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"2083 – A European Declaration of Independence" - An Analysis of Discourses from the Extreme

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Abstract: This paper analyses three of the dominating discourses Anders Behring Breivik used in his compendium, the official title of which is 2083 – A European Declaration of Independence, also known as Breivik's Manifesto. It is believed Breivik posted his Manifesto on the Internet shortly before the attacks in Norway in July, 2011. The number 2083 stands for the year when the "Western European Civil War" was expected to be completed, all traitors executed, and all Muslims deported from Europe. This article will discuss dominating discourses in the Manifesto, seen from a background of a European multicultural backlash, in which the political far-right movement is increasing. Furthermore, this article will end with a discussion of education and the importance of analysis of such phenomena within different subjects.

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Introduction

The July 22, 2011, terror attacks in Oslo and on Utøya Island in Norway shocked the world. A car bomb was detonated outside the offices housing the central government, killing eight people. Meanwhile, at the Labour Party (AUF) youth camp on Utøya Island, 69 people, mostly teens, were brutally massacred, some shot directly in the face. An additional 41 were wounded, 18 of them severely.

The perpetrator, Anders Behring Breivik, was a 32-year-old, right-wing, anti-Muslim extremist. Questions were asked how these events could have taken place in Norway, consistently one of the highest-ranking countries in cross-national surveys measuring trust and/or civic engagement in the past 30 years (Wollebæck et al., 2012:32–33). Some people concluded early on that Breivik was insane, while others claimed that he belonged to a growing extremist right wing, so his ideology made him a terrorist (cf. Gardell, 2011a:259–266).

In the trial that followed, the issue of Breivik's state of mind was very much debated among different experts, but it was concluded that Breivik was not insane, but motivated by right-wing extremism (Måseeide, 2012; Gardell, 2011a:267). As Gardell writes: "Far from being an isolated exception to political traditions in Scandinavian societies, the murderer, Anders Behring Breivik, was clearly a product of a political milieu that has been growing for decades" (2011b).

A horrible sign of Breivik's imagination was that one of his main aims was to assassinate former Norwegian Social Democratic Politician and Prime Minister Gro Harlem Bruntland, who was visiting the youth camp. According to Storm Borchgrevink, Breivik's plan was to behead her in the same way as had been shown on videos from Al-Qaida, read a prewritten text, and upload the video to the Internet to instil fear in people (2012:127–130, 240). However, Harlem Brundtland left the island a couple of hours before Breivik arrived, as he was delayed.

Breivik articulated a high level of aggression and hatred in his document. "It is the motor in the document," as Storm Borchgrevink notes (2012:233). The hatred was especially articulated in the latter part of the compendium (Breivik, 2011:776–1505). It seems as if Breivik became more radicalised while writing the compendium (cf. Sørensen, 2012:366, note 5). The hatred was directed against multiculturalism Norway and Europe, women and feminism, and what Breivik perceived as political correctness. As both Gardell and Storm Borchgrevink notes, Breivik himself was not a great ideologue (Gardell, 2011a). "It seems as if he gets lost in the religion section" Storm Borchgrevink writes (2012:234). Thus, Breivik acted as "a shopper," buying packages of ideological positions from different hatred environments that existed on the Internet (Storm Borchgrevink, 2012:234).

After several investigations, Breivik was judged sound and sentenced to 21 years' imprisonment.[1] Interestingly, Breivik later stated in court that the Norwegian people ought to be thankful to him, as his aim was to save Norway and Europe. In other words, he wanted to wipe out the next generation of Labour Party leaders to stop further disintegration of Nordic and European culture due to the mass immigration of Muslims, the feminist movement, and the multicultural movement.

Breivik's ideological thinking, or rather "shopping" from the Internet, is laid down in the document *2083 – A European Declaration of Independence*. It is believed that Breivik sent this text, also know as *Breivik's Manifesto* to 1,003 counter-jihadists and right-wing extremists through Europe on the Internet, shortly before he accomplished the attacks. The compendium (written in English) was also published in a 12-minute summarized version on YouTube, but was soon taken down.

Discourses in the Manifesto

This article will analyse three dominating discourses in Breivik's compendium, drawing on critical discourse analysis (Wodak & Krzyzanowski, 2008). Discourses are defined systems of meaning that establish relationships between identities, practices and objects, as well as provide positions with which individuals can identify (Davies & Harré, 1990). Every discourse builds on existing and stable structures of meaning in society, and can thus be understood as "institutionalized use of language" (Davies & Harré, 1990: 262). Discourses are embedded in power relationships, and create distinctive dominating and subordinated themes on how to interpret the world, as people collectively draw on this "language in use" when organising practices (Wetherell, 2001:14-28). Critical discourse analysis consists of various approaches, but is fundamentally characterised by "considerations of the relationship between discourse, power, dominance, [and] social inequality" (van Dijk, 1993:249; cf. Cromdal et al., 2009:21) and thus suited as a tool for analysing a text such as Breivik's.

Breivik's text articulates three dominating discourses, drawing on language about multicultural Europe, feminism and Islam. It constructs an inconceivably racist and xenophobic world view. These discourses, complemented by some analysis of Breivik's writings on education, will be discussed in the light of a growing racist/Islamophobic, far right-wing political climate in Europe. However, such discourses are not only used by right-wing extremists, but also by political parties and organisations (Esposito & Kalin, 2011), "often to keep voters from drifting away" (Wodak, 2011:1).

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[1] *Svenska Dagbladet* (2012-08-24). http://www.svd.se/nyheter/utrikes/dom-mot-breivik-direktrapport_7443388.svd [Online 130221]. There was a forensic and legal struggle over Breivik's mental status.

Most of the far right-wing extremist ideas have long historical roots, twisted to fit into the present world. Thus, let us turn toward the debate concerning an increasing multicultural Europe and the backlash of this condition.

Backlash of Multicultural Europe

In October 2010, Angela Merkel attracted attention with statements about the multicultural society's failure in Germany.[2] According to Merkel, the country had made significant efforts to integrate immigrants, but had failed. She wanted to see stricter requirements on immigrants Merkel said in an interview with the BBC: "In the beginning of the 60s' we called foreign workers here and now they live in our country. We did not think they would stay, but this was the case,". Merkel continued: "Islam is now a part of Germany." However, the media mostly ignored this statement (cf. Emerson 2011:9).

It is possible to view Merkel's talk as one of many statements currently articulated in Europe about the multicultural society's failure. In February 2011, even British Prime Minister David Cameron and French President Nicholas Sarkozy joined in the talk about the multicultural model's failure (cf. Emerson 2011:9, Lodenius & Wingborg, 2011:29). In 2006, the *Daily Mail*, one of the bigger newspapers in Britain, wrote: "Multiculturalism is dead".[3] The debate on integration issues has been extensive, and sometimes rancorous, in Britain, Norway and Denmark (see Silj, 2010; Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010).

In the European political landscape since the 1990s, right-wing extremism and populism have been established in Europe, partly triggering global anti-multiculturalism discourses (Wodak, 2011:1; Wodak & Khosravinik, 2013:xvii-xxi). This right-wing populism includes the Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs/Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), the Dutch Party For Freedom/Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV), the Hungarian Jobbik (Movement for a Better Hungary), the French National Front/Le Front National, the Danish Dansk Folkeparti (Danish People's Party) and the British National Party (BNP). These parties all received more than 10 per cent of the national votes in the European Parliament election in June 2009.[4] Skinheads have perpetrated horrific violence against immigrants in Germany and elsewhere, Anti-Semitic activities have been reported in many countries of the former Soviet Union. These all point to an increase in these parties and movements (Wodak & Khosravinik,

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[2] Angela Merkel's appearance was available on YouTube, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=04AHUU_wxVg [Online 11-03-16], but has now been taken down.

[3] http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-394566/Muticulturalism-dead-say-academics.html [Online 130511]

[4] http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/research/europeanpartieselectionsreferendumsnetwork/europeparliamentelections [Online 130510]

2013:xvii). The same development was seen in Sweden with the xenophobic/Islamophobic Sweden Democrats party, with ideological roots in racist ideologies (Ekman & Poohl 2010). This party received 5.7 percent of the votes and 20 seats in the Swedish parliament for the first time in the 2010 election (Fryklund, 2013:268).

Merkel's statements concerning the death of multiculturalism can be seen as a weak articulation of the multicultural backlash attempting to capture voters. However, stronger discourses and legal actions related to the security of the state were triggered by the 9/11 attacks in the US (Fekete 2004; Hewitt 2012:289), even though conservative intellectuals in both Europe and North America were already depicting Islam, especially Islamic fundamentalism, as a threat to Western civilisation (Carr 2006:1).[5] The discourse on "war on terror" positions Muslims (whether settled or immigrants) as "the enemy within," drives xenoracism[6] or an anti-foreignness, and promotes monoculturalism and assimilationist strategies throughout Europe. The debate differs from country to country, but is always linked to immigrants, immigrant communities. and multicultural policies, which are seen as threats to European "core values," cultural homogeneity and social cohesion (Fekete 2004:4, 18–19). The Danish People's Party work platform states:

> *Denmark is not an immigrant-country and never has been. Thus we will not accept transformation to a multi-ethnic society. Denmark belongs to the Danes and its citizens must be able to live in a secure community founded on the rule of law, which develops along the lines of Danish culture."[7]*

The same underlying discourse echoes in the Sweden Democrats party platform:

> *We do not believe in the idea of a multicultural society because it is an ideology that leads to fragmentation, isolation and segregation. Multiculturalism is the idea that a state should be based on widely different values reconciled with each other. We believe instead that we should stand up to the West's view of the values of democracy, equality, welfare and human rights. These are the values we Sweden Democrats refuse to compromise on.[8]*

In summary, research shows that right-wing parties and/or extremism is a growing phenomenon in contemporary Europe and has been so for the past 20 years (Eatwell

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[5] See Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* (1997), where he argues that future battle lines will be between the Islamic civilization and the West. This narrative had many supporters, especially in the US among the likes of former Vice President Dick Cheney, the after 9/11. It is now widely rejected as oversimplified and naive. Breivik articulated this view in its extreme form in his Manifesto.

[6] For a definition and statement on the concept of xenoracism, see Liz Fekete (2001), Institute of Race Relations. http://www.irr.org.uk/news/the-emergence-of-xeno-racism/ [Online 121122]

[7] http://www.danskfolkeparti.dk/The_Party_Program_of_the_Danish_Peoples_Party.asp [Online 130511]

[8] https://sverigedemokraterna.se/vara-asikter/ [Online 130512]. My translation.

2003:47–73; Hainsworth 2008:24-42; Lodenius & Wingborg, 2011; Taras, 2012:94).
Right-wing parties have advanced their positions in country after country (Betz &
Immerfall, 1998; Merkl & Weinberg, 1997; Merkl & Weinberg, 2003). The reasons
for this are usually explained by the rapidly changing European political and social
climate due to economic restructuring in the name of globalisation among the working
and lower classes, especially males. Therefore, males are seen as the most affected by
these changes, and who fuel the contemporary European radical right (Lodenius &
Wingborg, 2011:25–28; Merkl & Weinberg, 1997:303). As a partial critique of this
dominating socio-economic thesis, Eatwell emphasises: "The extreme right supporters
tend to be characterized by a combination of three factors, namely: growing
perceptions of 'extremist' *legitimacy* + rising personal *efficacy* + declining political
trust" (2003:49). Eatwell argues for a three-dimensional model, which focuses on the
micro- (individual), meso- (group) and macro- (national and international contexts)
levels (2003:48–49) to explain the growth of the extreme right in contemporary
Europe. Some people point to other explaining factors, such as strong and charismatic
leadership, efficient party organisation, and the possibility to take advantage of
political structures (Hainsworth, 2008:43).

The World-wide Web, extremism and Breivik

After the Oslo bombings and Utøya massacre, extremism on the Internet became a
major issue (cf. Hale, 2012; Strømmen, 2011:61–77). Hate groups are exploiting the
Internet for a variety of reasons. Hale summarizes the situation: "Hate groups are
exploiting Internet technologies at an increasingly alarming rate" (2012:352). Just in
Germany, far-right groups run approximately 1,000 Web sites and 38 radio stations
(Fekete 2012:32).

When going through the material on right-wing extremism from the beginning of
2000, the Internet was hardly mentioned. Research mostly focused on Islam and
Islamic terrorism. Accordingly, research has focused on how young Muslim men have
gotten access through the Internet to propaganda films about the war in Afghanistan,
Iraq, and other war zones. The concept of "Generation Jihad" was coined (Strømmen,
2011: 62). However, right-wing extremists also use the Internet and there might be a
"Generation Contrajihad," according to Strømmen (2011:62).

There were many signs that Breivik was radicalised via the Internet (Storm
Borchgrevink, 2012:154–168; Strømmen 2001:67). He was a zealous online gamer,
and he could also meet likeminded individuals on blogs, Facebook, and discussion
groups (cf. Gardell, 2011a:266–286; Hylland Eriksen, 2012:208; Storm Borchgrevink,
2012:164–184), without being impugned on the Internet. Both Gardell (2011:267) and
Strømmen concludes that Breivik was the product of the contrajihadic milieus in
Europe and North America that has remerged on the Internet over the last several
years. He was "a loner from a flock," according to Strømmen (2011:32). Breivik
published his *Manifesto* on the Internet shortly before the attacks.

The Breivik compendium – The Manifesto

Breivik's compendium, or Manifesto, is entitled *2083 – A European Declaration of Independence. De Laude Novae Militiae. Pauperes commilitiones Christi Templique Solomonici*. It is claimed to be written by Andrew Berwick, a Anglicised name that is very similar to Anders Breivik. The document consists of 1,516 pages written in English. However, Breivik claimed to have: "written approximately half of the compendium myself. The rest is a compilation of works from several courageous individuals throughout the world" (Breivik, 2011:5). The amount of Breivik's own writing seems slightly exaggerated. Barely half of the text, or perhaps only as little as 5 percent appears to have been written by him. Sometimes there are references to authors, yet other times not (cf. Gardell, 2011:268). The subtitle of the compendium is taken from a text with the same title written by Fjordman[9] (Gardell, 2011: 267), who figured as mentor in the paper's development for Breivik (Storm Borchgrevink, 2012:31).

The introduction was signed by Breivik with the description: "Justiciar Knight Commander for Knights Templar Europe and one of several leaders of the National and Pan-European Patriotic Resistance Movement" (Breivik, 2011:9). Breivik later declared that he belonged to an underground group called the Knights Templar Europe," which is still unknown and was probably just a self-invented organisation (cf. Gardell, 2011:283; Strømmen 2011:27). The number 2083 represents the year when the "Western European Civil War" was expected to be completed, all traitors executed, and all Muslims deported: "The Western European cultural Marxist/multiculturalist regimes will fall before 2083, of that you can be certain" (Breivik, 2011:802).

Most of the Manifesto is portions, or even sometimes complete texts, by several authors from conservative, right-wing, anti-jihadist, antifeminist milieus (cf. Gardell, 2011:268–270). A minor part at the end of the compendium contains diary notes from as early as 2002 about Breivik's own daily work. There are examples of how he prepared the attacks, the bomb, and how he trained to shoot. He also mentions the use of steroids claiming: "You should really consider using steroids to reach your goal... Using stimulants can increase, not only your motivation but your agility, speed, strength and endurance by up to 200% depending on your current foundation" (Breivik, 2011:892). Breivik told in court about how he used drugs the weeks before to train his body, as well as right before the attacks. However, these topics are rather marginal in the compendium, where dominant discourses drew on anti-multicultural, anti-feminist, anti-Islamic standpoints. These themes will be discussed below.

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[9] The writings by Fjordman, or Norwegian Peder Nøstvold Jensen, started as a reaction to 9/11, and he became a well-known profile on the Internet with a strong anti-Muslim, anti-jihadist, image (Gardell, 2011a:267–268).

Anti-Multicultural Discourses

What did Breivik mean by the concept of "multiculturalism"? There are many definitions and standpoints in use, and it not a very simple concept to explain (von Brömssen 2012; Johansson Heinö 2009; Lodenius & Wingborg 2011:29). Breivik's Manifesto calls multiculturalism "cultural Marxism":

> *Multiculturalists/cultural Marxists usually operate under the disguise of humanism. A majority are anti-nationalists and want to deconstruct European identity, traditions, culture and even nation states (Breivik, 2011:5).*

Breivik's discourses on multiculturalism are drawn from the counter-jihadist movements[10] and activists, where cultural Marxism is seen as the basis for the ongoing Islamic colonisation of Europe:

> *Multiculturalism (cultural Marxism/political correctness), as you might know, is the root cause of the ongoing Islamisation of Europe, which has resulted in the ongoing Islamic colonisation of Europe through demographic warfare (facilitated by our own leaders) (Breivik, 2011:9).*

In order to stop the Islamisation of Europe, the political doctrines of multiculturalism/cultural Marxism must be removed, according to Breivik. As do other activists in the counter-jihadist movement, Breivik makes a cultural hierarchy and places European culture at the top. He also argues that cultures should not blend. Breivik blames multiculturalism for deceiving people, and being a tool for the elite and a "hate ideology disguised as tolerance":

> *Multiculturalism is wrong because not all cultures are equal. However, it is also championed by groups with a hidden agenda. Multiculturalism serves as a tool for ruling elites to fool people, to keep them from knowing that they have lost, or deliberately vacated, control over national borders. Leftists who dislike Western civilisation use multiculturalism to undermine it, a hate ideology disguised as tolerance. Multiculturalism equals the unilateral destruction of Western culture, the only unilateral action the West is allowed to take, according to some (Breivik, 2011:332).*

In Breivik's view, multiculturalism is connected to what he calls the doctrine of political correctness. Breivik states that this ideology has taken over Western Europe and "controls language" (Breivik, 2011:13). Furthermore, it is Marxism translated into cultural terms:

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[10] Cf. Lagerlöf, Leman & Bengtsson (2011) *Expo Research report* 2011:1 for accessible texts about the anti-Muslim environment, ideas and concepts. http://expo.se/www/download/den-antimuslimska-miljon-ideerna-profilerna-och-begreppen-SLUTVERSION1.2.pdf [Online 130317], as well as on the counter-jihad movement: Hannus, M. (2012) *Counterjihadrörelsen - en del av den antimuslimska miljön.*
http://expo.se/www/download/counterjihadrorelsen_en_del_av_den_antimuslimska_rorelsen_2012.pdf [Online 130511]

The Frankfurt School blended Marx with Freud, and later influences (some Fascist, as well as Marxist) added linguistics to create "Critical Theory" and "deconstruction." These in turn greatly influenced education theory, and through institutions of higher education gave birth to what we now call "Political Correctness." The lineage is clear, and it is traceable right back to Karl Marx (Breivik, 2011:13).

Breivik compiled many texts in the first part of the document, which discuss the concepts of political correctness and cultural Marxism. It asserts that there have been major efforts to impose multiculturalism and political correctness, such as through a "systematic restructuring of the curriculum so as to hinder students from learning about the Western tradition" (Breivik, 2011:24). In his view, education theory was influenced by multiculturalism and political correctness, which has led to "freedom of speech, of the press, and even of thought [being] eliminated":

[...] now looms over Western European society like a colossus. It has taken over both political wings, left and right [...] It controls the most powerful element in our culture, the media and entertainment industry. It dominates both public and higher education: Many a college campus is a small, ivy-covered North Korea. It has even captured the higher clergy in many Christian churches. Anyone in the Establishment who departs from its dictates swiftly ceases to be a member of the Establishment (Breivik, 2011:21).

He claims that critical theorists, such as Marx, Freud, Lukacs, Gramsci, Reich, Fromm and Derrida, as well as feminism, postcolonial theory, and queer theory will "destroy fundamental structures of European society" (Breivik, 2011:31). The question is if Breivik has ever read these theorists (cf. Gardell, 2011: 272). There are no indications as such, but that extensive text passages have been copied.

Breivik draws his argument from a strong vision of monoculturalism, usually articulated in radical conservative and cultural conservative circles such as "the new far right in Europe" (Pelinka, 2013:10). It includes a desire for homogeneous cultures and nations, and a homogenous and essentialist white and Christian Europe.

Anti-feminist Discourses

Breivik states that feminism is the most prominent aspect of political correctness in Western European life today and nominates "radical feminism as 'the most destructive and fanatical' element of this modern liberalism" (Breivik, 2011:31). The feminist ideology goes together with the "social revolution" by cultural Marxists/multiculturalists. The feminism that Breivik favours female superiority, keeping men in line through affirmative action and charges of sexual harassment (Breivik, 2011:28). He views feminism as obnoxious, against nature, and contributing to the disruption of the nuclear family. As fewer European children are born, it will be

easier for Muslims to take over, and thus lead to a real subordination of women. Much of Breivik's anti-feminist writings are quoted from Fjordman:[11]

> *It must be said that radical feminism has been one of the most important causes of the current weakness of Western civilisation, both culturally and demographically. Feminists, often with a Marxist world view, have been a crucial component in establishing the suffocating public censorship of Political Correctness in Western nations. They have also severely weakened the Western family structure, and contributed to making the West too soft and self-loathing to deal with aggression from Muslims (Fjordman in Breivik, 2011:351).*

Accordingly, there are strong anti-feminist discourses throughout the document, which draw on a conservative ideology underlining biological differences between men and women. Once again, Breivik's obsession with critiquing and blaming the Frankfurt School is evident:

> *Children are not to be raised according to their biological genders and gender roles according to their biological differences. This reflects the Frankfurt School rationale for the disintegration of the traditional family (Breivik, 2011:30).*

Breivik argues that feminism has resulted in disruptions to previous norms in the European society, which is seen as detrimental to traditional values or conservative religious beliefs:

> *Ladies should be wives and homemakers, not cops or soldiers, and men should still hold doors open for ladies. Children should not be born out of wedlock. Glorification of homosexuality should be shunned (Breivik, 2011:14).*

In Breivik's view, women's sexual liberation allowed the takeover of the West. If women gave birth to more children, there would not be the same threat. Therefore, measures should be taken to give the man his rightful place as head of the family and society, and ensure a growing birth rate (Breivik, 2011:1150–1153, 1171). According to Breivik, the solution is to regain control of women's sexuality, ban abortion and contraception, and greatly reduce the possibility of divorce. The custody of children shall automatically be given to the father. Furthermore, women should be prevented from higher education and from full-time work if they have more than one child (Breivik, 2011:1171–1184). Thus, Breivik draws on very conservative, essentilised discourses on gender issues grounded in biological differences.

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[11] Breivik draws extensively on blog-texts from Fjordman, which is a pseudonym for Peder Are Nøstvold Jensen, a far-right, Islamophobic blogger. Cf. Strømmen & Indregard (2012: 31–33).

Anti-Islamic Discourses

Breivik's strongest and most articulated discourses are anti-Islamic. His document contains "topics related to historical events and aspects of past and current Islamic Imperialism" (Breivik, 2011:44), which he claims have been removed and falsified by the cultural Marxist elite in Western universities. Thus, the compendium is deeply embedded in anti-Islamic discourses, to a lesser extent written by Breivik himself, but copied from many in the far-right movement, such as Robert Spencer, Andrew Bostom, Steven Emerson and "Fjordman" (Gardell, 2011a: 269–270).

According to Breivik, the West has been in conflict with the Muslim world for the past 1,400 years, as Muslims are trying to eradicate Christian Europe through Islamic imperialism. There is "the ongoing Islamic colonisation of Europe; yet, they DO NOT have the permission of the European peoples to implement these doctrines," (Breivik, 2011:4). Thus, Europe has secretly been overtaken by Muslims. Breivik acted on July 2011 because of this, calling himself "The Knight Commander for Knights Templar Europe."

The Islamisation of Europe, according to Breivik, will be implemented through mass immigration and demographic warfare as Europe is "completely demographically overwhelmed by Muslims" (Breivik, 2011:9). This will lead to future enslavement of the European countries by the Islamic majority (Breivik, 2011:9, 44). Breivik views Islam as a religion of killing, torture, and enslavement, particularly motivated by the jihadist ideology (Breivik, 2011:39). Overall, Breivik's compendium acts as a megaphone for Islamophobic discourses in Europe (cf. Taras 2012), of which the Eurabian literature that I will discuss in the following section is part.

The Eurabian literature

In Breivik's construction of the world, he is strongly influenced by what is usually called the "Eurabian literature" and the conspiracy theory articulated within this genre. Eurabian literature consists of well-known writers such as Bat Ye'Or and Oriana Fallaci, but there are many writers and proponents within the genre. Some of the more well-known works and and their authors are *Londonistan: How Britain is Creating a Terror State Within* by Melaine Phillips; *The Last Days of Europe. Epitah for an Old Continent* by Walter Laqueur; *While Europe Slept. How Radical Islam is Destroying the West from Within* by Bruce Bawer; and *America Alone: The End of the World as we Know It* and *After America. Get Ready for Armageddon*, both by Mark Steyn. There are also numerous films, vidoes, DVs and YouTube clips that articulate the Eurabian discourse (Sander, 2011: 193). The Eurabian theories are much used within Anti-Muslim, right-wing discourses in both Europe and the US.

The Egyptian-born, British-Swiss historian Bat Ye'Or (Hebrew for "Daughter of the Nile" and pseudonym of Gisèle Littman) is one of the largest influences on

Eurabian literature (cf. Taras, 2012:198–200; Strømmen & Indregard, 2012:22–30). Her most well-known book is *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis* (2005)[12]*,* but she is also the author of *Islam and Dhummitude: Where Civilisations Collide* (2002), *The Decline of Eastern Christianity: From Jihad to Dhimmitude: Seventh-twentieth Century* (1996) and many other works.

   Her 2005 book first used the term "Eurabia," from which the genre got its name. Ye'Or's main arguments are grounded in a belief that a number of European politicians made a secret agreement with the Arab League after the 1973 oil crisis to hinder American impact on Europe (Carr, 2006; Taras, 2012:198). This agreement, or the Euro-Arabic Dialogue (EAD), was in the eyes of Ye'Or the "*deux ex machina* by means of which European politicians and civil servants willingly prepared for the subjugation of Europe" (Carr 2006:6, italics in the original text). The result of the agreement is an ongoing, extensive transformation of Europe through immigration (often articulated as "mass immigration"), where Muslims have prepared foundations for jihad in many cities (Ye'Or, 2005). Ye'Or also claims that the educational system was Islamified by allowing textbooks to be rewritten and transformed and allowing university teachings on Middle Eastern and Islamic history, thus conforming Europe to an Arab-Muslim worldview (2005:253, 256). The concept of "dhimmitude" is fundamental in Ye'Or's analysis. "Dhimmi" refers to the non-Muslim subject of an Islamic state and is a keystone in her formulations and theories (Ye'Or, 2005:190–208). The living conditions under Muslim rule have always been humiliating and uncertain, Ye'Or claims. Breivik cites many of Ye'Or's and Fjordman's works, along with several other writers drawing on the Eurabian theory (Breivik, 2011:287–314).

   Italian journalist and writer Oriana Fallaci is another figure in Eurabian literature. In her work *The Rage and the Pride* (2002), she writes:

> *Don't you see that all these Ousama Bin Ladens consider themselves authorized to kill you and your children because you drink alcohol, because you don't grow the long beard and refuse the chador or the burkah, because you go to the theatre and to the movies, because you love music and sing a song, because you dance and watch television, because you wear the miniskirt or the shorts, because on the beach and by the swimming pool you sunbathe almost naked or naked, because you make love when you want and with whom you want, or because you don't believe in God?!? I am an atheist, thank God. And I have no intention of being punished for this by retrograde bigots who, instead of contributing to the improvement of humanity, salaam and squawk prayers five times a day (Fallaci, 2002:84–85).*

   Fallaci provides an extremely dichotomist view of the world, where Islam and Muslims are stereotyped and simplified. Much of the Eurabian literature has a tone

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[12] Ye'Or can be viewed on several links on YouTube:
 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zCcgV2fGfiI and
 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UAKuofol8Y4 where she discusses the so called Eurabia-
 theory and what she thinks should be done [Retrieved 130221].

like this, even though Fallaci seems to be outrageous. Breivik also mentions and cites
Fallaci (2011:351, 529, 634).

Eurabian literature claims that the Euro-Arabic dialogue network has infiltrated
and reached all European influential sectors, such as political parties, media, the
financial sector, and the intelligentsia (cf. Gardell, 2011:206; Sander, 2011:193).
Therefore, Europe will soon be subsumed under Islam and Muslim sharia laws.
Europe is also depicted as old, tired, decadent, spiritually weakened, and slowly dying
because of the apathy of its own native people (cf. Ye'Or, 2005:268). Accordingly,
one of the great threats to Europe is the Muslim fertility rate, leading to an Islamic
take-over of Europe (cf. Carr, 2006:15–16; Larsson, 2012:142–165). All the fertility
data in the Eurabian literature is highly overestimated, although these sorts of
predictions are very difficult to do.[13]

The mendacious Eurabian conspiracy theory, and the genre that it has created,
build on large, reductionist stereotyping of Islam and Muslims, creating a sharp
dichotomy between us and them. Muslims are seen as ignorant, uncivilized, and
unable to live with and understand Western norms and values. Islam is treated as the
same phenomenon since the year 610, never being able to change. Jihad is a central
element. Thus, all Muslims are the same and strive to forcibly establish a totalitarian
dictatorship (Gardell, 2011:207). The Eurabian writers claim that the third Islamic
conquest attempt is here and is the same threat to Europe as it was in 732 and during
the 1400's (cf. Gardell, 2011:271; Sander, 2011:193–194).

Why should European leaders plan for a scenario where Islam and a radicalised
Islamic population dominate and take over Europe? The Eurabian literature has
several answers, but first is to undermine the power of Israel and the US (cf. Carr,
2009:7–8; Gardell, 2011a:206), which is the goal for the construction of the Euro-
Arab Axis (Ye'Or, 2005). In exchange for peace, oil, and new markets, the EEC
decided to sell off the continent's political and cultural soul, and so has uniquely
adapted to Islam. Ye'Or describes this as "the New European civilization" which is a
"civilization of dhimmitude" (2005:9).

The Eurabian genre and its assertions are nothing but "flat-out barking gibberish,"
as Carr categorises them (2006:7). They are built on views of Islam as homogeneous,
never changing, barbaric, and violent. "Islam becomes constructed as the exact reverse
of European democracy," as Taras points out (2012:121). Furthermore, the Eurabian
conspiracy theory has similarities to anti-Semitic conspiracy theories such as in *The
Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. This document built the myth of a Jewish world
conspiracy, claiming that a Jewish secret society was going to dominate the world
(Gardell, 2011:204–205; Hasian 1997:195–214).

As Hasian convincingly shows, conspiracy theories build on fragments and
selective interpretations of historical moments, thus overlooking the complexities of
historical, political, social, and economic factors. Instead, these factors are fabricated

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[13] For critical discussions on the issue of census numbers and the "demographic bomb," see
Larsson (2012) and also Carr (2006:15–17).

and altered to provide an orderly explanation of events (Hasian, 1997:209). Conspiracy theories build on a strong belief that processes which have nothing to do with each other are actually linked. Thus, there is a hidden agenda that can be revealed. Furthermore, the underlying people or networks are given great power to manipulate (Knight, 2000). These features are all seen in the Eurabian genre.

Breivik extensively draws on this Eurabian genre and its conspiracy theories, which all belong to contemporary anti-Muslim and Islamophobic discourses. For example, Ye'Or is referred to as "perhaps the leading expert on the Islamic institution of dhimmitude" (Breivik, 2011:61) and "the leading scholar of Islam's expansion" (Breivik, 2011:91). Overall, Breivik cited many dubious experts on Islam, which is, not surprisingly, a characteristic for the Islamophobic genre as a whole (cf. Carr, 2009:9).

Breivik and education

Breivik views the 1950s as a golden era, where everything seemed idyllic and harmonious:

> *Most European look back on the 1950s as a good time. Our homes were safe, to the point where many people did not bother to lock their doors. Public schools were generally excellent, and their problems were things like talking in the class and running in the halls. Most men treated women like ladies, and most ladies devoted their time and effort to making good homes, rearing their children well and helping their communities through volunteer work. Children grew up in two-parent households, and the mother was there to meet the child when he came home from school. Entertainment was something the whole family could enjoy (Breivik, 2011: 19).*

This is a very naive, simplistic and infantile view of society. Breivik's idea was that this golden era has come to an end due to the ideologies of cultural Marxism that declared the doctrine of political correctness and the multicultural movement. Breivik particularly accuses higher education of restricting the freedom to articulate and discuss ideas, especially in the curriculum. The multicultural movement encourages students to take on cultural relativist ideas (Breivik 2011:18–32). Breivik states that "multiculturalism involves the systematic restructuring of the curriculum so as to hinder students from learning about the Western tradition," that "the essence of multiculturalism is that all cultures and religions are 'equal,'" (Breivik, 2012:46) and that "multiculturalism is an anti-European/Christian hate ideology designed to exterminate European identities, our cultures/traditions and European nation states" (Breivik, 2011:1134). Particularly disturbing to him is that this multicultural movement has been established at many elite universities, such as Stanford. Due to the multicultural movement, universities have become places for political indoctrination instead of critical thinking (Breivik, 2011:31).

Although Breivik positions himself as a Christian, he is not particularly religious. He writes: "I am 100% Christian,," but also "moderately Christian" (2011:1404, 1398; cf. Gardell, 2011:280). He predicts both the Catholic and the Protestant Churchs'

destruction as "they embrace the ongoing interfaith dialogue and the appeasement of Islam" (Breivik, 2011:1404).

In one section of the document headed "Future Western European educational systems" Breivik advocates gender-segregated schools, school uniforms, a focus on excellence instead of mediocrity, and increased discipline including the possibility to use physical methods (Breivik, 2011:1200–1201).[14] Breivik is a lonely man utterly out of time who gave himself a voice.

However, he is not totally alone. Breivik articulates discourses belonging to the far right-wing, extreme or populist parties in Europe. These movements are not characterised by a strong organisational structure, but are rather single-issue oriented. As Pelinka writes: "They have a very defensive agenda, the preservation of status quo, or the status quo ante as it was before mass migration, Europeanization and globalization started to challenge the nation state" (Pelinka, 2013:10). This is very clear in Breivik's Manifesto. His fight is against today's open, democratic, diverse society. As we have seen, his position against multiculturalism is not that extreme in Europe. What made him different was his murderous actions. Unlike most other advocates of this ideology, he also turned to violence and became a domestic terrorist.

Challenging educational perspectives: Toward the future

We live in an age of globalisation, where overarching power relations and individual identity processes are highly influenced by phenomena linked to a changing political and social climate in Europe (Castells, 2010). Globalisation has extended and intensified relations across regions, national borders and continents, challenging structures and identities within nation states. Castells notes: "Our world and our lives are being shaped by the conflicting trends of globalization and identity" and states "it is indeed, brave or not, a new world" (2010:1–2).

However, not everyone reacts positively to the challenges of globalisation. There are multiple such responses to globalisation in the name of God, nation, ethnicity, family or locality. Most of these are on the Internet (Castells, 2010), articulating discursive constructions already in place within the local cultural landscape, and most are not new. Islamophobia and anti-Semitism have long, deep historical roots (Esposito & Kalin, 2011:xxii; Taras, 2012:109). Furthermore, Islamophobic cultural discourses in the Western world today have taken the place of earlier biologic racism. Thus, we can see how old, discursive structures in European societies open up for new discussions of societal issues in a racist way (cf. Gardell, 2011:78–83).

The spaces where and how education is taking place are also being radically challenged and transformed (Brooks et al., 2012:1; OECD, 2013:19–36). Formal education in schools still plays a major role and is challenged in its own way.

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[14] Breivik gives the address for his educational conclusions as:
http://media.www.thebatt.com/media/storage/paper657/news/2004/09/10/Opinion/Gender.Segregation.Serves.Schools.Well-715092.shtml The server for this is not found [130224].

However, as seen in Breivik's case, learning can also take place alone in front of a computer. Without teachers or friends to challenge or discuss his ideas, Breivik turned into Andrew Berwick and became a member of the Ancient Order of the Knights Templar. Thus, Breivik was a "shopper" of anti-global reactions on the Internet, in the form of anti-jihadist, Islamophobic discourses, such as those against Islam, Muslims, the women's rights movement, and a multicultural world.

New learning spaces are discussed in the literature (Brooks et al., 2012:13–14), often as issues of democratised learning, equal access, and the growth of an educational and private service sector. However, we also need to discuss content and knowledge constructions from the far right and the forming of anti-democratic movements. This need also stretches into the Internet (cf. Al-Shaik-Ali, 2011:143–172). The Ministry of Justice in Sweden also discuss the importance of these issues, where it is stated that there is a pressing need to address far-right extremism at the European level (2012).15

As schools and education are instrumental in developing and continuing discussion on democratic values and norms laid down in the National Curricula, we need to work on progressive values in line with a multi-/intercultural, human rights curriculum and counteract parallel "ghettos," both on the Internet and in the real world.

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