

Pedlars of hate: the violent impact of the European far Right



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RELATIONS

Published by the Institute of Race Relations

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ISBN 978-0-85001-071-9

Acknowledgements

We would like to acknowledge the support of the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust and the Open Society Foundations in the researching, production and dissemination of this report.

Many of the articles cited in this document have been translated into English by over twenty volunteers who assist the IRR's European Research Programme. We would especially like to thank Sibille Merz and Dagmar Schatz (who translate from German into English), Joanna Tegnerowicz (who translates from Polish into English) and Kate Harre, Frances Webber and Norberto Laguía Casaus (who translate from Spanish into English). A particular debt is due to Frank Kopperschläger and Andrei Stavila for their generosity in allowing us to use their photographs.

In compiling this report the websites of the Internet Centre Against Racism in Europe (www.icare.to) and Romea (www.romea.cz) proved invaluable.

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Cover photo by Frank Kopperschläger is of the 'Silence Against Silence' memorial rally in Berlin on 26 November 2011 to commemorate the victims of the National Socialist Underground. (In Germany, white roses symbolise the resistance movement to the Nazi regime. The red roses were placed to remember the victims of the 22 July 2011 massacre at Oslo and Utøya island.)

Designed and printed by Upstream Ltd (TU) A workers' cooperative
020 7358 1344 www.upstream.coop

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Preface

There have been many indicators over the last year that Europe, the continent which gave birth to fascism in the 1930s, is experiencing what the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern parliamentary leader of the Social Democrats calls an early form of far-right terror. First, July 2011, Oslo, and the murder of seventy-seven people, mainly children, by Anders Behring Breivik; then, December 2011, Florence, and the gunning down of two Senegalese street vendors by an erstwhile supporter of CasaPound. The scandal engulfing Germany, following revelations that the police and the intelligence services failed to detect the National Socialist Underground (NSU), the neo-Nazi terror cell which committed at least seven murders from 2000-2007, was another foreshadowing. Yet in the aftermath of each event, come explanations which militate against deep reflection about the causes and consequences of the crimes of Breivik, Gianluca Casseri, Uwe Mundlos, Uwe Böhnhardt, et al. The media debate focuses on the salacious, psychological and random aspects of such massacres. Breivik was a paranoid schizophrenic, Casseri a vulnerable loner. And we were constantly told that the NSU posed a uniquely difficult challenge to the state because, unlike other terror cells, it did not glorify or seek public recognition for its crimes. Thus, societies carry on as before, reassured that while the killings were indeed horrific, they suggest no hidden pattern and, hence, nothing fundamental needs to be changed. The hundred-plus cases, mostly from EU countries but also from Norway and Switzerland, documented here in *Pedlars of Hate*, reveal that there is indeed a pattern.

NEW PATTERNS OF HATE

The report is divided into sections that describe the texture of far-right sub-cultures and delineate the various stages that the far Right go through as its members make their way from racist ranting and the peddling of hate online, to violence and death on the streets, to the stockpiling of weapons in preparation for 'race war'. What we are witnessing are not a series of individual acts, but something far more systematic and threatening. Muslims and Roma, who were the first targets of the far Right, already know that the 'lone wolves' theory is not credible. But so now does much of the alternative Left and anti-racist civil society groups, as they too are being regularly subjected to far-right political violence. Of course, the situation is not uniform. And fascism 1930s style is not just around the corner. But new geographies of hate are developing, and certain regions, towns and cities are at risk from the propaganda and violence associated with fascism.

The cases documented in *Pedlars of Hate* also reveal a shocking lack of professionalism among key sections of European police and intelligence services which have not shown the requisite leadership or developed systems to protect vulnerable minorities and others from far-right violence. Worse still, we record instances that strongly suggest a police bias towards the far Right, and indicate that the intelligence services are developing infiltration schemes, which, because of a lack of democratic oversight, end up colluding with the far Right in ways that bring to mind the collusion of the Royal Ulster Constabulary with Loyalist paramilitaries in the North of Ireland.

Europe's growing counter-jihadi movement and network of defence leagues, in depicting the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq as conflicts between a superior civilisation and a barbaric Muslim enemy, are attempting to recruit returning soldiers and encouraging them to extend the fight to the Muslim enemy within. It is in this context, that we draw attention to the dangers posed when anti-democratic tendencies on societal, institutional and state security fronts combine.

NATIONALIST MESSAGES NURTURE FAR RIGHT

As Europe's politicians and civil servants embrace the age of austerity and the hope of its citizens for full employment, decent living standards and greater security is eroded, the attraction of extremist parties offering simplistic messages and scapegoats for anger and disillusionment will increase. But if centre-right and centre-left electoral parties respond to that crisis by offering nationalism as the palliative, then far-right extremism will have its ideal breeding ground of ultra-patriotism and nativism.

Historically, fascism and ultra-nationalism went hand in hand; the masses were indoctrinated into a hysterical identification with the Fatherland under threat from 'foreign infiltration' and the 'enemy within'. The Jews were accused of having a 'decadent culture' which was unpatriotic and cosmopolitan. Today it is the assault on multiculturalism (by centre-right leaders like Angela Merkel, David Cameron and Nicolas Sarkozy) which, combined with debates on national identity and core values, foment and encourage fascist and ultra-nationalist tendencies on the ground – only this time those nostalgic for a racially pure society use 'multiculturalism' as a synonym or shorthand for 'cosmopolitanism'.

We hope that this report will encourage reflection and action, not just against far-right extremism but against the rising tide of nationalism in Europe. In order to help readers understand the variations in far-right ideology and activism we provide at the end of the report an Appendix including a glossary of groups and parties and explanation of terms.

Liz Fekete

Introduction

This report brings together over one hundred cases from the beginning of 2010 until April 2012. Many aspects of far-right violence are discussed – from online death threats to arson and murder. While some of the cases suggest that small underground groups are stockpiling weapons and preparing for ‘race war’,¹ with the organisations and individuals attempting to articulate how serious the situation is, now at serious risk themselves from the far Right,² it would be wrong to see the situation in terms of one single and coherent far-right movement taking root across Europe. On the contrary, each far-right movement builds on its country’s particular extremist tradition. In Italy, for example, the Third Position fascism associated with Italy’s post-war movement, New Force (*Forza Nuova*) is the heritage on which the self-styled revolutionary nationalists of CasaPound draws; in the UK it could be the xenophobic street-fighting tradition of Sir Oswald Mosley’s British Union of Fascists that is reflected in the tactics of the English Defence League (EDL).

THE PASSAGE FROM THE 1990S’ EXTREME RIGHT TO THE FAR RIGHT TODAY

But why is the far Right resorting to more open violence? There are, of course, many explanations, but one we identify in this report is the creeping disaffection amongst the far Right with the more established

extreme-right, nativist and anti-immigration parties (such as the Danish People’s Party, the Norwegian Progress Party, the Freedom Party in Austria, the National Front in France, and the Northern League in Italy). When these extreme-right parties made their first dramatic electoral breakthroughs in the early 1990s, anti-immigrant and far-right voters seemed to have found a natural home. But with the passage of time, many extreme-right and right-wing populist parties became incorporated into electoral and parliamentary decision-making processes, whilst the far Right started to congeal into looser, less hierarchical and more conspiratorial grassroots networks, demanding urgent change with a revolutionary edge. These new forces are not content with the incorporation of a paler version of the extreme Right’s anti-immigration, anti-multiculturalism agenda into the political programmes of mainstream political parties. They want to ensure that the more openly nationalistic climate that has recently emerged across Europe, first out of the war on terror, and, second, as a direct consequence of the economic climate and austerity packages, works to the far Right’s benefit. And with the anti-Roma, anti-Gypsy sentiment and Islamophobia now emerging as the acceptable faces of European racism, the far Right has a political purchase it did not have before, particularly at a local level.

The picture of such groups and networks on the



On 30 March 2012, around two hundred members of the Danish and English Defence Leagues held an anti-Islam, anti-multiculturalism rally in Aarhus, the second largest city in Denmark. An estimated five thousand counter-demonstrators gathered under the slogan ‘Aarhus defends diversity’. Picture credit: mokdraft.dk

ground is variegated and complicated and it is not always easy to precisely pigeon-hole organisations and ideologies. But the identity-focused and resistance movements, such as the *Frei Kameradschaften* (literally 'free comradeship' groups) and the Autonomous Nationalists (*Autonome Nationalisten*), which can be found in many European countries, represent one trend,³ while the counter-jihadist, ultra-patriotic movements and defence leagues, that have emerged out of the war on terror and the hatred of Islam, another.⁴ But both buy into the conspiracy theory that the 'creation of a multicultural society' has led to 'the systematic eradication of cultural identity', indeed of 'entire peoples' and that multiculturalism, which 'like AIDS weakens the resistance of the European body politic'⁵, represents 'one of the greatest crimes ever perpetrated against humanity'.⁶ Declaring themselves at war with the doctrines of tolerance and liberalism,⁷ they depict the multi-ethnic society as a 'ticking time-bomb'.⁸ Sharing such a view, and seeking to hasten the bomb's explosion, are the international white supremacist internet discussion forum Stormfront and the Ku Klux Klan, already banned in many European countries, but now establishing European cells. And then there is Blood & Honour, and Redwatch, which first established the motto 'Remember places, traitor's faces, they'll all pay for their crimes'.

While nearly all the mainstream electoral extreme-right parties have moved away from classical anti-Semitism, expressing unqualified support for the state of Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories and professing a new-found 'philozionism' (love of Zionism),⁹ many (but by no means all) of these looser far-right networks are classical anti-Semites. They deny the Holocaust and seek to establish nationalistic narratives which omit the history of any collaboration with the Nazis and pogroms against the Jews in the period when the Third Reich dominated much of Europe. While the counter-jihadi network is first and foremost anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian, many of the more hard-core far-right groups we identify in this report believe that they have been betrayed by the pro-Israel extreme Right. As the case-studies demonstrate, this element of the far Right has stepped up its vitriol against Jews and attacks on Jewish targets. But despite a message - sometimes overt, sometimes by innuendo - that is decidedly anti-Semitic, the main targets of such groups are the Roma in eastern Europe and Muslims in western Europe. There are of course country variations. In southern Europe, in particular, asylum seekers, *sans papiers* and migrant workers are the targets of the rising nationalism, with the mainstream anti-immigration agenda fuelling attacks. These are all the more terrifying for those without official papers who cannot



Demonstrators march near the Piazza Dalmazia marketplace, Florence after two Senegalese street vendors were shot dead by a far-right sympathiser in December 2011. Picture credit: Sara Cerretelli

seek the protection of the police.

We know from the manifesto of Anders Behring Breivik, who killed seventy-seven people in Norway on 22 July 2011, that he was motivated by zealous nationalism and anti-Muslim fanaticism. At a pre-trial court appearance on 6 February 2011, Breivik, describing himself as a patriot, said he should be honoured with a military medal for his bomb attack outside government headquarters in Oslo and his shooting spree at the Labour Party summer camp on the tiny island of Utøya. His actions, he said, were a necessary strike against 'traitors' embracing immigration in order to promote 'an Islamic colonisation of Norway'.¹⁰ During a phone call to the police from Utøya island, in which he offered to surrender, Breivik described himself as 'Commander Anders Breivik of the Norwegian anti-communist resistance movement'.

Many political commentators would have us believe that Breivik's actions, as well as those of the far-right activist Gianluca Casseri, who gunned down two Senegalese street vendors in Florence on 13 December 2011, were those of lone psychopaths;¹¹ that the actions of an individual mass murderer has nothing to tell us about wider developments within European fascism.¹² Others view the far Right as a marginal problem, and say that it is ridiculous to paint a picture of an atavistic Europe, reverting to the worst aspects of its authoritarian past. But while we acknowledge that the far Right does not currently operate in quite the same fertile climate as that of the inter-war period, where racist and anti-democratic ideas were part of mainstream belief systems,¹³ such breezy optimism is, according to our research, out of place. While the electoral extreme Right does not openly advocate violence, it reinforces extremist messages by its programmes of induced repatriation of Third Country Nationals from 'non-western cultures'. Such parties argue that, irrespective of length of residence and rights, those

who are unemployed or who have committed a crime, no matter how minor, should be deported. While this is part of the programme of the small extreme-right Spanish Platform for Catalonia (PxC, *Plataforma per Catalunya* which also campaigns against mosques) it is an approach that the more mainstream radical right-wing populist Swiss People's Party (SVP, *Schweizerische Volkspartei*) has honed to perfection in its virulent and frankly scary campaigns against 'foreign criminals'.

In many southern European countries (and Switzerland)¹⁴ the target for invective is not just Muslims from North Africa, but sub-Saharan Africans too. And the invective travels from far to centre Right with Ginés Quiñonero, president of a Palma neighbourhood association who works closely with the centre-right mayor, stating that the August 2011 disturbances in Palma de Mallorca were 'a lesson in savagery' and a 'terrible Nigerian uprising'. (Quiñonero, himself, as a former Socialist Party councillor and, in the 1960s, a member of Communist Party, has travelled from Left to Right. Today his blog profile includes an image of a bust of himself as a Roman tribune, declaring against 'all that uncontrolled and rebellious African immigration that chokes and upsets us'.¹⁵)

Eastern European countries by and large did not have the same history of post-war migration from areas considered by the far Right as centres of Muslim backwardness and barbarism. And in the East, while far-right propaganda is much the same in tone, the message often utilises latent anti-Semitism.¹⁶ But the primary target is the Roma – the community that has been the most affected by eastern Europe's transi-

tion from socialist- to market-based economies. The far Right, in order to preserve the 'ethnocratic state' would like to see them confined to 'reservations'.¹⁷ The paramilitaries of the Hungarian Civic Guard for a Better Future (*Szebb Jövőért Polgárőr Egyesület*), which has the blessing, if not more, of the Movement for a Better Hungary (*Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom*) have taken to marching in Roma neighbourhoods in different parts of Hungary, while across a range of countries, liberals and the Left are being blamed for the 'Gypsification' of the nation.¹⁸ In fact, angry and often extremely violent demonstrations against the Roma are becoming daily occurrences in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic (particularly in Northern Bohemia, in areas close to the east German border), Slovakia and Hungary. A staggering 95 per cent of the Czech-born Romani population perished in the Holocaust ('the Devouring' as it is known by the Romani people), yet the language of Heinrich Himmler, the architect of the 'Final Solution', is once again being used in the Czech Republic. It is not only the far Right, but the mainstream media, that now openly refers to the Roma as 'inadaptable' people.¹⁹ Riot police and water cannon have been used to disperse anti-Roma protesters in northern Bohemia;²⁰ riot police have been similarly deployed in Bulgaria which has experienced its worst civil unrest in decades. Depressingly, this anti-Roma pattern of far-right behaviour is also intensifying in southern Europe and France, spurred on, in part, by the mass clampdown on Roma encampments initiated by the Sarkozy and Berlusconi governments.²¹

Online threats and 'national traitor' listings

The new social media allows the far Right an important new way to increase its support-base and to disseminate conspiracy theories, and the pattern of violence often starts with intimidation against Black and Minority Ethnic (BME)²² communities and political opponents in the virtual world. The names, addresses and other details of opponents first appear in online forums where the actions of individuals like Anders Behring Breivik, Gianluca Casseri, L'ubomír Harman are glorified and the men referred to as martyrs for the white race.²³ (A clothing shop frequented by neo-Nazis in eastern Germany has even been named after Breivik.)²⁴ Some intelligence services are beginning to wake up to the danger of online hate, particularly on social networking sites and in some countries there have been prosecutions for inciting racial hatred on Facebook. (see below) In other countries, police say they are finding it difficult to prosecute internet-published death threats as internet providers are based in the United States.²⁵ In Finland and the Czech Republic experts on the far Right or integration and immigration issues, report that they are constantly threatened and abused online. University of Helsinki Chancellor Ilkka Niiniluoto says he has never known there to be a time when the Finnish scientific community had been placed under such attack.

Below, we examine extremist sites that have come to the notice of the authorities.

Bulgaria: *Tsar Kiro Must Die, Support for Bulgarians Arrested in Katunitsa* and *Bulgaria without Gypsies* are just a few of the one hundred new social media sites that appeared after anti-Roma violence started on 23 September 2011 in Katunitsa, in the region of Oblast Plovdiv, and then spread to other cities (largely through utilising such sites). Many of the sites were deleted only to be quickly replaced with new ones.²⁶ One Facebook page *Mirolyuba Benatova Enemy of Bulgarian People* was set up solely to call for a journalist on BTV television channel to be 'banned, fired, deported, desecrated and punished'. Mirolyuba Benatova's 'crime' was filing factual reports of football hooligans setting fire to buildings in Katunitsa. Benatova commented on her Facebook page that she endured 'a week of verbal terror, instigation of hatred, threats and extreme anti-Semitic statements'. Slav Zhechev, the initiator of the Facebook page *Slaughter of the Gypsies*, which is illustrated with photos of knives and images of the mistreatment of Roma people, has been found guilty of incitement to racial hatred – the first prosecu-

tion of its kind in Bulgaria.²⁷

Czech Republic: Martin Kubák was convicted of issuing death threats and other messages threatening serious harm against Patrik Banga, the Roma moderator of iDNES.cz. in the first prosecution of its kind in the Czech Republic.²⁸ In another case, five men, aged 19 to 28, from the Moravian district of Kroměříž, were charged with promoting Nazism on a social networking site which included a soundtrack with a racist subtext inciting hatred against non 'Aryans'.²⁹ Another case which recently came to court involved the online activities of a neo-Nazi group called White Justice. It called for the liquidation of people with 'unclean intentions' and drew up a list of enemies, including, on account of his Jewish origins, the former prime minister Jan Fischer.³⁰ It seems that the initiators of one of the 100 most popular Czech-language pages on social networking sites, *Crude racist jokes with racist and xenophobic content* will not face prosecution. Lawyer Klára Kalibová believes that while the site is probably not prosecutable, comments posted by some users, which either implicitly or explicitly call for violence, are.³¹

In January 2012, extremism expert, Michal Mazel, who had previously worked in the Security Policy Department of the Czech Interior Ministry, said he would no longer appear as an expert court witness because of constant abuse and threats from the far Right. For him, the final straw was a complaint against him made to the court by the lawyer for Workers' Social Justice Party (DSSS – *Dělnická Strana Sociální Spravedlnost*)³² member Lucie Šlegrová, which referred to Mazel as 'a person of Jewish origin' who was not objective enough to appear in court as he would be 'very sensitive to the question of the Shoah and German National Socialism and, like many of his fellow tribal members, has a tendency to over-react'. Mazel is not in fact Jewish but, according to him, the Nazis 'have no compunction about writing that until the cows come home. It is hard to remain calm when the Nazis start writing where you live and other things on their websites.' Another expert witness on right-wing extremism, Miroslav Mareš, also stepped down from such work in 2008 citing similar reasons, including neo-Nazi threats and fear for his personal safety.³³

Denmark: Danish blogger Margrethe Hansen posed as a rabid nationalist and created a fake profile in order to sign up to the Facebook page of the Danish Defence League (DDL). She now lives at a secret address after receiving death threats by those who accuse her of



On 26 November 2011, memorial events took place in at least eleven German cities to remember the victims of the National Socialist Underground. The aim of the 'Silence Against Silence' protest was to send a message to the 'silent majority in Germany' that they must do more to oppose racism and fascism. Picture credit: Frank Kopperschläger

being a traitor who has embraced multiculturalism. The DDL's motto is 'If you wish for peace, prepare for war'.³⁴

Finland: The National Bureau of Investigation says that an internet site, registered to an American neo-Nazi, published a hit list of fifty Finns who promote multiculturalism. The internet site called for the hanging or shooting of much of the Finnish political leadership, including president Tarja Halonen and former prime minister Matti Vanhanen.³⁵ Online threats have also been made against Finnish social scientists carrying out research on immigration. As their families have also been threatened, some researchers have withdrawn from public discussions rather than face intimidation.³⁶

The Satakunta Police Department is investigating whether Facebook comments made by a True Finns elected councillor in Köyliö constitute incitement to racial hatred. After a 21-year-old Moroccan man was shot dead in Oulu in March (see page 15), Tommi Rautio posted that the murderer should be given a medal because there is 'a war going on and in every war decorations are handed out'.³⁷

France: A Facebook page was set up, calling on people to 'Slit the throat of Muslims on 6 November' the Eid al-Adha holiday. Following the intervention of the Collective Against Islamophobia in France (CCIF – *Collectif Contre L'Islamophobie en France*), the page was closed down and the author was sought by the police on the grounds that 'despicable words' are 'actionable under law'.³⁸ Prior to this, a blogger, who burnt a copy of the Qur'an in an internet broadcast and urinated on it, was acquitted of incitement by a Strasbourg court on the grounds that he had acted within the boundar-

ies of freedom of expression and his video was aimed at terrorist acts and not the wider Muslim community.³⁹

Germany: Investigators into the activities of the National Socialist Underground (NSU), the neo-Nazi terror cell which murdered at least seven people from 2000-2007,⁴⁰ have discovered a hit list of eighty-eight possible targets, including Green MP Jerzy Montag, Christian Social Union MP Hans-Peter Uhl, and many Left party officials. (The number 88 is significant, corresponding in the alphabet to HH, or Heil Hitler.) It has also emerged that the three known cell members of the NSU were in possession of a data device holding the names of 10,000 people among them politicians, church figures and associations opposed to right-wing extremism.⁴¹

The Islamophobic counter-jihadist website *Nürnberg 2.0*, once described as harmless by the Office for the Defence of the Constitution (BfV), calls for prosecution under the Nuremberg process of those it lists, accusing them of betraying the spirit of the German constitution by allowing the Islamisation of the country. The website aims to document 'the systematic and anti-constitutional Islamisation of Germany and the criminal acts of left-wing fascists to suppress the German Volk'. It calls for the prosecution of politicians Lale Akgün and Daniel Cohn-Bendit, journalists Daniel Bax and Patrick Bahners, and scholars Mathias Rohe and Wilhelm Heitmeyer.⁴² Another website that lists national traitors is *Politically Incorrect* – one of the largest anti-Islamic websites in Europe with 60,000 internet users a day, it has come under increased scrutiny after the Oslo massacre. In January 2012, the BfV set up a working group to examine whether *Nürnberg 2.0* and *Politically Incorrect* were in breach of the German

constitution. The operators of both websites maintain that they do not tolerate defamatory or insulting comments. But the public prosecutor in Munich has initiated an investigation into Michael Stürzenberger, on suspicion of incitement to racial hatred, through the blogs which he has written for *Politically Incorrect*.⁴³

Other investigations and prosecutions which have taken place in Germany include the following:

***Altermedia:** In October 2011, Axel Möller and Robert Rupprecht who administered and wrote for the neo-Nazi website Altermedia Germany were sentenced to prison after being found guilty of forty-eight crimes, including incitement to racial hatred, inciting violence against trades unionists, denying the Holocaust and glorifying National Socialism. Altermedia is the most hardcore of the far-right websites and is an offshoot of Altermedia International which has an estimated four million hits per year and is linked to David Duke, a former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK).⁴⁴

***Whitknightseuropa:** In 2011, Peter Becker was found guilty of inciting hatred on the website *whitknightseuropa* which is a European offshoot of the website of the KKK in the US. The website included pictures of a burning cross in front of a flag together with a KKK horseman and racist images and text directed at Black people who were portrayed as cannibals and, in one image, with a face entirely disfigured with the text ‘the face of syphilis’.⁴⁵

***National Democratic Party of Germany:** Matthias Heyder, the National Democratic Party (NPD – *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands*) leading candidate in the March 2011 regional elections in Saxony-Anhalt, is under investigation for using an online forum to discuss possible terrorist attacks, bomb-making methods and the ‘defiling’ of left-leaning women. He is accused of using a pseudonym to post the comments.⁴⁶

***Resistance Radio Station:** In January 2012, twelve employees of a neo-Nazi linked internet radio station, which broadcast from July 2009 to November 2010, were found guilty of supporting a criminal organisation, inciting racial hatred and encouraging its listeners to commit criminal acts. The station idealised Germany’s Nazi regime and incited violence against foreigners, Jews and the Left.⁴⁷

Italy: At the end of December 2011, public prosecutors initiated an investigation into the international white supremacist website Stormfront after it posted a blacklist of ‘Italian criminals’ – anti-racist organisations, Muslim and Jewish leaders, leading politicians (including the vice-president of Tuscany), town councillors (particularly from Milan and Turin), judges, lawyers, journalists, academics and priests who ‘look after immigrants’.⁴⁸ The publication of the names occurred after a member of an online forum called Costantino posted: ‘We are accused of racism against immigrants, and that we hate them for no reason, but Italians too commit crimes. I want to prove that I do not hate foreigners, but that I hate some Italians much more. This is why I wish to open this debate and collect the

names of Italians who commit crimes, who help immigrants and profit from this.’⁴⁹

Also in December, the website HolyWar.org, run by Alfred Olsen, a Norwegian Holocaust denier and supporter of a ‘Christian Serbia’, ran photographs of nine prominent Italian Jews, describing them as ‘Nazi-Jewish members of the Italian Jewish mafia cupola’ and ‘slaves of Satan’ who wanted to destroy the Catholic church. After the website contents were reported to the police, the page was withdrawn.⁵⁰

At the beginning of January 2012, Renato Pallaviddini, a high school teacher from Torino, previously convicted for Holocaust Denial, posted a picture of Mussolini and Hitler on Facebook with the caption ‘Take a look, you dirty bastard Jews who control us from the land of shit and homosexuals, called California. If you remove this picture, I will go to the synagogue next to my house, with my pistol and gun down some parasite Jews.’⁵¹

Netherlands: A cartoon by Adriaan Soeterbroek, satirising a proposal by Geert Wilders, leader of the Freedom Party (PVV – *Partij voor de Vrijheid*), posted on the Vara public broadcasting *joop.nl* site, had to be removed following serious anonymous threats made against the broadcaster’s staff. The cartoon was published after Wilders proposed setting up special villages for people who cause a persistent public nuisance, which he called *Tuigdorpen*, or scum villages. The cartoon which featured a queue of people, obviously immigrants, wearing the letter T on their clothes and being directed towards the villages by Wilders, drew a comparison with the Nazi death camps.⁵²

Poland: The Redwatch website, which is linked to the neo-Nazi Blood & Honour (associated with the promotion of white power music), was temporarily blocked after it published a ‘death list’ of ‘traitors of the white race’ which included left-wing, anti-racist, feminists and those advocating rights for immigrants and LGBTQ people. The name of Adam Michnik, editor-in-chief of Poland’s largest liberal daily, the *Gazeta Wyborcza*, once appeared on the list, which seems to be constantly updated. Another name listed was that of Killion Munzele Munyama, Poland’s second Black MP who represents the Civic Platform Party. Munyama’s entry included his telephone number, residential address, contact details of his wife (including her place of employment) and a picture of his wife with the description ‘the white wh..e of the negro [sic]’.

Previously, three neo-Nazis linked to Redwatch were convicted of ‘promoting a totalitarian regime in Poland and encouraging hatred towards people of different ethnic origin, nationality, race and religion’. However, anti-racists point out that the Redwatch site, which was updated six times in October 2011, continues its intimidation.⁵³

Spain: The public prosecutor in Barcelona has opened an investigation into comments made on Facebook by members of the PxC in the context of its campaign against the religious rights of Muslims in

Tarrasa, Barcelona. Messages were posted describing imams as 'swine, sons of whores' who 'are in need of another night of the long knives, thus bringing an end to the problem of this rabble ... You will not be able to overcome us, not even in death and we shall put an end to your trash'.⁵⁴

Sweden: Peter Mangs, a 40-year-old man with a history of psychiatric problems who is alleged to be the Malmö serial shooter who targeted migrants, (see page 15) is currently facing trial on at least three counts of murder and at least twelve attempted murders. The police seized his computer and allegedly found a list of names including Jason Diakité, one of Sweden's most popular hip-hop performers, who uses the stage name Timbuktu to mark his Malian roots. Mangs, who reportedly suffers from Aspergers' Syndrome, is not known to have been a member of any far-right organisation. Dr. Niklas Långström, director of the Centre for Violence Prevention at the Karolinska Institute fears that far-right rhetoric may 'provide focus of paranoia and aggression in vulnerable and predisposed individuals'.⁵⁵

A website set up by a man previously known to the authorities as a member of the neo-Nazi Swedish Resistance Movement (SVR – *Svenska Motståndsrörelsen*), included the names and contact information of dozens of convicted child sex offenders who were instructed that they could only have their information removed by undergoing 'chemical castration'. The man who runs the site had previously spent two months in prison for vandalism and threatening immigrants and is now known to be a member of the National Youth Association (*Förbundet Nationell Ungdom*) which aims to 'take back' Sweden.⁵⁶

In addition to these cases, there have also been claims that in Denmark and Finland nativist parties may have been infiltrated by more violent or fanatical elements which advocate racial segregation.

Denmark: The newspaper *Politiken* obtained leaked documents which suggest that a secretive far-right network, named simply as ORG, established an extensive 'traitor archive' entitled 'The Great Memory'. At least until 2009, the ORG was monitoring its political opponents and sharing information on their activities with the Danish Association (*Den Danske Forening*) which was set up in 1987 to protect Danish culture from the dissolution caused by the 'enormous influx of immigrants from countries plagued by overpopulation'. Danish intelligence services are investigating a former police officer suspected of being the main organiser for the ORG in Copenhagen. In 2009, the (unnamed) police officer received a suspended sentence after being found guilty of abusing his position by collecting information on individuals for his personal use from police computer databases. There is evidence that two former Danish People's Party (DF – *Dansk Folkeparti*) politicians are now high-ranking members of ORG,

though a spokesperson for the DF maintains that their involvement in the secretive network developed after they left the party.⁵⁷

Finland: The Centre for Research on Ethnic Relations is concerned that some members of the nationalist True Finns Party (PS – *Perussuomalaiset*) – which received 19 per cent of the vote in the last general election – are also members of an ultra-nationalist group called *Suomen Sisu* which opposes multiculturalism and declares on its website that 'different ethnicities should not be intentionally mixed'.⁵⁸ Prominent True Finns who are members include Jussi Halla-aho⁵⁹ and Matias Turkkila. Leaked documents published on the internet reveals that Ulla Pyysalo, parliamentary aide for True Finns MP and *Suomen Sisu* member Juho Eerola, had applied to join the neo-Nazi Finnish Resistance Movement (SVL – *Suomen Vastarintaliike*)⁶⁰, as had a local councillor and a chair of a local branch of the True Finns.⁶¹

It is possible that the kind of online intimidation and hate described above will be tackled by Scandinavian countries, where there is growing awareness that even when abuse falls short of incitement, the level of hatred daily expressed on the internet is unacceptable.⁶² Following the massacre in Oslo and Utøyo island, the VG tabloid newspaper had to close down its web comments page because of the sheer number of vitriolic, Islamophobic and racist messages posted. Some journalists and political commentators are now calling for an examination of the way freedom of speech is practised in Norway, suggesting that editors have a duty to play the role of 'democratic traffic-police' since 'preventing head-on collisions and saving the lives of pedestrians are both civic and moral acts'.⁶³ Similarly in Sweden, responsible editors are taking action. Several major Swedish newspapers, including *Expressen*, *Dagens Nyheter*, and *Aftonbladet* have introduced restrictions to the comment functions in their real-time discussion forums in an attempt to gain better control and limit racism, sexism and personal attacks.⁶⁴ *Expressen* editor-in-chief Thomas Mattson said, 'It is not an easy decision for a liberal newspaper to state that, for a period of time, it is to limit people's ability to express themselves, but we must take a responsibility for those that feature in our articles will not be subjected to derogatory comments and that the network does not become a forum [for] covert racism.' Mattson says that the offenders are a small, but vocal group of anonymous users.⁶⁵ The words of the former Finnish President Tarja Halonen (whose name appeared on a far-right hit-list of fifty prominent Finns who should be shot or hung) are appropriate. Calling on all Finns to do more to counter incitement to hatred and emphasising that the responsibility belonged to everyone, she concluded: 'Freedom of speech is part of freedom of expression, and is a part of human rights, but it does not exceed all others'.⁶⁶

From virtual attack to acts of violence

Though action against online hate is very welcome, there is the danger that over-reaction to the virtual world will be counterproductive, especially if it is disconnected from actual acts of violence in the real world on the streets where racial hatred is already ineffectually policed. The role of nationalist and Islamophobic politicians in creating a climate where physical attacks on the streets take place is also insufficiently understood. Populists like Geert Wilders are pushing at the boundary of incitement laws. But if they successfully defend themselves against prosecution (as Wilders recently did), freedom of speech will emerge as the absolute freedom under which other freedoms – including the right to life – will be subsumed. Meanwhile, some rabidly nationalist leaders are either directly or indirectly inciting violence in television interviews, and in some countries, like Germany, the far Right has its own alternative radio channels from which groups incite hate. One of the most explicit examples of inciting hatred through the mainstream media occurred in Latvia where nationalist leader Uldis Frejmanis declared on the TV's 5th channel 'Without Censorship' programme that Jews should be hung from poles.⁶⁷ But in eastern Europe the anti-Roma pronouncements of politicians from parties like National Union Attack (Bulgaria), Jobbik (Hungary), the DSSS (Czech Republic) and the Slovak National Party have become commonplace. National Union Attack (Ataka) leader Vidon Siderov has used television interviews to urge Bulgarians to take measures to defend their property as 'thousands of Bulgarians have been killed, raped and robbed in their own homes in the villages by gypsy gangs'.⁶⁸ He recently called for three 'Roma mafia' members 'to be shot dead instead of being interviewed by police'.⁶⁹ Siderov attempts to portray the majority ethnic Bulgarians as the victims of an aggressive minority, the Roma, who, despite having citizenship, are never seen as Bulgarians. And the DSSS in the Czech Republic also followed such reasoning by carrying banners stating 'Stop Black Racism' and 'Nothing but Nation' when they held a rally against the Roma in Varnsdorf, in northern Bohemia's Ústí nad Labem region.

Unfortunately this tendency to see 'natives' ('white') as the true victims of non-natives ('immigrant' 'Black' or 'Gypsy'), is tied up with a popular nativist mythology that draws its power from everyday fables and fictions about 'reverse racism' or white victimhood. In eastern countries, the 'reverse racism' thesis is a way of establishing the victimhood of the majority, even

as the UN, the European Commission, et al threaten sanctions against widespread and systematic discrimination against the Roma. In the Czech Republic, a police investigation into the worst civil unrest in years, which started in the Šluknov area has actually come up with a damning critique of the media for its sensationalist handling of a brawl between two local criminal gangs of drug dealers, with no more than four to five people on each side, which was reported as though it were a racially motivated attack committed by Romani people against ethnic Czechs. This then gave rise to clashes between Roma and so-called 'natives' across the country.⁷⁰ In other countries, like France, where Houria Bouteldja of Les Indigènes de la République, was prosecuted for anti-white racism, and the UK, where there were calls for the Black British politician Diane Abbott to be dismissed from the shadow cabinet on a similar accusation,⁷¹ the reverse racism thesis is linked to attempts by the New Right to rewrite the history of colonialism so as to valorise the colonial powers and silence those seen as representative of former colonial subjects with more critical views. But, with the mainstream Right across Europe increasingly calling for anti-discrimination legislation to be dismantled, the 'reverse-racism' thesis is becoming yet more powerful and destructive.⁷²

Fascism has traditionally been about capturing public spaces, cleansing the street of political opponents and establishing dominance in the neighbourhoods inhabited by the 'racial enemy'. But fascism has also always had its opponents, and the first victims of neo-Nazi terror were those who took a stand against the extreme Right. This is understood in Germany, where Norbert Nieszery, the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern parliamentary leader of the Social Democrats (SPD) described violence against the Left in the run up to the September 2011 elections as an 'early form of terror'. (See page 30).

The police, however, often fail to make the connection. Apparently unaware that anti-fascists are a reaction to fascism, and do not go around attacking minorities in their homes, they tend to see anti-fascists and fascists as equal threats and solely within the framework of public order policing. The parading of fascists through Roma and Muslim neighbourhoods is seen in terms of the rights of fascists to protest, with subsequent clashes with anti-fascists viewed solely through the lens of public order. Such tunnel vision overlooks that fascists and ultra-nationalists choose particular neighbourhoods in order to intimidate its

residents. To point this out should not be controversial, it has been so since the 1930s. (In the UK, for example, the parallels between Sir Oswald Mosley's black-clad militia marching through the East End, attempting to terrorise the Jewish community, most notably at Cable Street in 1936, and the EDL's targeting of the Bangladeshi community of Whitechapel, east London today, is clear.) But today authorities, including police forces in Europe, are not sufficiently sensitised to the link between far-right public parades and criminal intimidation of minorities and opponents.

UK: On 9 October 2010, during a planned demonstration, a breakaway group of EDL members attacked the Asian-run Big John's Restaurant in Leicester, smashing shop windows and threatening customers. On 2 July 2011, forty people carrying EDL banners surrounded the home of Muslim Conservative MEP Sajjad Karim trying to intimidate him. The blog of Casuals United (a right-wing football supporters' group) stated that: 'Sajjad Karim who voted against the labelling of Halal meat products thought he was going to have a quiet sunny afternoon with his family in the family home but little did he know that just around the corner the EDL were gathering'. On 31 July 2011, a Kurdish family were forced to barricade themselves inside their kebab shop in Plymouth after four men shouted abuse while chanting 'EDL'. The men, aged 27, 28, 33 and 43, threw a glass at the family. They were arrested at the scene, two on suspicion of affray, one for threatening behaviour and one for suspected criminal damage. In August 2011, after a demonstration by the EDL against a proposed new mosque in Chingford, Essex, members of the organisation attacked two Muslim brothers and seriously injured one of them.⁷³

The EDL also targets (as the extreme Right did in the 1970s) trades unionists, anti-globalisation and anti-cuts movements, as well as those campaigning for Palestinian rights. In June 2010, the Palestine Solidarity Campaign stall in Birmingham was attacked and



The English Defence League regularly sports Israeli flags at demonstrations and attacks those campaigning for Palestinian rights.

peace activists physically assaulted by members of the EDL who shouted racist and Islamophobic abuse. On 5 April 2011, over thirty people chanting EDL slogans and carrying an EDL flag attacked a meeting on multiculturalism in Brighton, injuring one woman's hands. On 7 May 2011, fifteen men carrying an EDL flag descended upon News From Nowhere, a trade union and labour movement book shop in Merseyside, and attempted to intimidate the staff. On 29 October 2011, a group of supporters of the EDL, the Infidels and the National Front gathered in Newcastle city centre to harass and later attack the Occupy Newcastle camp. On 11 November 2011, police arrested 179 EDL members in Central London after repeated threats against the anti-capitalist Occupy London camp. Also on 11 November 2011, ten EDL supporters attempted to attack the north-west regional headquarters of the trades union Unite in Liverpool. On 19 November 2011, Occupy Bristol claimed its camp was attacked by Bristol's EDL.⁷⁴

Of course anyone who finds themselves in the vicinity of a far-right demonstration and has the wrong skin colour, or racial characteristics, is at risk. But those identified as 'national traitors' are particularly vulnerable.

Austria: On the official Auschwitz concentration camp 2012 memorial day in Vienna, to the horror of many, the right-wing student fraternities decided to stage its annual Viennese Corporation Ball at the Hofburg Palace, with the FN's Marine Le Pen and the Austrian Freedom party (FPÖ – *Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs*) leader, Heinz-Christian Strache in attendance. An anti-fascist demonstration was called, as it is each year, and a large-scale police operation was mounted to prevent anti-fascist protestors clashing with the far-right guests as they made their way to the ball. On his way home from the Auschwitz commemoration, Albrecht Konecny, the former head of the Social Democrats (SPÖ) grouping in the federal council (*Bundesrat*) was punched senseless by a group of presumed neo-Nazis. An internal police investigation has been launched after Konecny complained that the police stood by as the attack took place.⁷⁵

France: On 28 February 2012, in the run-up to the French presidential elections, prominent Socialist party member, Arnaud Montebourg and his partner, Audrey Pulvar, who is a well-known broadcaster, were attacked outside a Paris restaurant by a group of fifteen men who shouted FN and anti-Jewish slogans and threw bottles. The incident came a few days after Pulvar gave Marine Le Pen a grilling in a weekend television show about her alleged associations with European neo-Nazi groups.⁷⁶

Cyprus: The Hellenic Resistance Movement (KEA), the Greek Popular Front (ELAM – *Ethniko Laiko Metopo*), the Cyprus Anti-Occupation Movement, the Movement for the Salvation of Cyprus and other nationalists are carrying out organised violence against selected targets. The headquarters of Action for Equality Support and Anti-Racism (KISA) is regularly defaced



The Greek Popular Front demonstrate carrying a banner 'For every illegal immigrant – one Greek unemployed'. Picture credit: courtesy of KISA

with swastikas and the European Network Against Racism drew attention to the April 2010 attack on a building of the Palestinian community in Larnaca.⁷⁷ KEA refers to KISA as a 'social abscess' and 'a fifth column'.

After the ELAM movement held an anti-occupation ceremony in Nicosia in July 2010, a number of its supporters went on the rampage, attacking a 25-year-old student from Nigeria who ended up being hit by a car as he attempted to flee. The ELAM denied that the attackers, who were wearing the trademark black t-shirt with the ELAM emblem, were connected to the party.⁷⁸

A further escalation in violence in Larnaca occurred on 5 November 2010 at the annual anti-racist Rainbow Festival organised by KISA. According to the organisation, the police allowed the fascists to march through the heart of the festival on the Larnaca seafront and interrupt a speech by the head of the European Commission's Representative in Cyprus – Androulla Kaminara. The fascists, shouting racist taunts and threats including 'axe and fire against KISA's dogs' then threw bottles at festival-goers and cut the electricity cables so that the live-music was disrupted. Thirteen people were hospitalised. In another incident, away from the main venue, Turkish Cypriot musicians performing at the festival were hit with baseball bats and singer Sertunc Akdogu was stabbed in the stomach while another man suffered a broken arm. None of the far-right activists were arrested, but six participants of the Rainbow Festival were held for the night in jail.⁷⁹

Czech Republic: The African-American singer Tonya Graves, who is a member of a Czech funk band Monkey Business, said that on the day the DSSS staged an anti-Roma rally in Vimperk, southern Bohemia, she was verbally and physically attacked in a restaurant in the town. As she was alone, it was a very frightening experience and she said that 'they started shouting racist slogans at me, pulling my hair and spitting at me'. Two off-duty police officers in the restaurant did nothing to help her, but restaurant guests and waiters came to her defence. The DSSS said that Tonya Graves'

accusation was 'part of a campaign to discredit' the party.⁸⁰

Romani activist Ivan Koky, the founder of an organisation that works for the social integration of Roma and organises sport for children, had the front door of his apartment in Pizeň spray-painted with a red swastika, after he had received racist and threatening emails over a six-month period, one threatening to 'cut off the heads of gypsies'. Another email said it was known that Koky had complained to the police.⁸¹

Following raids on neo-Nazis across the Czech Republic on 27 March 2012, nine people were charged with various offences linked to supporting and promoting movements that suppress human rights, planning attacks against specific people and buildings and, in the case of

two of those charged, racially motivated arson attacks at a boarding house, occupied almost exclusively by Romany, in the town of Ašín and a fire at a restaurant in the Kunratice forest in Prague at the end of 2011. The authorities claim to have discovered documents that suggest the groups were planning direct action against minorities, those opposed to neo-Nazi ideology and representatives of the democratic order of the state. The police state that those arrested helped found the Czech branches of Blood & Honour and Combat 18 and that members of the Blood & Honour Division Bohemia have had in their possession rifles and pistols, instructions and materials for the manufacture of explosives, as well as industrially produced devices for their ignition. Knives, knuckle dusters, telescopic truncheons and Nazi insignia were also seized by the police during the raids.⁸²

Germany: In Germany, the NPD began to make an electoral breakthrough after the 2001 banning of the Saxon Switzerland Skinheads, which then went underground. The NPD's leader (1996-2011) Udo Voigt has for some time been associated with violence and was, in 1998, prosecuted for incitement to hatred following a speech in which he said that young people should have recourse to weapons when in danger from established parties. Its current leader, Günter Deckert, previously served a five-year prison sentence for Holocaust Denial and inciting racial hatred.

The authorities have increased security for senior Left Party (*Die Linke*) politicians after the names of several dozen officers were found to be included on the lists of the NSU cell.⁸³ The Left Party has compiled a record of over 100 suspected far-right attacks on Left Party politicians and offices between January 2010 and Summer 2011, mostly in North Rhine-Westphalia and eastern Germany.⁸⁴ Incidents include the following:

*Gregor Gysi, the parliamentary leader of the Left Party, was surrounded by neo-Nazis whenever he visited his constituency office in the Berlin district of Niederschöneweide, an area which the far Right is

.....

seeking as its base, renting more and more office space and shops.

*The office of Left Party national treasurer Raju Sharma in Eutin, Schleswig-Holstein has been attacked seven times since February 2010.

*Bodo Ramelow, Left Party parliamentary group leader in Thuringia, has experienced a range of attacks from a burglary at his office, severed brake cables, loosened nuts on the wheels of his deputy's car, and death threats. 'I would like to have spared my children the need to be trained in security measures by government agents', he commented. Ramelow had previously been a witness at the trial of the neo-Nazi Manfred Roeder, who has convictions for terrorism. At this trial, two men, whom he now knows as the NSU murderers Uwe Mundlos and Uwe Böhnhardt, established a highly intimidating presence in the court. When they sat down in the public gallery behind Ramelow, he recalls feeling that they 'were a silent threat breathing down my neck'. Ramelow says that he suffers from nightmares of the two NSU men's faces.⁸⁵

*In the south-western town of Göppingen, someone tampered with the brakes on local councillor Christian Stähle's car and set fire to his letterbox.

*The Thuringian Emergency Service for Victims of Violence caused by Far-Right Extremism believes that official agencies are ignoring far-right incidents which are taking on a more sinister character. In addition to physical violence, perpetrators have taken to 'stalking the people without touching them' and other intimidatory tactics such as 'home visits' or 'putting stickers near apartments'. In a recent prosecution arising out of a 2009 incident in which Filip Heinlein, a Green Party member on Sonneberg county council was brutally attacked by three neo-Nazis, even though the perpetrators shouted 'Sieg Heil' and anti-Semitic slogans, and some belonged to the Freie Kameradschaft in Sonneberg, the court refused to accept the attack was racially motivated.⁸⁶

*Another incident involving neo-Nazis occurred in September 2010 in the centre of Regensburg in Bavaria. A young barman suffered serious injuries at the hands of a neo-Nazi gang who attacked him for having gone to the aid of a black woman and her child who was being insulted by them. Eighty-five workers in restaurants and bars then launched the initiative 'No Service for Nazis' (*Keine Bedienung für Nazis*).⁸⁷

Greece: The Athens office of the Afghan Community of Greece has been repeatedly attacked and in one incident in 2011 the association's president Yunus Mohammed was beaten up after far-right groups ransacked the premises.⁸⁸

Hungary: The 80-year-old award-winning Hungarian Jewish writer Akos Kertesz has applied for political asylum in Canada stating that a government witch-hunt against him has left him vulnerable to extremist

threats and constant harassment and he now fears for his life. After Kertesz referred to Hungarians as 'genetically subservient' because they 'do not feel the slightest remorse' for their role in the Holocaust, he was stripped of his honorary citizenship.⁸⁹

Italy: Several prominent members of the organisation EveryOne Group, which is well-known for its work on behalf of Roma and refugees, were included on the list of national traitors published by Stormfront (see page 9). EveryOne members had previously reported incidents of intimidation of its members particularly in the Adriatic coastal city of Pesaro, where they had been accused of slandering a local town councillor and a senior civil servant over the case of a Roma child removed from her biological parents.⁹⁰ Since then, EveryOne Group co-president Roberto Malini (included on the Stormfront list) reported being followed and intimidated on numerous occasions. On 22 November 2010, two people threatened him on the street 'Be very careful. We are watching you: you, your negroes and your Gypsies', they said. Malini, who lives in Treviglio, is also concerned that the police may be targeting him, having been previously charged, on account of his activities supporting the Roma, with 'disturbing a police operation'.⁹¹

Norway: In Lillestrøm, north east of Oslo, shortly after the Oslo and Utøya island massacre, racist leaflets were distributed signed 'ABB-C2' a reference to Breivik's initial and to the further cells Breivik claimed existed in Norway and other parts of the world. The leaflets attacked all those who did not have 'Aryan characteristics' and were 'gradually destroying our kingdom'.⁹²

Poland: The resumption of activity on the Red-watch site (see page 9), after a dormant period, coincided with a number of incidents of racist vandalism in central and northern Poland, including the desecration, at the end of August 2011, of the monument to the victims of the Jedwabne pogrom, (a memorial to over 300 Jews who were massacred by Poles in July 1941). Nazi symbols and slogans such as 'Do not apologise for Jedwabne' and 'They burnt easily' were put on the monument. There had reportedly been a rash of nationalistic vandalism in the area – including the defacing of signs in Lithuanian, an attack on the Muslim cultural centre in Bialystok and fascist graffiti on the walls of the 18th century synagogue in the village of Orla.⁹³

Spain: A 16-year-old boy was left in a coma and several other anti-fascists were injured after a gang of more than ten Nazi skinheads attacked an anti-fascist concert in Manresa in the Barcelona region, two hours before it started when only a few people were waiting. Armed with sticks and flares, the Nazis assaulted a group of three young boys. All town councillors in Manresa – save for those from the PxC – condemned the attack.⁹⁴

Preparing for 'race war'

While there has been an obvious increase in incitement, death threats, harassment and intimidation, there has also been an upsurge in more serious organised physical violence, including arson and murder. In Hungary, Jobbik backs the virulently anti-Roma and illegal street militia that are attempting to usurp the role of the police in rural areas. And there is evidence from several countries, including Denmark⁹⁵, the Czech Republic⁹⁶ and Germany, that fascists are organising militia and stockpiling weapons and materials to produce explosives.⁹⁷

WARNING SIGNS

The lessons of the murders at Utøya island are already being un-learned. And other murders that took place in 2010 and 2011 are barely talked about. In August 2010, seven people, including six members of a Roma family, were shot by a far-right member of a club for reservist soldiers, in Bratislava, Slovakia, who then killed himself, following a police shoot out. Recent murders in 2012 are also going unnoted. In January in the Czech Republic, three neo-Nazi sympathisers murdered a Romani woman in the Prague 3 district of Jarov (see page 16), having previously targeted the homeless for constant attack. The reasons for the fatal shooting of a Romani man in Tanvald, Czech Republic, in January 2012 are disputed, but many believe the murder to have been racially-motivated.⁹⁸ In January and March, there were more killings, this time in Oulu, northern Finland. Again the facts are disputed, but the killers may well have been influenced by the fascist cultural scene. On 18 February 2012, a 24-year-old Finn opened fire in a pizzeria killing a 21-year-old Moroccan and injuring another, before turning the gun on himself. While the police deny racism was a motive, migrant-business owners are reportedly terrified.⁹⁹

According to NGOs, arsons, bombings and murders are escalating because of police and intelligence failures to address far-right and racially-motivated crimes and provide adequate protection for BME communities. We have already noted the failure of the German police to prevent at least nine murders carried out by the NSU over the last thirteen years – a failure that many put down to the intelligence services' emphasis on maintaining information lines within the fascist movement at the expense of passing on crucial information to the police. But a similar and less publicised scandal is unravelling in Hungary, where the police have failed systematically to deal with anti-Roma hate crime, including murder.¹⁰⁰ Four men are currently standing trial, amongst other things, for the murder of six Roma (including a 5-year-old child who died alongside his father at Tatarszentgyörgy).¹⁰¹ Of these

four, one was a known far-right activist on the radar of the Hungarian intelligence services, while another had acted as an informer for the Military Security Office. From July 2008 until August 2009, the men allegedly committed almost twenty attacks in nine small towns and villages in central and eastern Hungary during which the six Roma perished, and in which five other people, including yet another child, suffered serious injuries.¹⁰² The four men are charged with shooting a total of seventy-eight bullets at Roma people and their homes, throwing Molotov cocktails into at least seven homes and menacing a total of fifty-five people. (The pattern in the Czech Republic is much the same.)¹⁰³ The organisation Romea says there was a clear pattern to the attacks, but the police refused to acknowledge this, instead insinuating that the murders were the revenge acts of loan sharks for non-payments.¹⁰⁴ Disciplinary proceedings were launched against two police officers who failed to secure the site of the murder scene at Tatarszentgyörgy, and yet the results of those proceedings have never been made public.¹⁰⁵

There was also much criticism of the police in the southern Swedish town of Malmö for their failure to find a serial shooter whose targets were principally those of migrant origin. (A 20-year-old Swedish woman, Trez Persson, was one known fatality. She was shot dead in October 2009 while sitting in a parked car close to a mosque alongside her migrant boyfriend.)¹⁰⁶ The police investigated the many shootings in the context of organised crime, but when Peter Mangs was arrested in November 2010 and charged with Persson's murder, and at least seven other attempted murders, it emerged that Mangs had repeatedly expressed racist ideas on the internet.

Failure to protect communities does not end with the police. In Athens, the prosecution of three people for the September 2011 stabbing of Ali Rahimi, a 24-year-old Afghan asylum seeker, has highlighted how rare prosecutions for racially-motivated crimes are in Greece. In fact, this is the first time any prosecution against racist violence has taken place since 1999, despite the fact that such violence has been escalating. If European criminal justice systems are seen to systematically fail to protect BME communities, then there will inevitably be repercussions as people, the young in particular, are forced to turn to self-defence.

OTHER LIFE-THREATENING ATTACKS

Mosque trustees, opponents of far-right policies, migrants and asylum support groups are amongst those who have had their premises attacked. Some have received white powder in the post; others have had their offices vandalised, or even worse, bombs have exploded outside. The IRR has already documented petrol

bombings and other violent attacks, which occurred from April 2010 to August 2011, against mosques and worshippers in Bulgaria, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Netherlands, Poland and the UK.¹⁰⁷ But there have been bomb attacks on Muslim targets since then, as well as attacks on the Roma, refugees and migrants' rights activists. We also draw attention to other potentially lethal attacks on left targets in this section.

Austria: In September 2010, a Georgian asylum seeker suffered minor injuries after a bomb went off in front of a Caritas accommodation centre for refugees in Graz. The bomb was detonated two weeks before provincial elections in Styria (see page 30).¹⁰⁸

Bulgaria: A violent attack on four young asylum rights activists in June 2010 led to the formation of the anti-racist group People Against Racism. The young people were travelling in Sofia, when they were beaten by masked men armed with metal rods who burst onto their tram targeting them for attack. It is believed that the six men, subsequently arrested, were members of far-right organisations linked to extremist football supporters' groups in Sofia.¹⁰⁹

Czech Republic: In January 2012, two neo-Nazis were charged with grievous bodily harm and rioting and a third with murder after confessing to an attack, in the Prague 3 district of Jarov, on a homeless Romani woman, whom the main assailant kicked and punched in the head before stabbing. After the confession, it emerged that the three neo-Nazis had been notorious in the area for violent activities, particularly attacks on the homeless. Klára Kalibová of the counselling group IUSTITIA pointed out that brutal attacks on the homeless were becoming more frequent and the neo-Nazi mindset is 'that they are performing acts beneficial to society as a whole'.¹¹⁰

France: The Watch Collective against the Far-Right believes that pro-identity groups and skinhead organisations are responsible for attacks on liberal and left-wing targets. Bloc Identitaire denies this, blaming the violence on neo-Nazi hangers on. On 15 January 2011, a couple, said to hold 'libertarian sympathies', were attacked with baseball bats. One victim spent four months in a wheelchair as a result and is likely to suffer permanent neurological damage. The trial against her attackers is ongoing. In another incident, an anti-fascist activist was stabbed with a cutter that came within an inch of his carotid artery.¹¹¹

Germany: There has been an escalation in neo-Nazi violence against left targets and anyone speaking out against the extreme Right in the run-up to elections in Berlin and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (see page 30). As previously noted, incidents of intimidation against Left Party members is on the increase. The level of violence used in attacks is escalating.

*Ulla Jelpke, the security spokesperson of the Left Party in the Bundestag, had steel balls fired through the window of her constituency office in Dortmund, and a paving stone hurled through the door and acid sprayed into the office. No company will now insure her.¹¹²

There is also evidence that some members of the far Right are stockpiling weapons. In March 2011 the organiser of an NPD youth group in southern Germany was arrested following evidence that he had purchased twenty-two kilos of chemicals and other ingredients to make bombs. However, a local court in Freiburg refused to prosecute, on the ground that the preparation for the attack was not 'advanced enough' and there was no clear target.¹¹³ In July 2011, twenty-one homes and properties linked to suspected right extremists were raided in Baden-Württemberg. Police seized weapons, ammunition, drugs and computers from eighteen people involved with the neo-Nazi Standarte Württemberg which aims to expel all foreigners from Germany.¹¹⁴ At the end of December 2011, as part of the investigation into unsolved murder cases involving the NSU in Hamburg and Bremen, the houses of ten neo-Nazis were raided and weapons and ammunition seized.¹¹⁵

Other life-threatening racist attacks with known or suspected far-right connections that occurred in Germany in 2011 include:

**July 2011, Leverkusen, Cologne:* Police are investigating a right-wing connection to an arson attack at an apartment housing Roma and Sinti. Skinheads were seen fleeing the scene shortly after several fire bombs were thrown through the windows of the ground floor apartment.¹¹⁶

**August 2011, North Rhine Westphalia:* NPD member Björn Mühl nickel, who has also been active in the 'National Resistance Unna' and its branch Ortsgruppe, Bergkamen was arrested in connection with two arson attacks in Bergkamen – one on a mosque, the other on a residential building mainly housing people from Turkey, Vietnam and Angola.¹¹⁷

**December 2011, Celle, Lower Saxony:* Molotov cocktails were thrown into the home of Pastor Wilfried Manneke, a prominent opponent of fascism who is connected to the movement, 'The Church for Democracy – Against Right-Wing Extremism'. On the same night, the home of two other prominent anti-fascists in Celle was attacked.¹¹⁸

Hungary: Towards the end of 2010, seventeen extreme-right activists, linked to the Hunnia Movement which also uses the pseudonym, Hungarian Arrows National Liberation Army, were arrested on charges of involvement in bomb-making, terrorist acts, including petrol bomb attacks on the property of ten politicians, including Istvan Hiller and Janos Koka, and similar petrol bomb attacks on the LGBT community. One of the crimes they are accused of is an incident in 2008 when TV presenter Sándor Csintale was attacked in his garage by four men wearing black ski masks who derided Csintale as a 'Jewish henchman' before beating him senseless with a lead-weighted stick. One of the seventeen men arrested and held in pre-trial detention for two years was György Budaházy. Released from custody in October 2011 and placed under house arrest, he has launched an internet-based radio programme and called for the forcible expulsion of all 'Gypsies' from Hungary. The trial of Budaházy and others

started in March 2011.¹¹⁹ Budaházy has the vocal support of many members of the extreme-right Jobbik which regard him as a ‘victim of a political injustice’. The Hungarian MEP Krisztina Morvai (who was elected on the Jobbik list, but denies being a member) makes regular appearances in Brussels with a T-shirt reading ‘Freedom for Budaházy’.¹²⁰

Just before Easter 2011, the Red Cross evacuated 267 Roma residents from the north-eastern village of Gyöngyöspata (Heves County) to protect them from fascists who had planned a training exercise on the hillside overlooking the poorest part of the village, where most of the Roma villagers lived. The far-right group *Véderő* (Defence Force), well-known for its glorification of Hungary’s Nazi past, purchased a 1.5 acre plot in the village in order to hold training exercises to ‘improve the physical condition of Hungarian youth’, in decline, it believes, because of the abolition of military service. According to *Véderő*’s website (subsequently blocked by the service provider), the training camp was open to ‘all youths and adults who love their country and who are interested in learning military and self-defence basics’. Trainees were encouraged to bring boxing gloves, air rifles, realistic-looking pellet rifles and guns.¹²¹

Such recent attacks need to be viewed against the longer history of post-war far-right terrorism, with the Bologna train station massacre of 1980, which left eighty-five people dead and 200 wounded, the most notorious example. More recently, the activities of the Redwatch and Blood & Honour groups have come under scrutiny. Blood & Honour were particularly active in Germany where it was banned in 2000, though in 2002 it was still publishing the underground magazine *Totenkopf* (Skull) which included precise instructions on how to wage an underground terrorist war.¹²² The German ban displaced Blood & Honour onto neighbouring countries, with members migrating eastwards towards Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Hungary, South Tyrol, as well as Alsace (which borders Germany’s Baden Württemberg).

The decision to re-launch the Polish version of Redwatch came after a Blood & Honour rally. And members of the Blood & Honour division Bohemia, as well as Combat 18 were amongst those arrested in the March (see page 13) coordinated raids on neo-Nazis in the Czech Republic with the Organised Crime Detection Unit now linking those arrested to plans to launch attacks on buildings and individuals. Blood & Honour also seem to have formed cells in France, where the Lyons branch of Blood & Honour (better known as the Lyons Dissenters) were linked, alongside the Lyons branch of the National Identity League (now known as Rebeyne) to several nasty attacks on anti-fascists.¹²³ (see page 16). And Blood & Honour has also opened its first branch in Italy, having previously been represented by the Veneto Fronte Skinheads, which has been active since 1986. According to *Searchlight*, Blood & Honour have taken over the office of the neo-Nazi SPQR Skin, describing themselves as the ‘Italian



Lyons far-right activists have been linked to Blood & Honour. Photo taken from report Lyon Dissident: Un local néo-nazis ayant pignon sur rue.

Division of Blood & Honour’ on Facebook.¹²⁴ But Italy has other home-grown groups too.

Italy: In December 2011, following raids across the country, five far-right extremists were arrested and charged with plotting violence against Rome’s Jewish community. Those arrested included Maurizio Boccacci, the leader of the neo-Nazi organisation Militia. The five are accused of a plot to foment a ‘revolutionary war’ against official institutions and a plan to attack prominent Jewish leader Riccardo Pacifici, the Rome mayor, Gianna Alemanno, the president of the Chamber of Deputies, Gianfranco Fini, as well as the president of the Senate. Fini and Alemanno have their political roots in neo-fascism, and were believed to have been targeted because of their support for Israel. Eleven other far-right activists are under investigation.¹²⁵ In another case, Alessandro Giusti was arrested by Special Branch in March 2012 and accused of an attempted assault on the former Popola della Libertà (Pdl) minister Renato Brunetta. At the time of his arrest, the media reported that Giusti was a Forza Nuova (FN) sympathiser who was in possession of an air-rifle that had fired blanks, two diver’s knives and a telescopic baton. A search of the man’s house revealed an arsenal of weapons. The secretary of the Florence branch of Forza Nuova denied any links to the arrest and threatened legal proceedings against any newspaper that reported the story inaccurately.¹²⁶

UK: On 27 July 2010, John Broomfield, who described himself as the head of the EDL in Dorset, was arrested with six others connected to the EDL, in Bournemouth for planning allegedly to bomb a mosque. Police said they were forced to open fire on Broomfield’s vehicle.¹²⁷ In early 2012, two members of the EDL, Simon Beech and Garreth Foster, were sentenced to ten years in prison after being found guilty of setting fire to the newly-opened Regent Road mosque in Hanley, by running a gas pipe into the ground floor of the building from a nearby property. Beech, also a member of the British National Party (BNP), was a serving soldier in the 2nd battalion Yorkshire Regiment at the time of the arson.¹²⁸

Vigilantism, militia, policing and the military

Classical fascism is built on manipulating a sense of victimhood which turns reality on its head. The Nazis, building on a long history of anti-Semitism and petty resentments against Jews at a time of economic insecurity in the 1930s, schooled Germans to see themselves as victims of an aggressive racial minority out to overawe and dominate. Today, again, it is a 'reverse racism' that provides the rationale for far-right groups to form vigilante squads or street militia. They cite the need for self-defence in face of the failure of the police to protect the law-abiding majority from being raped or murdered in their beds by a depraved minority.

FAR-RIGHT MILITIA AND VIGILANTISM

Far-right parties have often engaged in secretive and sinister training exercises in remote locations, and a number of neo-Nazi militia are active today, including the Outlaws Army (*Betyársereg*) in Hungary and the Workers' Party Protection Corps in the Czech Republic. But two mainstream electoral extreme-right parties, the Northern League (LN – *Lega Nord*) in Italy and Jobbik in Hungary, have openly promoted street vigilantism. The LN campaigns for the break-up of

Italy, for the secession of the rich North (Padania) from the poor backward South. It first argued that the state could not be trusted to police the borders in 1998, where it attempted to form border patrols of Green-bereted Padanian volunteers in the Karst country, on the border with Slovenia. Then, in Spring 2008, during a hysterical campaign against Roma from Romania which led to a programme of summary and illegal deportations, the LN announced the formation of vigilante patrols in the predominantly immigrant areas of Turin and Piacenza (Emilia Romagna).

Hungary: Jobbik went further than this in 2007 to form its own private militia, the Hungarian Guard (*Magyar Gárda*),¹²⁹ which was soon compared to the Arrow Cross, Hungary's Second World War fascist militiamen, who collaborated with the Nazis in killing tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews. This first attempt by Jobbik to form its own private militia was thwarted as the courts declared it illegal and banned it on the grounds that its militaristic demonstrations generated ethnic tensions and constituted a threat to public order.¹³⁰ Now a new paramilitary squad, the Civic Guard Association for a Better Future (*Szebb Jövőért*



17 March 2012 – an initiation ceremony in Budapest's Heroes Square for new recruits to the Hungarian Guard.

Picture credit: Andrei Stavila

Polgárőr Egyesület), has been formed and, often working alongside the *Betyársereg*, its black-shirted militia are terrorising Roma in the villages of North-eastern Hungary. This new militia is virtually identical to the Hungarian Guard – members, wear the same black military uniforms, patrol the same rural areas, disciplining and sowing fear amongst the Roma villagers. Areas where the Civic Guard has been active (with Jobbik, electorally, most often reaping the rewards) include:

**Gyöngyöspata, Heves County:* In March 2011, the Civic Guard occupied this small village, 50 miles north-east of Budapest, marching every morning in heavy boots, tight pants, black vests and white shorts, singing war songs, bellowing abuse and shining floodlights into the windows of Roma families at night. They were soon joined by members of various hate groups, including the Nazi nostalgists from Defence Force (*Véderő*) and the Outlaws' Army (*Betyársereg*) wearing camouflage fatigues and armed with axes, whips and accompanied by snarling bulldogs. For almost two months they roamed the streets day and night, singing, hammering on doors and calling the inhabitants 'dirty fucking Gypsies'. Patrols were deployed to stand guard in front of shops, instruct Roma to withdraw to their yards; they entered schools, and verbally abused Roma children and Roma patients in doctors' rooms. According to the Hungarian Civil Liberties Union, one woman gave birth prematurely after being harassed by the vigilantes. No charges were brought against the militiamen, though a Roma man was jailed for two years for fighting with them and a further five Roma await trial over the same incident.¹³¹ Subsequently, Oszkár Juhász (Jobbik) won an interim mayoral election in the village which has a population of 2,800, including 450 Roma.¹³²

**Hejoszalonta:* On 2 April 2011, 600 Jobbik supporters, including fifty men in camouflage fatigues and military boots, marched in a torchlit procession against 'Gypsy terror' in this small village 100 miles east of Budapest. The protest was called in response to the murder of a local woman in March. Two of her Roma tenants and a third suspect were arrested, but Jobbik immediately exploited the issue, declaring, ahead of any arrest of suspects, that the woman's two Roma tenants were guilty and announced they were coming to the village to protect it from the 'gypsy terror'.¹³³

**Hajdúhadház:* The next place to be targeted in April by the Civic Guard was Hajdúhadház, a town of 13,000 people, 30 per cent of whom are Roma, which was once a prosperous agricultural centre with a wood-products factory but now the site of rapidly rising unemployment. László Tasó MP (Fidesz) demanded the militias leave the town, calling their action provocative. 'Those Jobbik party soldiers are wearing clothing that is almost identical to that of the banned National Guard, which is a clear sign that they want to disseminate fear... They don't want to renew order, they want to create the atmosphere of a civil war.'¹³⁴

**Tiszavasvári:* In June, it was reported that Erik Fülöp, the Jobbik mayor of Tiszavasvári¹³⁵ had set up a uniformed vigilante group in response to 'gypsy crime', the 'types of criminality which are unfortunately especially prevalent among the Roma – extortion by loan sharks, and robberies from homes and gardens'. The mayor also set up a gendarmerie which was independent of the local police and based on a nationwide force of the same name, *Csendorseg*, disbanded in 1945. (In 1944, gendarmes played a central role in rounding up Jews whom the Nazis deported to concentration camps.)¹³⁶

Even as the Hungarian parliament reacted to such intimidation by introducing legislation to outlaw vigilantism in rural towns and villages, the state was giving succour to the 'reverse racism' thesis. A government commission was set up investigate the events at Gyöngyöspata. But the Hungarian State Secretary for Social Inclusion, Zoltán Balog had his own version of the events in the village which he said were the result of a 'provocation' sparked by the opposition media with the assistance of 'a certain American citizen' (a reference to Richard Field, the US chairman of the American House Foundation and a volunteer with the Red Cross, which, in the face of the planned far-right 'training camp in the village of Gyöngyöspata rented six buses in order to evacuate the most vulnerable Romani residents).¹³⁷ The Hungarian state denied that the Roma were in danger and said the Red Cross had merely taken them out on a day's holiday.

Italy: Security legislation was introduced in 2009 which actually sanctioned the creation of citizens' patrols and opened up the possibility of far-right vigilantism. An investigation has been launched into a plan by a fascist to form a militia to target Gays, immigrants, Roma, Gypsies and Jews. The minister of equal opportunities launched an investigation into Gaetano Saya, the founder of the National Right (*Destra Nazionale*) who is well known for his rants against minorities, who has threatened to form a 'homeland defence legion'. Saya has previously been accused of attempting to form a parallel police force and as a result was placed under investigation for promoting fascism – illegal in Italy.¹³⁸

ANTI-DEMOCRATIC TENDENCIES WITHIN THE STATE APPARATUS

The influence that far-right groups have on police, intelligence services and military personnel and/or the dangers of far-right infiltration are thorny issues in European post-war history, especially in terms of the Cold War. This is particularly so in Italy where suspicions of secret services' and state culpability for the 1980 Bologna central railway station bombing, and the existence of a secret state army, have never been quashed.¹³⁹ But it also became an issue in Germany in 1998 when a parliamentary inquiry into the army's links to neo-Nazis was set up following revelations that the former Wehrmacht soldier and convicted neo-Nazi terrorist Manfred Roeder had received material support from the military, including three vehicles,

for his 'charitable work' in 'East Prussia' and had even appeared as a guest speaker in 1995 (on the subject of resettling ethnic Germans in the Russian Baltic enclave of Kaliningrad) at a military training academy in Hamburg.¹⁴⁰ Now, once again, with the revelations about the paid informer system within the far Right, many are asking whether Germany's police and security services contain elements sympathetic to fascism – an accusation which is vehemently denied by officials.

Today, the background to concerns about far-right influence in the army and police is not Communism but the war on terror and latent Islamophobia, whilst anti-Roma racism and anti-Semitism provide the context for multiple concerns around anti-democratic tendencies within the police in eastern Europe. Judit Szima, a Jobbik candidate in the 2009 European parliamentary elections, is the secretary-general of the police trades union *Tetrekész Magyar Rendőrség Szakszervezete* (TMRSZ) which, in 2009, was reported to have established a wide-ranging collaboration accord with Jobbik, seemingly in breach of Hungary's constitution. The newsletter of TMRSZ had carried numerous racist articles including one that stated: 'Given our current situation, anti-Semitism is not just our right, but it is the duty of every Hungarian homeland lover, and we must prepare for armed battle against the Jews.'¹⁴¹ Meanwhile, in Greece, the newspaper *To Vima* assesses that more than half of all police officers in the country voted for the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn in the elections of 6 May 2012.¹⁴²

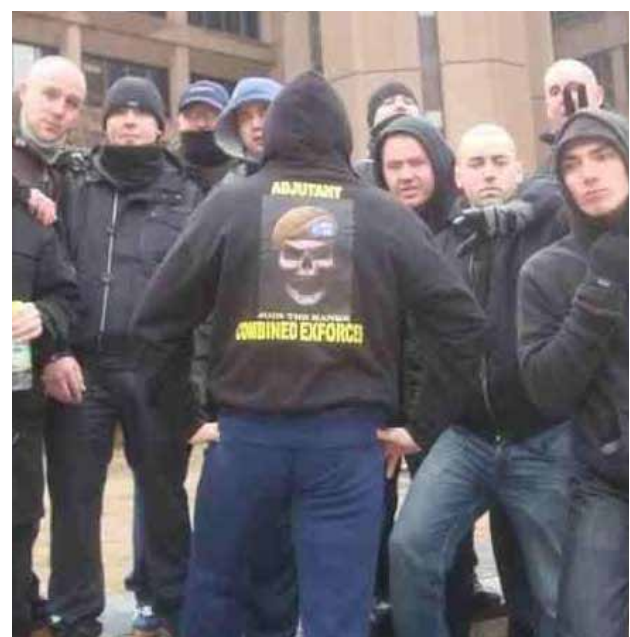
Of course, in a democratic society, police forces serve the public equally and see the importance of combating racist violence vigorously and professionally. In this context, it is vital that those police officers motivated by racism are removed, and those law enforcement officers whose behaviour departs from democratic norms are prosecuted. Police officers have access to huge amounts of data on citizens, and it is vital that this is not handed over to the far Right. We have already noted above (see page 10) that in Denmark, a police officer was prosecuted for passing information from the police registrar to members of a violent group that had allegedly infiltrated the DFP. In Belgium, Bart Debie, a former chief inspector of the Antwerp police, convicted in 2008 of incitement to racial hatred and violence against five people in police custody, stood in local elections for the Flemish Interest (*Vlaams Belang* – VB) in 2006. And back in 2005 in Cyprus, evidence was presented to a court that on trial was a former policeman, Christodoulos Nicolaides, who was one of the leaders of the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn. The evidence was sought after Nicolaides was arrested after attacking two Greek Cypriots and a Turkish Cypriot in a coffee bar because he could not tolerate a friendship across ethnic lines. These are the few cases that have come to light; it is of course impossible because of the secrecy and deception practised by far-right officers, to know how widespread such 'contamination' actually is.

Germany: Another grave concern, particularly in the light of the scandal surrounding the NSU, is the

development of unaccountable and inappropriate informer schemes. The seriousness of the situation in Germany (where a majority of German-Turks believe that state agencies protected NSU terrorists) cannot be over-emphasised. It is imperative, that the work of the intelligence services on contemporary fascist threats comes under far greater parliamentary scrutiny.¹⁴³ Several members of the NPD have been detained by the police in connection with the ongoing investigation into the murders carried out by the NSU. But the first intimation that the intelligence services were developing close relationships with individual NPD members came as far back as 2002 when the Supreme Court dismissed an attempt by the state to ban the NPD on the grounds that the intelligence services had so many informants within the party, it was effectively running it.¹⁴⁴ As the scandal over the intelligence services' failure to pass on vital information to the police about the whereabouts of the NSU cell deepens, more questions will be asked by the various parliamentary committees set up to establish the facts. How did a BfV agent who infiltrated the far Right come to be at the scene of the murder of a young Turk by the NSU? Could this agent have harboured neo-Nazi sympathies?¹⁴⁵

FAR-RIGHT BEHAVIOUR AMONGST THE POLICE AND ARMED FORCES

When it comes to the military, extreme vigilance is needed to ensure that those with fascist sympathies do not gain a base in the army. This has been a concern, for obvious reasons, in Germany where the failure to address fascist violence in the 1920s created the situation where right-wing secret societies, with their numerous connections to the military, would later merge with National Socialist organisations, spreading terrorism and hate as Hitler's foot soldiers. In July 2000, the Dutch defence ministry announced that it had opened up a hot-line for soldiers to anonymously report incidents of extreme-right behaviour and in 2001 the German ministry of defence reported a big





In the UK, the EDL and Casuals United have emerged as pro-war movements that claim to speak for our 'heroes' in Afghanistan and Iraq.

increase in racist incidents involving the armed forces; the Munich First Squad was investigated after allegations that right-wing behaviour was rife.

The involvement of soldiers in wars in Afghanistan and Iraq may be precipitating a deeper crisis within the armed forces, especially now troops are arriving back from those conflicts to find that defence leagues and counter-jihadist movements, which portray themselves as patriots not Nazi, are describing the Muslim community in Europe as a threat equal to that of the enemy in Afghanistan and Iraq. The legitimacy of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have divided Europeans and it does not take much imagination to see that if soldiers and law enforcement officers (as well as those working for private security firms in countries under occupation) return home to find that large sections of the public believe that they have served in illegitimate wars, then, embittered, they will be attracted to movements that treat them as heroes. In the UK, former officials of the British National Party (BNP) have set up a charity to help homeless soldiers¹⁴⁶ and the football hooligans network Casual United has announced the formation of a unit within the EDL called 'Combined Ex-forces'. In a blog, CU write: 'When our Hero's return home to proudly march through their Regimental in their home towns...Instead of damn deserved grateful BRITS waiting to cheer them..They now face scum sent to intimidate and humiliate them while their children and loved ones look on helpless.'¹⁴⁷

Anti-racists in the UK, where the ultra-nationalism of the EDL is intricately connected to war and a wider popular culture where war has come to be glorified in the name of supporting 'our heroes' abroad, are flagging up multiple concerns. We have already noted that Simon Beech was a serving soldier of the 2nd battalion Yorkshire Regiment at the time of setting fire to the Regent Road mosque in Stoke-on-Trent (see page 18). During the trial, evidence of the young soldier's state of mind was presented in the form of his Facebook comments which included: 'Let's start bashing skulls, dirty, rotten rodents, they breed like rats here, they need to die like rats' and 'The time has come. They burn our poppies, we burn their place. Burn the lot of them out'.¹⁴⁸

UK: In 2010, the EDL set up an online armed forces division which at one time had 842 members, with the EDL claiming that many serving soldiers attended its demonstrations. A spokeswoman for the EDL, whose husband is a serving soldier, was cited as saying that: 'The soldiers are fighting Islamic extremism in Afghanistan and Iraq and the EDL are fighting it here ... Not all the armed forces support the English Defence League but a majority do.'¹⁴⁹ In 2011, the Ministry of Defence confirmed that an investigation into whether soldiers had breached army rules through involvement with the EDL was underway. The investigation centred on photographs of eight soldiers standing next to a flag bearing the words 'EDL supports Duke of Lan-

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caster Regiment' at a homecoming parade in Blackburn.¹⁵⁰ Another, even more controversial, photograph showed a uniformed soldier, allegedly in Helmand Province, Afghanistan, his face hidden by a black scarf as he brandishes a pistol while standing in front of the EDL flag.¹⁵¹ On 14 January 2011, at an EDL march in Barking, east London, an EDL marcher wore a sweat-shirt with the words 'EDL Colchester Garrison' and at least one large British Army flag was prominent on the march.¹⁵²

Czech Republic: An advisor to the Czech government, Miroslav Mareš anticipates that in the future we will see more serious crimes committed by those who have worked in conflict zones and gained combat experience.¹⁵³ *Extremism as a Security Risk* is a document prepared by the Czech defence ministry aimed at preventing extremist movements infiltrating the army. From this and other sources we know the following.

Two Czech soldiers serving in Afghanistan wore Nazi division symbols on their helmets, while another Czech soldier was discovered with a tattoo honouring Nazi SS units. In 2007, two neo-Nazis were also found to be serving in the elite 4th Rapid Response Brigade, from which the Czech contingent in Iraq was recruited. Rapid Response Brigade soldier Vladimír Holub served in the 4th Rapid Response Brigade, an elite unit which receives sabotage and counter-terrorist training and is taught techniques of close combat and silent killing. He uses the pseudonym Stuartswaffen (apparently after Ian Stuart, founder of Blood & Honour) and has been a member of Bohemia White Power, and is part of a circle of North Bohemian neo-Nazis that includes the Radical Boys Brux, National Resistance North.¹⁵⁴

Six members of an elite police unit in Brno, South Moravia, the so-called 'Delta Team', competed with one other to harshly police minorities and humiliate detainees, even taking trophy photographs showing their victims naked and bloodied. A report on Czech TV programme News and Commentary revealed that the Police Inspectorate had monitored their activities for more than a year concluding that the officers were influenced by Nazi ideology and were attempting to bolster their feeling of superiority by committing brutalities. The unit was responsible for the 2009 death in custody of Hoang Son Lam. Three members of the Delta team were indicted for his death but are yet to serve a sentence.¹⁵⁵

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If extremist right-wing racist attitudes fester in police officers or soldiers, trained in the preparation of explosives and in the use of lethal force, it is not hard to see that there will be ramifications, particularly when soldiers return from conflict situations. In Madrid, in 2003, for example, Alfredo Galán, a former corporal in a parachute regiment in Bosnia, confessed to killing six people, mostly migrants and attempting to kill three others.¹⁵⁶ More recently, in Slovakia, it was an unemployed member of a club of reservist soldiers who armed himself with a submachine gun and two handguns to murder a Roma family in Bratislava in August 2010.

France: In March 2012, in the context of the French investigation into the Al Qaida-inspired murders in Toulouse, it emerged that three soldiers had been dishonourably discharged from the 17th Parachute Engineering Regiment after being photographed making a Nazi salute in front of a Nazi flag, and wearing swastika tatoos.¹⁵⁷ In an earlier incident, a man described as a former military man and existing member of the FN received a suspended prison sentence and a fine after being found guilty of desecrating Muslim graves in the south-western city of Castres. He described this as an act of resistance to the 'Arabic and Islamic invasion of France'.¹⁵⁸

Slovakia: People Against Racism have called for Marián Mišun to be dismissed from the municipal police force in Trnava following allegations that in March 2011 he attended a neo-Nazi event in the Czech Republic where he referred to Roma as 'Gypsy parasites' and 'weird birds with their slanted eyes' and deplored the fact that a Czech woman could come to form a relationship with some 'weird, odd-coloured monkey who doesn't know how to work'. The public prosecutor launched an investigation into Mišun's hate speech but his superior officer said that he was an exemplary police officer and would only be released from service if charged. According to Romea, Mišun is the former head of a now-dissolved Púchov branch of the Slovak Foundation (*Matice Slovenskej*) and currently a member of a far-right party called Our Slovakia (*Lidová strana Naše Slovensko*).¹⁵⁹

Extremist sub-cultures and the 'cultural revolution from the Right'

A significant, but hitherto neglected factor in the rise of targeted political violence is the link between the far Right and specific sub-cultures. On the one hand there is evidence of the integration of 'football firms' into the far-right and counter-jihadist scene, on the other hand there are the rapid changes in rightwing sub-cultures which embrace causes, such as anti-globalisation and anti-capitalism, usually associated with the Left. (Some political analysts regard this as a continuation of Strasserism, the workerist-form of National Socialism that preceded the rise of Hitler.) Far-right movements and ultra-nationalists often reject the hierarchical structures and the electoral politics of the extreme Right in favour of horizontal autonomous forms of organising. They are coming together for mass music and dance gigs; and in some parts of Europe, such as Germany, they are taking over rural areas to establish their own 'national liberated zones' where families are free to indoctrinate their children into Nazi culture and establish their own ethnically pure villages.

The Autonomous Nationalists, the Free Forces, the Nordic Youth, the National Resistance, Free Comrade-

ship groups, are amongst these groupings to be found in Scandinavia, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Germany. There are also the pro-identity skinhead and youth movements active in France, where the more established Bloc Identitaire, which claims to have 4,000 members, has a wild pig as its logo and campaigns against mosques while presenting itself as the protector of French rural culture.¹⁶⁰ The Bloc Identitaire, which emerged in 2003 following the banning of Unité Radicale after an assassination attempt on the life of President Chirac, is particularly successful at evading prosecution for incitement to racial hatred, deploying slogans such as '0% racism, 100% identity'. In Germany, the loose networks of the anti-capitalist Autonomous Nationalists (*Autonome Nationalisten*, AN), with their long hair and black clothes, reject skinhead culture as out of date, and are proving popular with the young. In the Czech Republic they now form the core of the far-right movement and operate in coordinated regional cells which do not adhere to a national leadership.

What these new groupings have in common is an opposition to multiculturalism and globalisation, which are seen as synonymous. The greatest development of such forces is in Germany where the Office for the Defence of the Constitution regards the anti-capitalist, 'Free Forces' of 'National Resistance, or Autonomous Nationalists (AN), as they like to describe themselves, as posing a greater threat than the far-Right NPD (the most successful electoral far-right party in Germany, with approximately 6,600 members and elected members in the regional parliaments of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and Saxony).¹⁶¹ But to understand the rise of the AN, the social scientist Miroslav Mareš advises us to see it first and foremost not as a hierarchical organisation but as a brand- with a strategic concept, organisation and structure.¹⁶²

There is an interplay between old and new forms of far-right activity, with the NPD seemingly dependent on the AN – which is more systematic in its collection of information on political enemies – to organise and mobilise supporters on the streets. And the NPD jealously guards its hegemony, as evidenced by the fact that it has set up an Institute for Homeland and National Identity and has made links with CasaPound Italia to explore ways to construct a 'cultural revolution from the right'.¹⁶³ Despite its attempts to re-brand itself



Across Europe, mosques are attacked, women are spat at and abused for wearing the hijab, and Muslims are regularly baited at events like the 'march of the pigs'.

as a respectable mainstream conservative party (its new party slogan is 'respectable radicalism') a more classical fascist youth subculture persists among the NPD.¹⁶⁴

CULTURAL EXPRESSION, MASCULINITY CULTS AND THE AESTHETICS OF VIOLENCE

In some parts of Europe, the emergent far-right youth sub-culture is moving away from the old mass music events – racist punk, Oi or White Power Music – towards new forms of Nazi electronic dance music known as hardbass, or even, surprisingly, in Poland, a racist form of hip hop. Commenting on the significance of hardbass, the Czech far-right expert Miroslav Mareš explains that 'dancing as a group with these disruptive movements symbolises the dominance and unity of the extreme Right and is supposed to terrorise the enemy'.¹⁶⁵ In Poland, the journal *Nigdy Wiêcej* monitors racist hip hop songs which include lyrics about gassing Jews, shooting Roma, and burning homosexuals. According to Wiktor Marszałek, the far Right is looking for new ways to reach the public. 'To achieve this goal, it resorts to popular hip-hop music, even though this music is actually rooted in the Afro-American culture.'¹⁶⁶

Germany: There is in Germany a more traditional neo-Nazi hard rock scene, and bands such as *Stahlgewitter*, which is linked to Rock Against Communism, with its album *German Reich Mission (Aufsvag Deutsches Reich)*, regularly performs at weekends at the Thinghaus, the NPD's fortified headquarters in Grevesmühlen. (Hanging over the entrance is the Germanic Elhaz rune a symbol of the Third Reich's *Lebensborn* programme which supported the production of racially pure Aryans.)¹⁶⁷ In neo-Nazi rock music the violence of the NSU cell responsible for at least eight murders in Germany had been openly glorified. In their thirteen years on the run, the three killers had been seen in the university city of Jena, in a neighbourhood known to be a hotbed of right-wingers whose activities were organised around a city-run youth club where concerts were held and new members recruited. In homage to the three fugitives, the pop group *Eichenlaub* released a song called 'Why'. In 2010 a CD entitled *Adolf Hitler Lives* was circulated which included a song called *Doner Killer*,¹⁶⁸ the lyrics of which stated 'Nine times now he has struck/There is fear and horror at every kebab stall/... Nine are not enough.' (The song was performed by the right-wing extremist band *Gigi and the Brown Town Musicians* along with an accompanying video that was placed on Youtube.)¹⁶⁹

Italy: Simone Di Stefano, vice president of CasaPound, also gives insights into the way mass events can fulfil a psychic need. During CasaPound gigs, supporters whip one other with belts in the mosh pit. 'It's a bit like *Fight Club*, a way to risk pain, to confront yourself in ways society does not allow', commented Di Stefano, adding that 'We also go on mountain walks, it's a similar concept'.¹⁷⁰ It's not hard to see in many of these examples, a sado-masochism, a repressed sexuality, and rigid views of masculinity, that the leaders of fascist organisations like CasaPound



exploit in order to recruit members.

In fact, the self-styled, self-consciously modern revolutionaries of CasaPound are exceptional among European groups in that they provide a bridge between classical fascism and neo-Nazi movements and the modernised anti-globalisation AN. Casapound is not just an ideological inspiration for the NPD but also the AN in the Czech Republic.¹⁷¹ CasaPound's mode of operation is also innovative. Originally, its strategy was to build its membership via a squatters' movement in Rome, protesting against high rents. But now it has spread from Rome to every major town across the country in the guise of a cultural associations helping the homeless to squat empty buildings. In addition, it stages plays and cultural debates (on the significance of Ezra Pound, Che Guevara and Jack Kerouac, for instance) and forms its own students' organisation. 'Casapound has managed to create an attractive setting for young people by combining pop-culture and neo-fascism', says Hamburg historian Volker Weiss. 'Along with this comes linking aesthetics and violence, which has a tradition in Italian fascism.'¹⁷²

Spain: In Spain, it is a lawyer and entrepreneur repeatedly linked to several far-right parties who sees the value of exploiting the energies and machismo of young men. José Luis Roberto Navarro, leader of the ultra-patriotic and anti-immigration party *España 2000*, is also president of the National Association of Proprietors of Adult Clubs (ANELA, ie sex clubs, brothels in all but name) and secretary of the Security Employers' Association of Valencia. He owns at least five security firms and gyms in Catalonia, Valencia and Andalucía dedicated to unregulated combat sports and is connected to K-1 nights (a form of kickboxing). As the owner of companies selling military clothing,

he also kits out a large proportion of police forces in central Spain, and has a security training academy (licensed by the police authority) in which the staff are serving soldiers and police officers.¹⁷³

‘LIBERATED’ RURAL ZONES

The fact that neo-Nazis are setting up communes in rural areas, sometimes taking over old buildings to set up headquarters, affords them venues from which to plan large-scale events and concerts. The presence of hundreds of tanked up neo-Nazis engaging in mass events spells danger for minorities who live in these areas, and all those who oppose their racist politics. It is in rural parts of eastern Germany that the far-right, aggressive, racist culture of violence often dominates, says Professor Hajo Funke, adding that the NPD represents a culture of youth violence and aggression towards foreigners that is very present in society.¹⁷⁴ But other commentators have drawn attention to another tendency, that of the so-called Free Forces, a new generation of activists, students and middle-class professionals, the *Kravattennazis* (Tie Nazis) as opposed to the traditional *Stiefelnazis* (Boot Nazis).¹⁷⁵

Czech Republic: Scores of hardbass dance events were organised in 2011, the majority in Moravia, usually in its regional administrative capital of Ostrava. In the late night and early morning hours of 10-11 July 2011, hundreds of extremists attended a neo-Nazi concert in Velký Ose, which is in central Bohemia. They then set off for Býchory, where they marched through the village chanting racist slogans and ‘Bohemia for the Czechs’, during which a burning torch was thrown through the first-floor window of an apartment occupied by a Romani family. The 8-year-old son of the family managed to put the torch out and no one was injured. Charges of racially motivated arson were brought against four men and the case is ongoing. At the time of the attack, police refused to confirm or deny a report that one of the suspects had attacked the family before, threatening to kill one of their children.¹⁷⁶

Two hundred and fifty people from the neo-Nazi Free Youth (*Svobodná Mládež*) held an illegal and violent demonstration in Varnsdorf on 3 September 2011, at which the riot police had to be used. (There was a joint German-Czech police operation as German neo-Nazis crossed the border to attend the event.) As the far-right gangs descended on a house where Romani people lived, the police used water cannon to disperse them.¹⁷⁷

Germany: Close to the Baltic port of Wismar, is the tiny hamlet of Jamel, with forty inhabitants and around ten farm houses set among the remote fields and beech woods of Mecklenburg. Jamel has emerged as a neo-Nazi stronghold where local villagers are terrorised by NPD rock concerts, shooting practice in the woods, in a ‘nationally liberated zone’ where children are encouraged to give the Nazi salute.¹⁷⁸

Sweden: Like Germany, it has a recent history of far-right terrorist outrages including the assassination of trade unionist Björn Söderberg, the killing, during a bank raid, of two police officers and a bomb attack

on two anti-fascist journalists. In 2004, the late Stieg Larsson (editor of the anti-fascist journal *Expo*) warned that the Swedish Resistance Movement (*Svenska Motståndsrörelsen*, SMR), which was founded in 1997 on the release from prison by former members of the White Aryan Resistance was carrying out combat exercises and preparing for ‘race war’ in Sweden’s forests.

The Party of the Swedes (*Svenskarnas parti – SVP*), using the name Nordic Vision 2011, attempted to organise a children’s summer camp and gathering for ‘all nationalists’ in a secret location in southern Sweden in the Summer of 2011. It subsequently emerged that the location was Höör, in the woods of Skane in accommodation owned by the Swedish Guide and Scout Association, which says it was hood-winked when the booking was made. The leadership of the Party of Swedes is made up of former members of the National Socialist Front.¹⁷⁹

ANTI-FEMINISM AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Another issue being flagged up by researchers is that while women have always been active in the far Right, they are increasingly playing a more prominent role. This is most obvious in Germany where women now account for an estimated one in five neo-Nazis, but it was also flagged up in the Czech Republic where fifteen women have been accused of various offences, including raising funds for jailed neo-Nazi ‘prisoners of war’, arising from their association with the Resistance Women Unity (RWU), an offshoot of the National Resistance. (*Národní odpor – NO*).¹⁸⁰ Traditionally, women’s role within fascism was, in accordance with the *Lebensborn*, to bring up children and maintain the purity of the Aryan race. Researchers studying the role of girls and women in fascism in Germany today have noted the ‘Prussian rigidity with which mothers raise their children, glorifying discipline and the German tradition’.¹⁸¹ But women also play an active role in far-right structures. A women’s organisation, the Ring of National Women (*Ring Nationaler Frauen – RNF*) was



At an All-Polish Youth demonstration, protestors carry, amongst other things, pictures of aborted embryos.

formed within the NPD in 2006 and following the election of three women onto the NPD executive board in 2011, its leader Ricarda Reifling commented that 'With this election, the NPD showed that there are many women in its ranks that are anti-feminist, aware of tradition and devoted to their nation'.¹⁸² The NPD also attempts to manipulate the perception that women are non-violent by encouraging women to infiltrate sports clubs, community organisations, parents associations etc, so as to mobilise electoral support for a party that will somehow appear less threatening to voters. In fact women now account for 27 per cent of NPD members and at the November 2011 party conference, three women were elected to the party's executive committee.¹⁸³ Germany seems to be far more advanced than other European countries in developing specific female neo-Nazi structures. But similar currents seem to have increasing influence in Sweden, where summer camps for children are organised in rural areas.

HARNESSING THE TRIBALISM OF FOOTBALL

The vast majority of football fans do not belong to racist groups bent on organised violence. But nonetheless, racist chanting¹⁸⁴ and barracking of black and other minority footballers are endemic in some countries. In many countries of Europe, players face routine vicious abuse which is either ignored by the sport's governing bodies or met with derisory sanctions.¹⁸⁵ There is also a long history of far-right infiltration of football supporters' groups or the forming of their own supporters' groups. In parts of eastern Europe, specific clubs have been associated with anti-Semitism. And groups of ultra-rightists have been particularly active in football in Spain and Italy (other football supporters' groups, mindful of the authoritarian and fascist past, may be self-consciously anti-fascist).¹⁸⁶ While ultra-nationalists and fascists in the past travelled to international fixtures to cause mayhem, today there seems to be more systematic attempts by the far Right and ultra-nationalists to harness the energies of football fans as foot-soldiers for the violent disorder and civil unrest they seek to cause.

For instance, in the UK, the EDL is linked to Casuals United (CU) a counter-jihadist group composed of violent and provocative football supporters. Matthew Taylor, *Guardian* journalist, reported how the EDL brought together rival 'firms' (club supporters) to unite for a greater cause – of intimidation of ethnic minorities.¹⁸⁷ It appears that the EDL has adroitly capitalised on groups of men willing to travel the length and breadth of the country in order to prove their loyalty. This commitment to football is then applied to an arena where the clash is not regional but racial and cultural. Alan Lake, a Christian fundamentalist businessman widely believed to have bankrolled the EDL, has admitted his admiration for the strategic use of football fans: '[they] are a potential source of support. They are a hoi polloi that gets off their backsides and travels to a city and they are available before and after matches.'¹⁸⁸

The racist chanting at UK football games was, in the 1970s, a regular occurrence, but the growth of anti-rac-

ist football fanzines, and the intervention of organisations like Kick it Out, changed that. But the danger now is that the sympathy expressed by some in the sports world and the media for white football players, who are disciplined for racism on the pitch, will play into the 'reverse racism' thesis and provide ammunition for those who seek to recruit football fans to the far-right cause. In the past few months in the UK the police have announced that they are investigating racist abuse left on the twitter accounts of player Sammy Armeobi (Newcastle United), Fraizer Campbell (Sunderland) and the former-footballer and radio presenter Sam Collymore. In February 2012, the Manchester City defender Micah Richards closed down his twitter account after receiving sustained racist abuse for three months.¹⁸⁹

In addition:

*In January 2012, police announced that they were investigating a letter, containing a spent gun cartridge, which was received by the London premier league team Queens Park Rangers (QPR) and was understood to be addressed to the black football player Anton Ferdinand. Anton Ferdinand had accused the England captain, John Terry, of calling him a 'black bastard' during a fixture between QPR and Chelsea in October 2011 and Terry was subsequently charged with a racially aggravated public order offence. The threatening letter was sent on the eve of a fixture in which Ferdinand and Terry were due to play against each other for the first time since the incident.¹⁹⁰

We share with Football Against Racism in Europe (FARE) a belief that hatred towards black players on the pitch is linked to increasing racism within society which plays in to attempts by fascists and ultra-nationalists to utilise football fans as their foot-soldiers in sporadic violence against communities marked as 'enemies of the nation'. Already noted above was the role of football hooligans at Katunitsa (see page 7), which led to the worst civic unrest in Bulgaria in recent years. Fans have also been linked to anti-Roma violence in Italy.

***Italy:** After a 16-year-old Italian girl (falsely) claimed that she had been dragged from a building and raped by two Gypsy men,¹⁹¹ a furious mob launched an arson attack on a Roma camp behind the Juventus stadium in the deprived Turin suburb of Vallette. According to Paola Bragantini, Turin secretary for the Democratic Party, the mob was made up of 'ultra' Juventus supporters, who had recently gained notoriety for yelling racist abuse at black player, Mario Balotelli.¹⁹² They formed part of a group which included hundreds of residents, from which a break-away contingent moved to the camp where, after calling for women and children to leave, it set fire to caravans, shacks and cars, as they shouted football chants. The whole camp was destroyed including homes of the forty-six Roma. Piero Fassino, mayor of Turin, denounced the 'lynch mob' mentality of the arsonists, who were feeding off resentment of Gypsies which is now widespread in Italy.¹⁹³

The changing geography and mechanics of hate

The pattern of racism and fascism across Europe is not uniform, and whether a far-right culture is allowed to take root depends on each country and even each city or town's history. Cosmopolitan cities such as London, with a history of multiculturalism and an anti-fascist tradition, have a capacity to resist a rise in fascist movements that opportunist and irresponsible politicians and parties, may engender. But in other cities, Rome being a prime example, there is also a long tradition of fascism upon which the far Right can build. The political climate can become the more explosive in conservative rural areas (particularly close to borders), or smaller de-industrialised decaying towns, where unemployment is high. All of which suggests that we have most to fear from the far Right at a local, or even regional level, rather than the national.

It lends credence to the view that a new geography of the far Right is now affecting certain regions of Europe as clusters of far-right voters develop in neighbouring electoral zones. The success of the nativist and Islamophobic PVV in the Netherlands, as well as of the conservative, nativist SVP in Switzerland has been attributed, in part, to the traditional, rural vote. People's fears about the city and immigration are what Geert Wilders, who himself hails from rural Limburg, deliberately plays on.¹⁹⁴ Sociologist Ineke van der Valk, who has documented over 100 attacks on Dutch mosques between 2005 and 2010 points out the majority of them (ranging from vandalism and racist graffiti to arson) happened not in the largest cities but in smaller

towns and municipalities.¹⁹⁵ Switzerland, which has the toughest rules in Europe for gaining citizenship, is probably the European country where the highest percentage of the population lives in rural areas. The SVP has traditionally done well in the rural German-speaking east with its power base of small farmers and craftsmen. Residents of Alpine villages may be completely integrated into modern high-tech life, but have a strong belief in traditional ways and resist newcomers, sentiments that the SVP (the strongest and most stable right-wing populist party in Europe) exploits to perfection.¹⁹⁶

In August 2010, Thilo Sarrazin launched his polemic *Deutschland Schafft Sich Ab* (Germany Abolishes Itself), months before the first of a series of seven elections in Germany's sixteen states. Its central themes of blaming multiculturalism and Muslims of poor genetic stock for failures in integration, reverberated with the interests of the NPD. Its members have now become so firmly ensconced in local politics in some rural communities that they are staffing local fire departments, running leisure activities for young people, attempting to take over school boards and kindergartens, and even providing citizens' advice for those claiming welfare. 'They live in a vacuum, in small towns and villages abandoned by mainstream democratic parties and by overstretched, underfunded local authorities, and are often free to express their ideology unhindered by the police or courts.'¹⁹⁷

In choosing to locate themselves in rural areas,



The next generation in Hungary are being indoctrinated into the politics of anti-Roma hatred. Picture credit: Andrei Stavila

Germany's neo-Nazis are mindful of the country's past, recalling the 'blood and soil' farmers supported by Himmler and Hess. Activists, living close to the border, are now expanding their activities, as evidenced by the fact that they are crossing the border to join in with anti-Roma mobilisations in the Czech Republic.¹⁹⁸ The success of the extreme Right in rural areas of Germany and the Czech Republic is mirrored in Hungary, where Jobbik draws much of its support from voters in the rural north-east, where unemployment is almost twice the national average and tensions with Roma, many of whom have lost previous jobs in the subsistence economy, are most pronounced. 'Citizens' security' was a central theme of the 2010 Hungarian elections, particularly in the countryside, since when the issue of 'gypsy crime' is discussed on a daily basis in the media and in parliament,¹⁹⁹ even as far-right militia stage regular anti-Roma demonstrations.

In France, where local and regional elections were held in 2011 and a debate on national identity launched, the Collective Against Islamophobia in France (CCIF) concludes that each time the government speaks about Islam-related issues there is an explosion of Islamophobic violence. A Lyons councillor, Jean-Louis Touraine, has warned that Neo-Nazi and pro-identity youth leagues, are also 'taking advantage of the current xenophobic ambiance to come out into the open', calling 'to mind nasty memories of the 1930s'. Most recently, in the context of the build up to the 2012 presidential elections (where Marine Le Pen of the FN scored the FN's best result ever in the first round) there has been a spate of mosque vandalisms. Controversial comments made by interior minister Claude Guéant to the effect that some civilizations – most notably his own – were worth more than others was widely seen as an attempt to steal votes from the FN.²⁰⁰ On 17 January, fascist graffiti was painted on the wall of a mosque under construction in Montigny-en-Ostrevent (Nord). Two days later, on 19 January, two pigs' heads were left at the site of a mosque under construction in Nanterre, a commune in the western suburbs of Paris.²⁰¹ On 31 January 2012, the walls of a mosque in the Glonnières district of Le Mans were covered with graffiti stating 'Islam out of Europe', 'No Islam' and 'France for the French'. Three days earlier, on 28 January, a mosque in Miramas (Bouches-du-Rhône) was also daubed with Islamophobic slogans along with the name of Marine Le Pen.

ELECTIONEERING AND FAR-RIGHT GAINS

It is obvious today that there is no longer a taboo about being connected to far-right extremism. In European electoral politics there are now a number of politicians who have been, or still are, associated with neo-Nazi or far-right groups that have advocated violence against opponents, and whose lead members have been imprisoned for criminal or terrorist offences. At the European parliament, MEPs from Jobbik even once tried to take up their seats wearing the uniforms of the anti-Semitic Hungarian Guard. And Roberto Fiore, the controversial figure who fled Italy in the 1980s follow-

ing the Bologna massacre and facing a five and a half years in prison for association with an armed group,²⁰² actually sat in the European parliament in 2008-2009 as a representative of the coalition Social Alternative (*Alternativa Sociale*). MEPs from centre-right parties are now rubbing shoulders there with extremists and nativists. The UK's lead party in the governing coalition (the Conservatives), for example, sits alongside right-wing Poles from the homophobic and anti-Semitic Law and Justice Party (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*) and Latvians from the equally controversial For Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK party (*Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK*), in the European Conservatives and Reformists Group (ECR). But a European parliament administrative plan to subsidise the even-more extreme European Alliance of National Movements (EANM) to the tune of Euros 289,266 is currently being contested.²⁰³

Meanwhile, at the member state level, the neo-Nazi NPD in Germany benefits substantially from state subsidies as do the PxC and España 2000 in Spain which gained seats in the May 2007 local and regional elections, and have strong roots in Spain's fascist and Falangist past.

Spain: PxC leader Josep Anglada (a town councillor in Vic), is a follower of Blas Piñar, and a former prominent member of the Fuerza Nueva, a movement of fascist nostalgists which was disbanded in the 1980s. Another PxC party leader in the city of l'Hospitalet de Llobregat, Daniel Ordoñez, was formerly a member of the Alliance for National Unity (*Alianza por la Unidad Nacional*) which was led by Ricardo Sáenz de Ynestrilla until his imprisonment for attempted murder and illegal possession of weapons. As previously mentioned, José Luis Roberto Navarro, the leader of España 2000 is well-known for his far-right sympathies. In the 1990s, he was linked to Acción Radical, one of the most violent neo-Nazi groups in Spanish post-war history, the members of which had a history of arrests for possession of weapons.²⁰⁴ Several of its members are now awaiting trial on gun and other charges, including the 1993 murder in Valencia of the anti-racist Guillem Agulló. As part of the Operation Panzer investigation



Some of the weapons and other items seized during the Operation Panzer investigation into the neo-Nazi scene in Valencia.

into the neo-Nazi scene, twenty-seven people have been arrested since 2005 on allegations that they hunted down migrants and left-wingers, sold arms and spread neo-Nazi ideology. Alejandro Serrador, an España 2000 councillor in Silla, Valencia, is currently under investigation.²⁰⁵

THE RACIST FALL-OUT ON THE GROUND

Clearly the far Right is bent on identifying old and new enemies amongst religious and other minorities, in the name of what Ataka's Volen Siderov describes as 'defensive nationalism'. Its election literature, and the posturing of its MPs reflect this process of demonisation which impacts on the political culture on the ground, as the following examples demonstrate.

Austria: Austrian lawyers, in bringing an (unsuccessful) prosecution for incitement against Freedom Party politician Gerhard Kurzmann for posting the video game *Moschee Baba* (See yah, mosque), argued that the Freedom Party had risen to popularity on the basis of exploiting Islamophobia.²⁰⁶ Before this, the Migrants' Council in Graz had already linked the blast at the Caritas centre (see page 16) to election literature that 'stirred up people against each other and created enemy stereotypes'.²⁰⁷

Belgium: The VB used a poster at its 2011 congress which depicted a white sheep kicking a red sheep, emblazoned with the insignia from the Turkish and Moroccan flags, from ground covered by European flags.²⁰⁸ (This mirrored the Swiss People's Party's previous election material.)²⁰⁹

Finland: Finnish Youth Research Network social scientist Veronika Honkasalo says that threats against migration researchers escalated in 2009, after Jyrki Katainen (National Coalition Party) said that people should be able to speak critically about immigration issues without being labelled racist. 'Now it's possible to say anything'.²¹⁰

France: In the run-up to the 2011 regional elections, the Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (UMP) campaigned forcefully against Roma camps with a resultant increase in anti-Roma sentiment throughout France. In *October 2011*, an unidentified body was found in the ruins of a disused hangar which was being used as a squat by Roma forced out of their camps, in Paris' 20th arrondissement, and had burnt down a day before. A witness claimed to have seen some people throwing Molotov cocktails at the building. The Action Group Against Xenophobia states that men in hoods attacked the house and threw Molotov cocktails.²¹¹

Germany, Berlin: Tensions were running high in the run-up to the September 2011 Berlin regional elections, with the NPD distributing racist election material (one with a caricature of Muslim immigrants on a flying carpet with the slogan 'have a nice flight home', which was prosecuted, unsuccessfully, for incitement). An action was also brought (unsuccessfully) against the NPD over an election poster which depicted the party's leader Udo Voigt on a motorbike. It was claimed that the slogan 'step on the gas' was a

deliberate attempt to provoke associations with the gassing of millions of Jews in the Holocaust.²¹²

In June 2011, a spate of arson attacks on left-wing targets began.²¹³ On 25 June, *Nationaler Widerstand Berlin-Brandenburg* (National Resistance Berlin-Brandenburg) emailed supporters calling for attacks on left-wing projects, including several in Neukölln. The Anton Schmaus Haus youth centre was set on fire on the Sunday; Falcons, a left-wing youth organisation, had its roof and façade destroyed by fire (the group offers overnight stays for young children). In Kreuzberg, two cars were set on fire in front of the Tommy-Weisbecker-Haus, a left-wing housing cooperative for youth and young adults. The activist, Dirk Stegemann, who had previously been named as a traitor on the Nürnberg 2.0 website, was also threatened.²¹⁴

The AN also launched a classic 'foreigners out' campaign in Berlin, stating that 'the problem of foreign infiltration' penetrates the 'German Volk like cancer and tries to replace it from the inside'. A spokesperson on integration in the Berlin Senate said the campaign was a 'calculated, racist provocation begging for attention'.²¹⁵

Germany, Mecklenburg: The NPD, which merged with the Deutsche Volksunion, won 6 per cent of the overall vote in the September 2011 Mecklenburg-Vorpommern elections (five seats). In one village of 200 inhabitant, Koblentz, it was practically the only party to put up posters. It went on to gain 33.3 per cent of the vote there. The per capita incidence of violent far-right crimes in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern is the fifth highest in all Germany's sixteen states, according to the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution. The four states with higher crime rates are all in east Germany.²¹⁶

Norbert Nieszery, the parliamentary leader of the Social Democrats (SPD) in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, described the violence in the run up to the September 2011 elections as an 'early form of terror'.²¹⁷ Electoral district offices of mainstream political parties were repeatedly vandalised and Reinhard Knaack, mayor of the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern village of Lalendorf, had to be given round-the-clock police protection after receiving death threats from neo-Nazis.²¹⁸ Dieter Massmann, mayor of Hoppenrade, a village a hundred kilometers east of Jamel, had to be given police protection after he also received death threats after refusing to hand over to a right-wing extremist mother – a co-founder of the *Rings Nationaler Frauen* (National Women's Circle) – a sponsorship certificate from the President and 500 Euros on the birth of her seventh child. The far-right family was linked to the blood and soil farmers, who see themselves as descendants of the ethnic Artamanen movement of the 1920s (supported by Himmler and Hess), pursue organic farming, campaign against genetic engineering and are now being drawn to the NPD.²¹⁹

Mecklenburg is famous for its scenic Baltic coastline and lakes. But because in the run-up to the elections, tourists were met with posters stating 'Stop the Polish Invasion' and 'Criminal Foreigners Out', the chair of

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the Mecklenburg Lakes Tourism Federation and hotel owners have called for elections to be held outside the tourist season. On the eve of elections in Jamel, a journalist from the website VBS TV found a barbecue in the garden of the NPD offices in Gravesmühlen bearing the phrase 'Happy Holocaust'. The backyard was overlooked by a watchtower which was flying the old German Reich flag.

INTIMIDATION AND DEBASEMENT OF POLITICAL NORMS

In western Europe

The presence of the far Right in parliament and local government has also been linked to an increase in hate speech, provocation (including giving the Hitler salute) as well as a decline in civility in public life.

Austria: The Freedom Party is being investigated for incitement to racial hatred after issuing election posters in the western city of Innsbruck carrying the slogan 'Heimat-Liebe statt Marokkaner-Diebe', meaning 'Patriotism not thieving Moroccans'.²²⁰

Belgium: VB leader Filip Dewinter addressed parliament with the following words: 'Members of the parliament, as you know, for the population, the world ROMA comes from R as in "rovers" [thieves], O as in "overlastjunkies" [drug addicts], M as in "messentrek-kers" (knife throwers) and A as in "agresif" [aggressive] ... You try to ignore this reality, but I am telling you: we don't need stewards to facilitate Rom integration, we need police officers to drive them to where they belong – Romania and Bulgaria, not here.'²²¹

Greece: The neo-Nazi Golden Dawn (Chrysi Avyi) scored 7 per cent of the vote in the 6 May 2012 general election, provoking uproar at a press conference when journalists were instructed to demonstrate their respect by standing up as the party leader Nikolaos Michaloliakos entered the room. In Athens, ever since November 2010, when the Golden Dawn scored 5.3 per cent of the vote and secured one seat on Athens city council, there has been a decline in civility at town hall meetings with Golden Dawn accused of creating a climate of intimidation through the unruly behaviour of its members and the ignoring of regulations about number of guest passes.²²² In January 2011, Michaloliakos, caused consternation when he turned up for a council meeting accompanied by eight bodyguards, apparently armed, and gave a Nazi salute.²²³ The next day Maria Kanellopoulou, a left-wing councillor was verbally abused and harassed by a member of Golden Dawn in the run-down migrant neighbourhood of Aghios Panteleimonas where she lives.²²⁴ In May 2011, the mayor of Athens condemned political violence by extremist groups in some parts of the city and accused the police of inertia in combating right-wing attacks on migrants. The UNHCR and Human Rights Watch have also protested at the levels of racist violence in Athens and the fact that in certain neighbourhoods 'cruel and criminal attacks are nearly a daily phenomenon staged by fascist groups that have established an odd lawless regime'.²²⁵ Since August 2011, the situation

has deteriorated further leading Human Rights Watch to conclude that migrants and asylum seekers live in virtual no go areas of Athens after dark because of fear of attacks by vigilante groups.²²⁶ The Afghan Community of Greece which provides social support to immigrants now gives new arrivals a map of neighbourhoods indicating which to avoid.

Italy: A similar decline in civility in public life has taken place in Rome. This is linked to the mayoral elections of 2008 which returned Gianni Alemanno, a one-time neo-fascist²²⁷ now representing the People of Freedom (*Il Popolo della Libertà*, PdL), as well as the presence of CasaPound which has its base in the Italian capital. Casa Pound now boasts of support from key officials at city hall, and the support of the PdL MP Domenico Scilipoti. At a parliamentary meeting entitled 'Usury, Ezra Pound', Scilipoti allegedly promised to bring Casapound ideas and proposals into parliament.²²⁸ The organisation Coming Out has been monitoring mounting attacks on gays (including the serious wounding of a gay man by a veteran neo-fascist), immigrants and tourists in Rome. A horrific example of the deteriorating climate on the streets of Rome was recorded on CCTV. A young Italian man got into an argument with a Romanian nurse while standing in a queue and proceeded to punch her so violently that she suffered fatal brain damage. The CCTV footage showed a crowd of some two hundred people gathered around him, applauding and, as the police took him away, some shouted 'Free him' and 'He is one of us'.²²⁹

The use of anti-migrant, anti-Roma rhetoric was central to the PdL campaign in the Milan mayoral election in May 2011. In the run-up, prime minister Silvio Berlusconi accused the centre Left of wanting to turn Milan into an 'Islamic' city overrun by Roma and foreigners. In an online message posted on the site of the PdL Berlusconi said 'Milan ... cannot become, on the eve of the Expo 2015, an Islamic city, a city of gypsies, full of Roma camps and besieged by foreigners to whom (the left) wants to give voting rights'.²³⁰

Spain: The May 2011 elections for the Catalan parliament and seventeen regional legislatures, took place against a backdrop of racism with immigrants blamed for rising crime and a lack of jobs, in a country with an official 20 per cent unemployment rate. While the conservative Popular Party adopted an anti-immigration platform to stave off the electoral threat posed by the far Right in some cities, the eight parties that comprise Spain's fragmented extreme Right won eighty-eight council seats. One of these parties, the PxC is under investigation for incitement to racial hatred in relation to election literature distributed in Vic and Sant Adrià de Besos, near Barcelona. Here a highly inflammatory pamphlet was distributed in the context of an anti-immigrant demonstration held in the municipality in August 2011. The PxC launched a petition against a mosque that did not exist and the pamphlet referred to 'Arab children' who grab social welfare assistance and choose school places 'while we ourselves are assigned vacancies far from home'. It was

claimed that 'free medication' was granted to immigrants, that Pakistani businessmen 'do not pay taxes and are not obliged to comply with norms' and that immigrants are hired to do jobs which are not offered before hand to local residents.²³¹ More complaints against PxC councillors were made later in 2011 after Albert Pericas, a member of the municipal council of Manresa (Bages) posted a comment on Facebook 'one less for the public purse' about Mustapha El Marrakchi, a 24-year-old undocumented immigrant who died in hospital after having been in a coma for a month.²³²

But not just the far Right faces censure in Spain. The centre-right main opposition Popular Party (*Partido Popular*, PP) was forced to withdraw an online game *Rescue*, inviting players to bomb illegal immigrants, in the run-up to regional elections in Catalonia.²³³ In another case, SOS Racismo took a civil action against Xavier García Albiol, the Popular Party mayor of Badalona after the party distributed 16,000 pamphlets linking immigration to crime and describing Romanian Gypsies as a 'menace' who 'have come exclusively to commit crimes'. In court, Albiol said that he had committed a 'verbal excess'; outside the court he described himself as a victim of persecution.²³⁴

According to Acció Popular Contra La Impunitat (People Against Impunity), Valencia tops the league of regions where attacks are motivated by racism or ideological hatred, and these crimes go unpunished by the police. Alex Passadellis, a French national of Greek origin, lost his eye in a racist attack in Valencia on the night of the 'Fallas' (firework celebrations) in March 2011. He was surrounded by six attackers who used knuckle dusters to batter his skull in an unprovoked attack (that he believes was racially motivated because of his North African appearance).²³⁵

Switzerland: In the run-up to the October 2010 general election, and just before 1 August, Swiss National Day, the SVP launched an initiative for a referendum to end mass immigration, at the same time as collecting signatures for a referendum on the automatic deportation of foreign national criminals. Posters were put up in train stations and city centres depicting the legs of men in suits marching across the Swiss flag, bearing the slogan 'That's enough. Stop mass immigration'.

The Swiss Council of Bishops denounced an SVP newspaper advert campaign, which insinuated that Kosovars were highly dangerous criminals, as incitement. The adverts, which had to be modified under pressure from newspaper editors, included headlines like 'Kosovars stab a Swiss man' or 'A Kosovar kills the head of social services'. The Zurich SVP MP Ulrich Schlüer, speaking on World Radio Switzerland on the 30 August, said the party was justified in targeting Kosovars because the kind of crimes they committed were particularly violent and gratuitous.²³⁶ In a separate case, the SVP admitted that it was behind an anonymous poster campaign in the southern canton of Tessin which likened Roma migrants and Italians to rats. Tessin, shares a border with Italy, and has 40,000

Italian workers who are now being stereotyped as foreign criminals.²³⁷

A spokesperson for the EU foreign affairs chief Catherine Ashton called on Switzerland to respect its international obligations after voters endorsed the SVP-launched referendum to automatically expel foreign residents convicted of certain crimes and ban them from entering Switzerland for five to ten years. At the end of November 2010, in the 'Deportation Initiative', 52.9 per cent voted in favour of automatic expulsions and 47.1 per cent against. (The proposal makes no distinction between 'foreigners' who arrived recently and those who have spent most of their lives in Switzerland, or been born there.) The new law is most probably incompatible with international law, as well as the Swiss constitution, with the newspaper *Le Matin* calling the SVP campaign a 'real war machine, with a perfect propaganda service, incomparable financial means, dedicated politicians and simplistic but terribly efficient messages'.²³⁸

UK: In the UK, a case was brought against a politician who was accused of peddling myths about immigration in order to tar his opponent. The Labour politician, and former immigration minister, Phil Woolas lost his parliamentary seat and was suspended from the Labour Party after an election court found him guilty of breaching provisions of the Representation of the People Act through distributing misinformation on immigration to cast aspersions on his opponent. Woolas made untruthful and inflammatory statements while campaigning in the 2010 general election and his campaign team set out to 'get the white folk angry' by distributing provocative leaflets to voters in Oldham which accused the opposition Liberal Democrats of planning to give hundreds of thousands of illegal immigrants the right to stay. In the first decision of its kind since the beginning of the twentieth century, the court ruled that the election, which Woolas had won by just over 100 votes, was invalid. Woolas, who maintained the court's verdict was an attack on free speech, tried but failed to get the decision reversed.²³⁹

In eastern Europe

In eastern European countries, mainstream politicians and local authority councillors have similarly been accused of producing election and other literature that exploits majority community fears about crime and social disintegration, with the entire Roma community held guilty for the crimes of individuals. It was in this context that Ambassador Janez Lenarčič, Director of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) pointed out that the 'incentive to seek political gain from scapegoating Roma and other minorities for existing grievances is particularly high at the time of elections' and should be condemned by political leaders and civil society.²⁴⁰

Bulgaria: The leader of Ataka made several interventions prior to the 23rd October 2011 presidential election in which he condemned the 'Gypsification' of Bulgaria and described the young people who had turned out for recent violent anti-Roma protests as

representative of a Bulgarian 'awakening'. According to People Against Racism, on 1 November (a national day to commemorate the leaders of the Bulgarian national revival) a dozen young neo-Nazis piled onto a bus in Sofia and violently assaulted two Roma. Angel Nikolov, a 27-year-old student at the High Evangelical Institute of Theology received multiple trauma and injuries and was left in intensive care suffering concussion and other injuries. As an epileptic, his condition was described at the time as critical.²⁴¹

Czech Republic: On 12 March 2011, the police allowed the DSSS, the National Resistance and Autonomous Nationalists to march into the heart of an impoverished Roma neighbourhood in the East Bohemian town of Nový Bydžov. The Brno Blocks Initiative, which helped form an anti-fascist blockade, accused politicians of precipitating the crisis by concentrating on 'Roma crimes' most notably the rape of a woman in November 2010 being blamed on the entire Roma community. In January 2011, interior minister Radek John promised to reinforce the police unit in Nový Bydžov if crime committed by the Roma became more serious. Mayor Pavel Louda (Civic Democrats, ODS) issued a statement sharply criticising local Roma and announcing a series of measures against 'unadaptable inhabitants'. A town hall statement entitled 'Gypsies Have Raped', said 'they are roaming the town, being a nuisance, stealing and raping. During the time a decent citizen is working, gypsies are lazily sitting on park benches in the square, happily chatting'.²⁴² The town was then chosen as the venue for a conference of mayors from fifty-one communes in the Czech Republic where the problems caused by what were described as 'transients, loiterers and petty criminals', were discussed. The mayors went on to write to the national government²⁴³ demanding greater powers for local authorities to punish 'socially unadaptable citizens'.²⁴⁴

Hungary: Throughout 2008 and 2009, a series of crimes against the Roma in small villages in rural Hungary left six dead. Yet in the 2010 general election, citizens' security (the election's main theme) was taken to mean the security of Hungarians against the Roma, particularly in the countryside. During the 2010 general election campaign, the centre-right Hungarian Civil Union (*Fidesz – Magyar Polgári Szövetség*), which now has a two-thirds majority in parliament, promised it would quickly solve the security problem in remote locations by increasing the police presence. The far-right Jobbik, which did well in the severely de-industrialised northeast and east of Hungary, where most of the country's 700,000 Roma live, and gained the mayorship of Budapest, was more explicit, warning that foreigners and 'Gypsies' were taking over Hungary. Jobbik MEP and party vice chair Czanad Szegedi argued that 'Gypsies' considered a threat to public safety should be forced from their homes and placed in public order protection camps. 'At these camps there would be a chance to return to civilised society. Those who abandon crime, make sure their children attend school, and participate in public works programmes, they can reintegrate.' 'No doubt there

will be people who show no improvement', he added, concluding that they could spend the rest of their lives in these camps.²⁴⁵

Slovakia: According to the organisation People Against Racism, the electoral extreme-right Slovak National Party (*Slovenská národná strana*, SNS) exploited anti-Roma stereotypes in its campaign for the June 2010 parliamentary elections. Adverts for the SNS in the elections featured a bare-chested Roma man digitally altered to add tattoos and a thick gold chain. The slogan read 'So that we do not feed those who do not want to work'.²⁴⁶ The elections were followed in August 2010 by the killing of seven people, including six members of a Roma family, in Bratislava by Lubomir Harman, an unemployed member of a club of reservist soldiers and member of a shooting club, armed with a submachine gun and two handguns. After police surrounded the building, he shot and killed a bystander and wounded fifteen more people before turning the gun on himself. Following the killings, there was a national debate on the problems inherent in assimilating the Roma community, focussing on Harman's 'problem neighbours' saying that he took this murderous course of action because the police failed to act. According to Stanislav Daniel at the European Roma Rights Centre, the 'message has been: the shooting was bad but these Roma people he killed were bad too'.²⁴⁷

A similar narrative followed the Easter 2011 violence in the village of Gemerská Poloma in the Rožňava district, where Roma experienced three days of terror after a gang of forty to fifty men with neo-Nazi sympathies attacked Roma in their homes and destroyed their property. When Roma called the police, they were abusive, and told them they could not guarantee their safety and that they should call a taxi and flee to their relatives. Apparently, the mayor commented that the Roma had not been attacked without cause.²⁴⁸ In February 2012, the Roma Union Party once again was forced to complain after the SNS put up three billboards with the slogans 'Let's not put up with parasites!' 'How much longer are we going to pay for the Roma?' and 'Matoviè wants to get Gypsies into parliament'.²⁴⁹

Regrettably, many of the countries that are experiencing the worst outbreaks of extreme-right campaigning and concomitant racist violence have virtually no system for recording hate crimes. But what we have found is that in an era of economic crisis and military engagement abroad, those systems that do exist to record (and hopefully to counter) hate-crime, are being fatally undermined by politicians who attack the multicultural society and promote a 'one nation' social policy based on monoculturalism and assimilation. And those in power, instead of strengthening anti-racist and anti-discrimination laws, and prosecuting the racists – thereby also educating about what is permissible – all too often reach for an easy and divisive rhetoric, that in blaming migrants and minorities for crime, poverty and other societal ills, resonates with the demonology peddled by the far Right.

References

- 1 The Danish intelligence service assessment: 'It is our evaluation that ... part of the far-right community is preparing for a future race war in Denmark and in that context is willing to use violence' (Agence France Presse, 17 November 2011), <<http://www.rawstory.com/rs/2011/11/17/danish-right-wing-extremists-eye-race-war-police/>>. In the UK, a 'hostile inner core' within 'radical right' and 'far-right' groups believe violent conflict is inevitable, and it is legitimate to prepare for armed conflict, according to research based on a survey by YouGov of 2,152 people self-identifying themselves as supporters of the British National Party, the UK Independence Party or the English Defence League. See Matthew Goodwin and Jocelyn Evans, 'From Voting to Violence? Far right extremism in modern Britain', *Hope Not Hate* (2012). <<http://www.channel4.com/media/c4-news/images/voting-to-violence%20%287%29.pdf>>.
- 2 The European Network Against Racism (ENAR) points to a series of threats against representatives of ENAR member organisations in several countries including Doros Polykarpou from the organisation KISA in Cyprus, Jallow Momodou from the National Afro-Swedish Association in Sweden and Andreas Hieronymus from the Institute for Migrations – und Rassismusforschung in Germany. In February 2012, Michaël Privot, Director of ENAR received a death threat following his participation in a live web-chat on freedom of expression, organised by the Belgian weekly magazine *Le Viv/L'Express* (ENAR Press Statement, 6 March 2012), <<http://cms.horus.be/files/99935/MediaArchive/pdfpress/2012-03-05%20death%20threat%20complaint-final.pdf>>.
- 3 The Autonomous Nationalists first emerged in Germany in the mid 1990s as a reaction to the proscription of certain neo-Nazi groups and because non-hierarchical cells, the so-called grassroots 'Leaderless Resistance', were seen as an effective way of circumventing state bans. The emergence of the Autonomous Nationalists in both Germany and the Czech Republic was also connected to the Anti-Antifa campaign to monitor and attack the enemies of the far Right. See Miroslav Mareš, 'Transnational Activities of the Extreme Right Youth in East and Central Europe', Paper (first draft) for the International Conference 'Far right networks in Northern and Eastern Europe' (Uppsala University, 25-27 March 2010), <<http://www.anst.uu.se/matwe309/Mares.pdf>>.
- 4 On 31 March 2012, the EDL, alongside the Stop Islamisation of Europe movement, organised a 'counter-jihad' summit in Aarhus, Denmark, with a view to forming a European Defence League from national movements in the UK, Italy, Poland, Finland, Sweden and Norway.
- 5 In calling for a quota on the number of young Belgian-born Muslims allowed in public swimming pools, Vlaams Belang leader Filip Dewinter argued that 'multi-culture ... like Aids weakens the resistance of the European body', and 'Islamophobia is a duty'. As cited by Anne Karpf, 'Don't be fooled. Europe's far-right racists are not discerning', *Guardian* (27 March 2012), <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/mar/27/far-right-philozionism-racism>>.
- 6 A declaration on the website of the Thuringian Homeland Defence (*Thüringer Heimatschutz*), members of which included Uwe Mundlos and Uwe Böhnhardt of the NSU and the paid informant, Tino Brandt. Thuringian Homeland Defence grew out of the Anti-Antifa Ostthüringen, which was responsible for bomb threats and attacks in the 1990s. Similarly, the Movement for European Liberation called on Muslims to 'choose the suitcase or the coffin' (EMISCO press release, 13 November 2010).
- 7 The phrase was used by Polish far-right activists in its announcement that a new National Movement (*Ruch Narodowy*) would be formed out of an amalgamation of the All-Polish Youth and the National Radical Camp. The new movement would take its name from a pre-war organisation noted for its anti-Semitism. The founding of the party was officially announced at a demonstration in Warsaw on November 11 2011, Poland's Independence Day, following which there were clashes between fascists and anti-fascists and the police who used pepper spray and water cannon on protestors and made 150 arrests (*The News – Poland*, 16 November 2011), <http://www.newspolandexpress.pl/polish_news_story-3752-new_far-right_party_on_the_cards_.php>.
- 8 The phrase is taken from the Italian anti-Semitic website *NonConforme* and was posted following the murder of two Senegalese street vendors in Florence by a far-right sympathiser linked to CasaPound.
- 9 The point about the extreme Right's 'philozionism' is made forcefully by the writer and broadcaster Anne Karpf who argues that the extreme-right philosemite 'who professes to love Jews and attributes superior intelligence and culture to them, is often (though not always) another incarnation of the antisemite', as both see "'the Jew'" as a unified racial category. Beneath the admiring surface, philozionism isn't really an appreciation of Jewish culture but rather the opportunistic endorsement of Israeli nationalism and power'. See Anne Karpf, 'Don't be fooled. Europe's far-right racists are not discerning', op.cit.
- 10 As reported in Associated Press (6 February 2012) <<http://news.yahoo.com/norway-mass-killer-demands-medal-court-hearing-133012973.html>>. Oslo criminal prosecutor Christian Hatlo is sceptical about Breivik's claim that there are eighty anti-Islamic cells across Europe. Nevertheless, he has requested police officials in twenty countries to interview thirty-five people who may be able to provide further information on Breivik's travel and purchases prior to the killings. See the *Telegraph* (13 October 2011), <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/norway/8825028/Anders-Behring-Breivik-claims-there-are-80-militant-anti-Islamic-cells-in-Europe.html>>.
- 11 The cultural anthropologist Sindre Bangstad has described the process in which a depoliticising and decontextualising narrative about Behring Breivik as a psychopathological, lone individual terrorist has developed. See OpenDemocracy, 'Norway: terror and Islamophobia in the mirror', <<http://www.opendemocracy.net/sindrebangstad/norway-terror-and-islamophobia-in-mirror>>. The same narrative was used in Italy, with psychoanalyst Stefano Pallanti describing Gianluca Casseri, who gunned down two Senegalese street vendors in December 2011, as a vulnerable man at risk. (Spiegel Online, 15 December 2011). <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,803938,00.html>>

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- 12 At the time of writing, a second psychiatric evaluation of Breivik has been ordered following deep controversy over the previous psychologist's report commissioned by the Norwegian prosecutor. I am thankful to Sindre Bangstad for providing me with insights and details of the first assessment which found that Breivik was psychotic at the time of the terror attacks on 22/7 and that he was suffering from 'paranoid schizophrenia'. Underpinning the first assessment, Bangstad told me, was the view that Breivik's expressed idea that there is an ongoing civil war in Norway and in Europe and his statement that he committed his acts out of 'love for his people' were symptomatic of paranoia and grandiose delusions. But psychiatric expert Ulf Åsgard counters this, pointing out that paranoid delusions of an impending Islamisation of Europe also appear to be quite prevalent among reasonably sane people. Historian of religion and senior researcher at the Holocaust Centre in Oslo, Terje Emberland, said that 'it was very obvious that the psychiatrists [had] no knowledge of the universe of ideas which Breivik [was] part of – and the hyper-reality he has been part of on the internet'. He questioned the psychiatric assessors' definition of Breivik's idea of establishing reserves for 'indigenous Norwegians' as a paranoid delusion by pointing to the fact that this idea, first mooted by the German Nazi leader Heinrich Himmler of the German SS had in fact been at the very core of the establishment of *Lebensborn* institutions for 'Aryan' women and children in Norway during the German Nazi occupation 1940-1945. According to the Norwegian General Penal Code S 44, individuals who are either psychotic, unconscious or mentally retarded during the execution of criminal actions cannot face imprisonment, only psychiatric care.
 - 13 A thoughtful appraisal of the differences between the political climate now and in the inter-war period is provided by Paul Jackson, 'Reflections on developing the far right research agenda through public facing encounters', <<http://www.re-public.gr/en/?p=5279>>.
 - 14 In 2007, the SVP issued a widely-condemned racist election poster which took a cartoon format and depicted three white sheep standing on a Swiss flag, with one of the sheep kicking out a black sheep with a flick of its back legs. The poster bore the slogan 'For More Security'. In 2004, the party successfully campaigned to block liberalisation of the citizenship laws using the image of a pot filled with Swiss passports.
 - 15 *El País* (6 September 2011).
 - 16 This is particularly the case in Hungary, but also in Greece where, following the collapse of the government and the introduction of an IMF-led austerity package, an extreme-right party, Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS) entered government for the first time since the collapse of military rule almost forty years ago. LAOS leader Giorgos Karatzaferis, a former bodybuilder, has been criticised for making anti-Semitic remarks on his own television channel, TeleAsty (formerly TeleCity). The anti-Semitism is even more overt in Hungary where Jobbik, which campaigns for a Greater Hungary, and believes in a right of return for all ethnic Hungarians living abroad, refers to Jews as people with 'foreign hearts', and a Jobbik-linked paramilitary organisation, the Hungarian National Guard (now disbanded) referred to the capital as 'Judapest' (*Business Week*, 20 April 2010), <http://www.businessweek.com/globalbiz/content/apr2010/gb20100420_420459_page_3.htm>. According to *Deutsche Welle* (7 December 2011), Jobbik parliamentarians imply that both the populist nationalist conservative governing majority and the opposition socialists and liberals represent the interest of Israel and Jews rather than Hungary itself. The message appeals to a highly-indebted public.
 - 17 The policy has been promoted by Jobbik in Hungary and the Party of National Rights in Romania.
 - 18 The words are those of Bulgarian Ataka leader Volen Siderov. One of Siderov's main targets for attack is the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee which he claims has swallowed huge amounts of money to promote the Gypsification of Europe (*Sofia Echo*, 29 September 2011), <http://sofiaecho.com/2011/09/29/1165428_siderov-in-shouting-matches-on-bulgarian-breakfast-television-shows>.
 - 19 In 1942, Himmler gave the order to deport all remaining Roma and Sinti to Auschwitz in a letter which outlined the basis for their deportation as in their origin, as so-called inadaptable people (or criminals). Human rights advocate Gwendolyn Albert, who works with Romea, says that since about 2006 it has become standard for the media to use the term '*nepřizpůsobivý*', or 'inadaptable' as a way of referring to the Roma and the Czech News Agency now puts out press releases without even bothering to put quotation marks around that term. More information about the Czech Holocaust can be provided by the Committee for the Redress of the Romani Holocaust (VPORH) which has gathered the testimony of the survivors, not only at Auschwitz but at the Czech-run camps near Hodonín (Moravia) and Lety (Bohemia) – now the site of a controversial pig farm. See 'The Holocaust: the "devouring" of the Czech Roma', Czech Position (27 January 2012), <<http://www.icare.to/news.php?en/2012-01#HOLOCAUST:%20THE%20%E2%80%98DEVOURING%E2%80%99%20OF%20THE%20CZECH%20ROMA>>.
 - 20 The *Prague Daily Monitor* (25 August 2011) speculated that one reason for the current crisis has been the unscrupulous activities of property speculators pressurising Roma to move out of lucrative buildings in the major city centres. Some companies have even resettled the Roma in former abandoned buildings, only to charge high rents, and in some cases claim welfare subsidies for the Roma directly from the state. At the heart of the recent anti-Roma feeling are wild allegations that real estate businesses are being subsidised by the state to provide accommodation for 'unadaptable' tenants.
 - 21 In the months preceding the October 2010 mayoral elections in Italy, the police dismantling of Roma camps intensified with Maurizio Pagani of Opera Nomadi describing the accelerated crackdown as politically motivated. 'We are getting close to the mayoral elections and the authorities want to impress the public with a policy of zero tolerance', he said. The ruling conservative party has 'successfully turned Gypsies into a public enemy', adding that progressive opposition parties offered no alternative (*Christian Science Monitor*, 18 October 2010), <http://www.everyonegroup.com/EveryOne/MainPage/Entries/2010/10/18_In_Italy_local_politics_appears_to_drive_latest_round_of_Roma_Gypsyexpulsions.html>.
 - 22 The terminology varies greatly across Europe – for the sake of consistency, I have used the UK term, BME, throughout.
 - 23 See Liz Fekete, 'Breivik, the conspiracy theory and the Oslo massacre', *IRR Briefing Paper No. 5* (September 2011), <http://www.irr.org.uk/pdf2/ERA_BriefingPaper5.pdf>. After Gianluca Casseri killed two Senegalese street vendors in Florence and shot himself following police pursuit, Stormfront put a statement on its website, entitled 'Gianluca died for us', praising Casseri as a true Italian and a 'white hero' who 'cleaned up'. Comments included 'Florence was only the beginning. We'll clean up all of Italy'.
 - 24 The shop is in Chemnitz, a neighbouring town to Zwickau, where the three NSU terrorists hailed from. The Thor Steiner clothing chain claims that the shop

- is named after the village of Brevik, south of Oslo (BBC News, 6 March 2012), <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17275627>>.
- 25 The Polish-language version of Redwatch is housed on a server based in the USA to which the Polish police's jurisdiction does not extend. In 2008, the US government declined a request from the Hungarian government to close down an internet website promoting hate on the grounds that the activities of the website were legal and protected by the First Amendment of the US Constitution. The website, kuric.info (previously known as ketosallampolgarsag.hu ('Dual Citizenship'), has included strong expressions of support for several neo-Nazi terrorist suspects, and is still hosted by a US internet provider. See the report from the Athena Institute at <<http://athenaintezet.hu/en/infocus/read/2>>.
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- 27 'Bulgarian journalist banned from Facebook over report on Katunista clashes', noinvite.com (13 October 2011), <http://www.novinite.com/view_news.php?id=132580>.
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- 29 'Czech Republic: five charged with promoting Nazism on Facebook', romea.cz (11 November 2011), <http://www.romea.cz/english/index.php?id=detail&detail=2007_2946>.
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- 32 The DSSS is a successor to the neo-Nazi Workers' Party (DS) that was banned in February 2010 after an upsurge in murderous racist attacks, including the April 2009 Vitkov arson attack during which a 3-year-old Roma girl suffered 80 per cent burns.
- 33 'Extremist's lawyer claims judicial expert compromised by Jewish origin', czechposition.com (10 January 2012), <<http://www.ceskapozice.cz/en/news/politics-policy/extremist%E2%80%99s-lawyer-claims-judicial-expert-compromised-jewish-origin>>.
- 34 'Europe's radical right focuses on fighting Islam', *Associated Press* (7 December 2011), <http://www.rickross.com/reference/hate_groups/hategroups458.html>.
- 35 'Racist site wants Finnish leadership dead', tle.fi (1 March 2010), <http://yle.fi/uutiset/news/2010/03/racist_site_wants_finnish_leadership_dead_1495479.html>.
- 36 *Helsingin Sanomat* (16 March 2010).
- 37 'Local pizzeria became murder scene in Oulu', *Helsingin Sanomat* (22 February 2012), <<http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Local+pizzeria+became+murder+scene+in+Oulu+gunman+died+of+self-inflicted+wounds+on+Sunday/1329103474672>>.
- 38 Radio France International (RFI) (9 September 2011), <<http://www.english.rfi.fr/node/109115>>.
- 39 Deutsche Presse Agentur (DPA) (9 May 2011), <http://news.monstersandcritics.com/europe/news/article_1637922.php/French-court-acquits-man-who-defiled-Koran-of-stoking-discrimination>.
- 40 There are possibly more victims of the gang of three, the bodies of two of whom, Uwe Mundlos and Uwe Böhnhardt, were found in a burnt out campervan after what appears to be a suicide pact. The government has broadened its investigation into the NSU to take in previously unsolved crimes across the country including: the 2000 explosion at Düsseldorf railway station that injured ten recent Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union; the 2004 nail bomb attack in a Turkish neighbourhood of Cologne; the 2008 fire in a Ludwigshafen apartment block that killed nine Turkish immigrants, including five children; the attempted murder in 2008 of a Bavarian police chief who was stabbed by a masked assailant who yelled 'Greetings from the national resistance'; the unexplained killing of Rabbi Avraham Greenbaum in Switzerland in 2001. The neo-Nazis were also responsible for the April 2007 killing of police officer Michèle Kiesewetter, shot in the head as she sat in her patrol car in Heilbronn, northern Baden-Württemberg.
- 41 'German neo-Nazi terrorists had "hitlist" of 88 political targets', *Guardian* (16 November 2011), <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/16/german-neo-nazi-terror-hitlist>>.
- 42 'Unworte und Untaten', *sueddeutsche.de* (30 July 2011), <<http://www.sueddeutsche.de/medien/islam-kritiker-betreiben-internet-pranger-unworte-und-untaten-1.1126349>>.
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- 48 Stormfront was founded by the American Don Black, a former leader of the Ku Klux Klan, and operates from Florida, in the USA.
- 49 *AGI News* (24 November 2011).
- 50 *Jerusalem Post* (29 December 2011).
- 51 *La Repubblica* (5 January 2012).
- 52 It is ironic that Wilders makes much of the right to absolute freedom of speech, while demanding apologies from those who compare his anti-Muslim tirades to anti-Semitism. The PVV has also been blamed for the cancellation of the 2011 annual Willem Arondeus lecture (named after a gay Dutch second world war liberation hero) supposed to tackle controversial subjects. The lecture was to be given by Thomas von der Dunk who planned to compare the rise of the PVV to the rise of Nazism. The selection committee said the lecture was too party political, but Von der Dunk refused to tone down the content, eventually delivering his address outside the provincial government building. (Radio Netherlands Worldwide, 25 February 2011, 27 April 2011 and 1 May 2011).
- 53 romea.cz (4 November 2011); *New Poland Express* (21 October 2011). Additional information provided by Joanna Tegnerowicz.
- 54 *Migration News Sheet* (September 2011).
- 55 Associated Press (3 August 2011).
- 56 *The Local – Sweden* (7 November 2011).

- 57 *Politiken* (10 August 2011).
- 58 It also published the Muhammed cartoons on its website in the Spring of 2006.
- 59 Helsinki councillor Jussi Halla-aho was prosecuted in 2009 after he wrote a blog linking Islam and paedophilia and stating that Somalis were predisposed to mugging and living on the dole. More recently, the True Finns parliamentary party suspended him for two weeks after a posting, following the Oslo massacre, in which he compared Nordic Social Democrats to 'reptiles'. He was also forced to delete a posting advocating that a Greek military junta use tanks to crush protests (YLE.fi, 16 September 2011).
- 60 The leader of the neo-Nazi SVL is Henrik Holappa, a former member of the True Finns.
- 61 *Helsingen Sanomat* (1 November 2011).
- 62 In the September 2010 general election, the neo-Nazi Swedish Democrats gained nineteen seats, achieving representation in parliament for the first time. The Swedish government, concerned at the growing number of xenophobic websites in the country, now has its own website (regeringen.se/tolerans), designed to debunk 'common internet myths about immigrants and minorities'. The government website addresses the myth that Swedes will soon be a minority in their own country, and that Swedish children are no longer allowed to eat pork in school. In announcing the launch of the new website, integration minister Erik Ullenhag said that a number of the myths addressed on the site have 'even found their way into debates in the Riksdag'. 'We can therefore see how internet prejudices can be found in the political debate' (*The Local – Sweden*, 19 December 2011).
- 63 See Thomas Hylland Eriksen, 'The net of hatred: after Utoya', *OpenDemocracy* (6 September 2011).
- 64 In Belgium, in response to excessive trolling and racist comments, Philippe Laloux, the digital media manager of *Le Soir* has decided to omit the comment function on some articles. Laloux explained his decision to the European Network Against Racism, <<http://www.enargywebzine.eu/spip/php?article70&lang=fr>>.
- 65 *The Local – Sweden* (30 August 2011).
- 66 *Helsingin Sanomat* (5 August 2011).
- 67 Anti-Defamation League press release (23 March 2011).
- 68 Siderov has not gone unchallenged by journalists. Indeed he stormed out of the interview (in which he made these comments) on Bulgarian National Television's 'The Day Begins' after the host Yevgeniya Marcheva reminded him of his fascist past. See *Sofia Echo* (29 September 2011).
- 69 Noinvite.com (9 January 2012).
- 70 Romea.cz (29 December 2011).
- 71 See Jenny Bourne, 'Twit or Tweet', *IRR News* (11 January 2012); Alana Lentin and Gavin Titley, 'Diane Abbott's tweet and the red herring of anti-white racism', *Guardian* (6 January 2012), <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/jan/06/diane-abbott-tweet-anti-white-racism>>.
- 72 See Ryan Erfani-Ghettani, 'Strangers in our own land', *IRR News* (23 March 2012), <<http://www.irr.org.uk/news/strangers-in-our-own-land/>>.
- 73 See Ryan Erfani-Ghettani, 'Taking Facebook at face value?', *IRR News* (10 November 2011), <<http://www.irr.org.uk/news/taking-facebook-at-face-value/>>.
- 74 See Ryan Erfani-Ghettani, 'From portrayal to reality: examining the record of the EDL', *IRR News* (8 December 2011), <<http://www.irr.org.uk/news/from-portrayal-to-reality-examining-the-record-of-the-edl/>>.
- 75 *Austrian Independent* (10 February 2012).
- 76 'French Socialists assaulted by far-right supporters', *AFP* (28 February 2012), <http://www.france24.com/en/20120229-socialist-attacked-national-front-supporters-arnaud-montebourg-marine-le-pen?ns_campaign=editorial&ns_source=RSS_public&ns_mchannel=RSS&ns_fee=0&ns_linkname=20120229_socialist_attacked_national_front_supporters_arnaud>
- 77 See Sharif Chowdhury and Christos Kassimeris, 'Racist violence in Cyprus', *ENAR* (March 2011).
- 78 KISA press release (22 July 2010).
- 79 PICUM and ENAR press release (16 November 2010); *The Cyprus Mail* (6 November 2010). James Mackay, 'Cyprus racism in the spotlight', *Guardian* (13 March 2012), <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/mar/13/cyprus-political-racism-doros-polycarpou>>.
- 80 Romea.cz (28 November 2011).
- 81 Romea.cz (10 January 2012).
- 82 'Neo-Nazis charged but not in custody, arsonists from Aš may be among them', Romea.cz (3 April 2012), <http://www.romea.cz/english/index.php?id=detail&detail=2007_3280>; 'Czech right-wing extremists charged for planning bomb attacks', *Czech Position Online* (3 April 2012), <<http://www.ceskapozice.cz/en/news/politics-policy/czech-right-wing-extremists-charged-planning-bomb-attacks>>.
- 83 In fact, if a report in the *Spiegel* on 23 January 2012 is anything to go by, the BfV seems to regard the Left Party as at least an equal threat to democracy as the far Right despite having no evidence that the Left Party has promoted violence. More than one-third of the Left Party parliamentary group (27 MPs in all) are under observation by the BfV, as are 11 members of state parliaments across the country. One of those under BfV surveillance is Steffen Bockhahn, a member of the parliamentary agencies' budgets. Left Party leader Gregor Gysi, commenting on the revelations, said that 'The parliamentarians are there to control the domestic intelligence agency. It is shameless that they think they can monitor a third of the parliamentarians in the Left Party faction. Now it has finally become clear that the domestic intelligence agency is nuts.'
- 84 *Spiegel Online* (3 January 2012).
- 85 *Spiegel Online* (2 January 2012).
- 86 *The Local – Germany* (16 November 2010).
- 87 *The Local – Germany* (18 August 2010).
- 88 *France 24* (18 February 2012).
- 89 *JTA News* (5 March 2012).
- 90 *Front Line Defenders* (8 July 2010), <<http://www.frontlinedefenders.org/node/2597>>.
- 91 His case has been taken up by Front Line Defenders which is an international NGO set up to protect human rights defenders. See <<http://www.frontlinedefenders.org>>.
- 92 *Views and News from Norway* (8 August 2011).
- 93 *The News – Poland* (1 September and 19 October 2011).
- 94 *Hope not Hate News* (28 March 2012), <<http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/international>>.
- 95 The Danish intelligence services (PET) report on extremism states that a small minority of Denmark's far-right group members 'are involved in registering political adversaries and are trying among other things to acquire skills in weapons use and martial arts'. As cited by *AFP* (17 November 2011).
- 96 Following house searches during raids on neo-Nazi targets on 27 March 2012 (see page 13), police officers discovered illegally held guns, instructions for producing explosives, raw materials for explosive production, and industrially produced materials for triggers (romea.cz, 3 April 2012), op.cit.

- 97 In the last five years, the police in the German state of Lower Saxony have confiscated 120 weapons from neo-Nazis, including tasers, an assault rifle, a bullet magazine for a machine gun and an anti-aircraft gun (*Stern*, 14 December 2011). In March 2012, after police raids on the houses of seventeen members of the neo-Nazi group The Immortals (*Die Unsterblichen*), various weapons including axes, gas bombs and air guns were seized but the neo-Nazis were apparently only charged with participating in an illegal demonstration (*World Bulletin*, 5 March 2010).
- 98 Two Romani brothers were shot approximately 200 metres from their home on 1 January 2012 – one survived. A 63-year-old man was arrested but released without charge. The Regional State Prosecutor denies the attack was racially motivated, saying it is unclear whether the shooting was a crime or act of self-defence. The chair of the Czech-Romani Civic Association disputes this, saying the killing was an ‘execution’. A small group of neo-Nazis attempted to disrupt the funeral on 7 January, during which one man shouted ‘The bastard deserved it’. See ERRC, ‘Attacks Against Roma in the Czech Republic: January 2008-January 2012’, <<http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/file/attacks-list-in-czech-republic.pdf>>.
- 99 YLE News (25 March 2012), <<http://www.zuuzeko.com/2012/02/finland-shooting-of-immigrants-in-oulu.html>>.
- 100 Between January 2008 and July 2011, at least nine Roma, including two minors, lost their lives in attacks against Roma and/or their property. The attacks left dozens of people with injuries, ten of which were life-threatening; in at least twelve cases Molotov cocktails were used, in two cases hand grenades; in at least twelve cases shots were fired. See ERRC, ‘Attacks against Roma in Hungary: January 2008 – July 2011’, <<http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/file/attacks-list-in-hungary.pdf>>.
- 101 On 23 February 2009, Molotov cocktails were thrown into the home of the Romani family in Tatárszentgyörgy, Pest County. The two perpetrators shot and killed the father and son as they fled the burning home. The police officer on duty and a forensic expert at the crime scene both failed to see the victim’s gunshot wounds, and, as a result, the attack and murders were classified as the result of a domestic fire. The ERRC, the Legal Defence Bureau for National and Ethnic Minorities (NEKI) and the Hungarian Civil Liberties Union (TASZ) prepared a shadow report on the police investigation which concluded that because the police treated the murders as an accident, they failed to secure the site of the murder scene. The Head of the National Police subsequently approved the ruling of the Independent Police Complaints Committee (IPCC) which, concurring with the findings of the NGO’s shadow report, concluded that police had violated the constitutional rights of the victims, paving the way for disciplinary proceedings against two police officers who were held accountable for the failures. See ERRC (18 February 2010), <<http://www.errc.org/article/hungarian-head-of-police%27acknowledges-violation-of-the-victims-right-to-fair-procedure-one-year-after-the-double-murder=committed=in-tagarszentgyorgy/3064>>.
- 102 After arrests in August 2009, the intelligence services carried out an internal investigation which concluded that the crimes could have been prevented if the intelligence services had acted sooner. A parliamentary committee carried out a further investigation which was also very critical. Eszter Jovánovics, the Head of the Roma Programme at TASZ has been monitoring the case. She points out that the intelligence services repeatedly failed to provide the police with information on the four suspects; that state surveillance of the far-right activist, known to the intelligence services, was suspended precisely when the first crimes were committed, and this decision was taken despite the fact that an intelligence report indicated that he, alongside two other suspects, was attempting to purchase weapons. (Email from Eszter Jovánovics, received 8 March 2012.)
- 103 The ERRC has documented attacks against Roma in the Czech Republic January 2008 – January 2012, in which at least four Roma died, including one minor. These attacks left at least nineteen people, including three minors, with injuries, two of which were life-threatening; in at least ten cases firebombs were used; one case involved a tear-gas grenade. See ERRC (15 January 2012), <<http://www.errc.org/cms/upload/file/attacks-list-in-czech-republic.pdf>>.
- 104 Romea.cz (22 and 25 March 2011).
- 105 The three NGOs which produced the shadow report (see note 101) have called on the authorities to release the conclusions of the unspecified disciplinary procedures against the officials and clarify the steps that have been taken to investigate the misconduct and to ensure it does not recur; to ensure that law enforcement agencies receive appropriate training in addressing racially-motivated crimes according to international standards; and to publicise police protocols on the investigation of racially-motivated crimes.
- 106 See Liz Fekete, ‘Malmö and the faultlines of Swedish racism’, IRR News (1 November 2010), <<http://www.irr.org.uk/2010/november/ms000006.html>>. The trial of Peter Mangs, the alleged sniper, is currently ongoing. The police allege that the keys to the apartment of 66-year-old Iranian Kooros Effatian, who was shot dead on his sofa in 2003, were also found in Mangs’ flat. The latest reports suggest that he could eventually face charges relating to more than twenty cases of murder.
- 107 See ‘Documentation of anti-Muslim violence and other related provocations Autumn 2010 – Summer 2011’, in IRR Briefing Paper No. 5 (September 2011), <http://www.irr.org.uk/pdf2/ERA_BriefingPaper5.pdf>.
- 108 ‘Refugee home blast aggravates pre-election war of words’, *Austrian Times* (13 September 2010), <http://www.austriantimes.at/news/General_News/2010-09-13/26750/Refugee_home_blast_aggravates_pre-election_wars_of_words>.
- 109 *The Sofia Echo* (10 June 2011).
- 110 Romea.cz (10 January 2012).
- 111 The Neo-Fascist Far-Right in France’, *L’Humanité Online* (7 June 2011), <<http://www.humaniteinenglish.com/spip.php?article1791>>.
- 112 Spiegel Online (1 February 2012).
- 113 *Taz* (25 April 2011).
- 114 Reuters (27 July 2011).
- 115 *Today’s Zaman* (25 December 2011).
- 116 *The Local – Germany* (26 July 2011).
- 117 Indymedia (2 August 2011).
- 118 *Taz* (15 December 2011).
- 119 See the website of the Athena Institute, particularly the ‘Hate Groups Map’, <<http://athenaintezet.hu/en/map/olvas/31>>.
- 120 Deutsche Presse Agentur (27 September 2010).
- 121 ‘Roma in Hungary leave town to escape vigilantes’, Associated Press (22 April 2011), <<http://mynorthwest.com/?nid=189&sid=467723>>. In the event, the training camp did not take place because the police took the fascists into custody, although no charges were ever brought.
- 122 In Belgium, several members of the similarly-named Blood, Soil, Honour, Loyalty were arrested in 2006 and accused of planning terror attacks against the National Bank and other institutions, plotting to assassinate a

- number of prominent politicians and conspiring to destabilise the Belgian state.
- 123 See 'Lyon dissident: un local néo-nazis ayant pignon sur rue', <<http://www.fichier-pdf.fr/2011/02/20/dossier-bunker-korps-lyon/>>.
- 124 See *Searchlight* (1 November 2011), <<http://www.searchlightmagazine.com/archive/italy-blood-and-honour-fascists-form-potential-parliamentary-link>>.
- 125 'Five arrested in Rome for plotting against Jewish community', JTA News Agency (14 December 2011), <<http://m.jta.org/news/article/2011/12/14/6/3090732/five-arrested-in-rome-for-plotting-against-jewish-community>>.
- 126 *Corriere Fiorentino* (16 March 2012), <<http://corriere-fiorentino.corriere.it/firenze/notizie/cronaca/2012/16-marzo-2012/si-avvicina-brunetta-pugnali-pistola-scaccia-cani-2003710602399.shtml>>.
- 127 *Bournemouth Daily Echo* (27 July 2010).
- 128 *Searchlight* (January 2012).
- 129 Two of the four men currently on trial for six murders of Roma and other crimes (see page 15) were founding members of the Hungarian National Guard.
- 130 Euronews on 18 March 2012 reports that there was recently an attempt by around a hundred people to relaunch the militia at a public ceremony in Budapest.
- 131 *Budapest Times* (16 April 2011); *Guardian* (18 February 2012); Minority Rights Group press release (24 March 2011), <<http://www.minorityrights.org/?lid=10679>>.
- 132 The Jobbik administration introduced a degrading work programme whereby the Roma are forced to work in terrible conditions for 150 Euros a month. There are also reports that the local authority is using its own psychologists to declare the children educationally subnormal, so that they are sent to special schools and not taught alongside non-Roma children. The diagnosis is overturned if a second opinion is sought from a practitioner who has no links to the local authorities in Gyöngyöspata. See <<http://www.euractiv.com/socialeurope/hungary-puts-roma-work-news-507804>>. The Hungarian Civil Liberties Union reports that many Roma are leaving Gyöngyöspata, with 45 Roma children and 22 adults applying for asylum in Canada over a six-month period.
- 133 Associated Press (3 April 2011).
- 134 CTK (17 April 2011).
- 135 There is a history of tension and violence between Roma and non-Roma in Tiszavasvári. In October 2006, a local teacher was beaten to death by Roma villagers after he ran over a child in a nearby village. And in April 2009 Jenő Koka, a Roma who worked in a pharmaceutical factory, was shot dead by anti-Roma vigilantes. The murder of Koka is one of the accusations levelled against the four men currently on trial in Budapest for six murders and other crimes. (See page 15).
- 136 'Hungary's Roma encounter "gypsy crime" gendarmes', BBC News (8 June 2011), <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-13544903>>.
- 137 Field had been called to give evidence before the parliamentary fact-finding committee only to find himself accused of blackening Hungary's name by speaking to the media. The full parliamentary report, published in April, repeated the claim that Field had acted to damage Hungarian interests.
- 138 'Rome Jews rail against far-right figure', JTA News (23 August 2011), <<http://www.jta.org/news/article/2011/08/23/3089078/romes-jewish-community-to-protest-right-wing-extremist>>.
- 139 As the *Independent* wrote on 10 October 1993, there were suspicions that behind the Bologna massacre was 'an unholy alliance of right-wing forces, corrupt politicians and secret service agents bent on undermining democracy to hold on to power in the name of the fight against communism'. This was all part of a 'strategy of tension' intended to scare voters away from western Europe's most popular Communist Party into the arms of Christian Democrats. Such claims are based on the fact that the investigating magistrates suspected neo-fascists, but were unable to issue credible arrest warrants for more than two years, because the secret services were deliberately falsifying data. The bombing was blamed on the Armed Revolutionary Nuclei (NAR), but convicted member Vincenzo Vinciguerra denied involvement, also testifying that he had been recruited for an earlier car bomb attack near Venice by Operation Gladio, the NATO-stay-behind operation to defeat Communism. Two secret services officers and Licio Gelli, grand-master of the banned P2 Masonic Lodge were convicted at the original trial but their convictions were quashed two years later. At a later date, a parliamentary commission on terrorism heard evidence that the bomb-making equipment was taken from an arsenal used by Operation Gladio. See Ganser Daniele, *NATO's Secret Armies: Operation GLADIO and Terrorism in Western Europe*, (Frank Cass, 2004).
- 140 See 'Neo-Nazi ejected from inquiry', *Independent* (15 January 2008), <<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/neonazi-ejected-from-inquiry-1138735.html>>; '30 German Army officers attended '95 speech by Right-Wing terrorist', *Los Angeles Times* (10 December 1997), <<http://articles.latimes.com/1997/dec/10/news/mn-62566>>.
- 141 'European Jewish groups concerned about anti-Semitic rhetoric by candidates for EU parliament', *European Jewish Press* (3 June 2009), <<http://ejpress.org/article/36928>>.
- 142 The newspaper based its claim on an analysis of voting patterns at polling stations close to the Ellas police stations in Athens. 'More than half of police officers voted for Neo-Nazi party', *The Greek Reporter* (11 May 2012), <http://ansamed.ansa.it/ansamed/en/news/sections/politics/2012/05/11/Greece-than-half-police-officers-voted-Neonazi-party_6854190.html>.
- 143 A parliamentary commission of inquiry into why thirty-four separate police and intelligence agencies were unable to stop the NSU was established in January 2012, while in February it was announced that an Expert Commission with representatives of all sixteen states would also be formed in Thuringia, the home state of the NSU. There is much to indicate that the main blame for the repeated failure to track down the NSU cell lay with the intelligence services as it is now known that they had the group under surveillance for years, and even found a bomb-making factory in a garage back in 1998. But it seems that the information the federal and regional intelligence services had on the neo-Nazis' whereabouts were withheld from police in order to protect their intensive paid informant network within the far Right, and in particular within the National Democratic Party of Germany. Martina Renner, a Left Party (*Die Linke*) parliamentarian in the state of Thuringia believes that, even in 1998, when the manhunt for the three first began, there were hints that the state's constitutional protection office had helped them disappear. Shortly after the double suicide, a spokesman for the Hessen State Office for the Protection of the Constitution confirmed that an undercover intelligence agent was at the scene of the murder of 21-year-old Turk, Halit Yozgat, in an internet cafe in Kassel in Hessen in April 2006. Since then, there has been a steady drip-drip of revelations, citing unnamed security sources. The *Berliner Zeitung* reported on 16 December that state intelligence services in Thuringia had hindered police investigations into the NSU; a neo-Nazi activist Tino Brandt, who may have harboured the fugi-

- tives, was a paid informant for Thuringia's State Office for the Protection of the Constitution and he was tipped off by the intelligence services about police surveillance of his apartment. He earned considerable sums for his services and has now claimed that he invested the money in political activities and propaganda. *The Spiegel* (12 December 2011) carried out an investigation into far-right informants within the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and concluded that it had 130 informants within the NPD, including ten who were members of executive committees of the party. More than half of the 130 informants were also active in the smaller far-right brotherhoods known as the *Kameradschaften*.
- 144 Two senior NPD officials, due to give evidence, had been double agents for the Office for the Defence of the Constitution. A further eight key NPD officials were found to be on the pay-roll of the German intelligence services; although most of the information they gave was useless, and already publicly available, they were paid between £300-600 a month – and at least half of this sum flowed into the party's funds constituting, in effect, a form of supplementary finance for the NPD. See IRR, *European Race Bulletin*, no. 41 (August 2002).
- 145 'Neo-Nazi terror scandal grows in Germany', *Guardian* (16 November 2011), <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/16/german-neo-nazi-security-service-scandal>>.
- 146 Soldiers off the Streets (SotS) was set up as a charity by the British National Party's former secretary for Wales and was given charitable status in August 2010. Since then it has been dogged by controversy from ex-service men who question its credentials. See the *Observer* (25 March 2012), <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2012/mar/25/soldiers-bnp-charity-links>>.
- 147 Comment on 'Who are the CXF?', Casuals United blog (14 March 2012), <<http://casualsunited.wordpress.com/2012/03/14/who-are-the-cxf/#comments>>. Last accessed 16 March 2012.
- 148 *Searchlight* (January 2012).
- 149 Matthew Taylor, 'English Defence League: Inside the violent world of Britain's new far right', *Guardian* (28 May 2010), <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/may/28/english-defence-league-guardian-investigation>>.
- 150 'Lancashire "soldiers posed with EDL flags" probe', *This is Lancashire* (17 May 2011), <http://www.thisislancashire.co.uk/news/9031284.East_Lancashire_soldiers_posed_with_EDL_flags_probe/>.
- 151 'Defence chiefs launch probe into soldiers far-right EDL photos', *News & Star* (17 May 2011), <<http://www.newsandstar.co.uk/news/probe-into-soldiers-far-right-edl-photos-1.837930?referrerPath=news>>.
- 152 *Searchlight* (January 2012).
- 153 The Czech Ministry of Interior has published a number of documents in English about the ministry's 'Fight Against Extremism'. See Czech Position (2 March 2011), <<http://www.mvcr.cz/mvcren/article/documents-on-the-fight-against-extremism.aspx>>.
- 154 Romea.cz (25 October 2011), <http://www.romea.cz/english/index.php?id=servis/z_en_2006_0219>; Radio Praha (30 November 2007), <<http://www.radio.cz/en/section/curaffrs/mlada-fronta-dnes-neo-nazis-infiltrating-czech-armed-forces>>.
- 155 Romea.cz (28 July 2011), <http://www.romea.cz/english/index.php?id=servis/z_en_2006_0219>.
- 156 These were the so-called 'playing card' serial murders, on account of the fact that a playing card from the heart suit was left at the site of the murder. Many of the victims were migrants.
- 157 Agence France Presse (20 March 2012).
- 158 Kuwait News Agency (5 January 2001), <<http://www.thefreelibrary.com/French+extremist+sent+to+prison+for+desecrating+Muslims+graves.-a0276336794>>.
- 159 Romea.cz (16 May 2011), <http://www.romea.cz/english/index.php?id=servis/z_en_2006_0219>.
- 160 'French Far-Right group has message in menu', Associated Press (10 December 2011), <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/feedarticle/9989049>>.
- 161 The elected political parties in Germany receive state subsidies. *The Spiegel* (17 February 2012) estimates that the NPD received around Euros10million in subsidies. For a list of key facts about the NPD see *Hope not Hate*, Issue no. 1 (March-April 2012).
- 162 See Mareš, op.cit.
- 163 Spiegel Online (15 December 20), <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,803938,00.html>>.
- 164 For instance, in March 2011, in the run-up to the regional elections in Saxony Anhalt, east Germany, the NPD distributed a CD of white power hate music to schoolchildren. The NPD's success in the September 2011 elections for the state parliament of the north-eastern Baltic coastal state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (five seats, 12 per cent of the vote) also owes much to the growing impact of neo-Nazis on the culture of rural areas. Back in August 1992, one of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern's region's major port cities, Rostock, saw Germany's worst post-war anti immigrant riots. Today, prominent far-right analyst Professor Hajo Funke concludes that the people of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern are paying the price for never having properly tackled the origins of that outbreak of hatred (Spiegel Online, 9 June 2011), <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,784686,00.html>>.
- 165 Romea.cz (3 May 2011), <http://www.romea.cz/english/index.php?id=detail&detail=2007_2506>.
- 166 Music Against Racism has been formed in response, with support from hip hop artists. See Virtual Shtetl (4 November 2011), <<http://www.sztetl.org.pl/en/cms/news/1837,antiracist-hip-hop-music/>>.
- 167 Spiegel Online (16 February 2012), <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,815242,00.html>>.
- 168 The title reflects the racism of the police investigation and media which consistently referred to the NSU murders as the 'doner killings' despite the fact that only two of the dead men ran doner kebab food outlets, with the other victims being a tailor, a kiosk owner, a key cutter, a grocer and a flower seller. Another aspect of the scandal engulfing Germany is that the families were repeatedly told that their loved ones were probably the victims of foreign gangs, probably from Turkey, with the reputations of the dead men besmirched by investigators and media alike. (The police operation, involving 150 officers who investigated 11,000 people was actually codenamed Operation Bosphorous.) In a Commentary for Spiegel Online, arts editor, Stefan Kuzmany sees the fact that the phrase 'doner killing' was so often used to describe the murders, as a sad indicator of the latent racism permeating German society. 'By calling the murder spree "doner killings" the victims were condescendingly dehumanised, as if they had no names or occupations.' The term, furthermore, fed stereotypes about foreigners being disproportionately responsible for crime, thereby providing the distance that allowed Germans to sit back comfortably while reading salacious reports about a series of gruesome murders. See Stefan Kuzmany, 'Neo-Nazi Killings expose Broad German Xenophobia', Spiegel Online (17 November 2011), <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,798450,00.html>>.
- 169 The lead singer, who wrote the lyrics, has now been officially charged with incitement to racial hatred. He

- has not been named. See *The Local* (21 February 2012), <<http://www.thelocal.de/national/20120221-40877.html>>.
- 170 Italy's fascists stay true to Mussolini's ideology', *Guardian* (6 November 2011), <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/06/italy-fascists-true-mussolini-ideology>>.
- 171 The Czech far-right scene is trying to branch out away from classical fascism with its association with German territorial nationalism and a Greater Germany. Apart from CasaPound's influence, Miroslav Mareš, in a report for the Czech interior ministry, cites links to the extremely violent and increasingly terroristic Russian neo-Nazi scene.
- 172 Spiegel Online (15 December 2011), op.cit. Mussolini's brand of fascism is 'our point of reference, a vision of the state and the economy and the concept of sacrifice', says vice president, Di Stefano, adding that Mussolini's racial laws were a mistake, but Ezra Pound's anti-Semitism was at that time common throughout the world. *Guardian* (6 November 2011), op.cit.
- 173 Publico.es (5 November 2011), <<http://www.publico.es/espana/405226/jose-luis-roberto-con-la-patria-no-se-juega-elecciones-generales-2011>>; Diagonal (23 September 2006), <<http://www.diagonalperiodico.net/La-impunidad-de-los-ultras.html>>.
- 174 *Deutsche Welle* (23 March 2011), <<http://www.dw-world.com/dw/article/0,,14937033,00.html>>.
- 175 BBC Newsnight (27 March 2012), <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/go/em/fr/-/news/world-europe-17514394>>.
- 176 *Prague Daily Monitor* (13 July 2011); Romea.cz (31 January 2012), <http://www.romea.cz/english/index.php?id=detail&detail=2007_3128>.
- 177 *Czech Position* (9 September 2011).
- 178 Spiegel Online (3 January 2011), <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,737471,00.html>>; *Independent* (19 October 2010).
- 179 *The Local – Sweden* (8 July 2011), <<http://www.thelocal.se/34822/20110708/>>.
- 180 'Women's group has neo-Nazi ties', *Prague Post* (15 February 2012), <<http://www.praguepost.com/news/12176-womens-group-has-neo-nazi-ties.html>>.
- 181 In *Girls Business: Women in the Neo-Nazi Scene* authors Andrea Röpke and Andreas Speit comment that while there are specific far-right women's organisations, and the National Women's Circle, which is linked to the NPD, they can be difficult to detect as far-right initially. The authors conclude that women have a stabilising function within the NPD, have a major impact on how children and youth are raised, and do not stay within their enclave, but are often employed as social workers or caregivers in pre-schools or day-care centres. See *Deutsche Welle* (7 June 2011), <<http://www.dw.de/dw/article/0,,15136280,00.html>>. Following the arrest of NSU member Beate Zschäpe, there has been a further discussion of the role of women within the far Right, with Rena Kenzo and Michaela Koettig of the Research Network into Women and Right-Wing Extremism writing an open letter complaining about the German press' portrayal of Zschäpe in such a way as to focus on her sex life and mask the fact that she was a politically-committed fascist involved in violence. See the *Global Post* (16 December 2011), <<http://mobile.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/europe/germany/111215/neo-nazi-secret-weapon-women-germany-beate-zschaepe>>.
- 182 As cited in the *New York Times* (8 February 2012), <<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/09/world/europe/09iht-germany09.html?pagewanted=all>>.
- 183 The *Global Post*, op.cit.
- 184 During one fixture, football supporters in Zwickau, the eastern town where the NSU members had been living under false identities, were heard to chant 'Terrorzelle Zwickau – ole, ole, ole'. A footballer from FSV Zwickau was fined after responding to shouts of 'Sieg!' from the crowd during the same match with 'Heil!' See the *Guardian* (24 February 2011), <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/feb/23/germany-neo-nazis>>.
- 185 For more information contact Football Against Racism in Europe Network (FARE): <<http://www.farenet.org>>.
- 186 In Spain, Atlético Madrid fans, linked to a far-right group Bastión, stabbed to death Aitor Zabeleta, a Basque, anti-fascist Real Sociedad fan during a fixture in 1998. And in Rome, neo-Nazi football firms have been linked to both the home teams, Roma and Lazio, with the international third positionists of Forza Nuova establishing a presence at Lazio from the late 1990s onwards, abusing black footballers and unfurling banners in support of Hitler and in memory of the Serbian warlord, Arkan.
- 187 Matthew Taylor, 'English Defence League: new wave of extremists plotting summer of unrest', *Guardian* (28 May 2010), <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/may/28/english-defence-league-protest-bnp>>.
- 188 Robert Booth, Matthew Taylor and Paul Lewis, 'English Defence League: Chaotic alliance stirs up trouble on streets', *Guardian* (12 September 2009), <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/sep/11/english-defence-league-chaotic-alliance>>.
- 189 'Micah Richards quits Twitter after three months of sustained racism', *Guardian* (11 February 2012), <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/technology/2012/feb/11/micah-richards-quits-twitter-racism>>.
- 190 'Police investigate death threat against Anton Ferdinand', *Guardian* (27 January 2012), <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/football/2012/jan/27/police-death-threat-anton-ferdinand>>.
- 191 When the girl said the story was untrue, her brother went to try and stop the violence, but his appeal came too late.
- 192 'Italian girl's rape claim sparks arson attack on Gypsy camp', *Guardian* (11 December 2011), <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/dec/11/italian-girl-rape-claim-gypsy>>.
- 193 European Roma Rights Centre, the Federazione Romani and the Idea Rom Onlus have written to the authorities calling for an investigation. See ERRC (15 December 2011), <<http://www.errc.org/article/italian-authorities-urged-to-investigate-destruction-of-roma-camp/3950>>.
- 194 The point was made in an article by Phoebe Pearce in *Varsity*, 2 October 2011. The predominantly Catholic province of Limburg has long borders with both Germany and Belgium. Once a flourishing coal-mining area in southernmost Netherlands, but now with the worst rate of unemployment in the country, it is here that Wilders gathers most support. In 2010, the PVV, which campaigned for a ban on all mosques, more than doubled its share of the vote, taking 26.9 per cent and becoming the single largest party in many electoral districts and entering a provincial government for the first time. The small town of Vaals then set a precedent by refusing three right of residence to EU nationals without jobs or enough assets to support themselves.
- 195 Ineke van der Valk, *Islamofobie en Discriminatie* (Amsterdam University Press, 2011).
- 196 *The Local – Sweden* (7 October 2011), <<http://www.thelocal.ch/1422>>.
- 197 See David Crossland, 'One German State's losing battle against extremism', Spiegel Online (9 June

- 2011), <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,784686,00.html>>.
- 198 As we have seen, the NPD seems to be acting as an inspiration for many far-right groups in the Czech Republic. The same happens in Romania where New Rights (*Noua Dreapta*), which defines itself as 'radical, militant, nationalist and Christian Orthodox', has links with the NPD. There is an attempt amongst such groups to bolster a federation of Third Positionist fascist groups – a European National Front whose current president is Roberto Fiore. In contrast, Polish far-right organisations that are openly violent are more influenced by neo-Nazi organisations in Italy and Britain, such as Combat 18 and Blood & Honour, according to Polish far-right expert Rafal Pankowski of the Never Again Association. See *Deutsche Welle* (24 November 2011), <<http://www.dw.de/dw/article/0,,15613796,00.html>>.
- 199 In September 2010, in the run-up to municipal elections, the Supreme Court ruled that state radio and TV were obliged to run a 30-second Jobbik election advertisement that included a reference to 'Gypsy criminals'. It stated that equal treatment must be given during an election campaign and that the broadcasters were not responsible for advertisements' contents. In the ad, a young woman who is afraid to go out on the street, asks 'Are Gypsy criminals allowed to do whatever they want?' as a hooded figure lurks nearby. See *Daily Caller* (30 September 2010), <<http://dailycaller.com/2010/09/30/hungary-supreme-court-oks-anti-gypsy-ad/#ixzz1pxPXle5g>>.
- 200 On 4 February 2012, at a meeting of right-wing youth, and also in an interview with *Le Figaro*, Guéant said that 'not all civilisations are of equal value' and that some civilisations, namely France's, are worth more than others. Socialist Party candidate François Hollande called Guéant's comments 'a premeditated, wilful, conscious gesture' to build 'bridges between the right and extreme-right'. After Serge Letchimy, a member of the Socialist Party in Martinique, said that Guéant was pandering 'to a dark France which cultivates nostalgia' to a time which gave birth to the concentration camps, UMP politicians stormed out of parliament calling Letchimy's comment an 'indecent provocation'. See 'French cabinet walks out of parliament over Nazi claim', *Guardian* (7 February 2012), <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/feb/07/french-cabinet-walkout-parliament>>.
- 201 *The Muslim News* (24 February 2012).
- 202 After the Bologna massacre, Roberto Fiore fled first to Lebanon and then to London to avoid questioning, and in 1985 an Italian court convicted him and his associate Massimo Morsello in absentia for subversive conspiracy and membership of an armed gang. However, extradition requests from the Italian authorities were repeatedly denied and in 1998 the Italian appeal court declared that the statute of limitations applied to Fiore's sentence and he subsequently returned to Italy. *Searchlight* alleged that when in Lebanon, the two neo-fascists were recruited by MI6 who promised them that in exchange for information they would be given free rein to help set up fascist organisations which held close links with Libya, Iran and later Iraq. Fiore has been associated with a number of fascist organisations including the National Front, the Political Soldiers, the International Third Position and the Hammerskins movement which carried out a string of violent acts across Italy. See 'Roberto Fiore: from terrorist to entrepreneur ... and back again', *Searchlight* (July 1998).
- 203 MEPs from other political parties are contesting the budget stating that EANM violates Article 3(c) of European parliament requirements for funding, in particular that a pan-European party 'must observe, in particular its programme and in its activities, the principles on which the European Union is founded, namely the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law'. The EANM consists of the Front National (Belgium), Jobbik (Hungary), Tricolour Flame (Italy), National Renovator Party (Portugal), Republican Social Movement (Spain) Svoboda (Ukraine), the British National Party and the Swedish National Democrats. See Hope Not Hate (15 March 2012), <<http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/international/article/131/meps-force-rethink-on-far-right-funding-exclusive>>.
- 204 Diagonal no. 42 (23 November 2006), <<http://www.diagonalperiodico.net/La-impunidad-de-los-ultras.html>>.
- 205 levante-emv.com (1 June 2011), <<http://www.levante-emv.com/comarcas/2011/06/01/edil-espana-2000-silla-imputado-operacion-extrema-derecha/811855.html>>; rebelion.org (29 June 2011), <<http://www.rebelion.org/noticia.php?id=131338>>.
- 206 The judge found Kurzmann not guilty of incitement on the grounds that the game was not intended to resemble a shooting gallery. See *Huffington Post*, (14 October 2011), <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/10/14/gerhard-kurzmann-mosque-game_n_1010685.html>.
- 207 Austrian Times Online, see Hope Not Hate News (28 March 2012), op cit. (note 94).
- 208 The Irish Times (28 April 2011), <<http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/world/2011/0428/1224295619981.html>>.
- 209 See IRR, 'Mobilising Against Foreign Criminals: the new electoral politics', *European Race Bulletin* no. 63 (Spring 2008).
- 210 'Immigration experts face racist harassment', the *Helsingin Sanomat* (16 March 2010), <<http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Immigration+experts+face+racist+harassment/1135254452337>>.
- 211 *Le Monde* (25 October 2011).
- 212 'Far-Right party under fire for suspected holocaust allusion', Associated Press (7 September 2011), <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,779758,00.html>>.
- 213 The right-wing *Bild* newspaper suggested that the violence was started by the Left, saying that all the arson attacks occurred after the wife of a prominent neo-Nazi was stabbed.
- 214 'Arson and stabbings in Berlin as extremist groups clash', Spiegel Online (29 June 2011), <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,771329,00.html>>.
- 215 Neues Deutschland (24 March 2011), <<http://www.neues-deutschland.de/artikel/193884.autonome-nationalisten-instrumentalisieren-mpd.html>>; *Taz* (23 March 2011), <<http://www.taz.de/1/berlin/artikel/1/neonazis-entdecken-hitler/>>.
- 216 'One German State's losing battle against extremism', Spiegel Online (9 June 2011), <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,784686,00.html>>.
- 217 'The village where the Neo-Nazis rule', Spiegel Online (1 March 2011), <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,737471,00.html>>.
- 218 'Mayor threatened by Neo-Nazis', *Irish Times* (9 December 2009), <<http://www.icare.to/article.php?id=30648&lang=en>>.
- 219 'The Nazi next door', *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (15 February 2011), <<http://www.freerepublic.com/focus-f-news/2674484/posts>>.
- 220 Agence France Presse (30 March 2012).
- 221 Centre pour l'égalité des chances et la Lutte Centre la Racisme (25 November 2011), <http://www.diversite.be/index.php?action=artikel_detail&artikel=626>.

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- 222 ekathimerini.com (1 March 2011), <http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/_w_articles_ws1_1_01/03/2011_380695>.
- 223 Liz Fekete, 'Three days of anti-immigrant riots shakes Athens', IRR News (19 May 2011), <<http://www.irr.org.uk/2011/may/ha000020.html>>.
- 224 ekathimerini.com (18 January 2011), <http://www.ekathimerini.com/4Dcgi/4dcgi/_w_articles_ws1_5_18/01/2011_373932>.
- 225 Human Rights Watch press release (12 December 2011), <<http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/12/12/greece-rare-hate-crime-trial-opens>>. The IRR documented a series of serious and coordinated anti-immigrant far-right violence that took place in Athens in May 2011, during which a Bangladeshi migrant worker, Alim Abdul Mann, was stabbed to death.
- 226 In September 2011, 24-year-old Afghani, Ali Rahimi was beaten on the head with a bottle and stabbed in the chest and back (suffering a puncture to the lung dangerously close to the heart) by a gang of fifteen people in the Athens neighbourhood of Agio Pantelimonas.
- 227 Alemanno is a former youth leader of the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI), the party set up after the Second World War by followers of Mussolini. He left the MSI when it split, and joined the post-fascist National Alliance (*Alleanza Nazionale* – AN) led by Gianfranco Fini which in 2009 merged with Silvio Berlusconi's PdL.
- 228 *Searchlight* (November 2011).
- 229 According to *Searchlight* (December 2010), the killer was 20 years old, but the media referred to him as a 'boy' and a government minister said he would have preferred to have seen him kept under house arrest rather than placed in prison as incarceration would do him 'the gravest damage' given his evident remorse. Forza Nuova said 'He has apologised, what more do you want?'
- 230 Deutsche Presse Agentur (23 May 2011), <http://news.monstersandcritics.com/europe/news/article_1640856.php/Berlusconi-Opposition-wants-to-turn-Milan-into-an-Islamic-city>.
- 231 Menchu Martí, the only PxC member of the municipal council said that she did not write the pamphlet which came straight from party HQ (*Migration News Sheet*, September 2011).
- 232 El Marrakchi was injured after running away from a police and then tried to hang himself in hospital with his shoe laces. He was not dead when discovered, but fell into a coma (*Migration News Sheet*, November 2011).
- 233 'Spain's conservatives withdraw video game that fire-bombs illegal immigrants', *Daily Telegraph* (17 November 2010), <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/spain/8140561/Spains-conservatives-withdraw-video-game-that-firebombs-illegal-immigrants.html>>.
- 234 *El País* (8 September 2011).
- 235 Publico.es (15 October 2011), <<http://m.publico.es/401660>>.
- 236 *Migration News Sheet* (September 2011).
- 237 Agence France Presse (10 October 2010), <<http://www.icare.to/article.php?id=28973&lang=en>>.
- 238 Agence France Presse (29 November 2010), <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5jPkpPow-2zquH9_Y0d-KP4Cj-tng?docId=CNG.f744e2420736c-0998c92b24f59fa3e90.541>. The Federation Against Racism points to a rise in racist incidents in 2010. It found 178 cases in which the majority of victims were Muslim men or Africans. The authors accused politicians of contributing to the trend, particular 'a number of MPs' who have denied the presence of racism in society and by so doing 'creating a favourable environment for racism'. See *Expatica News* (20 June 2011), <<http://post.jagran.com/Racist-incident-on-rise-in-Switzerland-Report-1308682618>>.
- 239 See Jon Burnett, 'Woolas: hoist by his own petard', IRR News (16 December 2010), <<http://www.irr.org.uk/news/woolas-hoist-by-his-own-petard>>.
- 240 'Violent anti-Roma protests in Bulgaria show urgent need to combat extremism', OSCE press release (29 September 2011), <<http://www.osce.org/odihr/83229>>.
- 241 People Against Racism statement (4 November 2011), <<http://stopnazi-bg.org/english/88-neonazi-attack-79-bus>>.
- 242 'Czech welfare recipients caught gambling being stripped of benefits', *czechposition.com* (26 August 2011), <http://m.ceskapozice.cz/en/news/politics-policy/czech-welfare-recipients-caught-gambling-being-stripped-benefits>.
- 243 In the letter, the mayors ask the government to allow prohibitions similar to a restraining order in the US or an anti-social behaviour order in the UK, so that they could ban individuals from towns or parts of towns. They also suggested halting the social welfare payments of people who demonstrably misuse them and asked for the creation of a central register of misdemeanours so that repeat offenders do not remain anonymous. See *Radio Prague* (16 February 2011), <<http://www.radio.cz/en/section/curaffrs/towns-want-controversial-powers-to-deal-with-transients-and-petty-criminals>>.
- 244 MP Ivana Řápková (Civic Democrat, ODS), a former mayor of Chomutov, has emerged as the national spokesperson for the mayors. In order to legislate in accordance with the proposals put forward by the mayors, she sought an amendment to the Law on Misdemeanours which would, amongst other things, call for swifter enforceability of debt repayment measures, the imposition of the sanction of banishment and the introduction of a registry of offences. See *Radio Prague* (16 February 2011), *ibid*.
- 245 'Move to force Roma into camps', *Scotsman* (2 September 2010), <http://www.scotsman.com/news/move_to_force_roma_into_camps_1_808377>.
- 246 'Easy targets of campaigning', the *Slovak Spectator* (30 January 2012), <http://spectator.sme.sk/articles/view/45191/11/easy_targets_of_campaigning.html>.
- 247 'Killing spree in Slovakia taps into a troubled vein', *New York Times* (2 September 2010), <<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/03/world/europe/03iht-slovakia.html>>.
- 248 'Three Roma families repeatedly attacked in Slovakia over Easter', *romea.cz* (2 May 2011), <http://www.romea.cz/english/index.php?detail=2007_2398&id=detail>.
- 249 'Roma Party urges Slovak National Party to remove billboards', the *Slovak Spectator* (9 February 2012), <<http://www.icare.to/article.php?id=37787&lang=en>>.

Appendix

USE OF TERMS

When to define a party as extreme-right, nativist, far-right, fascist or a variant of fascist are vexed questions and subjects on which academics, experts, historians and campaigners will inevitably disagree. The list below is not meant as definitive in academic terms. We merely set out to explain how we are using terms in this report. It should also be borne in mind that groups and tendencies outlined in the report could fall into more than one category.

Counter-jihadi: The counter-jihadists represent a far-right current that became visible and vocal after September 11 and are best described as a spectrum – with street-fighting forces at one end and cultural conservatives and neoconservative writers at the other. Amongst groups that would consider themselves counter-jihadi are the European defence leagues, the right-wing Christian fundamentalist Pax Europa and the Stop the Islamisation movements. This current is particularly strong on the internet in blogs such as Jihad Watch, Atlas Shrugs, Gates of Vienna and the Brussels Journal.

Extreme Right: Used here to denote those electoral parties which are to the Right of traditional conservative parties, especially in terms their willingness to use racist language and rhetoric. While they may have their roots in pre-war fascist parties or share some of the traits of a racist, ultra-nationalist or even a fascist party, the extreme Right tend to work within the democratic framework, incorporate aspects of cultural conservatism and fall short of advocating violence against their opponents. Sometimes describing themselves as ‘post-fascist’, most of the extreme-right parties claim that support for Israel is proof that they have moved beyond anti-Semitism and Holocaust Denial.

Far Right: Distinguished from the extreme Right in that, with few exceptions, they do not reject violence and authoritarianism and are more clearly associated with a country’s fascist or neo-Nazi past. These parties tend to support a narrative about their country that denies collaboration with the Nazis, or with the Holocaust, in the past, while adopting the language of the Nazi era, particularly with reference to the Roma, in the present.

National Anarchist: Not to be confused with anarchism, the National Anarchists (or Autonomous Nationals) think like fascists, while appropriating the anti-state, anti-capitalist and anti-globalisation rhetoric of the left and anarchist movements in a deliberate attempt to appear rebellious and appeal to young

people. National Anarchists also borrow from survivalist ideas and believe that a racial civil war will bring about the collapse of capitalism with a new society rising phoenix-like from the ashes.

Nativist/Anti-immigration: Refers to the more recent anti-immigration parties which have emerged in Europe from the 1990s onwards as New Right thinking shifted away from scientific racism towards ‘cultural racism’. While such parties share many positions with the extreme Right, they do not directly draw, in ideological terms, from the country’s fascist past, and some might even go so far as to identify themselves with the resistance to German Occupation during the Second World War. (The argument being that giving in to immigration is like giving into Nazi territorial demands). Nativist parties tend to be single issue parties, calling for strict border controls, national preference in economic policy, strict law and order programmes and for a monocultural approach to minorities.

Neo-Nazi: These movements clearly borrow elements from Nazi doctrine, including anti-Semitism, Holocaust Denial, glorify Adolf Hitler and incorporate Nazi symbols into their propaganda.

Radical right-wing populist: We use this term to describe hybrid movements, such as the Swiss People’s Party, which is rooted in the country’s conservative tradition, but since the 1990s, under the leadership of Christoph Blocher, has moved into extreme-right territory, particularly in the fields of asylum, immigration and integration policies.

Strasserism: A reference to the worker-based form of National Socialism of the Strasser brothers that was rejected by Hitler. Some experts argue that the Autonomous Nationalists are influenced by Strasserism.

Third Position: A branch of fascist thought which claims to go beyond Left or Right, rejecting both capitalism and Marxism for a kind of racially-based national socialism. Third Positionists seek to establish racially pure national communities and even can make strategic alliances with Black separatist movements or nationalist movements in Islamic or other countries. Third Positionists are also associated with eco-fascism, drawing on the environmental strain of classical fascism, such as the views of Hitler’s agricultural minister Walter Darré and the Blood and Soil ideology.

White Supremacy: Belief in the supremacy of the white race associated with groups like the Ku Klux Klan, the Aryan Resistance and Blood and Honour.

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PARTIES AND ORGANISATIONS IN EACH COUNTRY

Austria

Freedom Party (*Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs*) FPÖ

Belgium

Flemish Interest (*Vlaams Belang*) VB

Bulgaria

National Union Attack Ataka

Cyprus

Cyprus Anti-Occupation Movement

Greek Popular Front (*Ethniko Laiko Metopo*) ELAM

Greek Resistance Movement

Movement for the Salvation of Cyprus

Czech Republic

Autonomous Nationalists (*Autonomní Nacionalisté*) AN

Free Youth (*Svobodná Mládež*)

National Resistance (*Národní Odpor*)

White Justice NO

Workers Social Justice Party (*Dělnická Strana Sociální Spravedlnost*) DSSS

Denmark

Danish Association (*Den Kanske Forening*)

Danish Defence League DDL

Danish People's Party (*Dansk Folkeparti*) DF
ORG

Finland

Finnish Resistance Movement (*Suomen Vastarintaliike*) SVL

True Finns (*Perussuomalaiset*) PS

Suomen Sisu

France

Bloc Identitaire BI

Front National FN

Lyon Dissenters

Rebeyne

Germany

Autonomous Nationalists (*Autonome Nationalisten*) AN

Comradeship groups (*Kameradschaften*)

National Democratic Party of Germany
(*Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands*) NPD

National Resistance Berlin-Brandenburg
(*Nationaler Widerstand Berlin-Brandenburg*) NBBB

National Socialist Underground
(*Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund*) NSU

Standarte Württemberg

Thuringian Homeland Defence (*Thüringer Heimatschutz*)

Greece

Golden Dawn (*Chrysi Avyi*)

Popular Orthodox Rally (*Laikós Orthódoxos Synagermós*) LAOS

Hungary

Civic Guard Association for a Better Future
(*Szebb Jövőért Polgárőr Egyesület*)

Defence Force (*Véderő*)

Hunnia Movement (Hungarian Arrows
National Liberation Army)

Hungarian Guard (*Magyar Gárda*)

Movement for a Better Hungary (*Jobbik Magyarországért Mozgalom*) JOBBIK

Outlaws Army (*Betyársereg*)

Italy

CasaPound

Militia

National Right (*Destra Nazionale*)

New Force (*Forza Nuova*)

Northern League (*Lega Nord*)

Veneto Fronte Skinheads

Netherlands

Party of Freedom (*Partij voor de Vrijheid*) PVV

Norway

Progress Party (*Fremskrittspartiet*) FrP

Poland

All Polish Youth (*Młodzież Wszechpolska*) MW

Law and Justice Party (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*) PiS

National Movement (*Ruch Narodowy*) RN

National Radical Camp (*Obóz Narodowo Radykalny*) ONR

National Resistance (*Národní odpor*)

Slovakia

Free Youth (*Svobodná mládež*)

Our Slovakia (*Lidová strana Naše Slovensko*)

Slovak National Party (*Slovenská národná strana*) SNS

Spain

Platform for Catalonia (*Plataforma per Catalunya*) PxC
España 2000

Sweden

National Youth Association (*Förbundet Nationell Ungdom*) SVP

Party of the Swedes (*Svenskarnas parti*)

Sweden Democrats (*Sverigedemokraterna*) SD

Swedish Resistance Movement (*Svenska Motståndsrörelsen*) SMR

Switzerland

Swiss People's Party (*Schweizerische Volkspartei*) SVP

United Kingdom

British National Party BNP

Casuals United

English Defence League EDL

UK Independence Party UKIP



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