

BRIEFING PAPER NO.5 – SEPTEMBER 2011

Breivik, the conspiracy theory and the Oslo massacre

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In a closed court hearing on 25 July 2011, 32-year-old Anders Behring Breivik admitted killing seventy-seven people on 22 July in two successive attacks in and around the Norwegian capital – the first on government buildings in central Oslo, the second on the tiny island of Utøya, thirty-eight kilometres from Oslo. But he denied criminal responsibility, on the basis that the shooting spree on the Norwegian Labour Party summer youth camp, which claimed sixty-nine lives, was necessary to wipe out the next generation of Labour Party leaders in order to stop the further disintegration of Nordic culture from the mass immigration of Muslims, and kick start a revolution to halt the spread of Islam. Even before his court appearance, political analysts and anti-fascist monitors like *Searchlight* had been investigating Breivik's motives, sifting through numerous online postings and, crucially, analysing his 1,500-page manifesto written in English under the pseudonym Andrew Berwick.¹ The manifesto, entitled *2083. A European Declaration of Independence* and sent out to 1,003 counter-jihadist and far-right extremists across Europe ninety minutes before he embarked on his killing spree, is, by all accounts, part bomb-making manual, part diary and part political rant against his enemies who range from cultural Marxists and Muslims to liberals and journalists.

This Briefing Paper identifies the various elements in the Islamic conspiracy theory that Breivik drew on, its discursive frameworks, its key shapers and followers. Extreme-right politicians, counter-jihadists and other political commentators that Breivik cites in *2083. A European Declaration of Independence* have been anxious to distance themselves from his actions and establish that they do not support violence. They describe him as a loner, a violent psychopath, and a freakish aberration.

But, as this Briefing Paper demonstrates, the myths that Muslims, supported by liberals, cultural relativists and Marxists, are out to Islamicise Europe and that there is a conspiracy to impose multiculturalism on the continent and destroy western civilisation, are peddled each day on the internet, in extreme-right, counter-jihadist and neo-Nazi circles. In this Briefing Paper we also examine certain intellectual currents within neoconservatism and cultural conservatism. For while we readily admit that these intellectual currents do not support the notion of a deliberate conspiracy to Islamicise Europe, they are often used by conspiracy theorists to underline the righteousness of their beliefs and actions.

Even in the aftermath of the Oslo massacre and the deaths of so many youngsters, the extreme Right has not been circumspect. After a short pause, its members have returned to the old business of attacking 'left-wing elites' and 'Islam-huggers' whom they claim bear some responsibility for the deaths of the young Norwegian Left activists on Utøya. Utilising an old rhetorical trick and presenting themselves as victims of political correctness, they argue that it is their right, to criticise Islam and Muslims, which is now under threat.² Fox commentator, Glenn Beck, a darling of the US Tea Party movement, went further than most when he compared the Norwegian Labour Party Summer Camp at Utøya to a gathering of the German Nazi party's youth wing. For his part, Geert Wilders the leader of the Freedom Party in the Netherlands has accused the Left of launching a witch-hunt against him. 'I would say to ... the left in the Netherlands: it is not my words, but your silence about the dangers of Islam which has the negative influences' he said. (For more on Wilders and other extreme-right responses, see Appendix 1.)

SHAPERS AND FOLLOWERS

Breivik started out as a member of Norway's anti-immigrant Progress Party³ which today appears to have bethought itself, promising that its approach in future election campaigns would be more thoughtful. The Progress Party was seriously embarrassed by the publication of various videos and photographs, believed to be from around 2002, which show Breivik at parties with a number of individuals who are now senior politicians in the party.⁴ We know that Breivik soon became disillusioned with the Progress Party because it was not radical enough. He became a member of the Nazi web forum Nordisk (Nordic), which has more than 22,000 mainly Scandinavian members. In his manifesto he claimed to have adopted the philosophy of the Vienna School of Crusader Nationalism, praising the Stop the Islamisation movements of Europe and the United States and counter-jihadist websites such as Atlas Shrugs (run by Pamela Geller), Jihad Watch (run by Robert Spencer, whom Breivik cites sixty-four times), and the Gates of Vienna (whose operator describes himself as a Virginia consultant and goes under the pseudonym 'Baron Bodissey'). Breivik also claimed to be greatly inspired by the defence leagues springing up across Europe. He supported the Norwegian Defence League and seemed particularly keen on the English Defence League (EDL) - which was funded by Christian fundamentalist millionaire Alan Lake⁵ who, following the murders, wrote on his 4Freedoms website that Breivik 'did this attack to protest against the way that Islam is taking over large parts of Europe. By attacking the leftist politicians that are enabling this, the chickens have actually come home to roost'.⁶

As the *Guardian's* online religious editor Andrew Brown has pointed out, counter-jihadist websites promote a 'rolling cauldron of stories from all over the world to illustrate the treachery and violence of Muslims, and the criminal weakness of liberals'.⁷ They also provide ammunition for neo-Nazis and violent ultra-patriotic defence leagues (such as the EDL) which, in turn, run thousands of websites. (In Germany alone, far-right groups run some 1,000 websites and thirty-eight online radio stations.⁸) The views promoted by counter-jihadists and neo-Nazis are also nourished by movements such as Stop the Islamisation of Europe (SIOE) and America (SIOA, run by Pamela Geller and Robert Spencer) - which bears the motto 'Racism is the lowest form of human stupidity, but Islamophobia is the height

of common sense'. Breivik declared himself in favour of the Stop the Islamisation movements, and also mentioned in positive terms the True Finns (several of whose members were sent the manifesto by him), the British National Party, and, in Germany, the National Democratic Party, the Deutsche Volksunion and the Republikaner. (Tanguy Veys, an MP of Vlaams Belang was also sent a copy of the manifesto.) The leader of the Dutch Freedom Party, Geert Wilders, was cited in Breivik's manifesto on thirty occasions. He commented that Wilders was a possible ally, though Wilders would 'have to condemn us' [at the point of violence] 'which is fine. It is after all essential that they protect their reputational shields.'

Breivik's manifesto was signed AB Justiciar Knight Commander, cell 8 Knights Templar Europe. Throughout the document and in numerous online postings (where he used the pseudonym Sigurd Jorsalfar, a reference to the 12th century King of Norway) Breivik revealed his obsession with the Crusades, the supposed threat to Christian Europe posed by Muslim immigrants and mainstream political leaders, and the desire to see not only the deportation of all Muslims from Europe, but also from 'the West Bank and the Gaza Strip'. He described himself as a supporter of 'pro-Zionism/Israeli nationalism' and one of his key intellectual influences as Bat Ye'or, who first coined the term Eurabia and identified the threat of *Dhimmitude*, or Western subjection to Islam. Several neoconservative political commentators and think-tanks also draw, to varying degrees, on the notion of Eurabia as do the Christian Evangelical Pax Europa, which is behind many anti-mosque campaigns.⁹ One of its German founders, René Stadtke, has launched the Freedom Party in Berlin to contest the September 2011 elections and to provoke an 'uprising' by people across Europe against 'growing Islamic influence'.¹⁰

In a 2008 study of counter-jihadism for the Royal United Services Institute, Toby Archer described it as a spectrum:

'At one end are the most shrill voices, with their dystopian fantasies of mayhem and civil war enveloping Europe as the continent becomes incorporated into a new Caliphate. They resemble the writers of the American neo-fascist militia movement, forever waiting for the beginning of the race-war and the chance to fight the "New World Order." At the other end of the scale are mainstream writers and politicians whose views are

not dissimilar.”¹¹

Breivik's views, as outlined in his manifesto, resemble those of the American neo-fascist militia movement, only culture and religion replace race. He, too, predicted a European civil war in three stages, ending in 2083 with the execution of 'cultural Marxists' and the deportation of all Muslims. But whereas Breivik saw himself as a political soldier in a revolution against Muslims, multiculturalism and civilisational decline, most counter-jihadists, while sharing much of Breivik's discursive frameworks and vocabulary, stop short of advocating violence as a means of achieving their goals.

At the other end of the spectrum are political commentators who write from a neo-conservative or culturally conservative perspective. They do not directly support the idea that there is a deliberate conspiracy theory to Islamicise Europe and impose multiculturalism, and they certainly do not advocate violence. Rather they warn that through omission, through naivety, through an unwillingness to act, or even recognise the dangers ahead, Liberal elites leave Europe vulnerable to Islamisation. These include, in the UK, Conservative Education Minister Michael Gove (author of *Celsius 7/7*), Douglas Murray (Director of the Centre for Social Cohesion, Associate Director of the Henry Jackson Society and author of *Neoconservatism: Why we need it*), the Christian Zionist Baroness Caroline Cox (former education advisor to Margaret Thatcher), Melanie Phillips (columnist on the *Daily Mail*, formerly of the *Spectator*, and author of *Londonistan: How Britain has created a Terror State Within*); in Germany, the philosopher and cynic Henryk M. Broder (writer on *Der Spiegel*, *Die Welt* and author of *Hurrah We Capitulate: On the desire to cave in*). For such neoconservative writers, combating Islamisation is also part of their duty, as intellectuals, to combat the kind of civilisational decline, and the sapping of the European creative spirit, that the German writer and philosopher Oswald Spengler identified as the key threat to western civilisation in his 1918 text *The Decline of the West*.

These neoconservatives also share the counter-jihadists' and extreme Right's fascination with Israel as a muscular nation, uncorrupted by European decadence (ie cultural relativism and hatred of its colonial past) and thus best placed to defend civilisational values in the face of the Islamic onslaught. Indeed, the extreme Right, which is uniting today under the banner of the International Freedom Alliance, has issued the

Jerusalem Declaration¹² in support of more illegal settlements in the West Bank and greater commitment to Israel as 'the centre of the fight against Muslims', on the basis that 'if Jerusalem falls, Athens, Rome, Amsterdam and Nashville will fall'.¹³ An ardent defence of Israel is also very much part of the DNA of neoconservative commentators such as Douglas Murray, Baroness Cox, Melanie Phillips and Henryk M. Broder. 'There is no economic blockade' in Gaza declares Douglas Murray, adding that if 'Gaza is a prison camp it's the only one in the world with luxury shopping malls' and 'Olympic style swimming pools'.¹⁴ Melanie Phillips, on the other hand, sees nothing wrong with settlement-building in the West Bank on the grounds that the settlements 'are built on land to which [Israel] is legally and morally entitled'.¹⁵

So much for the shapers and followers. But what are the key aspects of the conspiracy theory that Breivik was drawn to?

THE COMPONENTS

Conquest through immigration

The first aspect of the 'theory' that Breivik drew upon is that Islam is a backward, war-like and criminal religion and that Muslims, through sheer force of numbers and back-door attempts to introduce Sharia, are bent on Islamising Europe. In such reasoning Islam the religion and political Islam are collapsed and the history of the crusades is served up as a horror story warning of the conquest to come. The most fanatical of those who fall for the conspiracy theory seriously believe that the circumstances today are exactly the same as during the Crusades, only then Christian Europe was under threat from war and occupation, whereas today the threat comes from the Muslim demographic and rising Muslim birth-rates. Thus, in a note to *2083. A Declaration of European Independence* Breivik explained that the significance of the date 2083 was that it would be four hundred years since the last siege of Vienna by the Turks. He then went on to quote Henryk M. Broder who wrote 'After the defeats of Poitiers (732) and Vienna (1683), the Europeans are now defeated with the weapons of demography'.¹⁶ Also in postings on the Norwegian internet site Dokument.no¹⁷ Breivik wrote: 'Show me a country where Muslims have lived at peace with non-Muslims without waging Jihad against the Kaffir (dhimmitude, systematic slaughter or demographic warfare)? Can you please give me ONE single example where Muslims have been successfully assimilated? How many

thousands of Europeans must die, how many hundreds of European women must be raped, millions robbed and bullied before you realise that multiculturalism and Islam cannot work?"¹⁸

The anti-mosque and anti-minaret campaigns that have mushroomed in the last five years in every European country often cite the threat posed by the Muslim demographic and the innate desire of an aggressive 'sect' to impose a criminal religion. Their argument goes that if all Muslims are political Islamists that are out to Islamicise Europe and introduce the kind of Sharia law practised in the tribal areas of Afghanistan, then all signs of visible Islam (mosques, minarets, veils) must be banned. For instance, the Swiss People's Party (SVP) deputy, Oskar Freysinger, secretary of the Stop the Minarets movement in Switzerland, describes minarets as a 'symbol of political and aggressive Islam ... a symbol of Islamic law'. And extreme-right election propaganda across much of the European continent over the last year has replicated the SVP poster in favour of a ban on minarets, which depicted a woman wearing a burqa against a background of a Swiss flag upon which several minarets resembling missiles were depicted.

By linking any sign of visible Islam to a homogenous and repressive force that is said to be global Islam, the extreme Right portrays Islam as a political and criminal ideology that, in the name of security, must be cordoned off from the body politic. Geert Wilders and his supporters argue that there is an Islamic essence, at odds with modernity, at the heart of which lies the Qur'an. As all Muslims believe that the Qur'an is the literal word of God, and will not accept that the Qur'an is open to human interpretation in order to apply it in different times and places, all Muslims are fundamentalists. The only good Muslim is an ex-Muslim, according to this way of thinking.¹⁹

The idea that the Islamic religion immediately transmogrifies into something criminal and dangerous to a country runs right across the spectrum. Hence, Silvio Berlusconi's centre-right candidate in the recent Milan mayoral election opposed the creation of a mosque in central Milan on the grounds that it would 'create a centre of attraction for Islamic groups from all over Italy who would then become uncontrollable'. (See Appendix 2) And British neoconservative Douglas Murray of the Centre for Social Cohesion, speaking at a debate in Athens (sponsored by the British Council and Intelligence Squared) on whether the creation of an offi-

cial mosque would be a good thing, argued against the motion on the grounds that the history of Muslim migration to the UK had meant that all the bad things associated with Islam had landed on the doorstep of London.²⁰ (Incidentally, there is no central mosque in Athens, and the Muslim community, forced to pray in makeshift prayer rooms, has been subjected to repeated arson attacks by neo-Nazi sympathisers.)

But those who see an Islamic conspiracy sew up the issue so that Muslims can never win. They suggest that Muslims, who do not signal their Muslimness, eg wear religious clothing, are merely *posing* as modern, progressive and westernised. They are in fact camouflaged, and this makes them the more dangerous. (Interestingly, Jean-Marie Le Pen made much the same point when refusing to support hijab bans on the ground of easier identification of Muslims.) It falls to the intelligentsia and 'brave' investigative journalists to expose such Muslims before naive liberals give them a platform to deceive and subvert through the subtle introduction of Islamist and fundamentalist messages. The accusation repeated time and time again by anti-mosque campaigners is of 'hidden intentions' or 'double speak'. Hence Valentin Kusák of the AntiMesita (anti-mosque) movement in the Czech Republic region of Hradec Králové states that 'Muslims are lying to us about their intentions after all, that is what the Koran orders them to do in relationships with "infidels"'.²¹ (Another classic text in this genre is Catherine Fourest and Denis MacShane's *Brother Tariq : the doublespeak of Tariq Ramadan*.) It should be noted that the idea of being in camouflage was a key aspect of the Jewish conspiracy theory. Minister of Propaganda for the Nazis, Goebbels' notorious propaganda film 'The Eternal Jew' made similar arguments, insinuating that Jews had the uncanny ability to change their appearance so as to blend in.

Comparing the Qur'an to 'Mein Kampf'

Implicit in the criminalising of the religion is the essentialising of Islam. It is depicted as the same across time, backward and barbaric since the time of the Prophet, unable and unwilling to adapt to different historical and cultural settings. Such an argument is patently false. One needs only to look around the world to see that the Islam practised in say Malaysia is culturally different to that practised in Afghanistan, and that in Europe, young Muslims, particularly young Muslim feminists, are developing their own specific mix of clothing and music

and interpreting Islam in different ways. But Islamophobes are ahistorical. The concrete and the real are discarded in favour of huge sweeping statements and assaults on fundamentalists (there is no allowance for any other Islamic interpretation) who aim to introduce Taliban-style Islam to Europe. It is thus inevitable that Islamophobes will seek to ban not just mosques and minarets, but the Qur'an itself.

For people like Geert Wilders this work contains the same totalitarian power and hateful message as *Mein Kampf*. Indeed, it is Geert Wilders more than anyone else who has pieced together the various parts of the Islamophobic jigsaw into one simply and easily understandable anti-Muslim message. This was evidenced in the 17-minute film *Fitna*, made in 2008 and widely showed via the Internet. (It was shown in 2009 at the House of Lords at a meeting hosted by Baroness Caroline Cox and Lord Pearson of Rannoch, chair of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP).) In much the same way as 'The Eternal Jew' sent subliminal messages to Germans about the threat posed by Jews through the juxtaposition of images, *Fitna* juxtaposes images of September 11, and other terrorist acts with verses from the Qur'an in order to get across Wilders' message that it is no different from *Mein Kampf*.

Neo-Nazis and members of groups like the EDL translate such a message into simplistic acts of vandalism and hate against mosques. In Styria, Austria, for instance, graffiti, thirty metres long and one metre high was painted on the outside wall of the Mariazell Basilica in Volkingen, that the 'Koran is the bible of the devil' and 'the devil appears on the horizon'. But Wilders' message also has purchase with neoconservative commentators for whom he is a brave iconic figure around whom lovers of freedom should rally. In calling for such solidarity they (advertently or inadvertently) play up to a Muslim conspiracy theory. Even though they *do not* imply that there is a European-wide plot by politicians, judges and the media - all of whom are in cahoots with Muslims - to censor and condemn all those, including Wilders, who criticise Islam, they do imply that Liberal Elites, through their weakness and misguided liberalism, aid Islamisation, through upholding incitement or hate crime laws, for instance. So that when Wilders appeared in an Amsterdam court room on charges of incitement to hatred, Douglas Murray wrote an urgent SOS to *Daily Telegraph* readers, warning them that 'The trial has unparalleled significance for the future of Europe', for 'it

is not just about whether our culture will survive, but whether we are even allowed to state the fact that it is being threatened.'²² And the University of Leiden doctoral student and current darling of Conservative forums, Thierry Baudet, wrote in the *Trouw* newspaper that there had been years of intolerance of any criticism of Islam, with sworn opponents of Islam condemned for expressing their views. He concluded by asking the rhetorical question as to whether Wilders was now Europe's Voltaire.²³

Calling the Prophet a paedophile and Muslims child-abusers

Then there comes the abuse of the Prophet himself and therefore of all his followers. The Prophet Mohammed took a 9-year-old wife; therefore, the Prophet was a paedophile. As the Prophet was a paedophile and all Muslims follow the Prophet, all Muslims are paedophiles.

In the UK, the British National Party (BNP) and the EDL make much of the Muslim paedophile theme. A BNP petition is entitled 'Take Action Against Muslim Grooming - NOW' while the EDL states on its website that most child sex offenders are Muslim because Muslim men take their inspiration from the Prophet Mohammed who was a serial murderer, torturer and rapist. 'The UK has a significant problem with Muslim paedophiles who prey upon English girls and contemptuously abuse them', the EDL states, adding that this 'stems directly from the example of their violent paedophile prophet Mohammed'. In an interview with a Lancashire EDL member posted on Youtube, a barely coherent supporter warns that 'Islamic rape camps' are being established across Lancashire, once again echoing Breivik's injunction, 'how many hundreds of thousands of European women must be raped ... before you realise that multiculturalism and Islam cannot work?'

It's not so easy now, following Breivik's actions, to dismiss such views as simply ignorant and harmless. But nor is it readily acknowledged that they are part of a long history of the racialisation of crimes against women and children and the demonisation of specific ethnic groups deemed responsible for sexual promiscuity. 'The Eternal Jew', for instance, associated Jews with the pornography industry and included a clip from Fritz Lang's 1931 film 'M' in which the Jewish actor László Löwenstein (better known by his stage name Peter Lorre) played a child murderer in Berlin. And today such

views are in danger of travelling from the far Right to the mainstream, thanks to intervention by the extreme Right and those conservatives, liberals and dogmatic secularists, who believe that an absolute right to free speech frees them to mock and abuse Muslims without fear of prosecution.²⁴ Murray's *Telegraph* columns and his numerous public speeches are peppered with references to the stupidity of his opponents. Ridiculing an advertising campaign on a Muslim website aimed at promoting the message that Islam is a peaceful religion, Murray tells *Telegraph* readers that 'The site is well worth a visit. Its "Who was Muhammad?" section is particularly delicious. There are sections on Mohammed "the orphan", Mohammed "the shepherd" and Mohammed "the husband". There are, sadly, no sections on Mohammed "the war criminal" or Mohammed "the close friend of a little girl".²⁵ So here we are again, back once more, albeit more discreetly, to the Prophet as paedophile.

But Douglas Murray is only one of many radical European conservatives and other freedom of speech absolutists who believe that 'Muslims of Europe have let down Europe'. The way to rectify this is for every Muslim to accept that 'you have no right in this society not to be offended ... you have no right to have more ... hate crime laws, or hate speech laws just to defend Islam' because 'a society in which even your deepest feelings can be trodden upon is the only society worth living in'.²⁶ Geert Wilders led the way in testing the incitement laws and, through evading conviction, successfully established his right to say exactly what he wanted. Following his acquittal in July 2011 on charges of inciting hatred and discrimination he told the press that it was sometimes necessary to be coarse and denigrating in public debate.²⁷ Another right winger to court prosecution was Elisabeth Sabaditsch-Wolff, an Austrian lecturer and member of Pax Europa who was fined for inciting hatred and 'vilification of religious theories' after comments she made in 2009 in Vienna in a meeting hosted by the extreme-right Freedom Party.²⁸ Here she described the Qur'an as 'evil', and implied the Prophet was a paedophile. The next to court prosecution was Lars Hedegaard author of *Muhammed's Girls: violence, murder and rape in the house of Islam*, Chairman of the Danish Free Press Society and a board member of the International Free Press Society. (Other board members include Geert Wilders, Eurabiast Bat Ye'or and counter-jihadist Robert Spencer.) In a December 2009 interview, Hedegaard, then a member of the Danish People's

Party,²⁹ commented that Muslims 'rape their own children. It is heard of all the time. Girls in Muslim families are raped by their uncles, their cousins or their fathers.' He also stated that 'Whenever it is prudent for a Muslim to hide his true intentions by lying or making a false oath in his own or in Islam's service, then it is OK to do it'.³⁰ Another Danish People's Party politician Jesper Langballe leapt to Hedegaard's defence and was also prosecuted (and fined, after the lifting of his parliamentary immunity) for saying that 'Muslims kill their daughters over crimes of honour and then turn a blind eye while they are raped by their uncles'.³¹

In fact, the sexual slurs go back much further than these recent outbursts, and subsequent prosecutions. It was Hirsi Ali who first stated in 2003 that the Prophet by today's standards was a 'perverse tyrant' and a 'paedophile' a claim she repeated in her book *Infidel* in which she declared that 'If the Prophet Muhammad went to bed with a nine-year-old, then according to Dutch law he is a paedophile.' And in the short film *Submission* which she co-authored with Theo van Gogh, four short scenes on the plight of Muslim women are depicted - the last of which shows a woman raped and impregnated by her uncle but unable to denounce him for that would be to question his honour. Hirsi Ali set the lead for the subsequent discourse adopted by extreme rightwingers across Europe. For instance, in 2008, Susanne Winter, the then head of the Austrian Freedom Party in Graz, repeated Ali's claim that the Prophet should be considered a child-molester, adding that he wrote the Qur'an during epileptic fits.

Freedom of speech as absolute freedom

These extreme-right campaigns intend to push the boundary of incitement laws, in the hope that, if individuals successfully defend themselves against prosecution (as Wilders recently did), freedom of speech will emerge as the absolute freedom, under which all other freedoms will be subsumed. But as A. Sivanandan has warned, 'absolute freedom can lead to absolutism. Hitler used freedom of speech and the democratic process to end democracy. The fascist parties of Europe today have the same strategy'.³²

There is a thin line between legitimate, robust but offensive criticism and illegal racial incitement— of which people like Hedegaard and Wilders appear to be aware. But the neoconservatives and the free speech absolutists, apparently without compunction, egg them

on. For it is they who elevate an issue or story from basic provocation to, on the one hand, the 'noble' cause of free speech, or on the other hand, the patriotic duty of public intellectuals to stem civilisational decline. As Douglas Murray puts it: 'Europe can only save itself, if it unambiguously stands up for its values and rediscovers absolutism in defence of these values.'³³

In the name of freedom of expression, the extreme Right seeks to wrong-foot the offended, provoke them into a 'violence of the violated'³⁴ which can then be used to justify a further clampdown on civil liberties.³⁵ In this it is aided by neoconservatives contempt for liberalism. It's hard to see anything noble in Hedegaard's claim that Muslim men rape their children, but, true to form, *Spectator* columnist Melanie Phillips rushes to the side of a persecuted 'campaigner for freedom of speech' who is being burned at the 'legal stake for heresy' by the 'Danish thought police' while progressives, in cahoots with radical Islamists, are 'either helping pile up the faggots for their fire or looking the other way.'³⁶ In this way, speaking out provocatively is presented as the work of brave members of the intelligentsia whose commitment to freedom stands in direct contrast to the wishy-washy behaviour of weak liberals and cultural relativists who practise the 'self-censorship' that emerges from fear of Islam. Themselves deploying a writing style that is both aggressive and confrontational, these 'brave' intellectuals warn us repeatedly that intolerance and aggression are in fact associated with Islam.³⁷ Meanwhile, prosecutions of Wilders and Hedegaard are cited as evidence of a totalitarian system where a triumvirate - the political, law and order and media class - appeases Islamofascists. Or, as Elisabeth Sabaditsch-Wolff, describing her prosecution in Austria, put it 'The political process is more effective than the methods of the Nazis, the fascists or the Communists because it is carried out smoothly and peacefully. No need for the concentration camps, the gulags, the mass graves or the bullet in the neck in the middle of the night.'³⁸

For religious Muslims, an attack on the Prophet Mohammed is a profound affront. How far they can laugh it off or stay calm, depends much on their level of confidence as full citizens, secure and safe in an equal, multicultural, multi-faith Europe.

THE UNDERPINNING OF THE CONSPIRACY

The conspiracy theory that Muslims are out to Islamicise Europe utilises relatively recent concepts and discourses of 'the clash of civilisations', 'Islamofascism', a 'new anti-

Semitism' and 'Eurabia'. But such concepts, in the UK at least, have been grafted on to the anti-anti-racism and anti-cultural relativism frameworks that were established and normalised by the Thatcherite New Right during the 1980s just as a crude and virulent anti-Arab racism also emerged in the popular press following the oil hike of the 1970s and then local events such as the Iranian embassy siege (1980), the killing of WPC Fletcher outside the Libyan embassy (1984), the Rushdie affair (1989) and the first Gulf War (1991). From the late 1980s and especially after the Rushdie affair, anti-Arab vitriol was to morph into an overtly anti-Muslim racism.

Building on older racisms

Breivik's manifesto was replete with attacks on the utopian self-destructive fantasy of multiculturalism which holds that all cultures are equal and would, in Breivik's words, lead to the 'entire loss of our civilisations' unless 'destroyed and swept into the dustbin of absurdity where it belongs'. Such views are very familiar to a UK audience. It was essentially during the Thatcher governments from 1979 onwards that key rightwing philosopher-thinkers and ideologically-bound think-tanks, to which ministers were linked, began to embrace and promote a new racism based not on biological superiority but around the dangers in cultural difference.³⁹ Concepts such as 'the clash of civilisations' had their roots in the kinds of critiques being mounted against 'cultural relativism' and the downplaying of British values by a host of rightwing thinkers collectively described as constituting the New Right.⁴⁰ Some of the same New Right figures are active today in defence of the freedom to denounce Islam. For example, Baroness Caroline Cox, co-author of the anti-communist 'Rape of Reason' against teaching at North London Polytechnic in 1975, advisor on education to Margaret Thatcher and the *Daily Mail*, introducer of a clause on Christian education into the Education Reform Bill, has written and campaigned extensively on behalf of Christian minorities worldwide and was responsible in February 2009 for inviting Wilders to show his controversial film *Fitna* in the House of Lords. If Paul Johnson, one of Thatcher's closest advisers, was a key columnist on the *Daily Mail* and *Spectator* in the 1980s, now it is his son, Daniel, carrying the family's rightist flag as editor of the Social Affairs Unit's magazine *Standpoint*.⁴¹ It is worth noting that outlets, such as the *Spectator*, the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Express*, *Daily Telegraph* and the *Times* which gave prominence to New Right thinking in the

earlier period, are those providing space to writers who buy into key aspects of the conspiracy theory, particularly the notion of Eurabia.

The fact that there was an explicit anti-Arab anti-Muslim racism being constructed in the UK, particularly by papers like the *Sun* for some twenty years, has been largely overlooked by experts researching the rise of counter-jihadist networks and defence leagues today. In the UK, for example, where the EDL was formed in 2009 and targeted the events of tiny extremist Muslim organisations (such as that led by media-hungry fanatics like Anjem Choudary) it has become *de rigueur* for commentators to divorce its growth from the larger history of racism and fascism in the UK. Instead its rise is solely attributed to 'cumulative extremism' (Islamist extremism sparking off a retaliatory extremism). Such a view is not just ahistorical but provides a very partial context for understanding the appeal of such groups.

For the EDL is a pro-war, ultra-patriotic party, the extremism of which has also been shaped by a generalised populist anti-Arab racism. And now, after eleven years of foreign policy interventions in Muslim/Arab states and successive anti-terrorist laws, there is a much wider popular culture of nationalism and jingoism – with the role of 'our troops' uncritically glorified in the press, on TV and at sporting events.

New context – war on terror

Indeed, it was September 11 and the war on terror that led, at the level of ideas and discourse, to the creation of 'new' frameworks that essentialise Islam and demonise Muslims. Four are identified below.

Clash of civilisations: Naturally, the counter-jihadists fail to grasp the elemental truth that civilisations rise and fall, and none is superior for all time. Instead, counter-jihadists start from the belief of a hierarchy of civilisations, with western European civilisation on the top. Here, they draw on the clash of civilisations thesis which is associated with a group of American academics including Bernard Lewis and Samuel Huntington who, from the 1990s onwards, wrote series of essays in support of American and Israeli foreign policy goals in the Middle East.⁴² Bernard Lewis – who went on to develop the 'new anti-Semitism' thesis (see below) – used the term 'Muslim rage' to denote the supposedly essential elements of the modern Arab psyche. Passing off pseudo-psychology as political analysis, Lewis suggested that the backwardness of Arab culture and economy was

leading to feelings of enmity and rage directed at American, Israeli and European targets. Lewis' essay 'The roots of Muslim rage' was then taken up by Samuel Huntington who, in a seminal piece in *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993), argued that with the Cold War over, world politics had entered a new phase in which the fundamental source of conflict was not primarily ideological, or economic, but cultural with 'the principal conflicts of global politics' occurring between nations and groups from different civilisations. Within this, Huntington gave primary focus to the clash between Islam and the West, concluding that the fault lines between civilisations would be the battle lines of the future. Later, in 'Who Are We? The Challenges to America's national identity', Huntington warned that 'America's Christian, Anglocentric' identity was threatened by the 'Mexicanization' of the population, arguing that 'the mixing of races and hence culture' represented 'the road to national degeneration'⁴³

Huntington's essay on national identity echoed the fears of the former racial hygienists that inter-racial marriage would lead to poor racial stock. But Huntington and Lewis also re-established the old binaries of Orient v Occident, East v West, Them and Us, whereby vast geographical, cultural and political expanses are reduced to two imagined cultural regions. There is no complexity in Huntington and Lewis' vision, and it is not difficult to see how, embedded within their frameworks, a continuation of the old colonial mentality whereby the rational and individualistic culture of 'the West' is treated as 'an exception in the history of mankind' at the same time as 'Islam is treated as a pariah in the history of religions, just as Europe and the West did so well in the past with Judaism'⁴⁴

Some centre-right European political leaders have embraced the clash of civilisations theme, notably the Italian prime minister Silvio Berlusconi and the current Danish interior minister Søren Krarup who described the invasion of Iraq in 2003 as resulting from the 'opposition between Christianity and Islam, between the West and Islam'. Krarup has also compared the fight against Islam with the fight against Nazism in Germany in the 1930s.⁴⁵

Islamofascism: Another similarly lazy concept doing the rounds is the idea that one can contract the idea of fascism and Islamic extremism into one idea.⁴⁶ The proponents of Islamofascism build on Bernard Lewis' notion of Muslim rage to locate Islamism as – a 'cult of murderous violence that exalts death and destruction and

despises the life of the mind'. Whereas some (but by no means all) proponents of the Islamofascist thesis *do* make a distinction between Islamism and Islam, thus insulating the Islamofascism discourse 'from straightforward charges of Islamophobia',⁴⁷ others conflate the terms or link them together structurally. In the hands of the extreme Right and of Christian Evangelicals, however, the Islamofascist thesis can become a direct assault on followers of Islam, described by Geert Wilders as a 'totalitarian ideology rather than a religion' and by Pax Europa as a 'fascistoid ideology'.

Scottish writer Malise Ruthven was one of the first to use the Islamofascism argument in an essay in the *Independent* in which he drew an analogy between the ideological characteristics of specific Islamist movements from the turn of the 21st century on, and a broad range of European fascist movements of the early 20th century. The notion that the fight against Islamism was equivalent to the fight against fascism was then popularised by US President George Bush – another Evangelical Christian – who described the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq as just wars in the same way as the Second World War had been a just war in the fight against fascism.

In 2008 the US Department of Homeland Security dropped the 'Islamic fascist' term, stating also that pejorative terms like Islamofascism should be avoided as they were tending to confuse the war on terror with the war on Islam.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, neoconservatives like Douglas Murray, and journalists, like Nick Cohen (*Observer*), Martin Bright (*Jewish Chronicle*), Andrew Gilligan (*Daily Telegraph*) continue to use the misleading term, as do Christopher Hitchens and Glenn Beck (Fox TV) in the US and, in Europe, Bernard-Henri Lévy, Michael Onfray and André Glucksmann.

Islamofascism as an idea has had two other important implications. First, because its proponents confuse political Islam with Islam as a religion, they go on to suggest that in the fight against the religion – transformed in their minds into a totalitarian political system – one must stand up for Israel, as Israel lies at the epicentre of the fight to defend western civilisation. (Israeli methods of maintaining control in the Occupied Territories are applauded, with the Israelis seen as demonstrating civilisational pride and vigour.) To defend Israel, therefore, is to prevent the spread of Islamofascism.

Second, it is through the Islamofascist idea that the extreme Right has gained otherwise unlikely allies –

dogmatic secularists and identity-bound feminists. Both groups have strong feelings against religion and are sometimes open to simplistic and ahistorical arguments. In Belgium, the journalist Claude Demelenne (editor of *Le Journal de Mardi*), the Liberal MP Alain Destexhe (Mouvement Réformateur) and the feminist Nadia Geerts want to extend the fight against Islamofascists, to incorporate the Left's '*Islamo-gauchistes*'. Thus, those who oppose the war in Iraq, defend Palestinian rights or campaign against the anti-terror laws are portrayed as leftwing sympathisers of radical Islam who should be subjected to an equivalent of the German *Berufsverbot* (which blacklisted communists and kept them from employment in government service).

The new anti-Semitism: Alongside the Islamofascism thesis goes the idea of a new anti-Semitism emanating from a hostility to Zionism (and Israel) from within the Left and the Arab world. Some of the cruder French-speaking proponents of the new anti-Semitism thesis, like Claude Demelenne in Belgium, or Alain Finkielkraut in France, then project this new anti-Semitism thesis on the deprived banlieues of France and inner areas of Brussels. Finkielkraut is author of the 2003 text, *Au nom de l'autre: réflexions sur l'antisémitisme qui vient*, published by Gallimard. A frequent theme of his writings is the anti-Semitism of second- and third-generation North African youth, creating the impression that they are the sole carriers of anti-Semitism, thus obscuring the fact that anti-Semitism is a problem for the whole of society. He goes on to link anti-Israeli, anti-American attitudes to the idea of a 'reverse racism' – presenting the majority French white community as the true victims of the racism, arguing that 'Francophobia is spreading like Judeophobia, and cannot be differentiated from it'.⁴⁹

Bernard Lewis' 1986 text *Semites and Anti-Semites* (1986) provides scholarly backing for the notion that widespread hatred of Jews in the Arab world predated 1948 and the creation of the state of Israel. Bernard Lewis' book demonises Arab nationalism by asserting that the anti-Zionism that developed in the Arab world at the time of the creation of the state of Israel grew out of an earlier anti-Semitism. He treats anti-Zionism in the Arab world (intensified by the humiliation of Israeli military victories) as though it was a continuation of the anti-Semitism of the Nazis which led to the Holocaust. (Prior to this, the French philosopher Pierre-André Taguieff had also connected 'la nouvelle judéophobie' in the Arab-Muslim world to the 1967 Six Day War, and

gone further to link anti-Semitism to anti-racism and anti-nationalism.)

Fortunately, there is now a growing body of scholarly work that critiques the 'new anti-Semitism thesis' and the work of Taguieff and Lewis for distorting the recent history of the Middle East.⁵⁰ And the destructive impact of the thesis on European scholarship on contemporary anti-Semitism has been noted by Antony Lerman, a former director of the Institute for Jewish Policy Research. He points out that as the new anti-Semitism thesis has emerged, scholarly research on contemporary anti-Semitism has become 'virtually non-existent' ensuring that no material basis upon which to fight anti-Semitism can be created.⁵¹ It is a point that is very pertinent to IRR's current research on the rise of far-Right violence across Europe. We find that extreme Right anti-Semitism is increasing, particularly in Hungary and Poland, but also in Greece and in some parts of eastern Germany. This is in part because a generalised discourse about 'enemy aliens' is triggering off the classical anti-Semitism of the far Right resulting in attacks on synagogues and Jewish cultural centres. (See Appendix 2)

Meanwhile, and somewhat ironically, some members of extreme-right organisations, with a history of classical anti-Semitism, act today as though they were the sole legitimate defenders of Israel! By so doing, they try not only to erase their controversial history but also to win over new constituencies. These include Europe's Jewish communities, whom they seek to include in their campaigns against mosques and minarets, and their call to stop immigration from the Muslim world, on the grounds that 'millions of Muslims, including Arabs, who immigrated to Europe' bring with them their hatred of Israel in particular and of Jews in general.⁵² Both neo-conservative political commentator Broder in Germany and populist Wilders in the Netherlands have specific messages for Jewish audiences, even though their tones differ. Broder argues for an end to Muslim immigration to Germany and supports Thilo Sarrazin's thesis outlined in *Deutschland schafft sich ab* (Germany abolishes itself) that a once great nation is now at risk of descending into idiocy as immigrants (i.e. Turks) are genetically of lower intelligence and have higher fertility rates. But he speaks in classic Spenglerian terms, describing Europe as a doomed continent, and implying that the fight is already lost.⁵³ Wilders, on the other hand, exhorts his audience to be 'warriors for good', 'let us no longer be afraid', to heed the 'battle cry' and 'wake up ... Islam is at

your gate'. And he encourages young Jews to identify themselves as the victims of Muslims whom he claims are overrunning the streets of Amsterdam, unleashing hate crimes that force 'Jews to emigrate.' But I say: Jews must not leave: violent Muslims must leave.⁵⁴

Eurabia: In several web postings, Breivik proclaimed his belief in Eurabia. The Eurabiast framework, which was analysed in depth in *Race & Class* by the journalist Matt Carr,⁵⁵ embraces the conspiracy theory that Muslims are out to Islamicise Europe and is hence much admired by counter-jihadists. Giselle Litmann (who writes under the pseudonym Bat Ye'or or Daughter of the Nile) argued in *Eurabia: the Euro-Arab Axis* (2005) that a secret project existed between European politicians and the Arab world for the 'Islamisation of Europe', the purpose of which was to destroy America and Israel, with Europe, a doomed continent on the brink of cultural extinction in the face of a relentless and coordinated campaign of domination by Muslims to transform it into an Islamic colony called Eurabia. In this colony, Europeans would be turned into the slaves of Muslims and forced into a state of subject status – in accordance with the 'dhimmi' or treaty enforced on the 'Peoples of the Book' during the Islamic caliphate. 'What first began as an outlandish conspiracy theory has since become a dangerous Islamophobic fantasy which has moved ever closer towards mainstream respectability', states Matt Carr. The fact that elements of the Eurabia concept have been adopted by mainstream writers such as Melanie Phillips, Douglas Murray, Mark Steyn and Niall Ferguson in the UK, and, in other European countries, by Hirs Ali, Alain Finkelkraut, Bernard-Henri Lévy, Henryk M. Broder and the late Oriana Fallaci, is cause for concern.

The Eurabia theory, in the hands of Geert Wilders, continues the view, articulated in 1968 by Enoch Powell in his Rivers of Blood speech, that aggressive minorities are out to dominate the majority. Hence Wilders warns of Islamisation via conquest, and conquest through immigration. In many ways the descriptions of Eurabia parallel classic criticism of Jews within anti-Semitism – quite ironic given that the four frameworks identified here are tied up with unqualified support for the state of Israel, the last line of defence against Islamisation.

The parallels with anti-Semitism is a point made forcefully by Matt Carr, who points out that Jews in Victorian Britain were thought to harbour a secret ambition to subvert, dominate and possess. Carr also points out that 'the fear of cultural and racial extinction has a

long pedigree in European history', traceable back to the 'racial Darwinism of the nineteenth century, and articulated by writers such as Count Joseph-Arthur de Gobineau, who argued that only races that maintained their racial purity would survive.

Special thanks to Jenny Bourne, Sibille Merz for research on Germany and Naba Al-Ahi for information on the Netherlands.

FOOTNOTES

1 Anders Behring Breivik was in contact with the EDL, Searchlight press release, 25 July 2011. See also 'Far-right terror attacks in Norway', *Searchlight*, No 434, August 2011. Other articles analysing Breivik's views that I have drawn on are Andrew Brown, 'Breivik is not a Christian but anti-Islam', *Guardian*, 24 July 2011, Matt Carr, 'Far right blames BBC for ignoring Breivik's beliefs', *The Fire Post Online*, 3 August 2011 and Paisley Dodds, 'European far-right membership rises thanks to global power of social media', *Associated Press*, 19 July 2011. Following the massacre, the ICARE News Service provided an invaluable compilation of the main stories that appeared in the European mainstream press and that of NGOs, analysing the connections between Breivik and extremists in their respective countries.

2 See Dr. Sabine Schiffer, 'Oslo's Massacre and the Crisis of Islamophobes in Europe' <<http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/84C28144-DE61-4933-A600-E0538C96708C.htm>>

3 The Norwegian daily *Aftenposten* states that Breivik was a paid-up member of the Progress Party from 1999 to 2004, holding membership of its youth section from 1997 to 2007 and chairing a local branch from 2002 to 2004. See Mikael Ekman, 'Terror suspect was member of Nazi web forum', *Searchlight* No. 434, August 2011.

4 *Views and News from Norway*, 8 August 2011.

5 For background on the EDL and Alan Lake see Professor Nigel Copsey, 'The English Defence League: Challenging our country and our values of social inclusion, fairness and equality', *Faith Matters*, October 2010.

6 As cited by Unite Against Fascism <<http://uaf.org.uk/2011/07/edl-funder-alan-lake-calls-norway-massacre-chickens-come-home-to-roost>>

7 This is how the *Guardian's* online religious editor Andrew Brown described Robert Spencer's Jihad Watch. See Andrew Brown, 'The poison behind the Ground Zero mosque furore', *Guardian* Comment is Free, 18 August 2010.

8 Paisley Dodds, op.cit.

9 See Claudia Mende, 'Anti-Islamic movements in Germany: "Islamophobic" – and proud of it', *The American Muslim*, 16 April 2010.

10 As quoted in *The National*, 7 February 2011. René Stadtkewitz, a founder of Pax Europa, was expelled from the Christian Democrat Union's parliamentary group in Berlin (and now sits as an independent) after he invited Geert Wilders to speak at a conference on Islam. In October 2010, Stadtkewitz founded the Freedom Party, inviting Wilders and Eliezer Cohen, a former member of the Israeli Knesset for the Yisrael Beiteinu party, to address its founding conference in Stuttgart. Previously, Stadtkewitz had been the leader of a protest movement against the building of a mosque in the Pankow district of Berlin. The Freedom Party has since founded a district branch in Hamburg and a regional chapter in Bavaria, where fifty-four members of the Christian Social Union (CSU) helped form the new group. The CSU in Munich put out a press release stating that if the founders of the Freedom Party in Munich did not leave the CSU voluntarily, they would be forcibly expelled. The press release was also critical of Pax Europa, as well as Politically Incorrect. (*Neues Deutschland*, 6 June 2011)

11 Toby Archer, 'Countering the counter-jihad', *RUSI Monitor*, September 2008.

12 The Swiss-based European Freedom Alliance think-tank officially arranged the delegation to Israel of the extreme-right activists who launched the Jerusalem Declaration. According to Spiegel Online (1 June 2011), the delegation's Israeli contact was Ariel Shomer, the head of the cabinet of former president Ezer Weizman. Adar Primor writing in *Haaretz* (12 December 2010) noted that some of the European parties invited to Israel had strong anti-Semitic roots and that they had come to Israel 'after trading in their Jewish demon-enemy for the Muslim criminal-immigrant model'. Radio Netherlands Worldwide reported (5 December 2010) that Wilders had a 'long and good meeting' in a 'friendly atmosphere' with the Israeli foreign minister Avigdor Lieberman, and went on to give a speech in Tel Aviv on the subject of Jordan 'the only Palestinian state that will ever be'.

13 This is one of Geert Wilders' favourite refrains. Wilders also made a speech in Tel Aviv stating that 'Jews need to settle Judea and Samaria' [the ancient Hebrew name for the West Bank]. 'Without Judea and Samaria, Israel cannot protect Jerusalem.' See *New York Times*, 22 December 2010.

14 See Murray's comments on Sunday Morning Live with Susanna Reid, BBC, 1 August 2010.

<<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kWNNSt1Nqk>>

15 Melanie Phillips, *Armchair Barbarism*, *Spectator*, 13 March 2010.

<<http://www.spectator.co.uk/melaniephillips/6779100/armchair-barbarism.shtml>> Phillips wrote her blog, which referred to the 'moral depravity' of Arab 'savages' after an Israeli family were killed in the West Bank Israeli settlement of Itamar, near Nablus.

16 The citation from Broder and its significance to Breivik's

manifesto was pointed out by Christian Bommarious, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 28 July 2011.

17 Hans Rustad, the site editor at document.no, has been anxious to distance himself from Breivik and downplay his activities on the site. But according to Anne Jensen, document.no – which presents itself as culturally conservative and concerned about multiculturalism – has led increasing agitation against the red-green government, campaigning in recent months against the ‘cultural Marxist’ Labour Party, and its left-wing coalition partners, the Socialist Left Party, accusing them of being ‘traitors’ who should be removed from power and brought before a court for allowing immigration and tolerating asylum seekers. Anne Jensen, ‘“Cultural conservative” terror in Norway: the background’, *Searchlight*, No 434, August 2011.

18 As cited by Andrew Brown, op.cit.

19 A good critique of this close circuit of thought can be found in Rudolph Peters, ‘“A Dangerous Book”: Dutch public intellectuals and the Koran’, European University Institute Working Papers, RSCAS No. 2006/39.

20 Intelligence Squared Debate, ‘Only good can come out of building a mosque in Athens’. See <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qXE7BP0C4VA>>

21 *The Prague Post*, 27 July 2011.

22 Douglas Murray, ‘Geert Wilders: on trial for telling the truth’, *The Telegraph Online*, 28 January 2010.

23 See Thierry Baudet, ‘Geert Wilders, a Voltaire for our times?’, *Trouw*, 27 June 2011.

24 In his 2006 Pim Fortuyn Memorial Lecture on Europe and Islam, Murray argued that ‘conditions for Muslims must be made harder across board’.

25 Douglas Murray, ‘Mohammed believed in women’s rights, says poster campaign. Oh, really’, *The Telegraph Online*, 8 June 2010.

26 Transcript of complete recording of Intelligence Squared debate, ‘Europe is failing its Muslims’, Cadogan Hall, London, 23 February 2010.

<http://www.intelligencesquared.com/___data/assets/pdf_file/0005/63986/Intelligence-Squared-Debate-Transcript-Europe-is-failing-its-Muslims.pdf>

27 *Dutch News*, 23 June 2011.

28 In December 2010 Elisabeth Sabaditsch-Wolff spoke on behalf of Pax Europa and ACT for America at the Alliance of the European Freedom and National Parties Conference in Tel Aviv, declaring ‘Israel is an oasis of civilization in a desert of barbarism’. See Elisabeth Sabaditsch-Wolff speaks up for Israel, *Jewish Chronicle*, 10 December 2010.

29 Hedegaard resigned from the Danish People’s Party as a result of the prosecution, claiming he did not want to bring the party into disrepute. He made the comments during an interview with a blogger which was subsequently published on the blog snaphanen.dk. According to Peter Hervik, Lars

Hedegaard has been an active participant in the news media for many years. In August 2002, he co-authored a commentary with Daniel Pipes entitled ‘Something Rotten in Denmark’ in which they sought to construct urban myths, such as Muslims make up only 4 per cent of the population but the majority of the country’s convicted rapists and that Denmark’s small Jewish community was living in constant fear of Muslim violence. See Peter Hervik, *The Annoying Difference. The Emergence of Neonationalism, Neoracism and populism in the post-1989 world*, Berghahn Books, 2011.

30 As cited by *Migration News Sheet*, June 2011 and Copenhagen Post Online, May 2011.

31 Copenhagen Post Online, 9 June 2010.

32 A. Sivanandan, ‘Freedom of speech is not an absolute’, *Race & Class*, Volume 48, Number 1, July-September 2006.

33 Douglas Murray, ‘What are we to do about Islam?’ A speech to the Pim Fortuyn Memorial Conference on Europe and Islam, February 2006.

34 The term is Sivanandan’s.

35 David Edgar, ‘Shouting fire: art, religion and the right to be offended’, in *Race & Class*, Vol 48, number 2, Winter 2006.

36 Melanie Phillips, ‘The Danish witch-hunt against the truth-tellers’, *Spectator*, 11 January 2011.

37 Their lack of self-awareness about their own aggression is a point made by Rudolph Peters, op.cit.

38 Speech made in Paris at the December 2010 Against the Islamisation of Europe conference organised by the fascist Bloc Identitaire and the leftist Secular Response. As cited in ‘When the Islamisation conference applauded Michael Onfray’ *Les Indigènes de la République*, 6 January 2010.

39 See Martin Barker, *The New Racism*, Junction Books, 1981. At the end of the 1980s, the IRR published ‘Racism and the Press in Thatcher’s Britain’ in which Nancy Murray and Chris Searle showed how a coterie of Conservative think-tanks and like-minded voices in the media were spearheading a New Right attack on cultural pluralism and anti-racism.

40 See for example Anthony Flew, Caroline Cox, Roger Scruton et al in *Anti-racism – an assault on education and value*, The Sherwood press, London, 1986.

41 A critique of *Standpoint* and the Social Affairs Unit is provided by Arun Kundnani, ‘How are thinktanks shaping the political agenda on Muslims in Britain?’, IRR News, 2 September 2008, <<http://www.irr.org.uk/2008/september/ak000003.html>>. For a thorough overview of Conservative think-tanks see, *The Cold War on British Muslims* by Tom Mills, Tom Griffin and David Miller, Spinwatch, <<http://www.spinwatch.org/images/The%20Cold%20War%20on%20British%20Muslims.pdf>>

42 See Markha Valenta, ‘The success of Islamophobia’, <<http://www.opendemocracy.net/markha-valenta/success-of-islamophobia>>

43 Samuel Huntington, *Who Are We? The Challenges to America’s National Identity*, Simon & Schuster, 2004.

44 Sami Zemni, 'The shaping of Islam and Islamophobia in Belgium', in *Race & Class*, Volume 53, number 1, July-September 2011.

45 As cited by Rudolph Peters, *op.cit.*

46 I draw heavily here on Arun Kundnani, 'Islamism and the roots of Liberal rage' in *Race & Class*, Volume 50, Number 2, October-December 2008. Kundnani's piece also provides important insights into the other frameworks I have outlined and I am also indebted to Arun for reading an earlier draft of this article and helping to sharpen the critique. See also Tony Judt, 'Bush's Useful Idiots', *London Review of Books*, Volume 28, Number 18, 21 September 2006.

47 Kundnani, *ibid.*

48 Markha Valenta, *op.cit.*

49 *Nouvelobs.com*, 2 April 2005.

50 See for example *The Arabs and the Holocaust: the Arab-Israeli War on Narratives* by Gilbert Achcar, Picador April 2011 (which exposes the revisionist nature of the work of Bernard Lewis and others). He concludes that 'Anyone of good faith is capable of distinguishing between Arab silence about – or even outrageously offensive references to – the Holocaust motivated by anti-Zionism and Holocaust denial motivated by anti-Semitism.' Brian Klug, senior research fellow in philosophy at St Benet's Hall, Oxford finds the conflation of anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism defines legitimate criticism of Israel too narrowly and demonisation too broadly, trivialising the meaning of anti-Semitism and exploiting it to silence debate. See Brian Klug, 'The Myth of the New Anti-Semitism', *The Nation*, 2 February 2004.

51 Antony Lerman, 'Jews attacking Jews', *Haaretz*, 12 September 2008.

52 The words are those of Jack Fischel, former chair of history at Millersville University of Pennsylvania. See Fischel, Jack R. 'The New Anti-Semitism', *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, Summer 2005.

53 The last days of Europe, a lecture in Maastricht by German journalist and writer Henryk Broder, 14 March 2007

54 Speech by Geert Wilders, Cornerstone Church, Nashville, 12 May 2011.

<<http://www.aina.org/news/2011051914958.htm>>

55 Matt Carr, 'You are now entering Eurabia', *Race & Class*, Volume 48, number 1, July-September 2006.

Appendix 1: Responses to the Oslo massacre

From parties in Norway

The Norwegian Labour Party said that a policy of anti-racism will serve as its legacy to those killed. Norwegian Conservative Party leader Erna Solberg said that racism and Islamophobia need to be tackled, and that 'the way extreme, anti-Islamic groups refer to Muslims today resembles the way extreme anti-Semitic groups referred to Jews in the decades that led to the Second World War'. The comment facility on an article on the Verdens Geng website, quoting the Conservative Party leader's comments, had to be closed because of a flood of Islamophobic posts from readers.

Siv Jensen, the leader of the anti-immigrant Progress Party, promised a more moderate campaign in local elections in September, calling for a 'new form of debate' and admitting that she might regret certain things she had said in the past about Islam. A number of other politicians came forward to state publicly that they regretted previous statements. They included Ola Borden Moe, deputy leader of the Centre Party, who said that his description of marriage between cousins in the immigrant community as 'inbreeding' was 'objectionable'. (*Views and News from Norway*, 8 August 2011)

Official responses from the EU and Council of Europe

Europol and EU interior ministers pledged to review the dangers posed by far-right extremists within the twenty-seven member states.

EU Commissioner for Home Affairs Cecilia Malmström said that while Breivik's manifesto was clearly written by a disturbed individual, some of his sentiments were not uncommon in contemporary European political discourse. 'I have many times expressed my concern over xenophobic parties who build their unfortunately quite successful rhetoric on negative opinions on Islam and other so-called threats against society'. 'This creates a very negative environment, and sadly there are too few leaders today who stand up for diversity and for the independence of having open, democratic and tolerant societies where everybody is welcome.' (*Der Spiegel*, 27 July 2007)

The Secretary General of the Council of Europe and Norwegian chair of the Nobel peace prize committee, Thorbjørn Jagland, (a former Norwegian prime minister) said that Europe's leaders, including David Cameron,

should adopt a more 'cautious' approach when discussing multiculturalism. If they continue to use rhetoric that could be exploited by extremists they would, he said, be 'playing with fire'. Jagland added that, 'We have to be very careful how we are discussing these issues, what words are used. Political leaders have got to defend the fact that society has become more diverse. We have to defend the reality, otherwise we are going to get into a mess. I think political leaders have to send a clear message to embrace it and benefit from it.' (*Observer*, 30 July 2011)

From extreme-right and counter-jihadist activists

America

The website, Gates of Vienna, closed its pages to comments 'due to the unusual situation in which it has recently found itself'. It then issued new guidelines which precluded 'exhortations to commit violence or foment insurrection', commenting that 'at no time has any part of the counter-jihad advocated violence'. Robert Spencer, editor of Jihad Watch and one of the founders of the Stop the Islamisation of America movement, said that 'the blame game' had begun 'as if killing a lot of children aids the defence against the global jihad and Islamic supremacism, or has anything remotely to do with anything we have ever advocated'. (*New York Times*, 24 July 2011, The Fire Post Online, 3 August 2011)

Glenn Beck, Fox TV broadcaster and Tea Party favourite, compared the Norwegian summer camp at Utøya, where the young people were massacred, to the Nazi Party's youth wing. (*Guardian*, 27 July 2011)

Austria

The Freedom Party expelled Werner Königshofer, an MP from the Tyrol, after he compared the acts of Breivik to the 'death of millions of unborn children all over Europe'. Shortly after the massacre, Königshofer placed a message on his facebook page stating that 'The Islamic threat has struck Europe a thousand times more often'. Königshofer, who is to appeal against his expulsion, has been criticised in the past over his facebook page's links with alleged neo-Nazis, in particular with the managers of a neo-Nazi homepage, Alpen-Donau.net. (*Austrian Times*, 29 August 2011)

Czech Republic

Neo-Nazis celebrated on the White Media website, thanking Breivik. An article 'In Defence of Anders Breivik' stated that the crimes were more than understandable and that Breivik inspired many other people fighting against multiculturalism. (Romea Online, 27 July 2011)

Denmark

The Danish People's Party came under criticism for its past rhetoric and leader Pia Kjaersgaard responded by saying that the idea that its politicians could have legitimised terrorism was 'a political fraud. They are using a terrible act to further their own political views'. She criticised leading members of the Norwegian Progress Party for expressions of regret about the tone of the debate about immigration in Norway, saying that such comments were 'alarming' and a 'completely wrong decision'. 'It must be made very clear that the only person responsible for this terrible massacre is the mass murderer; instead of all sorts of people beginning to feel guilt, start soul-searching and I don't know what. Leading politicians in Norway have completely misjudged it'. She continued by accusing Norwegian politicians of 'restricting free speech'. (*Politiken*, 2 August 2011)

Finland

The anti-immigration website Homma had to be closed down due to the surge in inappropriate messages. The site manager posted a message on its homepage stating that the Norwegian gunman's actions were inexcusable, and differences of opinion should be resolved through open discussion and democratic means. (*Helsinki Times*, 26 July 2011)

The True Finns chair, Timo Soini, said that the opposition were using the incidents in Norway as a tool to link his party with extremism. (*Ice News*, 7 August 2011)

France

Front National (FN) leader Marine Le Pen threatened to take legal action against groups or individuals who claimed that its party's anti-immigrant rhetoric bore some responsibility for far-right violence. The anti-racist NGO MRAP accused the party of nurturing conditions for the attack. Jacques Coutela, an FN candidate in the western region of l'Yonne, was suspended from the FN after an anti-racist organisation launched proceedings against him for incitement to racial hatred. The proceedings related to an article on the massacre entitled 'The

suitcase of death' (which Coutela now claims he did not write) which refers to Breivik as 'an icon', 'a resistance fighter' and a 'defender of the West'. The Socialist Party's youth section has alleged that Coutela also sent twitter messages claiming that immigration rates 'explain' the massacre. (*RFI*, 27 July 2011)

Jean Marie Le Pen said that 'The murderous consequences seem to me much more linked to the naivety of the Norwegian state than the madness of this crazy person.' He accused Norway of not handling immigration correctly. (*Daily Telegraph*, 31 July 2011)

Germany

Judith Wolter, chair of the anti-mosque organisation Citizens' initiative Pro Köln said that she was at a loss to explain why the 'psychopathic extremist' Breivik spoke approvingly of Pro Köln's 2008 Anti-Islamisation Congress in his manifesto. As the *Taz* newspaper exposed the fact that Breivik sent a contact for 'Christians pro Köln' a copy of his manifesto, Wolter complained of a 'campaign against peaceful and law-abiding critics of Islam and patriots'. (*Taz*, 27 July 2010)

Ireland

Michael Quinn, who describes himself as head of Ireland's leading 'white nationalist' party, the Democratic Right Movement, posted a video web clip in support of the Norwegian massacre and said that he would have 'no problem' with an Anders Breivik-style massacre in the Irish parliament. He said that the young Labour Party activists killed were 'traitors to every nation that they're in because they push the whole time for multiculturalism and mass immigration'. 'So if any of you Labour politicians were killed tough shit, the world is better off without you.' (*Sunday World*, 7 August 2011)

Italy

Two Northern League parliamentarians, Mario Borghezio and Francesco Speroni, publicly defended the logic behind the Oslo massacre, leading to a public apology from cabinet minister Roberto Calderoli. Other members of parliament and press are calling for the resignation of both men over the remarks. (*International Business Times*, 1 August 2011)

In an interview with Sole-24 Ore radio, Mario Borghezio said: 'Some of the ideas he expressed are good, barring the violence, some of them are great.' His 'opposition to Islam and his explicit accusation that

Europe has surrendered before putting up a fight against its Islamisation are valid and commendable points'. In a separate interview with the same radio station, Francesco Speroni said 'If [Breivik's] ideas that we are going towards Eurabia and those sorts of things, that western Christian civilization needs to be defended, yes, I'm in agreement. (*Spiegel*, 27 July 2011)

Netherlands

As the VVD and Christian Democratic Alliance came under pressure from GroenLinks and the Christen Unie to debate the impact that Geert Wilders' anti-Islam rhetoric is having on Dutch society, Wilders accused the Left of trying to implicate him in Breivik's actions by launching a witch-hunt. Green Left MP Tofik Dibi asked for a parliamentary debate about Wilders and many politicians accused the prime minister Mark Rutte of failing to take a stand. Wilders responded to accusations that his constant referrals to the 'left-wing elite' have helped create the climate in which Breivik acted by stating that 'The truth has to be told because Islam-huggers like [Job] Cohen of the Party of the Arabs [Labour Party] caused the problem and have repeatedly ignored them.' 'I would say to Cohen and the rest of the left in the Netherlands: it is not my words, but your silence about the dangers of Islam which has the negative influence'. (*Dutch News*, 26 July, 1, 2 August 2011)

Wilders said that he was 'repulsed' by Breivik and that the violent actions of a psychopath were 'a slap in the face for the worldwide anti-Islam movement'. Wilders has in the past attacked the Norwegian Labour Party as well as left-wing multiculturalists whom, in a speech in 2010, he accused of cheering at every new sharia court or mosque. (Radio Netherlands Worldwide, 27 July 2011)

Prime minister Mark Rutte eventually made a statement on 12 August, in which he said that he had been annoyed by the debate and that 'reactions from both sides were untimely and inappropriate'. According to Rutte, the debate was 'going in a direction as if the PVV and Geert Wilders were partly responsible for the attacks. This really makes no sense whatsoever' as 'Geert Wilders had nothing to do with these attacks. They were the actions of a complete idiot'. Mr Rutte added that Wilders recent statement that mosques were 'palaces of hate' was 'a terrible statement' and a 'highly inappropriate phrase'. (Radio Netherlands Worldwide, 12 August 2011).

Sweden

The Sweden Democrats have distanced themselves from the views of Erik Hellsborn, the Sweden Democrats (SD) representative in Varberg, western Sweden. Hellsborn who told the *Hallands Nyheter* that 'If there hadn't been any Islamisation or mass migration, then there wouldn't have been anything to trigger Behring Breivik to do what he did'. 'The ultimate responsibility is with the perpetrator, but if you are to discuss the underlying reasons which motivated him then it was caused by multiculturalism.' Those who should feel guilt for the massacres, he said, are the 'cosmopolitans' as if Norway had remained truly 'Norwegian' the massacre 'would never have happened'. (*Migration News Sheet*, August 2011).

United Kingdom

Stephen Lennon, of the English Defence League, told the Associated Press that 'The fact that so many people are scared – people have to listen to that.' 'People should look at what happened in Oslo and understand that there is growing anger in Europe.' 'You suppress people's rights you suppress people's voices and people will just continue to go underground – but that doesn't make the problem go away.' 'It's a ticking time bomb ... If they don't give that frustration and anger a platform as such – and a way of getting emotion out in a democratic way – it will create monsters like this lunatic'. (*Der Spiegel*, 27 July 2011)

EDL financier and strategist Alan Lake wrote on his 4Freedoms website that Breivik 'did this attack to protest against the way that Islam is taking over large parts of Europe. By attacking the leftist politicians that are enabling this, the chickens have actually come home to roost.' (*Searchlight*, August 2011)

Blogger Paul Weston, a former UKIP parliamentary candidate, blamed the attacks on Jeremy Paxman and the BBC. According to Weston, Breivik 'felt he was no longer represented by the political process; that his opinions either counted for nothing or that he could be jailed for even voicing them.' Weston has in the past contributed pieces to the anti-Muslim website Gates of Vienna; one article was entitled 'Is European Civil War inevitable by 2025'. (Fire Post Online, 3 August 2011)

From neoconservative and other commentators

Germany

As many newspapers went through Breivik's manifesto,

and detected similarities between his views and the debate in Germany, Thilo Sarrazin and Henryk M. Broder (cited by Breivik) were forced to defend themselves.

Broder wrote a column on the Antenna of Freedom (reproduced in *Die Welt*) in which he accused the Left of 'incredible shamelessness' in trying to gain a moral advantage in blaming the Islam critics for Breivik's actions. 'In a society in which everything from alcoholism to climate change must be explained in terms of rational arguments, the fact that Breivik might just have enjoyed killing people cannot be given as an explanation. Breivik is a monster, disguised as a human being, but he is not stupid ... He knew that he would have to legitimise his acts rationally, which he had not only learnt from me and Thilo Sarrazin, but also from Mohammed Atta and Osama bin Laden, from the terrorists of Madrid, London, Mumbai, Bali, etc.' (*DieWelt*, 25 July 2011)

United Kingdom

The blogger and *Daily Mail* columnist Melanie Phillips, cited twice in Breivik's manifesto, said that those who linked her to Breivik's thesis were indulging in a 'crude attempt to smear me. ... The supposed beliefs of Norway massacre's perpetrator has got the left in general wetting itself in delirium at this apparently heaven-sent opportunity to take down those who fight for life, liberty and western civilisation against those who would destroy it.' (*Guardian*, 25 July 2011)

Spectator and *Telegraph* columnist and blogger Douglas Murray said that Breivik was obviously insane and it was senseless to 'search for reason in a mind that was clearly a stranger to it'. He accused 'the left-wing media and politicians' of making 'a great leap towards group blame' and compared Breivik to Islamist extremists. But 'unlike the suicide bombers who get shrines and public squares named after them, Breivik (like the Brick Lane/Soho bomber) will only be memorialised among a sick and covert coterie of extremist loners who, though undoubtedly dangerous, speak for no one.' Murray added that while it went without saying that there were ways to discuss immigration, 'in recent years that discussion has not always been as open as it should have been. Policies have not been explained to people and conspiracies have all too often sprung up where frank public discussion and a suitable measured political response could have cut them off at source.' (*Spectator*, 28 July 2011)

Appendix 2: Documentation of anti-Muslim violence and other related provocations, Autumn 2010–Summer 2011

The collection by governments and criminal justice systems of data about physical attacks and verbal abuse directed at Muslim targets and motivated by Islamophobia is, regrettably inadequate. This compilation is aimed at providing a snapshot of the extent of the problem. It is not comprehensive but merely includes incidents that have been reported in the newspapers, on NGO press releases, and on the IRR's own racial violence database, throughout 2010 and 2011. In some areas of Europe, desecration of Jewish cemeteries and synagogues, including the placing of pigs' heads at entrances, takes place at the same time as attacks on mosques. Where we feel the violence is related, we have noted it. We have not been able to cover the full extent of discrimination against Muslim women who wear the hijab, but have documented some cases of discrimination at the workplace where we can see a connection to verbal intimidation or physical violence.

Desecrations of mosques, Islamic centres and synagogues

Austria

■ Graffiti, thirty metres long and one metre high, was painted on the outside wall of the Mariazell Basilica in Styria. It stated, the 'Koran is the bible of the devil' and 'the devil appears on the horizon'. The provincial department for the protection of the constitution and the fight against terrorism investigated. (*Austrian Times*, 11 October 2010)

Belgium

■ A picture of a pig's head attached to a Crucifix with the inscription 'Mahomet ici repose' (Muhammed lies here) was found at the site of a prospective mosque at Charleroi, southern Belgium. The mayor's office issued a statement saying that opponents of the mosque had left many 'unacceptable, intolerable and disrespectful' messages at the site. (Press TV, 20 April 2011)

France

■ In February 2010, the Mouvement contre le racisme

et pour l'amitié entre les peuples (MRAP) issued a press release documenting desecrations at the Great Mosque of Saint Etienne, and mosques at Béziers (Hérault) and at Crépy-en-Valois in the department of Oise, Picardy. (MRAP press release, February 2010)

■ In April 2011, the Collectif Contre l'Islamophobie en France (CCIF) noted that a pig's head was thrown at the door of a mosque in Reims. The police reported that nine suspects were arrested and held on bail in relation to the desecration of Jewish and Muslim cemeteries in Strasbourg. (CCIF communication)

Germany

■ In May 2011, unknown perpetrators sprayed anti-Islamic slogans on the mosque in Dresden. (*Bild*, 18 May 2011)

Greece

■ While mosques were being firebombed in Athens (see below) there was also an increase in anti-Semitic desecrations. The Holocaust memorial in Thessaloniki was daubed with swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti. (*Athens News*, 17 August 2010). Jewish cemeteries in Ioannina and Thessaloniki were vandalised, as well as the Holocaust memorial on Rhodes. (JTA News Agency, 25 July 2010).

Lithuania

■ In August 2010, a pig's head was left at the entrance of a synagogue in Lithuania's second city of Kaunas. The incident was described as a neo-nazi provocation. (European Jewish Press Agency, 24 August 2010).

United Kingdom

The IRR's racial violence database includes incidents of acts of vandalism of Muslim graveyards and desecration of mosques in areas as diverse as London, Cambridgeshire, Surrey and Bristol (South-West England), Luton (Bedfordshire), Milton Keynes (Buckinghamshire), Nottingham (East Midlands), Leeds (Yorkshire) Hartlepool (North-East England) and South Shields (Tyne and Wear). The usual pattern of events is for a pig's head, or a slab of bacon to be placed outside the

mosque, and in cases too numerous to document, windows have been smashed, graffiti including swastikas, EDL or BNP logo have been daubed on the mosques, or groups of men have urinated in the foyer. Examples on our database include:

■ In November 2010 a group of men smashed the windows of a mosque in Kingston, Surrey, urinated in the foyer, threatened the congregation and threw beer and bacon on the building. (*Kingston Guardian*, 13 April 2011)

■ A member of the BNP was arrested on suspicion of racially aggravated public disorder during a demonstration against proposals to convert a building into a mosque in Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire. The building had been vandalised prior to the protest on several occasions and, at one point, a pig's head was thrown on the roof. (*Milton Keynes News*, 27 April 2011)

■ In June 2011, a pig's head was placed on a pole outside a possible site for a mosque in Nottingham, East Midlands. The words 'no mosque here, EDL Notts' was written on the pavement next to the pole. (BBC News, 21 July 2011)

Petrol bombs and other attacks or campaigns against mosques and worshippers

Bulgaria

■ On 20 May 2011, activists from the far-right Ataka party demonstrated in front of the Banya Bashi mosque in downtown Sofia before charging, shouting 'Bulgaria' and 'Turks Get Out', and attacking worshippers as they prayed outside, seizing their prayer mats and burning them. A number of people, including police officers were injured, and several Ataka members arrested. The Bulgarian Helsinki Committee criticised the office of the public prosecutor for failing to bring serious charges against the arrested men. (*Noinvite*, 24 May 2011)

■ A month after the Banya Bashi mosque attack in Sofia, the Chief Mufti's office issued a statement drawing attention to a violent attack on the warden of Sofia's main mosque. The mosque was attacked by unidentified assailants minutes before the start of morning prayer. The attackers jumped over the fence of the mosque, vandalised a room, and beat the warden unconscious. Worshippers who came to the mosque for morning prayer found the man covered in blood and unconscious. (*Noinvite*, 12 June 2011)

Czech Republic

■ The Hradec Králove Regional Authority was criticised for funding two anti-mosque campaigns – AntiMesita (anti-mosque), the goal of which is to 'fight against the Islamization of the Czech Republic'. (*Prague Post*, 27 July 2011)

France

■ In November 2010, the Sultan Eyüp Mosque in Strasbourg, a former warehouse turned into a mosque and gathering place for the elderly Turkish community, received an envelope in the post containing a white powder and a page from the Qur'an, torn and partially burned. It contained a message from the 'Movement for the European Liberation' urging Muslims to 'leave our land while you can. Choose the suitcase or the coffin'. (Cojep International press release, 12 November 2010).

Germany

■ Berlin's State Criminal Police Office established a special task force to look into petrol bomb attacks on Muslim centres. From July 2010 to January 2011 there were at least six attacks on mosques and cultural centres in Berlin. Also in January 2010, the House of Democracy, which holds an exhibition of Jewish life in the small town of Zossen, south of Berlin, burnt down. A 16-year-old, who had learning difficulties, and had been manipulated by a local neo-nazi group, was arrested. (*Spiegel*, 13 May 2010).

The details of the other attacks are as follows:

■ 19 November 2010: Sehlik mosque in Neukölln neighbourhood was attacked. This was the fourth attack since the Summer. Previously, the mosque was set on fire in July and August.

■ 28 November 2010: Al-Nur mosque in the Neukölln neighbourhood was attacked.

■ Early December: a petrol bomb exploded against the facade of the Iranian cultural centre in the Berlin district of Tempelhof.

■ 8 January 2011: Germany's oldest mosque in Berlin-Wilmersdorf was attacked

■ In August 2011, a 23-year-old man with connections to the far-Right scene was arrested after an arson attack against a mosque in Bergkamen North Rhine-Westphalia. (*Indymedia*, 2 August 2011)

Greece

■ According to Naim El-Ghandour, head of the Muslim

Association of Greece, there have been at least ten serious attacks, including arson, resulting in damage of makeshift mosques over the past year. (Associated Press 1 August 2011)

■ In the most grievous attack in October 2010, assailants locked the door of a basement prayer house and hurled firebombs through the windows, seriously injuring five worshippers. (*New York Times*, 1 December 2010)

■ In November 2010, two men were charged with an attempted arson against the synagogue in Athens, after they were stopped at a police patrol and found to be in possession of components necessary for the construction of molotov cocktails. (European Jewish Congress, 26 November 2010)

Netherlands

■ In September 2010, there was an attempted arson at a mosque in Groningen during which the façade of the mosque was plastered with the text 'don't make us angry'. Already in March 2010, the mosque was smeared with blood, and animal intestines and the head of a wild boar was left at the entrance. (*ANP*, 28 September 2010)

■ In June 2011, four molotov cocktails were thrown at the mosque in the Northern Dutch harbour town of Einkhuizen Alaattin, according to the Secretary of the Islamic Foundation Yapici Enkhuizen. Police refused to confirm or deny the report. Although there had been minor incidents in the past 'nothing like this has happened before', Enkhuizen said. (*Noordhollands Dagblad*, 4 June 2011)

Poland

■ In demonstrations held in April and May 2010, several hundred people protested against the construction of what would have been Warsaw's second official mosque. Posters were put up around Warsaw showing a woman in a black chador, with menacing minarets that looked like missiles peeping out behind her. The Future of Europe Foundation, which distanced itself from other protestors from the All Polish Youth, said it was not against Islam as a religion, but was concerned about the rise of 'Islamofascism'. (*The News – Poland*, 29 March 2010, *The Global Post*, 23 May 2010, Reuters, 1 April 2010)

United Kingdom

The IRR's racial violence database includes details

of many incidents of racist abuse against mosque-worshippers, serious threats made against mosques or Islamic schools, physical attacks on imams as well as several attempts to burn down mosques. Cases took places in areas as diverse as London, Hertfordshire, Sussex, Suffolk. Birmingham (West Midlands), Leicester (East Midlands), Ipswich, Stoke (Staffordshire), Accrington (Lancashire) Kirklees (West Yorkshire), Scunthorpe (North Lincolnshire), Wales and Greater Manchester. Some of the most serious cases we have documented include:

■ In December 2010, arsonists connected a hose pipe to a gas supply at an empty house next to the newly built Regent Road mosque in Stoke, Staffordshire and fed it through the window of the mosque. They then set rubbish alight, seemingly in the hope of triggering an explosion. One of those charged was a soldier at the time of the offence. (BBC News, 17 June 2011)

■ Staff at an Islamic school in Birmingham received phone calls threatening to firebomb the building. The school, which consequently had to close, had been secretly filmed for a documentary which had recently been broadcast. (*Birmingham Post*, 16 February 2011)

■ In February 2011 a mosque in Sussex which had just been renovated was set on fire in an arson attack. Firefighters prevented serious damage. (BBC News, 14 February 2011)

■ A building in North Wales which was going to be converted into an Islamic centre was destroyed in a suspected arson attack and over 100 residents living nearby had to be evacuated. The EDL had recently held a march of more than 100 people protesting against the Islamic centre. (*Flintshire Chronicle*, 10 February 2011)

■ Firefighters said they were '99 per cent certain' that the fire which destroyed a church in Ipswich, set to be converted into a Muslim-run community centre, was the result of an arson attack. (*Ipswich Evening Star*, 9 March 2011)

■ In March 2011, worshippers in the Redbridge Islamic Centre in London were attacked by a group of men shouting racist abuse and the Imam of the mosque was injured. The attackers threw bricks at the building and smashed through the front doors. (*East London and West Essex Guardian*, 25 March 2011)

■ In June 2011, fake anthrax was posted to five mosques by suspected far-right extremists. A package sent to Finsbury Park mosque in North London also con-

tained drawings of the Prophet Mohammed similar to Danish cartoons which portrayed him as the devil. In response, Scotland Yard sent a letter of warning to more than 200 mosques in the capital. Detectives are investigating CCTV footage as many parcels did not have stamps and are thought to have been hand-delivered. (*Evening Standard*, 17 June 2011).

■ In July 2011 four separate fires spread around a mosque in Accrington, Lancashire, in what was a suspected arson attack. As a result of the fire, a mains gas pipe leading to the mosque ruptured and nearby residents had to be evacuated. Firefighters said that a visiting Imam, asleep in the mosque at the time of the incident, was lucky to survive. (*Lancashire Telegraph*, 21 July 2011)

Incidents of verbal, physical abuse and related discrimination

Austria

■ The 2010 annual report of the victim counselling service ZARA states that the number of verbal abuse cases reported to them by Muslims women and girls wearing the hijab is on the rise (as are cases of Muslim women experiencing difficulties getting jobs if they wear the hijab). (*Austrian Times*, 22 March 2011)

Belgium

■ The 2010 Annual Report of the Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition to Racism 2010 states that 84 per cent of cases of racism and discrimination reported to them were connected to hostile expressions towards Islam. Most complaints were made after victims received hate emails or verbal provocations or experienced forms of exclusion at the workplace 'The tension arising from Islamophobic attitudes in the workplace is mostly eliminated by transferring the Muslim employee involved to another department of laying her/him off', the report states. Thus, a demonstration outside the Dutch chain store Hema in Genk (Limburg) took place after a temping agency refused to extend the temporary contract of a shop assistant because a customer complained that they did not want to be served by a sales assistant who wore the headscarf. Hema acknowledged that the shop assistant was not treated in a fair way but their solution was to offer the woman, a Muslim convert called Joyce, a new employment contract that did not involve contact with the public. (*Migration News Sheet*, April 2011, ABNA, 25 June 2011).

France

■ In October 2010, a 63-year-old retired school teacher, who attacked a tourist from the United Arab Emirates, who was wearing a burqa, was recommended for a two month suspended prison sentence and a fine of 750 euros. The woman who was not present at the trial said that she 'fought for women's rights' and that she was 'irritated' by the sight of two women shopping in Paris in their niqabs. (*Guardian*, 15 October 2010). In an earlier incident, a 60-year-old female lawyer assaulted a Muslim woman and ripped off her veil in a clothing shop in Trignac, near Nantes, western Loire-Atlantique region. As they came to blows the lawyer's daughter joined in the attack. All three women were arrested. (*Daily Telegraph*, 18 May 2010).

Germany

■ In June 2011, a Muslim couple was attacked in the Neukölln neighbourhood of Berlin, because the woman was wearing a hijab. Assailants insulted the woman and attacked her husband with a stone and glass bottle. The couple managed to escape unharmed. (*Morgenpost*, 3 June 2011)

■ In August 2011, two members of Pro Deutschland attacked a Syrian German man in Berlin after he criticised them for plastering election posters over buildings with a picture of a crossed-out mosque. When the two men pursued the Syrian-German man, threatening to 'beat him to death' a plainclothes officer, who attempted to intervene, was attacked with pepper spray. When more policemen arrived on the scene they took the assailants details, but did not arrest them. (*Tagesspiegel*, 11 August 2011)

Netherlands

■ A customer at a toy shop in Almelo refused to be served by a teenage shop assistant wearing the hijab. She was then removed from the post - leading to action against her employers who were found guilty of discriminating on religious grounds. (*Dutch News*, 20.4.11).

Sweden

The Annual Report of the National Council of Crime Prevention states that while there was a decrease in hate crime, Islamophobic incidents increased by 40 per cent. There are reports that Muslims who wear religious clothing have decided not to wear it owing to constant harassment. (*The Local* – Sweden, 30 June 2011)

Switzerland

The Federation Against Racism published a report that showed that of 178 cases documented in 2010, the majority of complainants were Muslim men. Most cases involved verbal abuse but some resulted in physical injury. The authors accused politicians of contributing to the trend, particular 'a number of MPs' who have denied the presence of racism in society and by so doing 'creating a favourable environment for racism'. 'After the vote on minarets (in November 2009) Muslims were increasingly targeted. (*Expatica News*, 20 June 2011).

United Kingdom

Information from the IRR's database suggests incidents of violence might be associated with EDL protests. For instance:

■ A man who had attended an EDL protest in Leicester in October 2010 was ordered to do 200 hours of unpaid work in the community after launching a 'flying kick' on a Muslim man outside a takeaway. (This is Leicestershire, 17 March 2011)

■ A man claiming to be a member of the EDL vandalised a restaurant in Bridgwater, Somerset and threatened to cut the faces of members of staff when he found out they were Muslim. (*Bridgwater Mercury*, 16 October 2010)

■ In April 2011, the EDL held a demonstration in Halifax, West Yorkshire. On the way to the demonstration, EDL supporters subjected a passenger to racist abuse before assaulting him, leaving the victim with facial cuts and bruising. (*Halifax Courier*, 7 May 2011)

■ In Simonstone, Lancashire, the family home of Sajjad Karim MEP was surrounded by forty members of the EDL, gesticulating for him to come out, and leaving his two young children terrified. Mr Karim has been the subject of several abusive posts on the EDL Blackburn website. (*Manchester Evening News*, 4 July 2011)

■ After a demonstration by the EDL against a proposed new mosque in Chingford, Essex, members of the organisation attacked two Muslim brothers and seriously injured one of them. (*Searchlight*, August 2011)

There have also been an increase in physical violence and abuse of Muslim women who wear the hijab.

■ A female Iranian student was attacked on a street in London by four women. The attackers ordered her to remove her hijab and beat her when she refused to do so. (Press TV, 15 April 2011)

■ In April 2011, a man stole some butane canisters from a shop in Stoke, Staffordshire, and then verbally abused two Asian women in the street, telling them to 'get out of my country' and describing Islamic veils as like 'looking through a letterbox'. (*Stoke Sentinel*, 13 May 2011)

Extreme-Right campaigns, anti-Muslim electoral material and other provocations

Austria

In Vienna, in the context of the October 2010 regional elections, the Freedom Party (FPÖ) posted a comic book to all households in which the Second Turkish Occupation of Vienna in 1683 was linked to contemporary issues. The Social Democrat mayor Michael Häupl was portrayed as an alcoholic coward who 'doesn't care whether the Turks settle here with their minarets, mosques'. The Freedom party leader Heinz-Christian Strache was presented as the story's hero. Also in Vienna, FPÖ district representatives claimed that traditional sausage snack stands were threatened by the rising number of kebab shops. (*Austrian Times*, 6 October 2010)

In Styria, in September (also in the context of the regional elections) the FPÖ launched the online internet game Moschee ba ba (Bye bye mosque) which ends with the following statement: 'Styria full of minarets and mosques? Vote Gerhard Kurzmann and the FPÖ to avoid this from happening'. The game was taken off the internet after a few days because the Green party brought a case of incitement, leading to the lifting of the parliamentary immunity of Kurzmann who now faces prosecution. There are no mosques featuring minarets in the province of Styria and the Muslim community have no plans to build any. (*Austrian Times*, 11 October 2010, 16 November 2010)

Belgium

The Vlaams Belang's (VB) campaign against ritual slaughter has clear anti-Muslim overtones. A written question put to parliament by the VB faction chair asked for the number of sheep slaughtered during Eid Al-Adha and demanding punishment of those who break the law. (*Islam in Europe*, 17 February 2010)

Denmark

The Danish People's Party called for the banning of purpose-built mosques and the introduction of compulsory psalm singing in schools. (*The Economist*, 17 March 2011)

France

■ In January 2010, racist graffiti was daubed on the home of Roland Ries, mayor of Strasbourg. In addition to a Celtic cross, there was also the inscription 'No minarets'. (MRAP press release, January 2010)

■ Ernesto Rojas Abbate, a blogger who burnt a copy of the Qur'an, before urinating on it, was acquitted of provoking discrimination by a Strasbourg court on the grounds that he acted within the boundaries of freedom of expression. (DPA, 9 May 2011)

Germany

The far-right National Democrats, which have two seats on the local council in Völklingen, a depressed industrial town in the state of Saarland near the French border, launched a campaign against an attempt by a local Muslim congregation to build a minaret and three golden cupolas on the roof of an old movie theatre converted into a mosque. The National Democrats issued a statement calling the planned 28-foot minaret 'the bayonet of Islam' and issued fliers declaring 'Thank you, Switzerland. Minaret ban here, too'. (New York Times, 23 March 2010).

Greece

■ In November 2010, during the celebration of Eid Al-Adha, Muslims held a mass public prayer in front of Athens University in order to draw attention to the fact that there is no mosque in Athens. Members of the far-right Chrysi Avghi played loud music, threw eggs and jeered during the hour-long event. (Guardian, 28 November 2010).

Italy

■ In May 2011, less than a week before the run-off in a bitterly contested mayoral race in Milan, Silvio Berlusconi accused the centre Left of wanting to turn Milan into an 'Islamic city overrun by foreigners and Roma'. This followed an attempt by the centre-Right candidate Letizia Moratti to gain votes by opposing the construction of a mosque in Italy's financial capital as it would 'create a centre of attraction for Islamic groups from all over Italy who then would not be controllable'. (Kronos International, 23 May 2011)

Norway

■ At the Progress Party Summer national congress, Christian Tybring-Gjedde MP warned that there was a

very real danger that Norwegians would soon become a minority in their own capital city. He called for a sharp reduction of Muslim immigration, limits on welfare benefits for new immigrants and efforts of integration to come from immigrants themselves. (Migration Newssheet, June 2011)

Spain

■ During May 2011, the far-right Plataforma per Catalunya (PxC) utilised anti-Muslim themes during its regional campaign in Catalonia. In Salt, where it now has four councillors, it ran a petition campaign against a non-existent plan to build a mosque. Central to the PxC's campaign in the Barcelona province was the release of a video which showed three attractive young women in miniskirts skipping with a rope in the city of Igualada, to the accompaniment of a traditional Catalan folk song. The scene then switches to Igualada 2015 and three women dressed in burkas are skipping to the rhythm of an Arab song. 'You can avoid this nightmare becoming reality. In Igualada, vote Plataforma per Catalunya' the video concludes. In a village of 108 inhabitants near Tarrés, PxC parish councillor Daniel Rivera put forward a motion to ban the burka as a 'preventive measure, in case they come'. (IRR News, 26 May 2011)

■ In August 2011, the local authority in Salt banned a PxC demonstration against the building of a mosque on the Torremirona de Salt estate on the grounds that the demonstration, which was set to take place on the last days of Ramadan, posed 'a serious threat to public order'. Even prior to Muslim organisations purchasing the land for the proposed mosque, the PxC had started up a petition campaign against what they describe as the 'Salafi mega-mosque'. (El País, 24 August 2011)

Sweden

■ The Sweden Democrats (SD) and other small far-Right parties, are targeting Muslims and Islam in election campaigns. In Autumn 2010, the SD representative in Strömsund (in the county of Jämtland) said that practising Islam should be banned in the municipality. (UNHCR Baltic & Nordic Headlines, 9-13.9.10). In February 2011, Isak Nygren, a municipal councillor for the Sweden Democrats in Katrineholm, eastern Sweden, wrote on his blog that Islam was a 'violent paedophile cult'. (The Local, 13 February 2011) In March, the district court in Malmö ruled that a poster produced by Carl P. Herslow, the leader of the Skåne party, did not consti-

tute incitement. The poster depicted the Prophet Mohammed lying naked alongside his child bride. It included the text. 'He is 53 and she is 9. Is this the kind of wedding we want to see in Skåne.' (*The Local* – Sweden 16 March 2011)

Some criticisms of politicians and popular culture

In **France**, the CCIF stated that every time a politician makes an attack on Islam there is an upsurge in racial violence.

In **Germany**, in the wake of the publication of Thilo Sarrazin's book, the following criticisms of the public discourse were made

■ 'Some media and politicians have stirred up targeted fear and rejection of Muslims and now we are seeing the results of this ... The threshold of inhibition in politics and society has been lowered so dramatically that what would have passed for racism in the past is now an acceptable conversation topic at bourgeois parties. This is driving a wedge through society, and ultimately making integration more difficult.'

Nurham Soykan, general secretary, Central Council of Muslims in Germany

■ 'I can only see these inhuman attacks as a consequence of the witch hunt by Sarrazin, Seehofer [Bavaria's governor Horst Seehofer] and co against those Muslims they accuse of refusing to integrate.'

Ulla Jelpke, Left party parliamentarian

■ 'What should be done if 65 years after the banning of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* another treatise on racial theory turns into a bestseller in Germany.'

Leader, Die Tageszeitung

In the **Netherlands**, a survey carried out by the magazine for civil servants, *Binnenlands Bestuur* found that 60 per cent of government officials have difficulties with the involvement of the Freedom Party (PVV) in government. At the beginning of June 2010, Annemieke Nijhof, a senior government official with the infrastructure and environment ministry, resigned in protest at the anti-Islam rhetoric promulgated by the PVV. Nijhof said that 'The PVV describes 1.6 million of my fellow countrymen as fundamentalists who are threatening the rule of law' and that the government's approach against Islam and immigration left her with no option but to bow out. 'It is becoming taboo to warn against this', she said, adding that she could no longer work in such a hate-mongering atmosphere (AFP, 3 June 2011) After Amsterdam police chief Bernard Welten implied on television that he would not order his officers to arrest

women wearing a burqa when the government introduces a ban, Geert Wilders said that the police chief should 'pack his things and go' if he refused to uphold the law. (Dutch News, 5 January 2011). In reaction to government legislation aimed at banning ritual slaughter, Mac McDaniel wrote on the Care2 community network newswire that: 'Bills like this one bring together an interesting coalition of those who see ritual slaughter as "cruel and barbaric" with those who see the situation as an opportunity to defame religious and ethnic minorities and immigrants ... At best the advocates of this ban are misguided in their belief that banning ritual slaughter will mean less misery for the animals killed, at worst they're pushing a thinly-veiled racist agenda that uses concern for animals a tool to paint immigrants and religious minorities as cold-hearted and bloodthirsty ... Selectively banning some kinds of slaughter on the basis of animal welfare only reveals how little politicians know about animal agriculture and how little they care about religious tolerance.' (Care, 2 18 April 2011)

In the **United Kingdom**, in a widely-trailed speech at Leicester University, the Conservative Party Co-chair Lady Sayeeda Warsi stated that Islamophobia has 'passed the dinner-table test' and become widely socially acceptable in Britain. She blamed 'the patronising, superficial way faith is discussed in certain quarters, including the media' for making Britain a less tolerant place for believers. (*Guardian*, 20 January 2011)

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The IRR's European Race Audit (ERA) is now publishing regular free online briefing papers which are available as part of subscriptions to the IRR News Service. The ERA is one of the few sources of comprehensive pan-European information on racism, the extreme Right and Islamophobia. It also documents the erosion of human rights as a result of asylum and immigration law and civil liberties and as a result of the war on terror. The European Race Audit was launched in 1991 and its huge archive - of over sixty Bulletins on pan-European race and refugee issues - is an invaluable source of information for students, researchers and campaigners.

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This briefing is part of the European Race Audit supported by the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust. The Institute of Race Relations is precluded from expressing a corporate view: any opinions expressed here are therefore those of the contributors. Please acknowledge IRR's European Race Audit Project in any use of this work. For further information contact Liz Fekete, email: liz@irr.org.uk

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