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## **DISTURBED SECURITY IN NORWAY AND SWEDEN**

### **Preface**

The Norwegian foreign policy bears marks of rational and subdued management. Historical background, namely 500 years of subordination to Denmark and Sweden, and a pacifist nature of the society, contributed to the style of conducting foreign policy. One of the essential factors authorising the peaceful Norwegian attitude is the Nobel Peace Prize, awarded since 1901.

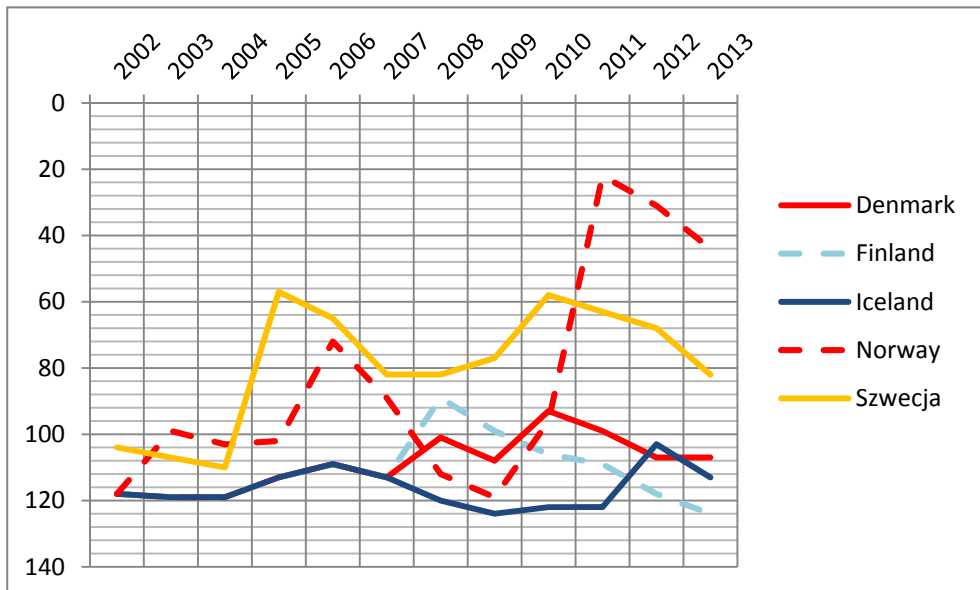
The Nobel Prize was established in 1895 in accordance with the will of Alfred Nobel. Nobel was one of the richest people in the world. He owned a huge industrial empire. Due to frequent travelling and vast amounts of work he remained unmarried. In his will, drawn up in 1895, he donated all his assets to a trust fund that became responsible for managing them and funding prizes from the profits. The Prize includes a certain amount of money, a gold medal and a diploma. Every year since 1901, five equal prizes have been awarded: the Nobel Peace Prize and awards in physics, chemistry, physiology and medicine, and literature. A Nobel Prize in economic sciences, sponsored by the Bank of Sweden (Sveriges Riksbank), has been awarded since 1969 by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. The awarding ceremonies take place on 10 December in Stockholm and in Oslo (Nagroda Nobla, 2014).

Why did a Swedish industrial tycoon and the inventor of dynamite Alfred Nobel choose Oslo as the scene of the awarding ceremony? During Nobel's lifetime Sweden and Norway were a union. Norwegian parliamentarians did not want conflicts to escalate and Swedish military to invade so they pursued a balanced and pragmatic policy of dealing with hotspots in a peaceful manner. It impressed Nobel so much that he assigned Norwegians with the task to award the Peace Prize.

The policy aiming at avoiding conflicts and guaranteeing security and peace at home and abroad, is still characteristic for Norwegian political elites today, and has been noticed by various research institutions. The results of analyses presented in the Global Peace Index (GPI) by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) leave no doubt over the level of security in Norway. It is, however, impossible to discuss Norway's security without looking at the region as a whole. Today, as a result of a deep collaboration within the Nordic Council, the events in one country hugely impact on processes taking place in the neighboring states.

**Fig. 1** Nordic countries on the Terrorism Index list in 2002-2013 (a higher rank means higher terror attack risk)

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
<b>Denmark</b>	118	119	119	113	109	113	101	108	93	99	107	107
<b>Finland</b>	118	119	119	113	109	113	89	99	106	109	118	124
<b>Iceland</b>	118	119	119	113	109	113	120	124	122	122	103	113
<b>Norway</b>	118	99	103	102	72	89	112	119	96	22	31	44
<b>Sweden</b>	104	107	110	57	65	82	82	77	58	63	68	82



Sources: Terrorism Index, author's own work.

The figures from the Terrorism Index show certain trends for Nordic countries. All five of them enjoyed an almost equally low terrorist threat level until 2004. However, Norway and Sweden soon left the bottom of the league because of the events in Sweden at the end of 2010 and in Norway in mid-2011 (Norway came back in 2007-2011).

## Sweden

The year 2010 is drawing to an end. An idyllic atmosphere of a December afternoon dominates in the centre of Stockholm. It is 11 December and Swedes immerse in Christmas atmosphere. They buy Christmas presents for their loved ones (the so-called *julklappar*). The main shopping destinations in the capital of Sweden are *Bryggargatan*, *Drottninggatan* and *Olof Palmes Gata*. And exactly that junction becomes the arena of the most shocking events since the murder of Anna Lindt in September 2003 and, earlier, the murder of the prime minister Olaf Palme in March 1986.

The first explosion came at 4:50 pm when a car bomb exploded at the junction of *Drottninggatan* and *Olof Palmes Gata*. A few minutes later, a second explosion followed at the junction of *Drottninggatan* and *Bryggargatan* (300 meters from the scene of the first blast).

Anxiety aroused among local residents. The police, fire brigades and ambulances arrived immediately to the scene. At first, the authorities were not inclined to describe the events as a “terrorist attack”. However, a few hours after the explosives had been detonated, it became clear that it was an act of terror. As the result of the explosion, the terrorist was killed and two people were injured. A 28-year-old Taimur Abdul Wahab al-Abdaly was identified as the perpetrator of the assault and the only fatality at the scene as he unintentionally launched one out of six bombs he had brought with him.

Wahab left Baghdad for Sweden in 1992 with his parents. He settled down in *Tranås*, a town of 15,000 residents, 270 km south west from Stockholm. In 2001 he moved to the UK. He graduated in physiotherapy from a university in Bedfordshire three years later. In the UK he met his first wife, a Swede of Arab descent. Swedish newspapers reported that, according to his relatives, Abdaly’s behaviour had changed when he had moved to the UK. At *muslima.com*, Abdaly introduced himself as a pious Muslim looking for a wife to start a large family and move to a Muslim country.

On 12 and 13 December 2010 Abdaly’s house was searched by the British police in an attempt to uncover his contacts. An important role was believed to have been played by Abdaly’s links to Luton, a British city with a Muslim community of a belligerent

attitude. In March 2009, Luton Muslims protested against a military parade of Royal Anglia's Iraqi war veterans. It was also Luton where on 5 July 2005, a group of men met and boarded a London-bound train. They then launched a suicide attack on the London underground (Gal, 2010).

A question arises here: how could a man who had been granted an asylum (he migrated from Iraq to Sweden after the first Gulf War), and received an opportunity to win a personal fulfilment and well-being in a traditionally peace-loving country, stand against the citizens of that exact state?

Swedish media informed that he posted radical religious views on his Facebook profile. He expressed his objections against the Iraq war and called for a boycott of Denmark as a country that had no respect for religious Muslims. He published prayers online and often played clips with religious messages (PAP, 2010b). Therefore, he certainly became a tasty morsel for terrorist networks operating in the UK.

There is a widespread belief that perpetrators of terrorist attacks are insane, uneducated, impoverished and frustrated. Is this also true for Taimur Abdul Wahab al-Abdaly? No. He was educated and affluent. He was a husband and a father. What pushed him to commit a suicide attack then?

A huge role was played by an Islamic fundamentalist indoctrination. The well-organised structures "fish up" individuals who are vulnerable to manipulation and when strongly motivated, are ready to sacrifice their lives for the ideals they believe in.

The attackers sent a warning. They did it, however, by sending out an e-mail with attached audio files to a TT press agency only 10 minutes before they attacked. The mail signed by "mujahedeens" mentioned Swedish presence in Afghanistan and satirical pictures of prophet Muhammad drawn by a Swedish cartoonist Lars Vilks few years earlier (Nowacka-Issaksonze et al., 2010). The audio file contained a call for a "mujahedeen uprising" in Sweden and in Europe. "The time has come to answer this; do not put it off" said one of the voices, and then issued an appeal to fight all enemies of Islam with all means at hand, "even with a knife". "Don't be afraid of anybody; don't be afraid of getting into prison; don't be afraid of death. Our actions will speak for themselves. (...) As long as you don't end your war against Islam and degradation against the prophet and your foolish support for that pig Vilks" (PAP, 2010a).

To understand the motifs behind Taimur Abdul Wahab al-Abdaly's actions and to grasp what happened as a result of the Stockholm bombings, it is worth quoting a fragment from Jean Baudrillard's book *The Spirit of Terrorism: Requiem for Twin Towers*: "Fundamentally, all this – causes, proof, truth, rewards, ends and means – is a typically

Western form of calculation. We even calculate death in terms of interest rates, in value-for-money terms. It seems to me that the actions of terrorists, which inherently involve death (and that makes them symbolic), do not aim at impersonal eradication of the other. At the heart of it there is a challenge, a duel, so a bilateral, personal relation with the enemy's power still exists. It has humiliated us and it must be humiliated. Not just eradicated. The other must lose its face. And this can never be achieved by applying naked power and crushing the other. The other should be assaulted and killed while keeping its full status of the enemy (Baundrillard, 2010, p. 29).

As a matter of fact, Jean Baundrillard talks about terrorism referring to attack at the World Trade Centre's Twin Towers on 8 September 2001, but both attacks (in New York and in Stockholm) triggered many changes in the countries when they took place. On 9/11, the US lost a status of an untouchable power, neither its strong economy nor its military forces were able to successfully deter potential enemies.

In Sweden, 11 December 2010 signified once again that the model of a welfare state is not an unconditionally safe and secure one. Swedes learnt the hard way what an organised terrorist attack is like and what kind of a "psychosis of fear" it can trigger. Although the terrorist was the only fatal victim of the attack, the news circled the whole world and severely undermined the laboriously constructed "people's home" (*Folkhemmet*) as well as the concept of multicultural Sweden.

As a consequence of the tragic events in Stockholm, Norway's government and its special services were put on the highest alert. The course of events in Sweden and the internal situation in Norway were constantly monitored. Since the Norwegian press had reprinted the satirical pictures of Muhammad in 2005, as a solidarity gesture with Danish journalists, and since Norway deployed their military contingent as a part of NATO Afghan mission, a threat of an Islamist terrorist attack was taken seriously.

## Norway

Norway joined the group of countries hit by terrorism in summer 2011. First press reports from 22 July informed about a blast in the centre of Oslo and suspicions of an Al-Qaeda inspired terrorist attack. The reports were soon followed by information about a massacre on the Utøya Island.

The attacker detonated a car bomb in the area of governmental buildings in Oslo (eight people were killed as a result of the explosion). The extremist then went to the Utøya Island, 45 km from the capital, where he killed 69 people with a machine gun.

Majority of his victims were young participants of a summer camp organised by the ruling Labour Party (“Gazeta Prawna”, 2012).

The terrorist had already been named and blamed in mass media as an islamic fundamentalist, when it turned out he was actually a true-born Norwegian. Without an Islamic fundamentalism features. Immediately the questions emerged: Who is he? Why did he kill? Is he a psychopath?

**Fig 2.** Anders Behring Breivik



Source: [http://i.wp.pl/a/f/jpeg/28833/breivik\\_ap\\_388.jpeg](http://i.wp.pl/a/f/jpeg/28833/breivik_ap_388.jpeg) [24.11.2014].

Anders Behring Breivik was born on 13 February 1979 in Oslo. A year later, his father, a diplomat, divorced Anders’ mother and was posted to Paris. Anders lived with his mother in a distant Oslo so the contact with his father was scarce. Moreover, his father was engaged in new marriages and did not care for his son much. Living with his mother and stepfather, a military man, in the affluent Oslo’s suburbs, Anders received a first-class education. He went to school with the members of the royal family. However, a 13-year-old Breivik disobeyed the law and joined a graffiti gang. At that point the contacts with his father were broken off and since then his mother bore the burden of bringing up the young boy. The terrorist-to-be stayed with her until he reached the age

of 30. Then he moved out to the countryside but only because he needed a cover to produce explosives. As a farmer he had an unlimited access to fertilisers and chemical substances. He set up an official farm business – Breivik Geofarm (Wojciechowski, 2011).

Why did he kill? The answer to this question can be found in his manifesto entitled: *2083. The European Declaration of Independence*.

A couple of dozen pages reveal a cold-blooded report on preparations to the attack. Breivik described how he wanted to justify it, and how he acquired a gun and the materials to construct a bomb. He also gave a detailed account of how he wanted to celebrate his “martyr operation” with a bottle of fine wine and “two, top-class models and prostitutes”. Experts underline that a vast part of the manifesto was not written by Breivik but rather copied from a statement by the infamous Unabomber whose real name was Ted Kaczynski. He is now serving a life sentence for carrying out 16 bombings in the US between 1978 and 1995 which claimed three fatalities and 23 casualties (Henzel, 2011).

The Breivik’s manifesto starts in April or May 2002. At that time Breivik wrote that he had been “ordained” a Templar Knight, a member of a “resistance movement established in order to fight islamisation” of Europe. “I joined them after having met a Serbian commander of a crusade and a war hero in Monrovia, Liberia’s capital. Our main objective is to strengthen the Knights Templar and in the coming decades develop the order into the most conservative revolutionary movement in west Europe”, wrote a 32-year-old madman. According to his manifesto, Breivik had been collecting financial means for carrying out the terror attack from 2002 to 2006. In August 2009, he was ready to move on to the next stage of his operation. As he emphasized, he had set up two professional business enterprises as a cover for his actions – a mining company and an agricultural farm called Geofarm. “The reason was to establish a comfortable cover in case I got arrested while purchasing or smuggling fertilisers required to construct my bombs” Breivik admitted (Ibidem). He then began to master his shooting skills.

Similarly as with the case of Taimur Abdul Wahaba al-Abdalay, it is worth asking: is Breivik an uneducated, poor and frustrated man? The answer is “no”. Breivik received a through education. He never suffered from a lack of money for his needs. Can he be called a psychopath then? The answer is again “no”.

First of all, he had never before brushed with the law. He was said to have behaved quite conventionally, whereas the first psychopathic distortions generally occur before the age of 15. Moreover, according to the media, before committing the horrible act, the Utøya murder took some drugs that were supposed to make him “alert and strong”. Perhaps then he wanted to contain his fear – an emotion not available to psychopaths.

And thirdly and most importantly, the Norwegian murderer is a follower of a clearly defined ideology, whereas psychopaths do not get engaged in any ideology. They are only able to act in their own interest, understood very literally, to gain financial rewards, experience pleasure or avoid troubles. One does not have to be a psychopath to take other person's life or even kill many people. To do that it is not even necessary to suffer from any other mental disorders (Cieśla, 2011).

Terrorism can be considered a system with a range of different elements, such as, for example: terrorists, terrorist organisations, a so-called environment and relations within it. There are entrances to this system, such as influencing factors (geopolitical, ethnic, cultural, religious, ideological etc.), and exits from it, i.e. consequences generated by it (financial and human losses, political transitions etc.) (Wojciechowski, 2011, p. 79).

## Comparison

Surprisingly, there are many similarities between Taimur al-Abdalay and Anders Breivik. They both had a solid educational background, and neither of them suffered from deficiencies or poverty. The bombings in Stockholm and in Oslo were thoroughly prepared and well-thought-of actions. For both attackers, the assassinations were a last resort to protect their ideals. Before the attack in Stockholm, Taimur al-Abdalay regretted that he had to leave his family behind (his wife and three children): "I'd like to sincerely apologise", Breivik said during one of the court hearing. With these words he addressed the families of the passers-by killed or injured in the blast of 22 July 2011 in Oslo's governmental district ("Rzeczpospolita", 2012).

The question is then: if the perpetrators realised that it could trigger tragic consequences for innocent people, what was the deciding factor to carry out the bloody attacks? And what was the difference in understanding the "martyrdom for a good cause" by both terrorists?

A decision to kill anybody is not an easy one. For both terrorists, their final decision to organise and carry out the attacks was influenced by a third factor, namely indoctrination.

Taimur al-Abdalay spent some time in Luton, in the UK, where many Muslim fundamentalists also live. This was a place of his inspiration.

Breivik, on the other hand, was recruited to a rather unknown group established to topple those European governments that had a tolerant attitude towards Islam. In April 2002, the group called *Pauperes commilitones Christi Templique Solomonici* – PCCTS



(the Poor Fellow Soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon), the Knights Templar, met in London. Two English extremists organised the meeting and eight people from different European countries participated. Breivik was especially influenced by one of the Englishmen to whom he referred to as Richard. Breivik used the Cross of St. George, a characteristic symbol of the original Knights Templar. It also features on the cover of his manifesto (Borhgrevink, 2013, p. 9-13 and “Gazeta Prawna”, 2011).

The idea Taimur al-Abdalay was keen to die for was completely different from Breivik's message. Al-Abdalay stepped forward against the whole Swedish society. Poised to revenge the actions of Swedish politicians, Swedish army and journalists, he had planned the assault in advance as a suicide attack (he also carried some explosives on him). The Breivik's strategy was different. The detonation of explosives in the centre of Oslo and cold-blooded shooting down of youngsters at the Utøya Island were meant to take advantage of the fact that, in case of surviving, he would not have to go through a heavy suffering (in comparison to Polish prisons, such facilities in Norway resemble “holiday resorts”). Additionally, by using the consequences caught in a dictum by Jean Baudrillard: “Terrorism is nothing without the media”, he knew he would become famous and would reach a wider audience.

In contrast to their intentions however, the actions of both terrorists were not followed by an immediate response from the supporters of similar ideologies. In case of Stockholm bombings, only the attacker himself was killed due to an accidental detonation of explosives he carried. Therefore the act of terror did not attract so much media attention and was condemned by Muslim community leaders in Sweden.

Breivik's attack created media hype but it brought adverse effects to those the terrorist had imagined. According to the polls released on Sunday after the attacks, Norwegians had united around the Labour Party which youth wing became the target. The party surged in the polls by a double-digit number. The right-wing opposition suffered losses. The Labour Party under the prime minister Jens Stoltenberg won the support of 41.7% of respondents, according to the polls carried out on 29 and 20 July. That meant an 11.1% rise since June. The populist Progress Party, Breivik was a member of until 2006, lost 3% and enjoyed the support of 16.5% of respondents (“Newsweek”, 2011). However, today's government is co-created by Progress Party (with Conservative Party).

It is also interesting that the Swedish prime minister Fredrik Reinfeldt after the Stockholm bombings and Norway's prime minister after the Oslo and Utøya attacks, reacted almost identically. “Sweden has always been an exemplary open state. And will remain such. This makes the attack even less possible to accept”, Reinfeldt said at the press

conference shortly after the bombings (Nowacka-Issaksonze et al., 2010). Stoltenberg described the attack as “cowardly” and assured that “Norway will respond to this attack with even more democracy, even greater openness but without naivety” (Doerry, 2011).

Breivik was officially charged with terrorism for which he was sentenced to 21 years of internment. This means that – if found guilty and accountable – he will spend a little more than three months in internment for each of his 77 victims. Excluding crimes against humanity, which carries a 30-year prison term, sentencing to 21 years in prison is the most severe punishment in Norway’s penal code. This means that Breivik may get out of internment at the age of 53 (the time he spent in jail during the process is deducted from his term). Taking into account the average male life expectancy in Norway (77.8), statistically speaking, he will be able to enjoy 25 years of life at large.

If the court rules that Breivik is still a danger to security and society before the end of his sentence, his term can be prolonged by subsequent five-year long periods. Theoretically then, a life sentence is not out of question. The problem is, however, that the Norwegian justice system has never applied such a solution before. A male nurse that killed 22 older patients, the most appalling crime before Breivik’s, went out of jail in 2004 after serving 12 out of 21 years of his sentence. In Spain, Breivik would have been sentenced to 5330 years in prison (“Gazeta Prawna”, 2012).

## Conclusion

In rapid succession, Sweden and Norway joined the group of states affected by terrorism. The results of both attacks brought in human tragedies to families of the victims but also lively discussions about the sense of multicultural societies. However, both Sweden’s prime minister Frederik Reinfeld and Norway’s prime minister Jens Stoltenberg in their first speeches after Stockholm bombings, and Oslo and Utøya attacks respectively, sketched a direction towards pursuing openness, respecting diversity and cooling down radical emotions that clearly caught a pragmatic Scandinavian stance.

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## Wojciech Liedler

### Disturbed security in Norway and Sweden

#### Abstract

The content of the article is an attempt to determine the course and consequences of terrorist attacks that took place in 2010 in Sweden and 2011 in Norway. A Comparative Study includes responses of societies and political elites of both countries.

**Keywords:** *Norway, Sweden, terrorism, Anders Behring Breivik, Taimour Abdulwahab*

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