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MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

*Are Right Wing Extremists in Scandinavia a Threat to Government
Personnel and the Societal Mainstream? A Prognosis.*

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
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Abstract Violence from right wing extremists has been part of daily life in Scandinavia since the 1940s. From the 1950s and 1960s onwards, new ethnic minorities in the form of labor migrants arrived in the Scandinavian countries. Sweden received hundreds of thousands; in Norway and Denmark, on the other hand, labor migrants did not arrive in significant numbers until the 1970s and then on a far smaller scale than in Sweden. As a result of this immigration, tension and violence erupted in the countries. Traditional violence like firebombing of refugee centers, beating up of immigrants, and more grave violence was common in all three countries.		
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PREFACE

The preponderance of recent literature on right wing activity in Scandinavia describes a change in behavior towards graver violence against government personnel and the societal mainstream. Today, available literature on this phenomena includes a few books, some published articles, and much information from newspapers and sources on the Internet. Statistical data on right wing violence from official sources in Scandinavia are either lacking or - at best – of uneven quality. Sweden is the only country in Scandinavia making an attempt to establish a database on violence from right wing extremists, and the Swedish Security Police has contributed to this Masters Paper with valuable information and statistics. Norway's Security Police has little available unclassified material, and thus the statistics from Norway are based on work presented in Dr. Tore Bjørge's book, *Racist and Right Wing Violence in Scandinavia*.

Another important source has been the work of the Swedish historian, Heléne Lööw, *Nazismen i Sverige 1980-1997*, which has provided most of the secondary source information about right wing problems in Sweden. I have not been able to acquire any information from the Danish Security Police, or any other official Danish source. I have found most of the recent information from all three Scandinavian countries, either in newspaper articles, or mostly on on-line news services on the Internet. When I started my work I did not realize how little official information there was on right wing extremism in Scandinavia. This has caused problems, and my conclusions are largely based on information from secondary sources. Even so, I found that one faction of the right-wingers in Scandinavia has changed its strategy and tactics towards the ideology described by William Pierce in his book, *The Turner Diaries*. Central themes in this book are: fight against the Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG), racial war, and a militant

approach to achieve the desired end state, a pure country with no ZOG or racial traitors. This change in *modus operandi* has resulted in more grave violence against government personnel and the societal mainstream. I did not, however, find any conclusive evidence of this violence being any substantial threat to the established society. The discussion of these findings is presented in the following treatise.

Several people assisted with this project. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Dr. Tore Bjørgo, the foremost expert on right wing extremism in Norway, for his time answering my countless e-mails. Despite his busy schedule, he responded to my requests for his insight into the right wing movement in Scandinavia. I would also like to acknowledge the work of Dr. Chris Harmon and Mr. Tom Sileo, my faculty mentors, for their patient guidance on the content in this paper, and the huge effort they put into my English. Finally, I would like to thank Olav Njaastad, President of the National Union of Journalists in Norway, for giving me insight in how the journalists view their own role in this, and Jerry Jennings for reading through, and helping me with my language skills.

Just before this paper was concluded, Norwegian right-wingers “crossed the line” and finally did what they had been talking about for a long period of time: 6 right-wingers stabbed an immigrant to death in an Oslo suburb 26 January 2001.¹ This killing supports the prognosis that Norwegian right-wingers take after their Swedish counterparts. The killing can be the end of Norwegian right-wingers’ violent rhetoric, and the start of even more violent behavior in the days to come.

¹“Tatt i nazireir,” (Caught in Nazi Hide-Out), *Verdens Gang*, under the keyword “Nazist,” accessed 16 March 2001.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Title: Are Right Wing Extremists in Scandinavia a Threat to Government Personnel and the Societal Mainstream? A Prognosis.

Author: Major Kjell Inge Bækken, Norwegian Army/Infantry.

Thesis: Right Wing Extremists in Scandinavia are Not a Threat to Government Personnel and the Societal Mainstream.

Discussion: Violence from right wing extremists has been part of daily life in Scandinavia since the 1940s. From the 1950s and 1960s onwards, new ethnic minorities in the form of labor migrants arrived in the Scandinavian countries. Sweden received hundreds of thousands; in Norway and Denmark, on the other hand, labor migrants did not arrive in significant numbers until the 1970s – and then on a far smaller scale than in Sweden. As a result of this immigration, tension and violence erupted in the countries. Traditional violence like firebombing of refugee centers, beating up of immigrants, and more grave violence was common in all three countries.

From the beginning of the 1990s, however, a change took place. Young boys of the parliamentary structure¹ broke out and formed a more militant faction of the right wing movement, based on the ideology in *The Turner Diaries*. The motives, or purpose, for this new faction was clear: to achieve the ultimate goal of a pure country with no “Zionist Occupation Government” (ZOG), “racial traitors” and “ZOG agents.” From this time we saw a *new* and increasing trend of right wing terrorism; we saw an increase in violence toward government personnel² and the societal mainstream.³ Instead of attacking what they viewed as the problem,

¹In this paper the parliamentary structure is defined to be extremist but legal organizations.

²In this paper government “personnel” is defined to be politicians, police, military employees, and elected officials.

the immigrants, the right-wingers turned against the policy makers and the people who supported the immigration. More recently there have been several murders and violent actions committed by right-wingers. Within Scandinavia, Sweden is the country with the largest right wing structure, and by far the most violence from right-wingers. Norway has the same problems, but on a much smaller scale. Denmark, on the other hand, is not experiencing the same problem with right wing activity. This author did not find any conclusive evidence that supports a view that the right-wingers of today are a substantial threat to the national security of any state in Scandinavia.

³In this paper "societal mainstream" includes opinion leaders, journalists, labor union employees, and other people who can influence the public's opinions views of the right wing extremists.

CHAPTER ONE BACKGROUND AND OUTLINE

Background

This paper will address the increasing problem of right wing activism by focusing on whether the phenomenon is a threat to the national security of the countries in Scandinavia.¹ Specifically, the paper will explore whether the right wing environments have changed focus away from the traditional violence against ethnic minorities and immigrants to the established political and social order in Scandinavia. I will argue that they, to a certain extent, have done so. During the last few decades, it is evident that traditional brutality and terrorism from different types of right wing extremists² have emerged as an increasing threat. This is particularly true for North America and Europe. In this paper we define terrorism as systematic use of violence and destruction - or threats of it - with the purpose of creating a state of fear, gaining attention, or forcing someone to give in to demands to achieve the desired effect on more than the immediate victim of the violent action. Some of these forms of terrorism have long traditions, from before World War II; violence against ethnic, racial, sexual and political minorities has been going on for decades and even for centuries in some countries. The motives, or purpose, for the right wing terrorism is clear; it is the most important means to advance a political end: a pure country with

¹In English, "Scandinavia" is often used interchangeably with the "Nordic Countries." In local usage, however, Scandinavia refers to Sweden, Denmark and Norway only, whereas the Nordic Countries in addition to these three also include Finland, Iceland, and the semi-independent island communities, Åland and the Faroe Island.

²Racism, xenophobia and right wing extremism are linked closely together - but not interchangeable. Racism and xenophobia are central elements in most forms of right wing extremism, but there are forms of right wing extremism where racism does not necessarily play any role. Cf. Ehud Sprinzak's typology in his article, "Right Wing Terrorism in a Comparative Perspective: The Case of Split Delegitimization," as cited in Tore Bjørgo, *Terror From The Extreme Right* (London: Frank Cass, 1995), 21.

no “Zionist Occupation Government” (ZOG), “racial traitors” and “ZOG agents.”³ Today we see an increase of violence targeted especially against immigrants, asylum-seekers, other minorities and a *new* and increasing trend towards representatives of the government and the societal mainstream.⁴ This is especially true in Scandinavia, and particularly in Sweden. To understand the development in Scandinavia, one has to consider the development of the different countries in this region. Why have we seen an increase in xenophobic,⁵ racist,⁶ and right wing violence in Scandinavia? Why has this violence tended to target ethnic minorities and immigrants? As Tore Bjørgo says in his book there has been an increase in the number of ethnic minorities arriving in Scandinavia. From the 1950s and 1960s onwards, new ethnic minorities in the form of labor migrants arrived in Sweden by hundreds of thousands, at first mainly from southern Europe. In Norway and Denmark, on the other hand, labor migrants did not arrive in significant numbers until the 1970s, mainly from Pakistan and Turkey – and then on a far smaller scale than in Sweden. Norway and Denmark also instituted a more restrictive immigration policy than the Swedish. Thus, when a new wave of asylum-seekers started to arrive during the mid-1980s, Sweden received most of them. For instance, Sweden received 85, 000 asylum-

³“Zionist Occupation Government, racial traitor and ZOG agent” – often used by right wing extremist groups as a name for what they perceive as an occupation by the Jews, and all people supporting, reporting favorable on, and in any way positive of immigration.

⁴Tore Bjørgo, *Right Wing and Racist Terrorism*. Presentation at the ISPAC Conference on Countering Terrorism through Enhanced International Cooperation, Courmayeur Mont Blanc, Italy, 22-24 September 2000, 1.

⁵Swedish Security Service, *Offences Related to National Internal Security 1998*, 3. Xenophobia can be seen as a wider category than racism, since it does not include an ideology, or conception of the superiority of various ethnic groups. Instead, xenophobia reflects negative sentiments and prejudice against others, perceived as different and “strange”.

⁶Swedish Security Service, 1998, 3. In this paper, the concept of racism is used to describe the conception of superiority of one’s own ethnic group, based on differences in racial, national, cultural, or ethnic background.

seekers during the “peak-year” 1992, compared to 13,900 in Denmark and only 4,500 in Norway the same year.⁷ This is one of the reasons why Sweden has more right wing activity, and more violence directed against traditional targets such as immigrants and ethnic minorities than the two other countries.

Today, however, we see a *new* form of right wing terrorism; we see an increase in violence toward government personnel⁸ and the societal mainstream.⁹ Politicians, police, representatives of the media, and labor organizations are threatened and even attacked by right wing extremists. An example of this violence is neo-Nazis¹⁰ attacking and battering a Swedish journalist who had reported on a Norwegian police raid of a right wing party in an Oslo suburb.¹¹ Is there really a *new* trend in the violent behavior of these extremist groups, and is this more dangerous than the traditional violence we have seen so far? This is one of the essential questions in this paper. In other countries, like the United States, the change has taken place; Timothy McVeigh set the stage for a new kind of extremism when he blew up the Alfred P. Murrah building in Oklahoma City, April 19, 1995. McVeigh has been sentenced, and scheduled

⁷Tore Bjørge, *Racist and Right Wing Violence in Scandinavia* (Oslo: Tano Aschehoug, 1997), 12.

⁸In this paper government “personnel” is defined to be politicians, police, military employees, and elected officials.

⁹In this paper “societal mainstream” includes opinion leaders, journalists, labor union employees, and other people who can influence the public’s opinions views of the right wing extremists.

¹⁰Neo-Nazis and right wing extremists are not the same; however, news media tend to use these terms uncritically. The neo-Nazis are a more specific description of an environment, which has an ideology, a conception of the superiority of various ethnic groups. Many neo-Nazi groups will deny being to the extreme right. In this paper I will use the terms Nazi, neo-Nazism, or Nazism only when quoting / citing sources, or when it is obvious that Nazis are involved.

¹¹“Pressefotograf angrepet av nynazister,”(Journalist attacked by Nazi), *Verdens Gang*, under the keyword “neo-Nazis,” accessed, 19 August 2000.

to be executed May 16, 2001.¹² He has achieved his goal, to become a hero among the right-wingers.¹³ Should we fear a new McVeigh surfacing to trigger the “Aryan uprising” from *The Turner Diaries*?¹⁴ The shift in focus from the far right environment in Scandinavia has occurred and is relatively new.¹⁵ In the USA, however, the trend has been noticeable for some years. American racial militants have gradually changed old anti-Semitic ideas into a racist doctrine about the “racial war” against the ZOG, and the “racial traitors”, or the “ZOG agents.” Is this a new trend coming to Scandinavia? *The Turner Diaries* and the ZOG concept will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 3.

At this stage I think it is appropriate to tell the reader my entering assumptions. I believe and assume that the ideology that right wing extremists assert is wrong, second, there has been an increase in right wing extremist activity in Scandinavia over the several past years.

Outline

Chapter 1 is background and an outline. Chapter 2 discusses the history and legacy from the old Nazi era. This chapter will describe the Nazi ideology and form the base for understanding why people choose to be guided by this kind of ideology. Chapter 3 focuses on and describes the contemporary right-winger’s ideology, rhetoric and justification. Are the right-wingers unified in their ideology? In Scandinavia, in particular Norway and Sweden, it appears

¹²“McVeigh Will Forgo Clemency Plea to Bush,” *Washington Post*, 17 February 2001, Final Edition, A3.

¹³“Terrorist og Martyr,” (Terrorist and Martyr), *Dagbladet*, under the keyword “Timothy McVeigh,” accessed on *MondoSearch*, 23 September 2000.

¹⁴William Pierce, *The Turner Diaries*. Written under the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald. (Hillsboro, WVA: National Vanguard Books, second edition 1980).

¹⁵Bjørge, *Right Wing and Racist Terrorism*, 1.

that there are two factions, the anti-immigration organizations, and the neo-Nazis and racial revolutionary groups.¹⁶ The latter see themselves as an “Aryan resistance movement” which has the task of preventing the ZOG and the “racial traitors” from establishing a foothold in Scandinavia.

The focus of this paper, however, is in Chapter 4 where the strategy and tactics of these organizations are discussed. This brings me on to my thesis question; **are right-wing extremists in Scandinavia a threat to government personnel and the societal mainstream?** The most important aspect of this chapter will be to look into the different patterns of violence and harassment of the racial revolutionary groups against government personnel and the social mainstream.

Additionally, Chapter 5 deals only with the media and their role in this picture. What effect has the mass media had on the right wing environment? How do the right wing extremists use the different types of media?

I will conclude by answering the major question of this Masters Paper, which is whether the right wing extremists in Scandinavia pose any substantial threat to the government personnel and the social mainstream, and if so, to what extent?

¹⁶The neo-Nazis and the racial revolutionary groups are National Socialists, and rely on radical means to achieve their goals.

CHAPTER TWO HISTORY AND LEGACY

“In this period my eyes were opened to two menaces of which I had previously scarcely known the names, and whose terrible importance for the existence of the German people I certainly did not understand: Marxism and Jewry.”

Adolf Hitler¹⁷

To be able to understand why people choose to be guided by the ideology of the old Nazism, one has to look back to its origin, when and why the Nazi movement was formed, how the ideology from the Hitler era has been passed on, and what is the most important legacy from the Nazi era. Are these historic roots of fundamental importance to understanding the right-wingers? Is their legacy a threat in itself?

Some people claim that the neo-Nazis and the right wing extremists have left the old ideas of Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* and turned to more modern sources such as *The Turner Diaries*.¹⁸ The origin of the Nazi ideology goes back to the 1930s when Adolf Hitler presented several thoughts on his ideology for the Aryan People in *Mein Kampf*. As a frustrated artist, Hitler made *Kultur* (culture) the foundation of his entire ideological system. Hitler’s conviction was that only through culture was the beauty and dignity of a higher humanity, the only justification for the existence of mankind, to be attained.¹⁹ To clear away the obstruction to true culture was the aim of the Nazi revolution, to build on the healthy foundations of the past, the goal of the Nazi renaissance. To achieve his goal he maintained that only members of the Aryan race were

¹⁷Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1971), 21. As a young man studying in Vienna, Adolf Hitler identified two important themes of hatred, Marxist ideology and Jewry. These became central elements in his struggle for an Aryan race.

¹⁸Bjørge, *Right Wing and Racist Terrorism*, 1.

¹⁹Norman Rich, *Hitler’s War Aims. Ideology, The Nazi State, and the Course of Expansion* (New York: W.W. Norton Company, 1973), 3.

endowed with the creative ability to produce great culture. Hitler made the assumption that future civilization depended upon the Aryan race and, therefore, they had the right to live and prosper at the cost of other races, such as the Slavs and the Jews. In his concept the state and the party played a crucial role, exceeding that of the single individual. Actually, in National Socialist political theory, the state was conceived as a means to an end, which should lead the Aryan people to the “highest freedom.” Furthermore, the notion of race purity, the religious belief in will and spirits, and the idea of the importance of nature as a source of strength and health, are important issues in Hitler’s original ideology.

Today we see that the Nazi ideology in Scandinavia has taken two different paths. For the militant faction, the direction of *The Turner Diaries* is more applicable than for the other, the extreme nationalists and racists. Nevertheless, when Adolf Hitler formed the Nazi movement through his National Socialist German Worker’s Party (NSAPD) in the 1920s, his main ideas were of a revolutionary character. It is important to bear in mind that both early Italian Fascism and Nazism (German version of Fascism) were of a revolutionary character. Adolf Hitler stated this fact early in *Mein Kampf*. “. . . And assuredly this world is moving toward a great revolution. The question can only be whether it will redound to the benefit of Aryan humanity or to the profit of the eternal Jew. . . . And the people which first sets out on this path will be victorious.”²⁰

In Scandinavia most of the Nazi environment organized its activity around the revolutionary thoughts in *Mein Kampf*, at least until the late 1980s and early 1990s. In large part it followed Hitler’s traditional anti-Semitic ideas, which were supposed to serve two purposes: to

²⁰Hitler, 427. This is an example of Hitler’s obsession with culture as well as his revolutionary attitude. Here he says “the Aryan humanity” in a positive and exalted way: describing the Jews he is more condescending, “...profit of the eternal Jew.”

raise the German people to a dominant position,²¹ and to deal with lower beings like Jews, Marxists, and other “sub-humans.”²² This was the legacy of the Hitler era, a dangerous legacy in the hands of a determined group. From the early 1950s, the right wing environment in all three Scandinavian countries lived by this legacy. One could argue that a legacy of this kind not could pose any threat in Scandinavia so shortly after the Second World War because of the obvious resistance against such ideas.

On the other hand, it is evident that several parties, such as the Swedish *Nordiska Rikspartiet* (Nordic Party), and the Norwegian *Fedrelandspartiet* (Fatherland Party), were formed upon these ideas and were important facilitators when it came to intensifying hatred and violence against immigrants and ethnic minorities in Sweden and Norway from the 1950s until the 1980s. According to the Swedish historian Heléne Lööw, the foremost expert on Nazism in Sweden, these parties, and similar parties in Denmark, pursued Hitler’s heritage and created the ideological base for the new, more modern and more violent environments to come.²³ Even today we can see the parliamentary part of the right wing environment when it accentuates its views throughout the Scandinavian countries. More than 55 years after the Second World War, and 13 years after Rudolf Hess committed suicide in a German prison, these right-wingers in all of Scandinavia continue to carry out their annual remembrance march of his 19 August 1987 death. Normally this is a peaceful march and the police in general give the right-wingers

²¹Hitler’s, 398, refers to “...assembling and preserving the most valuable stocks of basic racial elements in the people, but slowly and surely of raising them to a dominant position.”

²²Hitler, 300.

²³Heléne Lööw, *Nazismen i Sverige 1980-1997* (Nazism in Sweden 1980-1997), (Stockholm: Ordfront Förlag, 1998), 23.

permission to carry out this march in all three countries.²⁴ The police do, however, normally enforce the laws connected to marches like this. Permission has to be obtained and the participants are not allowed to hide their identity. In Scandinavia, democratic rights are relatively strong, but as soon as someone breaks the law the police apprehend them and they are normally fined. Some counter demonstrations are held, but as a rule these demonstrations are reasonably quiet. As an example it can be mentioned that in Austria, Joerg Haider's Freedom Party uses the same method to draw attention to its cause. The Party's tough immigration policy brings forward racist views and ideological remnants from the Nazi period.²⁵

Why, then, do the perpetrators carry out violent acts? What are the real motivations for this violence? Dr. Bjørge has established three different reasons for this violence,²⁶ which are: first, the "means to an end" rationality where persons and groups use violence to achieve more or less defined objectives; second, statements and demonstrations of attitude and identity with a communicative purpose; finally, emerging during early 1990s, right-wingers started to listen to aggressive White Power music, consuming large quantities of beer, and working up an anger before the random violent actions were carried out. According to some of their members these acts transformed them from the status of being a bunch of "*nobodies*" to "*somebodies*." The most dangerous and focused of these three reasons are the "means to and end" reason. This is also the one motivation with a clear strategy, to create a ZOG free country. This is the one motivation that has most in common with the goal of the Nazi renaissance. Usually right-wingers relate to a double set of enemies: an external threat referred to as the "foreign invader"

²⁴"Ni paagrepet etter Nazi marsj,"(Nine Arrested After Nazi March), *Verdens Gang*, 19 August 2000, under the keyword "Nazism," accessed 17 October 2000.

²⁵"Austrian far-Right Accused of Using Allies in Police," *Washington Post*, 21 November 2000, Final Edition, A9.

[immigrants], and an internal enemy usually referred to as the “traitors,” or “ZOG agents,” who collaborate with the external enemy. During the 1970s and early 1980s, local “communists” were the main target; during the late 1980s and early 1990s neo-Nazis and other right wing extremists in Scandinavia targeted immigrants. During the 1990s, however, violence, harassment and hate speech again focused on political opponents and government personnel – the so-called “traitors.” The perpetrators claimed to have committed the acts because of opposition to current immigration policy, or simply to assert that they “do not like foreigners.”²⁷ Right-wingers see immigration as a threat to their own country, and they attack the government policy, which they view as weak. Many of the web sites shown in Appendix E express the “immigration fear.” A small, but significant minority among the perpetrators holds this ideology, and must be looked upon as the most organized and dangerous part of the right-wingers. This faction sees the threat as a political threat, which must be fought with revolutionary means. The majority of the violent acts, though, occur because the perpetrators would like to make a statement, often a statement without any real ideological base, and often after listening to White power music and drinking beer. The reasons are still the same, but rooted in significantly weaker ideology. Explanations like, “they take our jobs,” or, “they get benefits from the Government we don’t,” and “ they are ruining the welfare of the country,” are common explanations in police reports. Others again, carry out these acts just as thrill seekers, or for fun. The motives the right-wingers use are not founded in reality, and most certainly not comparable with the situation in Germany in the 1930s. In Scandinavia unemployment is low (Appendix D, figure 4), and the standard of living, shown as GDP per capita in Appendix F, in all three countries are among the world highest. For the public opinion it is hard to find any

²⁶Bjørgo, *Racist and Right-Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 117.

²⁷Bjørgo, *Racist and Right-Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 322.

similarities with the crumbled Germany of the 1930s, which the right-wingers tend to use. In reality, their behavior can be divided into two groups; the smaller group with a defined ideological foundation and revolutionary reasons, and the larger group of thrill seekers and skin heads with no real motivation except the one the thrill seekers.

How dangerous is the legacy from Nazi Germany and from Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*? It is safe to state that it is a menace in all three countries; however, it is less a menace now than 10-15 years ago. In the earlier period, anti-Semitic propaganda and violent actions triggered episodes in the society, reminding people of the Nazi occupation, especially in Norway and Denmark. An increasing tendency in Scandinavia is the reduced significance these parties have. From the beginning of the 1990s in all three Scandinavian countries, many apostates have left party structures while remaining part of the right wing environment.²⁸

In the last 20 to 30 years we have seen some groups explicitly link themselves to the "grand traditions" of the extreme right – German National Socialism and Italian Fascism. Other groups deny – for tactical or factual reasons – that they have any connection to these traditions. Some groups, normally considered as "extreme right" by the public, may also promote certain issues that often are associated with the left, such as socialism and environmentalism. This view is supported both by Tore Bjørgo and Christopher C. Harmon. The latter even claims that the extreme right and the extreme left rely upon each other to respond to its own terrorism.²⁹ Bjørgo and Harmon state that both sides have the same common enemy, the democratic center between them and the legal government and political establishment. In Scandinavia, this is particularly correct when looking at the more militant faction of the right wing environment. This is a

²⁸Heléne Lööw, *Racist Violence and Criminal Behavior in Sweden: Myths and Reality*, in *Terror from the Extreme Right*, edited by Tore Bjørgo, 121.

²⁹Christopher C. Harmon, *Terrorism Today* (London: Frank Cass, 2000) 198.

faction that saw the light of day in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, a faction with a different agenda instigating a demand for a stronger state.

It is very difficult to define the essence of the right wing extremist in terms of one single core issue, value, or philosophical idea. Doing this is not very fruitful. Such a narrow approach excludes many groups that have much in common with the extreme right. In other words, it is important to understand the militant faction's history and values, a difficult task because of the complex nature of their ideologies. The Norwegian sociologist, Katrine Fangen, who lived with the right wing environment in Norway for an entire year, agrees.³⁰ When she sought common ideological views she found the opposite; some members came from criminal related gangs with no right wing ties, others supported the views in *Mein Kampf*, others supported the more militant views of *The Turner Diaries*, and still others had just come from the Norwegian Blitz environment (left-wingers) to try something new. She found no common legacy among the Norwegian groups, but she pinpointed a clear tendency among the members to support actions that are more violent

Moreover, to find out why youths are attracted to racist or neo-Nazi groups, however, one must first realize that these groups appeal to different types of persons who join for diverse reasons. These reasons include: sympathy for ideology and politics, provocation and anger because of immigration politics, protection by the group against perceived threats, thrill seeking, drifting from another organization, interest in violence, weapons and uniforms, a search for status and identity, and the search for a substitute family. Tore Bjørgo states that the most

³⁰"Katrine levde ett år med skinheads,"(Katrine Lived one Year with Skinheads), *Verdens Gang*, 16 September 1995, under the keyword "Nazism," accessed, 9 November 2000.

common way youths make contact with racists groups is by being introduced through friends or older siblings who are already members themselves.³¹

Conclusion

The most important feature of historic inheritance is the revolutionary thoughts in *Mein Kampf* and making an Aryan humanity at the expense of the Jews. As we will show in the next chapter, some of the right-wingers have changed in their ideology somewhat, becoming more militant in trying to achieve their goals. The original right wing environment in Scandinavia, the political parties' part of the parliamentary system, still stands by the foundation from the original ideas in *Mein Kampf*. Important in this context is whether this part of the environment still poses a threat. Taking into consideration the limited number of parties that exists, the limited support these parties have in Norway,³² and their relatively legitimate way of trying to achieve their goals, this part of the environment poses little or no threat either to government personnel or to mainstream society. The parliamentary right wing structure in Norway works more or less within the limits of the law, and has a firm structure and management. In Sweden the situation is essentially the same, even if the support there is somewhat stronger.³³ Though their revolutionary ideology in itself is counter productive and thus a burden on the society, the governmental part of the right wing environment is no real threat.

³¹Bjørge, *Racist and Right Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 207.

³²Antiracists Senter, *Rikets tilstand 1999*, (The State of the Nation), 75. The parliamentary part of the Norwegian milieu is more or less gone. Some of the parties are dissolved, and the party that exists has very little support.

³³Swedish Security Service, 1998, 32. The dominant xenophobic party is Sverigedemokraterna – the Sweden Democrats – formed in 1988, when they obtained a mere 1,118 votes in the parliamentary election. In 1998 they obtained a total of 13,889 votes in the parliamentary election.

On the other hand, the militant part, which I will discuss in more detail in the next chapter, poses more of a threat to some groups in the society. Militants have adopted the thoughts of a Racial War against the ZOG and *The Turner Diaries* from 1980. Their legacy is more in the direction of violent illegal action against the ZOG and the “racial traitors” to prevent the ZOGs from establishing a foothold in Scandinavia. The motivation for a small part of the militant faction is based on the fear of immigration, and what this would do to the welfare and unemployment rates of the different countries. For the larger part of the militant right-wingers the motivation is based on a much weaker ideology. Most of the violent actions carried out by members of this faction are thrill seeking or coincidences.

CHAPTER THREE

IDEOLOGY, RHETORIC, AND JUSTIFICATION

The ideological foundation and rhetoric of the militant part of the right wing environment in Scandinavia are both significant justification for right wing environment, action, and behavior.

Ideology

Are the right-wingers in Scandinavia unified in their ideology? With effort we can discern two different groups in Scandinavia. These are the neo-Nazis and racial revolutionary groups on the one hand, and the extreme nationalists and anti-immigration organizations. Working within the limits of the law, the extreme nationalists and anti-immigration organizations, look upon themselves as “the new resistance pressure group,” fighting a “Muslim invasion.” For this environment, the old anti-Semitic ideas from the Hitler epoch still apply. As described in chapter two, this faction has relatively modest significance; therefore, the attention in the rest of the paper will be directed towards the more significant militant neo-Nazis and racial revolutionary groups.

The neo-Nazis and racial revolutionary groups normally operate with illegal means and see themselves as an “Aryan resistance movement” which has the task of preventing the “Zionist Occupation Government” and the “racial traitors” from establishing a foothold in Scandinavia. Late in the 1980s and early in the 1990s a distinct change took place. Parts of the traditional right wing environment took after a trend in the U.S.; they turned to the ideology of the “Zionist Occupation Government” and *The Turner Diaries* and became more militant in their modus operandi. Being dissatisfied with the parliamentary faction, and their ability to achieve their

goals, a large part of the young members left and formed a militant faction.³⁴ The parties lost the support of the youth who had wanted another ideology and strategy to achieve the goals. This radicalization of youth occurred in the parties in all three countries, but the change was most noticeable in Sweden. Heléne Lööw claims that this shift left the older and more peaceful men in the original party structure, while the younger “quick tempered” young boys formed the militant faction. The militant faction decided to change to the ideology described by the U.S. far right group Aryan Nation and to *The Turner Diaries*.

The White Power activist, Dr. William Pierce, under the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald, wrote *The Turner Diaries*, a discussion and strategy for a race war in America, which includes a truck bombing of a federal building similar to the recent bombing in Oklahoma City. The book describes a long fight by white supremacists, who ultimately win, and how they continue the fight with mass terror, especially against colored Americans, white women who consort with them, and liberal journalists.³⁵ The ideology expressed in *The Turner Diaries*, and mirrored in the Swedish right wing newspaper *Storm*, regard the “white masses” as passive accomplices to racial treachery by allowing themselves to be submissive to the Jews. Thus, they cannot claim to be innocent victims if terror strikes them, according to Turner.³⁶

Even if the ideology has changed somewhat, racism still has a central place in their ideology, dividing humanity into different races, some of which are superior to others. The “lower elements” include Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals, and the handicapped. The view of Jews as international conspirators is not new, but the ZOG concept has come to the fore increasingly in recent years. This means not only the Jews themselves, but also the media, the

³⁴Lööw, 46.

³⁵Harmon, 19.

³⁶Pierce, 197-198.

police, the judiciary, and the politicians, who are regarded as race traitors, having sold their souls to the Jews. Thus, groups at risk of attack by this militant faction (called White Power activists) are a diverse company. In reality this makes the whole of society, through its alleged conspiracy with Judaism, a potential target for the militant faction in Scandinavia. Additionally, we can also see that the militant faction to a much larger extent speaks about internationalist ideas instead of nationalist ideas. As a replacement for fighting for the nation as such, the struggle is more for the “superiority of the white race” irrespective of nationality.³⁷ The militant environment has a number of international contacts, mostly person to person. Within Scandinavia, however, contacts have been particularly intensive, both from individuals and from groups, with activists from various countries meeting for concerts, demonstrations, and manifestations. In the newspaper *Dagbladet* the Norwegian Security Police expressed concern about this extensive cooperation within the Scandinavian countries. The Security Police confirmed this worry in a letter to the author.³⁸ The Security Police assess the Norwegian right wing environment to have become stronger as a result of this cooperation.³⁹

Jeffrey Kaplan emphasizes the concept of “leaderless resistance,” which he argues

³⁷Swedish Security Service, 1998, *Offences Related to National Internal Security* 1997, 41.

³⁸Norwegian Security Police, Oslo, Mr. Øystein Berger’s letter to Major Baekken, subject: “Background Information for Masters Paper,” 5 December 2000.

³⁹“Nynazisme,” (neo-Nazism), *Dagbladet*, under the keywords “POT,” accessed on *Start*, 21 November 2000.

emerged in the early 1960s.⁴⁰ Initially this concept was for irregular warfare against invading “communist” troops, but later it was adapted by the far right in their struggle against the government. Kaplan claims that the concept of leaderless resistance is more of a mark of despair than a revolutionary strategy. This is logical because the militant groups may be defined as a lone wolf concept in which the individual, or a small group, takes on the state, independent of any environment, firm structure, or network of support. Moreover, the violence is normally random in its form, and targets are selected on the basis of their perceived vulnerability and their symbolic importance. Thus, acts from these individuals, or small groups, may be aimed at very diverse targets such as gay bookstores or clubs, or government officials or buildings, and are not based upon a firm strategy. The web site of the Scandinavian part of Blood and Honour (right wing group) explicitly takes this view; they believe in direct actions, Leaderless Resistance, and revolution.⁴¹

Heléne Lööw takes a somewhat different approach to this issue; she agrees with Kaplan that the organizational structure has become more vague and that individuals or small groups with no clear strategy often commit actions. On the other hand, she clearly describes the right wing perpetrators as being revolutionary. In 1992 the Swedish militant right-wingers publicly stated their new tactics in an article in *Nordisk Kamp* (Nordic Fight); “. . . we will commit theft and bank robbery to be able to fund our fight against the Zionist Occupation Government and we will not spare any means to keep Sweden Swedish. . . .”⁴² This change in ideology hardened the

⁴⁰Jeffrey Kaplan, “Leaderless Resistance,” in *Terrorism and Political Violence* (London: Frank Cass, 1997), 80.

⁴¹“Presenting the Blood & Honour Scandinavia, as well as the International Blood & Honour, to the world-wide internet viewers,” Blood and Honour Web Site, <http://www.bloodandhonour.com/front/info.html>, accessed 15 January 2001.

⁴²Lööw, 50.

climate in Sweden and in the other two Scandinavian countries. This was not only rhetoric as the recent episode in which two police officers were shot dead by three right-wingers in Sweden after a bank robbery in 1999 shows.⁴³ In his recent *Heritage Lecture*, Ambassador L. Paul Bremer supports the view of Kaplan. In a study on new terrorist threats, Bremer concludes that terrorists of today are more difficult to combat because of the lack of structure in their organizations. In the 1970s and 1980s terrorists normally organized in cellular structures. Today the new groups are less hierarchical; they tend to be *ad hoc* groups, which come together for one operation.⁴⁴ The same “leaderless” organization has been identified both within the Swedish Vitt Ariskt Motstånd (VAM - White Aryan Resistance), and the Norwegian Boot Boys.

The development of the right-wing environment in Scandinavia from the late 1980s is illustrated in Appendix A. This wire diagram clearly shows the two distinct directions the two factions chose. There are some “gray areas” where there are overlapping interests and limited connections between the two factions; the militant faction clearly benefits from the parliamentary faction’s use of public rhetoric and some of the members almost certainly operate in both factions, or between them. One example is the Norwegian Folkebevegelsen Mot Innvandring (FMI - Norway Against Immigration), which is very similar to the parties, but has no parliamentary foundation. In several incidents, members of FMI have been associated with activities carried out by the militant faction. The two factions share part of the ideology and part of the ends (goals), but they separate in their ways and means (strategy and tactics) on how to achieve their goals.

⁴³“Polismorden i Malexander,” (The Police Murder in Malexander), *Aftonbladet*, under the keyword “Nazism,” accessed on *Evreka*, 9 November 2000.

⁴⁴Paul L. Bremer, *New Terrorist Threats and How to Counter Them*, Heritage Lectures, No 678, [31 July 2000], Washington D.C.

As earlier stated, Scandinavia experienced a growth in the militant groups. In Sweden VAM emerged, in Norway Norsk Front [NF] (Norwegian Front) appeared, and in Denmark Combat 18 materialized. All of these militant right wing groups derived from parties within their country, and formed more outspoken and violent organizations on their own. The new militant environment throughout Scandinavia shared the same ideology and goals, to start a racial war against the ZOG to create a “pure” country with no ZOG and racial traitors. At the outset it was relatively clear that Sweden had the greatest number of such groups and the biggest problem with violence;⁴⁵ Denmark was the country with the least problems.

The core of the militant group’s orientation was that the Scandinavian countries were occupied and controlled by Jews and their lackeys. The right-wingers claim that the central objective of ZOG is to destroy the white race through mixing of races by means of immigration. Hence, the only way to prevent the Aryan race from extermination is by fighting a racial war against the ZOG, and its minions; they are trying to create a “white zone” in the individual countries and in Scandinavia as a whole. It looks like the right-wingers in Scandinavia based their ideology on *The Turner Diaries*. According to Tore Bjørgo, *The Turner Diaries* became something of a cult book. The basic elements of the right wing extremists’ orientation has been described by Wilhelm Heitmeyer as an ideology of considering inequality between people and an acceptance of violence as a legitimate form for political action.⁴⁶ Daniel Hansson’s view is representative of why young boys join the right wing groups. Hansson was interviewed about this by *Aftonbladet*. “I hated everybody and everything long before I joined. The Nazis gave me

⁴⁵“Stiftelsen Hvite Busser til Auschwitz,” (The Institution for White Busses for Auschwitz), <http://www.hvitebusser.no/stiftelsen.htm>, accessed 19 November 2000.

⁴⁶Wilhelm Heitmeyer, *Rechtsextremistische Orientierungen bei Jugendlichen*, 4th edition, in Tore Bjørgo, *Racist and Right Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 21.

a direction and an ideology. In my group I could live out my hate, as I wanted. The ideology suited me fine.”⁴⁷ This statement shows that the right-wingers work with less structure, and that they work from the motivation of trying to persuade people of the wisdom of their political cause. They are acting for ideological objectives, and they are not necessarily constrained in number of casualties they want to inflict as long as it helps their cause.

Rhetoric

Rhetoric is both a way of spreading propaganda and a justification for behavior. Right-wingers’ rhetoric has a threefold purpose: to provide sources of historical legitimization, to provide common terminology, and to facilitate recruitment. Although the right wing groups tend to be highly violent in their discourse, their practice rarely approaches the level of violence one could expect from their rhetoric. Despite this fact, there have been so many acts of violence, harassment, and threats in Scandinavia in recent years, that their hate speech cannot be characterized as “merely rhetoric.” In other words, rhetoric is linked to the strategy and tactics. In all three countries the right wing group’s rhetoric has been followed by violence. In Denmark, an activist of International Socialists was killed by a parcel bomb in 1992; likewise, a bomb was found at the scene of an anti-racist demonstration in Sweden the same year; and the year after, members of the Norwegian National People’s party carried out bombing attacks against the homes of a communist party leader and a journalist who had written a book on the neo-Nazis.

In Appendices B and C, two Internet sites show examples of their rhetoric. In Appendix B Danish right-wingers claim that the government suppresses national [right-wing] opposition to

⁴⁷“Från skolkare – til kallblodig mördare,” (From a Drop-Out to a Cold Blooded Murderer), under the keyword “Nazism,” accessed on *Evreka*, 19 November 2000. Daniel Hansson was convicted of murdering a 14-year-old boy in Sweden in 1995.

immigration policy, and in Appendix C the Blood and Honour attempt to make a martyr of a 17-year-old skinhead who allegedly was murdered by immigrant “scum”, calling him the Horst Wessel of this time. The Internet, which is discussed in Chapter five, seems to be a new way of spreading rhetoric. Earlier the right wing environment relied more on newspapers like the Norwegian *Norge er Vårt* (Our Norway), and *Folk og Land* (People and Country) to get its message and its rhetoric out to the members and people in general. The rhetoric is direct and brutal in its description of what the goals are and what means they are willing to use to achieve those goals. The examples below are from the Swedish right wing magazine *Storm*⁴⁸, and the Norwegian militant organization *Zorn*.⁴⁹

Our wonderful race is on the brink of total extermination. It is our assignment to save the remnants out of the decadence and misery of the present situation and to restore it to its former honor and greatness. This can only take place in one way, by struggle! ...No people has perished by hunger, war or disease, but rather because its blood has been tarnished.

As National Socialists we are more concerned with exposing the worldwide Zionist activities of deceit and banditry, and attacking the actual cause of the immigration problem, rather than turning against the individual immigrant.

Today, we also see an increasing use of White Power music to spread the rhetoric associated with the right wing environment, and to provide the setting for social and ritual events. The principal nation in Scandinavia in this respect is Sweden. In an article in *Dagbladet* Heléne Lööw claims that the leading right wing market success is White Power music.⁵⁰ In Sweden one of the White Power music magazines has a circulation of 30, 000 copies. A CD

⁴⁸Vitt Ariskt Motstånd, magazine *Storm*, no 7-8, 1992.

⁴⁹Zorn, magazine *Gjallarhorn*, no 1, 1989.

⁵⁰“Hvit makt i blått og gult,”(White Power in Blue and Yellow), *Dagbladet*, under the keywords “Nynazisme,” accessed on *Start*, 22 November 2000.

with right wing propaganda typically sells about 10, 000 copies. According to Lööw, this activity is one of the biggest sources of income and one of the most important sources of propaganda and rhetoric. Blood and Honour's web site confirms this, and admits that White Power music is an important propaganda weapon.⁵¹

Justification

Justification is as closely linked to rhetoric as rhetoric is linked to strategy and tactics. Right-wingers often justify their actions by blaming external factors like unemployment and an increase in immigration. This is why the political and academic debate concerning the problem of rising xenophobic and racist violence looks at the same indicators: unemployment rates, the increase in the number of asylum-seekers, and government policies regarding restrictions on immigration. In one case in Norway in 1992, where a local gang started an intense campaign of violence and harassment against refugees settled in the community, the youth claimed the refugees got social benefits they themselves were denied.⁵² In police reports and court transcripts there are many examples of unemployment as justification for violent behavior. Looking at recent unemployment rates in Scandinavia, this argument is not entirely "black and white." Norwegian Public Report⁵³ states that unemployment rates in the three Scandinavian countries have been low since the mid-1960s. In comparison, the U.S. has a higher average of unemployment in the same period, as shown in Appendix D, figure 4. According to these figures, unemployment should not be an argument for the right-wingers, for unemployment has

⁵¹"Presenting the Blood & Honour Scandinavia, as well as the International Blood & Honour, to the world-wide internet viewers," Blood and Honour Web Site, <http://www.bloodandhonour.com/front/info.html>, accessed 15 January 2001.

⁵²Bjørger, *Racist and Right Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 97.

⁵³Norsk Offentlig Utredning nr 21/2000, (Norwegian Public Report), Department of the Treasury, 30 June 2000, annex 2, 1.

been generally low in all three Scandinavian countries. Sweden is the country with the highest average of unemployment. On the other hand, Tore Bjørge has put together a graph showing youth unemployment, arriving asylum-seekers, and attacks on asylum centers in Sweden, showing another trend. Figure 6 in Appendix D shows a clear connection between youth unemployment and attacks on asylum centers in Sweden. Looking at these graphs there are undoubtedly some connections among the number of immigrants, unemployment, and attacks carried out by right-wingers. Thus, the right wing environment in Scandinavia clearly uses the increase of immigrants to justify their behavior.

Conclusion

Right-wingers in Scandinavia are not unified in their ideology. We can discern two different groups: the neo-Nazi and racial revolutionary groups, and the extreme nationalists and anti-immigration organizations. After the youth broke with the parliamentary part of the right wing environment, the neo-Nazis and the revolutionary groups turned to the ideas in the *Turner Diaries*, and based their ideology on the fight against the ZOG and the racial traitors. This change in ideology took place in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, and was most noticeable in Sweden. Racism is still central in their ideology, but the fight against the ZOG and their followers has overshadowed the older anti-Semitic ideas. A common trend within Scandinavia is that the right wing organization is based on a “leaderless resistance”, or a loose structure, where individuals, or small groups, act on their own. The ideology is of a revolutionary character and is more militant; use of violence against diverse targets is more accepted. Another distinct change is the focus on the struggle for the “superiority of the white race” without any concern of nation. The right-wingers have to a certain degree abandoned the fight for the single nation as such. The militant factions use rhetoric deliberately; it is part of

their party line and rhetoric is often followed by violence. Within Scandinavia, Sweden has the most outspoken militant groups. VAM was particularly militant in its behavior. We see similar tendencies, but on a smaller scale in Norway. In spite of very few statistics from Denmark, it appears that the militant groups followed the same evolution; Denmark, however, has fewer problems than Sweden and Norway.

CHAPTER FOUR STRATEGY AND TACTICS

A discussion of right wing strategy and an overview of the different patterns of violence and harassment against government personnel and the social mainstream are necessary to understand the situation in Scandinavia.

Strategy

This paper defines strategy as the application of means to advance certain ends.⁵⁴ Appendix A gives view of the ideology, strategy, tactics, and goals of the parliamentary and militant part of the right wing environment. The militant faction's ideology has been described in Chapter Three as the fight against the ZOG and the forthcoming Great Racial War. The strategy to achieve the ultimate goal of a "pure" country with no ZOG and racial traitors is terrorism, a flagrantly illegal important means to advance political ends.

In all three Scandinavian countries there is some legislation prohibiting activity connected to xenophobic and racist activity. Sweden actually has no laws specifically addressing xenophobic or racist crime. These two terms have emerged from police reports and have so far been dealt with as ethnic agitation (penal code 16:8), unlawful discrimination (penal code 16:9), and a provision for augmented punishment for crimes including those with racist motive (penal code 29:2, subsection 7).⁵⁵ In Norway and Denmark the situation is more or less the same. In 1970 Norway ratified the UN International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, and the government adjusted the penal code accordingly. The Constitution § 110 was passed in 1994, and the text states that the government shall secure and respect human

⁵⁴Harmon, 44.

⁵⁵Swedish Security Service, 1998, 12.

rights. In 1998 Norway ratified the European convention on protection of minorities; furthermore, White Paper No. 21, an action plan for human rights, was ratified by Parliament. The dilemma is that these laws have been more symbolic than real protection for ethnic minorities in Norwegian society. The lack of police action in some of the incidents has sent wrong signals to ethnic minorities. Dr. Bjørgo claims that the police during the 1980s and 1990s, were too quick to reject the possibility that there were any racist or xenophobic motives behind specific acts of violence against immigrants and asylum-seekers – even when such dimension were all too obvious.⁵⁶

This neglect affects the image of the police, which was the case in the little Norwegian town Brumunddal early in the 1990s. Brumunddal experienced a series of violent acts against immigrants and refugees without any action from the police. The situation was so bad that the Norwegian newspaper, *Aftenposten*, wrote an editorial with the following title; “Brumunddal – The Place God Forgot.”⁵⁷ As a contrasting case, the Manglerud police in Oslo, were among the first in the local community to notice that a group of militant young racists was emerging in its area in 1995. The police analyzed the problem, approached the parents, the school system, and other relevant community agencies. This approach was successful, and the militant group was dissolved later the same year. As of now violence against government personnel and the societal mainstream, on the other hand, is covered by the existing penal code.

In an attempt to solve the problem regarding xenophobic and racist crime, the political establishment in Sweden just recently discussed whether or not to propose a law prohibiting right

⁵⁶Bjørgo, *Racist and Right Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 321.

⁵⁷“Brumunddal – stedet Gud glemte,” (Brumunddal – The Place God forgot), *Aftenposten*, under the keyword “Brumunddal,” accessed on *Skandinavia On-line*, 15 January 2001.

wing groups. This debate occurred after several incidents where right-wingers killed two police officers and a labor union activist in 1999.⁵⁸ The Swedish *Riksdag* (government) decided not to forward a law to restrict people's democratic rights, even though the opinion poll showed that 73 percent of the Swedish population was in favor of a ban.⁵⁹ The leader of the Konservative Moderaterne (Conservatives), Bo Lundgren, said that a law like this would only create more underground groups.⁶⁰

Tactics

Tactics are the attacks, threats, and other specific propaganda missives the right-wingers employ to achieve their ultimate goal. Because of space limitations a discussion of patterns of violence can only uncover the "tip of the iceberg;" thus the focus will be on violence against government personnel and the societal mainstream. Has the number of violent episodes with xenophobic and racist motives increased or decreased in the last 15 years?

Until the beginning of the 1990s, the modus operandi in all three countries was street violence in the form of assault by a small group, or gang, normally targeted against ethnic minorities and immigrants.⁶¹ In all three countries, however, there have been larger scale operations where big groups of right wing extremists have attacked refugee centers and political

⁵⁸"Vakna up nu, politiker," (Wake up, Politician), *Aftonbladet*, under the keyword "Nazism," accessed on *Evreka*, 23 November 2000.

⁵⁹Poll carried out by the Swedish Institute for Opinion Research, 1999. According to a Foreign Broadcast Information Service Translation of a Swedish Embassy Report.

⁶⁰"Ingen svensk lov mot nazisme," (No Swedish Law against Nazism), *Aktuellt*, under the keyword "Nazism," accessed 4 November 2000.

⁶¹Bjørge, *Racist and Right Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 86.

opponents. The recent attack in Norway on 16 May 2000 on a refugee center in Steinkjer is one example.⁶²

From the early 1990s, the militant faction developed tactics based on three main guidelines: the use of propaganda, public manifestations, and the most important, individuals, or small groups committing crime and violence in order to get money for the cause.

Statistical data from official sources in the three Scandinavian countries are either lacking or - at best – of uneven quality. Sweden is the only country in Scandinavia making an attempt to establish a database on violence by right wing extremists. Sweden started keeping statistics in 1990, and the number of registered cases dropped from 640 cases in 1993 to 430 cases in 1994. Dr Bjørge found a general decrease in incidents in Scandinavia in the period from 1989 to 1994, mainly because attacks on asylum centers dropped approximately 80 percent in one year.⁶³

A graver and more worrisome development, though, was an increase in the number of incidents of serious bodily harm and death in Sweden. In 1995, for instance, at least three people were killed in violence with some right wing extremist or racist dimension. Furthermore, between 1991 and 1997 there have been at least six murders with a homophobic dimension in Norway.⁶⁴ Such incidents of the last few years indicate a trend, especially in Sweden. The killing of two policemen by right-wingers Tony Olsson and Andreas Axelsson on 27 October 1999 indicates a continuation and development of such hardened activity. Trends in Norway seem to follow the Swedish development, but on a much smaller scale. The perpetrators in

⁶²"Asylmottak forberedte evakuering," (Refugee-center Prepared Evakuation), *Trønderavisa*, under the keyword "Asylmottak", accessed 1 December 2000. Forces from the Norwegian Civil Defense were called out to first prevent, thereafter reduce the violence during an attack on a refugee-center in Steinkjer.

⁶³Bjørge, *Racist and Right Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 76-77.

⁶⁴According to the homosexual magazine *Blikk* No. 4, April 1997.

Sweden and Norway have not only used more force, but they have changed targets to include policemen, other government officials, union leaders, journalists,⁶⁵ and other people deemed to be racial traitors. In Denmark today, very few statistics are available on xenophobic and racist violence; nevertheless, it looks as if the violence that occurs is more like street violence than terrorist activity.

Statistics on violent attacks are important, and may provide useful information when it comes to judging the right-wingers' capability and intent. Statistics, however, are burdened with several weaknesses, especially the statistics shown in Appendix D, figure 3. Much of this information is gathered from newspapers and other secondary sources. Looking at figure 1, 2 and 3 in Appendix D shows the following: Sweden has had the most xenophobic and racist violence in Scandinavia; Norway follows the same trend on a smaller scale; Denmark is the country with the least problems. Furthermore, there was a significant drop in attacks on refugee-centers in 1992-1993, which is remarkable since the overall unemployment rate rose in Scandinavia in this period. This indicates that unemployment alone is not a decisive factor. What was more decisive was that the number of immigrants drastically dropped in Sweden from 1992. In Chapter Two we have stated that the majority of the violent acts occur because the perpetrators would like to make a statement, often a statement without any ideological base. A small, but significant minority, though, carries out a smaller number of the violent acts.

The statistics in figure 3 show that there has been more grave violence the last few years, and that Sweden has the biggest problem in Scandinavia. Moreover, there has been a change of focus, and today we see more violence against government personnel and the societal mainstream. In Denmark, however, it is difficult to see the same development because of the

⁶⁵Journalists seem to be a popular target for all kind of terrorists. "62 Journalists Killed in 2000, Reports Says," *Washington Post*, 20 December 2000, Final Edition, A31.

lack of recent statistic material. In general, Norway follows the same pattern as Sweden.

Finally, figure 1 indicates that the number of attacks comes in waves. Why is this so? One likely reason is the increase or decrease of immigrants; another may be the increase in media coverage in the last few years. Walter Laqueur claims that the journalist and the television camera are the terrorist's best friends,⁶⁶ something which will be addressed more thoroughly later in this paper.

In Sweden the tendency is relatively clear. The right-wingers activity follows the tactics formed in the early 1990s and can normally be divided into two categories, the use of propaganda and actions of various sorts. The militant right-wingers continue their annual remembrance marches, among them, the march for warrior-king Karl XII as an archetype of Swedish imperial past. These marches are part of their tradition and are important in their propaganda, which is prioritized, together with the spreading of news bills, posters, and readers' letters in magazines. Production of magazines, concerts, and other public demonstrations is also part of the propaganda effort. Most of these activities are legal; it is their contents that are illegal. Actions, on the other hand, are more dramatic and violent than propaganda methods. Actions vary and include everything from telephone terror to murder. Comparing figure 3 with figure 2 in Appendix D, it is evident that violence with a xenophobic and racist nature has increased. Perhaps more importantly, the numbers of incidents directed against government personnel and the societal mainstream have increased dramatically.

In Scandinavia there are uncertain estimates of the extent of xenophobic and racist activity. The gravest actions in Sweden in recent years are the slaying of two policemen and the labor union activist Björn Söderberg in 1999. After robbing a bank for 2.6 million Swedish kroner, three men fled, evading two roadblocks before two policemen stopped them at the third

⁶⁶Walter Laqueur, *The Age of Terrorism* (Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1987), 121.

roadblock. Without any hesitation the perpetrators pulled out at least two automatic rifles and fired over one hundred rounds at the two policemen. The policemen were not killed instantly, but were executed at point blank on the ground by the bank robbers, who then escaped from the scene, to be caught by the police several days later. The money from the robbery was to go to the National Socialist Front, of which the three men were members. Today all three perpetrators are convicted and facing eleven years imprisonment. In October of the same year, labor union activist Björn Söderberg was killed in the stairway of his home. Söderberg was known as an upright man who always spoke out when he felt something was wrong. Just days before his slaying he had learned that a right-winger had a trusted task within his own organization. He disagreed with this employment, and the right wing employee was fired the day after. A few days later three right-wingers killed him in a well-planned and executed assassination. All three perpetrators belonged to the same group, the National Socialist Front. Today they face life imprisonment.⁶⁷ These two incidents were the two gravest in Sweden in 1999, but there are more examples of attempted murder, threats, and other violence. These slayings are simply examples of how far the right-wingers are willing to go to achieve the goal of creating a ZOG free state.

There are numerous examples of right wing violence in Sweden committed by over one thousand active right-wingers and their more than two thousand supporters.⁶⁸

⁶⁷"Tony Olsson vagrar ta emot sin fru," (Tony Olsson Will not See Wife), *Aftonbladet*, under the keyword "Nazism," accessed on *Evreka*, 28 November 2000.

⁶⁸"Nynazimen marcherer i hele Norden," (The neo-Nazis march in the Nordic Countries), *Aktuellt*, under the keyword "Nazism," accessed 4 December 2000.

This violence is varied and includes such acts: as a woman knifing an immigrant and being sentenced to 1 year and 10 months of imprisonment; three young men with Nazi sympathies being jailed after making telephone threats to a local politician; and several Nazis being jailed for serious weapon violations. Moreover, a car bomb nearly killed a Swedish journalist and his girlfriend in June 1999. Because the journalist wrote unfavorable articles about right wing groups in Sweden, right-wingers placed a bomb in his car after first threatening him several times prior to the bombing. This episode shows that the right wing groups are willing to act decisively. Both the journalist and his girlfriend later stated that they will never stop their fight against neo-Nazism.⁶⁹

Another frightening development is the right-wingers' use of threats. According to a survey made by the Swedish newspaper *Expressen*, more than 75 percent of the witnesses in cases against right-wingers or members of motorcycle gangs are threatened if they speak out in court.⁷⁰ Where threats do not work, murder or bodily harm may. There is no doubt that the activity from the right-wingers, and the focus on this activity in the news media, has created a lot of opposition against right wing groups in Sweden. In early January 2000, a Swedish trade union expelled two neo-Nazi members named in a media campaign against growing right wing violence.⁷¹ Furthermore, football teams and pop groups make appeals in order to awaken the politicians and the public to the threat. Moreover, numerous episodes from the far right triggered an historical newspaper campaign under the title: "We will never yield to the threats from

⁶⁹"Journalist vil fortsette kampen mot ny-nazismen," (Journalist will Continue Fight Against neo-Nazis) *Aftonbladet*, under the keyword "Nacka," accessed on *Evreka*, 29 November 2000.

⁷⁰"Tre av fyra åklagare har haft mål der vittnen skramts til tynad," (Three of Four Judges have had Witnesses Threatened to Silence), *Expressen*, under the keyword Nazism, accessed on *AD2YOU*, 28 November 2000.

⁷¹See page 37, four Swedish newspapers launch a news campaign against increasing problems with right wing activity in Sweden.

Nazism.” For the first time, exactly the same news was reported in Sweden’s four largest newspapers. The background was serious; it had become clear to the Swedish people, and to the mass media, that the right wing groups were becoming an increasing threat to the democracy. The four newspapers that normally compete with each other chose to use their common resources to expose the threats against a community governed by law. They wanted to show that they were not about to give in to terrorism.

The militant faction in Norway uses the same propaganda means as in Sweden. The annual remembrance march was held in Askim on 19 August 2000. Some 25 activists gathered for the unannounced march, arranged by the right wing group Boot Boys. Six of the activists in the group came from Sweden. This participation from Swedish activists, and similar support from Denmark,⁷² shows that there are clear connections and cooperation among the three countries. What is more important was the unwillingness of the police to stop the march even though it was in violation of several laws in the penal code. The march was unannounced, and more than a few of the participants covered their faces with masks, clearly in violation of Norwegian law. Still, it was not until later, on the way home, that nine of the right-wingers got arrested for driving stolen cars with false license plates.

It is safe to say that the violent attacks in Norway are following the same pattern as in Sweden, but are usually less fatal and fewer in number. Just recently (October 2000) Terje Sjølie and other members of the Norwegian right wing group, Boot Boys,⁷³ were arrested in Sweden

⁷²Circa 50 Danish, Swedish, Norwegian and German right-wingers marched in the honor of Rudolf Hess in the Danish city of Helsingø on July 29, 2000.

⁷³According to the Norwegian Security Police this right wing group has increased significantly in number the last five years. Norwegian Security Police, Oslo, Mr. Øystein Berger’s letter to Major Baekken, subject: “Background Information for Masters Paper,” 5 December 2000.

after a bank robbery in Norway. The robbery was a violent one where the perpetrators threatened the employees with shotguns. In the police pursuit, shots were fired at the police cars, a situation resembling the slaying of the two policemen in Sweden the year before. Also, in June and July of 2000, a Norwegian Jew and a Swedish journalist were seriously battered by right wing members. In October 2000, three members of the Norwegian Labor Union received death threats from the right-wing environment in Norway after speaking against neo-Nazism in different conferences. Even though the threats sent to the three men were childish, the police stated that they took them seriously, and that activity like this undermines democracy.⁷⁴

The threats created a massive and spontaneous reaction among the 1.2 million members of the Norwegian Labor Union. The different branches of the Labor Union united in an effort to fight neo-Nazism and right wing activity in Norway. As a result of these violent episodes, the extensive news coverage, and different demonstrations against the right-wingers, Norwegian Security Police admitted that there were at least 150 active right-wingers, with about thousand supporters in Norway.⁷⁵ In an interview in the Norwegian newspaper *Dagbladet*, Tore Bjørge, Norway's foremost expert on right wing groups and neo-Nazism, stated that many within the Norwegian right wing environment were capable of committing murder. He pointed out though that it is a long way from violent rhetoric to murder, and that those Swedish right-wingers had used violent rhetoric many years before they perpetrated their first murder.⁷⁶

An interesting aspect of the Norwegian fight against xenophobic and racist activity is revealed in recent comments from the UN Committee Against Race Discrimination. According

⁷⁴"Nynazistiske rettsaker," (Trials Against neo-Nazis), *Dagbladet*, under the keywords "Rettsaker," accessed on *Start*, 29 November 2000.

⁷⁵Norwegian Security Police, 5 December 2000.

⁷⁶"POT bekymret i hemmelig rapport," (The Security Police Worried in Secret Report), under the keyword, "Nazism," accessed 4 December 2000.

to the UN, Norway's statutory framework is far from satisfactory, and the effort to fight racism and discrimination is not acceptable. Despite lobbying from high-ranking Norwegian officials the criticism from the UN continues.⁷⁷ Officially the Norwegian government has so far waived the right to comment. The editor of the Norwegian report, *The State of the Nation*, supports the criticism from the UN. In the same article he claims that Norwegian authorities have been criticized for not doing enough to gather statistics on racist and ethnic violence. The UN report supports this paper's view of Norwegian statutory framework.

In Scandinavia it appears that Denmark is the country with the least right wing activity and the fewest activists. According to *Aktuelt* there are less than 100 hard, militant right-wingers and under a thousand sympathizers.⁷⁸ Very few statistics are available, and Danish news media have not reported more than a few incidents the last few years. Few actions against ethnic minorities, the societal mainstream, or government personnel are reported. According to the Danish newspapers *Berlingske Tidende*⁷⁹ and *Politiken*,⁸⁰ only one neo-Nazi has been brought before the courts on an attempted homicide in 1999. Threats against Danish politicians, however, have occurred in the last two years, especially against the historian Erik Jensen,⁸¹ who

⁷⁷"FN:Norge agerar inte tillräckligt mot rasism," (UN: Norway do not Act on Racism), *Expressen*, under the keyword, "*Racism*," accessed AD2YOU, 9 January 2000.

⁷⁸"Nynazimen marcherer i hele Norden," (The Neo/Nazis March in the Nordic Countries), "*Aktuelt*", under the keyword "*Nazism*," accessed 4 December 2000.

⁷⁹"Danish Nazi leader kept Behind Bars." According to the Foreign Broadcast Information Service translation of *Berlingske Tidende*, 27 January 2000.

⁸⁰"Halvandet aars faengsel til nazileder," (One and a half Years of Imprisonment for Nazi Leader), under the keyword "*Nazism*," accessed 4 December 2000.

⁸¹"Nynazimen marcherer i hele Norden," (The Neo/Nazis march in the Nordic Countries), "*Aktuelt*", under the keyword "*Nazism*," accessed 29 November 2000.

has spoken against the Nazis, and has consequently become hate object number one among Danish right-wingers.

Conclusion

The strategy militant right-wingers use to achieve a “pure” country and a ZOG-free Scandinavia is terrorism. The nature of the strategy the right-wingers follow is illegal, and thus often carried out in secret ways and as secret actions. This makes it very hard for Scandinavian Security Police to recognize and log statistics on right wing violence. For this reason there are few official statistics, reports or books on right wing activity in Scandinavia. This makes it difficult to pinpoint the extent of right wing activity.

So far it appears that all three countries have some legislation prohibiting activity related to xenophobic and racist activity. However, that the legislation is too broad and symbolic to really protect the ethnic minorities became clear when the UN Committee Against Race Discrimination commented on Norway’s poor statutory framework. The interest to change legislation in the different countries does not seem to be present at this time. The Swedish failed attempt to prohibit right wing groups proves the lack of willingness among the politicians, even though the opinion poll showed that 73 percent of the people favored a ban. Among the three Scandinavian countries, Norway is the one which has developed the most policies on how to handle the racist and right-wingers at the local community level. These policies are mostly based on the lessons learned from the Brumunddal experience. At the state level, it appears that Sweden is the country with the most developed policies, at least when measured in terms of public reports (like the Swedish Security Service report used in this paper), policy statements, and information campaigns.

The tactics used to support the right-wingers strategy are attacks. The means to achieve their goals include propaganda of all kinds, public manifestations, and violent and direct actions of different types. It is obvious that the willingness to use violence became more distinctive from the early 1990s. This conclusion is supported by the Norwegian Security Police who say that the number of violent and non-violent actions from the extreme Right has increased the last 8 to 10 years. In the early 1990s the number of attacks were few; today the Security Police in Norway claims that there is at least one violent action of racist origin every week. On 2 December 2000, several right-wingers stabbed and severely hurt a man of foreign origin in Oslo.⁸² Furthermore, in Sweden and to a certain extent in Norway, violent actions have moved from ethnic minorities towards a focus on government personnel and the societal mainstream, with Sweden having significantly more violence than Norway. Denmark on the other hand, has less racist and xenophobic violence overall. The actions carried out in Scandinavia in recent years, like the killing of the Swedish policemen in 1999, have often been by individuals, or by small groups, seeking to silence opposition or to acquire money for the cause.

⁸²Norwegian Security Police, 5 December 2000.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

This chapter looks at the effects the mass media have on the right wing environment. At least five predominant effects have been identified: the effect of media as a social sanction, the educational effect, mass-media as a recruitment factor, the contagion effect, and the effect of media coverage as an “anticipation” of more effect. Answering a number of questions will illustrate these effects. What does the society do to utilize the news media in its fight against the right-wingers? Are the media sources used primarily for sanctions, or recruitment? How do the right wing organizations use the media? What has been the importance of the so-called White Power music and the extensive use of the Internet? Are there any laws prohibiting or reducing the right-wingers’ ability to use the media? Presented in such a form, the questions are very wide-ranging, and consequently can only be answered in a broad manner. The conclusion will address whether the media itself is enhancing the lethality and capability of the right wing groups.

Media as a social sanction

In Scandinavia, Sweden is the country that has best utilized the news media to work against the right-wingers. In December 1999, because of an increase in right wing activity in Sweden, four major newspapers launched a campaign aimed at discrediting and weakening the right wing groups.⁸³ The four newspapers, *Expressen*, *Aftonbladet*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, and *Dagens Nyheter*, decided to go public with the names and photos of the 62 most known and famous right-wingers in Sweden, and a detailed description of the right wing environment was

⁸³“Strid om svenske avisers nazist-aksjon,” (Dispute on Swedish Newspaper’s Nazi action), *Aftenposten*, under the keyword “Nazisme,” accessed on *Skandinavia On-line*, 16 October 2000.

published. This campaign had a positive effect on public opinion in the way it put the problem on the agenda. Some believed it would hamper right wing recruitment, and others thought it would make it even more difficult for those who want out, to get out of these groups.

Criminology professor Jerzy Sarnecki supports the first assumption, believing that recruitment will be hampered severely.⁸⁴

As a response to these exposures, the right wing groups bombarded the newspapers with e-mails as a punishment for what they saw as unpleasant journalism. The still ongoing debate in Sweden is whether this newspaper campaign actually strengthened the different right wing environments, or hampered their recruitment. On one hand it is obvious that the campaign created a public debate and a contagious effect in other Scandinavian countries. In Denmark, the Swedish campaign launched a debate in the newspaper *Aktuelt*⁸⁵ which was similar, if not of the same scale. In contrast it has also been claimed by the right-wingers themselves that publicity strengthens their organization and brings more young boys to their cause. What was proven, on the other hand, is that the political climate in Stockholm changed as a direct result of the extensive media coverage.⁸⁶ A series of initiatives was launched against these groups, not because of their beliefs, but because of their violent behavior and the assurance of more violence.

In some cases, media coverage can create the opposite of what is intended. In 1986 a Swedish neo-Nazi, Ronny Öhman, was killed by a handful of immigrants, and almost at the same time neo-Nazis killed a punk, Ronny Landin. The persons convicted of killing the neo-Nazi got

⁸⁴"Strid om svenske avisers nazist-aksjon" (Dispute on Swedish Newspaper's Nazi Action), *Aftenposten*, under the keyword "Nazisme," accessed on *Skandinavia On-line*, 4 November 2000.

⁸⁵"Nynazimen marcherer i hele Norden," (The neo-Nazis March in the Nordic Countries), *"Aktuelt"*, under the keyword "Nazism," accessed 1 November 2000.

⁸⁶"Svensk Nazisme," (Swedish Nazism), *"Aftenposten"* under the keyword "Nazism," accessed on *Scandinavia On-line*, 4 November 2000.

from four to five years of imprisonment, while the three persons convicted of killing Ronny Landin got from four to six years of imprisonment. The newspapers wrote a series of articles reporting in positive terms the person killing the neo-Nazi, while doing the opposite concerning the neo-Nazi killing the punk. In other words, in one case the perpetrators are demonized, and in the other case the focus of the media is on the difficult situation of the perpetrators. In these particular cases the news media failed to be a critic of the right wing environment; on the contrary, the media created a martyr and a will among the right-wingers which the media itself not had anticipated.

Media as an educational factor

Hostility towards immigrants and asylum-seekers is often rooted in fear. Many people tend to typecast “foreigners” as a large, undifferentiated mass of immigrants, as criminals or as “Muslim fanatics.” In most cases this typecast originates in a lack of knowledge. A very good example of how the media can contribute to inform people is an article from the *Washington Post* called “Living in a Foreign Land.” This article stated that anti-foreigner sentiment was growing in Western Europe, largely because of a lack of knowledge. The article offered a graph showing some countries’ foreign or foreign-born populations as a percentage of total population. Australia has the highest percentage of foreigners, with a total of 21.1 percent, and Japan the lowest percentage with only 1.2 percent. In Scandinavia, Sweden has 5.6 percent, Denmark 4.8 percent, and Norway 3.7 percent, numbers that should serve as an educational factor. Revealing the relatively low numbers of foreigners in the population should put the “foreigner fear” into

perspective,⁸⁷ and thus prevent violence rooted in fear. A small minority should not be seen as a great demographic threat.

Secondly, the news coverage of the two incidents in Stockholm in 1986 is an example where the media were biased and did not act as an educational source. The one case was based on half-truths and distorted facts; such journalism does not help in educating people. Moreover, media tend to focus on minorities in the context of “problems” and crime, conflicts, economic costs, and diseases, a focus often viewed as wrong. Non-Norwegians, as an illustration, carried out only 5.5 percent of all criminal activity in Norway in 1998.⁸⁸ The President of the National Union of Journalists in Norway, Olav Njaastad, supports the ideal of journalism reporting facts and actual happenings.⁸⁹ His opinion is that media should report facts instead of turning out papers from the “yellow press.” Moreover, Olav Njaastad is strongly against trying to kill the right-wingers by silence. On the contrary, his view is to report on their historical and ideological base in editorials, with the intention of repudiating their views. By means of this sort of journalism he believes that the news in itself will have an educative effect on both the right-winger and his surroundings. The individual will start to reflect, and the community will affect him, with the consequence that some will leave and some will get even more entangled in the right wing environment. In this context, media coverage will make the environment more

⁸⁷“Living in a Foreign Land,” *Washington Post*, 14 October 2000, Final Edition, A15. The percentage for Norway is confirmed in the book *Rikets Tilstand* (The State of the Nation), 8.

⁸⁸Antirasistisk Senter, 62-63.

⁸⁹Olav Njaastad, President of the National Union of Journalists in Norway, interviewd by author, 7 November 2000.

visible. When media challenges the “truths” and ideology professed by the leaders in the structure, peers and relatives can intervene and discuss the ideology in an educative way. It also makes it possible for society to enter the environment on an argumentative basis.

A third dimension where the media play an important role is in using certain types of dialogue employing images and metaphors. Metaphors like “floods” and “waves” are often used to describe immigrants coming into countries. Slogans and terms like this educate neither the right-wingers nor the rest of the society. Tore Bjørgo says that objective and sensitive journalism may play an important role in educating people and eradicating some of the fear, by getting rid of stereotypes and misconceptions about immigrants and minorities.⁹⁰

In Norway, both the Security Police and politicians give statements to the media as part of a strategy to inform and educate. Just recently the Security Police publicized the total number of active right-wingers and their tactics in Norway.⁹¹ Moreover, Foreign Minister Torbjørn Jagland went public supporting a community meeting against Nazism and racism;⁹² likewise the Norwegian Labor Leader, Yngve Hågensen, supported the majority of the Norwegian people when they criticized the government for not doing enough to fight the right wing groups.⁹³

The contagion effect

Does extensive mass-media coverage of neo-Nazism, racist groups, and racial violence tend to increase the number of violent actions? As Tore Bjørgo says in his doctoral dissertation,

⁹⁰Bjørgo, *Racist and Right Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 269.

⁹¹“150 aktive høyreekstremister”, (150 Active Right-Wingers), *Aftenposten*, under the keyword “Nazism,” accessed 4 November 2000.

⁹²“Standpunkt mot nazisme viktig”, (Standpoint Against Nazism is Important), *Forsiden*, under the keyword “Nazism,” accessed 4 November 2000.

⁹³“Frykter nynazistiske strømninger,” (Fear neo-Nazi Movement), *Forsiden*, under the keyword “Nazism”, accessed 4 November 2000.

there has been a lot of research on this topic, but no clear answer has emerged. The majority of studies show that there is some connection between media coverage of right wing actions and violent behavior. Other studies, however, find no such effect, or find even the opposite.⁹⁴ Looking at terrorism, it is established that media coverage is an important means in their strategy. American reporter Daniel Schorr says that “an unfortunate symbiotic relationship exists between terrorism and television.”⁹⁵ He asserts that when media respond to violence from groups like this, they encourage further violence. Moreover, what is proven through police interrogation and news articles, both in Sweden and Norway, is that media coverage has an effect in some cases. The Swedish historian Heléne Lööw has interviewed right-wingers who claim they cut out news articles about themselves or friends just for the fun of following the attention they got. One of the activists gave the following reason: “I have collected these news articles for the reason that I found them interesting: these people were the ones I and others threatened.”⁹⁶ This curiosity and interest in their own and other right wing groups’ actions are supported by the fact that terrorist actions against immigrants and asylum-seekers in Scandinavia tend to come in distinct waves as shown in Appendix D. The “copycat” effect exists.

According to the President of the National Union of Journalists in Norway, Olav Njaastad, the news media often report in “waves.” The yellow press tends to report too much and in ways not always worthy of a serious news media when an incident with a neo-Nazi trademark occurs. Njaastad insists that single incidents must be addressed according to their

⁹⁴Bjørge, *Racist and Right Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 247.

⁹⁵Daniell Schorr in his article, “The Encouragement of Violence” as cited in Binyamin Netanyahu, *Terrorism. How the West Can Win* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1986), 114.

⁹⁶Lööw, 41.

essentiality, not according to the number printed.⁹⁷ In several cases in Sweden, police observed the same type of acts carried out at widely different locations. In these incidents the police could not establish any connection between the perpetrators except for their ideology. This copycat effect was established through police interrogation and interviews with the youths arrested at the different locations;⁹⁸ the effect was especially distinctive in a wave of attacks which took place in Sweden from May to June 1990. During this period there were 23 single episodes of violence, mainly in the form of firebomb attacks on asylum centers.

Two of the perpetrators in these episodes later spoke with journalists to give an explanation of why they had set a refugee hostel ablaze. They claimed it just “happened.” “It was an ordinary Saturday night.” “Nothing to do.” “...Lars had managed to buy a case of strong beer in a shop in the neighboring village, where the shop assistant didn't know that he was a minor. The boys became increasingly drunk as the night progressed. Soon they started to tell stories about immigrants.” “...The boys went down to the local kiosk...” “They read the newspaper posters with large headlines about new attacks on refugee centers.” ...it's a long time since [our village] made headline in the papers,” someone said. The boys decided to change that. After a few minutes they found three empty bottles near the petrol station, and tanked 10 crowns worth of petrol. “...A few meters from the barracks [refugee hostel] they threw their bombs and ran.”⁹⁹

⁹⁷Njaastad, 7 November 2000.

⁹⁸Bjørgo, *Racist and Right Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 251.

⁹⁹Bjørgo, *Racist and Right Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 216.

The effect of media coverage as an “anticipation” of more effect

Intense media coverage in local communities may well have contributed to new violent acts from right wing groups. Is this a reason for the newspapers to stop reporting on violence from these groups? To stop writing about it is not the best way of dealing with violence; absence from the news-media might lead the right-wingers to believe that society does not care. The important thing, however, is to look into how the news media present the different episodes. If the media always write in the way some Norwegian papers do, anticipation will arise among both the right wing extremists and people in the society. In an editorial in the independent Norwegian newspaper *Dagbladet*, the author Halvor Elvik, writes in a way that the reader must expect more violence and new actions from the right wing groups. He ends his article with a question: “Those who hate get another “martyr” [Timothy McVeigh] who fits into their conception about the great conspiracy theory. Should we fear a new “martyr” stepping forward to set off the “Aryan uprising” from *The Turner Diaries*?”¹⁰⁰ A different example from the same newspaper concerns a Norwegian town: “Arendal [town in Norway] will explode soon.”¹⁰¹ Headlines like this affect common people and eventually create the anticipation of more violence. The journalist and the television camera are the terrorists’ best friends says Walter Laqueur in *The Age of Terrorism*.¹⁰² This is so, not because they have greater understanding or support for their cause than other groups in the society, but because actions carried out by these groups make good news and sell newspapers. In this context it is important to bear in mind that journalists, as

¹⁰⁰“Terrorist og martyr” (Terrorist and Martyr), *Dagbladet*, under the keywords “Terrorism and Martyr”, accessed on *Start*, 17 October 2000.

¹⁰¹Arendal will Explode Soon,” 19 August 1989, as cited in Tore Bjørgo, *Racist and Right Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 255.

¹⁰²Laqueur, 121.

“ZOG agents,” are preferred targets for the right wing extremists; it is established that more journalists are hurt, abducted, or killed by terrorists, than any other group in society.¹⁰³ Despite this grim statistic and a great deal of criticism from public opinion, mass media claims that it is the media’s duty to report without any bias – this consideration is more important than all others.

Right-wingers’ use of media

“When you see us, remember what you have read about the Green Jackets in the newspaper,”¹⁰⁴ is a challenge from the right wing environment in Denmark. At the end of the 1980s this group, the Green Jackets, was feared in København because of violent actions against immigrant youth gangs. In some of the clashes they were able to mobilize 100 to 150 Green Jackets. Later on, early in the 1990s, the group shrank to a handful of people with different ideologies and backgrounds. Most of them had read literature like *Mein Kampf* and books about the Ku Klux Klan. Even when less numerous they were feared, because of the public image shaped by the media. They got a great deal of news coverage, both through the newspapers and through TV, and they knew how to utilize it. It was obvious that “Little Steen,” spokesman for the Green Jackets, had read *Mein Kampf* and understood what Hitler spoke about when he addressed propaganda in his book: “The first task of propaganda is to win people for subsequent organization; the first task of organization is to win men for the continuation of propaganda.”¹⁰⁵

In recent times we find that right-wingers use the media to promote their own causes and to threaten government personnel and the social mainstream. In Sweden, right wing groups are

¹⁰³Laqueur, 121.

¹⁰⁴In a 4 June 1991 interview two former Green jackets were frank about how they made use of their intimidating media-created group image; cited in Tore Bjørgo, *Racist and Right Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 130.

¹⁰⁵Hitler, 581.

attacking fundamental institutions of democracy: the power of justice, the political power, and the scrutinizing power (journalists and opinion makers). One example is when right-wingers attempted to destroy *Aftonbladet's* computer system with millions of e-mails.¹⁰⁶ The attempt failed and resulted in negative press for the movement. Is negative press bad for the right-wingers, or is all press good press? The leader of the far-right National Democratic Party in Germany, Udo Voigt, states that even bad publicity is a boon for the German Party. Voigt asserts that they gained more than 500 hundred new members in a few weeks due to media-coverage.¹⁰⁷ For some of the groups this press coverage can be looked upon as a source of recruitment. Another current example is how the right-wingers use the newspapers to promote their own rights. The annual neo-Nazi march in honor of Rudolf Hess takes place in all three countries. Every year counter demonstrations to this death-date ceremony are launched. In these cases the neo-Nazis claim their democratic rights and use the mass media as an organ to speak out. Both newspapers, *Aktuelt*¹⁰⁸ in Denmark and *Verdens Gang*¹⁰⁹ in Norway presented several articles portraying known neo-Nazis standing up for their rights. In the Norwegian newspaper *Verdens Gang*, Terje Sjølie, leader of the right wing group Boot Boys in Norway, claimed the group had democratic rights and should be allowed to march without interference from leftists, as he called them.

¹⁰⁶"We will never yield to the threats from Nazism," *Aftonbladet*, under the keyword "Nazism", accessed on *Evreka*, 18 October 2000.

¹⁰⁷"Bad Publicity Is a Boon for German Party," *Washington Post*, 20 August 2000, Final Edition, A 18.

¹⁰⁸"Nazismen marcherer i hele Norden," (The Nazism March in The Nordic Countries), *Aktuelt*, under the keyword "Nazism," accessed, 18 October 2000.

¹⁰⁹"Ni paagrepet etter Nazi marsj," (Nine Arrested After Nazi March), *Verdens Gang*, 19 August 2000, accessed 17 October 2000.

This is a fine example of how they use the media to promote their cause. Their constitutional rights are relatively strong when it comes to what they are allowed to do. Right-wingers can use mass media and have the same rights as any other groups in the community.¹¹⁰ It will serve society to permit right wing groups to speak out in the media, doing this to place their cause on the public agenda all the time.

An additional way of spreading right wing ideology and beliefs is through the Internet. Today we see numerous web sites and homepages with right wing, anti-racist, racist, and xenophobic content on the Internet (e.g. Appendix E). A common feature for most of these sites is their content; the sites are used to express the group's ideology and hatred. The web sites also have some links to other sites, but it seems to be more occasional than some overall plan of linking their web sites together. Some of the sites also have links to other nations like Germany, the United States, and Italy. We have just seen the beginning of the right-wingers' use of this media. The Internet has, largely, taken over for other periodicals and publications, according to the Norwegian Security Police.¹¹¹ The German Federal Office supports this view and warns of an alarming increase in use of the Internet. In 1997, the Internet registered 200 homepages operated by German right-wingers; in 1998 the number had increased to over 300. In 1998, there were more than 1400 homepages with right wing context worldwide,¹¹² and using the World Wide Web is an increasing method of distributing their "White Power" beliefs and of recruiting.

Dr. Christopher C. Harmon addresses this problem. He states that the World Wide Web is practically free, and that it is much more difficult to police than printed matter and political

¹¹⁰Olav, Njaastad, 7 November 2000.

¹¹¹Norwegian Security Police, 5 December 2000.

¹¹²"The Internet as a Playground for Extremists." According to a Foreign Broadcast Information Service translation of the German newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*, 25 July 1999.

rallies.¹¹³ The latter argument is strongly supported by the recent verdict in the U.S. when the German government called for the U.S. to censor the political content of over 800 web sites outside Germany but aimed at Germans.¹¹⁴ Claiming that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights supersedes the U. S. Constitution's guarantee of freedom of speech, a German government official asked the FCC and American service providers to shut down pro-White web sites.¹¹⁵ The sites were not closed. But the German Supreme Court has said that German laws should apply to people who put Nazi material "on the Internet on a foreign server that is accessible to Internet users in Germany."¹¹⁶ And a court in France ordered *Yahoo!* to make it impossible for French Internet users to access Nazi web sites,¹¹⁷ and when the German Supreme Court tried to extend national laws into the borderless world of the Internet. Even though these examples are not from Scandinavia, they show an overall tendency in society towards a harder policy against Nazi Internet sites.

What has proven to be a major success for the right-wingers in Scandinavia though, is the use of e-mail. E-mail gives the widely dispersed members a fast and accurate way of communicating. Moreover, it is obvious that the right-wingers reach a far larger audience via the Internet than via the usual propaganda methods. The Danish on-line newspaper, *Aktuelt*, argues

¹¹³Harmon, 49.

¹¹⁴"Neo-Nazis Sheltering Web Sites In The U.S.," *Washington Post*, 21 December 2000, Final Edition, A38.

¹¹⁵Right Wing Web Site, Stormfront, *Legal Defence Fund*, accessed 4 December 2000. <http://www.stormfront.org/>

¹¹⁶"Neo-Nazis Sheltering Web Sites in the U.S.," *Washington Post*, 21 December 2000, Final Edition, A38.

¹¹⁷"Yahoo! må stenge sine nazi-nettsteder," (Yahoo! Must Close its Sites), *Verdens Gang*, under the keyword "Nazism," accessed 20 November 2000.

that the neo-Nazis increasingly know how to benefit from and use the Internet.¹¹⁸ Thus, it is safe to say that we will see an increase in right wing groups' use of Internet.

What's more, a new and important way of making money and spreading their propaganda is through what we today know as White Power music. This is, according to Heléne Löw, the right-wingers' greatest market success in Scandinavia. A recent survey in Sweden shows that over 12 percent of youngsters between 12 and 19 years of age listen to White Power music.¹¹⁹ According to the same on-line news article the right wing groups earn millions of Swedish crowns every year from this music. One of the best-known right-wingers behind this organization in Sweden is the Norwegian Erik Blücher, born Erik Nilsen. According to the Swedish newspaper *Stocholms Expressen*,¹²⁰ he has always been close to the dark and most violent core of both Norwegian and Swedish Nazism. The last few years he has been more anonymous and in recent years he has appeared as the leader of Ragnarock Record Company. Over the last 10 years, Blücher's White Power activities have grown to include printing presses and record facilities in Taiwan, Italy, and the United States. This increase in production of White Power music and the effect this kind of music has on the young right-wingers, is a frightening and worrisome development.

Conclusion

In the last few years, a new trend of using the media as a social sanction has appeared.

¹¹⁸"Nazismen marcherer i hele Norden," (The Nazism march in The Nordic Countries), *Aktuelt*, under the keyword "Nazism," accessed, 4 November 2000.

¹¹⁹"Nazismen marcherer i hele Norden," (The Nazism march in The Nordic Countries), *Aktuelt*, under the keyword "Nazism," accessed, 4 November 2000.

¹²⁰"He wants to be a new Fuhrer." According to a Foreign Broadcast Information Service Translation of a *Stockholm Expressen*, 1 December 1999.

The best example is the four Swedish newspapers reporting on the right wing groups in Sweden. To a lesser extent, both Norway and Denmark have used the news media in their fight against right wing groups, xenophobia, and racism. These sanctions have, to a certain extent, succeeded, even if right wing groups claim bad press is good press. We have also seen that the right wing groups use the media deliberately to promote their cause. This is supported in the different studies and sources cited in this paper; even the right-wingers themselves admit that media coverage is an important source of recruitment and publicity. The Green Jackets in Denmark admitted that it was the media which shaped their image.¹²¹ The right wing groups actively use television, newspapers, the Internet and their White Power Music; so far there seems to be a plan behind their propaganda, and it should not by any means be ignored. What is significant is the right-wingers' use of the Internet. We assess this capability to increase in the years to come. This assessment is viewed as likely by the Norwegian Security Police.¹²² Also in this respect, the Swedish right-wingers are foremost within Scandinavia, especially when it comes to the production and distribution of White Power music.

In the future, media have an important task in reporting objectively and without bias. Sensitive journalism may play an important role in educating people and eradicating some of the fear and curiosity toward the right-wingers, hence educating the reader and reducing the number of youth taking an interest in right wing groups. Utilized in a shrewd and sensible way, the media can be an efficient weapon in the hands of both the societal mainstream and the right wing groups. The question is who is going to acknowledge this first and get a head start on the other?

¹²¹Bjørge, *Racist and Right Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 130.

¹²²Norwegian Security Police, 5 December 2000.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY AND PROGNOSIS

Thus far, we have mainly dealt with the militant groups, the racial revolutionary groups, the neo-Nazis, and, to a lesser extent, the parliamentary structure. According to work done by Piero Ignazi¹²³ the average vote for right wing parties in the 1980s - 1990s was 4.72 percent in Denmark, 6.88 percent in Norway, and 6.70 percent in Sweden. These are significant numbers when one compares them with other countries in Europe. United Kingdom voters for example, provided no support, and the Netherlands only 0.74 percent support to right wing parties. The imperfection in these numbers is that they are from the period just before the right wing environment in Scandinavia split into two factions. According to both Löw¹²⁴ and Bjørge,¹²⁵ the far Right's legal parliamentary structure lost its support around 1992. Hence it has less support today because the young members left in order to form a militant part, with an ideology based on the ZOG and the notion of the Great Racial War and the *Turner Diaries*.

A militant part of the right wing environment was born around 1990, a separation that was especially distinct in Sweden. Today, anti-Semitic ideas from the Hitler era are still part of the ideology, but have less importance. The militant right-wingers' goals are, with all means at hand, to create a white Scandinavia without any ZOG or "racial traitors." While the parliamentary part of the right wing environment works within the legal framework, the militant part clearly uses illegal means. Numerous episodes during recent years, mostly in Sweden,

¹²³Peter H. Merkel and Leonard Weinberg, *The Revival of Right-Wing Extremism in the Nineties* (London: Frank Cass, 1997), 274.

¹²⁴Löw, *Racist Violence and Criminal Behavior in Sweden: Myths and Reality*, as cited in Tore Bjørge's, *Terror from the Extreme Right*, 119.

¹²⁵Bjørge, *Racist and Right-Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 151. In his book Bjørge states that both the international environment and the Swedish chapter split up into at least two factions.

prove that the militant right-wingers' strategy to achieve their goals is to use terrorism. In Sweden there have been at least 5 murders with a right wing motive in the last 3 years. In the early 1990s the militant faction based tactics on propaganda, public manifestation, and violence from individuals or small groups. The hardened climate, the propaganda of all sorts, threats of violence, and an extensive use of rhetoric, have all placed the right-wingers more in focus in all three Scandinavian countries; this became even clearer as the xenophobic and racist violence turned from the ethnic minorities towards government personnel and the societal mainstream. Policemen, labor union workers, journalists, and artists were killed and threatened. The violence triggered some reaction in all three countries; best known is the Swedish newspaper campaign in 1999, which openly scrutinized the right-wingers.

In this respect the media has an important role in fighting the militant right-wingers. The President of the National Union in Norway, Olav Njaastad, states that the press must stop reporting in "waves," and that the right wing activity has to be addressed according to essentiality. In Norway there has been a coordinated effort among members of all labor unions to awaken the people and the politicians to reduce the effect of right wing violence. Public attempts like these have taken place because of an imperfect statutory framework. All three counties have legislation prohibiting xenophobic and racist activity; the problem is that the legislation is too vague and the police have problems in enforcing the law. One example is the way the right-wingers use the Internet to spread their propaganda. In most countries these web sites are looked upon as, at best, a nuisance, but still they cannot be stopped because of flaws in the penal code. There has been some progress in this area, but so far not enough to significantly limit the right-wingers use of this media. The right-wingers' use of the Internet is growing rapidly and the Internet is an effective tool to distribute and communicate propaganda.

The central question in this paper is whether right wing extremists in Scandinavia are a threat to government personnel and the societal mainstream. Research shows that the right-wingers are a problem in Scandinavia, but cannot be defined as a substantial threat to the national security of any state in Scandinavia, in the way “threat” has been defined in this paper. Today the parliamentary portion of the environment works within the laws of the country and has limited support; thus, this part of the right wing environment is no threat to the society. The militant right-wingers on the other hand, are a clear threat to individuals within the government and the societal mainstream, but not to the society as a whole. Individuals defined as “race traitors,” people speaking for, or in other ways supporting immigration, are being attacked. The country with the largest problem by far is Sweden, which has the most right-wingers and the most supporters.

Norway has some of the same problems as we see in Sweden; so far, however, no murders have taken place there. Death threats against Union leader Yngve Hågensen and two of his colleagues, and the battering of a journalist, were the gravest examples of right wing violence in Norway last year. Denmark, on the other hand, is the country with the least right wing activists and actions. In recent years there has been very little right wing violence reported in Denmark. The statistics on Denmark are very limited, and this conclusion is based on incomplete material. What violence does occur seems to be directed against the minorities and the immigrants.

Prognosis

Looking at right wing activity in Scandinavia today, how does the future look? The lack of support for the parliamentary faction seems to continue because of three reasons: the youth in the organization do not agree upon the strategy and tactics; youth unemployment is very

low;¹²⁶ and the standard of living in Scandinavia is among the world's highest (Appendix F).¹²⁷ Hence, the environment for growing a large number of dissatisfied youth in support of the right wing parties is not present.

As Tore Bjørge states in *Racist and Right Wing Violence in Scandinavia* the most common way youths make contact with racists groups is by being introduced through friends or older siblings who are already members themselves. This kind of recruitment can, and must, be countered by the society in different ways. A clearer immigration policy, clearer and more restrictive legislation against racist and xenophobic activity, an information strategy where the news media can take part with an educational role, and organizations like the Norwegian *Brumundal Action*, which has the task of monitoring and preventing racist and xenophobic activity, will all help reduce successful recruitment by the extreme right. Furthermore, in Denmark and Sweden, the organization EXIT¹²⁸ has established several offices throughout the countries in order to help the youth breaking away from the right-wingers. Means like these will educate and prevent youth from joining the right-wingers, and help youth already a member getting out.

The Scandinavian Security Police take the threat from right-wingers seriously and cooperate across borders. So far, police are worried less about indigenous militant racists than their contacts in different countries within Scandinavia, and contact with the White Power

¹²⁶"Unemployed Persons as percent of the Labor Force," *Statistics Norway*, accessed 19 January 2001. <http://www.ssb.no/english/yearbook>

¹²⁷All Scandinavian countries have a very high per capita income. Standard of living can be measured in purchasing power. In a ranking of the world's wealthiest countries Norway is ranked number 3, Denmark number 6, and Sweden number 15.

¹²⁸EXIT is an organization which helps youth getting out of the different right wing groups in the two countries. "Omvendt propaganda," (Reversed Propaganda), *Aktuelt*, under the keyword "Nazism", accessed 22 January 2001.

movement in the U.S.¹²⁹ All three countries' militant Rightists have adopted the ZOG ideology and the racial war concept described by William Pierce. The police murders, and the murder of labor union activist Björn Söderberg in Sweden, could all be documented from Pierce's writing. Even if crime from the extreme right increased in Sweden in 1999, the increase was not as much as the increase in 1997 and 1998.¹³⁰ In Norway, the Security Police assess the right wing environment to be small, without any substantial financial base, and without any firm organization and central leader.¹³¹ The concept of leaderless resistance, discussed in Chapter Three, may be the method adopted by the Scandinavian section of Blood and Honour. Here they promote "diversity in tactics, but UNITY in battle!" Furthermore, they say they believe in "direct actions, Leaderless Resistance, and a lonely and dangerous revolution."¹³² Norwegian police are still warning about the activity from these individuals and groups though, and especially the contact with similar groups in other countries. So far no murders have taken place, but as Tore Bjørge says, Swedish right-wingers worked several years before they turned their violent rhetoric into murder. This can happen in Norway too. In Denmark the Security Police monitor the development of the Danish right-wingers and cooperate closely with other Scandinavian countries to prevent right wing growth in their own country.

¹²⁹"Gets Inspiration from US Nazis," *Aftonbladet*, under the keyword, Nazism, accessed on *Evreka*, 6 December 2000.

¹³⁰"Swedish Nazi Crime Still at Rise," *Nazism Exposed*, accessed 6 December 2000.

¹³¹Norwegian Security Police, 5 December 2000.

¹³²Blood and Honour Web Site, <http://www.bloodandhonour.com/front/info.html>, accessed 27 February 2001.

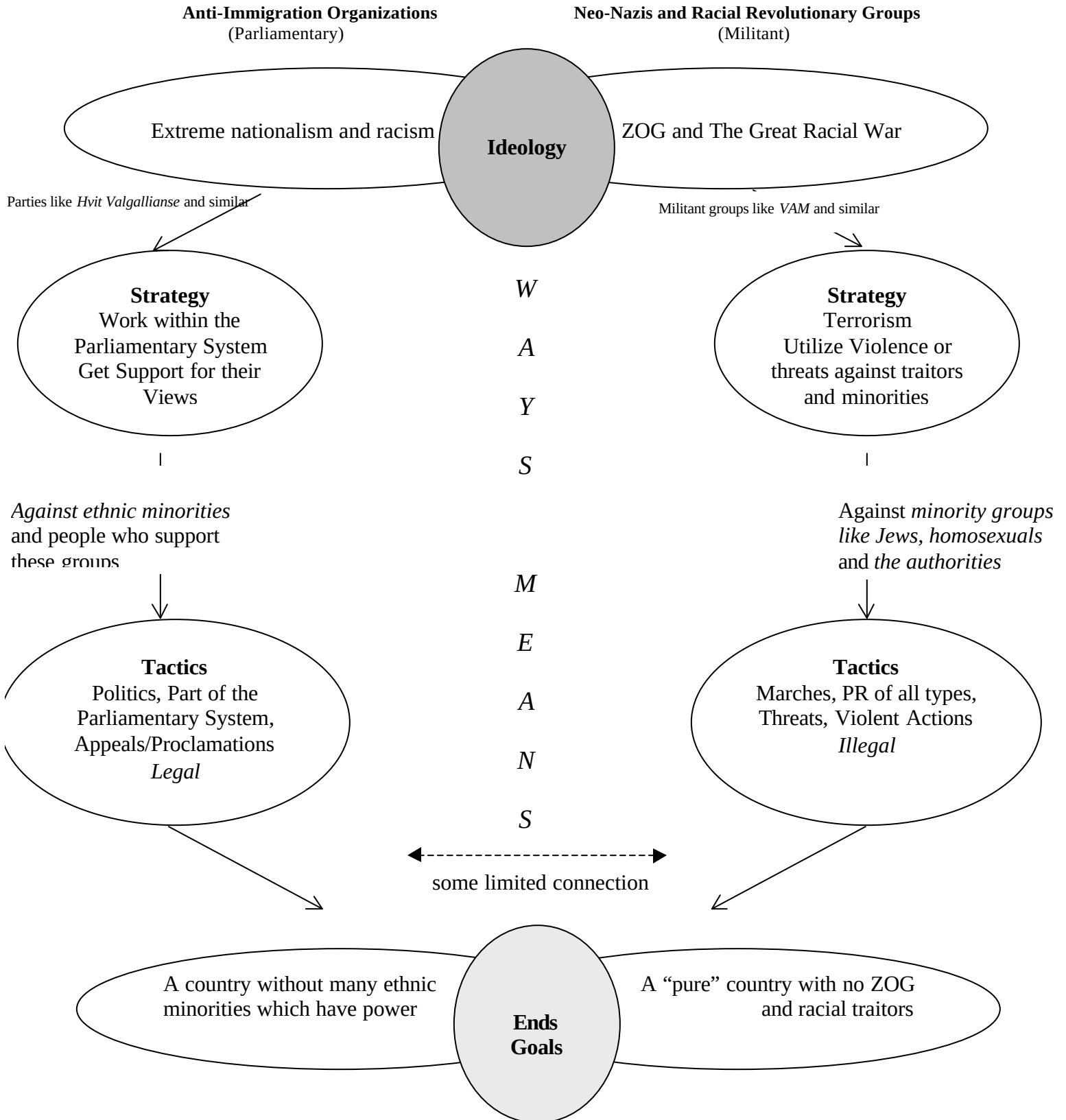
If the standard of living and unemployment rate (shown in Appendices F and G) continue as they are in Scandinavia today, no dramatic increase in militant right wing activity is foreseen. The right-wingers' motivation (fear of the immigrants) is linked to the welfare in the different countries, and as long as immigration does not affect the welfare, there is no evidence that the right-wingers in Scandinavia will have significantly more support in the years to come. They are motivated by comparisons of the current situation in Scandinavia with the situation in Germany in the 1930s. This is a weak link not rooted in facts, and therefore we do not find any growth potential in the militant faction now.

Should the unemployment rate rise, however, and the standard of living drop, there is growth potential within the right wing environment in Scandinavia. There are no indications of these changes; on the contrary, welfare in Scandinavia seems to increase. According to a labor force survey from the third quarter 2000, the unemployment continues to decline in EU and OECD countries. The same survey said that the unemployment rate in Sweden dropped to 5.9 percent the third quarter of 2000.¹³³ Norway and Denmark has a small decline, but not as much as in Sweden.

Thus, in the years to come we will continue to see violence against government employees and people in the societal mainstream, but not on a significantly larger scale than today. Individuals from the militant faction will still commit this type of violence based on their ZOG ideology.

¹³³"Stable Labor Force Participation," *Statistics Norway*, accessed 19 January 2001. http://www.ssb.no/aku_en/main.html

Ideology, Strategy, Tactics and Goals



Example # 1 of Rhetoric

Den Danske Forening

Violation of human rights in Denmark

The Government of Denmark presents itself on the international scene as an uncompromising guardian of human rights. Inside Danish borders, however, the same Government suppresses national opposition to Government immigration policy. This is i.a. done through puppets: storm troopers, who operate violently against opposition groups and make up fabrications about them as a pretext for the attacks. The Government has close connections to the storm troopers.

The Government of Denmark strongly criticizes violations of human rights in non-muslim countries all over the world. At the same time the Government of Denmark violates the human rights as well as the constitutional rights of opposition groups in Denmark. Den Danske Forening is such an opposition group.

Den Danske Forening is strongly opposed to the official immigration policy of Denmark, which the Society finds is violating the basic national rights of the Danish people. However, in this connection the attitude of the Society is beside the point. The essential fact is that the legal activity of Den Danske Forening is met with both visible and invisible Government inspired and supported barriers, by flagrant discrimination and by physical violence.

Fabrication

The attempts to form Den Danske Forening was criticized by the chairman of the Danish Parliament (Folketinget), the social democrat Mr. Svend Jakobsen, already before the Society was founded, and before anybody could know anything about the future objects clause of the Society. Since then fabrication has been an important weapon of the establishment against Den Danske Forening, which has been blamed for "racism", "nazism" etc.

Courts have ruled that these accusations are false and characterized them as slander. Nevertheless, they are launched again and again by Government related sources.

On the day of the founding of Den Danske Forening, the 18th of March 1987, the Government friendly newspaper *Politiken* ran an illuminated advertising which called upon people to demonstrate against the still non-founded society. People coming to the founding general assembly were attacked by masked storm troopers, who also smashed windows, threw bombs against the meeting place, induced poison gas into the room. Nobody was arrested.

Since then the meetings of the society have been attacked frequently. Only once (in 1995) storm troopers were arrested, identified and brought to trial. At that occasion almost half of them were identified as already convicted assailants. In spite of their ongoing serious violation of human rights of assembly and speech none of them have been arrested since

then and the authorities have not taken any initiative to reveal the identity of the perpetrators or their wirepullers.

Violent encroachment

On the contrary storm troopers who are in favor of the immigration policy of the Government, are allowed to disturb the meetings of the Den Danske Forening and to harass owners of conference rooms by smashing their windows etc.

Recent examples:

In the summer of 1995 Den Danske Forening held a summer meeting in celebration of the 50-year for the liberation from the German occupation. The meeting was held as a debate meeting with a panel of old members of the resistance movement. Before the meeting a trade union with close relations to the Government called upon boycott against the meeting and called upon its members not to "service people who scream "heil". The union members did not respond to this. Instead the meeting was attacked by storm troopers screaming "Nazi" against the veterans, who risked their lives in the struggle against the Nazi-German occupation 50 years ago.

On the 5th of June 1997 Den Danske Forening had to give up celebration of Constitution Day because the police allowed storm troops to "demonstrate" just outside the inn in which the meeting was going to be held. The owner of the inn could therefore be certain that his windows were going to be smashed. The lack of protection of the police was in spite of an urgent request to the Minister of Justice to protect the freedom of assembly!

Thanks to private investigation the identity of the people behind the attacks against Den Danske Forening is well known today. One of them proved to be a person who has a close co-operation with the former Prime Minister, the social democrat Mr. Anker Jorgensen on the "anti-racist" issues.

Library censorship

One of the members of the committee of Den Danske Forening, Dr. Phil. Mr. Sune Dalgaard, has been the editor of the Society's periodical, 'Danskeren' since the society was founded. Even though 'Danskeren' is the only serious periodical which is critical to the official immigration policy it is consequently boycotted by all important official libraries in Denmark. This in spite of the fact that Danish Library Act lays down the principle of many-sidedness. Complaints to libraries as well as the Ministry of Culture have been without any result.

Mr Dalgaard was part of the resistance movement during the German occupation 1940-45, during which period he also produced magazines, which were in opposition to the people in power, who at that time collaborated with Nazi-Germany. He was arrested and maltreated by the German security police Gestapo. Mr. Dalgaard today lives under constant threat. In connection with a meeting on 12th of October 1987 Mr. Dalgaard's car

was overturned and smashed by stones and acid. The police arrested nobody and made no investigation.

Economic abuse of power

Organizations who are in favor of the immigration policy of the Government are granted considerable economic means in an attempt to suppress the resistance of the Danish people.

In addition the Government has set up a number of committees which are granted economic means in order to fight "racism". "Racism" is the appellation usually used by the establishment about the popular resistance.

In the summer of 1997 the Danish Government rewarded the violent storm troops by granting them considerable receipts from the State football pools!

Den Danske Forening calls upon democratic people all over the world to support our struggle for human rights in Denmark!

Suppression of human rights is still suppression even if it is exercised through puppets and camouflaged as "anti-racism"!

Source: The Internet. Den Danske Forening (The Danish Association) web site.
<http://www.dendanskeforening.dk/>

Example # 2 on Rhetoric

The shadow of the dark continents over Sweden:

**SWEDISH NATIONALIST SLAUGHTERED BY
IMMIGRANT GANG**



I have the sad duty to inform you of the murder of a young comrade in Stockholm, Sweden reported on the 10th, the day this article is written.

Daniel Wretström, a 17 year old skinhead, well known to the scene and in the movement, was attacked for no reason whilst waiting at a bus stop in Salem Central, Stockholm after a night out, by a gang of 15 black and mixed race IMMIGRANT SCUM who attacked solely on the basis of his appearance.

He was beaten by them for a prolonged period and then when unconscious and unable to defend himself they cut his throat with a knife and left him to bleed to death on the pavement alone in the dark in the park. He had tried to run away but they chased him, told witnesses to leave the area and at least three of them were seen stabbing him whilst he was trying to defend himself. The rest put the boot in whilst he lay on the ground.

17 YEARS OLD All of us, of whatever group, should learn a lesson from this hero's death - whilst we fight amongst ourselves our youth are dying . This young man, who was proud of who he was and his race and nation, was killed by scum that have no morals, no courage and no humanity. WE MUST UNITE. HIS BLOOD DEMANDS IT. How many more young martyrs must die before we put aside our differences and unite to fight the common enemy? This young man died for us - so that we could be men in our countries in our own continent - and he paid the highest price.

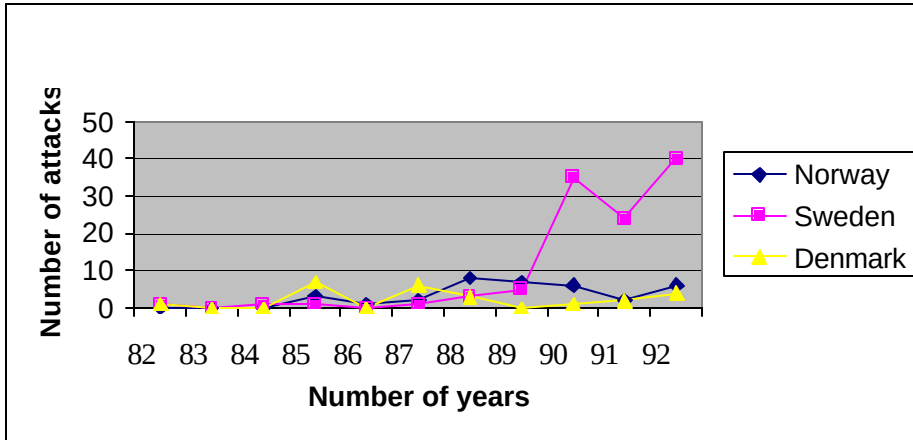
Here is the Horst Wessel of our generation - the figurehead of a new movement - to whom we each owe a blood debt to unite. This morning Europe weeps for a fallen hero. Mark this day - for he shall be avenged. Though his flesh has fallen - his Spirit lives on.

**HAIL COMRADE ! HAIL VICTORY ! HAIL UNITY !
DANIEL WRETSTRÖM - BORN 1983 DIED 2000 AT THE HANDS OF SCUM.
STILL PRESENT IN OUR RANKS.**

Source: The Internet. Blood and Honour web site.
<http://www.bloodandhonour.com/reports/daniel.html>

Racist and xenophobic violence coming in waves - 1982-1992

Figure 1



Source: Tore Bjørge, *Racist and Right-Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 74.¹

Numbers of terrorist incidents against immigrants, refugees and asylum-seekers - 1982-1992.

Figure 2

	Norway	Sweden	Denmark	Total
Explosives	13	17	14	34
Arson	14	77	14	105
Armed attacks	7	10	3	20
Other	1	7	3	11
Total	35	111	24	170

Source: Tore Bjørge, *Racist and Right-Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 75.²

¹The graph shows the time axis. Cases of bombing, arson, shooting and other terrorist-type attacks against refugees, immigrants and ethnic minorities in Scandinavia during the period 1982-1992.

²The table shows types and numbers of terrorist violence against immigrants, refugees and asylum-seekers in the period 1982-1992.

Xenophobic and Racist violence in Scandinavia - 1997-2000*Figure 3*

Offense	Norway ³		Sweden ⁴		Denmark 1999 ⁵
	1999	2000	1997	1998	
<i>Attempt murder or homicide</i>	-	-	2/1	3/0	1
Harassment	3	-	215/55	310/84	-
Unlawful threat	-	-	255/83	321/101	-
Assault	2	-	190/137	349/172	-
<i>Threat to public servant</i>	-	3	5/10	10/6	-
<i>Violence to public servant</i>	2	1	-/-	5/5	1
Knives offences	-	1	-/-	5/2	-
Robbery	-	2	7/4	6/18	-
Arson	3	-	2/1	3/1	-
Weapons offences	-	1	1/0	1/0	-
Causing bodily harm	1	-		0/1	-
Willful damage	3	-	74/34	97/31	-

³Antirasistisk Senter, *Rikets tilstand 1999*, (The State of the Nation), 90-91. Partial representation of statistics of offences of a xenophobic or racial nature. Right column is created from newspaper articles and other literature.

⁴Swedish Security Service. *Offences Related to National Internal Security 1997 and 1998*, 15 and 22. Partial representation of statistics of offences of a xenophobic or racial nature. The figures are listed as clear/doubtful.

⁵No statistics are available for Denmark. Statistics shown in the Danish column are created from newspaper articles and other literature.

Average unemployment from 1965 - 1999

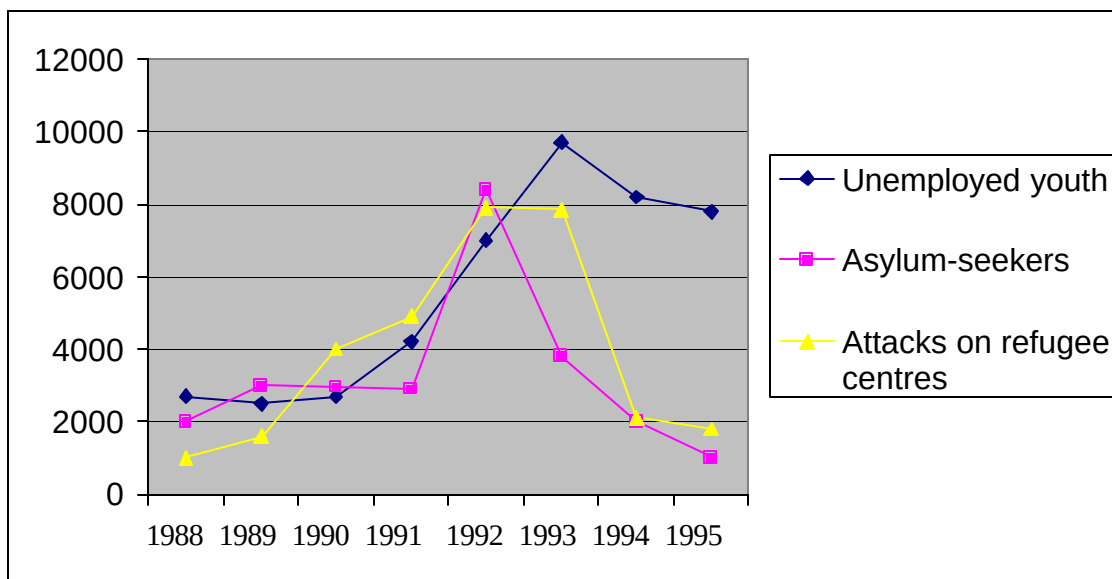
Figure 4

	1965-73	1974-79	1980-85	1986-90	1991-98	1999
Norway	1,7	1,8	2,6	3,5	5,0	3,2
Sweden	2,0	1,9	2,9	2,0	8,0	7,2
Denmark	-	-	-	-	7,7	5,2
USA	4,4	6,7	8,1	5,9	6,0	4,2

Source: Norwegian Public Report number 21/2000, Department of the Treasury 30 June 2000, annex 2, 1.

Relation between asylum-seekers, unemployed youth and attacks on refugee centers 1988 - 1995

Figure 5



Source: Tore Bjørge, *Racist and Right-Wing Violence in Scandinavia*, 89.

Links to Web Sites

Denmark

<http://www.faelleslisten.org/>

“Integration – a threat against the Danish People.” This is the headline of the web page, which takes a stand against any form of immigration to Denmark.

<http://www.danskforum.dk/>

This web page opposes all immigration to Denmark.

<http://www.glistrup.com/>

This is the web site of the former Danish politician, Mogens Glistrup. The site talks about the danger associated with the Muslims and the kind of terrorism they carry out.

<http://www.dendanskeforening.dk/>

The web site is similar to the sites above. Main concerns are the immigration and the consequences this will have in Denmark

<http://patriot.dk/>

The web site talks about ethnic differences and what these can create of problems in Denmark. The web site contains more or less the same information as the other sites mentioned above.

Sweden

<http://www.bloodandhonour.com>

The web site promotes White Pride and so called White Power. When Blood and Honour describes the organization, they say: “We believe in Direct Action, Leaderless Resistance and National revolution. We base that belief, not only on the company we keep, but we take this radical, often lonely and always dangerous stand because we have seen the failures of the old ways. And the entities and ideas which failed at the peak of their strength can hardly be picked up and polished as a new alternative for the future, which will surely become far more alarming and oppressive times.”

<http://www.sverigedemokraterna.se/index.html>

This is the web site for one of Sweden’s political right wing parties – Sverigedemokraterna (The Sweden Democrats). This party must be categorized as part of the right wing parliamentary faction. Their policy states that they are against racism, but they are for a strict immigration policy.

<http://www.propatria.org/shf/>

A web site with many articles, including articles of William Pierce. The site must be categorized as a site for information and propaganda.

<http://www.midgaard.org/>

This is a web site where White Power Music and other propaganda material are sold.

<http://www.nordland.net/>

A web site with links to other right wing and neo-Nazi web sites.

Norway

<http://www.propatria.org/bootboys/>

This is a web site where White Power Music and other propaganda material are sold.

<http://www.propatria.org/>

A extensive web site with links to many other right wing sites.

<http://www.propatria.org/bboslo/>

This is the web site of the largest right wing group in Norway, The Boot Boys. A “normal” site: links, articles, pictures, and news. The figure depicted to the right was on the first page of their site.



<http://www.bloodandhonour.com/norway/>

This web site depicts Vidkun Quisling, the foremost Norwegian traitor from WW II. The site talks about the injustice in Quisling’s execution. The site talks about the “sick” homosexuals, and the ZOG tyranny.

GDP per Capita

Source: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and development (OECD)
in Figures 2000
http://www.oecd.org/publications/figures/2000/english/GDPper_capita_1999.pdf

Unemployed Persons as percent of the Labor Force¹

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Canada	7,5	8,1	10,3	11,2	11,4	10,4	9,4	9,6	9,1	8,3	7,6
United States	5,3	5,6	6,8	7,5	6,9	6,1	5,6	5,4	4,9	4,5	4,2
Japan	2,3	2,1	2,1	2,2	2,5	2,9	3,1	3,4	3,4	4,1	4,7
Australia	6,2	6,9	9,6	10,8	10,9	9,7	8,5	8,5	8,5	8,0	7,2
New Zealand	7,1	7,8	10,3	10,3	9,5	8,2	6,3	6,1	6,7	7,4	6,8
Belgium	7,5	6,7	6,6	7,3	8,9	10,0	9,9	9,7	9,4	9,5	9,0
Denmark	7,3	7,7	8,4	9,2	10,1	8,2	7,2	6,8	5,6	5,1	4,5
Finland	3,1	3,2	6,7	11,6	16,4	16,7	15,3	14,6	12,6	11,4	10,2
France	9,4	9,0	9,5	10,4	11,8	12,3	11,7	12,4	12,3	11,7	11,0
Ireland	14,7	13,4	14,8	15,4	15,6	14,3	12,3	11,6	9,8	7,7	6,5
Italy	9,8	9,0	8,6	8,8	10,3	11,2	11,6	11,7	11,7	11,9	..
Netherlands	6,9	6,2	5,8	5,6	6,6	7,1	6,9	6,3	5,2	4,0	3,1
Norway	5,0	5,3	5,6	6,0	6,1	5,5	5,0	4,9	4,1	3,3	3,2
Portugal	4,9	4,6	4,0	4,2	5,7	7,0	7,3	7,3	6,8	5,1	4,5
Spain	17,2	16,2	16,4	18,4	22,7	24,1	22,9	22,2	20,8	18,8	15,8
United Kingdom	7,3	7,1	8,9	10,0	10,5	9,6	8,7	8,2	7,0	6,3	..
Sweden	1,5	1,7	3,1	5,6	9,1	9,4	8,8	9,6	9,9	8,3	7,0
Germany	..	..	..	..	7,9	8,4	8,2	8,9	9,9	9,4	9,1

Source: Statistics Norway

<http://www.ssb.no/english/yearbook/tab/t-intnasj-703.html>¹Standardized unemployment rates (OECD), as per cent of the civilian labour force.

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