

# “The Path of Dreams”: Breivik, Music, and Neo-Nazi Skinheadism

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*What was your relationship with the so-called neo-Nazis, skinheads and right wing people at that time?*

*It was simple. They loved metal and we loved hip-hop. Being into the very small right wing community or the larger mainstream rock community meant Goth girls and hard rock. I disliked both. [...] The big irony is that [those in the right-wing community] were a lot more 'normal' than us during this period. They were peaceful while we were violent. They followed the law and rules while we broke the law and ignored the rules again and again. At the same time, the hip-hop community was cheered by the media, praised as the pinnacle of tolerance among the new generation, while THEY were condemned for their political views, systematically harassed and beaten by non-white gangs, extremist Marxist gangs (Blitz etc) and the police. It's quite ironic and shameful (Breivik, 2011, p. 1391).*

**T**he quote above comes from Anders Behring Breivik's manifesto *2083: A European declaration of independence* (henceforth 2083). Breivik published the 1500+-page manifesto online on July 22, 2011—just hours before detonating a bomb in central Oslo and embarking on a shooting spree at a youth camp on the island of Utøya. In this section of the manifesto, the author interviews himself about his teenage years in mid-1990s west Oslo, a time when he first grew critical of immigration. The young Breivik was

not alone in his newfound convictions. Rather, he shared these views with members of an expanding transnational youth subculture. Neo-Nazi skinheadism exploded across the western world during the 1980s and 1990s (Hebdige, 1988; Mercer, 1994; Brown, 2004), providing an organizational and expressive platform for young whites to lash out at minority groups and leftism. Likewise, the skinheads who dotted the social landscape of Breivik's youth presented him an opportunity to establish fellowship and solidarity with others who shared his opposition to immigration and multiculturalism.

But Breivik declined to associate with this subculture, first as a teenager, and even later as his views grew increasingly fanatical. He would come to identify as a nationalist—a heading which in Scandinavia often encompasses widely divergent forms of anti-immigrant ideology, including National Socialism (Teitelbaum, 2013). In his manifesto, however, he would cite fundamental differences between himself and the neo-Nazi skinhead movement, claiming that less than 5 % of the “hardcore white supremacist” community would be receptive to his message (2011, p. 673). He disagreed with the latter's celebration of Hitler, as well as their insistence on the importance of race. Breivik described himself as a supporter of Jews and Israel, and he renounced ethnonationalism—the belief that membership in national communities hinged upon race or ethnicity (2011, p. 1435, p. 1170). Instead he claimed to be a cultural nationalist, an activist who opposed multiculturalism, immigration, and Islam based on the threat these forces posed to the cultural (rather than ethnic) integrity of Norway and Europe more broadly.

His disinclination towards neo-Nazi skinheadism was not exclusively ideological, however. Rather, in statements like that above, Breivik emphasized cultural differences between himself and skinheads. He writes disparagingly about their fashion and portrays them as naïve, uneducated, and brutish.<sup>1</sup> But his main criticism of this culture regards its musical practices. The expansion of neo-Nazi skinheadism was predicated on the rise of a new music genre: white power. Lyrics to white power music typically described contempt and hatred for Jews and non-whites, admiration for historical National Socialism, pride in a national ethnic or transnational racial community, and hope for violent revolution against an allegedly anti-white political establishment. Additionally, nearly all radical nationalist music produced

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1 See also Breivik (2011, p. 1379).

during the early 1990s was punk or heavy metal; loud, charging music often with screamed vocals.

It was a music style, further, that the teenage Breivik loathed. Indeed, he presents his aversion towards hard rock as evidence of his distance from the neo-Nazi scene.<sup>2</sup> Breivik was at the time a breakdance connoisseur and notorious graffiti artist. Despite his political leanings, his musical instincts led him to align with the far left and ethnically diverse hip hop community. Though he would later condemn hip hop, he never developed an appreciation for rock.

Breivik thus opposed both the content and the forms of neo-Nazi skinhead activism. Or so he would have us believe. While Breivik's distaste for rock music and the culture of skinheadism was enduring, a close reading of his manifesto shows his rejection of anti-Semitism, ethnonationalism, and even neo-Nazism to be disingenuous—products of a propaganda effort to ensure that mainstream readers would consider his appeals (see Teitelbaum, 2014b). He writes plainly regarding ethnonationalism,

[E]ven though ethnicity and race still is relevant, it is not in our best interest to talk about it. If we do, we are only increasing the risk of destroying our own credibility which is lethal for individuals aspiring to reach a large audience (2011, p. 665–666).

In other words, he endorsed some of radical white nationalism's most incendiary ideals, but decided not to express them for fear of increased social stigmatization.

Breivik's musical practices encapsulate his divided posture towards neo-Nazism—a posture that embraces the agenda of contemporary revolutionary white separatism while rejecting its attendant subculture. Breivik writes about music on multiple occasions in his manifesto, discussing, among other topics, musicians and songs that inspired and sustained him while preparing for his 2011 attack. He devotes most of this commentary to Saga—a nationalist female singer from Sweden with whom I have had extensive contact as an ethnographer (Teitelbaum 2013, 2014a, see also Turner-Graham, 2012 and Stroud, 2013). Saga began her career during the turn of the twenty-first century as a backup singer for the Swedish white power band Pluton Svea and as vocal soloist in the thrash metal act Symphony of Sorrow. She first achieved international fame, however, when she recorded three albums

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2 See Breivik (2011, p. 1388) in addition to the quote above.

covering the songs of flagship British white power band Skrewdriver and its deceased leader Ian Stuart Donaldson.

Though she is one of the most celebrated musicians in the contemporary white ethnonationalist and neo-Nazi world, her output diverges from the prevailing musical models in this scene. Saga's singing style has always been polished and full voiced—a marked contrast to the screamed vocals standard in white power. She avoids texts that explicitly demonize minority groups or call for violence.<sup>3</sup> Finally, though she began her career producing heavy metal, her chosen instrumental backing has gradually moved towards a new genre with catchy guitar riffs, atmospheric synthesizer, and r&b beats—a genre of her own that she calls “freedom pop.”<sup>4</sup> But despite her stage persona and musical style, Saga's lyrics articulate values and themes endemic to neo-Nazi ideology. Breivik's admiration for the Swedish artist thus simultaneously resonates and conflicts with his declared positions and tastes.

In this chapter, I consider the ways Breivik's interest and engagement with Saga's music can illuminate his relationship with neo-Nazism. Focusing on his main discussion of the Swedish artist—that in Chapter 3.29 of his manifesto—I seek to uncover the channels through which Breivik came into contact with Saga's work, what he knows about her past and fan base, and whether or not he is aware of all references in her lyrics. By investigating these questions, I provide insight into Breivik's level of contact and familiarity with the wider neo-Nazi and white nationalist subculture as well as the extent to which Saga's lyrics represent his true ideology.

## **Beats, Boots, and Martyrs**

The neo-Nazi skinheads that Breivik encountered in secondary school likely had connections to the BootBoys—the first and largest neo-Nazi skinhead group in Norway (Øimoen, 2012). They may have consumed the music of local white power acts, such as Norhat, Norske Legion, and the Rinnan Band.

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3 This has required her to be selective in the Skrewdriver songs that she has covered. Openly revolutionary and xenophobic lyrics have been most prominent in her *Symphony of Sorrow* recordings.

4 This term parallels an emerging insider label for standard white power rock and metal in the Nordic region: «freedom rock.»

And it might seem as though these Norwegians would have occupied a privileged position in the transnational skinhead scene. In parallel with World War II Nazis, skinhead groups from France, to Australia, to Brazil saturated their iconography with themes from Norse mythology and Viking history. Likewise, racial ideologies prevalent in these groups would frame Nordics as the standard-bearers of whiteness.

Norwegians and their music industry, however, would be overshadowed by their neighbors to the east. Sweden was home the largest and most ideologically dynamic neo-Nazi scene in the Nordic region. The seemingly disproportionate size of this activism carried over into musical production (Lagerlöf, 2012). By 2005, Sweden appeared to have nearly three times the number of white power bands than could be found in all the other Nordic countries combined, and a higher rate of bands per capita than any other country in the world.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, a 1997 study of listening habits among 6–12 grade students throughout Sweden revealed that 12.2 % youth overall listened to “white power music” sometimes or often. That number was 15.3 % when limited to boys overall, and 18.9 % when limited to boys in grades 10–12 (Lange, Löow, Bruchfeld & Hedlund, 1997).

If Sweden was neo-Nazism’s Nordic hub, its global intellectual and cultural centers were to be found in Great Britain and the United States. Indeed, despite local variation in transnational skinheadism, activists throughout the world focused their textual output on celebrating, not just historical National Socialism, but also the lives of a handful of deceased latter-day activists from the English-speaking world. Norwegian skinheads’ focus on these contemporary Anglo-American figures may have been especially pronounced given that, as Katrin Fangen claims, Norwegians were less celebratory of historical Nazism than their Swedish and Danish counterparts (1998, p. 41, see also Löow, 1998, p. 446). One individual often showcased in transnational neo-Nazism’s “cult of martyrs” (Löow, 1993, p. 70) is Ian Stuart Donaldson. Hailing from Poulton-le-Fylde, England, Donaldson formed

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5 I base this claim on the Anti-Defamation League’s 2005 database of white power bands throughout the globe ([http://archive.adl.org/learn/ext\\_us/music\\_country.asp](http://archive.adl.org/learn/ext_us/music_country.asp)), and 2005 population estimates from the United Nations (<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/>) and the Office for National Statistics (<http://www.ons.gov.uk>). Sweden, with 44 white power bands and a population of 9,041,000, has a per capita rate of 205,000. Note that the Anti-Defamation League’s 2005 database has a number of flaws, such as making multiple entries for a single band that changed its name, the omission of prominent acts, and the inclusion of groups whose status as «white power» is questionable.

the band Skrewdriver in 1976. Though originally a standard punk band, Skrewdriver's lyrics grew more politically charged and more reactionary throughout the end of the decade. As this ideological character took shape, the band also began embracing skinhead style. The mixture would prove enduring. As Brown writes, Donaldson and his band «did more than anyone else to forge connections between right-wing rock music and the skinhead scene, and between the skinhead scene and the radical right» (2004, p. 164). Taking the title of one of the band's songs as a namesake, this emerging genre would come to be known as "white power." Skrewdriver's move into explicit racial politics and neo-Nazism gained momentum when, in 1979, Donaldson and members of the white nationalist National Front founded the political action group and record label White Noise. White Noise, and later the German label Rock-O-Rama, promoted Skrewdriver and similar groups throughout Northern and Western Europe.

Skrewdriver would go on to release nine original studio recordings. And powered in large part by Donaldson's charisma, they achieved an unparalleled level of popularity in the scene. The band's career would be cut short, however, when Donaldson died in car accident in 1993. Since that event, Donaldson has obtained an almost deity-like status in the international scene. His image can be seen blanketing t-shirts and flags, his biography and poetry is sold through online retailers, and memorial concerts throughout Europe commemorate his death each year.

Ian Stuart Donaldson shares this elevated status with a handful of white nationalist activists from the United States. Foremost among these are Robert Jay Mathews and David Lane. The two were leading figures in a neo-Nazi terrorist group called the Order. The Order gained international attention during the mid 1980s as they carried out bank robberies and bombings, as well as the murder of a high-profile Jewish radio personality. Federal police were in pursuit of the group throughout these events, and they eventually cornered Robert Jay Mathews in a shootout on Whidbey Island outside of Seattle, Washington. Mathews died in this conflict when the police firebombed his compound. Some sympathizers today claim that his body was found charred, but with gun in hand.<sup>6</sup> Much like the commemorations for Ian Stuart Donaldson, neo-Nazis around the world stage memorial events for Robert Jay Mathews on December 8—the date on which he was killed.

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6 See <http://vnnforum.com/showthread.php?t=4096>

David Lane, like many other order members, was instead captured and convicted, and would die in an Indiana prison in 2007. He denied guilt throughout this period, and claimed that his imprisonment had been the doing of anti-white Jewish interests. Incarceration would prove profitable to Lane in one respect, however. During his time in prison, he accelerated his writing activities, authoring poems and treatises on topics from Norse mythology, to historical Nazism, to the plight of contemporary white activists. These texts would be disseminated throughout the wider neo-Nazi world, often making their way into the lyrics of white power songs. And his famous statement dubbed the 14 words—“We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children”—would in many cases supersede the sayings of Adolf Hitler to become the chief motto for neo-Nazis from California to Irkutsk (Michael, 2009).

Neo-Nazism’s prevailing themes and ideals—its revolutionary ethnonationalism, its celebration of historical Nazism, and its tribute to the lives of select latter-day “martyrs”—surface in Breivik’s manifesto. Breivik would not be the one to articulate those themes, however. He consistently condemns Nazism, and never discusses Donaldson, Mathews, or Lane, though he does urge his followers to avoid “14-words rhetoric” (2011, p. 678). Instead, these themes are voiced by the woman he regarded as his a chief source of inspiration; Saga, whom he profiles in Chapter 3.29 of his manifesto.

### 3.29

In the heart of *2083*, from pages 848–1114, Breivik outlines methods to plan and carry out violent terrorist attacks. This section contains 46 mini-chapters on topics like financing, concealing planning activities, acquiring weaponry, bomb making, and strategies for finding a good defense lawyer. The character of the writing throughout this section oscillates. At times, Breivik provides a dispassionate, abstract how-to guide. Other times, he writes in the style of a first-person diary, outlining the steps and daily routines he followed in the years leading up to his attacks in 2011.<sup>7</sup>

Chapter 3.29 contains both of these formats. Here, Breivik reflects upon the challenge of staying motivated during lengthy periods of planning. He

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7 In contrast to Anton Shekhovstov’s claim (2013, p. 277), however, the writing is not an instance of Breivik interviewing himself, the likes of which we see later in *2083*.

considered motivation a key concern, not only for himself, but also for his imagined followers. This section of the manifesto addresses a reader who—like himself—would plan and execute an attack alone. Lacking the inspiration and support of an activist community, Breivik suggests that individuals operating in isolation must devise their own means of maintaining resolve. He admonishes his followers,

You have to overcome difficult initial psychological challenges and perform a slight subsequent mental check every single day until the operation is complete. This shouldn't be underestimated as it is perhaps the most important aspect of being a part of an "open-source resistance network" where you rely on being able to motivate yourself. [...] This is a factor that a majority of resistance fighters ignore and is why a majority of novices become de-motivated after a certain period. They are not doing what is required of them due to lack of training [and] knowledge and eventually lose the will to fight due to lack of motivation (2011, p. 854).

Breivik recommends that resistance fighters perform exercises, or "mental checks" daily to preserve their inspiration and commitment during periods of solitary preparation. Moving from the abstract to the concrete, he reveals the mental checks he had been using in the years preceding his 2011 attack. He writes,

I do a mental check almost every day through meditation and philosophizing. I simulate/meditate while I go for a walk, playing my iPod in my neighbourhood. This consists of a daily 40 minute walk while at the same time philosophizing ideologically/performing self indoctrination and the mental simulation of the operation while listening to motivational and inspiring music (2011, p. 854).

Though Breivik does not specify the content of his philosophizing, he continues to say that his fantasizing or "simulating" of his future actions included visions of "confrontations with police, future interrogation scenarios, future court appearances, [and] future media interviews."

As his discussion proceeds, he turns his attention to the sounds he played in his iPod on these semi-daily walks. Breivik describes listening to English composer Clint Mansell and Norwegian singer Helene Bøksle during his mental checks. However, the bulk of his discussion focuses on his admiration for the music of Swedish nationalist singer Saga. The terrorist devotes nearly a page of writing to Saga, opening with praise of her music, moving to a defense of her ideology, describing the political and cultural resistance she has faced, and finally issuing a call for his followers to embrace her music



for “self-motivating purposes.” He closes this section by listing the lyrics to twelve of her songs.

Breivik provides little detail as to how he came into contact with Saga’s music. Likewise, his writing appears ignorant of much of her history. Whereas she had been producing heavy metal music from 1998 through 2005, Breivik’s image of Saga seems to have been shaped by her more recent light pop projects. He writes,

She is, as far as I know, the best and most talented patriotic musician in the English speaking world. And for those of you, like myself, who hates ‘metal’, Saga is one of the few sources available that offers quality patriotic pop-music with brilliant texts (2011, p. 855–856).

One would only be able to classify Saga as a pop, rather than a metal artist by disregarding most of her recording projects—her contributions as a background vocalist to white power band Pluton Svea, her career with thrash metal band Symphony of Sorrow, and the bulk of her tribute recordings to Skrewdriver.

Though Breivik distances Saga from his least favorite musical style, he nonetheless acknowledges other ways in which she could be seen as conflicting with his agenda. He writes, namely, that National Socialists patronized her music. In step with his denunciations of Nazism, he appears uncomfortable with the notion that his musical tastes would align with those of contemporary National Socialists; so much so that he makes a strained attempt to undo a potential link between Saga and neo-Nazism. Focusing on an organization in Sweden, he writes

Although the environment surrounding Saga, the former NSF — National Sosialistisk Forening (a former Swedish Indigenous Rights Movement demonised as “evil Nazi monsters”), used to be self-proclaimed national socialists; it has become evident that most of them now has [sic] embraced a more national conservative ideological denomination of conservatism, very similar to that of Knights Templar Europe (2011, p. 865; parenthetical in original).

The organization Breivik mentions—“National Sosialistisk Forening”—is correctly named National Socialist Front (Nationalsocialistisk front, or NSF).<sup>8</sup> NSF was a semi-militant neo-Nazi political party in Sweden active during the early twenty-first century. And rather than deny their interest in Saga,

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<sup>8</sup> Breivik mistakenly reads the «F» in the acronym NSF as ‘Forening’ (the Norwegian word for ‘association’).

he strives towards reconciliation by undermining this organization's status as National Socialist. As he wrote this section, he may have been aware that NSF had renamed itself the People's Front [Folkfronten] in 2008 and later the Party of the Swedes [Svenskarnas parti] in 2009, gently distancing itself from explicit Nazism in the process. In the citation above, however, he defends this organization in both its old and new forms, deriding commentary that would name the earlier self-identified Nazi group "evil Nazi monsters" (it must have been the "evil" and the "monster" designations he objected to in this case), and pointing out that the group had later moved away from National Socialism and towards a position like that of his own imagined activist fellowship, the Knights Templar Europe.<sup>9</sup>

Breivik's mention of NSF may also provide insight into how he accessed Saga's music. Saga has in fact seldom collaborated directly with NSF or its successor parties. The closest she came was in 2007 when she headlined at the Nordic Festival [Nordiska festivalen] in Sweden. This large nationalist gathering featured performances by international acts like the American child duo Prussian Blue and German singer songwriter Frank Rennicke. It also brought together multiple ethnonationalist retailers and political groups throughout the region, including National Socialist Front.<sup>10</sup> Though a now defunct group called the Nordic League sponsored the event, NSF left its mark by producing a music video based in part on recordings of Saga's performance at the festival. This video, featuring her song "Ode to a Dying People," became perhaps the most viewed white nationalist music video on Youtube.com. And throughout its scenes, NSF's small emblem appears in the upper right corner of the frame (see Figure 1).

We can be relatively certain that Breivik was one of over 500,000 who have viewed this video on Youtube.com given that this is one of the only traces of a connection between Saga and NSF. Further, were this video his main exposure to NSF, it would explain his generally uninformed presentation of the

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9 Note that the Party of the Swedes—the most recent incarnation of the National Socialist Front organization—remains vehemently ethnonationalist and generally anti-Semitic despite its subtle departure from Nazism. Given that Breivik also condemns ethnonationalism and anti-Semitism more generally in his manifesto (see Teitelbaum, 2014b) his apparent embrace of this group would seem to remain problematic.

10 I was not present at this festival. Rather, I learned details about it through conversations with attendees, including Nordic League co-founder Daniel Friberg (D. Friberg, personal communication, August 4, 2012).



Figure 1: Screenshot of ‘Ode to a Dying People’ on Youtube.com. Emblem of National Socialist Front (NSF) in upper-right corner of frame.

organization, a presentation marked by his incorrect reading of the acronym NSF.

NSF was only one of multiple neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic organizations associated—however loosely—with Saga. Sweden’s Midgård Records, which has released all of Saga’s recordings to date, caters to musicians and audiences who openly identify as National Socialists. The same was true for the American white power label Resistance Records, an organization Saga collaborated with while she was living in the U.S. Breivik does not discuss any of these groups, despite the fact that they have had far more influential roles in her career than Sweden’s NSF. The lack of attention to Midgård and Resistance may reflect a general ignorance of organized white nationalism: Breivik may not have addressed these organizations because he was unaware of their ideological orientation. Similarly, this missing discussion could provide additional evidence that his exposure to Saga primarily took place through less ideologically marked venues, like Youtube.com or even Saga’s own homepage.<sup>11</sup>

The insecurity Breivik felt surrounding Saga’s potential links to Nazism fades as his chapter moves on to more focused discussion of her persona and music. Following his paragraph on her fan base, he paints a portrait of

<sup>11</sup> Note also that in his discussion of Helene Bøksle, he provides URL addresses to uploads of her songs on Youtube.com.

Saga herself, one that presents her as a nationalist dissident more generally. Breivik writes of Saga,

[...] she has been a Swedish and European conservative resistance fighter for more than 10 years, working for the political and cultural interests of Sweden and the interests of all Swedes, Scandinavians and Europeans.

Saga and similar patriotic heroes and heroines of Scandinavia, who unlike individuals like myself who has yet to come out of the “revolutionary conservative closet,” has had to face political persecution and demonisation for years. Yet they continue their brave struggle to prevent the demographical and cultural genocide of the Scandinavian and European tribes (2011, p. 856).

Here, Saga provides an opportunity for the author to dwell upon society’s mistreatment of nationalists—a line of argument saturating the entire manifesto. Breivik does not elaborate as to how exactly he believes Saga has been demonized. Indeed, public condemnation of the Swedish artist has been minimal. Prior to Breivik’s attacks and the public attention on her they generated, Saga had been largely unknown among non-specialist commentators—and this despite the fact that hers is one of the biggest profiles in the international white nationalist scene.<sup>12</sup>

### **“Learn the texts as well”**

Breivik’s chapter proceeds to a discussion of Saga’s songs. And though he initially trains his celebration of Saga on her musical features, his discussion moves to emphasize the words she sings. Breivik writes,

I have listened to many of [Saga’s] tracks several hundred times and I don’t seem to get tired of them. I would HIGHLY recommend that all Justiciar Knights of Europe and other revolutionary conservatives use these tracks for self-motivating purposes. Don’t just listen to the tracks but learn the texts as well. It has worked brilliantly for me and it will likely work just as well for you (2011, p. 856).

He lists the lyrics to twelve tracks using miniature size-1 font, likely to save space. He attributes all of these songs to Saga’s solo albums *Pro Patria III* (2003) and *On My Own* (2007). These two albums marked her departure from hard rock and embrace of ‘freedom pop’ as her preferred musical genre. *Pro Patria III* was the final release of a three-part series initiated by Midgård

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<sup>12</sup> I have argued elsewhere that Saga’s recent music serves to frame her as a victimized figurehead of the white race (Teitelbaum, 2014a).

Records. The goal of the Pro Patria series pursued the label’s larger goal to “[...]reach more people with music and try new styles, styles that were non-existent in [radical nationalist music]” (Midgård Records, 2013).<sup>13</sup> The first and second albums in this series featured female singer Frigg (Ulrica Pettersson, later of the Viking rock band Hel) and a duo composed of Swede Fredrik J. and Australian Nigel Brown respectively. These releases experimented with industrial, psychedelic, and soft rock styles. Likewise, Saga’s *Pro Patria III* fuses catchy guitar riffs, r&b beats, and synthesizers in a style easily contrasted with standard white power metal. This album would also be Saga’s first solo album with only Swedish lyrics—nearly all of which she wrote herself.

Addressing Scandinavian readers, Breivik lists untranslated Swedish lyrics to five tracks from this album: “Valkyrien [The Valkyrie],” “Yttrandefrihet [Freedom of Speech],” “Krigarens Själ [Warrior’s Soul],” “Frihetens Fana [Banner of Freedom],” and “Drömmarnas Stig [The Path of Dreams].” With the exception of “Yttrandefrihet,” these tracks have a similar textual theme, paying homage to heroic, warrior-like, and typically male fighters in the cause.<sup>14</sup> The following excerpt from “Krigarens Själ” provides an example of the prevailing themes in these lyrics:

His body is tired and hungry, but he will not rest.  
He has devoted his life to the struggle, the struggle that is his faith.  
The thirst for freedom sets a fire in his soul.  
For the warrior seeks freedom and refuses to be a slave.<sup>15</sup>

Such celebration of steadfastness, devotion, and righteous *kampf* resonates with Breivik’s understanding of himself. Other sections of these lyrics speak in greater specificity to the terrorist’s declared need for continued motivation and inspiration while planning his attacks. This is most obvious in the song the terrorist called his favorite, “Drömmarnas Stig,” the chorus to which is as follows:

Wouldn’t it be easy to close your eyes,  
To walk away from the path of our dreams?

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13 Vi ville nå fler människor med musiken och testa nya stilar. Stilar som inom genren frihetsrock inte förut existerat.

14 For more on this aspects of Breivik’s self-image, see Bjørøy & Hawkins in this volume.

15 Hans kropp är trött och hungrig men han får aldrig ro. Han har vikt sitt liv åt kampen, kampen som är hans tro. Törsten efter frihet tänder eldar i hans själ. Ty krigaren söker frihet och vägrar att bli träl.

Wouldn't it be liberating to forget,  
To renounce the obligation of [your] people's soul?<sup>16</sup>

Though we can link the sentiments expressed in these lyrics to Breivik's agenda and self-image, other excerpts from the five *Pro Patria III* tracks appear to conflict with his stated ideals. Specifically, these tracks frame membership in a national community as a matter of race—an idea Breivik renounces. Consider the chorus from “Krigarens Sjal:”

Courageous — with the bravery of a hundred lions.  
Swedish — with the purest blood.  
Proud — never a slave.  
Warrior — with a soul.<sup>17</sup>

The lyrics to “Krigarens Sjal” thus constitute one of multiple instances in 2083 where Breivik appears to welcome the ethnonationalism he otherwise condemns.

Like *Pro Patria III*, Saga's 2007 release *On My Own* eschews the heavy metal sound in favor of a light pop backing. However, this album contains exclusively English-language lyrics, most of which are covers. Saga, in fact, did not write any of the five sets of lyrics Breivik lists from *On My Own*. Breivik may have been aware of this. Before listing the lyrics, he writes an incomplete sentence: “Some lyrics are created” and ends without punctuation. Perhaps he intended to complete the sentence, “...by others.”

Regardless, the five songs he lists from Saga's album *On My Own* were written by three high-status men in the neo-Nazi and white nationalist world. A man named Kenneth from Västergötland in Sweden wrote two of these songs, “One Nation Arise” and “Hypocrite.” Kenneth was an active performer in Sweden's white power music scene during the 1990s and early twenty-first century, and was the lead singer for the skinhead band Storm. “Ode to a Dying People”—Saga's most popular and nuanced recording (see Teitelbaum, 2014a)—was written by George Burdi (a.k.a George Eric Hawthorne). Burdi, founder of the American neo-Nazi record label Resistance Records, wrote the song for his band Rahowa (short for Racial

16 Vore det inte simpelt att bara blunda, att avvika från våra drömmars stig? Vore det inte en befrielse att glömma, att avsvära sig folksjärens plikt?

17 Tapper — med hundra lejons mod. Svensk — med det renaste blod. Stolt — Aldrig bli en träl. Krigare — med en själ.

Holy War). And the lyrics to “Black Bannered Legion” and “The Nation’s Fate” were written by none other than Order militant David Lane.

While Breivik would likely object to associating with these three figures, the lyrics they wrote also appear counter to his declared ideology. Like those Swedish-language songs Saga wrote herself, some of these lyrics channel unmistakable ethno and race nationalism. Burdi’s “Ode to a Dying People,” for example, includes the lines,

The greatest race to ever walk the earth,  
Dying a slow death with insane mirth.  
The tomb has been prepared, our race betrayed,  
White man, fight the flight towards the grave.

The song from *On My Own* most obviously opposed to Breivik’s declared ideological orientation, however, is “Black Bannered Legion.” David Lane’s lyrics to this song include the following section:

Raise the flag of solid black to keep the memory alive  
Of black clad legions who fought and died for our folk in forty-five  
  
Black is the color of mourning for the martyrs of Vinland too  
Mathews and Kirk and Singer and Rockwell and Kahl stood true  
  
Raise the flag of destiny as black as the wing of a raven  
And change it not nor raise another ‘til we have a folkish haven  
Raise the flag of destiny...the flag of destiny!  
  
Black is the color of midnight which the tyrant shall learn to dread  
As we honor fallen martyrs with steel and fire and lead  
  
The ancient Aryan symbol is also drawn in black  
So underneath that color we will take our nations back

Lane wrote this and many other poems while incarcerated in Indiana, USA. Breivik may not have been cognizant of all of the references in Lane’s lyrics. The names listed in the second verse, for example, belong to leading American National Socialists and white nationalists including Order founder Robert Jay Mathews and American Nazi Party founder George Lincoln Rockwell. The lyrics describe these individuals as «martyrs of Vinland»—Vinland being the name historic Viking explorer Leif Eriksson gave to part of North America. Contemporary white nationalists in North America use the

name in an attempt to establish racial precedent and claim to the territories of the United States and Canada.

While these references might escape the attention of outsiders to the American scene, other lines in “Black Bannered Legion” blatantly channel white power rhetoric. The poem celebrates an “ancient Aryan symbol” and pays tribute to those who “fought and died for our folk in forty-five.” These statements describe the swastika (or the sun wheel) and Axis soldiers in World War II. And Lane’s move to link contemporary activism with historic Nazism is standard, not only in his own writings, but also in the lyrics of radical nationalist skinhead music during the 1990s. Saga’s rendition of the poem was preceded by settings of “Black Bannered Legion” by multiple white power punk and metal acts throughout the west, including Canadian white power band Stormfront in 1997, and Swedish white power band Heysel in 1998.

“Kenneth,” Burdi, and Lane are not the only problematic authors to be found in Breivik’s list of lyrics. Though Breivik initially attributes all twelve tracks to Saga’s albums *Pro Patria III* and *On My Own*, his list includes two songs from her earlier recordings: “Tomorrow Belongs to Me” and “The Snow Fell.” These tracks come from Saga’s third Skrewdriver tribute album, though Breivik makes no mention of this fact. It is unlikely that Breivik owned this album, and he may not have been aware that it was the source of the two tracks either: Whereas all other lyrics he lists were copied from Saga’s website, lyrics to her Skrewdriver tribute albums were never posted on this site.<sup>18</sup> The written formatting of these lyrics in the manifesto also differs from that of the other ten tracks. And whereas Saga uses the title “Snow Fell” on her CD and on her website, Breivik calls the song “The Snow Fell” in parallel, not only with Skrewdriver’s original nomenclature, but also with most Youtube.com uploads of Saga’s cover. It is possible that Breivik consumed these songs without knowing of their history, encountering them only in online forums that do not provide information about the album they came from. Alternately, he may have chosen not to mention the tracks’ connection to Skrewdriver in an effort to guard Saga’s, and thereby his own integrity.

Saga’s recordings of “Tomorrow Belongs to Me” and “The Snow Fell,” while not embodying the light pop feel of her later work, nonetheless depart from

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<sup>18</sup> There has been a link to these lyrics on Saga’s homepage since 2009. But the link to date has never been functioning.



heavy metal style. Like most tracks on her third volume of tributes, these two pair a light piano accompaniment with Saga’s soft singing. But though their instrumental character seems to align with Breivik’s declared tastes, their lyrics do not. “Tomorrow Belongs to Me” was written for the 1966 Broadway musical *Cabaret* by Fred Ebb—a prolific New York Jewish songwriter (Belleto, 2008). In *Cabaret*, the song is sung by dreamy-eyed Nazi Youth, and includes a rousing final verse:

Fatherland, Fatherland,  
Show us the sign  
Your children have waited to see.  
The morning will come  
When the world is mine.  
Tomorrow belongs to me!

It was this staging, likely, that inspired Skrewdriver to cover the song on their 1984 album *Hail the New Dawn*.

Breivik may not have known about the song’s origins. The lyrics themselves are rather benign, and express a generic nationalist patriotism without demonizing minorities or referencing Nazism explicitly. The same cannot be said for “The Snow Fell”—the second track Breivik lists from Saga’s third Skrewdriver tribute album. This insider favorite was written by Skrewdriver frontman Ian Stuart Donaldson, and it describes the plight of German Nazi soldiers in Russia during World War II. The lyrics are unequivocal in their celebration of the Nazis. The second verse, for example, rings,

They took the old roads  
that Napoleon had taken before.  
They fought as a force as a light  
against the darkness in a holy war.

## Whose Voice?

In sum, whereas Breivik’s manifesto denounces Nazism and race and ethnicity-based activism countless times, and whereas he devotes a paragraph to dismissing Saga’s limited association with a National Socialist organization, he reproduces ethnonationalism and barefaced references to Nazism in her lyrics without comment. We might interpret his unqualified admiration for

Saga's music as a continuation of his genre-centric attitude towards music: His musical aesthetics may hinge so heavily on instrumental style that he overlooks the content of lyrics. Indeed, much of Breivik's presentation of Saga, and his efforts to contrast her with other radical nationalist musicians, centered on her status as a "pop," rather than metal artist.

But Breivik's own writing prohibits us from dismissing his investment in Saga's lyrics. He claims to have memorized these texts, and he encourages his followers to do the same if they are to mimic his activities. In other words, these lyrics mattered to him.

How, then, could he have reconciled his opposition to using the language of Nazism and ethnonationalism with his celebration of Saga's texts? Perhaps, like many of us, he was more tolerant of ideological and social deviance if it took place in music (Negus & Velazquez, 2002). Music may have presented him a safe domain in which to experiment with ideologies he otherwise condemned. Were this the case, we would be unjustified in interpreting Saga's lyrics as expressions of Breivik's deepest and most honest self. Alternately, he may have been willing to celebrate Saga by assuming that we, his readers, would show more receptiveness to incendiary ideas were those ideas transmitted via music. Relying on others' increased tolerance for deviance in music, he may have exempted the artform from the scrutiny he exercised with other communicative domains (see Breivik, 2011, p. 665–666). Were this the case, then we might be tempted to look at his music, not to learn about ideological heresy he permitted himself. Rather, music may have been for him a venue to say what he felt otherwise could not be said.

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