same time stressing that Islamic extremism could not be detached from Islam. This continued in the months after Tommy Robinson's departure until January 2014 as

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁴ North, Simon. "Islam IS To Blame". EDL News. 30.05.2013. (Archived: 07.06.2013.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20130607230651/http://englishdefenceleague.org/edl-news-2/1929-islam-is-to-blame>

⁴⁸⁵ BBC. "EDL leader Tommy Robinson quits group." *BBC*. 08.10.2013. (Accessed: 27.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-24442953>

⁴⁸⁶ EDL. "No Room for Criminals." EDL News. 24.11.2013. (Archived: 01.12.2013.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20131201005031/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/no-room-for-criminals/>

seen in the article *Love Muhammad* published 10th of January 2014, which argued the usual statement that:

No-one is expecting British Muslims to spend every waking hour combating extremism, but there must be a willingness to admit that the sheer number of Islamic terrorist attacks that the world has witnessed in recent years suggests, at the very least, that Islamic extremism cannot be entirely disconnected from Islam itself.⁴⁸⁷

This was the usual rhetoric as demonstrated by Kassimeris and Jackson as a part of the EDL narrative that Islam is uniquely problematic.⁴⁸⁸ Nonetheless, the next months the EDL was to become more radical than ever.

Anti-immigration.

Because of the Wars in Syria, Afghanistan and Libya saw the largest number of refugees fleeing to Europe in search of a better life. The EDL had since its foundation been worried by the increasing number of Muslims in the country as they feared that they would overwhelm the British population. The wave of refugees was therefore not seen as positive, leading the EDL to become more radical in their view of immigration. At the 14th of February 2014, it was announced that Tim Ablitt stepped down as EDL leader due to bad health after a decision made by the EDL board Management Committee that it was in his own interest. The former regional organiser of the West Midlands and Head of Security, Steve ‘Edders’ Eddowes stood up as the new chairman of the EDL. The EDL also announced that they had made some changes to the Mission Statement, adding a point which had long been of their concern: “It was agreed by all present that Mass Immigration will be included in our Mission Statement as one of the central issues of our campaigns.”⁴⁸⁹ As highlighted, this concern for mass immigration was not new but this was the first time that the EDL had explicitly mentioned concerns for mass immigration at their website. The main reason was that for the EDL the refugees was not seen as such and was expressed in an article published at the end of the year at 19th of November which stated that “the unexpected movement of African and Asian Muslims into Europe – even into the culturally and climatically unfamiliar Scandinavia and north of England – is an expression of migration jihad.”⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁷ EDL News. “Love Mohammed.” EDL News. 10.01.2014. (Archived: 15.01.2014.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20140115093125/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/love-muhammad>

⁴⁸⁸ Kassimeris and Jackson. “Not racist, not violent, Just no Longer Silent”. P. 172

⁴⁸⁹ EDL News. “EDL announces new Chairman.” EDL News. 14.02.104. (Archived: 02.03.2014.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20140302103842/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/edl-announces-new-chairman>

⁴⁹⁰ News Team. “Luton – The Return”. EDL News. 19.11.2014. (Archived: 21.12.2014.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20141221050357/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/luton-the-return/>

The anti-Islamic turn – “Not Islamophobic but ‘Islamorecusant’”.

The month after, at the 21st of April 2014, the EDL published stated that “[...] Islam permits Muslims to lie and deceive the unbeliever if it benefits the cause of Islam. Mohammed that ‘perfect man,’ said: “War is deceit”.⁴⁹¹ This was clear belief of Taqyya. On the anniversary of the murder on Lee Rugby, the 22nd of May 2014, the EDL published an article with metaphors which spoke of “an evil amongst us.” While the article mostly addresses radical Islam, it is still clear that the article on sees Islamic extremism as when Islam shows its true colours:

We are often lulled into complacency when we cannot see this evil plainly in front of our eyes. Like the underwater volcano hidden beneath a thousand feet of opaque ocean, this evil hides behind the closed doors of mosques where hate is preached. It is concealed under a cloak of dark robes and veils and social exclusion. Like the Purloined Letter, its camouflage is that it hides in plain sight. It hides in our neighbourhoods and in our schools, entering right through the front gate in the form of a Trojan Horse.⁴⁹²

This time the notion of Islam was not a slip-of-the-mouth, only three days later the EDL published another article with the same agenda, *Islam: A doctrine spawned in Hell*, which spoke of the problem more openly:

Islam’s teachings are evil: non-muslims are lower than animal, homosexuals should be killed, women are less than men in mental capacity as well as legally, unbelievers are to be killed wherever they are found. Yes, Islam and it’s teachings are evil for they turn good men into monsters and bad men into mad men.⁴⁹³

The EDL had turned towards a much open anti-Islamic sentiment. The 1400-year bloody history of Islam was also going to be considered, where the emphasis was on the massacres of the Hindu Kush. The defence of Europe at the Siege of Vienna in 1683 was also considered an important moment.⁴⁹⁴ In short, history was reduced to the ‘existensial battle between Islam and civilization, reducing the religion to a monolithic whole.

The article *Islamophobic? No, Islamorecusant!!!* Epitomized this new anti-Islamic fervour as the EDL declared that “The time has come for us to put the record straight, to strike the Islamic colours as it were, run up our true colours and declare ourselves to be what we truly are. We are coming out declaring for all the world to know, we are here, we are the EDL and

⁴⁹¹ EDL News. “ABC Nightluine and media lies about Islam.” 21.04.16. (Archived: 28.0.2015.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20140528041821/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/abc-nightluine-and-media-lies-about-islam/>

⁴⁹² EDL News. “We are (STILL) at War.” EDL News. 22.05.2014. (Archived: 28.05.2014.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20140528024833/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/we-are-still-at-war/>

⁴⁹³ EDL News. “Islam: A doctrine spawned in Hell.” EDL News. 25.05.2014. (Archived: 28.05.2014.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20140528024813/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/pastor-james-mcconnell/>

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid

we are Islamorecusant.” Now the organization openly admitted that it was not just an Islamic extremism which they protested, but Islam.⁴⁹⁵ Now it was not the Islamists which were the extreme, but the few Muslims who were attempting to reform the religion were the representatives of radical Islam as Islam itself was extremists and it was radical to try to reform it.⁴⁹⁶

4.2.9 Towards a dystopian future.

Similarly, to how the influx of refugees radicalized EDLs stand of Migration, the rise of the Islamic State, or ISIL, in Syria must also have affected their worldview. In the summer of 2014, 1500 IS militants managed to conquer the second largest city of Iraq, Mosul.⁴⁹⁷ In many ways, the Islamist group was the manifested horror, or rather confirmation, of the EDLs view of Islam. It was also reported of the existence of many British citizens which had travelled to Syria to fight for the group. Combined with the already mentioned influx of refugees to Europe, this event led to the articles at the EDL website gaining a much more dystopic character.

At the July, 31st, a little under two months after the fall of Mosul, the EDL published the article *All over Europe the lights are going out*. The article warned that just as in August the 3rd of 1914, Europe was on the brink of war. This time the opponent was Islam and the war was fought with culture and ideas. The article that if the politicians did not act seriously the would likely be “the physical kind of warfare that our young men marched off to in 1914.”

The dystopian warning continued, claiming that:

All over Europe the light of civilisation is slowly being dimmed and will soon be extinguished unless our governments either wake up and act or the people of Europe throw off the shackles of communist-originated political correctness and throw Islam out of Europe. Muslims then will have to choose either traditional civilisational values, or to continue to follow Allah and Mohammed. The first choice will lead to peace, the other will lead to war.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁵ EDL News. “Islamophobic? No, Islamorecusant!!!” EDL News. 02.08.2014. (Archived: 05.08.2014.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20140805035623/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/islamophobic-no-islamorecusant/>

⁴⁹⁶ EDL News. “Why we need radical Islam.” EDL News. 26.08.2014. (Archived: 28.08.2014.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20140828020504/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/why-we-need-radical-islam/>

⁴⁹⁷ CBS/AP. “Iraqi City of Mosul fall to the Jihadis.” Last updated: 10.06.2014. (Accessed: 29.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/iraqi-city-of-mosul-falls-into-hands-of-isis-jihadists-after-police-army-abandon-posts/>

⁴⁹⁸ EDL News. “All over Europe lights are going out.” EDL News. 31.07.2014. (Archived: 05.08.2014.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20140805035817/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/all-over-europe-the-lights-are-going-out/>

The struggle was of an existential civilizational character, where either the government had to do something or the people would revolt against the communist originated political correctness, otherwise known as cultural Marxism. The Muslims was to be granted two possibilities, either to leave Islam or stay, which would lead to war. The same attitude of an inevitable confrontation was expressed in an article published in August:

Against all odds, we defeated the evils of Nazism in the Second World War. Now is the time to display the same honour and courage in resisting the murderous Islamic State. Let's show the world that we haven't lost our famous fighting spirit. The British Bulldog hasn't died, it has just been sleeping. Now is the time for it to wake up.⁴⁹⁹

This view of the battle against Islam as an existential struggle was further stressed in an article published at the November, 9th 2014, where it claimed that “The weapons of this war are not just bombs and bullets, they are mosques, immigration, indoctrination, sexual grooming of children, rape, censorship, political correctness ... if we lose this war, the next war will be fought with sticks and stones.”⁵⁰⁰

A shift towards the content of Islam.

In December 2014, there was a shift towards publishing of several shorter articles which emphasised sutras from the Koran.⁵⁰¹ This continued into 2015 where most of the sutras picked were chosen to highlight the relation between the Koran and the use of violence.⁵⁰² Others, such as an article published the 5th of March, 2015 stressed the resemblance between the Koran and Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*:

Mein Kampf: States:- Germans are the superior race and Germany is destined to rule the world and dominate other races and nations. Quran: States:- Islam and Muslims are superior. Islam is divinely mandated to rule the world and dominate other races and nations.⁵⁰³

The EDL was increasingly interested in attacking the content of the Koran, much in a similar way as SIAN had done at their website. Several of the sutra articles were linked directly to

⁴⁹⁹ EDL News. “Time to wake up.” EDL News. 23.08.2014. (Archived: 26.08.2014.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20140826235049/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/time-to-wake-up/>

⁵⁰⁰ EDL News. “Remembrance 1914-2014.” EDL News. 09.11.2014. (Archived: 29.11.2014.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20141129010938/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/remembrance-1914-2014/>

⁵⁰¹ Main page of EDL News. (Archived: 07.12.2014.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20141207075120/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/>

⁵⁰² Schuplher, Nadia. “Islam-The Quran and the ‘Lesser Jihad’.” EDL News. 07.01.2015. (Archived: 20.01.2015.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20150120083609/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/islam-the-quran-and-the-lesser-jihad/>

⁵⁰³ Islamic Research. “The Parallel of Islam and Nazism.” EDL: Uncategorized. 05.03.2015. (Archived: 16.03.2015. Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20150316034900/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/?p=58>

immigration, attempting to prove the correlation between these two.⁵⁰⁴ Other articles stressed the threat from IS and groups such as Boko Haram and their intention to conquer the West.⁵⁰⁵

The new ‘Islamorecasant’ stance against Islam continued in full strength throughout 2015. It was not unusual for EDL to write articles such as *Steps to Allah – Steps to Hell*, published 17th of April 2015,⁵⁰⁶ with pictures of a church burning and the text concluding that:

Mohammed, that most honourable man, according to Muslim sources, is, in history a torturer, rapist, assassin, murder, anti-Semite, full of hatred toward all non-Muslim, a misogynist, slave owner, and genocidal warlord. So the steps to Allah will lead followers to behave like their leader, Mohammed, like the London suicide bombers of 7 July 2005 and like the monsters of ISIS; The steps to Allah, therefore, lead people and society to hell.⁵⁰⁷

The new sentiment of the EDL tended more towards an anti-Muslim sentiment as the EDL rectified Islam into a negative religion which all who followed was destined to end up like the IS or suicide bombers.

In 2016 the EDL website had gained a completely new makeover compared with the earlier versions of the EDL website. The new website was split into the sections: HOME, Mission Statement, What is Islam?, EDL BlogTalkRadio, EDL gallery, Demo videos and Immigration. It was written on the main webpage the claim that had been there since the EDL's foundation, that the EDL was only “Peacefully protesting against Militant Islam”.⁵⁰⁸ However, at the What is Islam? Section it was written a much more radical statement in line with the development the past two years:

Islam is not a religion or a race! Islam is an authoritarian, political doctrine which imposes itself by force. Any political doctrine that calls to kill those who do not believe in it is NOT a religion. ISLAM IS NOT A RELIGION. IT IS A CULT WHICH GLORIFIES DEATH! [...] Islam is a political, social legal & military IDEOLOGY wrapped in a thin skin of religion. Calling islam a religion is (sic) like calling Nazism a religion. They both have elements of religious behaviour. But they are definitely NOT religions. We need to call islam what it is... AN EVIL IDEOLOGY!⁵⁰⁹

Further down the website there was also a picture of a text which described the concept of Taqiyya:

⁵⁰⁴ Islamic Research. “Muhammads own words.” EDL: Uncategorized. 09.09.2015. (Archived: 03.10.2015.)

Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20151003170038/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/?p=1524>

⁵⁰⁵ Gutteridge, Nick. “Boko Haram sends militants to ISIS in Libya as map shows horror plan for global domination.” EDL: Uncategorized. 26.08.2015. (Archived: 07.09.2015.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20150907215617/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/?p=1493>

⁵⁰⁶ EDL. “Steps to Allah – Steps to hell”. EDL News. 17.04.2015. (Archived: 12.09.2015.)

<https://web.archive.org/web/20150912072151/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/?p=671>

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁸ EDL. “EDL Homepage”. (Archived: 14.04.2016.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160421173739/http://englishdefenceleague.org/>

⁵⁰⁹ EDL. “What is Islam.” (Archived: 23.04.2016.) Link:

<https://web.archive.org/web/20160423061825/http://englishdefenceleague.org/what-is-islam>

Muslims are taught to deceive the kuffar (non-Muslim) about their true beliefs in order to defend the cause of Islam and Jihad. This deception is called taqiyya. Muslims will attempt to disassociate Islam from terrorist acts in order to win sympathy and public opinion, especially in countries where they are outnumbered by non-Muslims. They will say that such an act does not represent the “true Islam”, when in fact it does.⁵¹⁰

At the immigrant section the EDL wrote a common description of what an immigrant was before adding “watch this” where they had hyperlinked to two YouTube videos.⁵¹¹ The first video showed several montages of hordes of immigrants flooding into Europe, as well as violence being perpetrated on white Europeans. It is worth noting that Griffin, the leader of the BNP, is shown speaking in the clip where he claimed that the immigration is a conspiracy by “an unholy alliance of leftists, capitalists and Zionist supremacists”.⁵¹² The video message was quite clear, white Europeans are going to disappear if nothing is done.

4.2.10 Summary:

EDL started up as the United People of Luton as a response to the Islamist group Islam4UK protest a homecoming parade of British soldiers which had been stationed in Afghanistan. UPL held three demonstrations before forming the English Defence League as a coalition between football casuals and the UPL. In the beginning the EDL was plagued by the existence of several BNP and diverse neo-Nazi elements which culminated at a demonstration in Birmingham the 8th of August 2009. After this demonstration Tommy Robinson stepped forward as the new leader and attempted to mainstream the organizations ideology. A key trait for the EDL was the movements anti-racist identity. While there was an attempt to differ between Islam and Islamism, the movement struggled to keep the two concepts apart. While there were some articles at the website which discussed Sharia and the content of Islam, most of the articles was on demonstrations or defending the movement from allegations of racism or violence from the media or politicians.

In early 2010 some of the underlying anti-Islamic ideas that was dormant in the ideology of the movement surfaced, with two articles published which was on Sharia and Islam. The Islam article was of a highly anti-Islamic character, dismissing a moderate Islam as well as moderate Muslims. This article was removed some months after which may mean that there

⁵¹⁰ Ibid

⁵¹¹ EDL. “Immigration.” (Archived: 23.04.2016.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20160423062547/http://englishdefenceleague.org/immigration>

⁵¹² Unknown producer. (Video is from The Unfeigned Witness 2.0 Youtube Channel.) “Must See! Crazy European Immigration Crisis.” YouTube video. (Accessed: 29.10.2016.) Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S4K4okVa7dU> (My Transcript.)

were disagreements over its content, or that the EDL was afraid of bad publicity. Nonetheless, 2010 was a year of which Dhimmitude as well as cultural Marxism became a part of the EDL ideology. In the aftermath of July 22nd 2011, the EDL came into the media spotlight because of the alleged connection to Anders Behring Breivik. The EDL denied the allegations and any affiliation with Breivik's ideology, nonetheless admitting that they might share some of the same concerns.

EDL had since the beginning of the organization been accused of being neo-Nazi or racist. This was reflected at their website whereas EDL constantly tried to defend itself from the allegations. The attempt in 2010 to reorganize the movement and give more power to the division leaders opened for far-right individuals to grab control. Combined with a lack of formal membership resulted a free float of far-right individuals into the organization. In 2012 EDL warned against several splinter groups which had formed over the last years, especially against the neo-Nazi infidels. EDL was most concerned with branding them as false patriots rather than attacking their ideology. Because of the pressure from the far-right, and if we are to believe Tommy Robinson, Robinson left the EDL in October 2013 due to what he saw as far-right forces in the movement.

The EDL continued in the same track until Robinson replacement, Tim Ablitt was forced to step down from his position as the EDL leader. At the same time the EDL announced that mass-immigration would be included in their mission statement. This was a result the increasing awareness of refugees entering Europe. In the following months after Ablitt left the organization, the EDL would increasingly start attacking Islam, no longer differentiating between Islam and Islamism. Towards the end of 2015 there was a shift towards the content of Islam as well, with tens of articles being published using sutras from the Koran or the Hadith in or to show the link between immigration, what the EDL termed jihad by immigration, as well as paedophilia. This continued into 2016 at the EDL website whereas EDL openly stated that it was against Islam and that it was a totalitarian ideology.

5 Comparing SIAN and the EDL.

This chapter will attempt to compare the ideology of SIAN and the EDL. The chapter has been split into sections to clarify the discussion. It is important to stress that several of the sections are related, it will therefore be given a short summary of the debate in the last section.

Accountability.

The question of representability is of a major importance when discussing the ideological differences of the ideology of the two groups as represented on their websites. There are several problems which need to be addressed. The first is how the articles published on the websites can be said to represent the wider organizations. For the most part, the articles published at the FOMI website did not refer to any author and sometimes published translated articles from other organization's or individuals, although often with FOMI comments below, however it has been demonstrated that Jarle Synnevåg was responsible for much of the FOMI website. This is a factor which must be considered as it made the ideology more streamlined at the website. SIAN referred to the article author in most of their articles. The articles were often written by Arne Tumyr, who was leader for the organization from 2008-2014. There were although other recurring contributors who produced more than one article such as, but not limited to, Thomas Christensen, SIANs Nettredaksjon, Morten Schau, and Christen Krogvig. EDL on the other hand usually did not mention the author of the article except from statements from Tommy Robinson and a few other articles. Nevertheless, at the SIAN website it was often Arne Tumyr or a few other individuals who were contributors to the SIAN website something which possibly made the ideology more coherent.

As the 'new' FOMI and SIAN were member organizations which had established a formal membership and organizational statutes with democratic elections of leadership, the formal membership structure of FOMI and SIAN enabled them to attain a higher consensus and control over its members, as well as a more uniform attitude towards Islam. EDL was a social movement which had no formal membership structure and was one of the causes of several conflicts in the organization as it was easy for far-right movements and individuals to infiltrate the organization. As the EDL also was a considerably larger organization it is possible that this served as a cause for the broader span of ideas at the EDL website.

Nature of the organizations.

AMB to SIAN had a strong presence of several intellectuals amongst the leadership in the organizations. AMB leader Anne-Liv Gamlem had studied Arabic and Urdu and had lived several years in India and Pakistan. In the interview with Torkil brekke the 'old' FOMI spokesperson Løkling claimed that there were several intellectuals in the organization, including a former diplomat. The 'new' FOMI leader, Jarle Synnevåg had a background as an academic. Member of FOMI and later SIAN, Christen Krogvig had involved in the nationalist newspaper Nation og Kultur. The leader of SIAN from 2008 until 2014, Arne Tumyr was a former journalist as well the former leader of a division of a humanist organization. Tumyr had also published a book on religion. It is clear that the leadership of the SIAN and its predecessors was usually consisted of persons of an intellectual background.

While being a primarily working class organization the EDL hosted some pseudo-intellectual Counter-Jihadists, such as Paul Ray, involved in the organization from the start. Nonetheless, the identity of the EDL was as a working-class movement.

The difference in the orientation of the organization was visible in the content of the articles where the EDL was much more focused on the societal changes of Islam. FOMI and SIAN on the other hand had a much more concrete focus on the ideological war, reflecting the intellectual base of the movement. SIAN had some basis of activism through its public stands and smaller demonstrations. However, this activism for SIAN manifested in a more meta-political way as the main emphasis was on enlightening the public about the true nature of Islam by spreading information as well as arranging meetings for its members. While for the EDL it was mass demonstrations which were its modus operandi. These differences reflected on their websites as well.

The content at the EDL website in 2009 was mostly reactions towards accusations from the media, happenings at demonstrations or social issues. Compared with SIAN, the content of the EDL website was first and foremost a reaction to events, such as when such as when the EDL responded to Muslims against Crusades protesting against the troops or when John Denham called the group fascist. In many ways, the EDL News site operated as an alternative news provider for the readers and behaved as such, informing the EDL members with news articles concerned with issues that the organization cared about or defending the organization

from allegations. This was the same for SIAN but the articles were more interested in the ideological war against Islam.

Gradually into the year 2010 the EDL articles espoused a deeper interest into explaining the ideological background of the struggle exemplified with the official articles on Islam and Sharia, or exemplified by the article explaining the origin of Cultural Marxism. In the the the EDL's anti-Islamist period the ideological articles of the EDL usually focused on the manifestations of radical Islam. But it was not until 2014, that the EDL where to be fully interested in the nature of Islam, this shift was closely related to their new anti-Islamic position. It might be that over the years the EDL attracted more of the intellectual anti-Islamic individuals which were later seen in articles published at their website. One notable person was Pyrus which produced articles on themes such as political theory. The EDL website was also a communication channel for the EDL members, such as Child Harold, which posted articles with a deeper political concern. However, as stated, as the movement prime concern was demonstrations, social issues and to defend themselves against the accusations of the media this reflected at their website. SIAN used their website in a similar way of the EDL as an alternative news source for presenting their worldview to its own supporters.

Enemy images.

EDL was primarily anti-Islamist in the period from 2009-2013. However, as demonstrated on several instances the anti-Islamist ideology spilled over into an anti-Islamic ideology. Nevertheless, it was tried to differ between Islamic fundamentalism and Islam. In the EDL worldview Islam was first and foremost a religion with a social and political aspect. As the EDL did not have the same essentialist view on Islam in the same degree as SIAN there was an open window for at least admitting a theoretical possibility of an Islamic reformation, which was the EDLs main position of Islam. However, such a position made it hard for the EDL to differ between who were the Islamists and who were the radicals. As seen in the constant implication of tacit supporters. Moreover, the EDL saw it as the Muslims responsibility to actively take a stand against Islamic fundamentalism. All Muslims which did not do this could be regarded as a tacit supporter. This was reflected in the EDL Mission Statement as well. However, as have been demonstrated the conflicting views could manifest into an anti-Islamic stand. This was especially seen through the About Islam section which was added to the EDL website in 2010. This must serve as an implication that there were

conflicting views amongst the moderators for the EDL website. In addition, there was other article which addressed Islam as an ideology rather a religion which is close to the SIAN position on Islam. Of major importance for the EDL was that Sharia followed in the Shadows of Islam as expressed in the organizations mission statement.⁵¹³ Sharia was an anti-democratic form of government as well as a set of rules of which the EDL saw as anti-democratic and hostile to liberal values. While this may be true EDL's combination of Islam with Sharia meant that it was hard to separate those two. Therefore, EDL's position was in the borderlands between that of an anti-Islamic and an anti-islamist position for the most of Tommy Robinson's period.

SIANs position on Islam did not change considerably since it had first manifested itself in the 'new' FOMI. SIAN saw Islam as a totalitarian ideology which was a danger to the liberties of the West. For SIAN Islam was an ideology which ruled all aspects of a Muslims life. What also followed SIANs essentialist notion of Islam was that all Muslims was committed to wage Jihad against the West and that Islam acted as an organic object. The actions of a Muslim in another country could ultimately be transferred into Norway. For SIAN, the Muslim was under the control of Islam. And as Bangstad argued, the belief in Taqiyya made it hard to argue for the existence of moderate Muslims. FOMI referred to the concept as early as the autumn of 2002, and SIAN continued using the concept. EDL on the other hand did not express any clear belief in Taqiyya at their website until after Tommy Robinson had left the organization. In 2014 the EDL started expressing a firm belief in the concept, in hand with their newfound attention towards Islam.

The 'old' FOMI spokesperson and later FOMI leader, Løkling, demonstrated already as early as 2002 some of the key ideas of what Bangstad calls the core of the Eurabia genre, the fear of Muslim domination. Løkling was afraid of the creeping Islamisation of Norway of which she saw in several areas such as in politics and the school system. This was the dominant fear in both the 'new' FOMI and SIAN and the EDL. All three organizations saw the buildings of Mosques and Halal meat as evidence on the increasing Islamisation of society. The use of the term dhimmitude was expressed in SIAN as well as the EDL. The concept of Dhimmitude was often used towards politicians or media who worked against the movements, and others which they saw as submitting to the demands of Islam. Closely related to the concept of

⁵¹³ EDL. "EDL Mission Statement." EDL. 23.01.2011. (Archived: 26.01.2011.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110126210801/http://englishdefenceleague.org/content.php?176-Where-we-are-heading>

Dhimmitude is Bat Ye'or's Eurabia theory. The most open support for this conspiracy theory was to be found in SIAN. SIAN had recommended the book and clearly expressed the conspiracy in other articles as well.

In 2010 an official article published at the EDL news expressed a belief in a Cultural Marxist conspiracy between the political left and Islam.⁵¹⁴ Cultural Marxism was mostly used against the political left whom the EDL blamed for collaborating with Islamists. While the notion of a Cultural Marxism was not consistent enough to be considered as a part of the official EDL canon it still had a presence at the EDL website so the idea must have resonated amongst a broader part of the organization. In 2014 Cultural Marxism resurfaced, although under another name. While Cultural Marxism was used in some articles at the SIAN website it seems that it was rather the positions of individuals rather than as a representative for the whole organization. Cultural Marxism was the idea that there existed a totalitarian multiculturalist ideology. This view was expressed at the SIAN website in 2015 by Christen Krogvig. Again, it was most likely a position expressed by a single individual. However, Krogvig was a SIAN boardmember at the time which drags the movement's ideology towards the far-right. A similar idea was by expressed by the former mentioned EDL supporter, Child Harold, which argued that England had been sold out by the Labour government to Marxism and had effectively broken the social contract with the people. The 'new' FOMI was a breeding ground for conspiracy theories. From early on it was highlighted whether George W. Bush knew about the attack at the September 11, 200. From 2004 and onwards there was a higher frequency of big conspiracies which ranged from the existence of a psychological propaganda to a new world order conspiracy where the elite was using Islam to establish a dictatorship.

Cultural Nationalism.

For Both AMB, SIAN and the EDL can be said to express a form of cultural nationalism. AMB started as a protest against the intrusion of the call for prayer into the Norwegian political cultural sphere. When the organisation evolved into FOMI the attention developed into other platforms whereas they saw the need to combat the islamisation. When FOMI was

⁵¹⁴ EDL. "The Prophet and the Proletariat." EDL News. 30.01.2011. (Archived: 12.02.2011.)
Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110212143746/http://englishdefenceleague.org/content.php?204-The-Prophet-and-the-Proletariat&s=d65f98d4fc52706a298b14e333e62dd9>

reorganized, it became more internationally focused but there was still a great emphasis on keeping Norway clear of influence from Islam. This view followed into SIAN which regained a renewed national focus. In common for all three organizations was a refusal to accommodate for Islam or Muslims in any way. To defend this position, they create an image of Islam as non-integrational and an opposite of Norwegian culture. AMB, FOMI and SIAN forwards Norwegian culture as the only correct alternative to society. If something in their eyes is not fitting with Norwegian culture it is not only damaging to preserving the Norwegian way of life, it was also morally wrong for the individual.

A recurring aspect of both EDLs and SIANs ideology was their opposition to Nazism and totalitarianism. Both groups saw itself as a continuation of the same struggle against totalitarian forces as their forefather had fought under the Second World War. SIAN tended towards a more critical view of multiculturalism and there was therefore a tendency to view itself as a continuation of anti-immigrant organizations such as the FMI and Hvit Valgalliance. EDL on the other hand had a much more problematic relationship with the far-right from the group's foundation as seen with the Birmingham demonstration in 2009. The existence of far-right groups in the EDL was visible through the multiple schisms in the organization. If we are to believe Tommy Robinson, the gradual increase of far-right figures in the organization was one of the causes for him quitting the EDL. While the EDL took a stance towards the extreme far-right the organization had no problems with speaking of itself as true patriots and was openly supportive of nationalism. Both organizations were therefore also self-aware of their own adherence to nationalism and the defence of culture.

However, there are some differences to which form of cultural nationalism SIAN and the EDL espoused. SIAN was more specifically focused towards Islam and used the cultural nationalism as a tool to represent the ideal contrast to Islam. EDL on the other hand was directly formed as a cultural nationalist organization no matter the threat to the culture might be. For both organizations, the cultural nationalism was not only directed towards the enemy on the outside, Islam, but also on the enemy within. The cultural nationalism of which both groups adhered to was directed against politicians, the left wing and others which did not share their view. These enemies within was often seen as, or more, dangerous than the Muslims.

The Mission Statements.

A difference between the SIAN and EDL Mission Statement was that while SIAN claimed that Islam was a totalitarian ideology, EDL stated that Islam was a religion with ideological and social component which strove for the control of this position is the same as SIANs, that Islam is totalitarian. The similarities were many. Where SIAN stated that its ideological foundation was the U.N Human rights, the EDL declared itself as a Human Rights movement. Both organizations stressed that Sharia was against the democracy. While SIAN stated that it was against democracy and values in the whole world the EDL stated that Sharia was against the values of the British society. Both organizations argued for international co-operation and both organizations were to combat the spread of the spread of the islamisation through giving true information about Islam to the public. Both organizations also stressed their diversity and non-racist identity.⁵¹⁵ As Melengrou-Hitchens have demonstrated it is clearly visible that a large section of the EDL Mission Statement had a clear cultural nationalist character,⁵¹⁶ in addition to argue that they were the defenders of liberal right.

Populist? Radical? Extremist?

The anti-elitist fervour was clearly visible in the old FOMI. The movement argued that the politicians was accommodating for the de-Christianisation of Norway, something which the old FOMI was intent on stopping. The leader of the old FOMI, Anne-Liv Gamlem was a member of the Christian fundamentalist Christian Unity Party which demonstrated some of the radical positions which the old FOMI members inherited. However, as described in Brekke's interview with Løkling, there was no intention of tampering with the democracy. While their immigrant views were quite radical it was not enough to be considered a radical-right movement. The old FOMI is better described as a right-wing populist movement with a special focus on Islam. This was to change when the old FOMI reorganized into the new FOMI. The new FOMI took a more radical approach to Islam, and would soon espouse a clear negative the political mainstream. The influx of the types of Jarle Synnevåg into the organization had its effect, and the language and ideas spread at the website was far more

⁵¹⁵ EDL and SIANs Mission Statements: SIAN. "Vedtekter," SIAN. Published: Unknown. (Accessed: 06.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/vedtekter> : EDL. "EDL Mission Statement," EDL. 23.01.2011. (Archived: 26.01.2011.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110126210801/http://englishdefenceleague.org/content.php?176-Where-we-are-heading>

⁵¹⁶ Hans Brun, Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens. *A Neo-nationalist Network*. P. 34-35.

radical than what AMB or FOMI expressed. There was also a tendency towards conspiracy theories such as believing that George W. Bush knew about the attack on September 9th, 2001 beforehand, and later in 2004 articles which argued for the existence of a mass manipulation by the media, caused by unknown forces. This conspiratorial presence in the organization topped in 2006, where an FOMI article argued for the existence of a New World Order conspiracy. Similarly, there were held extreme views against politicians as well, exemplified by the article which argued that the whole political spectrum was traitors with the article ending with an implicit threat. Ideas such as this clearly push FOMI towards the extremist right. However, as Krovgig claimed in an interview, several of the FOMI were active politicians.

This leads to a conclusion that rather than being extremist, FOMI was a radical-right movement with extreme positions, or an extreme wing in the movement. When FOMI became SIAN the enemy view of Islam stayed the same but the rhetoric was changed. With the Breivik trial, some members of SIAN acknowledged a familiarity with the ideology of Breivik, such as Ljones. This demonstrates that there still existed an extreme wing inside the organization. Moreover, the debate over whether there existed moderate Muslims from 2012-2014 shows that there existed a moderate faction in SIAN as well. As Schau was elected vice-president of SIAN in 2012, there must have been a broader faction which were more moderate than Tumyr. Nonetheless, the leader of SIAN Arne Tumyr, often demonstrated a clear attitude towards the political spectrum. Besides, SIAN's hardcore stance on Islam was clearly not comprehensible with the values of a liberal democratic society. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that in SIAN there existed a right-wing populist faction in SIAN represented by Morten Schau as well as a more radical faction represented by Arne Tumyr. After the schism in SIAN, there developed another faction which tended towards the extreme right represented by Thorsen which was arguing for deportation of Muslims as well as Muslims being inbred over generations. Thorsen may be alone in his extremist position, however his role as an SIAN official must be said to drag the organization to the right.

Again, the EDL walked a similar path as SIAN, yet different. The anti-elitist character of the EDL articles, as well as an enemy view of the left and the political elite was visible. Sometimes this antagonism manifested in conspiracy theories such as the cultural Marxism conspiracies. However, as with SIAN, this can be viewed as more radical positions held by single individuals. On the other hand, the fact that the EDL published the prophet and the

proletariat article do show hints of a more radical side of the organization. Nonetheless, there was little in the EDL which stated that the organization was positively inclined towards extreme measures such as found in the new FOMI. It is reasonable to argue that the EDL in the period from 2009-2013 was a right-wing populist movement with some radical positions. As with SIAN, the Syrian refugee crisis and trouble within the organization was a factor which radicalized the organization. From 2014 onwards the EDL took an open anti-Islamic and anti-immigrant stance with beliefs in phenomena's such as jihad by migration. This is a factor which pushes the EDL towards the radical right. In addition, the EDL started arguing for hardcore anti-Islamic positions, speaking of civilizational war and that Muslims had to choose between Allah or Civilization.⁵¹⁷ Like SIAN, it can be concluded that EDL was radicalized, but for the EDL towards a more right-wing radical position.

Viewing the World through an anti-Islamic lens.

AMBs origin as a protest group against the WIM Mosques application for being allowed to have call for prayers. In a similar fashion, the EDL started out as the UPL as a protest towards Islam4UKs demonstration against a homecoming parade of British troops. It might be argued that both groups in was a reaction towards Islam. While the UPL clearly fits Eatwell's definition of cumulative extremism, the AMB does not as it was an extreme reaction towards an unextreme event. However, it can be argued that for Christian conservatives such as Anne-Liv Gamlem, the notion of an Islamic prayer call in the public sphere was understood as extreme.

When AMB became the 'old' FOMI the organization broadened their view towards other areas of where they saw Islam or Muslims gaining a foothold on in the place of Norwegian culture. The 'new' FOMI on the other hand was clearly anti-Islamic and in several instances bordered to racism. The 'new' FOMI had a more international outlook than that of the 'old' FOMI with separate sections on different countries. The influence from other countries was clearly visible as several of the articles were from foreign websites. As the 'new' FOMI developed an increasing extreme rhetoric in conjunction with the development of a European anti-Islamic network led to the reformation of FOMI into SIAN.

⁵¹⁷ EDL. "All over Europe the lights are going out." EDL News. 31.07.2014. (Archived: 05.08.2014.) Link: <https://web.archive.org/web/20140805035817/http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/all-over-europe-the-lights-are-going-out/>

SIAN continued espousing an anti-Islamic ideology, but had regained a more national orientation as well as an activist profile. From 2012-2013 SIAN was marked by a debate amongst the members of the organization whether there existed moderate Muslims or not. This debate ended with the moderates leaving the organization as they found it had become too extreme. This, in combination with the war in Syria as well as the rise of the Islamic state led to a radicalization of at least a part of the organizations ideology online. This shift in rhetoric is clearly demonstrated by comparing earlier statements from former vice-president of Morten Schau in 2013 which argued that “Vi kan ikke *forby* det å være muslim. Det er en gal og urealistisk tanke. Vi må kunne se at islam ikke *må* være politisk for *alle* mennesker.”⁵¹⁸ which was far from the almost open racism which Thorsen expressed in 2016 when discussing the cause of why the Muslims followed Muhammed which he concluded that one of the reasons was “den islamske innavlen, som påvirker den innavlede muslimens hjerne, og slik gjør ham disponert for å tiltales av det primitive budskapet i Muhammeds lære.”⁵¹⁹ While this may have been an extreme position held by an individual, Thorsen was a member of the SIAN board at the time which gives an inclination that he represents at least an extreme wing in SIAN.

The EDL had a different but in some ways, a similar trajectory. EDL had had a long history of trouble with the far-right, as well as trouble amongst the leadership of the organization. This trouble with far-right elements in the organization eventually led to Tommy Robinson exit from the organisation in 2013. The first half year after he had exited the English Defence League there was no major change in the ideology of the organization. However, in the beginning of 2014, Robinson’s replacement, Tim Ablitt was forced to leave the organization. In the same statement from the EDL which informed of his leave, it was also stated that the organization was to include mass immigration into their Mission Statement. After this the organization eventually became more radical as it took an anti-Islamic turn and became focused on the content on Islam rather than its extremist manifestations or public Islamic symbols.

While EDL’s concern of immigration had been there for long the new concern with mass immigration must be said to be a direct consequence of the waves of refugees that came into

⁵¹⁸ Schau, Morten. “Ikke all trosutøvelse bør kritiseres.” SIAN. 23.03.2013. (Accessed: 08.09.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/ikke-all-trosutovelse-bor-kritiseres>

⁵¹⁹ Thorsen, Lars. “Islams betydning for muslimers mentale helse Terrorrens årsaker.” SIAN. 31.07.2016. (Accessed 09.10.2016.) Link: <http://www.sian.no/artikkel/terrorens-arsaker>

Europe partly because of the Syrian Civil War, this trend was also visible in SIAN. Similar for both the EDL and SIAN was the fear of a Muslim takeover in Europe, as such, the refugees were not for them primarily seen as refugees but rather the front soldiers of an Islamic army. Both the SIAN and EDL ideology is radicalized by the events which are happening in the real world as they view it through the lenses of their ideology. This was also seen in the articles published at both the SIAN website and the EDL website whereas both organizations argued that the mass migration was a form of jihad and referred to sutras from the Koran of which they saw explained the events that was happening. In a way one might argue that this is exactly what the SIAN and EDL ideology is for, namely explaining large shifts in a globalized world. As the ideological positions of the EDL and SIAN were different at the time the radicalization also manifested differently.

6 Conclusion.

How did the ideology develop from Aksjonen Mot Bønnerop to Stopp Islamiseringen av Norge, and what was its key aspects?

AMB started out as a coalition between far-right nationalists and Christian fundamentalists reacting to the advances of Islam into public space which they understood as confronting the ethnic-religious hegemony of Norwegian Culture and Christianity. When AMB became the old FOMI it transformed from a single-issue movement to a more broader ideology concerned with Muslim immigration. The old FOMI blamed the politicians and other official employed that their political correctness and naivety was opening for Islam in Norway. A central concern was the fear that the Muslims population would take over for the ethnic Norwegian majority. The organization was also negative towards the large number of Muslims in the political party which they feared would only care for Muslim interest. However, a key part of the AMB and FOMI identity was the national agenda, or rather a lack of an international idea of a historical war between Islam and the rest of the World.

The terror attack at 9/11 led to an increase in interest in the organization of which FOMI managed to convert into the reorganization of the movement in the beginning of 2002. With the new leader Jarle Synnevåg led to the development of a website for the organization. The early FOMI website had a more international attitude than of the old FOMI ideology, and quite early introduced the concept of Taqqija/Taqqya. The early new FOMI website was also a pioneer in the spread of anti-Islamic ideology as seen in its various sections in different languages. However, the ideology at FOMI was also much more extreme as it argued that there did not exist such a thing as moderate Muslims. Conspiracy theories were also an integral part, ranging from the Eurabia conspiracies, and later New World order conspiracies. The ideology at the 'new' FOMI website was in the idea that there was a civilizational existential war between Islam and the West. The new FOMI also viewed politicians as traitors and on several occasions implicitly argued for the use of violence against these politicians. While the AMB and the 'old' FOMI is best described as ethnic-religious-nationalists the new FOMI inhabited a much more neo-nationalist inclined ideology. And while the old FOMI may be considered as radical far-right, the conspiracies, implications of violence against the political establishment and the call deportation of Muslims, extreme measures as using nuclear bombs against the middle-east and the at times biologically racist language places the new FOMI

from 2004 and onwards into the category far-right extremist. The wish to gain distance to the late 'new' FOMI rhetoric as well as the developing trans-national anti-Islamic movement Stop islamisation of Europe led to the change of website in 2007 and eventually the reorganization into SIAN in 2008. However, it was mostly the rhetoric which was new, as the view on the non-existence of the moderate Muslim, notions of Taqyya and conspiracy theories was still present. In SIAN, there was also a sporadic use of counter-jihad terms such as 'Cultural-Marxists' as well as a clear endorsement for Fjordman under the Breivik trials. SIAN had also gained an even larger influx of fundamentalist Christians was clearly seen in the discourse as demonstrated by Ole Jakob Michelsen. In the aftermath of the Breivik trial there was an attempt from an upcoming moderate faction in 2012 to moderate the ideology on the organizations view on Islam. This disagreement eventually led to a schism in the organization in 2014 with several of the moderates leaving the organization, of which they were dubbed the 'silkefraktionen' by the SIAN members. In combination with the refugee crisis in Syria and the rise of the Islamic state, the schism led to a radicalization of the organization which even trespassed that of the late 'new' FOMI in racism. In the period from 2008-2014 SIAN was in its core a representative for a culturenationalism which can be considered as belonging on the borders between far-right populism and far-right radicalism. From 2014-2016 however, the organization can be understood as belonging to the extreme right due to the overt racism and dehumanizing of the Muslims.

How did the ideology develop online at the English Defence League website, and what was its key aspects?

EDL had its origin in the movement UPL which was a reaction towards the Islamist group Islam4UK's protest at a homecoming parade for British troops. From the foundation of the EDL website a central claim for the movement was that they were only against Islamists. In the beginning of 2010 the EDL started espousing a highly conflictive view on Islam, often struggling with separating Islamism from Islam itself. The year 2010 also saw the influx of several articles which fronted ideas such as cultural Marxism and dhimmitude. Nonetheless, most the EDL articles usually reacted to events of which the organization were involved in or when the media had something negative to write about the movement. For the organization, allegations of being racist was conflicting with their self-depiction, which often led to fierce response such as when MP Denham was called Orwellian in 2009. While the EDL denied these accusations of belonging to the far-right several of the articles at the EDL website

expressed a positive view towards what the EDL saw as true nationalism. EDL was an anti-elitist organization with a clear populist identity, nevertheless there was some extreme viewpoints such as Child Harold when he stated that the state had broken the contract with the people, implying that the political system was illegal and had to be removed. It is clear that the EDL inhabited a fear of numbers which caused their anti-Islamic worldview. The reason for this fear of numbers was a fear of losing one's cultural identity placing the EDL as well amongst the cultural nationalists. However, the EDL was to become more radicalized over the years, the first spark seems to be the murder on Lee Rigby. The respect for the troops lay deep within the identity of the movement, and there were several articles written in response to the attack which espoused a much clearer anti-Islamic stance than usual. From the start the EDL had been plagued by individuals from the far-right entering their organization. Eventually, the EDL leaders Tommy Robinson and Kevin Carrol left the organization in 2013 as they argued the movement had become too extreme. In addition, there was a growing awareness over the multitude of refugees entering Europe. These two factors in addition to the murder of Lee Rigby by Islamists can be argued to be some of the main causes for the movements shift towards a more anti-Islamic position. In 2014 an increasing amount of the articles published at the EDL website attacked Islam and the content of the religion. There had also developed a stronger anti-immigration position which was clearly visible in the videos posted at their website in 2016.

Are there similarities in the ideological development of the two organisations? To what extent do they represent the same ideology?

There were several notable similarities between the ideologic development of the EDL and SIAN. Both organizations started out as a reaction towards an intrusion of an alien agent on their cultural territory. AMB reacted to the calls for prayer, while the UPL reacted to the islamists which was protesting the homecoming parade of british troops from Afghanistan. The difference being that AMB had a strong Christian and intellectual character while the UPL was primarily made up by individuals of an workingclass background. The largest difference between the organizations was in the period between 2009-2013. In this period the EDL tried to uphold a moderate stand, claiming to only be concerned with radical Islam. However, as have been demonstrated this was not always coherent. Nonetheless, the movement was viewed by other anti-Islamic contemporaries as moderate as demonstrated by Anders Gravers and AntiJihad. A major difference between SIAN and the EDL in this period

was that SIAN was much more inclined to go into frontal attacks on Islam. SIAN had a much more essentialist view than the EDL in that period. Both groups shared some concepts such as Dhimmitude and both movements were marked by the fear of numbers. On the other hand, SIAN was much more negatively inclined against multiculturalism. It can be concluded that in the period between 2009 to 2013 that while the core of the ideologies of both organizations which was the fear of numbers was the same, it was the expression which was different. SIAN was a much more anti-Islamic and anti-multicultural organization than of the EDL. However, both organizations had a similar development from 2013 and onwards. As has been stated in the comparison chapter both organizations experienced changes inside the organizations, EDL in 2013, and SIAN in 2014. In addition, was the crisis in Syria which played a part in radicalizing the worldviews of the two organizations. EDL was pushed further towards SIAN's anti-Islamic stance while SIAN was pushed towards an extremist position.

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