The Swedish Connection

Exploring the Social Network of Violent and Violence-Promoting Islamist Extremism in Sweden and its Connections to the Global Jihad

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Abstract

This study examines who is part of the Swedish network of violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremism and whether the social network is a case of ‘new social movement’. Through a social network analysis of violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremists in Sweden the results shows that there is a loose Swedish network with global nodes. The social network in Sweden is analyzed through the framework of New Social Movement theory and the connections between the global jihad and the Swedish network are examined. The result is that the network cannot be seen as a case of ‘new social movement’. However, several individuals of the network can be seen as part of the global jihad and therefore a case of ‘new social movement’. More academic research is needed on violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremism in Sweden, especially on why and how these actors are radicalized. In addition, more research is needed on how to prevent and counter violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremism.

Keywords: social movement, social network, global jihad, Islamist, extremism, violence-promoting, terrorism, political violence, Sweden
“Living a comfortable life, and married with children didn’t stop Taimour Abdulwahab al-Abdaly from responding to the call of Jihad [struggle/holy war]. He conducted a martyrdom operation in Stockholm, Sweden, shaking up the entire EU. The iron fist of jihad is more apparent than ever in the midst of the kuffar [unbelievers]. This is now the second operation within a month inside Europe. May Allah accept our brother as a shaheed [martyr/witness].

- *Inspire* (Winter 2010) published by al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula"
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## Acronyms and abbreviations

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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>AIAI</td>
<td>The Islamic Union (al-Ittihad al-Islamiya, Somalia)</td>
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<tr>
<td>AMISOM</td>
<td>African Union Mission in Somalia</td>
</tr>
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<td>ANO</td>
<td>Abu Nidal Organization (Palestine)</td>
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<td>AQAP</td>
<td>al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula</td>
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<td>AQEA</td>
<td>al Qaeda in Eastern Africa</td>
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<td>AQI</td>
<td>al Qaeda in Iraq</td>
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<tr>
<td>AQIM</td>
<td>al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARS</td>
<td>Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia</td>
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<td>ASG</td>
<td>Abu Sayyaf Group (Malaysia and the Philippines)</td>
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<td>CAT</td>
<td>Committee Against Torture (UN)</td>
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<td>CFR</td>
<td>Council of Foreign Relations</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIA</td>
<td>Central Intelligence Agency (US)</td>
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<td>EIJ</td>
<td>Egyptian Islamic Jihad</td>
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<td>ELF</td>
<td>Earth Liberation Front</td>
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<td>FBI</td>
<td>Federal Bureau of Investigation (US)</td>
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<td>FFI</td>
<td>Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (Forsvarets Forskningsinstitutt)</td>
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<tr>
<td>FOI</td>
<td>Swedish Defence Research Agency (Försvarshets Forskningsinstitut)</td>
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<tr>
<td>GIA</td>
<td>Armed Islamic Group (Groupe Islamique Armé, Algeria)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICU</td>
<td>Islamic Courts Union (Somalia)</td>
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<tr>
<td>IMU</td>
<td>Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>JeM</td>
<td>Jaish-e-Muhammad (Kashmir)</td>
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<tr>
<td>JI</td>
<td>Jemaah Islamiyah (Southeast Asia)</td>
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<tr>
<td>JRA</td>
<td>Japanese Red Army</td>
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<tr>
<td>LeT</td>
<td>Lashkar-e-Taiba (South Asia)</td>
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<td>LIFG</td>
<td>Lybian Islamic Fighting Group</td>
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<td>NSM</td>
<td>New Social Movement theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>ODNI</td>
<td>Office of the Director of National Intelligences (US)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PET</td>
<td>Danish Security and Intelligence Service (Politiets Efterretningstjeneste)</td>
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<tr>
<td>PKK</td>
<td>Kurdistans Workers’ Party (Partiya Karkeren, Kurdistan)</td>
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<tr>
<td>RAF</td>
<td>Red Army Faction (Rote Armee Fraktion, Germany)</td>
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<td>RMT</td>
<td>Resource Mobilization Theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMT</td>
<td>Social Movement Theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>SO15</td>
<td>Metropolitan Police Counter Terrorism Command (UK)</td>
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<td>SÄPO</td>
<td>Swedish Security Service (Säkerhetspolisen)</td>
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<tr>
<td>TFG</td>
<td>Transitional Federal Government (Somalia)</td>
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<tr>
<td>TT</td>
<td>The Newspapers’ Telegram Bureau (Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå, Sweden)</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>WMD</td>
<td>Weapons of Mass Destruction</td>
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1. Introduction

On December 11 2010 the Swedish citizens witnessed the first suicide attack on Swedish soil, and even the first in the Nordic countries. It was a winter day during the annual Christmas shopping at an intersection of the main pedestrian street Drottninggatan and Bryggargatan in central Stockholm where Taimour Abdulwahab al-Abdaly detonated his suicide belt, but the only victim was al-Abdaly himself. The event of December 11 raises questions on why this is happening to a country like Sweden. Was he the only one or is there more to come? Is al-Abdaly part of something bigger?

Sweden has been spared from military conflicts for a long time but a check in the mirror reveals that terrorism is not foreign to the Kingdom of Sweden. During the 1970’s Sweden fell victim of a wave of terrorism that shocked the country. In 1971 the Yugoslavian ambassador to Sweden was assassinated by Croatian activists, in 1975 terrorists belonging to the Red Army Faction (RAF, also known as the Baader-Meinhof Group) occupied the West-German embassy in Stockholm, and two years later in 1977 a domestic flight on route to Stockholm from Gothenburg was hijacked by members of the RAF. In the Swedish society during the 1970’s and 1980’s there were also individuals connected to other organizations and groups such as the Japanese Red Army (JRA), Abu Nidal Organization (ANO), Kurdistans Workers’ Party (PKK), Algerian Armed Islamic Group (GIA), Hezbollah and Hamas.\(^1\) The Swedish Police still do not know who assassinated the Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme in 1986, and it might have been the action of some of the above mentioned organizations and groups.

The end of the 1980’s and the beginning of the 1990’s changed the world order and the global security landscape in many ways. Not because of a new decennia but for the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. This did not mean that the history was coming to an end but it did affect national security policies throughout the international system. For a country like Sweden this meant that the probability of having the Russian army by its doorstep was declining. The Swedish security landscape has since the 1990’s been in a transformation and the threat assessments today differ from the period of the Cold War and now include more of both “hard” and “soft” security issues. What was happening was that the globalization process and information technology was intensified. The new international environment that was evolving after the Cold War was of advantage for terrorists who now could “free ride” on the wave of communication, transportation and easier travel across state boarders. The increased availability

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of international transportation and communication also meant that networks could easier tie their
nodes.

After the attacks on September 11 the Bush administration declared “War on Terror”. The US, and its allies, aimed their focus on Afghanistan, Iraq and other states that was claimed to be the home of terrorists or weapons of mass destruction. The War on Terror became an international issue and even a small country like Sweden later sent troops to Afghanistan.

Taimour Abdulwahab al-Abdaly wrote an email to the Swedish News Agency (TT) and the Swedish Security Service (‘Säpo’, abbreviation of Säkerhetspolisen) a couple of hours before the suicide attack and declared that the coming attack due to the presence of Swedish troops in Afghanistan and Lars Vilks paintings of Prophet Mohammed. The troops are now on their way home but does that mean that the threat is gone? What the author is aiming for is to examine the network of violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremists in Sweden and their connection to a larger social movement, a global jihad.

1.1. Background

The agency responsible for Swedish counter-terrorism is the Swedish Security Service (Säpo). Before 9/11 Säpo’s counter-terrorism unit mainly focused on left- and right wing movements but shifted focus to ‘Islamic terrorism’ after the attacks on the United States.\(^2\) The shift is interesting but did not come as a surprise and the attacks in 2001 partly reshaped the academic study of security. In general, terrorism is a tactic and a phenomenon that is studied by various academic disciplines. When analyzing terrorism and other issues as well, through psychological, sociological, psycho-sociological, economic, theological, criminological or politological approaches the understanding of the potential problem will hopefully increase. Different research areas also highlight different perspectives such as radicalization, political violence, globalization, exclusion, nationalism and so forth.

As a political scientist with a focus on security issues the study of extremism, political violence and terrorism becomes interesting because of its connection to politics and government responses, asymmetric threats, warfare, low-intensive conflicts, democracy and other research areas that is part of the academic discipline of political science. What is also interesting is to understand how ‘Islamic terrorists’ and extremists are connected to each other both on a local and global level. Who are the individuals that are joining violent and violence-promoting Islamist

\(^2\) Danielsson, Jan in ”Verksamhetsåret 2001” (2002) Säkerhetspolisen p. 3
extrémism and how can we explain the connection to the global jihad? What makes Sweden an interesting case of study?

1.2. Aim and Purpose

According to the Swedish Security Service, individuals from Sweden are joining violent Islamist extremist groups abroad and take part of their training programs. They pose a threat to these countries but also to individuals and groups in the Swedish society. The purpose of their activity is to spread a violent message and the participants aim to recruit, support, join, plan, and attack. The case of Swedish Islamist extremism and terrorism should be studied in the academia and especially in the field of security studies because Swedish citizens apparently pose a threat both to other societies but also to Swedish citizens. In addition, the phenomenon should be seen as part of a movement and not only be studied as a threat. Violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremists are people who have some sort of political and/or religious agenda, they organize and mobilize and together form a cultural identity. The solidarity to the cultural identity can lead to collective actions, which in this case are violent or violence-promoting, and the “web” of solitaires even reaches countries like Sweden.

The study of Islamist extremism and radicalization in Sweden is today relatively absent in comparison to researches made in other states in Western Europe. However, Swedish media and a few journalists have described the activity but fail in explaining it as a larger social phenomenon and instead present isolated events of terrorist acts. There is a need of an increased cumulative knowledge in the research area of the social phenomenon of violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremism, a research that is needed for later be able to have a theoretical discussion on de-radicalization, prevention and counter-terrorism. The study is empirically driven and the focus is based on actors, networks and movements and not specifically the theoretical development of social movement theory.

The aim of this study is to examine whether Swedish citizens involved in the activity of recruit, support, join, plan and attack are part of a broader social movement. Is it a case of New Social Movement? To explain this, the author is applying New Social Movement Theory, which is functioning as a theoretical framework to answer the research question. A working hypothesis is that there is a Swedish social network that is connected to a broader social movement. In the analysis, the author first describes the social network in Sweden with the help of a simplified

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social network analysis and thereafter examine if the network is connected to a broader social movement through the framework of New Social Movement Theory. The research questions applied in the analysis are:

1. **Who is part of the Swedish network of violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremism?**
2. **Is the social network in Sweden a case of New Social Movement?**

The results of this study can hopefully contribute to the understandings of violent or violence-promoting Islamist extremism and the case of the Swedish connection. The study is based on open source empirics and can thereby be a scientific contribution to the academic research on extremism and terrorism. The question and answer if the individuals or entire network can be seen as a case of new social movement is interesting because it problematize the orthodox way of studying ‘Islamic terrorism’ and especially ‘home-grown’ terrorism if they are connected to a network and a global social movement.

### 1.3. Limitation

The aim of study is neither to explain why these individuals are radicalized nor the root causes of terrorism. However, the author examines their social network that show how these individuals are related to each other, which in turn can be applied in the study of radicalization processes where social networks may be one root cause of radicalization. This is neither a study of Swedish counter-terrorism nor terrorism prevention, agency nor policy counter-measures. This does not mean that the study not will contribute to new ways of countering or preventing violent or violence-promoting Islamist extremism and terrorism.

The geographical delimitation is the nation and state of Sweden, and actors from Sweden. Since this is a global phenomenon and the actors’ social network is worldwide, a geographical delimitation might sound inadequate. The social network analysis is based on individuals living in Sweden, which hypothetically are part of a broader global social movement, a global jihad. According to the terrorism researcher Michael Taarnby, terrorism is a global phenomenon that is “intertwined with individuals, organizations, ideologies and situations across the world.”

The problem with geographical delimitations in violent or violence-promoting Islamist extremism, and ‘Islamic terrorism’, is that communication tools such as the Internet are blurring the lines of

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geographical borders. Therefore the delimitation is based on Swedish citizens and individuals who live in or visit Sweden. The delimitation in time is based on the period of 2000 to 2012. Focus of study is not the 2010 attack in Stockholm but is part of the analysis.

The theory in use can be applied to analyze social constructions of members and more in-depth socio-psychological examinations. The author does not analyze the phenomenon on an actor-level but more on a meso- and macro level. It can however be seen as a micro-level analysis but are in that case an examination of social networks and not a study of individuals and their socio-psychological background. For an individual psychological analysis more data is needed on every case. The theory or framework applied is heavily based on Gentry’s interpretation of NSM and the aim of study is not to develop the theoretical framework.

1.4. **Empirical Material**

It is important to clearly connect the empirical material with the problem that has been formulated, the theoretical framework, analysis and results. The collection of data is based on various different types of sources, which are all open source material. The data consists of documents from trials and investigations provided by governmental agencies, publications and press releases from governments and agencies, academic research, non-governmental organizations and the media. The sources are not only Swedish but to a large extent foreign reports and documents. When processing data the author has been able to puzzle together the material on individuals and assess their function and link in the network, and later be able to connect them to a broader social movement. The author has also attended the trial in Denmark where four Swedish citizens are prosecuted on violations of the terrorism act.

It is important to read these types of documents and reports with a critical lens. Islamist extremism and ‘Islamic terrorism’ are subjects that have been politicized and anti-Islam pages on the Internet are full of anti-intellectual and biased analyses. Empirical and methodological complexities are further discussed in chapter two.

1.5. **Previous Research**

The general situation in terrorism research is that during the last three decades there has been a quantitative increase of the number of papers published. Andrew Silke who has studied the field of terrorism research argue that 80 per cent of the articles that was published in the 1990’s was
from what he calls “one-timers”, meaning authors who only published one article during a ten-year period. In contemporary research Silke argue that terrorism studies was positioned in the periphery of academic research but changed due to September 11 2001. This did not lead to the creation of a new academic discipline with academic institutions only focusing on terrorism. Avishag Gordon who studied the development of terrorism as an academic subject states that September 11 had a large impact on higher education in the USA but terrorism studies fell under the already established academic disciplines. According to Magnus Ranstorp, in post-September 11 the interest from both academia and policy increased and the theorists of International Relations aimed to understand the “new” actors in the international system. Contemporary research on terrorism consists of a broad spectrum of inter-disciplinary studies. A quick overview of the library catalogues reveals that the area of research is linked to the whole research field of social science. Different types of terrorism are studied; such as suicide terrorism, piracy, cyber-terrorism, right- and left wing extremism, religiously motivated terrorism, eco-terrorism, state-terrorism et cetera. At present the academic debate is currently focused on “lone wolves”, homegrown terrorism in the Western hemisphere, and a discussion of leaderless or leader-led jihad. Terrorism is analyzed and connected to democracy, globalization, demography, organized crime, religion, ethnicity, financing and other subjects in the area of social science. The disciplines of psychology, sociology, political science, economics, criminology and so forth all contribute to the understandings of terrorism and extremism.

Although this boom in research that developed in the 21st century the academic debate of the definition of terrorism has been polemic over the years and is still a hot issue. How to define and conceptualize terrorism? In 1988 Alex Schmid published a definition that had been produced by a large amount of questionnaires filled in by researchers. The results showed 109 different definitions of terrorism. This shows how complex this phenomenon is and the researchers can still in a way agree that they disagree on the definition of terrorism. However, this does not mean that the study of terrorism not is relevant or not needed.

The study of Islamist extremism and ‘Islamic terrorism’ in relation to Sweden is not non-existent but somewhat insufficient. Previous research on terrorism, especially ‘Islamic terrorism’, is based

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5 Silke, Andrew "The Impact of 9/11 on Research on Terrorism" p. 77 in Ranstorp (2007)
6 Ibid. pp. 89 – 90
7 Gordon, Avishag "Terrorism as an Academic Subject after 9/11: Searching the Internet Reveals as Stockholm Syndrome" pp. 46, 53. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 28:45 – 59, 2005, Taylor & Francis
8 Ranstorp, Magnus "Introduction: mapping terrorism research – challenges and priorities" p. 3 in Ranstorp (2007)
on analyses and assessments of activities in other countries. Some of these researches however mention Swedish citizens joining camps in Afghanistan or Islamic militant groups in Somalia. These researches are very interesting and have to be put together. One of the researchers that have been focusing on violent Islamism in Europe is Danish Michael Taarnby. He argues that pre-9/11 global jihad was “neglected by government, security services, academia and the media throughout Europe”. Taarnby states that there still is a lack of research on radicalization processes and terrorist organizations that are active in the European society. Another key researcher in this area is Lorenzo Vidino who has studied Islamist extremism in Europe. He is described as one of the leading experts on radical Islamist cells, and especially on al Qaeda in Europe. Petter Nesser at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI, abbreviation of Forsvarets Forskningsinstitutt) has like Vidino examined Islamist extremism in Europe and is together with Taarnby one of the few who have studied the situation in Scandinavia.

Previous research on violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremism with connection to Sweden is limited and there is a need for academic researchers to examine this phenomenon in Sweden and contribute to an empirical and theoretical discussion of the Swedish network and its connection to the global jihad. New Social Movement Theory (NSM) has been applied to analyze political violence in earlier research. It is quite unusual to apply NSM in terrorism studies but Jaroen Gunning considers Social Movement Theory as a reliable framework and a critical perspective in comparison to former orthodox terrorism research. NSM can be applied to examine the global jihad and its connection to “periphery” social networks. The framework’s variables are quite broad and general but adequate to apply in terrorism studies and examinations of social movements.

The author is aiming to help to fill the gap and contribute to the understanding of violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremism in respect to Sweden, not as a threat but as a social phenomenon and network connecting its nodes to the social movement of global jihad.

10 Taarnby p. 164 in Ranstorp (2007)
11 Taarnby p. 183 in Ranstorp (2007)
1.6. Central Concepts

Concepts used in this study are not consequently applied in the empirical and theoretical findings. It is however important to present some of the vital concepts and definitions used in this study. The results of Schmid’s study are an adequate way of how to understand the concept of terrorism and how it is understood within the research community.

Figure 1. Schmid’s “Frequencies of definitional elements in 109 definitions of “terrorism”.”

The variables in the concept of terrorism as presented above indicate that terrorism is about political violence or force with the aim to fear (terror) its target. Additive to the table is the European Council Framework Decision on combating terrorism and the Swedish Act on terrorist offences, which is based on the EU framework. According to the framework:

- terrorism is an act which may seriously damage a state or an intergovernmental organization if intended to
  1. seriously intimidate a population or a group of a population;
  2. unduly compel a public authority or an intergovernmental organization to perform an act or abstain from acting; or
  3. seriously destabilize or destroy fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures

The term “violence-promoting” can be seen in materials such as texts, audio-tapes and movies but also as individuals’ behavior. Säpo’s definition is that:

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15 “About Terrorism” (2011-11-29) Säkerhetspolisen
http://www.sakerhetspolisen.se/english/english/terrorism/aboutterrorism.4.7671d7bb110e3dcb1fd3deb1fd800019136.html
If material is described as violence-promoting, it means that the contents of the material do not only indicate an acceptance of the use of violence, but also support the use of ideologically motivated violence to promote a cause.\textsuperscript{16}

While violence-promoting individuals are defined as:

[... ] repeatedly assessed to have exhibited behavior that not only accepts the use of violence, but also supports or engages in ideologically motivated violence to promote a cause.\textsuperscript{17}

In this study the violence-promoting actors are Islamist extremists meaning that they are “on a far end of a hypothetical scale”\textsuperscript{18}. In addition, some of these actors are violent and part of terrorism and political violence.

The definition of “jihad” applied in this examination is: “holy war; effort to propagate Islam within society or in the world by any means; lawful war or holy war, prescribed by the sharia against infidels.”\textsuperscript{19} The “global jihad” is seen as the social movement consisted of jihadi groups. In addition, “jihad” can be defined as “a spiritual fight against the evil in yourself”\textsuperscript{20} and not violent or violence-promoting.

1.7. Disposition

The second chapter presents the methodological process and a discussion on how the empirics and theory is methodologically applied. In chapter three the theoretical work is presented with a wider discussion on epistemology, the applied theory and critique of the theory. Chapter four is based on two main subjects, the social network in Sweden and the broader social movement. The fifth chapter presents the analysis of the empirical findings: (1) the social network of violent or violence-promoting Islamist extremists; (2) the social network as a case of new social movement by applying the NSM framework. The sixth chapter presents the results of the analysis, discussion and proposed further research.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid. p. 22
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid. p. 23
\textsuperscript{20} Cambridge Dictionaries Online, Search word: “jihad” http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/jihad
2. Methodology

2.1. Methodology

As mentioned before, the collection of data presented in the fourth chapter is based on empirical findings from various types of sources. The data is processed to fit the aim of study and framed to be able to analyze it through the theory presented in the third chapter. From a methodological perspective it is complex to analyze a phenomenon and activity that is partly “underground”. This means that the descriptive case study of the social network in Sweden is needed to be puzzled from all types of sources.

The social network analysis is based on empirical findings on individuals in Sweden that in different ways can be linked to violent or violence-promoting Islamist extremism and together form a social network. According to Marvin D. Krohn “a social network is a set of actors, individuals, or groups linked by friendship or some other relationship.”21 The methodology for using network analysis may differ in respect to the amount of empirics available and the author does not have the possibility to measure the density of the relationship between the actors. It is however possible to do so in some of the cases studied but the empirics available are not enough to do a more complex network analysis. Instead, the author aims to show if the actors involved in this type of activity have some kind of relationship to one another and together form a social network. It is also important to state that the author is examining a social network and not a criminal network. All of the actors that are part of the analysis are not sentenced for terrorism or other crimes. Those who are not convicted are part of the analysis because of their connection to convicted individuals or individuals that are present in the Swedish Islamist extremism community. The ‘connection’ between individuals is not a legal term meaning they are affiliated, but the “connection” is used as a link to explore and map the social network and the relationship between the individuals. In respect to research ethics, those individuals who are part of the analysis but not convicted are not presented by their real names. However, there are a few exceptions when it is obvious that individuals are affiliated with for example al Shabaab. There are individuals who have shown sympathy for groups like al Shabaab but not sentenced on violations of the terrorist act. Since this examination includes violence-promoting Islamist extremists, individuals who stated that they sympathize for al Shabaab and other groups are presented by their real names.

The social network graphic is created through the softwares NetDraw\textsuperscript{22} and Ucinet\textsuperscript{23} which are programs for making data sets and graphic networks. All the actors in the social network analysis have been typed in the matrix both on the X- and Y-axle. Whether there is a connection between two actors in the network, number “1” has been typed in as a code for connection. In the analysis there are 68 nodes.

The social network analysis is further developed in the second research question where the author is explaining the connections to the social movement named as the “global jihad”. In doing so the author has been collecting data on Swedish citizens that have joined terrorist groups and individuals who are connected to violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremism. The data collected show some of the motivations for terrorism and is combined with statements from the global jihad. When analyzing the social network and its participant the author will have the potential to connect them to the social movement. When joining for example al Shabaab one does not get an “al Shabaab Identification Card”, meaning it is sometimes complicated to prove individuals as being part of a movement or group. In this study the author is connecting the individuals and the network to the global jihad through the evidence of actions and statements. For example, if an individual terrorist commits an attack and claim to be affiliated with al Qaida and al Qaida at the same time honors the attack it would be an evidence of some sort of connection between the individual terrorist and al Qaeda. In this study it would be seen as a case of new social movement.

A content analysis method is applied to quantify the content in the empirics, which can reveal motivations, norms and ideas that are of interest for the analysis. This method of research is quite helpful when analyzing and processing data from interrogations and according to Descombe a content analysis is an adequate method when studying “communication aspects that tends to be simple, direct, and apparent.”\textsuperscript{24} When using interrogation documents in academic studies the researcher has to be aware of methodological problems and ethics. Adam Dolnik in \textit{Conducting Field Research on Terrorism} (2011) discusses the ethics of interviewing terrorists. He argues that:

[…] it is not so much about what questions the researchers is asking, but also the manner and sequence in which these questions are asked, that determine what the answers will be. In fact, different researchers could be posing exactly the same questions to the respondent, and could


\textsuperscript{24} Denscombe, Martyn (2009) (author’s translation) Forskningshandboken – för småskaliga forskningsprojekt inom samballsvetenskaperna, Studentlitteratur, Lund p. 309
receive significantly different answers depending on what level of report and trust exists between them and the interviewee, and under what conditions the interview is taking place.  

In respect to the intellectual words of Dolnik it is important for researchers to be aware of the situations and environment where terrorism suspects are interrogated. Investigation documents with interrogations used in this research project are generally from the Swedish Security Service and are seen as a reliable source of evidence. However, the author does not know what is said “off the record” in the interrogation room which is something that may affect the suspect’s statements. All of the empirics found on Swedish citizens involved in terrorism and violence-promoting Islamist extremism are not presented in the analysis. For example, the Swedish-Tunisian Tahar Guemir who was sentenced in 2004 for 26 years in prison on the suspicion of being the leader of the ‘Zarzis Group’ in southern Tunisia. He cannot be connected to the social network in Sweden and the case is also an example of the methodological problematic of different juridical systems. The sentence has been criticized by Reporters without borders who argue that the evidence is insufficient.

A content analysis type of methodology is chosen because of its adequate way to find motives in speeches that can connect the individuals in the social network to the social movement.

### 2.2. Operationalization and Level of Analysis

Political science research is often based on one level of analysis or the interaction between two or more levels. An orthodox model when categorizing levels of analysis is on systemic-, regional-, national-, and local level. The individuals, groups and networks in this study have an apparent local establishment but also invoke the global jihad, and at the same time join the regional conflict on the Horn of Africa, meaning the lines of level of analysis is blurred. Terrorism and specifically ‘Islamic terrorism’ can be seen in the light of globalization where the local meets the global and vice versa. This does not necessarily include all types of terrorism or terrorist organizations, groups and networks but is characteristic in the empirical findings of this study.

The unit of analysis is the individuals who together create a social network. Some of these actors are Swedish citizens and others are registered in Sweden. Some non-resident actors is however part of the analysis because of their connection to Sweden or Swedish individuals and groups.

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25 Dolnik, Adam ”Conducting Field Research on Terrorism: A Brief Premier” in Perspectives on Terrorism, Vol 5, Issue 2, May 2011 p. 29
The operationalization of the unit of analysis and level of abstraction can be explained in four steps: (1) There are extremists in Sweden that are taking actions such as violence-promoting acts and terrorism; (2) some of these are claiming to legitimate their actions through Islam; (3) together these Islamist extremists create a social network; and (4) the social network in Sweden is connected to a larger social movement.

The study is based on a hypothesis, or a theory, and can be seen as hypothetico-deductive examination. The author’s aim is to examine if the hypothesis is true and supported in the results of analysis. The first research question is descriptive, where the author describes the social network in Sweden. After the descriptive analysis the author is explaining the social network as part of a social movement by applying New Social Movement Theory. It should also be stated that the examination is a case of abduction, meaning the empirics have been observed before the hypothesis have been formulated.

2.3. Methodological Problems and Critique

Whatever choice of methodology and theory, academic research could and should always be criticized. In the case of terrorism studies and the study of political violence, researchers have to be aware that data from interrogations and interviews with the actors are problematic. Some of these individuals have several names and aliases, which aggravates the researchers to reliably be sure of their true identity. The result of this is that it is difficult to track them and connect them to the social network. For example of this see trial of Ahmed Ressam.27 Suspects detained and interrogated in ‘less democratic’ countries can also be victims of torture methods which means that suspects statements might be false and unreliable. If there is a suspicion of torture during interrogations it is important to present it in each case.

Data from trials and the media often publish both full names and aliases that help the researcher to collect and search for more information. Some of the empirical material has been excluded from the analysis when the author is suspecting sources as non-reliable or irrelevant. As an academic it is important to work according to scientific principles and ethics, and the author have weighted different sources of information to increase the reliability and presentation of “correct” information.

It is not always pointed out that the study of terrorism also is the study of a judicial issue, a crime, meaning that there is a complexity of different national legal frameworks and norms. Methodologically it means that every suspicion, arrest, prosecution, and sentence have to be thoroughly presented, and in which country this has been made. The reason for this is that jurisdiction, rules, norms, and practices differ from state to state. An individual sentenced in Morocco or Egypt for the criminal offence of terrorism would perhaps not be sentenced in the U.K. because of different jurisprudence and requirements on evidence. In addition, different interrogation techniques might be applied in different states. In 2001, the Swedish government expelled two individuals to a country well known for applying torture. The two Egyptians Ahmed Agiza and Mohammed al-Zari that were expelled to Egypt with assistance from the CIA on Swedish territory is one case of a controversial expulsion. al-Zari and Agiza was seen as a “security risk” to Sweden and expelled on December 18 2001.\(^\text{28}\) The UN Committee Against Torture (CAT) argued that:

\[\text{[…]}\] torture is a frequently used method of interrogation and punishment in Egypt, particularly in connection with political and security matters, and that accordingly the complainant, accused of serious political acts, was a substantial risk of torture.\(^\text{29}\)

When reading investigations and trials from these types of events one must be aware of the practices, rules and norms in each case. Using interrogations of Agiza and al-Zari by Egyptian authorities would not be the most reliable source of information. It is therefore important to state where every interrogation and sentence have been made.

### 3. Theory

#### 3.1. Framework, Theory and Model

To examine and explain violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremism the author has applied a theoretical framework called *New Social Movement Theory* (NSM). The framework will be helping the author to answer the second research question. The name might sound confusing because many of the NSM scholars state that it is a framework and not a theory. The distinctions are not always easy to define but the former Nobel Prize awarded economist Elinor Ostrom means that there are three different levels of theory; framework, theories, and models which are


all interconnected. According to Ostrom, frameworks help to identify elements and their relation to one another. They can furthermore work as a tool to identify universal elements and as a metatheoretical language to compare theories and these elements can be used to generate a research question. The frameworks consist of theories and are logically more precise in their assumptions and are applied to predict, explain and diagnose. Each theory can consist of different theoretical models, which are more precise than theories in respect to variables and parameters.\(^{30}\)

This study does not incorporate a theoretical model but a theory or framework. A theory can be seen as a coherent set of hypothesis with propositions of the reality. Theory and hypothesis can and are often used synonymously.\(^{31}\) Theories should also be connected to the empirical data and according to Widerberg they should be “adjusted to each other so that they create a fruitful cohesion.”\(^{32}\)

Ostrom’s argument is interesting and would be of help for social movement theorist to further develop the framework, theories and models. However, since this is not a theoretical-driven research the author’s aim is not to explore the lines between theories and frameworks but instead try its capacity to explain the social network of Swedish violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremists as part of the global jihad. The New Social Movement Theory, as interpreted by the author, is more of a framework with universal elements and variables than a theory having the potential to predict.

### 3.2. Social Movement Theory

In this study, the acts of political violence and terrorism are seen as a method and tactic by a social phenomenon consisted of a set of individuals creating a network. The network can thereafter be seen as a part of a social movement. To explore the social movement and its links to the social network the author need the help of a theory or framework. Several different theories in social science have been applied to explain extremism, extremists, terrorism and terrorists. What is needed to explain the connection between the social network in Sweden and the global jihad is a theory that can explain what a social movement is. A suitable framework to apply is the Social Movement Theory.


\(^{31}\) Teorell, Jan & Svensson, Torsten (2007) _Att fråga och att svara: samhällsvetenskaplig metod_, Liber, Malmö pp. 43 – 44

Social Movement Theory (SMT) is a theoretical framework for the study of social movements. This chapter will provide the theoretical background of SMT and the New Social Movement Theory (NSM) that is a part of the SMT framework.

3.2.1. Theoretical Background

Social Movement Theory is a framework that started taking shape in the 1950’s and 1960’s with questions of why and when movements evolve. It is a multidisciplinary framework that attracts researchers from several disciplines of social science. The movement’s tactics in this study are violent or violence-promoting methods but the origin of the framework comes from studies that also emphasize non-violent movements and most of the earlier research is based on social movements’ collective behavior in the United States till the end of the 1960’s. During the 1950’s to the 1970’s the focus was mainly to understand social movements as “products of grievances or social strain”. The framework was developed from a functionalistic social-psychology called ‘Strain Theory’ with a focus on mass behavior and mobilization, external strains and collective actions. The framework has developed to at least three major theories: Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT), Political Opportunities, and Framing Theory. RMT was developed in the 1970’s and was created as a critique of earlier socio-psychological theories. It is however criticized for not including relational nor cultural explanations. RMT focuses on movements as interest-driven collective actions through organized manifestations and holds more of a rational choice perspective on social movement then the other models. The second theory called ‘Political Opportunity’ is criticizing both earlier socio-psychological theory and RMT. The aim of the theory is to include ideological explanations on social movements, which the other theories miss. Framing Theory is one of the latest contributions of these three theories. It was developed during the 1980’s and 1990’s and is criticizing RMT and Political Process for missing to frame identities and possibilities.

33 Wettergren, Åsa (2005) Moving and Jamming: Implications For Social Movement Theory. Karlstad University Studies (Dissertation), Division For Social Sciences, Department of Sociology, Karlstad p. 52
35 Beck (2008)
38 Gunning (2009) p. 158
40 Beck (2008)
During the 1980’s another type of theory was developed, The New Social Movement Theory (NSM). This meant that the framework till this end incorporated more variables such as culture, social interaction, role of contexts, and constructions. Several NSM scholars also highlight the cultural factors and long-term socioeconomic changes.\(^{41}\) Social Movement Theory integrates, similar to Rational Choice, interest-based explanations but also ideological explanations.\(^{42}\)

Gunning argues that these are not strict theories and they all overlap within the theoretical framework and are interpreted in different ways by different scholars.\(^{43}\) Early important contributors to the framework are Smelser (1963), Gurr (1970), Turner and Killian (1972), and Tilly (1973).\(^{44}\) The framework of Social Movement Theory can be applied to study violent movements and the New Social Movement Theory could be applied to analyze political violent groups in order to examine their connection to a larger social movement.

3.2.2. **New Social Movement Theory**

New Social Movement Theory (NSM) incorporates three levels of analysis: macro-, meso-, and micro. When applying all three levels of analysis the theory provides a view on culture and identity movements, networks, membership, solidarity and ideology.\(^{45}\) Gentry argue that NSM “provides a theoretical framework for terrorism studies to develop a more thorough and less-biased way of studying those who engage in political violence […]”\(^{46}\) and the framework can be applied to analyze the “by-products” of social movements. Terrorists can be an example of by-products who take actions that is not according to the norms and rules of a social movement. NSM can therefore be applied as a tool for studying ‘revolutionary dimensions’ of a social movement but the movements in this study are all ‘revolutionary’ in a sense.\(^{47}\) One way of applying NSM could be to examine for example environmentalist movements such as the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) that could be seen as a “by-product” of a larger non-violent movement that completely rejects the method of eco-terrorism as a tool for impact and change. Other studies could be the Palestinian Hamas with its military wing, or paramilitary groups that are connected to a non-violent political or ideological movement.

\(^{42}\) Gunning (2009) p. 167
\(^{43}\) Gunning (2009) p. 158
\(^{46}\) Ibid. p. 275
\(^{47}\) Ibid. p. 276
The framework in this study is based on Gentry’s interpretation of New Social Movement Theory. According to Gentry the “society witnesses the creation of a new social movement […] when multiple collective identity groups mobilize to gain control over their own development.” Her interpretation of the NSM framework is developed to fit the study on the Weather Underground movement. In addition, it can be applied to the analysis of violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremists and the framework can be used to contextualize the memberships within the networks. Gentry argue that new social movements are characterized by four factors:

1. New Social Movements use cultural identity as stakes in conflict.
2. Opposition to social norms ‘takes the form of marginality and of deviance.’
3. Solidarity ‘is an objective’ and collective action revolves around a solid, centralized identity.
4. Direct participation is a key to new social movements. It is important to mobilize and represent oneself.

As a theorist and academic researcher this means that one “is suppose to ‘enter into a relationship with the social movement’” and “come face-to-face” with it. The theorist has to understand the social and historical contexts of the movement and cannot therefore analyze each actor independently. The actors are part of a social movement that takes collective actions and shares an opponent and these actions “are marked by the level of deviance”. The social context is bonded together with the network and its ideology, where the ideology determines how the networks should behave to a broader social movement or other parts of society. The ideology also determines which collective actions that are taken.

According to della Porta the social networks have a large significance in recruiting members for illegal groups and earlier research on political violence shows that actor friendship is linked to the degree of political activity. An increasing degree of friendship and political activity can according to della Porta be seen as an increased solidarity. Marc Sageman states in the first sentence of his book *Understanding Terror Networks* (2004) that “[t]he global Salafi Jihad is a worldwide religious

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49 Ibid. p. 279
50 Ibid. p. 277
51 Ibid. p. 276
52 Ibid. p. 277
53 Ibid. p. 277
55 della Porta (1992) p. 8
revivalist movement” and continues to explain the phenomenon as a social movement throughout his examination. According to Sageman, the social networks are of great importance when studying this type of political violence and nodes, hubs, and links are all important components in the social networks. This could to a certain degree be linked to the Resource Mobilization Theory that incorporates social networks and informal institutions. Social networks can also be seen as “social movement communities” which are active outside the official organization. Groups active outside the official organizations can be seen as the revolutionary wing that was mentioned earlier. According to Wiktorowicz, these networks are important for the survival of the social movement. In addition, one could argue that the networks’ methods could be an obstacle for the social movements when taking actions that is opposing the movements’ strategy or tactic.

Ideology, identity and solidarity are important variables or factors in the analysis of social movements. In the analysis, this should be combined with the contexts and the networks. The NSM framework with these sets of variables can explain political violence as a social phenomenon and not only as a “threat”, and thereby respond to the critique of orthodox terrorism studies that focus on the threat of terrorism.

The framework could be applied to examine what is a social movement but also who are engaged in it. The framework will be used to study those individuals that are part of the social network and their connection to the global jihad. The New Social Movement framework will help to explain how they are connected and if it is a case of new social movement. To do this the author applies the key concepts of NSM: solidarity, cultural identity, mobilization and collective action. Statements by the Islamist extremists are of great importance to be able to analyze their motivations of actions.

Solidarity and cultural identity can be understood in different ways but what is interesting in the case of the Swedish network is to find statements and actions that could link individuals to the cultural identity of the global jihad and that they show some kind of solidarity. The research question that is to be answered is if the social network is a part of the global jihad and thereby a case of new social movement. It has already been stated that individuals from Sweden join groups

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like al Qaeda and al Shabaab and from a NSM perspective it would be a case of New Social Movement. It would however be too simple to just state that Swedish citizens are part of the global jihad without an in-depth analysis.

The operationalization of the framework as mentioned earlier is that the key concepts will be applied in the empirical analysis. According to Gentry, solidarity is an objective and a collective action around a solid centralized identity. In the analysis, solidarity is applied as an explanation why these individuals take collective action. Solidarity can be to raise and fund extremist and terrorist groups abroad. In addition, it can be to promote a violent message that states solidarity to ‘Muslim brothers’ in countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq and Somalia. The solidarity is linked to the central cultural identity which is the identity of the global jihad. The solidarity can be shown by direct participation and mobilization such as joining terrorist groups abroad or commit terrorist attacks. The cultural identity is intertwined with the ideology of the global jihad which determines which collective actions that are taken. Showing solidarity can be to defend the cultural identity of the global jihad. For example, al-Qaida on the Arabian Peninsula states in *Inspire* that the cartoonists Lars Vilks and Kurt Westergaard are a threat to Islam and solitary in Sweden commit an attack on the cartoonists or the newspapers’ facilities. Mobilization and collective action is in the case of violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremism individuals who together show solidarity and defend the cultural identity. This can be made in Mosques and other social constellations. An example would be a Mosque leader who encourage individuals to travel abroad to join the jihad and the mobilization and collective action is in relation to the global jihad.

To examine whether the social network can be seen as a case of ‘new social movement’ all the key concepts (solidarity, cultural identity, mobilization and collective action) have to be applied on the network.

### 3.3. Critique

New Social Movement theory has been criticized for not being able to explain processes on the micro-level. The framework of social movement theory has its origin in socio-psychological analysis and is not a psychological or behavioral theory of individuals and therefore fails to contribute fully to understand what is going on in the mind of an extremist or terrorist. The theory would also have difficulties explaining the phenomenon of “lone-wolves” such as the most current case of the Norwegian terrorist Anders Behring Breivik who detonated a bomb in
central Oslo and killed 69 members of the Arbeidernes Ungdomsfylkning (Workers Youth League) on the island of Utøya on July 22, 2011.\(^{62}\)

The theories or frameworks are a bit diffuse and are applied and interpreted differently by scholars who study social movements. It is for that reason important that future research and theory development consider establishing a coherent framework with theories and models that could help academics to understand and examine social movements. According to Gentry, NSM have not yet been able to explain what happens after movements’ fragmentation.\(^{63}\) The critique is fair and the foundation of the framework is based on the evolvement and continuance of social movements and not their ending. In the case of extremism and terrorism, an explanation of social movement fragmentation would be an interesting development of the framework and its theories. This could lead to deeper understandings on how to counter and prevent terrorism and de-radicalization processes.

4. Empirics

The processed empirical findings are divided into two main parts: the social network in Sweden and the social movement. The author is only scratching the surface of the social network in Sweden and the global social movement, new empirics and more detailed data will be presented in the analysis on how the network in Sweden is structured, who the actors are, and what actions they have been taken.

4.1. The Social Network in Sweden

The empirical finding of the individuals that together creates the social network in Sweden is described in four sections: convince and recruit, financial and practical aid, affiliation with violent and/or violence-promoting Islamist extremist groups, and plotting and accomplish attacks. This categorization is similar to the one applied in the Säpo 2010-report on the issue in Sweden and is an adequate way of cataloging the activity.

**Convince and Recruit**

According to the Swedish Security Service, convincing and recruiting members to violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremist groups can be made through internet forums, literature, and...
Islamic sermons, preaching, and meetings in association facilities, and the Swedish Security Service also states that social solidarity is vital in the radicalization process.\textsuperscript{64} Citizens from Sweden have been educated in Islam at radical centers in countries like Yemen and Saudi Arabia.\textsuperscript{65} In addition, there are individuals from Sweden that are joining groups of al Qaeda and operate in violent conflicts abroad, and when returning to Sweden these individuals get to hold a higher position in their community.\textsuperscript{66}

Swedish citizens have been recruited to Islamist extremist groups abroad, which are a phenomenon that has intensified over the past years, especially to al Shabaab in Somalia. Swedish citizens are part of the propaganda apparatus and the al Shabaab affiliated website \textit{alqimma.net} is established by a Swedish citizen.\textsuperscript{67} Except the propaganda actions on the Internet, the recruitment to violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremism has taken place in the Swedish mosques. Al Qaeda’s “second-in-command”, Abu Qaswarah a.k.a. “Mohammed Moumou”, is one example of individuals who has participated in the Swedish mosques.

The empirical findings show that many of the individuals recruited to Islamist extremism and terrorist groups and networks are connected to each other in Sweden via the Internet, mosques, and other social gatherings.

\textbf{Financial and Practical Aid}

Support to the activities can be made by both financial and practical aid. Some of the activities known to Säpo is the creation and administration of IT services, sending material and transferring money to foreign terrorist groups, organize trips and mediate contacts, provide false documents such as passports and travel documents, and provide knowledge on travel routes.\textsuperscript{68}

There are examples of Swedish citizens having supported terrorism abroad by providing financial and practical support. One of these individuals have been collecting money in Swedish mosques and transferred it to the Sunni extremist group Ansar al-Islam in Iraq.\textsuperscript{69} There are also examples of financial support to al Shabaab and practical support to individuals who are joining training

\textsuperscript{64} Våldsbejakande islamistisk extremism (2010) Säkerhetspolisen pp. 57 – 59
\textsuperscript{65} "Verksamhetsåret 2001" (2002) Säkerhetspolisen p. 43
\textsuperscript{68} Våldsbejakande islamistisk extremism (2010) Säkerhetspolisen pp. 59, 80
\textsuperscript{69} “Kiosken var en terrorbank” Sydsvenskan (2006-02-12) \url{http://www.sydsvenskan.se/sverige/article141850/Kiosken-var-en-terrorbank.html}
camps in Afghanistan. As a direct action of 9/11, terrorism suspects’ assets were frozen and in November 2001 Swedish authorities acted against three Swedish citizens of Somali origin and froze their assets. This can be seen in the light of new counter-terrorism policies and Bush’s speech in 2001: “if you harbor a terrorist, if you aid a terrorist, if you hide terrorists, you’re just as guilty as the terrorists.”

Affiliation with Violent Islamist Extremist Groups

According to Säpo, individuals in Sweden are joining training camps abroad and carry out missions for terrorist organizations. Individuals from Sweden had as early in 2001 contacts with central actors of al Qaeda. The military training and ideological education abroad is most often located in camps in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Somalia, but there are also cases of religious education on the Arabian Peninsula and the actors are taking part in various assignments, from propaganda to suicide attacks. There are cases of Imams who had gained higher positions in al Shabaab. The empirical findings show that individuals have had central roles in both al Qaeda and al Shabaab, and that there are connections between the two geographical areas of Afghanistan/Pakistan and the Horn of Africa.

Plotting and Attacking

Some of these individuals are plotting attacks and there are cases of Swedish citizens that have accomplished terrorist attacks, both in Sweden and abroad. In the introduction the author presented the suicide-attack in Stockholm in December 2010. The attack was the first one on Swedish soil but not the first attack accomplished by a Swedish citizen if we consider the international level of actions. Swedish citizens have both been providing weapons to terrorists and fighting in war zones abroad. Swedish citizens have been killed in combat in Somalia, and individuals have been committed suicide-attacks in Iraq.

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70 Taarnby & Hallundbaek (2010) pp. 43 – 44
75 Taarnby & Hallundbaek (2010) pp. 42, 44
76 Detainee Biographies “Gouled Hassan Dourad” Office of the Director of National Intelligence http://www.dni.gov/announcements/content/DetaineeBiographies.pdf
4.2. The Social Movement of Global Jihad

The author has stated that there are Swedish citizens who join terrorist organizations abroad. In addition, there is an activity of radicalization and recruiting in Sweden. The question if the individuals create a social network in Sweden and if this network is part of a global social movement will be examined in the analysis but below the author will describe the social movement of violent and violence-promoting Islamist Extremism, known as the global jihad. This is needed in order to connect the social network in Sweden to the global social movement.

According to Sageman, “participants in global jihad are not atomized individuals but actors linked to each other through complex webs of direct or mediated exchanges.”78 His social network analysis shows how nodes, links and hubs in the network all are connected. The picture below is a great example on how these networks are interconnected to the global jihad.

Figure 2. Sageman’s “The Global Salafi Jihad”79

Sageman’s analysis shows that global jihad is constructed by networks, and Charles W. Kegley also argues that “the new age of terrorism is […] orchestrated by transnational non-state organizations through global conspiratorial networks of terrorist cells located in many countries”.80 Groups like al Qaeda and al Shabaab are part of the social movement and al Qaeda

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is recruiting members from all over the world including the West. According to Beck, terrorism “takes place in the context of a wider environment with a political opportunity structure.” The empirics in this study show that both al Qaida and al Shabaab are connected to Sweden and Swedish citizens, and during the 1990’s there was an increase of actors origin from North Africa and the Middle East joining the global Islamist movement. According to a Säpo report from 2001, individuals from Sweden originating from the Horn of Africa and North Africa joined training camps in Afghanistan. A number of these actors affiliated with terrorist organizations have later been expelled from Sweden, but there still are individuals in Sweden who engage in this type of activity.

The social movement of global jihad consists of several networks, groups and “organizations” and in 2010 al Shabaab stated that “jihad of the Horn of Africa must be combined with the international jihad led by the al-Qaeda network.” The statement is interesting but unsurprisingly considering that al-Qaeda is a global network and not only operating in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It should be seen as a web of groups that is reaching the entire globe with its tentacles. A common understanding of its “organization” or “web” is that it is consisting of al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI), al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), and of course its presence in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Council of Foreign Relations (CFR) states that al-Qaeda is connected to the Egyptian Islamic Jihad (EIJ), The Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG), Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT) and Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM) in Kashmir, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Armed Islamic Group of Algeria (GIA), Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) in Malaysia and the Philippines, and Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) in Southeast Asia. According to Sageman, “al Qaeda seems to have disavowed its links to the Abu Sayyaf Group” and to the Algerian Groupe Islamique Armé. The affiliation is a great example of how the social movement of global jihad truly is a global phenomenon.

Sageman’s analysis should be seen in the light of the contemporary academic debate of how to understand al Qaida. According to Bruce Hoffman, Sageman’s “assessment are not confined to the U.S. intelligence community” and the strategy to defeat al Qaida is to “capture senior al

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82 Beck (2008)
83 Norell (2005) p. 15
84 “Verksamhetsåret 2001” (2002) Säkerhetspolisen p. 43
89 Ibid. p. 151
Qaeda leaders” and “destroy the organization’s leadership.” Sageman’s response is that “[t]he process of radicalization is […] resulting in a social structure comprised of disconnected groups” but Hoffman states that “it is clear that bin Laden was more involved in al Qaeda operations than many officials and experts had previously imagined.” The death of bin Laden does not mean that the threat of al Qaeda is gone. As Daveed Gartenstein-Ross is arguing, “we should not allow bin Laden’s death to cause us to lose sight of the continued threat that al Qaeda poses.” The role of the leadership and organizational structure in al Qaeda and the global jihad is heavily debated, but Sageman’s analysis that the global jihad is a social movement is one adequate way of understanding the phenomenon.

In respect to New Social Movement theory, Sageman’s view on the global Salafi network is similar to the theoretical arguments in this study.

5. Empirical Analysis

In the empirics chapter the author briefly presented the activity of both Swedish citizens in Sweden and those abroad. Groups like al Qaida and al Shabaab are seen as part of the social movement. The analysis of the social network in this chapter will provide the nodes, links, and hubs of the social network. After the social network analysis the author will examine the connection to the broader social movement with help of the results of the social network analysis and by applying the framework of New Social Movement.

5.1. A Social Network Analysis of the Swedish Social Network

The empirical research shows that individuals in Sweden join violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremist groups. Some of these individuals have connections to each other and might have connections to the broader social movement of global jihad. The author’s aim is to examine the nodes, links and hubs and as a summary be able to draw a social network analysis.

91 Sageman, Marc “Does Osama Still Call the Shots?: Debating the Containment of al Qaeda’s Leadership” Foreign Affairs, Response (July/August 2008)
The Swedish Mosques & ‘alqimmah’

After September 11 2001 the Swedish Security Service noticed an increased interest of jihad by individuals in the Swedish society. According to their annual reports on terrorism, the recruitment to al Qaida also increased after 2001.\textsuperscript{94} The Swedish mosques is an example of physical environment where radicalization and recruiting takes action and alqimmah and other web forums are examples of virtual environment where propaganda, radicalization and recruitment can take place.

Mosques are a vital part of the Muslim community and do not have to be part of radicalization of individuals and can instead be a forum of de-radicalization. However, Säpo’s reports highlights that some mosques and affiliations are part of radicalization. The Bellevue mosque in Gothenburg was in July 2009 visited by a man named Mahad Omar, a.k.a. ‘Sheik Hassaan Hussein Adam’ and ‘Abu Salmaan’. According to a UN report, Omar sympathize for jihad and is recruiting members in Sweden to al Shabaab. His visit took place during the \textit{Somali Islamic Convention} and other participants attending where Yassin Baynah and Umar Shukri. Shukri was arrested in February 2008 on suspicion of financing of terrorism, and Baynah was convicted of tax violations through his travel agency that was connected to an illicit secret activity of financial transactions.\textsuperscript{95} Yassin Ali Baynah, also known under several aliases, was detained for over 100 days on suspicion of terror crime but was later freed.\textsuperscript{96} In 2009 he was detained in Great Britain on similar charges but again released. He later joined and supported Hizbul Islam and the Alliance for the Re-liberation of Somalia (ARS).\textsuperscript{97} According to UN documents Baynah “has incited attacks against the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).”\textsuperscript{98}

The presence of Mahad Omar at the Bellevue mosque resulted in Swedish-Somali protests but his visit was however approved by the mosque’s leaders.\textsuperscript{99} It is a quite interesting case because the Swedish Security Service states in their 2010-report \textit{Violence-Promoting Islamist Extremism in Sweden}

\begin{itemize}
p. 26 – 28
  \item\textsuperscript{96} “Släppt ur svenskt häkte grundade terrorrörelse” \textit{Svenska Dagbladet} (2009-03-13)\url{http://www.svd.se/opinion/ledarsidan/slappt-ur-svenskt-hakte-grundade-terrorrorelse_2586981.svd}
  \item\textsuperscript{97} Taarby & Hallundbaek (2010) p. 44
  \item\textsuperscript{99} Baehr, Dirk “The Somali Shabaab Militias and their Jihadist Networks in the West” (2011/8) \textit{Kas International Reports} p. 35
\end{itemize}
that these types of activities occur without the leaders’ knowledge or will. At present, Omar is believed to run an al Shabaab information center in Kenya in order to produce propaganda, recruit members and collect economic capital.

Mohammed Gelle who attempted to assassinate the Danish cartoonist Kurt Westergaard has also visited the Bellevue mosque. According to the Danish Security and Intelligence Service (PET, abbreviation of Politiets Efterretningsstjeneste), Gelle have close connections to al Shabaab and al Qaida in Eastern Africa (AQEA). Gelle was sentenced in the court of Århus, Denmark, to nine years in prison on February 4 2011. Westergaard had published editorial cartoons in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* which became widely debated when published.

The Danish suicide-bomber Abdi Rahman Mohamed who blew up himself and 24 others in Mogadishu in 2009 attended earlier the same year a mosque in Gothenburg with another Danish of Somali origin. The two al Shabaab sympathizers were engaged in indoctrination of Swedish-Somali youths and collecting economic capital. It is possible that Rahman and Gelle have a relationship but is not confirmed in the data.

The Bellevue mosque is not the only social meeting point where radicalization has occurred. A youth center, *Kreativhuset* (Creative House), in the Stockholm suburb Rinkeby founded by a mosque have been subject of recruiting young men to al Shabaab. The youth center has during four years been financed by the Stockholm City Sports Administration, “Stockholms stads idrottsförvaltning”. Some of the active participants in Rinkeby are Fuad Mohammed Qalaf, Shu’ayb Ali Hassan, Billé Ilias Mohamed, Yassin Ismail Ahmed, and Mohamoud Jama who all are presented below.

The Brandbergen mosque in a suburb south of Stockholm has been visited by people like Mohammed Moumou and the terror-crime sentenced Ahmed Essafri. There are also cases of

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100 Våldsbejakande islamistisk extremism (2010) Säkerhetspolisen p. 57
101 Baehr (2011) p. 35
103 "Dom i terrorsagen" (2011-02-04) Retten i Århus, Danmarks domstole [http://www.domstol.dk/aarhus/nyheder/ovrigenyheder/Pages/Domiterrorsagen.aspx](http://www.domstol.dk/aarhus/nyheder/ovrigenyheder/Pages/Domiterrorsagen.aspx)
104 Taarnby & Hallundbæk (2010) pp. 45, 47
106 "Sweden rattled by Somali militants in its midst" *The Guardian* (2010-01-25) [http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/feedarticle/8914349](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/feedarticle/8914349)
107 Siegel, Pascale Combelles "Coalition Attack Brings an End to the Career of al-Qaeda in Iraq's Second-in-Command" *Terrorism Monitor*. Volume: 6 Issue: 21 November 7, 2008 [http://www.jamestown.org/programs/gta/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=34112&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/gta/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=34112&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%)

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Imams that have been supporting individuals to travel to and join terrorist groups abroad. Somali-born Gouled Hassan Dourad, a.k.a. ‘Gouleed Hassan Ahmed’ and ‘Hanad’, arrived in Sweden in 1993 and later obtained asylum. Dourad got in contact with an Imam in a Swedish mosque who practically supported him in traveling to ‘Khalden Training Camp’ in eastern Afghanistan and Dourad received training in weapons and explosives at the camp in Afghanistan. According to the U.S. Office of the Director of National Intelligencies (ODNI), Dourad attended the military camp in Kwost in eastern Afghanistan where he received training in execution techniques. He later took his experiences to Somalia. According to open U.S. intelligence sources Dourad worked for the East African al Qaeda cell led by Abu Talha al-Sudani and were responsible of assisting financial transfers. He was delivering weapons to the Mogadishu cell-leader Abu Talha and his working task was also to locate “safe houses”. Dourad attended the military camp in Kwost in eastern Afghanistan where he received training in execution techniques. He later took his experiences to Somalia. According to open U.S. intelligence sources Dourad worked for the East African al Qaeda cell led by Abu Talha al-Sudani and were responsible of assisting financial transfers. He was delivering weapons to the Mogadishu cell-leader Abu Talha and his working task was also to locate “safe houses”. During the period of 1997 to 2002 Dourad fought in Ogaden, Ethiopia, and trained al-Ittihad al-Islamiya (AIAI) forces, and later became the networks leader. He was arrested in 2004 and detained at Guantanamo detention camp on Cuba.

There are other cases of Swedish citizens who have been delivering weapons to Somalia. Abdo Osman was arrested in October 2006 in Yemen where he “had expressed interest in purchasing surface-to-air missiles, sniper rifles, Kalashnikovs, and ammunition on behalf of his controller, known as Qarqaz from the ICU.”

Khalden Training Camp has not only been visited by Dourad. In an American trial with the so called “Millennium Bomber” Ahmed Ressam, a.k.a. “Benni Noris”, who plotted to bomb Los Angeles Airport on New Year’s Eve, it is stated that military training in Afghanistan is quite sophisticated. Ressam, who is of Algerian origin, admitted in 1998 he had spent five to six months together with 50 or 100 participants trained at a camp with Islamist terrorists at Khalden. The training included training and education of weapons, explosives, sabotage, close-combat, targeting and tactics. Ressam admits in the testimony that there where participants from Sweden in the camp. The participants received training in attacking, especially American military

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5D=167&no_cache=1; “Moroccan Swede jailed on terror charges” The Local (2008-06-11) http://www.thelocal.se/12360/20080611/
108 Detainee Biographies “Gouled Hassan Dourad”
109 Ibid.
110 Taarnby & Hallundbaek (2010) p. 44
111 Taarnby & Hallundbaek (2010) p. 58
facilities and ships where training targets but also commercial and economic targets including VIP hotels, technological centers, and petroleum facilities.\textsuperscript{113}

\textbf{Ali Kamal Berzengi & Ferman Jabbar Abdullah}

In a press report from Säpo it is stated that on April 12 2004 four men were arrested for financing of terrorism. Two of them were sentenced for terrorism crimes to four and a half respectively five years and expulsion after completion of sentence.\textsuperscript{114} The case involved the Imam Ali Kamal Berzengi from Stockholm and the falafel salesman Ferman Jabbar Abdullah who both could be arrested due to US interception of Abdullah’s telephone calls to Iraq. They were suspected of financing Ansar al-Islam’s terrorist attack in the Kurdistan city of Arbil which resulted in over 100 casualties. According to the Swedish newspaper \textit{Sydsvenskan}, Abdullah’s falafel stall functioned as an illicit bank office with money collected from mosques all around Sweden.\textsuperscript{115} One of the mosques was located in Gävle, 160 kilometers north of Stockholm.\textsuperscript{116} Abdullah had participated in Islamist training camps, including training of weapons in Iraq, and Berzengi admitted in trial that he collected money in Swedish mosques and sent it to Palestine, Chechnya, and Iraq. He later withdrew his statement.\textsuperscript{117} According to Säpo’s interrogation with Berzengi he socialized with Mustafa Ramadam who was part of a network affiliated with al Qaida which recruited fundamentalists for operations in Iraq. Before being killed in 2004 he had joined both Ansar al-Islam and al-Zarqawi’s network.\textsuperscript{118} According to Sageman, al-Zarqawi’s network is “part of the global jihad.”\textsuperscript{119} Berzengi taught in both Statshagen Mosque in Stockholm and in Uppsala Mosque and visited the Mosque in Rosengård, Malmö.\textsuperscript{120}

The Abdullah case shows that individuals from Sweden take part of military training abroad but not all actors join the troops in combat or out field operations. Shu’ayb Ali Hassan who is


\textsuperscript{114} “Fängelsedomar för finansiering av terrorism” (2010-07-28) Säkerhetspolisen \url{http://www.sakerhetspolisen.se/omsakerhetspolisen/aktuellahandelser20052010/fangelsedomarforfinansieringavterrorism.4.36d0632615d10d5bae8000138.html}

\textsuperscript{115} “Kiosken var en terrorbank” \textit{Sydsvenskan} (2006-02-12) \url{http://www.sydsvenskan.se/sverige/article141850/Kiosken-var-en-terrorbank.html}


\textsuperscript{117} Jonsson, Michael & Kärstrand, Klas ”Money Problems: Tackling terrorist financiers in Sweden” \textit{Janes Intelligence Review} February 2007, Vol 19, issue 2, pp 18-20; Stockholms Tingsrätt p. 27

\textsuperscript{118} K 036-04 Press2 Investigation on Ferman Jabbar Abdullah & Ali Kamal Berzengi, Säkerhetspolisen p. 150

\textsuperscript{119} Sageman (2004) p. 151

\textsuperscript{120} K 036-04 (Press) pp. 441, 479
connected to Rinkeby is an example of individuals who takes military training to the next level. Hassan joined al Shabaab’s forces in Mogadishu and was later killed in battle on July 2 2009.\footnote{Report of the Monitoring Group on Somalia Pursuant to Security Council resolution 1853 (2008) S/2010/91} 

\textit{The Internet} 


According to Roland Heickerö, Deputy Research Director at the Swedish Defence Research Agency (FOI), the Internet has become an important channel for recruitment and communication. He argues that it is an important tool for spreading information of potential targets.\footnote{Heickerö, Roland (2012) Internets mörka sidor: Om cyberhot och informationskrigföring. Atlantis, Stockholm p. 87} The English language magazine \textit{Inspire} which is published by al Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) is one of the major Islamist violence-promoting propaganda tools. In an issue from 2010 the Swedish cartoonist and editor Lars Vilks is mentioned as a target.\footnote{Inspire. Summer 2010, al-Malahem Media p. 20 http://azelin.files.wordpress.com/2010/06/aqap-inspire-magazine-volume-1-uncorrupted.pdf} Lars Vilks cartoon of the Prophet Mohammed was published in several newspapers in 2007 and provoked Muslims all over the world, and is similar to the controversy of Westergaards drawings in 2005.\footnote{“Misstänks för mordplaner på Lars Vilks” Sveriges Radio, Ekot (2011-12-19) http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=83&artikelid=4866134} Colleen R. Larose, a.k.a. “JihadJane”, recruited individuals on the Internet “to wage violent jihad
in South Asia and Europe”.\textsuperscript{130} According to the U.S. trial, Larose “desired to become a martyr in the name of Allah”\textsuperscript{131} and is believed to have planned to commit murder on Lars Vilks.\textsuperscript{132} An electronic communication interception revealed the plot when Larose was prompted to “go to Sweden … find a location of [Resident of Sweden, hereafter referred to as “RS#1”] … and kill him … this is what i say to u.” Larose answered: “i will make this my goal till i achieve it or die trying.”\textsuperscript{133}

**Fuad Mohammed Qalaf a.k.a. ‘Fuad Shangole’**

The empirical findings show that Swedish citizens have connection to al Shabaab in Somalia. In Norway in 2007 and 2008 a case of money collection and transfers to al Shabaab was detected. One of the recipients to the transfers was Swedish-Somali Fuad Muhammed Qalaf, a.k.a. ‘Fuad Shangole’.\textsuperscript{134} Shangole moved to Sweden in 1994 and was under the Security Service’s loupe while he was working at the mosque in Rinkeby. He supported the Islamists in Somalia during a longer period of time and received support from Swedes during his time in Somalia. Shangole lived in Sweden for 12 years and in 2006 he met a Somali delegation from Sweden who supported him financially.\textsuperscript{135} He was a “senior operational figure in al-Shabaab” and the delegation sent from Sweden links him to the social network in Sweden.\textsuperscript{136} Shangole was part of the qiyadah which is the top of the al Shabaabi hierarchy. Qiyadah is followed by muhajirin which are the foreign fighters, and at the bottom the Somali recruits is called ansar.\textsuperscript{137} Shangole is today expected to be the leader in Puntland in northeastern Somalia and have had a central role in both recruitment and training and according to a UN report his forces are heavily armed, and the report reveals that Shangole was active on internet forums where he reported and communicated with others, where part of the reporting was to present the successes of the armed struggle in Somalia.\textsuperscript{138}

**Mounir Awad**

A Swedish couple tried to escape the fighting in Ethiopia in 2007 and was arrested by Ethiopian authorities on suspicion of terrorism. The Swedish citizens Munir Awad and his fiancée, who is

\textsuperscript{130}The United States District Court, Eastern District of Pennsylvania (2010-03-04) “Colleen R. Larose” p. 2  

\textsuperscript{131}Ibid. p. 3

\textsuperscript{132}Ibid. p. 5

\textsuperscript{133}Ibid. p. 5

\textsuperscript{134}Taarnby & Hallundbaek (2010) p. 42

\textsuperscript{135}Vidino, Pantucci & Kohlmann (2010) p. 227; Taarnby & Hallundbaek (2010) p. 43

\textsuperscript{136}Howard & Hoffman (2012) p. 397


the daughter of the chairman of the Muslim Council of Sweden, were known by several intelligence services. His fiancé was later found together with Daniel Joseph Maldonado’s wife in Eastern Africa. Maldonado, a.k.a. ‘Daniel Aljunghaifi’, have according to the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) received military training with al Qaeda and the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) in Somalia. He converted to Islam and moved to the United States but later joined the jihad in Somalia and received training including how to handle explosives.139

In August 2009, the couple was arrested in Pakistan together with the Swede Mehdi Ghezali on suspicion of joining a terrorist meeting in Waziristan.140 Waziristan is often referred to as the lawless area in western Pakistan which has become the “new base for international terrorism”.141 Stockholm-born Ghezali had earlier been arrested in 2001 on the run from the Tora Bora Mountains in eastern Afghanistan, and now the Pakistani authorities claimed that they were trying to join al Qaeda. Awads fiancé was later released.142 Ghezali, who was sent to Guantanamo, was detained in a Pakistani prison and a military base outside Kandahar, and claim to have been tortured at Guantanamo prison.143 Another Swedish citizen arrested in the same area during the same period of time was a man named Sahbi Zalouti.144

Munir Awad is one of the men who were arrested for plotting an attack against the Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten in December 2010. In a Säpo press report after the arrest it is stated that “five individuals have been arrested on suspicion of preparation of terror-crime in Denmark”.145 According to Säpo, four of the men are resident in Sweden and three of them Swedish citizens.146 The prosecution against the men included illegal possession of weapons including a 9mm pistol, a machine gun, ammunition and a silencer.147 The plot included Munir Awad; Sahbi Zalouti who

140 Taarnby & Hallundbaek (2010) p. 43
144 “Terrorns ansikten” Aftonbladet (2010-12-31) http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article8351964.ab
145 “Fem personer gripna misstänkta för förberedelse till terroristbrott i Danmark” (auhtor’s translation) Säkerhetspolisen (2010-12-29)
146 Ibid.
was arrested in Pakistan in 2009; Mounir Dhahri; and Omar Abdalla Aboelazm.\textsuperscript{148} Sahbi Zalouti had been visited by the Tunisian Sami Bouras Bashir who in June 2004 was convicted in absentia in Tunisia but denies belonging to a terrorist group.\textsuperscript{149} The prosecution reveals that the men drove from Stockholm to Denmark but stopped in Jönköping where Zalouti went back to Stockholm. The others drove into Denmark where they could be arrested in an apartment and Zalouti was later arrested in Stockholm.\textsuperscript{150} The cell was not the first to plan an attack on the Danish news agency. The 2008 Mumbai terrorist David Headly was told by Ilyas Kashmiri to attack \textit{Jyllands-Posten} but was arrested by the FBI on October 3 2009 at O’Hare International Airport planning to travel to Pakistan.\textsuperscript{151}

Awad’s social network is quite interesting. He shared an apartment with two members of al Shabaab who was sentenced in Gothenburg Court on terrorism but was later released in higher instance.\textsuperscript{152} The two involved was Billé Ilias Mohamed and Mohamoud Jama, and the flat was according to \textit{Aftonbladet} of great importance for Säpo when mapping Swedish Islamist terrorists.\textsuperscript{153} According to the terrorism expert Magnus Ranstorp, both the Danish and Swedish intelligence and security services monitored Mohamed and Jama, and their social network has facilitated the services’ work.\textsuperscript{154} The network consisted of inter alia Billé Ilias Mohamed, Yassin Ismael Ahmed, Shuaib Ali Sheikh Mohamed, Mohamoud Jama, and Ali Yasin Ahmed.

During the trial a telephone list was presented where Zalouti have had telephone conversations with “Mr. F”.\textsuperscript{155} The connection is interesting because of “Mr. F’s” links to Mohammed Moumou which will be presented later.

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\textsuperscript{150} Statsadvokaten for Nordsjælland og Københavns Vestegn (2012-03-02) (Prosecution on Zalouti, Dhahri, Awad & Aboelazm)
\textsuperscript{152} "Stämpling till terroristbrott" Säkerhetspolisen (2011-09-26) http://www.sakerhetspolisen.se/omsakerhetspolisen/aktuallanmeldelser/20052010/stamplingtilterroristbrott.47a0b45e13205dee2b8000180.html
\textsuperscript{153} "Terrorbas – i Sverige" \textit{Aftonbladet} (2010-12-31) http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article12724200.ab
\textsuperscript{154} Ranstorp, Magnus ”Terrorist Awakening in Sweden” \textit{Combating Terrorism Center at West Point} (2011-01-01) http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/terrorist-awakening-in-sweden
\textsuperscript{155} Interview with Magnus Ranstorp who attended the trial in Copenhagen in April 2012 (April 2012)
\end{flushright}
Billé Ilias Mohammed & Mohamoud Jama

The cell is mainly based in Rinkeby but is a good example of the connections to terrorist groups abroad. One man in Rinkeby named Yassin Ismail Ahmed had contact with Billé Ilias Mohamed and Mohamoud Jama. Ahmed had given instructions to Jama and Mohammed on how to travel to Somalia. He was encouraging young Muslims in Rinkeby to join the troops in Somalia, and arranged trips for some of these youths. Ahmed can be connected to the Rinkeby mosque and its youth center “Kreativhuset” where he lectured and advocated jihadi ideology.\(^{156}\) This indicates that the social networks are important in bringing information on travel routes to later be able to join terrorist groups abroad.

The trial of Mohamed and Jama reveals that they invoked a violent-promoting message and strongly sympathize for al Shabaab and its statements.\(^{157}\) 23 year-old Jama came to Sweden at the age of two. He was earlier resident in Gothenburg before he moved to Stockholm. In Rinkeby he met Billé Ilias Mohamed and Yassin Ismael Ahmed.\(^{158}\) The evidence show that Jama was active on \(alqimmah.net\) both in Sweden and during his visit in Somalia, he had his own blog called on \(abumuminah.blogspot.se\), and he had written on \(islamicawakening.com\). He had propaganda videos on his computer and documents about the Mujahedin.\(^{159}\) According to the detention memorandum in 2010, Jama socialized with people who according to Säpo are seen as radical Islamists.\(^{160}\)

Billé Ilias Mohamed and Mohamoud Jama visited the Rinkeby mosque and lived together with “Mr. A.” in Rinkeby before traveling to Somalia. Jama also have connection to “Mr. D” who together have discussed Osama bin Laden. He is linked to al Shabaab member Ali Yasin Ahmed who was present at the attack on Fuad Mohamed Qalaf, and “Mr. E” that coordinated accommodations at Mr. A in Husby next to Rinkeby.\(^{161}\)

Ilias Mohammed has been subject for Säpo since 2008, and like Jama, Ilias Mohammed attended al Shabaab’s training camps in Somalia.\(^{162}\) He attended Koran school in Somalia and has met Shu’aïb Ali Sheik Mohammed in the Rinkeby mosque, and they later travelled together to Meckka in 2006.\(^{163}\) Shu’aïb was killed in battle in Somalia in 2009.\(^{164}\) Mohameds network is linked to Ali Yasin Ahmed; ‘A.W.’; Jama; Mr. A; and Yassin Ismael Ahmed.\(^{165}\)

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156 Baehr (2011) p. 33
157 Göteborgs Tingsrätt, Avdelning 4, Mål nr B 7277-10 (2010-12-08) Mohamoud Jama & Billé Ilias Mohamed p. 5
158 Ibid. pp. 8, 28, 86, 90
159 Göteborgs Tingsrätt pp. 28, 31, 52, 92, 102
160 ”Häktningspromemoria” (2010-05-18) (Diarienr. 0105-K095-09) Säkerhetspolisen
161 Ibid. pp. 18, 38, 49, 52 – 54
162 Ibid. pp. 8, 64, 68 – 69, 83, 102
163 Ibid. pp. 123, 142
Yassin Ismael Ahmed who, according to the trial, is a member of al Shabaab was the leader of the youth center in Rinkeby, and was a frequent visitor at alqimma.net. According to the trial, it is likely that he have been working as a contact for Swedish citizens who want to travel to Somalia and join al Shabaab. An official from the Counter-Terrorism Unit at Säpo argue that Yassin Ismael Ahmed was supporting a “violent-promoting message”.

When Jama arrived in Gothenburg from Somalia he was detained and interrogated by the Security Service. He admitted that he had joined al-Shabaab but was not involved in training with weapons or explosives, but received training in martial arts. However, the purpose of the trip was according to Jama to receive training in weapons. The interrogation reveals that Jama had met the suicide-bomber that attacked the Shamo Hotel in Mogadishu on December 3 2009. They have had conversations and met at least two times, and also been traveling in the same car. Jama had telephone conversations with Troy Matthew Kastigar from Minneapolis, USA, who in November 2008 traveled to Somalia to join al Shabaab. Kastigar, a Muslim convert, died together with three other men from Minneapolis “while fighting in Somalia between June and September 2009.” In addition, Jama borrowed money from a man named Wadman. It is not clear if Wadman is the same Wadman from Gothenburg who created alqimmab. Jama also visited the Bellevue Mosque in Gothenburg.

**Kassir, Moumou & Bektasevic**

Kassir, Moumou and Bektasevic are three individuals who have had international attention in respect to Islamist extremism and terrorism.

The Swedish citizen Oussama Abdullah Kassir was in 2009 convicted on all nine charge points in an American court in New York and received a sentence of life-time in prison. Kassir is born in Lebanon and lived in Stockholm before he went to set up a military training camp, a so-called ‘Jihad Training Camp’, in Oregon USA. He was found guilty on the charges of supporting terrorists including al Qaeda, and for spreading information of explosives and WMD’s. The trial reveals that Kassir trained individuals at a mosque on how to use weapons and he created at least


165 Göteborgs Tingsrätt pp. 10, 18, 31, 68 – 69, 78

166 Göteborgs Tingsrätt pp. 8 – 9, 54

167 Göteborgs Tingsrätt p. 163 (author’s translation of Malena Rembe)

168 "Häktningsspromemoria”

169 K 004-09 & K 095-09 pp. 614, 788


171 K 004-09 & K 095-09 p. 615

172 K 004-09 & K 095-09 p. 859
six websites where he published poison- and bomb making manuals. According to trial testimonies, Kassir received training in jihadi training camps in Pakistan. He conspired with Mustafa Kamel Mustafa, a.k.a. “Abu Hamza”, and Haroon Rashid Aswat. Hamza has been object of British investigations and accused of supporting the Taliban in 2001 and 2002. He is accused of facilitating the violent-promoting jihad in Afghanistan and a hostage-taking in Yemen in 1998. “Abu Hamza” and Aswat was part of the Oregon plot.

In 1998 Kassir met Kerim Chatty in Österaker prison north of Stockholm and “taught him Islamic lessons and prayers.” Chatty was arrested when boarding an airline at Västerås Airport heading to London while he was carrying a hand gun and was planning to attend an Islamic conference in Birmingham. According to a report from the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI), there was a suspicion that Chatty was going to hi-jack the aircraft and attack an American embassy in Europe. The FBI had been warned by an American flying instructor when he joined a flying school in South Carolina in 1996 and 1997, but did not hinder him.

al Qaida’s ‘second-in-command’ Mohammed Moumou, a.k.a. “Abu Qaswarah al-Maghrai”, “Talha al-Maghrai and “Abu Sara”, was attending mosques in Sweden. In a secret letter from the American consulate in Casablanca published by Wikileaks Moumou is mentioned together with “Mr. F”, who is linked to the current trial in Copenhagen. According to a UN Security Council publication the two were registered on the same address in central Stockholm. Moumou who became a Swedish citizen in 1994 visited the Brandbergen mosque which has been visited by Ahmed Essafi. Essafi, or ‘Safari’, is a Swedish citizen of Moroccan origin and had lived in Sweden for over 30 years before he was convicted in Morocco for violations of the terrorism

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173 United States Attorney, Southern District of New York (212) 637 2600 (2009-09-15) "Al Qaeda supporter and organizer of jihad training camp in Oregon sentenced in Manhattan Federal Court to life in prison”  
175 "Babar Ahmad and Abu Hamza among UK-held terror suspects” BBC News (2012-04-10)  
http://m.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-17662054  
176 Mickolus & Simmons (2011) p. 61  
177 Kjok, Åshild (2004/01682) Motiver for terroranslag mot Norsk oljevirksomhet, FFI Report,  
http://www.ffi.no/no/Rapporter/04-01682.pdf  
178 “FBI warned about Chatty” The Sun (2007-07-30)  
179 Siegel (2008)  
180 Wikileaks (2006-05-26)  
http://wikileaks.org/cable/2006/05/06CASABLANCA576.html  
essafri was a member of the tetuan cell in morocco and had been recruiting volunteers to Iraq. in a såpo press report after the death of 43 year-old moumou it is stated that he conducted support from sweden to terrorism activities in iraq, afghanistan and north africa. moumou was suspected to be the ring-leader of “a violent-promoting Islamist network in sweden” and was earlier known by the swedish security service. this is as well confirmed by the u.s. military who states that moumou attended training camps in pakistan and afghanistan. moumou was a central figure in al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) and had the task to coordinate operations and transfer terrorists to the northern parts of Iraq. When he was injured by american forces moumou detonated his suicide-belt/vest which resulted in the casualties of three women and three children.

Moumou is not the only person who has supported al Qaeda in Iraq. In March 2007 a 25 year-old moroccan citizen was arrested together with a jordanian citizen by swedish authorities in Märsta north of stockholm. 25 year-old Abdelali Miftah was wanted by moroccan authorities and was later sentenced to four years in prison together with two others for financing a terrorist organization and supporting al Qaeda in Iraq. There are indications that moumou was a friend to makram bin salem al-majri, a.k.a. Abu Mu'aaz. The swedish clerk joined al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) in 2007 and later became a martyr when he detonated his suicide bomb in Mosul in 2010.

Mirsad Bektasevic, a.k.a. ‘Maximus’, was sentenced to prison by the Court of Bosnia & Herzegovina in 2007. He could be arrested through the interception of his cell phone which

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184 “Svensk man anslöt sig till al-Qaida i Irak och dödades” (2010-07-28) (authors translation) Säkerhetspolisen
185 “Al Qaeda in Iraq's second in command was a Swedish citizen” Longwar Journal (2008-10-16) http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2008/10/al_qaeda_in_iraq_sc.php#ixzz1InfxSnVc
186 Siegel (2008)
187 “Al Qaeda in Iraq's second in command was a Swedish citizen”; Siegel (2008)
revealed his connection to a man named Younis Tsouli.\textsuperscript{191} Bektasevic had travelled from Gothenburg where he lived to Sarajevo and acquired weapons and explosives. The communication with Younis Tsouli, a.k.a. ‘Irhabi 007’ or ‘Terrorist 007’ was both via email and telephone conversations and according to Peter Clarke, Head of the Metropolitan Police Counter Terrorism Command (SO15), Tsouli had connections to central parts of al Qaeda.\textsuperscript{192} Bektasevic was affiliated with Abdulkadir Cecur who lived in a Copenhagen suburb who together plotted a terrorist attack in Bosnia or perhaps other European countries.\textsuperscript{193} According to the trial, Bektasevic and Cecur possessed 19,842 grams of explosives, a suicide belt, and a pistol.\textsuperscript{194}

\textbf{Rouine}

Al-Azhar ben Khalifa ben Ahmed Rouine was member of a terrorist cell located in Italy. According to the UN who listed him in November 2003 as an al Qaeda associate, Rouine was supporting Ansar al-Islam and “provided Al-Qaïda supporters in Malaysia with forged documents and recruited individuals in Sweden to join terrorist training camps, mainly in Iraq.”\textsuperscript{195} He was arrested in 2002 by Italian authorities and was later deported to Tunisia in 2006.

\textbf{The Social Network}

The analysis of the individuals shows that many of them have a relationship and form a social network. The web of nodes and cells consist of individuals who are resident in Sweden, and Swedish mosques and Internet forums have worked as a tool of communication. In addition, there are foreign actors who have visited Swedish mosques and Swedish citizens have links to networks that are seen as part of the global jihad. It is not a crime to visit Mosques but becomes interesting when several extremists and terrorists visit the same Mosques, and the author does not know if the leaders in the Mosques are aware of whom the participants are. However, the nodes in the network do not show the density of relationship between the actors which may vary. Some of these individuals form cells within the network which is an indicator that social relationship may be an important variable in radicalization processes. It is likely that there are more links between the actors than what is known to the author. In respect to research ethics,


\textsuperscript{193} Taarnby (2006) p. 44

\textsuperscript{194} Court of Bosnia & Herzegovina (BiH) Number: X-K-06/190 (2007-01-10) Mirsad Bektasevic, Abdulkadir Cesur, Bajro Ikanovic and Senad Hasanovic p. 3

\textsuperscript{195} QI.R.150.03. al-Azhar ben Khalifa ben Ahmed Rouine 1267/1989 Security Council Committee pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1989 (2011) concerning al-Qaeda and associated individuals and entities. \hfill \textsuperscript{196} http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7191248.stm

\url{http://www.un.org/sc/committees/1267/NSQI15003E.shtml}
there are individuals that consciously not have been part of the analysis but who may be part of the social network.

The social network emerged through the empirical analysis is presented in the figure on next page.
Figure 3. The social network of individuals that are connected to Sweden and violent or violent promoting Islamist extremism. All of these individuals are not subject of violent or violent-promoting Islamist extremism but part of the analysis because of a more-or-less affiliation with Islamist extremist.
5.2. The Social Network as part of a broader Social Movement

It is not evident that all individuals in the network are part of the global jihad but some of the nodes are connected to terrorist groups and networks that are part of a worldwide social movement. In the case of Swedish violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremism there are empirical findings that can connect individuals and groups to the global jihad.

The New Social Movement theory claims that solidarity, identity, participation and collective actions are the characterizing variables in New Social Movements. To analyze if the individuals in the network are part of a global jihad it is necessary to find evidence that they sympathize with the social movement and take some kind of action. The above analysis have showed that part of the social network in Sweden sympathize and have taken actions. In this part of analysis the author presents motives and statements that can enhance the connection between individuals in the network and the global jihad.

The Bellevue Mosque speech – Identity, Mobilization and Collective Action

Hassan Mahad Omar who visited the Bellevue mosque in Gothenburg in July 2009 together with Yassin Baynah and Umar Shukri was active on alqimma.net, recruited members to al Shabaab in Sweden, and clearly sympathize for the jihad. In a ceremony on February 4 2008 Omar stated that:

Funding the Jihad is an individual duty for every Muslim. If you cannot physically join the Jihad, then it is mandatory that you finance it. The small amounts of money collected from you for the Jihad are not donations for charity but an individual duty incumbent upon you. It is mandatory unlike the funds of alms collected for the Mujahidin. If the funds of alms for the Mujahidin become insufficient, then it is permitted to forcefully collect more funds. It is also permitted to shoot any obstructionist with five bullets.196

Omar’s statement is a good evidence of how individuals in the Swedish mosques are a part of the global jihad and it shows the importance of finance but also the legitimization of violence. Connecting to the social movement do not necessary mean to physically attend the social movement but to support them financially and/or practically, and take part of the propaganda apparatus. According to Michael Jonsson who studied the financing of terrorism, the number of frozen assets has increased since September 11 2001 but there are legal difficulties to prosecute

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suspects of financing.\textsuperscript{197} There are indications that the networks in Sweden are part of the global social movement of jihad but also to other “national” networks. According to a UN report from 2011 there are connections to Sweden and the Somali diaspora who support recruiting and radicalization abroad.\textsuperscript{198} The links between the Swedish network and foreign terror groups and the global jihad might be evident but it is difficult to prosecute and sentence these individuals in Sweden, and the prosecution often fails in evidencing the finance.\textsuperscript{199} In February 2008 six Somali immigrants were arrested on suspicion of financing terrorism. Three of the men held resident in Sweden and the other three in Norway on suspicion of financing terrorist groups in Somalia and only one was sentenced. The organization Sanabil al-Aqsa in Malmö in southern Sweden has been suspected of collecting and sending money to Palestinian Hamas. In May 2003 the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs received a letter from American authorities who wanted al-Aqsa’s assets to be “frozen”. One of its members was arrested in November 2006 on suspicion on financing terrorism and the U.S. wish for frozen assets was later accomplished.\textsuperscript{200}

The speech in the Bellevue Mosque show the cultural identity saying “[f]unding the Jihad is an individual duty for every Muslim”, and it is “not donations for charity but an individual duty”. It is an opposition to social norms saying “it is also permitted to shoot any obstructionist with five bullets”, which is an evidence of a violence-promoting message. The fact that the speech was held in a Swedish mosque shows that there is an aim from certain Imams to mobilize Muslims and take collective actions. It is important to say that these types of speeches by visiting Imams have been subject of critique by the Muslim community.

The diaspora financing and aid is not necessary illegal or part of terrorism financing, and could be seen as a cultural behavior and support to relatives in their origin country. According to a UN report an official at the Eritrean embassy in Stockholm is responsible for collecting taxes from the diaspora in Sweden. This might not be illegal but the money is sent to the same government who was subject of UN sanctions in 2009 because of Eritrean support to anti-Ethiopian Islamists in Somalia.\textsuperscript{201} This means that collecting money in Sweden and aid relatives abroad can be seen as a cultural tradition and it would be a false claim to state that funding is an evidence of supporting

\textsuperscript{197} Jonsson, Michael "Countering Terrorist Financing: Successes and Setbacks in the Years Since 9/11" (2010-06-03) Combating Terrorism Center at West Point http://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/countering-terrorist-financing-successes-and-setbacks-in-the-years-since-911
\textsuperscript{199} Taarnby & Hallundback (2010) p. 44
\textsuperscript{200} Jonsson & Kärrstrand (2007) p. 20; ”USA begär att palestinsk stiftelses tillgångar frýses” Aftonbladet (2003-05-30) http://www.aftonbladet.se/vss/telegram/0,1082,61886669_852_p_o,00.html
the global jihad. Nevertheless, the speech at the Bellevue Mosque is an example of connection to the global jihad and the mobilization to support the global jihad and the Mujahedin can be an example of how the ideology determines what collective actions that are taken. Wiktorowicz argue that networks and social movement communities outside the official organization are of great importance and the Bellevue speech shows that his hypothesis is adequate.

**Bektasevic – Defending the Brothers and Attacking Europe**

Mirsad Bektasevic who was arrested in Sarajevo in 2005 was plotting an attack on Europe to affect European policies and a withdrawal of European troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. This can be seen as taking part of the policies of the global Jihadi movement. One of the evidences from the investigation was an audio recording of Bektasevic:

> Allah-u-Ekber. Here, the brothers are preparing for attacks. They are showing us the stuff they are going to use for the attack. These brothers are ready to attack and, inshallah, they will attack Al-Qufar who are killing our brothers and Muslims in Iraq, Afghanistan, Shishan and many other countries. These weapons are going to be used against Europe, against those whose forces are in Iraq and in Afghanistan. These two brothers, they sold their lives to please Allah, to help their brothers and sisters. They are Muslims. Their hours are coming. They are ready to attack, so don’t, don’t think that we have forgotten you. We are here and we are planning and we have everything ready. This is a massage to you.

In respect to the NSM theory, the statement is a great evidence of solidarity to Bektasevic Muslim brothers and takes action to defend the Muslim cultural identity. Gentry argue that the social movement shares and opponent which in this case is the European states that are present in Iraq and Afghanistan. Bektasevic’ statement and action is not an action of defending a state, but an action to defend Muslims from European troops in Iraq and Afghanistan. The recording shows that Bektasevic is defending the cultural identity from the “kuffar” (unbelievers) and take action through terrorism acts.

**Taimour Abdulwahab al-Abdaly – Response from the Global Jihad**

According to Gentry, the theorist cannot analyze each actor separately but have to understand the social and historical contexts. A social and historical context would be Western troops in Muslim countries where Muslims react on an occupation, as the Bektasevic case. One way of reacting is through the Internet, which is an important tool in communicating and spreading the word of global jihad. *Inspire* and *alqimmah* are two forums that have been mentioned in the

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202 Taarnby (2006) p. 44
203 Court of Bosnia & Herzegovina p.3
analysis that both have connections to Sweden. In the 2010 winter number of Inspire the Swedish suicide bomber is described as a hero and it is stated that the Swedish government should revise its policies.\textsuperscript{204} Next to the picture of Taimour Abdulwahab al-Abdaly it is written “we need more like him”. It is also stated:

   Living a comfortable life, and married with children didn’t stop Taimour Abdulwahab al-Abdaly from responding to the call of Jihad. He conducted a martyrdom operation in Stockholm, Sweden, shaking up the entire EU. The iron fist of jihad is more apparent than ever in the midst of the kuffar. This is now the second operation within a month inside Europe. May Allah accept our brother as a shaheed.\textsuperscript{205}

The suicide-bombing in Stockholm in 2010 was quite a surprise because Säpo had in 2010 written in a report that only a few individuals in Europe are supporting violent actions, and Usama bin Laden specifically mentioned Sweden as a non-target in 2004.\textsuperscript{206} The statement from Inspire is a great evidence that al-Abdaly was part of the global jihad and puts him in a larger context of collective action. His sympathy and solidarity towards al Qaeda and the global jihad is respected by the social movement stating he responded to the call of jihad. Gentry argue that the ideology determines how networks should behave to a broader social movement and one al Qaeda tactic is suicide bombing. It is however unclear how al-Abdaly’s network is built and the investigation is not yet finished but there is a connection to Lorton, U.K., where he had lived.\textsuperscript{207} The audio-recording sent to TT from al-Abdaly on December 11 2010:

   Thanks to Lars Vilks and his paintings of Prophet Mohammed and your soldiers in Afghanistan and your silence before all of this, your children, daughters and brothers are going to die just like our brothers, sisters and children die.\textsuperscript{208}

al-Abdaly’s response to the Swedish presence of troops in Afghanistan and Lars Vilks paintings of Prophet Mohammed resulted in a suicide-attack and his action which was reported in Inspire is an example of how Swedish individuals are connected to the global jihad. Paintings of Prophet Mohammed are controversial and according to individuals in the network an insult of the culture they embrace.

\textsuperscript{205} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{207} “Sweden suicide bomber’s British connections under investigation” The Guardian (2010-12-13)
\textsuperscript{208} Hegghammer, Thomas “Trender og utviklingsstrekk i internasjonal terrorisme etter 11. september 2001” Presentasjon for 22. juli-kommisjonsen, (2012-01-17) Forsvarets forskningsinstitutt (FFI) p. 18
Wadman – The Internet as collective action

Another man engaging in the global jihad is Lennart Wadman who is affiliated with alqimmah. Wadman stated on a website:

May Allah help us to annihilate the enemies of Islam and to terror these scum. The battles in Indonesia, Kashmir, Chechnya, Palestine, and the Arabian Peninsula are decreasing and four British have been blown up in their cars by brothers with a good heart. They have nothing in the holy land to do.209

The statement seen from a NSM perspective reveals his engagement in the social movement. First, he invokes the enemies of Islam as scum that should be terrorized which is an evidence of cultural identity as stakes in conflict. What is asked for is a collective action since participation is a key in new social movements. Second, the opponent is the British who have had troops in “the Holy Land”. This could be related to Inspire’s statement about al-Abdaly where the social movement had their vengeance. The statements published on websites are a great example of the importance of the Internet in recruiting and propagating. Peter Neuman argues that “[a]ll the real-world participant in the Islamist militant movement […] are represented on the Internet”210 and Wadman’s statement together with the Inspire magazine shows that the Internet can be a communication tool between the social network and the movement. Several of the individuals in the network have been visiting and writing at alqimmah.

Billé Ilias Mohamed & Mohamoud Jama

In a secret wiretapping by Säpo on Billé Ilias Mohamed he states that “[…] if Shabaab is saying that they will lead us with the message of God, I am a supporter of them.”211

Jama states in the interrogations in respect to al Shabaab training camps in Somalia:

The purpose is that they should have the same opinion about al-Shabab and the conviction they have is to fight occupation states, nevertheless where they are. Countries like Afghanistan, Israel, and similar countries should be fight against. The aim is to eventually do the Jihad.212

209 Appendix 1. Translation of Wadman’s statement. ”Kristna och judar ska dö” Aftonbladet (2004-06-01) http://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/article214460.ab
211 K 004-09 & K 095-09 p. 586 (author’s translation)
212 K 004-09 & K 095-09 p. 620
al Shabaab is part of the global jihad and Bille and Jama’s statements show their sympathy for al Shabaab and the jihad. The two are central actors in the network and they both have socialized with a person who is or has been object for terrorism.

**Abdullah & Berzengi**

According to the trial, Abdullah stated that US troops conducts terroristic activities and the people have the right to defend their self. 213 He also had relatives who were killed by US troops in 2003, and Abdullah was aware of that the money sent to Ansar al-Islam was for the fight against USA. 214

Abdullah and Berzengi visited several mosques in Sweden to collect money and according to the witness interrogations from the trial their actions also affected the local Imams. In the Gävle Mosque the local Imam prayed for those who were attempting to perform a suicide attack against US troops, and collected money for those who had accomplished attacks in Iraq. 215 According to the Security Service investigation Abdullah had collaborated with and had contact with a number of Ansar al-Islam affiliates. 216

Abdullah & Berzengi’s collective actions are in particular financial aid from Sweden to abroad but Berzengi’s link to Mustafa Ramadam and Abdullah’s presence at a training camp in Iraq makes them, to some extent, a part of the global jihad.

**The Jyllands-Posten Plot**

The Danish cartoonist Kurt Westergaard drawings of the Prophet made al Shabaab affiliated Mohamed Gelle to try to kill him. In an interview in *The Time*, al Shabaab’s spokesperson Sheik Mukhtar Robow said Gelle was a “hero to all Muslims” 217 and “we are very sad that the mission failed” 218. Robow’s statement that Gelle was a “hero to all Muslims” legitimizes the attack and enhances the connection to the global jihad.

Dhahri, Awad, Zalouti and Aboelazm who are prosecuted of planning to attack *Jyllands-Posten* in Copenhagen are to some extent linked to the global jihad. Zalouti and Awad was arrested in 2009

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213 Stockholms Tingsrätt p. 27
214 Ibid. pp. 28, 36
215 Ibid. p. 47
216 K 036-04 (Press2) Investigation on Ferman Jabbar Abdulla & Ali Kamal Berzengi (case B 2965-04) Säkerhetspolisen p. 149
218 Ibid.
in Pakistan but released. The plot can be seen in the light of earlier attempts to attack the Danish newspaper and its cartoonists who insulted their cultural identity.

**Abu Mu‘az**

Abu Mu‘az who committed a suicide attack in Mosul in 2010 was hailed by al Qaida saying that “may God take him to paradise”. In an interview with his wife in the Swedish magazine *Neo* Mua’az joined al Qaeda to protect Muslims from being killed when foreign states are attacking them. His wife states that “the only thing he wanted to do was to help other Muslims” and that “it is part of our religion”.

### 5.3. Summary

The results of the empirical analysis of the social network in Sweden show that parts of the network is connected to the broader social movement of global jihad. A lot of the results indicate that the network is important in getting in contact to the social movement and terrorist groups abroad. According to the former Senior Analyst at Säpo, Malena Rembe, it is vital to have contacts to join terrorist groups and it is not possible to just to travel to foreign countries and ask for permission to join.

The social network in Sweden is loose but several individuals have met each other and are linked to extremists and terrorists abroad. della Porta’s argument that the ideology determines how the networks should behave corresponds with some of the actors but not all. Inspire’s statement that Vilks is a target and the Stockholm suicide-bomber is a hero can be seen as a case where the ideology and social movement determines what actions should be taken. Gentry’s key concepts with solidarity, cultural identity, mobilization and collective action show that some of the individuals in the network are part of the global jihad.

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219 “Flerbarnsmamman Annas man låg bakom självmordsattack I Irak”
221 ”Självmordsprat väckte ilska” *Sveriges Television* (2010-11-16) [http://svt.se/svt/jsp/Crosslink.jsp?d=22577&a=2236727&queryArt549588=Sk%E4rpta+krav+p%E5+psyk+6mda+f6resl%E5s&sortOrder549588=0&doneSearch=true&sd=22634&from=siteSearch&pageArt549588=94](http://svt.se/svt/jsp/Crosslink.jsp?d=22577&a=2236727&queryArt549588=Sk%E4rpta+krav+p%E5+psyk+6mda+f6resl%E5s&sortOrder549588=0&doneSearch=true&sd=22634&from=siteSearch&pageArt549588=94)
6. Conclusion

6.1. Conclusion

The investigation on the Stockholm suicide-bomber is not yet finished and it is unclear whether Taimour Abdulwahab al-Abdaly can be seen as part of the Swedish network. However, his statement to the news agency TT and the Swedish Security Service together with Inspire’s statement can be seen as a case of new social movement.

Earlier research on violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremism in respect to Sweden is lacking and the author’s aim has been to contribute to the understanding and knowledge about the phenomenon. A working hypothesis in the study has been that there is a social network of violent and violence-promoting extremists in Sweden which is connected to a social movement, the Global Jihad. Can the case be seen as a case of new social movement?

The first research question on who is part of the Swedish network of violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremism can tell us approximately how many are involved in this type of activity and to some extent how they are connected to the network. The structure of the network shows that it consists of cells and individuals who support terrorist groups abroad by practical and financial aid. The network is very loose and there is a variety of how strong every connection is. Some of the individuals in the network live or have lived together while others have visited the same mosques or internet forums. It is evident that there are cells within the network which have a stronger connection to each other.

The second research question asked was if the social network can be seen as a case of new social movement. Through the framework of new social movement theory the author have analyzed the participants in the network and how they connect to the global jihad. On both a local and global level the participants in the network mobilize and organize overseas and join groups that can be seen as part of the global jihad. Some of the participants in the Swedish network take collective action and attack targets that are stated by the global jihad. The results can be seen as both a bottom-up and a top-down approach where there is an interaction between the individuals in the social network in Sweden and the global jihad.

The conclusion of the analysis is that the social network in Sweden is partially connected to a broader social movement. The social network is based in Sweden but should not be seen as a domestic network, but instead as a part of a global network. The link between the network and the movement consists of communication through internet and individuals who join terrorist
groups abroad. In the analysis it is stated that individuals from the global movement have come to Sweden and propagated and recruited members to join conflicts in the Middle East and the Horn of Africa. The “Swedish network” should be seen in the light of the globalization process where individuals, groups and networks are connected on a global level and take advantage of the Internet. To some extent, the individuals can be seen as part of a loose ‘periphery’ network where some of the actors are more active in the global jihad than others.

The New Social Movement theory show that the participants of the social network in Sweden are connected to the social movement of jihad but the analysis show that not all participants are linked to the global jihad. Many of the individuals have a social relationship to each other and create a social network. What the analysis showed was that several of the individuals in the network have supported the message of the global jihad in different ways. The result is that the actors are joining terrorist groups that are seen as part of the global jihad, some support these groups financially, other joins them and commit attacks. It is also evident that individuals in Sweden have recruited participants to terrorist groups abroad.

The results of this study also show the link between the micro and the macro, meaning that networks in Sweden are connected to the global social movement of jihad. However, one should not judge all alike since the network consists of individuals with different preferences and conditions. As pointed out in the background chapter the understanding of a potential problem will increase if studied by different approaches and perspectives, and the author have only been able to help to fill the gap on the case of Swedish Islamist extremism and terrorism and how it is linked to the global jihad.

The results are that there is a loose Swedish network of violent and violence-promoting Islamists extremism but it should not only be seen as a ‘Swedish’ network. Several, but not all, individuals in the social network have links the social movement. However, the social network cannot be seen as a case of new social movement but instead a “semi-case” of social movement.

### 6.2. Concluding Remarks and Discussion

What does it mean that a part of the social network in Sweden is linked to the global jihad? In a governmental agency way of answering the question would be that the potential threat cannot be completely countered or prevented on a local and national level since it is largely a global phenomenon. As an academic in political science, the connection between the Swedish network
and the global jihad is interesting in many ways. The analysis shows that the individuals involved in terrorism and extremism have an ideological and/or religious agenda but there is also other evidence that can be connected to the study of radicalization and root causes of terrorism. Many of the individuals in the analysis can be linked to conflict zones, ‘weak’ or ‘failed’ states, but several of them have their occupation in the suburbs of Stockholm and Gothenburg which to a certain extent are affected by unemployment and other social-economic issues. When discussing root causes and resilience the author’s view is that extremism has to be prevented through a broad response from government, security service, police, education, social services but also through a discussion with leaders and organizations where extremism occur. Clash of identities or cultures can not only be blamed on extremists and the whole society has to offset long-term socio-economic conditions and counteract inequality, exclusion, polarization, humiliation and violence.

It is not remarkable that individual extremists and sometimes terrorists together form a social network. Their common beliefs, identity and culture make them do collective actions, sometimes as financial aid and in the worst cases as political violence. A subjective opinion after having analyzed the social network is that religion does not tend to be the driving force but instead sympathy for compatriots and a need for collective action to defend compatriots from foreign forces. An important and interesting result of the empirics studied which is not part of the analysis is that several of the individuals have a criminal record of “small crimes” and a psycho-social background that may have affected their choice of action.

The examination is interesting both for the academic study of extremism and terrorism but also for agency officials and politicians working with these types of issue. Previous research on extremism and terrorism is inter-disciplinary and the author’s aim has been to provide new academic research to the field of political science and security studies but in addition to academics from other disciplines of social science who conduct research on radicalization, extremism, terrorism and political violence.

### 6.3. Further Research

Since 2001 the study of especially Islamist terrorism and extremism has increased and there are many intellectual scholars from all over the world trying to understand the phenomenon. Lessons-learned from this study is that there is a lot of research that is focusing on threat
assessments and not how to understand extremism and political violence as a social group or movement of individuals.

There are Swedish citizens that have been sentenced on terror crime in several states but also suspects who have been held behind bars in Guantanamo without a trial. Terrorism is a crime and therefore a judiciary and democratic issue, and more research is needed on the cases where terror suspects are jailed by democratic states that turn a blind eye on international law and human rights.

A lot of the data collected have not been presented in the analysis because of irrelevance to the research question or unethical to include in the analysis. The research has mainly been based on violent and violence-promoting Islamist extremism that in different ways are connected to terrorism. Other types of terrorism with connection to Sweden are interesting. In a UN document the Monitoring Group on Somalia and Eritrea report that there are links between piracy in Somalia and individuals in Sweden.222

The research shows that there is a loose social network in Sweden where individuals of the network is linked to the global jihad. The next step for other academics to take is to understand why these individuals are radicalized. Is there any theoretical model, theory or framework that is suitable on the case of Swedish individuals? Both in political science and the spectrum of social science more research is needed on how the radicalization process looks like and how to prevent individuals from becoming extremists. A theoretical development of social movement theory is needed to understand the fragmentation of extremist and terrorist groups. However, the result of this study could be applied to develop the theoretical framework by adding new variables that are significant in the case of Swedish Islamist extremism. Solidarity, cultural identity, mobilization and collective action are important variables. In addition, psychological variables on an actor level would be an interesting complement to the ones applied in this study.

Is the case of Sweden different from other societies? A comparative study of the Swedish network and other networks would be interesting to examine. The results of that type of examination would help researchers to understand why individuals becomes radicalized and what counter-measures are effective.

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222 Letter dated 18 July 2011 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee pursuant to resolutions 751 (1992) and 1907 (2009) concerning Somalia and Eritrea addressed to the President of the Security Council UN Security Council (S/2011/433) s. 26, 224
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The Swedish Connection

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2012


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Appendix

Original texts in Swedish from the investigation by Säpo on Billé Ilias Mohamed and Mohamoud Jama

"Om Shabaab säger att de leder oss med Guds budskap jag är [sic] anhängare av de.” (586)

"Syftet är att de ska ha samma åsikter som Al-Shabaab och den övertygelsen som de har är att man ska slåss mot alla ockupationsmakter oaktat var någonstans de befinner sig. Så länder som Afghanistan, Israel och liknande är sådana länder som man ska fightas emot. Syftet är så småningom att man ska göra sin Jihad.”
(620)

K-number: 0105-K095-10 and 0105-K004-09 (Säpo’s investigation before the trial of Mohamed and Jama B 7277-10)

Original texts in Swedish on the statement by Lennart Wadman, a.k.a. ”Usama al-Swede”

"Dessa judar är inget annat än blodtörstiga mördare, som hatar muslimer och islam precis som judarnas bästa vänner Arafat och Hosni Mubarak (Egyptens president)! (...) Må allah hjälpa oss att förinta islam’s fiender och att sätta skräck i dessa avskum. Striderna baka ökar i Indonesien, Kashmir, Tjetjenien, Palestina och Arabiska halvön där sammanlagt fyra brittiska sprängts i sina bilar av bröder med ett bra hjärta. Dom har inget i det heliga landet att göra".

Usama den svenske driver hemsidan ansarshariah, organ för Supporter of sharia in Sweden. Även på sajten uttrycks stöd för självmordsbombare.

"Det är inget att dölja att säga att vi står stark bakom trovärdiga lärda och olika grupper av mujahedin. Med deras liv har dom kämpat för att försvara shariah och blivit martyrer."

"Kristna och judar ska dö” Aftonbladet (2004-06-01)
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