

Sweden's Refusal to Prosecute Returning ISIS and Al Qaeda Foreign Fighters

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Terrorism

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It is estimated that since 2012, 300 Swedish individuals have travelled abroad to join jihadi-groups. About 80 percent of these foreign fighters are associated with ISIS, and a substantial minorty with Jabhat al-Nusra. Some of the extremists have travelled back and forth between the conflict area and Sweden. Almost all of them have cheated the swedish state so as to access financial support under false pretences while working for ISIS. [I]

According to Swedish law, all of these returnees should be charged for having made preparations to commit crimes, as well as accepting an employment to perform illegal acts. Swedish law prohibits all of this. It also bans giving/receiving of payments to commit crimes. Additionally Swedish law also prohibits facilitating crimes. All of this is spelled out in our penalcode (i.e "Brottsbalken") chapter 23, paragraph 2. This in combination with the swedish ban against terrorism ("Lag (2003:148) om straff för terroristbrott" paragraph 4), which broadens the criteria of guilt to include conspiring to commit terrorism – makes the legal case even more clear cut. [II] In accordance with these laws, all returnees should all be prosecuted for preparations to commit murder, enslavement or terrorism – seeing as these are the main activities pertaining to ISIS. All who joined ISIS must have known that they volunteered to commit, or assisted others in committing terrorism. They have also received a salary for their willingness to perform illegal tasks if commanded to.

Whether one can be proven to have committed an act of terror, the standard applied currently, should not be relevant to the criminal activity of preparing or conspiring to commit a crime, a preparation that is fulfilled by simply traveling to ISIS-controlled territory and joining their ranks.

As a comparison, in 2016 a man was convicted of planning a murder when he traveled to his ex-partner with a knife and an axe in his car. The women was warned by friends of the man, that he harbored murderous intentions. Another man has been convicted for the act of travelling armed only with a hammer, to a place where he wrongfully believed his potential victim lived. The court decided that the potential victims life was never in danger, but still upheld the law by convicting the man for preparing to commit murder. Yet another person has been convicted of planning to steal a jacket, in this case for cutting of the alarm attached to it. The swedish high court, our supreme judicial authority, has also convicted a man for planning to travell to a bank with the purpose of robbing it. This latest case has the power of legal precedence, seeing as the case was seatled by the supreme court. The case should be a point of guidance for our legal system, a dissenting judge even noted in this case – that local courts have a high level of freedom to interpret at what stage the

"planing"-phase of a crime can be said to bave begun.[III] Which means that even if the issue of returnees stod on shaky grounds, the courts would still possess the prerogative to make novel interpretations of the law. All these facts point to one conclusion.

According to CNN, ISIS-members had to fill out "a kind of job application for the terror group". With the two employment options of being a "fighter" or "suicide attacker". Having said this, we should take the time to look into what "conspiring to commit crimes", mentioned in the Swedish ban against terrorism – is supposed to mean. The swedish prosecution agency defines the term as referring to "A form of preparation which means that a person in consultation with another person decides to commit a crime, attempts to induce another party to commit a crime or takes it upon themself to commit a crime". [IV]

Ask yourself, how could signing a contract not be considered an act falling under this description? Isn't the signing of a contract, for the purpose of agreeing to perform a service for an organisation, to take something upon onself? By travelling to a conflict zone and signing up as fighters for a terror group in the area were they are activly committing their atrocities, all ISIS-returnees have committed far greater preparations for crimes, than all the swedish legal cases just mentioned. Even if a man joined ISIS, only to do non-violent acts in order to earn his paycheck, let us say he simply repaired cars – these vehicles are still used to transport slaves and travel to hotspots to commit murder. In other words he is still facilitating crimes, which as previously mentioned is outlawed as well. Both the law and legal precident, demand that returnees are charged, but the swedish authorities remain passive on the issue.

One thing should be clarified, the swedish government has instituted a specific ban against travelling to join terrorgroups, but this ban was instituted to late, late enough so that most ISIS-returnees can not be prosecuted under this law. Seeing as they travelled before the prohibition was put into effect. Some ISIS-members are prosecuted, but only if they admitt to or can be proven to be guilt of concrete violations that they as individuals have committed (by which i mean other violations than that the act of preparing crimes, a transgression that they are all guilty of – by definition).

All the major parties in sweden have special spokespersons on the issue of law and order, I have emailed all of these (I couldn't find our feminist party FI:s spokesperson personal email, so I sent to their general email). Asking if they could file a policereport against all ISIS-returnees. Similarly to how the socialdemocrats womensgroup filed a policereport against a dating site, a site that promoted sugerdejting, something that the womensgroup thought should fall under the current ban against pimping and prostitution. Despit the law not being crystal clear in favour of their interpretation [V]

This womensgroup did not act in an unusual or unproductive way, laws do not exist in a vacuum but must instead be interpreted. Taking a case to court can radically change how laws are applied and how society functions. To take an American example, Lochner v. New York was one simple case that dramatically changed working life of New Yorkers and started what was called the Lochner era. Other parties have also filled police reports on separate occasions [VI]. This dramatic devolpment from taking a single case to court, is of course possible in Swedens own legal system as well. The Swedish retailer ICA once started selling alchohol, in hopes of having the statemonopoly on alcohol overturned by a judge.

The major parties of sweden would have a world to win by trying to bring a single ISIS-returnee to justice. They could accomplish a lot by simply asking tough questions to the

judicial branch of government, or more dramatically by appointing new higher ups to our legal institutions (always acting within the limits set up for the executive branch of course, I am not advocating any form of banana republic:ish actions). For we must remember that the swedish prosecutions agencies passivity on the issue, is not an unavoidable state of affairs. In regards to hate speech, the local Malmö branch of the prosecution agencie stated recently in an official document meant to guide its employees in upholding the law, that: "the separation between what falls under the realm of freedom of speech, and what falls within the realm of that which is harmfull for vulnerable groups, is a judicial question rather than a question of evidence – and should be settled by the courts through convictions. Instead of being decided upon by attorneys choosing which cases not to prosecute"[VII]

Through applying legitimate pressure, our parties could ensure that new guiding documents and policies were produced to guide attorneys in taking the same proactive approach regarding prosecuting on the issue of preparing to commit crimes.

They could help create a new precident that would bring redress to the victims of ISIS, by starting a chain reaction of having all returnees charged. They would stand nothing to lose. Despite this the major parties all ignore this option, most of them even ignored my emails. Except for two spokesperson, one for the Liberal party and one for the Green party. Take note that liberal in the swedish sense is closer to "classical liberal" or libertarian (i.e "small goverment"-advocates), rather than the American meaning of liberal (as being left of center). The spokesperson for the liberal party responded by asking if a prosecution against the ISIS-returnees was even possible. I recommended that he contact the Swedish security police Säpo (I was referred there myself when I tried to take the issue to court) to find out. I also asked him if the liberal party finds it problematic, if indeed it would turn out to be true that the ISIS-returnees were impossible to file a policereport against. He has not responded to my follow up questions.

The Green Party responded by stating that they did not have any need to file a police report. It is unclear whether their spokesperson understood the reasoning behind the Social democrats women's group. Their spokesperson also insisted that the constitution was not worth changing in this case (this constitution amendment a last case scenario that will be explained in detail below). I asked if her inaction on the issue did not violate the golden rule (the principle of treating others as one would wish to be treated), would not she have wanted all necessary measures to be taken if she were one of the victims of ISIS? Would she have found her own response sufficient, if she imagined herself in such a role? She did not respond to this question.

Upon repeated attempts to contact them, the left party finaly responded. In a similar manner to the green party, they chose not to act. None of the other parties have responded at all.

Another comparison of applied legal interpretation, is worth bringing up. A 79 year old man has been convicted of hatespeech for writing "fuck allah", "fuck islam" and "arab swines go home". [VIII] This case illustrates a thought pattern, most likely a subconscious one, that I think is part of the explanation as to why no prosecution has been attempted. There is at play, a form of eurocentrism (to focus strongly on europe or europeans/excluding non-europeans and their experience), a eurocentrism that trivialises the experiences of the people of the third world. The 79 year old man wrote his slogans in view of swedish muslims and swedes with arabic ethnicity, and the legal system was therefore willing to take the case to court. The victims of ISIS are Iraqi and Syrians, and as such the system doesn't

value their rights as highly. Many westerners have come to view violations against people of the third world as "natural" or inevitable, thereby rendering legal efforts to protect them irrelevant. With that in mind, take a hard looke at this Swedish ISIS-member:

His name is Michael Skråmo. How can one not look upon a white man born in Sweden travelling to a terrorist organisation in a third world country, signing a countract to kill for them and accepting a paycheck to do their bidding, facilitating their crimes against the local population – and not see the immense bigotry of the Swedish state choosing to not at least try and prosecute people like him upon returning to his homeland. The government agency responsible for crime prevention, has notet that: "If the potential plaintiff [i.e victim] is swedish and the accused seems to be of foreign origin the propensity to investigate crime increases. But if both parties seem to be of foreign origin, the results are reveres: in these cases the police are less eager to start an investigation". This pattern was observed regarding the phenomenon physical abuse. I would wager that it is a pattern that applies to law and order more generally. Doesn't this pattern fit well as an explanation for the government's inaction? To me it seems like swedish authorities have in their bigotry (subconsciously) excluded the perpetrators from the swedish identity, and the victims from their moral sphere of concern. They seem to view the incident as "an ingroup problem" for "arabs" or "muslims" – not something that "real swedes" should be concerned about.

Let us look closer at the previous case of the 79 year old man convicted of hate speech. The action of writing "arab swines go home" is definetly immoral, but is this elderly man really a threat to anyone? Most likely not. Swedish muslims and Swedes with arabic ethnicity, could at most be offended by his activity. The swedish state values their feelings enough to prosecute, but it does not value the physical safety and freedom of people belonging to the third world, enough to even attempt to prosecute swedish inhabitants who travell far away to murder and enslave these third world:ers. ISIS has declared war on all shia muslims, and there are reports of them attempting to cleans the areas they conquered of all shias. ISIS have also been conducting a genocide against middle eastern christians. [IX].

As a consequence of not being charged, these ISIS-returnees will not be given a fair chance of rehabilitation. The victims of these ISIS-returnees are third world:ers today, but there is little in the way of stopping these victimisers from stealing a truck and killing swedes. We can rarely act immoral towards others, without creating the circumstances for being victimised ourself. The swedish states seems to assume that it can allow members of it's own people to terrorise the inhabitants of the third world, without consequence – the question is how long this illussion will hold. In fact one ISIS-returnee has already been arrested for a murder he allegedly committed in sweden.

The principles at stake here are much larger than these 300 jihadist. Nazis that travelled to fight for the far right in Ukraine around 2014 [X] have also gone without any attempt at prosecution upon their return to Sweden. A conviction against these ISIS-returnees could be the first step against taking these nazi-warriors to court.

Some legal objections might be brought fourth here, such as it being necessary for the act to be illegal in both sweden and the countries were the actions were performed, to enable prosecution. This is not a problem in both the cases of Iraq and Syria. Both countries have laws on the books that enables a wide interpretation of terrorism and prosecution of terrorist. Human Rights Watch has even complained that the Iraqi law enables such a wide

application that innocent people risk being convicted. Similar criticism has been aimed at Syrias "Counter-terrorism Law" which contains a number of definition of "terrorist act, terrorist organization and terrorism financing", as well other Syrian laws banning "promoting terrorist [activities]". [XI] The point being that the laws of these countries are if anything too far reaching, not too modest to hinder prosecutions.

Another potential objection, is to claim that the laws I have named are impossible to apply in the ways I advocate – to insist that I am merely an amateur lost in the corridor of paragrafs and convoluted legal principles. If we assume this objection to be true, it only makes one wonder why new laws are not made to serve justice better? In which case the apologist for ISIS point out that the swedish constitution prohibits laws to be enacted for actions that took place before the laws were put into place, and that such enactments would be unethical. This principle is referred to as the ban against *ex post facto-*law ("retroaktiv rättstillämpning" in swedish). *Ex post facto-*law means to change a current law or make a new law that retroactively alters a defendant's rights, by criminalizing and imposing punishment for an act that was not punishable at the time it was committed, increasing the severity of already existing punishment or changing the criteria for the determination of guilt.

The problem with this argument, is that it assumes that the constitution can not be amended to include exemptions to legal principles. Something that is not only possible, but done more or less routinely for much less noble goals than providing the victims of terrorism with justice. Introducing Swedens ban against hate speech meant that an exception to our constitutional right to freedom of speech has been put into law, calls from Brussels has also lead to changes in the constitution to solidify our EU-membership.

So in other words, our constitutional right to freedom of speech (one of the highest values of a democracy) has been intruded upon to protect the delicate sensibilities of swedish citizens – microaggressions against swedes is seen as more worthy of punishment than terrorism against the third world. With the flick of a pen, the swedish parlament could change our constitution so as to enable prosecution of all ISIS-returnes. We could allow the ban against travelling to join terrorgroups, to be unique in holding the quality of enabling retroactive usage – if we are afraid of government overreach we could also set a time limit to this change in the constitution. So that we are given a decade to prosecute the perpetrators, and then automatically return to legal normality unless the swedish parliament through an overwhelming majority decides to actively prolong this retroactive applicability. As previously mentioned, we have already changed our constitution to enforce our membership in the EU, so when the brussels bureaucrats call for constitutional changes the swedish parlament obliges, but when third world:ers call for justice, nothing is done.

And when it comes to the ethical problems of *Ex post facto*-laws, one must remember that something being unethical in general does not mean that there are no particular cases in which it is allowed or even a moral duty to perform. And also that all ethical principles are not created equal, some may under extreme circumstances be necessary to temporarily part from in order to protect even higher ideals. The trial against nazi war criminals after world war II has been criticized for making use of *Ex post facto*-laws [XII]. Should we have allowed the nazis go free simply to uphold this one principle, and thereby forsake all other principles of providing justice for past victims and protecting potential future victims?

To my knowledge, there seems to be no credibly way of defending the current position of not prosecuting all returning ISIS-members. If prosecutions were to start tomorrow, all would not be found guilty of course, some would successfully claime to have traveled to the area for other reasons. But the people who gloated about their membership in ISIS through socialmedia, or who lack the skill to lie their way out, would at least face justice.

If you wan't to help solve this problem, I have started a petition that I would much appreciate to find your name <u>here</u>.

*

This article was originally published on the author's blog site: tradet smakade torsdag.

Notes

[I] Olsson, Daniel; Salihu, Diamt; and Kassem Hamadé (2017/06/24) "Hundratals svenskar åkte till kriget för att slåss för IS – så lever återvändarna i dag"

Expressen https://www.expressen.se/nyheter/hundratals-svenskar-akte-till-kriget-for-att-slass-for-is-sa-lever-atervandarn/

Archived here: http://archive.is/LeVMu

[II] Linus, Gustafsson; Ranstrop, Magnus (2017/06/15) "Swedish Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq: An Analysis of open-source intelligence and statistical data" Stockholm: Försvarshögskolan (FHS) page 135 http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A1110355&dswid=-5906

Schützer, Karolina (2017/03/09) "Rapport visar: Hundratals terrorresenärer fick bidrag från svenska staten" SVT.

Link: https://www.svt.se/nyheter/inrikes/allt-svarare-att-forutse-terrorresor

"Det som är synnerligen utmärkande för den svenska profilen av resande är att nästan samtliga 300 individer uppburit någon form av statliga bidrag"

The quote above is taken from Normark, Magnus; Ranstorp, Magnus; Ahlin, Filip (2017/02/01) "Finansiella aktiviteter kopplade till personer från Sverige och Danmark som anslutit sig till terrorgrupper i Syrien och Irak mellan 2013 – 2016" CATS, by order of Finansinspektionen. Se page

 $\underline{https://finansinspektionen.se/globalassets/media/dokument/rapporter/2017/terrorismfinansiering-fi-cats-\\ \underline{2017.pdf}$

It can also be downloaded

here: https://finansinspektionen.se/sv/publicerat/rapporter/rapporter/2017/finansiering-av-terrorism/

[III] https://lagen.nu/1962:700#K23P2

For the ban against conspiring to commit terrorism, see the law against terrorism ("Lag (2003:148) om straff för terroristbrott" in the original swedish), paragraph 4. Link: https://lagen.nu/2003:148

Archived: https://web.archive.org/web/20180725233914/https://lagen.nu/2003:148

The term I have translated to "conspiring" is the somewhat ambiguous "stämpling". The swedish prosecution agency defines "stämpling" as: "A form of preparation which means that a person

in consultation with another person, decides to commit a crime, attempts to induce another party to commit a crime or takes it upon themself to commit a crime"

The original swedish quote is: "En form av förberedelse till brott som innebär att en person i samråd med någon annan beslutar att begå ett brott, försöker förmå någon att utföra brott eller åtar sig att utföra ett brott." it can be found here: https://www.aklagare.se/ordlista/s/stampling/
Archived: https://web.archive.org/web/20180721210300/https://www.aklagare.se/ordlista/s/stampling/

[IV] Gruber, Silvia Anna (2016/04/19) "Fängelse för förberedelse till mord" SVT

Link: https://www.svt.se/nyheter/lokalt/vastmanland/fangelse-for-forberedelse-till-mord

The legal case with the jacket is "RH 1993:117" it can be read here: https://lagen.nu/dom/rh/1993:117

Archived: https://web.archive.org/web/20180725234013/https://lagen.nu/dom/rh/1993:117

No named author (2007/03/27) "Förberedelse till mord inte kränkande för det tilltänkta mordoffret" Dagens Juridik.

 $\label{link:http://www.dagensjuridik.se/2007/03/forberedelse-till-mord-inte-krankande-det-tilltankta-mordoffre \\ \underline{t}$

Archived: https://web.archive.org/web/20180725234111/http://www.dagensjuridik.se/2007/03/forberede lse-till-mord-inte-krankande-det-tilltankta-mordoffret

The quote for the robberycase, in the original swedish:"I målet har på vissa åtalspunkter invänts att den s k försökspunkten inte har uppnåtts. TR:n gör i den delen följande allmänna bedömning. I de aktuella fallen hade M.J. planerat rånet och med kamrater och rånarutrustning begett sig till utgångsläget. Därefter har han med någon medgärningsman i den stulna bilen begett sig därifrån mot den utsedda penninginrättningen. Det bestämda syftet var att begå rån och själva rånet skulle utföras i omedelbart samband med bilfärden. Endast mellankommande omständigheter skulle hindra att brottet fullbordades. För den som väntade vid utgångsläget återstod inga åtgärder att utföra för att rånet skulle komma till stånd. Denne kunde inte heller påverka händelsernas vidare utveckling.

Försökspunkten är den punkt vid vilken planeringen slutar och brottets utförande påbörjas. Försökspunkten skall läggas där det förefaller naturligt. M.J. hade i de aktuella fallen utsett bank, skaffat vapen, bil och övrig rånarutrustning. Dessutom hade han samlat medgärningsmännen vid utgångsläget nära den tilltänkta brottsplatsen. TR:n anser att förberedelserna avslutades vid utgångsläget och att försök att begå rån påbörjades i och med att M.J. och kamrater, utrustade för rån, i den stulna bilen lämnade utgångsläget för färd mot utsedd bank. [...] Domslut. HD ändrar på det sättet HovR:ns dom att M.H. i stället för försök till rån enligt åtalspunkterna 10 och 12 döms för förberedelse till rån och att längden av det M.H. ådömda fängelsestraffet bestäms till 5 år 4 mån. HD ändrar vidare HovR:ns dom på det sättet att M.A. i stället för försök till rån enligt åtalspunkterna 10 och 11 döms för förberedelse till rån och att längden av det M.A. ådömda fängelsestraffet bestäms till 1 år 6 mån. [...] JustR Lambe var skiljaktig på sätt framgår av följande yttrande: Gränsdragning mellan förberedelse och försök vid en brottsplan som omfattar flera handlingar måste i ganska stor utsträckning ankomma på omständigheterna i det enskilda fallet (SOU 1940:19). [...] Domstolarna anses vid gränsdragningen stå tämligen fria och kan vid ett sammanhängande händelseförlopp med flera led lägga försökspunkten på ett något tidigare stadium av händelseutvecklingen än slutskedet om det framstår som naturligt att anse att gärningsmannen då har påbörjat utförandet av brottet "

Archive: https://web.archive.org/web/20180725234235/https://lagen.nu/dom/nja/1995s405

[V] Botelho, Greg., Karimi, Faith., Basil, Yousuf (2016/03/10) "Leaked ISIS documents reveal recruits' blood types, obedience levels" CNN

Link: https://edition.cnn.com/2016/03/10/middleeast/isis-document-leak/index.html

Archived: https://web.archive.org/web/20180725234306/https://edition.cnn.com/2016/03/10/middleeast/isis-document-leak/index.html

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Archived: https://web.archive.org/web/20180721210300/https://www.aklagare.se/ordlista/s/stampling/

[VI] Larsson, Micke (2017/09/14) "S-kvinnor polisanmäler sugardating" GöteborgsPosten. Link: http://www.gp.se/nyheter/sverige/s-kvinnor-polisanmäler-sugardating-1.463399

[VII] No named author "Lochner Era" Cornell Law School. Link: https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/lochner-era

Regarding other cases in which parties have filed police reports, see: Bergman, Tommy (2018/03/14) "Efter Rågsvedsbranden – (V) polisanmäler fastighetsägare" SVT.

Link: https://www.svt.se/nyheter/lokalt/stockholm/efter-ragsvedsbrand-vansterpartiet-polisanmaler-fastighetsagare

No named author "V polisanmäler Max" Göteborgsposten.

Link: http://www.gp.se/nyheter/sverige/v-polisanm%C3%A4ler-max-1.695660

Waltersson, Yonna (2012/01/19) "V polisanmäler Stockholms landsting" DagensArena. Link: www.dagensarena.se/innehall/v-polisanmaler-stockholms-landsting/

No named author (2008/03/15)"Miljöpartiet polisanmäler Mineralbolaget AB" DT. Link: https://www.dt.se/artikel/dalarna/rattvik/miljopartiet-polisanmaler-mineralbolaget-ab

Grahn, Sindra (2014/06/03) "Moderaterna polisanmäler fri teatergrupp" SVT. Link: https://www.svt.se/kultur/moderaterna-polisanmaler-fri-teatergrupp

Johansson, Maria (2018) "Moderaterna polisanmäler flyktingungdomar efter osäkra åldersuppskrivningar aktuelltfokus.

Link: https://aktuelltfokus.se/moderaterna-polisanmaler-flyktingungdomar-efter-osakra-aldersuppskrivningar/amp/

Even once as an ironic statement about taxes, MUF (2008/09/23) "MUF polisanmäler Thomas Östros"

MyNewsDesk. Link: https://amp.mynewsdesk.com/se/muf/pressreleases/muf-polisanmaeler-thomas-oest ros-239765

[VIII] For the case of the The Swedish retailer ICA see: Blom, Edward (2017) "ICA:s handel med vin" IcaHistorien Centrum för

Näringslivshistoria. Link: http://www.ica-historien.se/artiklar/icas-handel-med-vin/

Archived: https://web.archive.org/save/https://www.ica-historien.se/artiklar/icas-handel-med-vin/

The quoted paragh taken from the local Malmö branch of the prosecution agencie, has been translated. The original was concentrated to one single sentence, but in order to accommodate the grammar of english it was needed split into two sentences and several commas and a dash (-) was added for the same reason.

The original swedish sentence is "Avvägningen mellan skyddet för yttrandefriheten och skyddet för utsatta grupper är en rättsfråga snarare än en bevisfråga *och bör avgöras av domstol genom en dom hellre än av åklagare i form av negativa åtalsbeslut.*" (emphasis added) it is taken from (2018/07)"Hets mot folkgrupp på sociala medier – en vägledning" Utvecklingscentrum Malmö, see page 6.

[IX] Dujmovic, Robert (2018/03/09) "79-åring klottrade rasism på toaletter och busskur" Helsingborgs Dagblad.

The quote "go home arab swine" is not available in the article, but can be read in the court documents. The case in question is B 6914-17 (2018-03-08) from the Helsingborg district court. Link: https://www.hd.se/2018-03-09/79-aring-klottrade-rasism-pa-toaletter-och-busskurer

Archive: https://web.archive.org/web/20180725234617/https://www.hd.se/2018-03-09/79-aring-klottrade-rasism-pa-toaletter-och-busskurer

[X] The government agency responsible for crime prevention, is called "Brå", the quoted report is called "Misshandel mellan obekanta — kan fler brott klaras upp?" see to page

53. Link: https://www.bra.se/publikationer/arkiv/publikationer/2007-06-26-misshandel-mellan-obekanta —kan-fler-brott-klaras-upp.html

O'brien, Zoie (2016/01/22) "Now ISIS declares war on OTHER MUSLIMS: Sickening threat over 'hidden Shiite war'" The

Express. Link: https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/637028/ISIS-propoganda-magazine-declares-more-war-this-time-on-OTHER-MUSLIMS

Dearden, Lizzie (2017/05/09) "Almost 10,000 Yazidis 'killed or kidnapped in Isis genocide but true scale of horror may never be known'" The

Independent. Link: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/isis-islamic-state-yazidi-sex-slaves-genocide-sinjar-death-toll-number-kidnapped-study-un-lse-a7726991.html

Archived: https://web.archive.org/save/https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/isis-isla mic-state-yazidi-sex-slaves-genocide-sinjar-death-toll-number-kidnapped-study-un-lse-a7726991.html

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