



**HATE SPEECH**  
**INTERNATIONAL**  
INVESTIGATING EXTREMISM

# HATING MUSLIMS

Anti-Muslim hate crimes and terrorism, 2010-2014

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HATING MUSLIMS. Anti-Muslim hate crimes and terrorism, 2010-2014.  
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Muslim prayer

# SUMMARY

“Hating Muslims” is a report on hate crimes in which the perpetrators deliberately target Muslims. The report has been compiled on the basis of thorough open source research, carried out by Hate Speech International. A significant number of cases from the period of 2010-2014 provide evidence of a sustained and considerable level of hate crimes targeting Muslims specifically.

## THIS REPORT SHOWS THAT:

- Vandalism against mosques is a quite common, and possibly increasing, transnational trend.
- What we have called “pork attacks” – in which perpetrators use pork meat in an attempt to desecrate mosques, Muslim community centres or proposed mosque sites have taken place in at least the following countries: the United States, Canada, Australia, Russia, France, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, Greece, Bulgaria, Iceland, Austria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Belgium. It is likely that similar examples can also be found in other countries.
- There have been at least 45 reported arson attacks against mosques in Europe and North America in 2010-2014. A number of these cases have connections to racist and/or anti-Muslim ideology.
- The definition of and data recording of hate crimes differ greatly from country to country, and in the U.S. also from state to state. This makes comparative analysis of statistics challenging if not impossible. It also prevents decision makers from relying on hard data in their attempts to draw up reasonable policy responses.
- Hate crimes against Muslims tend to spike immediately following terror attacks committed by militant Islamist groups.

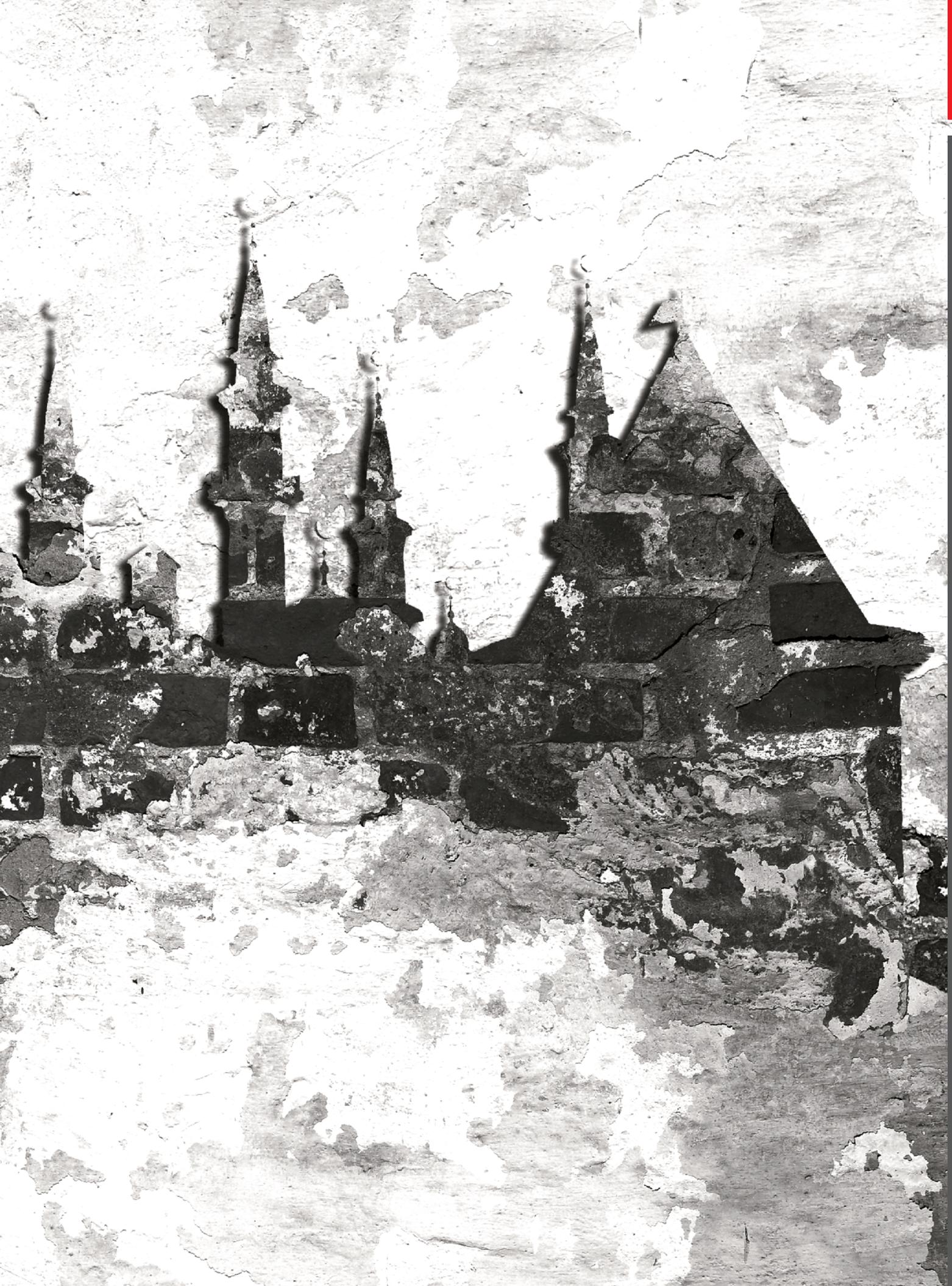
The establishment of the so-called Islamic State (IS), and the grave human rights violations committed by the group in Syria as well as in Iraq could very well play into the hands of anti-Muslim hate groups. Video recordings of beheadings and executions carried out by IS, as well as terror attacks carried out by individuals and groups sympathizing with or having fought with IS or other extreme Islamist groups, are easily employed in propaganda by groups that seek to depict all Muslims as a threat. Extremist Islamist attacks can also provide an excuse for individuals or small groups to threaten, vandalize or attack Muslims, Muslim businesses and mosques.

Following the deadly terror attack on Charlie Hebdo and a Jewish supermarket in Paris, a number of such attacks were reported, including an incident in Le Mans where several training grenades were thrown at the mosque, an apparent arson targeting a mosque in Aix-les-Bains in Savoy, and an explosion outside a kebab restaurant in Villefranche-sur-Saône in Rhône.

At the time, it seems possible that hate crimes targeting Muslims could further increase. This could also serve as a contributing factor to radicalization inside Europe's Muslim communities, and could provide Islamist groups and networks recruiting foreign fighters in Syria, Iraq and other countries with both a propaganda tool and an increased recruitment base.

Understanding the complexity of the security challenges facing world leaders in 2015 and beyond is key to identifying possible solutions. There is no easy way forward. Ensuring the basic human rights of individuals belonging to any group should and must be a cornerstone to the strategy. Additionally, international standards for data collection and recording of hate crimes should be developed, in order to get a fuller picture of the challenges facing us.





# BACKGROUND

In October 2013, the Ukrainian student Pavlo “Pasha” Lapshyn pleaded guilty to the murder of an 82-year old Muslim man, and to three bomb attacks that targeted mosques in the United Kingdom.

A postgraduate engineering student, Lapshyn had arrived in Britain during late April, having won a competition that gave him the chance to visit Coventry University and gain work experience at the computer-aided design and manufacturing software company Delcam. Five days after arriving in the country, he came across 82-year-old Mohammed Saleem, who was walking home from a visit to the nearby mosque. Lapshyn attacked Saleem from behind, stabbing him to death.

After the murder, Lapshyn then acquired materials to build hydrogen peroxide-based bombs. On Friday, 21 June, he placed one of the homemade bombs outside a mosque in Walsall. The bomb caused little damage, and was not reported until the following day; yet the nature of the debris led the police to classify the incident as a likely instance of anti-Muslim terrorism. The explosive device had been packed in a children's lunchbox.

That same day, Lapshyn posted an online picture and music track praising Timothy McVeigh, an American right-wing extremist who was the main perpetrator of the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing that killed 168 people. As Searchlight Magazine reported in connection with Lapshyn's arrest, he also posted a link to the Russian translation of American neo-Nazi William Luther Pierce's 1989 novel *Hunter* – which fictionalizes “lone wolf” attacks against non-whites and mixed race couples – and his computer contained an audiobook version of Pierce's earlier, more notorious book from 1978, *The Turner Diaries*. Another post mentioned the National Socialist Underground, a German neo-Nazi group that carried out a string of murders and bank robberies over more than a decade. Similarly revealing of his ideological affinities and glorification of violence, Lapshyn posted a poem written by Nikola Korolyov, founder of the Russian neo-Nazi organization SPAS (Saviour), alongside a picture of an electronic detonator.<sup>1</sup>



CCTV IMAGE  
SHOWING PAVLO  
LAPSHYN, CARRYING  
A BOMB, ON A BUS  
FROM BIRMINGHAM  
TO WALSALL.

PHOTO: WEST MIDLANDS POLICE.

<sup>1</sup> "Ukrainian 25-year old postgraduate student accused of terror attacks in England", *Searchlight Magazine*, 22 July 2013. Available online at: <http://www.searchlightmagazine.com/news/domestic-news/ukrainian-25-year-old-postgraduate-student-accused-of-terror-attacks-in-england>



THE RACIST  
FIRST-PERSON  
SHOOTER VIDEO  
GAME, "ETHNIC  
CLEANSING".

BACKGROUND  
Hating Muslims

08



ETHNIC CLEANSING  
THE RACE WAR HAS BEGUN...

During the court case against Lapshyn – who was eventually sentenced to life imprisonment – information found on the young Ukrainian's computer was also presented. For example, the day after murdering Mohammed Saleem, he created a number of files with neo-Nazi and right-wing extremist material, including an audio file entitled "You must murder." Two weeks later, he created another online file depicting a knife alongside the caption, "Mohammed Saleem was stabbed by". Below the knife was the statement "£10,000 reward – small price. Maybe £1,000,000?" with an accompanying picture of a smiley face and the slogan "White Power". West Midlands police believed Lapshyn's intention might have been to send taunting messages to investigators. On his computer, a copy of the video game Ethnic Cleansing was also found.

Resistance Records – an underground music label owned by an American neo-Nazi group, the National Alliance – developed this racist game, released in 2002. Players can choose either a skinhead or a Klansman as a gaming avatar, and the goal is to kill African-Americans, Latinos and Jews. Ariel Sharon – the former prime minister of Israel – is included as an "end boss" who must be killed to win the game. In 2010, gaming web site UGO.com rated it as the most racist video game in history.

In early June 2013, Lapshyn created another file on his computer picturing a hunting knife – similar to the one he had used in the murder of Saleem – as well as a document containing a Google map showing the Wolverhampton Central Mosque. The latter had a circle and an arrow pointing to it with the word "Bomb", accompanied by the text: "There is a bomb near Wolverhampton Mosque. Maybe there are other bombs near this mosque. We need news about this event. Please check." Once again, the message was signed with a smiley face and the words "White power". The document was styled as a message to the police, but never sent.

After his arrest, Pavlo Lapshyn admitted to police that his attacks were motivated by a desire to "increase racial conflict". While neither police nor independent researchers have been able to find



right-wing extremist statements posted on social media by Lapshyn before travelling to England, it was soon discovered that he was arrested in Ukraine three years before his terror campaign. Lapshyn had been caught experimenting with bomb-making chemicals in his parents' apartment, ultimately causing an explosion that smashed windows, cracked a wall and blew the hinges off the front door. He was fined on charges of "hooliganism" and "producing, saving, transporting and using pyrotechnics".

While Lapshyn could be considered a white supremacist, the underlying issue motivating his actions was anti-Muslim prejudice. In this respect, Lapshyn acted on anti-Muslim sentiments that are not uncommon across Europe.

In a similar radical-right case on the other side of the Atlantic, Glendon Scott Crawford pleaded not guilty to charges of terrorism in January 2014. His alleged accomplice, Erik J. Feight, took a plea deal. Federal authorities say that the two men planned to create a "mobile, remotely operated, radiation-emitting device capable of killing targeted individuals silently with lethal doses of X-ray radiation". According to the affidavit against Crawford, he attempted to solicit two Jewish organizations to ask for financial support in targeting American Muslims. The organizations warned the police, who in turn warned the FBI. The latter were soon able to introduce an informant and an undercover agent into the investigation. While monitoring Crawford's meetings with the two, the FBI "have heard Crawford state that he harbors animosity towards individuals and groups that he perceives as hostile to the interests of the United States – individuals he refers to as 'medical waste'," the affidavit reads. It continues by noting that Crawford specifically identified Muslims as potential targets. He also claimed he had been a member of the United Northern & Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, an extreme right-wing group active in a number of US states. In one meeting with the informant, Crawford described radiation poisoning as "a beautiful thing".

Crawford allegedly scouted a mosque in Albany and an Islamic center in Schenectady – both in the state of New York – as "viable target" locations for his X-ray weapon. While experts disagree as to whether the partially built X-ray weapon could actually have worked, both the wild plot and the terrorism case against Crawford and Feight have only received limited media attention.<sup>2</sup>

What these events have in common is more than right-wing terrorist plots targeting Muslims in the United States and Europe – troubling as they are. The events also reveal something about the new emphasis placed upon the "Muslim enemy" amongst significant swathes of the extreme right-wing scene. Lapshyn played the notoriously anti-Semitic and anti-Black computer game "Ethnic Cleansing" and was interested in the American neo-Nazi author William Pierce's anti-Semitic hate fantasies *Hunter* and *The Turner Diaries*. Yet the group he specifically targeted was Muslims. Crawford claimed to have been a member of the Ku Klux Klan – a very different radical-right tradition – yet he too targeted Muslims.

The Norwegian mass murderer Anders Behring Breivik, responsible for one of the bloodiest terrorist attacks in Europe since 1945 – first bombing the government quarters in Oslo and then killing 69 people at a political youth camp at Utøya in Buskerud County – did not specifically target Muslims. Rather, he targeted the Norwegian government and the youth wing of the largest government party at that time, the Labour Party, which he believed was in the grip of "cultural Marxism". Underpinning these views were anti-Muslim ideas. In an email accompanying his phone-book sized manifesto, *2083: A Declaration of European Independence*,<sup>3</sup> which he sent out just before the bombing in Oslo, Breivik claimed:

| If we, the Western European Resistance, fall or become apathetic, then Western Europe will fall,

<sup>2</sup> Alysia Santo, "Timeline of death ray case", *timesunion.com*, 20 June 2013. Available online at: <http://www.timesunion.com/local/article/Timeline-of-case-4611085.php>

<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that the title of his manifesto is indebted to an essay written by the Norwegian blogger Fjordman, a central ideologist in the international "counter-jihad" movement, with only the number 2083 added. The number is a reference to the failed Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683, an oft-repeated reference in the "counter-jihad" blogosphere



and your liberties with it. It is essential and very important that everyone is at least presented with the truth before our systems come crashing down within 2 to 7 decades. So again, I humbly ask you to re-distribute the book to as many patriotic minded individuals you can. I am 100% certain that the distribution of this compendium to a large portion of European patriots will contribute to ensure our victory in the end. Because within these three books lies the tools required to win the ongoing Western European cultural war, the war against the anti-European hate ideology known as multiculturalism. 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 and conquest. This compendium presents the solutions and explains exactly what is required of each and every one of us in the coming decades. Everyone can and should contribute in one way or another, it's just a matter of will.<sup>4</sup>

In both his manifesto and subsequent criminal trial, Breivik distanced himself from older, Nazi-oriented right-wing extremism – to the extent of expressing pro-Zionist viewpoints, even as his manifesto also included anti-Semitism. From his prison cell, however, he argued that this was part of a “sales strategy”. Later, Breivik described himself as a “Nordicist”, expressing support for anti-Semitic right-wing extremists such as the Norwegians Erik Blücher<sup>5</sup> and Varg Vikernes.<sup>6</sup>

While Breivik's prison rants might be understood as attempts at creating further support amongst neo-Nazis – where he has thus far found the most outspoken support – it can also be understood as yet another example of Breivik's “broadband terrorism”.<sup>7</sup> His manifesto – which he referred to as a “compendium” – is composed of three parts: 1) an introduction largely copied from the American cultural conservative military historian William S. Lind, lightly edited so as to serve Breivik's purpose, 2) a number of anti-Muslim essays, many written by the Norwegian anti-Muslim ideologue Peder Jensen, also known as “Fjordman”, and 3) a section at least partly written by Breivik, including of an interview with himself, a kind of bomb-making recipe, various ideological musings, recommendations, and so on.

As this suggests, few of Breivik's ideas are original, with most derived from a range of radical-right authors. As pointed out by the first pair of court-appointed psychiatrists, who concluded that Breivik was suffering from paranoid schizophrenia:

His view of the condition of Europe and Norway is extreme and lacking a foundation (...). However, most of this material seems to be an application of existing, political currents, rather than created by himself, as much of it has been cut and pasted from various web sites and historical sources. This also means that his (...) conclusions are shared by a number of people in Norway and in the rest of Europe.<sup>8</sup>

In an assessment of the terrorism threat level in Denmark, the Center for Terror Analysis (connected to the Danish Security and Intelligence Service) noted:

<sup>4</sup> See Kjetil Stormark, *Massemorderens private e-poster*, (Oslo: Spartacus, 2012).

<sup>5</sup> Erik Blücher, or Tor Erik Nilsen, is a Norwegian former neo-Nazi activist. In 1975, he was central in founding the political party Norsk Front (Norwegian Front), which later changed its name to Nasjonalt Folkeparti (National People's Party). Nilsen later moved to Sweden where he was involved in the production and distribution of white power music.

<sup>6</sup> Varg Vikernes, born Kristian Larsson Vikernes, and now carrying the name Louis Cachet, is a Norwegian musician, former black metal musician and convicted murderer. During his time in prison, he wrote a book called *Vargsmål*, espousing an extreme right-wing and anti-Christian ideology. After being released from prison, Vikernes moved to France. In July 2013, he and his wife were arrested on suspicion of terrorism after his wife purchased four rifles, but the two were later released, and Vikernes was instead charged with inciting racial hatred against Jews and Muslims. In July 2014, he was convicted, and sentenced to six months of probation and a fine.

<sup>7</sup> Matthew Feldman, “Broadband terrorism: a new face of fascism”, *History & Policy*, 10 September 2009, available online at: <http://www.historyandpolicy.org/opinion-articles/articles/broadband-terrorism-a-new-face-of-fascism>

<sup>8</sup> The quote is taken from the leaked report of court-appointed psychiatrists, Torgeir Husby and Synne Sørheim. Most of the report was published online by the Norwegian newspaper VG; available online at: [www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/psykiatrisk\\_vurdering/](http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/22-juli/psykiatrisk_vurdering/).



There may be individuals or groups in Denmark that put together their militant ideology on the basis of different extreme right-wing ideas. These individuals or groups may have, but do not necessarily have, a connection to existing extremist groups.<sup>9</sup>

This is no less true outside of Denmark. The four men mentioned thus far – Lapshyn, Crawford, Feight and Breivik – all fit this description; their motivations do not seem clear-cut; their views and ideas derive from different sources. Anti-Muslim violence need not derive from a specific anti-Muslim worldview propagated by single-issue groups such as the English Defence League (hereafter EDL) or by anti-Muslim bloggers and websites like the Gates of Vienna or Jihadwatch. Rather, a range of radical right-wing political parties and extreme right-wing groups has seized upon anti-Muslim discourse, and anti-Muslim ideas provide fuel for different forms of right-wing extremism.

Some common tropes in anti-Muslim prejudice – which, by definition, fall outside acceptable criticism of Islam as a faith – can be enumerated as follows:

- 1 Associating Muslims collectively with terrorism, extremism, terrorist attacks and murder.
- 2 Associating Muslims collectively with terms portraying them as being dangerous, untruthful, deceitful, devious and untrustworthy; for instance, by claiming that Muslims who state anti-extremist views are merely performing taqiyya (a relatively obscure religious term in Islam which allegedly provides permission to lie and deceive).
- 3 Associating Muslims with organisms that cause death, decay and disease, such as “parasites”, “cancer”, “plague”, “rats”, etc., or similar essentializing descriptions of Muslims as “sub-human”.
- 4 Associating Muslims with an alleged take-over of Europe (often termed “Eurabia”) or a global take-over, carried out by a dark conspiracy of forces between Muslims, “cultural Marxists” or “liberal elites” (said to be “dhimmis” or “dhimmified”, i.e. to have accepted evil Islamic overrule), etc.
- 5 Promoting ideas that state that Muslims should have restricted social, political, economic or religious rights.
- 6 Advocating “pre-emptive” action against Muslims – ranging from forced repatriation to targeted violence or even, at its most extreme, extrajudicial murder or bombing of Islamic religious sites in Saudi Arabia.<sup>10</sup>



<sup>9</sup> CTA / PET, *National trusselvurdering* (Copenhagen: CTA, 2012), p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> This is an adapted and amended version of classification used by the third-party reporting centre for anti-Muslim attacks Tell MAMA. For further details, see Matthew Feldman and Mark Littler, *Tell MAMA Reporting 2013/14 Anti-Muslim Overview, Analysis and 'Cumulative Extremism'* (Middlesbrough: Teesside University, 2014), p. 8.





The Cologne Central Mosque

# ANTI-MUSLIM HATE CRIMES

What is a hate crime? As Neil Chakraborti and Jon Garland note in *Hate Crime: Impact, Causes and Responses*, the term is “somewhat slippery”. Accordingly, definitions vary from academic to academic, from country to country and – within the United States – even from state to state.<sup>11</sup> The British Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) employs the following definition:

Hate crime is any notifiable criminal offence committed against a person or property that is motivated by hostility towards someone based on their disability, race, religion, gender identity or sexual orientation.<sup>12</sup>

In the United Kingdom, police have been recording data on hate crimes since 2008, and 4 of the 43 police forces also disaggregate the hate crimes into categories. In 2011, a total of 44,361 incidents were registered. Additionally, a minimum of 1,773 cases were recorded as religious hate crimes. A further breakdown based on these official figures showed that 52 per cent of the cases were hate crimes targeting Muslims, while 26 per cent targeted Jews and 14 per cent targeted Christians.<sup>13</sup> In December 2013, *The Guardian* reported that hate crimes against Muslims had “soared in the UK” that year, with the Metropolitan Police (Greater London) alone having recorded 500 anti-Muslim hate crimes.

In the United States, the FBI registered 5,796 hate crimes in 2012, of which 1,099 were motivated by religious bias. Most of these were anti-Jewish (674), while anti-Muslim incidents make up the second largest subgroup (130).<sup>14</sup> In France, the Observatoire contre l'islamophobie registered 226 anti-Muslim incidents in 2013, out of which a majority (164) were threats.<sup>15</sup> In Sweden, 5,518 hate crimes were reported to the police in 2012. A clear majority of them were categorized as racist, while 6 per cent (310) were categorized as anti-Muslim.<sup>16</sup>

It is worth noting that all of these numbers should be approached with caution. First, there is reason to believe that the majority of hate crimes go unreported. Secondly, as the numbers themselves illustrate – and given that different countries conceive hate crimes differently and use different definitions – comparative analysis is challenging, if not impossible. Thirdly, single incidents might very well fall into several categories.

When one takes a closer look at anti-Muslim incidents in the four countries mentioned above, moreover, it becomes apparent that vandalism against mosques is a quite common transnational trend:

The authors of a University of Exeter report on anti-Muslim hate crime estimated that since 9/11, between 40 and 60 per cent of British mosques, Islamic centres, and Muslim organizations have experienced at least one attack that could have been reported as a hate crime. They

<sup>11</sup> Neil Chakraborti and Jon Garland, *Hate Crime: Impact, Causes, and Responses*, (London: Sage, 2009), p. 7.

<sup>12</sup> See the U.K.'s Home Office statistics of Hate Crimes, 2012, available online at: [www.gov.uk/government/publications/hate-crimes-england-and-wales-2011-to-2012--2/hate-crimes-england-and-wales-2011-to-2012](http://www.gov.uk/government/publications/hate-crimes-england-and-wales-2011-to-2012--2/hate-crimes-england-and-wales-2011-to-2012).

<sup>13</sup> Nigel Copsey et al, *Anti-Muslim Hate Crime and the Far Right* (Middlesbrough: Teesside University, 2013), p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> The data have been taken from the FBI's hate crimes report for 2012. This report, and reports from other years, are available online at: [www.fbi.gov/about-us/investigate/civilrights/hate\\_crimes/overview](http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/investigate/civilrights/hate_crimes/overview).

<sup>15</sup> Matthieu Goar, “Comment mesure-t-on l'islamophobie en France”, *Le Monde*, 28 January 2014, available online at: [www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2014/01/28/la-difficile-mesure-de-l-islamophobie\\_4355742\\_3224.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2014/01/28/la-difficile-mesure-de-l-islamophobie_4355742_3224.html).

<sup>16</sup> See *Hatbrott 2012* (Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet, 2013), p. 55-59, available online at: [www.bra.se/bra/publikationer/arkiv/publikationer/2013-06-27-hatbrott-2012.html](http://www.bra.se/bra/publikationer/arkiv/publikationer/2013-06-27-hatbrott-2012.html).



correspondingly assert that between 100 and 200 hate crimes against mosques, Islamic centres and Muslim organizations take place every year, an estimate they describe as “probably highly conservative”<sup>17</sup>.

A Swedish report notes that fully 26 per cent of mosques in Sweden have experienced vandalism.<sup>18</sup>

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has published a map showing what it categorizes as anti-mosque activities across the United States since 2007. This data includes many instances of vandalism, no less than 11 cases of arson, one pipebombing, and at least one case which must be described as a terrorism plot.<sup>19</sup>

Between 2005 and 2010, mosques in Holland were attacked 117 times, according to a study by the Dutch social researcher Ineke van der Valk. The attacks include 43 instances of graffiti, 37 cases of other vandalism and 27 reports of arson or attempted arson.<sup>20</sup>

A closer look at one specific form of vandalism is found below – namely, the desecration of mosques through the use of pork, pig's heads, bacon, etc. First, however, it is necessary to look at more serious occurrences, including terrorism, murder and arson plots.

## TERRORISM

Like “hate crime”, “terrorism” remains a difficult concept to define. The FBI definition refers to “violent acts” or “acts dangerous to human life” that appear to be intended to “(i) intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination or kidnapping”.<sup>21</sup>

Since 2010, the following terrorist incidents or plans have reportedly been driven, or at least partly motivated by, anti-Muslim ideas:

- A pipebombing at the Islamic Center of Northeast Florida, in Jacksonville, on 10 May 2010. The device was left at a rear entrance of the building just before evening prayer services. The bomb caused no injuries, and only limited material damage, but was quickly registered as a possible hate crime connected to the appointment of the Jacksonville Human Right Commission's first Muslim member, Parvez Ahmed. Although video surveillance captured the perpetrator on tape, his face was not clearly visible, thus hindering the investigation. Nearly a year later, however, the FBI announced that the prime suspect – 46-year-old bus driver Sandlin Matthew Smith – had been killed following a “confrontation” with FBI agents. A search of Smith's two homes also turned up explosives.<sup>22</sup>
- Christophe Lavigne, a French airforce sergeant, allegedly carried out an arson attack on mosque in the rural town of Liborne in August 2012. Later, he was charged with planning to shoot Muslims at a mosque in Lyon during Ramadan celebrations. He has since been acquitted on the charges of possessing ammunition in connection with a terrorist enterprise, as the ammunition he had amassed was of a grade permitted for collectors

<sup>17</sup> Robert Lambert and Jonathan Githens-Mayer, *Islamophobia and Anti-Muslim Hate Crime* (Exeter: University of Exeter / European Muslim Research Centre, 2010), p. 104.

<sup>18</sup> Klas Borell, *Islamofobiska fördomar och hatbrott* (Stockholm: SST, 2012), p. 36.

<sup>19</sup> The ACLU's map of “Anti-Mosque Activity” is available online at: [www.aclu.org/maps/map-nationwide-anti-mosque-activity](http://www.aclu.org/maps/map-nationwide-anti-mosque-activity).

<sup>20</sup> Ineke van der Valk, *Islamofobie en discriminatie*, (Amsterdam: Pallas / Amsterdam University Press, 2012), pp. 76-85.

<sup>21</sup> See the FBI's terrorism definition, available online at: [www.fbi.gov/about-us/investigate/terrorism/terrorism-definition](http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/investigate/terrorism/terrorism-definition).

<sup>22</sup> “FBI: St. Johns Man Bombed Mosque”, *First Coast News*, 5 May 2011, available online at: [www.firstcoastnews.com/news/article/203078/3/Update-FBI-Suspect-in-Mosque-Bombing-Shot-in-Oklahoma](http://www.firstcoastnews.com/news/article/203078/3/Update-FBI-Suspect-in-Mosque-Bombing-Shot-in-Oklahoma).



of historical weapons.<sup>23</sup>

Investigators described the man as “a lone figure and psychologically fragile”. The authorities were reportedly alerted by members of the man's family, who had found documents suggesting a link to terrorism. Relatives have also said that Lavigne was affected by the suicide of the radical right-wing ideologue Dominique Venner, who shot himself at the altar of the Notre Dame Cathedral in an action partly motivated by anti-Muslim ideas on 21 May 2013. The newspaper *Le Parisien* reported that Lavigne made several attempts to contact Maxime Brunerie, a far-right activist who tried to assassinate the then-president of France, Jacques Chirac, during the Bastille Day celebrations in 2002.<sup>24</sup>

- In late March 2014, FBI agents arrested Robert James Talbot Jr., 38, in Katy, Texas, on suspicion of plans to rob an armoured car. Talbot allegedly plotted to use C4-explosives and weapons to rob banks and armored cars, blow up government building and mosques, and kill police officers. Prosecutors say he was behind a Facebook page called “American Insurgent Movement”, in which he posted anti-Muslim, anti-government and anti-LGBT messages.<sup>25</sup>



American Insurgent Movement shared a link.  
March 1

Sounds like mission,  
<http://pamelageller.com/2014/02/target-memphis-another-massive-mega-mosque-compound-middle-america.html/>

**Target Memphis: Another Massive Mega-Mosque Compound in Middle America - Pamela Geller, Atlas Shrugs**  
pamelageller.com

Memphis is one of those gateway cities the State department dumps whole Muslim communities under the Refugee Resettlement programs. Now that beleaguered city is getting a seven million dollar,...

**American Insurgent Movement** What that piece of white house dirt doesn't realize the Mosques [terrorist camps] are on the hit list for us and those whom join Operation Liberty. Their will be a slaughter of these fucking Muslims.

FACEBOOK POSTS INDICATE THAT THE SUSPECT, ROBERT J. TALBOT, SAW ANTI-MUSLIM BLOGGER PAMELA GELLER'S WRITINGS AS A CALL TO ACTION.

- In early May 2014, Ian Forman – a British neo-Nazi – was convicted to 10 years in prison. Forman had developed a homemade bomb and had researched various mosques and Islamic centres in the Merseyside area as potential targets. His plot was exposed when work colleagues found him researching chemicals and explosives on the web. During a police raid, an explosive was found, together with a replica Nazi uniform and plans for a bombing campaign. Forman also made video clips of himself experimenting with explosives, and made an amateur anti-Islam video. Forman was active online, and frequently expressed his racist ideology to contacts. On YouTube, he wrote of “Mosques lighting up the sky to keep us warm in the winter”.<sup>26</sup>
- In November 2014, Ryan McGee – a British soldier aged 20 – was jailed for two years after police found a homemade bomb, containing metal screws and glass pieces as shrapnel, in his home. McGee, an EDL supporter, was prosecuted under the Explosive Substance Act, rather than for terrorism, as the prosecution believed he did not intend to use the device.

In addition come the already mentioned twin terror attacks in Norway on 22 July 2011, Pavlo Laphsyn's terror campaign from April to June 2013, and Crawford and Feight's terror plot, revealed in June 2013. The case of Wade Michael Page, an American neo-Nazi who murdered six Sikhs at the

<sup>23</sup> “Projet d'attaque d'une mosquée à Vénissieux: non-lieu pour un militaire d'extrême droite”, *Le Progres*, 21 March 2014, available online at: [www.leprogres.fr/faits-divers/2014/03/21/projet-d-attaque-d-une-mosque-a-venissieux-non-lieu-pour-un-militaire-d-extreme-droite](http://www.leprogres.fr/faits-divers/2014/03/21/projet-d-attaque-d-une-mosque-a-venissieux-non-lieu-pour-un-militaire-d-extreme-droite).

<sup>24</sup> Kim Willsher, “French air force officer accused of planning to attack mosque”, *The Guardian*, 12 August 2012, available online at: [www.theguardian.com/world/2013/aug/12/french-air-force-officer-mosque-attack](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/aug/12/french-air-force-officer-mosque-attack).

<sup>25</sup> Caitlin Dickson, “Far Right Texas Terrorist Planned Murder and Robbery Spree in the Name of 'Liberty'”, *The Daily Beast*, 1 April 2014. Online: <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/04/01/far-right-texas-terrorist-planned-murder-and-robbery-spree-in-the-name-of-liberty.html>.

<sup>26</sup> “Merseyside mosque bomb plotter Ian Forman jailed”, *BBC*, 1 July 2014, available online at: [www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-merseyside-27237768](http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-merseyside-27237768)



Sikh Temple of Wisconsin in an attack in August 2011. Some have speculated that Wade mistook the Sikhs for Muslims, a mistake which would not have been unprecedented. In fact, the first hate crime murder believed to have been committed in retaliation for 9/11 was the 15 September 2011 slaying of Balbir Singh Sodhi, a Sikh who was shot to death outside his gas station in Mesa, Arizona.

In addition to terror plots, other violent crimes had a distinctly anti-Muslim flavour, such as the storming of the Braintree Mosque in Essex, UK, in May 2013. The perpetrator, Geoff Ryan, stormed the mosque, armed with knives and smoke grenades, and threatened to kill the only person who was in the building at the time, saying: "I'm going to kill you. Let's see if Allah or God come to help you." Ryan, a former member of the English Defence League, was convicted to nine months in prison. He has since apologized for his attack.<sup>27</sup>

Several murder cases have also been apparently motivated by anti-Muslim ideas, including the murder of Hassan Alawsi in the parking lot of a Home Depot store in Sacramento, California. The suspect was named as Jeffrey Michael Caylor, a one-time gang member whose criminal history includes attempted murder, attempted aggravated robbery and unlawful possession of firearms.

It should also be stressed that there have been several instances of purported Breivik "copycats":

- In late 2012, Brunon Kwiecien was arrested in Poland, suspected of plotting to set off a four-tonne bomb outside the Polish parliament building, as well as plotting to kill the country's prime minister and president. According to Polish and international media reports, Kwiecien was inspired by Breivik.<sup>28</sup> His ideology, however, seems to differ from that of the Norwegian mass murderer, with Kwiecien having a more anti-Semitic focus. It has also been claimed that he subscribed to conspiracy theories regarding a secret international elite, such as those peddled by the American broadcaster Alex Jones.
- In August 2012, 29-year old Vojtěch Mlýnek was arrested in the Czech Republic on suspicion that he was planning a series of copycat attacks in the country. During the raid, a large arms cache was allegedly found in the suspect's home, including automatic weapons, a bomb, a remote control detonator, 400 rounds of ammunition, in addition to police uniforms and masks. Allegedly, Mlýnek had also used Breivik's name in online postings and emails.<sup>29</sup>
- Two young Britons, John Roddy and his friend Tobias Ruth, were arrested in January 2013 after daubing racist graffiti on an Islamic Centre in Torbay and sending threatening messages. The two men drew inspiration from Breivik, and had performed an initiation ceremony during which they branded each other on the arm with a "Templar" cross. However, Devon and Cornwall Police Detective Inspector Costa Nassaris has underscored the importance of maintaining "perspective", seeking to reassure the local community that there was "not an immediate risk of serious harm to the general public". She noted that the two men referred to themselves as Knights Templar and demonstrated an extreme right-wing ideology with a particular hatred of Islam, but that they did not appear to be part of a wider, more organized group.<sup>30</sup>

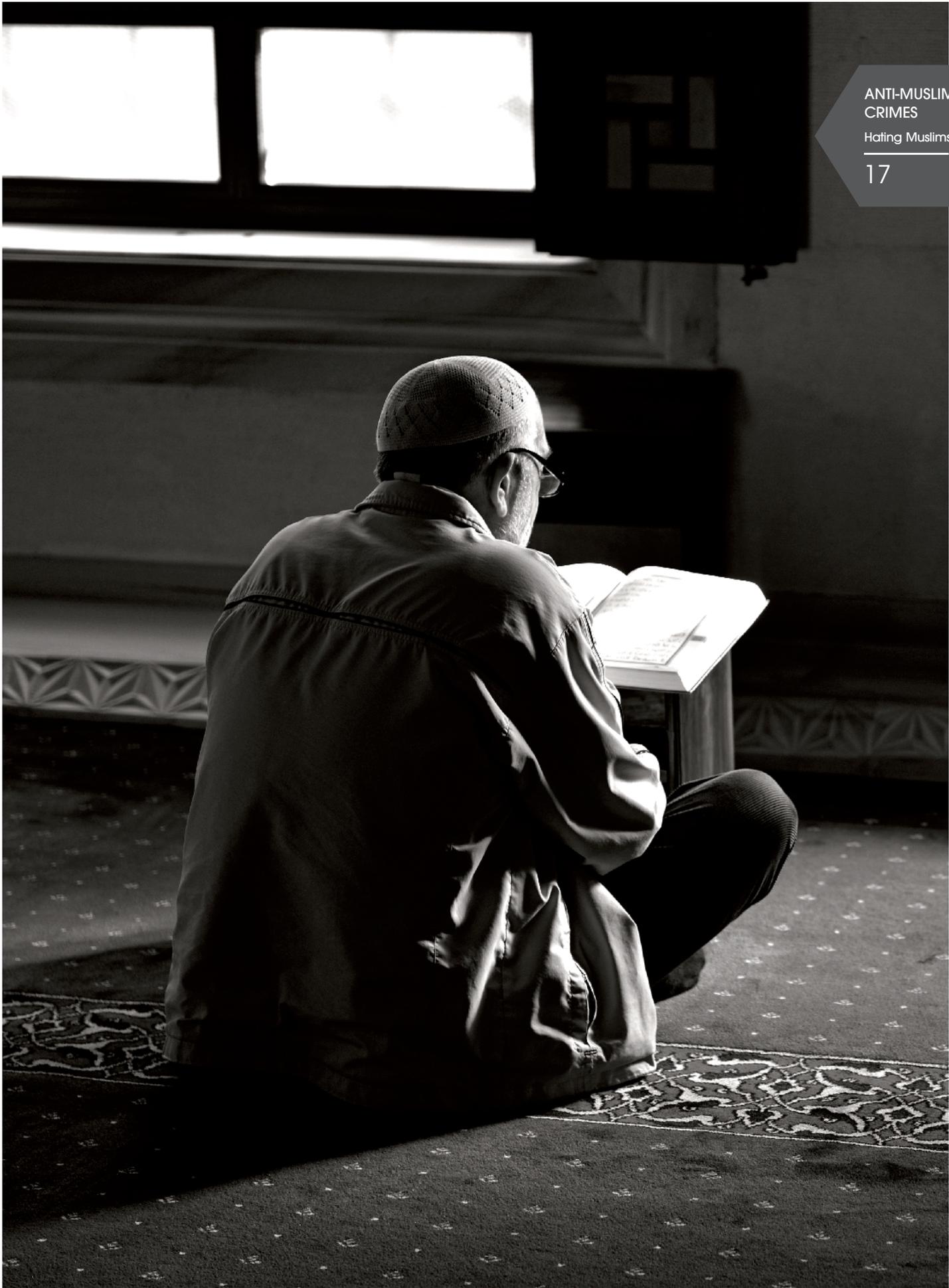
<sup>27</sup> Christophe Dyer, "Ex-EDL member and mosque vandal Geoff Ryan says sorry after jail release", *Essex Chronicle*, 14 April, 2014, available online at: [www.essexchronicle.co.uk/Sorry-Ex-EDL-member-mosque-vandal-Geoff-Ryan/story-20948178-detail/story.html](http://www.essexchronicle.co.uk/Sorry-Ex-EDL-member-mosque-vandal-Geoff-Ryan/story-20948178-detail/story.html).

<sup>28</sup> Wojciech Czuchnowski and Jaroslaw Sidorowicz, "Terror po polsku. Brunon Kwiecien - kryptonim 'Doktor'", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 19 May 2014, available online at: [http://wyborcza.pl/1,87648,15985924,Terror\\_po\\_polsku\\_Brunon\\_Kwecien\\_kryptonim\\_Doktor.html?piano\\_d=1](http://wyborcza.pl/1,87648,15985924,Terror_po_polsku_Brunon_Kwecien_kryptonim_Doktor.html?piano_d=1).

<sup>29</sup> "Kdo je český Breivik? Byl takový rošťák, říká soused", *TN.cz*, 19 August 2012, available online at: <http://tn.nova.cz/clanek/zpravy/cecnakronika/kdo-je-cesky-breivick-byl-takovy-rostak-rika-soused.html>.

<sup>30</sup> Paul Greaves, "Torquay 'Knight Templar' were inspired by Breivik murders, court heard", *Torquay Herald Express*, 20 September 2013, available online at: [www.torquayheraldexpress.co.uk/Torquay-Knights-Templar-inspired-Breivik-murders/story-19824726-detail/story.html](http://www.torquayheraldexpress.co.uk/Torquay-Knights-Templar-inspired-Breivik-murders/story-19824726-detail/story.html).





Since 2010, a considerable number of mosques and associated Muslim buildings in various Western countries have been targeted in arson attacks. The following list gives an indicative overview of such attacks from 2010 to 2014.

Several attacks included here appear to have been motivated by radical or extreme right-wing ideology. However, there are also cases where the perpetrator has been deemed mentally unstable. Also included are attacks whose perpetrator(s) remain unknown; one attack carried out by a man seemingly motivated by Sunni extremism, and targeting a Shiite mosque; and at least one attack possibly motivated by a local conflict between Kurds and Turks.

DATE	COUNTRY	PLACE	ADDITIONAL INFORMATION
4 Jan. 2010	Netherlands	Arnhem	A fire was started at the Türkiyem Moskee in Arnhem. <sup>31</sup>
4 Jan. 2010	Canada	Hamilton, Ontario	Unknown men launched a Molotov cocktail against a mosque in the Canadian city of Hamilton, Ontario. The device caused a blaze that petered out without causing significant damage. <sup>32</sup>
Early June 2010	Germany	Berlin	An arson attempt was made at the Sehittlik mosque in Berlin. A man, identified as Manuel K. in the German press, later confessed to this and several other arson attempts targeting mosques in the German capital. Manuel K. was convicted to 2 years and 9 months in prison. He was deemed mentally ill, and the prosecutor's office concluded that his motive was not political. <sup>33</sup>
20 July 2010	Germany	Korbach	A neo-Nazi activist, identified by German press as Thorsten K., hurled a Molotov cocktail at a mosque in Korbach. Thorsten K. was connected to a neo-Nazi network calling itself Sturm 18, and using the slogan, "Es ist Zeit zu handeln! Komm zu uns (It's time to act, come to us)". <sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> ANP, "Brandstichting in Turkse moskee in Arnhem", *volkskrant.nl*, 4 January 2010, available online at: [www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2686/Binnenland/article/detail/973126/2010/01/04/Brandstichting-in-Turkse-moskee-in-Arnhem.dhtml](http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2686/Binnenland/article/detail/973126/2010/01/04/Brandstichting-in-Turkse-moskee-in-Arnhem.dhtml).

<sup>32</sup> Paul Morse, "Anger, shock as Hamilton's biggest mosque is firebombed", *The Star*, 4 January 2010, available online at: [www.thestar.com/news/ontario/2010/01/04/anger\\_shock\\_as\\_hamiltons\\_biggest\\_mosque\\_is\\_firebombed.html](http://www.thestar.com/news/ontario/2010/01/04/anger_shock_as_hamiltons_biggest_mosque_is_firebombed.html).

<sup>33</sup> Michael Mielke, "Moscheen-Brandstifter offenbar psychisch krank", *Berliner Morgenpost*, 4 July 2011, available online at: [www.morgenpost.de/berlin/article1691565/Moscheen-Brandstifter-offenbar-psychisch-krank.html](http://www.morgenpost.de/berlin/article1691565/Moscheen-Brandstifter-offenbar-psychisch-krank.html).

<sup>34</sup> Joachim F. Tornau and Carsten Meyer, "Neonazi kündigt Anschlag an", *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 1 August 2010, available online at: [www.fr-online.de/rhein-main/hitlerbild-und-maschinengewehr-neonazi-kuendigt-anschlag-an,1472796,4523912.html](http://www.fr-online.de/rhein-main/hitlerbild-und-maschinengewehr-neonazi-kuendigt-anschlag-an,1472796,4523912.html).



3 Aug. 2010	Netherlands	Arnhem	Several Molotov cocktails were thrown at the mosque in Arnhem's Maaslaan street.
27 Sep. 2010	Netherlands	Groningen	A mosque in Selwerd in Groningen was vandalized, and an attempt was made at setting it on fire. The text "Maak ons niet kwaad! (Do not make us angry)" was written on the wall. <sup>35</sup> In March of the same year the mosque was smeared with blood.
17 Oct. 2010	France	Haguenau, Bas-Rhin	A mosque in Haguenau was damaged by fire, after a burning rubbish bin was pushed against the door of the building.
1 Aug. 2010	Germany	Berlin	Material was set on fire outside a cellar window in the Sehittlik Mosque in Berlin. The fire only caused minor damage. Manuel K. later confessed to this arson attempt (see 10 Jun. 2010 above). <sup>36</sup>
10 Aug. 2010	Germany	Berlin	Another minor attempt was made at the Sehittlik Mosque. Manuel K. later confessed to this arson attempt (see 1 Aug. 2010 above). <sup>37</sup>
20 Nov. 2010	Germany	Berlin	Another arson attempt was made at the Sehittlik Mosque, this time through the use of a gas flask. Manuel K. later confessed to this arson attempt (see 10 Aug. 2010 above). <sup>38</sup>
28 Nov. 2010	United States	Corvallis, Oregon	The Salman Alfarisi Islamic Center in Corvallis, Oregon, was firebombed two days after a former Oregon State University student was arrested in a plot to detonate a car bomb at Portland's the annual tree-lighting ceremony. In August 2011, a man in his twenties was arrested on federal charges. The affidavit against the man describes how he – during two unrelated contacts with the police in December 2010 – ranted about Muslims, described himself as a Christian warrior

<sup>35</sup> "Brandstichting bij Groningse moskee", *De Telegraaf*, 28 September 2010, available online at: [www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/article20347124.ece](http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/article20347124.ece).

<sup>36</sup> Mielke, "Moscheen-Brandstifter".

<sup>37</sup> Mielke, "Moscheen-Brandstifter".

<sup>38</sup> Mielke, "Moscheen-Brandstifter".



and said that "Christians can jihad, too."<sup>39</sup>

9 Dec. 2010	Germany	Berlin	An assailant threw a Molotov cocktail against the front of the cultural centre belonging to the Iranian community of Berlin and Brandenburg. Manuel K. later confessed to this arson attempt (see 20 Nov. 2010 above). <sup>40</sup>
8 Jan. 2011	Germany	Berlin	An arson attack, using a firebomb, was made at the Ahmadiyya community's mosque in the Wilmersdorf district of Berlin. This attack was deemed the most serious of Manuel K.'s series of arson attempts targeting mosques (see 9 Dec. 2010 above). <sup>41</sup>
4 Feb. 2011	UK	Flintshire, Wales	The Shotton Lane Social Club in North Wales burnt down after what was described as a deliberate arson attack. The Flintshire Muslim Cultural Society had earlier proposed opening a mosque at the site, leading to reactions from the English Defence League. <sup>42</sup>
7 Mar. 2011	UK	Ipswich	The St. Michael's Church in Ipswich was burnt down in an arson attack. The disused Victorian-era church had been purchased by the Islamic charity JIMAS, which planned to reopen it as a community centre. <sup>43</sup>
14 May 2011	United States	Houston, Texas	Three masked men broke into the Madrasah Islamiah, an Islamic centre in Houston, and doused prayer rugs with gasoline in an apparent attempt to burn the building down. Images of the men were captured on surveillance cameras, but they have not been identified to date. The fire was put out

<sup>39</sup> Maxine Bernstein, "Suspect in Corvallis mosque firebombing will remain in jail, judge orders", *Oregon Live / The Oregonian*, 25 August 2011, available online at: [www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/index.ssf/2011/08/suspect\\_in\\_corvallis\\_mosque\\_arson\\_will\\_remain\\_in\\_jail\\_judge\\_orders.html](http://www.oregonlive.com/pacific-northwest-news/index.ssf/2011/08/suspect_in_corvallis_mosque_arson_will_remain_in_jail_judge_orders.html).

<sup>40</sup> Mielke, "Moscheen-Brandstifter".

<sup>41</sup> Mielke, "Moscheen-Brandstifter".

<sup>42</sup> North Wales Daily Post, "Shotton Lane Social Club Fire: One year on", *dailypost.co.uk*, 3 February 2012, available online: [www.dailypost.co.uk/news/north-wales-news/shotton-lane-social-club-fire-2668855](http://www.dailypost.co.uk/news/north-wales-news/shotton-lane-social-club-fire-2668855).

<sup>43</sup> Matthew Symington, "Three years on from devastating arson attack, 40 youngsters help clean St. Michael's Church in Ipswich to get it ready for restoration", *Ipswich Star*, 3 March 2014, available online at: [www.ipswichstar.co.uk/news/video\\_gallery\\_three\\_years\\_on\\_from\\_devastating\\_arson\\_attack\\_40\\_youngsters\\_help\\_clean\\_st\\_michael\\_s\\_church\\_in\\_ipswich\\_to\\_get\\_it\\_ready\\_for\\_restoration\\_1\\_3389221](http://www.ipswichstar.co.uk/news/video_gallery_three_years_on_from_devastating_arson_attack_40_youngsters_help_clean_st_michael_s_church_in_ipswich_to_get_it_ready_for_restoration_1_3389221)



			before doing any major damage. <sup>44</sup>
1 Jun. 2011	Netherlands	Enkhuizen	An arson attempt was made at the Alaatin mosque in Enkhuizen. Four Molotov cocktails were thrown onto the mosque's property, causing minor material damage. Racist symbolism and slogans were reportedly left at the scene. <sup>45</sup>
24 Oct. 2011	Netherlands	Arnhem	The Türkiyem mosque in Arnhem was once again targeted in an arson attack. In this instance, slogans were written on the wall, including a reference to the Kurdish guerilla group PKK. The police believed that the motive might be a local conflict between Kurds and Turks. <sup>46</sup>
30 Nov. 2011	Denmark	Copenhagen	A window was broken in the Islamic Cultural Centre in Brønshøj, Copenhagen; flammable liquid was then poured on the floor inside the mosque, and a fire was lit. An office in the building was damaged. <sup>47</sup>
3 Dec. 2011	UK	Stoke-on-Trent	The soldier Simon Beech, 23, and his friend, Garreth Foster, 29, set fire to Hanley's Regent Road mosque in Stoke-on-Trent. The pair was later convicted and sentenced to 10 years in prison. Both denied committing arson with intent to endanger life, and claimed that the attack was revenge for jihadi extremists' burning of poppies on Armistice Day. During the four-day trial, Beech told the jury that he had been a member of the English Defence League (EDL) and the British National Party (BNP). He nonetheless asserted that he was not a racist and that he did not believe his views to be extreme. The prosecutor presented comments from Beech's Facebook account, including one

<sup>44</sup> Zain Shauk, "Masked men try to burn Houston mosque; HFD investigates", *Houston Chronicle*, May 15, 2011, available online at: [www.chron.com/life/houston-belief/article/Masked-men-try-to-burn-Houston-mosque-HFD-1682665.php](http://www.chron.com/life/houston-belief/article/Masked-men-try-to-burn-Houston-mosque-HFD-1682665.php).

<sup>45</sup> "Brand moskee Enkhuizen niet doelbewust", *De Telegraaf*, 7 April 2013, available online at: [www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21457366/Brand\\_moskee\\_toeval\\_.html](http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21457366/Brand_moskee_toeval_.html).

<sup>46</sup> "Brand en bekladding moskee Arnhem", *De Stentor*, 24 October 2011, available online at: [www.destentor.nl/algemeen/binnenland/brand-en-bekladding-moskee-arnhem-1.417834](http://www.destentor.nl/algemeen/binnenland/brand-en-bekladding-moskee-arnhem-1.417834).

<sup>47</sup> Niels Holst, "Københavnsk moské udsat for brannattentat", *Politiken*, 30 November 2011, available online at: <http://politiken.dk/indland/ECE1466142/koebenhavnsk-mosk-udsat-for-brandattentat/>.



			asserting: "The time has come. They burn our poppies, we burn their place. Burn the lot of them out." <sup>48</sup>
1 Jan. 2012	United States	New York City	Ray Llegend, a Guayanese immigrant living in Queens, confessed to throwing Molotov cocktails at a mosque in Jamaica, Queens, as well as admitting to several other firebombings. Llegend was subsequently. <sup>49</sup>
12 Mar. 2012	Belgium	Brussels	Rachid El Boukhari, a jihadi extremist, stormed the Shiite Rida mosque in Anderlecht, Brussels; he wielded an axe and a knife, and spread flammable liquid on the floor before setting it alight. The imam of the mosque died of smoke inhalation, after trying to put out the flames. El Boukhari was apparently motivated by Salafist anti-Shiite views, and referred to the Syrian civil war as a justification for his attack. <sup>50</sup>
9 Apr. 2012	France	Ajaccio, Corsica	An arsonist partially destroyed a Muslim prayer room in Corsica's capital city. The French Ministry of the Interior informed the press that racist inscriptions were found on the front of the building. <sup>51</sup>
20 Jul. 2012	Netherlands	Enkhuizen	A school building in Enkhuizen was burned down following an arson attack. The local Muslim community was planning to move its mosque to the old school. <sup>52</sup> In October 2012, an 18-year old man was arrested, and was later linked to a number of other arson cases in the town. No political motive was reported. In January 2013, however, the man was released and found to no

<sup>48</sup> "Mosque arson trial: Soldier told friends on Facebook - 'burn them out'", *The Sentinel*, 6 December 2011, available online at: [www.stokesentinel.co.uk/Mosque-arson-trial-Soldier-told-friends-Facebook/story-14055117-detail/story.html](http://www.stokesentinel.co.uk/Mosque-arson-trial-Soldier-told-friends-Facebook/story-14055117-detail/story.html).

<sup>49</sup> John Marzulli, "EXCLUSIVE: Queens man charged with firebombing of mosque found fit to stand trial", *New York Daily News*, 9 June 2014. Online: <http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/nyc-crime/man-arrested-firebombing-mosque-found-fit-trial-article-1.1822277>.

<sup>50</sup> "Dader dodelijke brandstichting Rida-moskee doorverwezen naar assisen", *Het Laatste Nieuws*, 15 March 2013, available online at: <http://m.hln.be/hln/m/nl/957/Binnenland/article/detail/1633542/2013/05/15/Dader-dodelijke-brandstichting-Rida-moskee-doorverwezen-naar-assisen.dhtml?originatingNavigationItemid=1>.

<sup>51</sup> Corse: Le RMF condamne l'incendie de la mosquée d'Ajaccio", *Corsica Informazione / Stampa Nustrale*, 11 April 2012, available online at: [www.corsicainformazione.org/17423/corse-le-rmf-condamne-lincendie-de-la-mosquee-dajaccio/2012/](http://www.corsicainformazione.org/17423/corse-le-rmf-condamne-lincendie-de-la-mosquee-dajaccio/2012/).

<sup>52</sup> Marlous van Merkenstein, "School aan Reigerweg verwoest na brandstichting", *dichtbij.nl*, 20 July 2012, available online at: [www.dichtbij.nl/west-friesland/regionaal-nieuws/artikel/2393098/school-aan-reigerweg-verwoest-na-brandstichting-video.aspx](http://www.dichtbij.nl/west-friesland/regionaal-nieuws/artikel/2393098/school-aan-reigerweg-verwoest-na-brandstichting-video.aspx).



			longer be a suspect. <sup>53</sup>
14 Sep. 2012	France	Condé-Sur-L'Escaut	The mosque in Condé-sur-l'Escaut in northern France was the target of an arson attack on the night of Thursday-Friday 14 September. Damages were minor. <sup>54</sup>
6 Aug. 2012	United States	Joplin, Missouri	The Islamic Society of Joplin mosque was targeted in an arson attack. The mosque could not be saved. The destruction followed earlier fires, including one on 4 July when a flaming object was thrown onto the mosque's roof, resulting in minor damage. Still earlier, when the mosque opened in 2007, a sign was torched. Jedediah Stout was arrested in connection with attempted arson against a Planned Parenthood centre in Joplin in October 2012, and according to newspaper reports he also confessed to setting the fire at the mosque. <sup>55</sup>
30 Sep. 2012	United States	Perrysburg, Ohio	On 30 Sep. 2012, Randy Linn of St. Joe, Indiana, drove to the Islamic Center of Greater Toledo, poured gasoline onto the prayer room carpet and set it ablaze. He was later sentenced to 20 years in federal prison for the arson attack, which caused USD 1.6 million worth of damage. Linn, a former Marine, told the judge that he was "drunk and angry at Muslims", after having seen a television news broadcast about wounded American soldiers. <sup>56</sup>
2 Apr. 2012	UK	Luton	Two large metal bins were pushed against a door at the Bury Park Jamie Masjid in Bury Park, Luton, and then set alight. No suspects were identified, but

<sup>53</sup> "Man niet meer verdacht van brandstichtingen Enkhuizen", *Rtvnh.nl*, 3 January 2013, available online at: [www.rtvnh.nl/nieuws/94623/Man+niet+meer+verdacht+van+brandstichtingen+Enkhuizen](http://www.rtvnh.nl/nieuws/94623/Man+niet+meer+verdacht+van+brandstichtingen+Enkhuizen).

<sup>54</sup> "Tentative d'incendie contre un mosquée du Nord", *Liberation*, 14 September 2012, available online at: [www.liberation.fr/societe/2012/09/14/tentative-d-incendie-contre-une-mosquee-du-nord\\_846385](http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2012/09/14/tentative-d-incendie-contre-une-mosquee-du-nord_846385).

<sup>55</sup> Jeff Lehr, "Arson suspect linked to mosque fire in court document", *Joplin Globe*, 21 October 2013, available online at: [www.joplinglobe.com/topstories/x703143749/Detention-hearing-scheduled-for-man-charged-in-arson-attempts](http://www.joplinglobe.com/topstories/x703143749/Detention-hearing-scheduled-for-man-charged-in-arson-attempts).

<sup>56</sup> John Seewer, "Ex-Marine gets 20 years in Ohio mosque fire", *MSN/Associated Press*, 16 April 2013, available online at: <http://news.msn.com/crime-justice/ex-marine-gets-20-years-in-ohio-mosque-fire>



			the fire – which caused minor damage – was considered deliberate. <sup>57</sup>
25 Sep. 2012	Spain	Onda	The Islamic Centre Ibn al-Abbar in Onda was targeted in an attempted arson attack, causing minor damage. The evening prior to the attack, worshippers at the mosque had been subjected to racist abuse. In November 2011, the group España 2000 organized a demonstration in the town, protesting against the mosque and against “uncontrolled immigration of Moors and the Islamic invasion”. <sup>58</sup>
16 Oct. 2012	Poland	Gdansk	A fire began at the Gdansk mosque in northern Poland, at about 4:40 a.m. local time, causing damage of around 50,000 zloty (c.12,000 euros). <sup>59</sup>
6 Apr. 2013	Netherlands	Enkhuizen	The Enkhuizen mosque was once again targeted in an arson attack. The fire caused considerable damage. The town's mayor believed that the mosque had not been deliberately targeted by anti-Muslim activists – unlike in 2011 – and viewed the incident in connection with other arson attempts in the town. <sup>60</sup>
26 May 2013	UK	Grimsby	In the wake of the murder of the British soldier Lee Rigby, carried out by violent jihadis, the Grimsby Islamic Center was firebombed. Several supporters of the EDL had advocated torching the mosque on social media prior to the attack. Two ex-soldiers, Stuart Harness and Gavin Humphries, later pled guilty to the attack, while a third man was found guilty of aiding and abetting them. No direct link was found between the arsonists and the EDL. <sup>61</sup>

<sup>57</sup> “Police probe mosque fire”, *LutonToday*, 2 April 2012, available online at: [www.lutontoday.co.uk/news/local/police-probe-mosque-fire-1-3692062](http://www.lutontoday.co.uk/news/local/police-probe-mosque-fire-1-3692062).

<sup>58</sup> Lorena Ortega, “La mezquita de Onda denuncia un intento de incendio de su centro”, *El Pais*, 25 September 2012, available online at: [http://ccaa.elpais.com/ccaa/2012/09/25/valencia/1348592746\\_935201.html](http://ccaa.elpais.com/ccaa/2012/09/25/valencia/1348592746_935201.html)

<sup>59</sup> “Imam blames 'arson attack' on halal slaughter row”, *thenews.pl*, October 16, 2013, available online at: <http://www.thenews.pl/1/9/Artykul/150224,Imam-blames-arson-attack-on-halal-slaughter-row>.

<sup>60</sup> “Brand moskee Enkhuizen niet doelbewust”, *De Telegraaf*, 7 April 2013, available online at: [www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21457366/Brand\\_moskee\\_toeval.html](http://www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21457366/Brand_moskee_toeval.html).

<sup>61</sup> “Grimsby men admit mosque arson attack”, *Grimsby Telegraph*, 29 August 2013, available online at: [www.grimsbytelegraph.co.uk/Grimsby-men-admit-mosque-arson-attack/story-19721322-detail/story.html](http://www.grimsbytelegraph.co.uk/Grimsby-men-admit-mosque-arson-attack/story-19721322-detail/story.html); and Bob Pitt, “Online hate and the Grimsby Mosque firebombing”, *Islamophobia Watch*, 20 December 2013, available online at: [www.islamophobiawatch.co.uk/online-hate-and-the-grimsby-mosque-firebombing/](http://www.islamophobiawatch.co.uk/online-hate-and-the-grimsby-mosque-firebombing/).



6 June 2013	UK	London	A building in Muswell Hill, London, which housed the Al-Rahma Islamic Centre as well as the Somali Bravanese Welfare Association, was completely destroyed by fire. The blaze was deemed suspicious, while EDL graffiti was found daubed on the charred building. <sup>62</sup>
18 June 2013	UK	Gloucester	Petrol was poured around the door of the Masjid-E-Noor mosque in Gloucester, and then set alight. Ashley Juggins and Clive Ceronne later admitted arson with reckless endangerment to life, and were convicted to 42 and 54 months in prison, respectively. Both men were known to be active with the EDL. <sup>63</sup>
26 Aug. 2013	UK	Harlow, Essex	Arsonists sprayed insulation foam underneath the shuttered doors and windows of an Islamic Centre in Harlow, Essex, and then tried to set it alight. The attack caused only minor damage. <sup>64</sup>
3 Feb. 2014	Germany	Cologne	A 31-year old man was arrested after attempting to set fire to the Central Mosque in Cologne, Germany. He also carried out acts of vandalism, targeting two other mosques. The man was transferred to a mental care institution. <sup>65</sup>
8 Mar. 2014	UK	Milton Keynes	Richard Brevington intentionally started a fire at a mosque in Milton Keynes, UK. He later admitted arson with intent to endanger life as well as a racially and religiously aggravated public order offenses. Brevington, 30, was sentenced to four years in jail. <sup>66</sup>
20 May 2014	UK	Birmingham	An arsonist destroyed a Birmingham

<sup>62</sup> Charlotte Philby, Sam Masters and Paul Peachey, "Right-wing arson attack? 'EDL' graffiti found after Muswell Hill mosque is burnt down amid fears of Woolwich link", *The Independent*, 5 June 2013, available online at: [www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/rightwing-arson-attack-edl-graffiti-found-after-muswell-hill-mosque-is-burnt-down-amid-fears-of-woolwich-link-8645775.html](http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/rightwing-arson-attack-edl-graffiti-found-after-muswell-hill-mosque-is-burnt-down-amid-fears-of-woolwich-link-8645775.html).

<sup>63</sup> "Gloucester mosque arson attack: Two men jailed", *BBC*, 21 November 2013, available online at: [www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-glostershire-25034289](http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-glostershire-25034289)

<sup>64</sup> Maeve Kennedy, "Harlow mosque hit by arson attack", *The Guardian*, 26 August 2013, available online at: [www.theguardian.com/world/2013/aug/26/harlow-mosque-hit-by-arson-attack](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/aug/26/harlow-mosque-hit-by-arson-attack).

<sup>65</sup> "Ermittlungen in Köln: Mann legt Feuer vor Zentralmoschee", *Der Spiegel*, 3 February 2014, available online at: [www.spiegel.de/panorama/koeln-mann-veruebt-brandanschlag-auf-zentralmoschee-a-950807.html](http://www.spiegel.de/panorama/koeln-mann-veruebt-brandanschlag-auf-zentralmoschee-a-950807.html).

<sup>66</sup> "Milton Keynes mosque fire: Richard Brevington jailed for arson", *BBC*, 2 May 2014, available online at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-beds-bucks-herts-27259459>.



			community centre in what was described as a racially motivated attack. Ulfah Arts and Media was completely devastated by the fire. In the past, the centre had received anti-Muslim hate mail, including "a DVD full of race hate messages". Leon Smythe, 40, was charged with arson at the end of May 2014, although his alleged motive remains unclear. <sup>67</sup>
20 May 2014	Canada	Montreal	Police apprehended a 47-year old man after he attempted to throw a Molotov cocktail into the Assahaba Islamic Community in Montreal. Police said that the incident was the fifth in just over a month, and the man – who was carrying a sword at the time of his arrest – was caught because officers had been staking out the community centre following previous incidents – including an 8 April incident when an axe was thrown through the centre's window, alongside what was been described as "anti-Liberal and anti-Muslim messages". The man was described as a white Quebecer, with possible links to an extremist organization. <sup>68</sup>
25 July 2014	Sweden	Norrköping	A mosque being built in the Eastern Swedish city of Norrköping was severely damaged in fire. The police feared the fire was a result of arson. <sup>69</sup>
11 Aug. 2014	Germany	Berlin	A fire damaged a mosque in Kreuzberg, Berlin. The police first believed the fire might have been caused by a technical fault, but in late August stated that they believed the fire was started deliberately. A suspect, a Jordanian citizen, was arrested. <sup>70</sup>
7 Dec. 2014	Switzerland	Flums	Two Molotov cocktails were thrown into a mosque in the swiss town of Flums,

<sup>67</sup> Press release from West Midlands police, available online at: [www.west-midlands.police.uk/latest-news/news.aspx?id=944](http://www.west-midlands.police.uk/latest-news/news.aspx?id=944).

<sup>68</sup> "Man with sword stopped by stun gun outside Islamic Centre", *CBC News*, 20 May 2014, available online at: [www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/man-with-sword-stopped-by-stun-gun-outside-islamic-centre-1.2647822](http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/man-with-sword-stopped-by-stun-gun-outside-islamic-centre-1.2647822).

<sup>69</sup> "Police suspect mosque fire was arson", *Sveriges Radio*, 25 July 2014, available online at: <http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2054&artikel=5922486>

<sup>70</sup> Andreas Kopietz, "Jordanier soll Moschee angezündet haben", *Berliner Zeitung*, 31 August 2014, available online at: <http://www.berliner-zeitung.de/berlin/berlin-kreuzberg-jordanier-soll-moschee-angezuendet-haben,10809148,28275330.html>



			causing property damage. <sup>71</sup>
25 Dec. 2014	Sweden	Eskilstuna	In Eskilstuna, west of Stockholm, a mosque started burning on Christmas Day, as over 70 people were in the premises. Five people were taken to hospital. Arson is suspected. The next day the Swedish newspaper Expressen reported that another mosque in Eskilstuna had also been vandalized. <sup>72</sup>
29 Dec. 2014	Sweden	Eslöv	A fire started in a mosque situated in an apartment building in the Southern Swedish town of Eslöv. Arson is suspected. <sup>73</sup>
1 Jan. 2015	Sweden	Uppsala	A mosque in Uppsala was attacked in the early hours of New Year's Day. When police was called to the scene at 5:30 a.m., they could see that there had been a fire, but that it had died down. Anti-Muslim graffiti was left on the entrance doors. <sup>74</sup>

## PORK ATTACKS

One of the most common forms of anti-Muslim hate crimes is vandalism targeted at mosques. One specific form of such vandalism is what we have chosen to call “pork attacks”, the use of bacon or other pork meat to insult Muslims and vandalize mosques – pork being taboo in Islam, as in Judaism. A case from the southern Norwegian city of Kristiansand can be used to illustrate this specific form of anti-Muslim incident. In May 2012, a man left a severed pig's head, painted red, outside a local mosque. Next to it a poster was placed that stated: “Hey, Muslim (...) Stop harassing Norwegian food and culture. This is Norway. Russ 2012. Fuck Jihad!”

The words “Russ 2012” is a reference to the Norwegian russ celebration, a traditional celebration for Norwegian upper secondary students during which participants wear colored overalls, drive matching cars, vans and buses, and celebrate their graduation. Drunkenness and public disturbances are regularly linked to the celebration, and various pranks – usually rather innocent – are often part of the celebration. Doubts were soon expressed about whether students were behind the act, however, and eventually, the police said, it became apparent that the perpetrator was a 40-year-old man, Dan Eivind Lid. He was charged with harassment. Lid has since been convicted twice more, but both convictions have been overturned on technicalities.

In court, he claimed that placing a pig head outside the mosque was “a political statement”, in protest against the removal of a painting of a pig from a children's ward at Kristiansand hospital

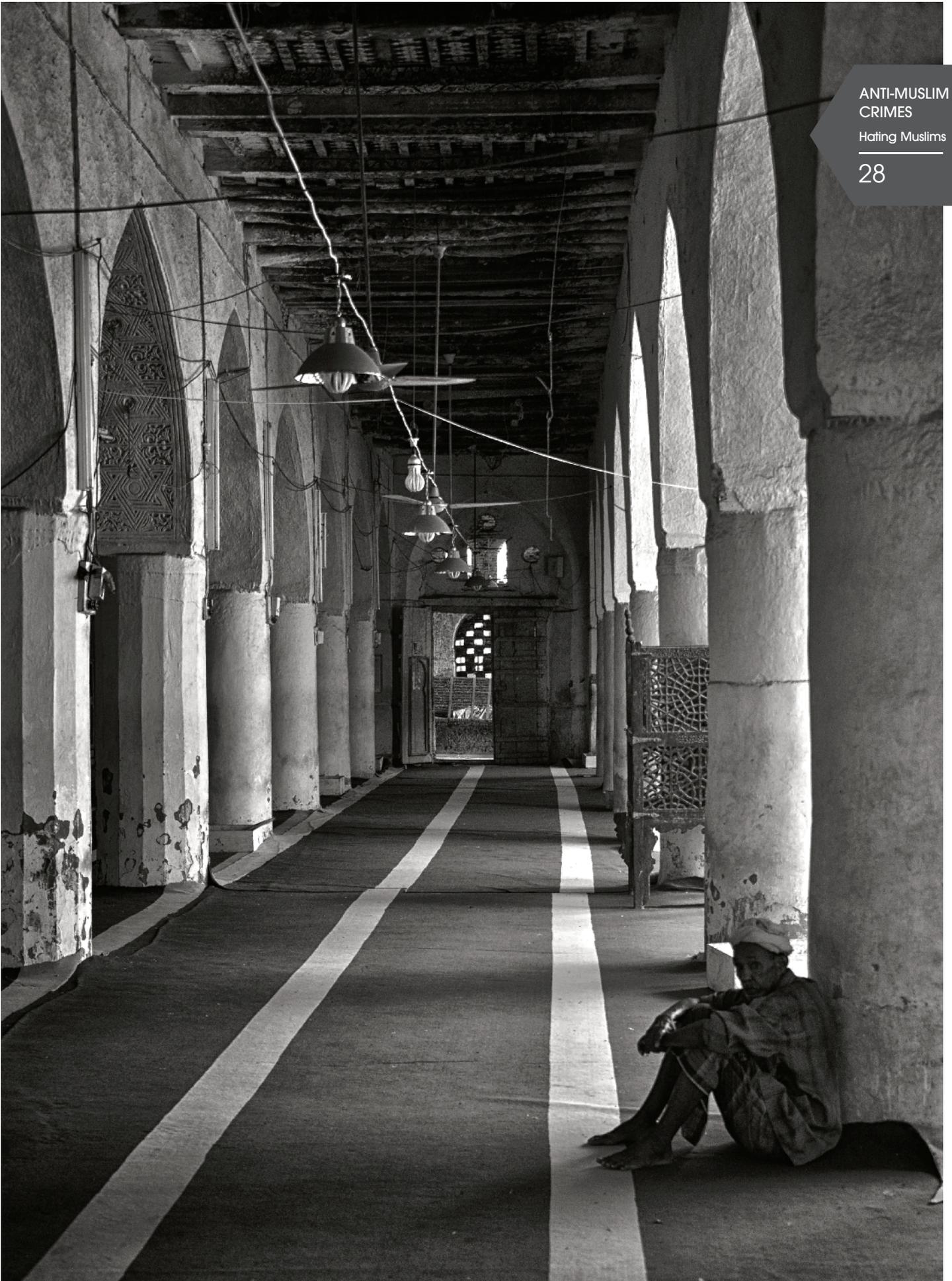
<sup>71</sup> “Brandanschlag auf islamisches Zentrum”, *20 Minuten*, 7 December 2014, available online at: <http://www.20min.ch/schweiz/ostschweiz/story/Brandanschlag-auf-islamisches-Zentrum-23847125>

<sup>72</sup> Olof Svensson, “Skadegörelse mot moske i Eskilstuna”, *Aftonbladet*, 26 December 2014, available online at: <http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article20077325.ab>

<sup>73</sup> “Moskebrand i Eslöv oroar imamen”, *Svenska Dagbladet*, 29 December 2014, available online at: [http://www.svd.se/nyheter/inrikes/moskebrand-i-eslov-oroar-imamen\\_4218013.svd](http://www.svd.se/nyheter/inrikes/moskebrand-i-eslov-oroar-imamen_4218013.svd)

<sup>74</sup> “Regeringen fördömer moskedåden”, *Svenska Dagbladet*, 1 January 2015, available online at: [http://www.svd.se/nyheter/inrikes/regeringen-fordomer-moskedaden\\_4224217.svd](http://www.svd.se/nyheter/inrikes/regeringen-fordomer-moskedaden_4224217.svd)





years earlier. While the pig's head left in Kristiansand is just one of many examples of similar incidents of harassment in various European countries, it merits noting that the perpetrator was actively supported by the Norwegian anti-Muslim organization Stopp Islamiseringen av Norge (Stop the Islamization of Norway, SIAN). When the original verdict was overturned, it was hailed as a great victory, and Lid was interviewed by the group for its website. There, he stated that the overturned verdict was a victory against Islam's attitude towards Nasse Nøff – the Norwegian name of A. A. Milne's Piglet character. "I had to do something drastic to draw attention to the violation and abuse suffered by Norwegians when Muslims had the pig drawing removed. It was an assault on the Norwegian people. The whole case was about to be forgotten, thus it was necessary with such a counter-maneuver to ensure media interest."

At SIAN's website, supporters also described the overturned verdict as "a promising sign", and a reason to celebrate. "The NWO (New World Order) psychopaths tried to divide us, but common sense was victorious," one anonymous commenter wrote. "Congratulations to (...) the suppressed Norwegian people," another opined.<sup>75</sup> The story was also picked up by the US-based anti-Muslim blog Gates of Vienna, which described the overturned verdict as "positive news from Norway, for a change".

Norway has also witnessed several other instances of a similar nature:

- In January 2008, a pig's head and a Nazi flag were left in a mosque in Oslo by someone who entered during prayer services.<sup>76</sup>
- In May 2011, pigs's ears were left on two Muslim graves in Ski.<sup>77</sup>
- In September 2012, 30 kilograms of raw pork was spread around a proposed building site for a mosque in Larvik.<sup>78</sup>
- In September 2013, a pig's head was left outside a mosque in Oslo.<sup>79 80</sup>

Indeed, data collected by Hate Speech International show that such "pork attacks" have taken place in the United States, Canada, Australia, Russia, France, Spain, Sweden, Norway, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, Greece, Bulgaria, Iceland, Austria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Belgium. In some cases, attacks have targeted proposed mosque sites, apparently attempting to stop the construction of local mosques. In other cases, pig's heads have been thrown at or into existing mosques. Several of these incidents have been hailed on anti-Muslim web sites, while some have connections to specific anti-Muslim groups, amongst them the various European "defence leagues".



## OTHER FORMS OF VANDALISM

Other forms of vandalism against mosques include racist graffiti, the smashing of windows, throwing paint, smearing of excrement, etc. on walls, windows or doors, etc. – especially of buildings associated with Islam. This is so widespread that it would be difficult to get a comprehensive overview of such events in Europe and North America based on media reports, and many acts are likely underreported to both the police and the media.

<sup>75</sup> Arne Tumyr, "Politiet gikk på en smell", *sian.no*, 21 July 2013, available online at: [www.webcitation.org/6RHiPIGhR](http://www.webcitation.org/6RHiPIGhR).

<sup>76</sup> Ida Giske, "Grisehode og naziflagg levert i moské", *osloby.no*, 14 January 2008, available online at: [www.osloby.no/nyheter/Grisehode-og-naziflagg-levert-i-mosk-6504316.html#.U8\\_ZgLF-f-k](http://www.osloby.no/nyheter/Grisehode-og-naziflagg-levert-i-mosk-6504316.html#.U8_ZgLF-f-k)

<sup>77</sup> "La griseører på barnegraver", *NTB*, 4 May 2011, available online at: [www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/la-griseoerer-paa-muslimske-barnegraver/a/10085072/](http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/la-griseoerer-paa-muslimske-barnegraver/a/10085072/).

<sup>78</sup> Bjørn-Tore Sandbrekkene and Sigrid Kvasfjord, "Anser dumpinggen som islamofobisk", *Østlands-Posten*, 9 September 2012, available online at: [www.op.no/nyheter/article6226291.ece](http://www.op.no/nyheter/article6226291.ece).

<sup>79</sup> Roar Dalmo, "Plasserte grisehode ved moské i Oslo", *TV2.no*, 21 September 2013, available online at: [www.tv2.no/a/4124776](http://www.tv2.no/a/4124776).

<sup>80</sup> Norway has also seen examples of vandalism and threats toward mosques, not included on the list above.





Muslim prayers in mosque

## ANTI-MUSLIM VIOLENCE, THE FAR RIGHT AND THE RISE OF THE “COUNTER-JIHAD” MOVEMENT

The potential to make political capital out of broader anti-Muslim tendency within western society has been noticed by a number of groups operating on the far right. Unsurprisingly, the older groups leapt at the chance to “legitimately” target a minority outgroup. As Matthew Feldman has pointed out, as early as in 2005 the then-leader of the fascist British National Party (BNP), Nick Griffin, “urged party activists to turn away from an unhelpful anti-Semitism and embrace anti-Muslim politics in a telling attempt at populist, electoral-friendly campaigning: “With millions of our people desperately and very reasonably worried by the spread of Islam and its adherents, and with the mass media (...) playing 'Islamophobic' messages like a scratched CD, the proper choice of enemy needn't be left to rocket scientists.”<sup>81</sup>

In the latter years, there has been the rapid growth of a network of specifically anti-Muslim organizations: the so-called counter-jihad movement. The International Centre for the Study of Radicalization and Political Violence (ICSR) describes this movement as “a loosely-organized, decentralized network of sympathetic groups and political parties that have used the internet to coalesce into a more effective and international anti-Islam movement.”<sup>82</sup> Anti-fascist campaigning group Hope not Hate employs a similar definition, adding that “Some are hard-line, others less so. Some are openly racist, others are not. Few represent anything more than a minority following in the religious or political traditions they claim to represent. But in all cases the rhetoric used, either explicitly or by implication, leads us to question whether the target is merely radical Islam and Islamist extremist groups, or if it goes wider, criticizing Islam as a faith and Muslims as a people. In many instances, this criticism leads to hatred.”<sup>83</sup>

The key organization of this movement in Britain (and arguably the world) has been the English Defence League (EDL). Formed in 2009, in reaction to provocative demonstrations from Islamic extremists, the EDL's stated mission is to “oppose radical Islam”.<sup>84</sup> Unlike the older, overtly racist, far-right groups like the BNP, the EDL has espoused a liberal ideology and ostensibly eschews racism. The group has “divisions” for women, LGBT people, and ethnic minorities; and its apparent solidarity with these minority groups is used to highlight the alleged misogyny and racism within Islam. Importantly, the group has also claimed to distance itself from violence, penning the motto “Not racist, not violent, no longer silent”.<sup>85</sup> Indeed, even many academics have noted the novelty of the EDL's rhetoric and aims, which does seem to set it apart from other far-right groups.<sup>86</sup> The EDL has subsequently inspired the formation of several other national defence leagues in Europe and North America.<sup>87</sup>

The masking of anti-Muslim prejudice behind a thin veil of liberalism is typical of the wider counter-jihad movement. Indeed, it has been noted that this anti-extremist posturing is one of the chief threats of this movement. The ICSR notes that there is a concern that “the movement can .

<sup>81</sup> Feldman, Matthew, “The Radical Right, Anti-Muslim Politics, and ‘Cumulative Extremism’”, available online at: <http://www.faiobserver.com/region/europe/radical-right-anti-muslim-politics-and-cumulative-extremism/>

<sup>82</sup> See Meleagrou-Hitchens, Alexander & Hans Brun, “A Neo-Nationalist Network: The English Defence League and Europe's Counter-Jihad Movement”, available online at: [http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/ICSR-ECJM-Report\\_Online.pdf](http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/ICSR-ECJM-Report_Online.pdf).

<sup>83</sup> Lowles, Nick, “Hope not Hate: Counter-Jihad Report”, available online at: [www.hopenothate.org.uk/counter-jihad/](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/counter-jihad/).

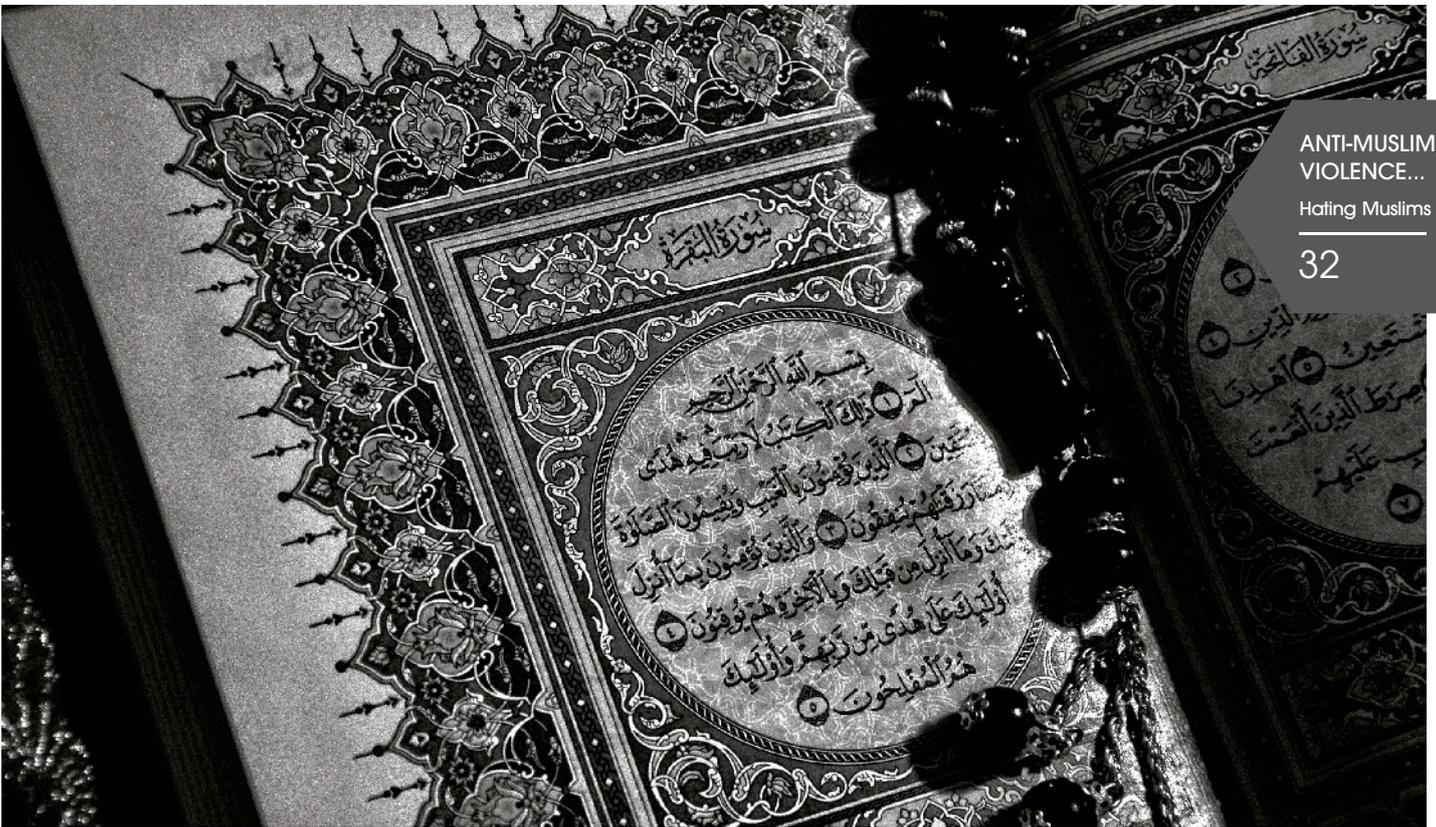
<sup>84</sup> Copsey, Nigel, *The English Defence League: Challenging our country and our values of social inclusion, fairness and equality* (London: Faith Matters, 2010).

<sup>85</sup> Available online at: [www.englishdefenceleague.org/hateful-and-extremist/](http://www.englishdefenceleague.org/hateful-and-extremist/)

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Available online at: [www.hopenothate.org.uk/counter-jihad/organisations/Defence-Leagues-Network](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/counter-jihad/organisations/Defence-Leagues-Network).





serve to incubate, protect and add a veneer of plausibility and acceptability to traditional forms of far-right xenophobia and extremism”<sup>88</sup>

However, the counter-jihad movement represents a more direct threat to public order. Since its formation the EDL, for example, has been able to mobilize thousands of activists for demonstrations and marches, which often descend into violent clashes with left-wing or community counter-demonstrations. The criminologists James Treadwell and Jon Garland have stated: “(T)he EDL’s Islamophobic views and provocative street army tactics mean that it poses the most serious threat to public order and community cohesion since the heyday of the National Front in the 1970s.”<sup>89</sup> There is also a worrying link between the rank-and-file members of counter-jihad groups like the EDL and individual acts of anti-Muslim violence.

In the report *Tell MAMA Reporting 2013/14 Anti-Muslim Overview, Analysis and “Cumulative Extremism”*, the authors Matthew Feldman and Mark Littler of Teesside University in the United Kingdom look at connections between anti-Muslim hate crimes and the far right, employing evidence from case studies compiled by the “Tell MAMA” (Measuring Anti-Muslim Attacks) project, a third-party reporting project run by the interfaith organization Faith Matters.

The dataset for 1 May 2013–28 February 2014 includes 734 self-reported cases. Of these, there were 599 incidents of online abuse and 135 reported offline incidents. The offline incidents included 23 cases of assault, and another 13 involving extreme violence. Two fifths of all the cases (both online and offline) were associated with far-right groups.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Meleagrou-Hitchens, Alexander & Hans Brun, “A Neo-Nationalist Network: The English Defence League and Europe’s Counter-Jihad Movement”, [http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/ICSR-ECJM-Report\\_Online.pdf](http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/ICSR-ECJM-Report_Online.pdf).

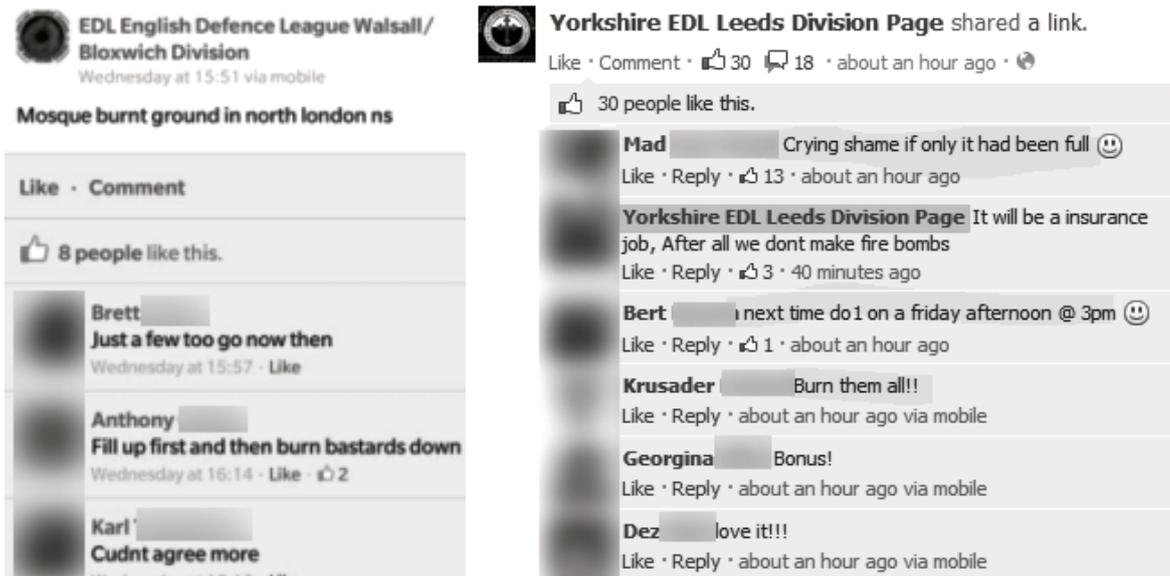
<sup>89</sup> Jon Garland and James Treadwell, “No Surrender to the Taliban’: Football Hooliganism, Islamophobia and the Rise of the English Defence League”, *Papers from the British Criminology Conference* Vol. 10: 19-35. See also, Jon Garland and James Treadwell, “The New Politics of Hate? An Assessment of the Appeal of the English Defence League: Amongst Disadvantaged White Working Class Communities in England”, *Journal of Hate Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1(2012).

<sup>90</sup> Feldman and Littler, pp. 3, 16



A leading example of these anti-Muslim protest groups is the now weakened English Defence League (EDL). While the EDL has officially distanced itself from the use of violence, the online reality is rather different. When the Muslim community centre in Muswell, London burned down following an arson attack, the EDL quickly distanced itself from the incident – even though the letters “EDL” were found freshly painted on the outside walls of the building. “If something was set (on) fire and someone wrote 'David Cameron' on the side of it, does it mean he did it?” asked the group's leader at the time, Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (known as Tommy Robinson), adding that he thought that the perpetrators had tried to make it look like the EDL was behind the attacks: “If I'm honest, I'm completely sceptical that it is even non-Muslims that have done that.”<sup>91</sup>

However, some EDL supporters reacted quite differently online, as the screenshots below clearly illustrate:



This is a tendency within a number of anti-Muslim groups in different countries: while the leadership, official channels and spokespeople claim non-violence, their social media followers do occasionally – or even often – condone or call for the use of violence.

One ready example is from Norway. In June 2013, an imam, Nehmat Ali Shah, was attacked by a masked man in Oslo, stabbed and seriously injured. While the case itself has no connection to the far right, and the motive was probably not political, reactions on the Facebook page of the Norwegian anti-Muslim organization SIAN – and on the Facebook profile of Dan Eivind Lid (mentioned in connection with a “pork attack” above) – are telling. Lid himself wrote that those who “carry out holy war in Norway”, have to “face the consequences”, and interpreted the attack as a result of “growing frustration within the Norwegian people”. One of his Facebook friends stated that it was “a pity (the perpetrator) was not able to kill the scum”. On the Facebook page of SIAN, a man asked if “the cadaver (the imam) could not just have been thrown into the trash”.<sup>92</sup>

Another example can be taken from Denmark. Following an arson attack at a mosque in Copenhagen (see above), Anders Gravers – an internationally prominent anti-Muslim activist and

<sup>91</sup> “English Defence League leader condemns attacks on Muslims”, *BBC*, 11 June 2013, available online at: [www.bbc.com/news/uk-22852371](http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-22852371)

<sup>92</sup> Screenshots were provided by Yousef Assidiq, who works for the Norwegian think-tank Minotenk. They were also made available on his Twitter profile, available online at: <https://twitter.com/yassidiq/>.



head of the Danish Defence League – posted a news story on his Facebook page. One of his friends commented: “Would it not have been better if it happened on a Friday?” Gravers replied, “You’ve always been good at finding the weakness of the enemy, Jan. LOL (Laughing out loud).” Kasper Andersen, another central activist in DDL – a Danish version of the EDL – also wrote about the incident, calling it “lovely news” – then expressing that it was a shame that “a couple of them weren’t in there at the time”. One of his Facebook friends then replied, “Inbred camel bastards, I would have wished the building was full of those Muslim swine, then a couple of boards thrown in front of the doors, and then to just stand there and enjoy the sound of burning Muslims, would have been a great Christmas gift.”<sup>93</sup>

As for Christophe Lavigne, the alleged would-be terrorist from France, he found strong support amongst the viewership of the anti-Muslim website Bare Naked Islam:



**Condor18**

MARCH 27, 2014 @ 10:03 AM

REPLY

That soldier should get the Croix Daguerre for what he did.



**Alain**

MARCH 27, 2014 @ 5:33 AM

REPLY

Needless to say Lavigne has our (dhimmis/collabos aside) full support, including from his brothers in arms who let’s face it, are far from being ignorant of the threat this scum poses to our country, ranking S.Os and all. Because only those stupid or blind enough (unfortunately we have a few of those) would have a problem seriously tackling that threat, only in a more effective way.

So awwwww, they’re outraged are they ? Lemme check.... nope don’t give a rat’s ass and let us be serious, this is NOTHING compared to what those crybabies bastards are up to so shut the hell up. And frankly, we all know what we would found in those obscurantist centers of them should we raid them and cocktails of any kind would be the least of our worries.

So... Next !



**it's me!**

MARCH 26, 2014 @ 7:39 PM

REPLY

THis man...is a ..... PATROIT!



**mileaway**

MARCH 26, 2014 @ 5:04 PM

REPLY

SHould given a medal!

<sup>93</sup> Margrethe Rasmussen, “Højreekstremister fryder sig over brandattentat på moske”, *p77.dk*, 3 December 2011, available online at: <http://p77.dk/radikalisering/2-uncategorised/635-hojreekstremister-fryder-sig-over-brandattentat-pa-moske>.





LEE

REPLY

MARCH 26, 2014 @ 4:27 PM

Looks like the muzz-rats don't appreciate getting a taste of their own medicine. Praise to the French judiciary who now seem to understand what needs to be done.

Maybe the authorities could claim it was "workplace violence", like US authorities did when the muslim filth known as the Fort Hood Shooter massacred 30 Americans . No difference really..... better luck to Lavigne NEXT TIME.....

In short, it is impossible to ignore the role of the far right in hate crimes; whether it is direct or indirect.

In fact, it is easy to find not only endorsement for physical attacks, but actual attack fantasies. The screenshot below, taken from the Facebook group "Ban Islam", shows how the page administrator asked what the page's American members would do if they saw a woman wearing a hijab patterned after the American flag. Responses ranged "snatching it off her head", "choke the bitch on it", and "snatch it and half her greasy hair off with it", to "choke the f\*\*\*ing c\*\*\* with it".<sup>94</sup>



**Ban Islam**  
Like This Page · 2 hours ago

to our American members: what would you do if you saw this?

Like · Comment · Share

65 people like this.

20 shares

- Dave [redacted] thats utter disrespect!!!  
2 hours ago · Like · 6
- Pat [redacted] ?????  
2 hours ago · Like · 1
- Bender [redacted] Id give her a towel and rip that flag off her head. She wouldnt do anything about it.  
2 hours ago via mobile · Like · 4
- Ganit [redacted] I'd be in the news for snatchin it off her head.  
2 hours ago · Like · 9
- Elijah [redacted] Wow...that is infuriating.  
2 hours ago via mobile · Like · 2
- Jaina [redacted] Choke the bitch with it!  
2 hours ago · Like · 6
- Jordan [redacted] Spartan kick her twat  
2 hours ago via mobile · Like · 6
- Neil [redacted] snatch it and half her greasy hair off with it....  
2 hours ago · Like · 3
- Ben [redacted] choke the fucking cunt with it  
2 hours ago · Like · 13

<sup>94</sup> This example has been taken from the report *Click Here to End Hate, Anti-Muslim Bigotry Online and How to Take Action*, published by Muslim Advocates in May 2014, available online at: [www.muslimadvocates.org/click-here-to-end-hate-anti-muslim-bigotry-online/](http://www.muslimadvocates.org/click-here-to-end-hate-anti-muslim-bigotry-online/).





Inside of mosque

# CONCLUSIONS

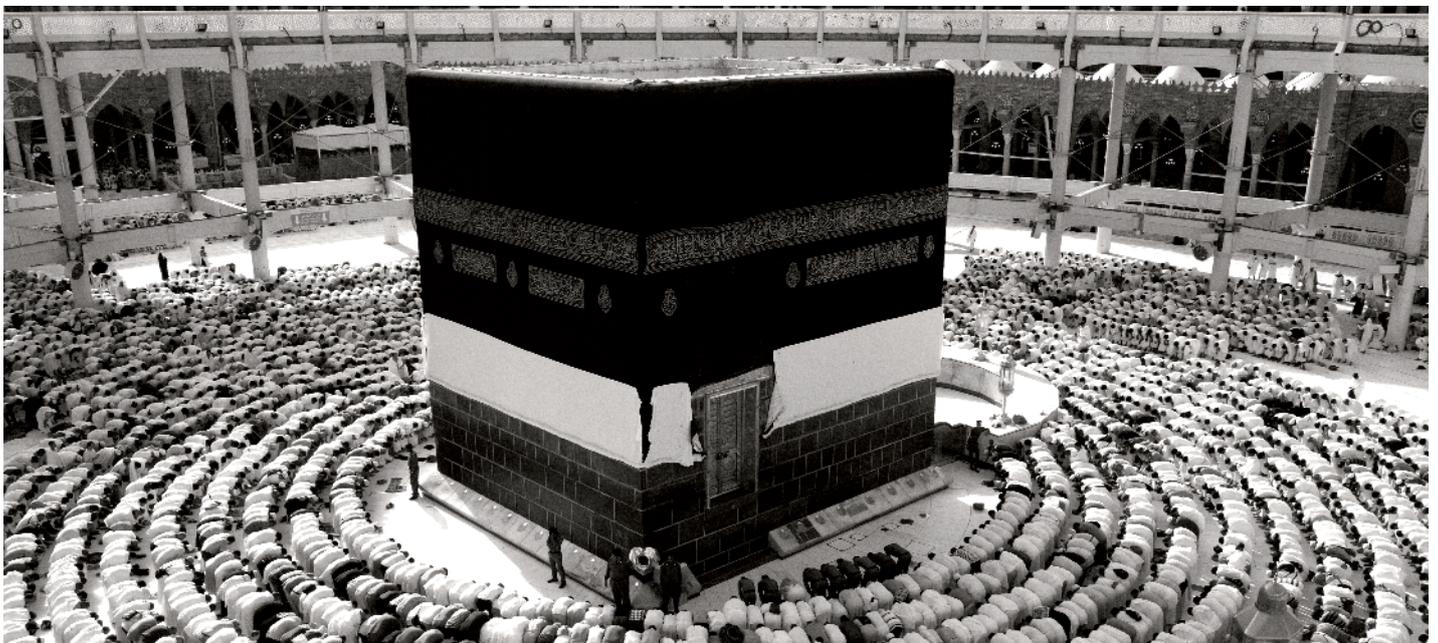
## ANTI-MUSLIM IDEAS AND TERRORISM

The instances of anti-Muslim terror listed in Chapter 3 were planned by or carried out by either individuals or small groups. This is also true of many arson cases where the perpetrators are known to the police. In quite a few cases, mental health issues, personality disorders and other such factors seem to play a role, as in the cases of Manuel K. in Germany and Ray Llegend. In other cases, the attacks seem to have been carried out by lone actors (sometimes described as “lone wolves”). Pavlo Lapshyn's terror campaign is a case in point. The ideology of individual lone wolves may be unclear, and derived from a variety of radical and extreme right-wing sources.

At the same time, however, both the general anti-Muslim ideas fueling extremism and specific pro-violent sentiments are readily found in anti-Muslim blogs, Facebook groups, etc., as shown in Chapter 4. They rest on an ideological framework which consistently advances conspiratorial views – such as that Europe is under “occupation” by Muslim immigrants, or that political leaders are “traitors” and that a “resistance movement” is necessary. This rhetoric is combined with relatively widespread verbal support of violent actions, culminating in ideas of a coming “civil war”. This context should be seen as a clear risk factor for advocating hate crimes and even terrorism.

## THE RISK OF “CUMULATIVE EXTREMISM”

As Feldman and Littler note in their recent report on the Tell MAMA dataset, the concept of “cumulative extremism” has been gaining traction in both policy and academic analysis in recent years.<sup>95</sup> This approach describes how “interwined extremes from opposing illiberal camps seek to radicalize otherwise liberal-democratic populaces”.<sup>96</sup>



<sup>95</sup> Feldman and Littler, p. 19.

<sup>96</sup> Matthew Feldman, “The Radical Right, Anti-Muslim Politics, and Cumulative Extremism”, *Fair Observer*, 31 October 2012, available online at: [www.fairobserver.com/region/europe/radical-right-anti-muslim-politics-and-cumulative-extremism/](http://www.fairobserver.com/region/europe/radical-right-anti-muslim-politics-and-cumulative-extremism/).



To date, much of the focus has been on extreme right-wing reactions to terrorism carried out “in response” to jihadist violence or terrorism. The Tell MAMA data show that, for instance, there can be little doubt that Britain experienced a concerning spasm of anti-Muslim incidents in the week following the 22 May Woolwich attack. When compared with the week immediately beforehand, there was a 373% increase in reports of anti-Muslim incidents to Tell MAMA.<sup>97</sup>

What Feldman and Littler describe as “sporadic evidence” suggests that similar increases were evident following several terrorist attacks, including the 7/7 terror attacks in London.<sup>98</sup> Ineke van der Valk's report of anti-mosque incidents in the Netherlands also show that 2005 (the year following the murder of Theo van Gogh) was a peak year in anti-Muslim incidents: “Violent actions against mosques, in particular arson, was part of the wave of violence that followed the murder.”<sup>99</sup>

A recent study from the British think tank Demos likewise notes that the increase in attacks following a jihadist act does not necessarily entail a sustained uptick of violent attacks, and that research indicates that such increases are likely to be temporary. However, the Demos report advocates: “In the aftermath of an Islamist act, police and counter-terrorism officials should step up monitoring of far right forums and groups (and vice-versa).”<sup>100</sup> Given the effect jihadist terrorism or pro-jihadist demonstrations have on the far right's ability to recruit, further research is also needed on the opposite. What effect does extreme right-wing rhetoric have on the appeal of radical Islamism or even of violent jihadism?

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<sup>97</sup> Feldman and Littler, p. 20.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Van der Valk, p. 80. The quote has been translated from Dutch.

<sup>100</sup> Jamie Bartlett and Jonathan Birdwell, “Cumulative Radicalisation between the Far-Right and Islamist Groups in the UK: A Review of Evidence”, *Demos*, 5 November 2013, p. 8, available online at: [www.demos.co.uk/files/Demos%20-%20Cumulative%20Radicalisation%20-%205%20Nov%202013.pdf](http://www.demos.co.uk/files/Demos%20-%20Cumulative%20Radicalisation%20-%205%20Nov%202013.pdf).



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<https://www.torproject.org/download/download>





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Hate Speech International (HSI) is an independent network of journalists employing cooperative models of cross-border research into extremism, hate speech and hate crimes.

Our vision is to elevate the public understanding of extremism as a phenomenon and to increase the overall ability, knowledge and will of media organizations to report on such matters.