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## **RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM IN THE WORK OF RADOSLAV RATKOVIC<sup>1</sup>**

### **Abstract**

*The paper deals with the analysis of the right-wing extremism in the work of prof. Dr. Radoslav Ratkovic, with an emphasis on the issue of the so called “seven circuits of fascism” which Ratkovic elaborated in his work. Ratkovic considered that certain socio-political aspects in the modernity favor the emergence of neo-fascist organizations, but he also spent a great deal of his time exploring the issue of semantic-terminological dimension in defining the extreme right wing. The relation he found between the contemporary democratic state and fascism je especially indicative, as is the attitude of the extreme right wing towards human rights. Radoslav Ratkovic believed that violence is the main political feature of fascism (not only in the past, but also in the contemporary times), and by that it is directly opposed to all the democratic societies.*

**Key words:** Radoslav Ratkovic, neo-fascism, extremism, extreme right-wing, violence.

Radoslav Ratkovic has dedicated a significant part of his life to the fight against fascism. Even as a young man, he participated in the Second World War<sup>2</sup>, only to later continue his fight against fascism in the fields of politics and science. Knowing the destructive potential of fascism he realized that, even though the time

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<sup>1</sup> Rad je nastao u okviru naučno-istraživačkog projekta “Demokratski i nacionalni kapaciteti političkih institucija Srbije u procesu međunarodnih integracija” (evidencioni broj 179009), finansiranom od strane Ministarstva prosvete i nauke Republike Srbije.

<sup>2</sup> Before the war he was a member of the United Student Youth, and since 1945 also a member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

of Hitler, Mussolini and Ante Pavelic is long by-gone, the values of this extremist ideology still keep living in the contemporary times. Just because of that he tended to reach out to the academic public and point out the danger of growing ambitions of the seemingly marginalized neo-fascist groups. As a result of that effort, the Serbian Association of anti-fascists was formed, with the distinguished professor Ratkovic as one of the co-founders, and a worth-mentioning project “Fascism in contemporaneity” that, among everything else, resulted in creating the proceedings of the same name. In these proceedings, Radoslav Ratkovic elaborated the so-called seven problematic circuits of the contemporary right wing extremism, on which we will notably concentrate in this paper.

The first problematic circuit that Ratkovic explored while studying the contemporary fascism involves the semantic-terminological dimension<sup>3</sup>. Namely, Ratkovic pointed out a great problem that originates with substituting the word fascism with a euphemism that is becoming more and more current – “right wing extremism”. Even though there are some historical facts about fascism (which as a movement firstly emerged in Italy, only to culminate later through the Nazi violence during the Second World War), we need to be aware of the fact that certain social phenomena should be observed in the given time and space.

The problem arises already during the attempt of defining the phenomena of extremism because of the equivocation and the variability that follow this phenomenon in the political life. There is a reason why Ratkovic asked the following question: “How extreme does extremism have to be in order to have a warning of the social danger in its name?”<sup>4</sup>. In fact, political extremism implies everything that has a tendency towards going to the borderline acceptable, with a possibility of crossing that border. Even the mere etymology of the word (lat. *extremus* – end, exclusivism, intransigence) points out that extremism represents certain extremes in behavior, acting or even thinking. The Latin phrase *ad extrema* can be translated as something that is going to the uttermost borders, in the same way as the human limbs – legs and arms represent the extremities, i.e. the end of our bodies. Apart from that, we should have in mind that extremism is differently perceived in different cultures and traditions, since something that is expressed as normality in the Islamic culture can be seen as an extreme behavior in other

3 See: Ratkovic, Radoslav, “Fašizam u savremenosti – sedam problemskih krugova”, *Fašizam u savremenosti* (ur. Dragosavac Nebojša), Savez antifašista Srbije, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2009, str. 19.

4 Ratković, Radoslav, “Fašizam u savremenosti – sedam problemskih krugova”, *Fašizam u savremenosti* (ur. Dragosavac Nebojša), Savez antifašista Srbije, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2009, str. 19.

cultures<sup>5</sup> and vice versa. But, what is left unclear is, where are the borders and who sets them? In the modern societies the borders of allowed are defined by laws, customs, religious and traditional norms, but in the first place, those are the rules bounded by values of the contemporary democracy (of the western type)<sup>6</sup>.

Today right wing extremism includes a wide range of movements, parties, formal and informal groups that negate some of the basic postulates of the contemporary: parliament, pluralism, tolerance, respect towards human rights etc. However, what is the most striking and by which the extreme right wing is especially recognizable is the usage of violence. Willingness to use of violence is the proof of vitality and power of the certain group (ethnicity, race, political grouping, etc.), though that is not the reflection of the extreme right wing only, but also the basic method of acting of the extreme left wing. In that way, the extreme parts of the left wing and the right wing are touching at certain points, and hence confirming that political extremism is known of its violence (as a basic method of acting) and its negating the values of the contemporary democracy. Still, it would be wrong to fully identify the left wing extremism with the right wing extremism, since the values they strive for are different, which is the main dividing line. Fascism, as a typical form of extreme right wing, always rested on elitism, irrationality, mythologizing the past, over-emphasizing the tradition and the organismic concept of society. According to many, it represents the degenerated form of conservative ideology which, while in search of a massive capital and the new market, crossed the borders of allowed and socially acceptable. On the other hand, extreme left wing insists on overcoming the social inequalities, protecting the threatened groups (or the ones that extremists see as the threatened groups), destroying the capitalistic “explorers” etc., but in the same way the extreme right wing insists on using violent methods of fighting.

The second problematic circuit Radoslav Ratkovic explored refers to fascism in the contemporary times. He analyzed in which forms the contemporary fascism, which is sometimes difficult to unmask due to its “flirting” with democracy, can appear. In the academic circles is often emerging a dilemma about the regenerative potentials of fascism, so the following question is asked: is fascism the ideology that was present only in the period from the end of the First World War to the end of the Second World War? Ratkovic gives a negative answer to this question, since he believes that fascism appears in “forms that depend of the historical conditions,

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5 For example, in Afghanistan is stoning a woman to death because of infidelity normal, which is in the European tradition seen as extreme.

6 As the most common relevant example of the Western democracy, is often taken the British model of democracy.

time and the place where it is appearing, and, given all that, it has specific features”<sup>7</sup>. Because of that, we can talk of the uniqueness of the Italian, German, Hungarian, Japanese, Croatian fascism, etc. Always unbiased in his scientific elaborations, Ratkovic noted, while looking back to the political turbulences in Serbia, that even our country is threatened by neo-fascism through acting of the marginalized groups that represent only “the tip of the iceberg”, under which are often conceived the degenerative forms of conservative ideology.

The appearance of the extremely right wing groups is not exclusive for Serbia, but is a widespread trend among many countries in the world<sup>8</sup>. While in the countries of the European union the escalation of the right wing extremism can be explained by the increasing influx of immigrants, which often by being unprepared to adapt the European cultural values disrupt the cultural picture of this continent, in the USA the extreme right wing was firmly grounded three centuries ago, and gave birth to the Ku Klux Klan. Today, in America exists a so-called “Third clan” which is, however, significantly marginalized in comparison to the other two, but which is still based on the protestant fundamentalism, racism and the discrimination of the “non-white race”. On the other hand, in the Balkans the extreme right wing represents the result of the civil wars that, during the 1990-s, led by the extreme nationalism disintegrated “Brotherhood and unity” in the SFRY. When speaking of Serbia in particular, we believe that extreme right wing is of a heterogeneous character, and thus we can divide it into at least two large groups<sup>9</sup>:

1. Clerical-nationalistic
2. Nazi-fascistic

In this context, Ratkovic placed in the first group the organizations and movements such as “Face” while placing in the second, much more dangerous group, formations such as “National Alignment” which were guided exclusively by the Nazi Hitler-motivated ideology. It is entirely logical to ask the question, where did the need to have young people (which mainly are the basis of these organizations) to be guided

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7 Ratkovic, Radoslav, “Fašizam u savremenosti – sedam problemskih krugova”, *Fašizam u savremenosti* (ur. Dragosavac Nebojša), Savez antifašista Srbije, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2009, str. 19-20.

8 It is interesting to emphasize that the right-wing extremism can today be found even in Russia which had an enormous number of casualties in the anti-fascist combat during the Second World War.

9 See: Đorić, Marija, “Ideološka osnova desnog ekstremizma i nasilja kod omladine u Srbiji”, *Zbornik - Antifašizam u savremenosti*, , urednik Nebojša Dragosavac, Fakultet političkih nauka i Savez antifašista Srbije, Beograd, 2009, str. 172-189.

by neo-fascism come from, when their ancestors in these regions were dreadfully killed while fighting the fascists during the Second World War? Even though the answer to this question cannot be one-sided or mono-causal, it seems that the modern society mired in the decadence that is sharply painted by the crisis of the system of values. Apart from that, fascism (including its modern forms of neo-fascism) thrives in the times of crisis, since it gives “easy answers to hard questions”<sup>10</sup>.

The third problematic circuit refers to the exploring the social conditions that favor the formation of neo-fascism. It is an unwritten rule saying that fascism “blooms” in the times of crisis and the decay of the existing political system. Under the term “crisis”, Ratkovic includes not only the devastation of the political system, but also the decay of “all the structural elements of a society – social structures, ideology and moral”<sup>11</sup>. This kind of a comprehensive crisis usually occurs after the wars being lost, which is most explicitly shown on the example of the German Nazism. Deep crisis shakes the entire society from its roots, which creates a common ground for the evolution of the fascistic ideology which is ready to with the use of violence reach the wanted goals by glorifying one group<sup>12</sup> and discriminating the so-called “enemy groups”. During Hitler’s reign the enemies were clearly declared and branded. The targets were the political enemies (Communists) who perceived the social capital and property in a totally different way in comparison to Nazis; afterwards Hitler distinguished the “racial enemies” – in the first place Jews and the other “non-Aryan races”; then the homosexuals who violated the Nazi principles of eugenics and reproduction of the “superior race”, people with special needs and many others.

Today the term “enemy” is among neo-fascist defined depending of the place where the extreme right wing group was formed, which points to the conditionality of neo-fascism by the geopolitical characteristics. In that way, for example, among the American extreme right wing the main “enemies” are the members of the non-white races (African Americans, Hispanic American etc.), then the members of the Islamic fate (which is to a large degree caused by the Al-Qaeda attack on the USA), gay-population<sup>13</sup> etc.

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10 These answers are irrational and predominantly painted with the unreal demands that are usually being met by force.

11 Ratković, Radoslav, “Fašizam u savremenosti – sedam problemskih krugova”, *Fašizam u savremenosti* (ur. Dragosavac Nebojša), Savez antifašista Srbije, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2009, str. 20.

12 Those groups can be special ethnicities (as in the German case were so-called Aryans).

13 It is interesting to mention that all the extreme right wing groups, no matter the place and time of the appearance of its movement and ideology, are expressing animosity towards the LGBT

In the countries of the European Union, the members of the extreme right wing pick immigrants as their targets, among whom are especially the target of hatred the Arab immigrants, which affects the creation of the field of xenophobia, or put in better words, the narrower field of “Islamophobia”. The best example of this situation is shown in the terrorist attack that was performed in Norway by Anders Behring Breivik in 2012 when he killed around 80 people in the name of “Christianity and the white race”. According to the *Human Rights Watch* report, in the countries of the European Union bigotry towards the immigrants is growing, and among the most xenophobic countries<sup>14</sup> is also Norway<sup>15</sup>. Because of those reasons, the Arabs in Norway and Sweden are massively changing their Muslim names and surnames.<sup>16</sup> The most common reasons are: the wish to avoid the discrimination due to the negative associations that Islam as a religion drags with itself<sup>17</sup>, the political reasons, divorce and the wish for an easier integration in the society.

When it comes to the extreme right wing in Serbia, they see their potential “enemies” in certain ethnicities (most commonly the ones with whom they have had a conflict with in the near past)<sup>18</sup>, American administration and Jews (because of the bombing), and the LGBT population (which is seen in the conflicts of the hooligan and right wing groups with the participants of the “Pride”). Thus, the enemies of the contemporary extreme right wing are conditioned by correlation of social, political and demographic factors that affect the forming of the extremist conscious.

In the fourth problematic circuit Ratkovic in exploring the issue of forming and growth of fascism. He believes that in a decadent phase of a social system the new political class of fascist is forming from the scrap of the “destroyed structure of society”. The important elements for the creation of the fascist groups are, according to Ratkovic, the so-called beating groups that are guided by violence and that can be, first of all, found in the parapolice and paramilitary organizations, but also in the police and military apparatuses. Combined in that way, these elements

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population, which can be explained by the fact that the extreme right wing always favors the so-called macho in which the man is seen as a *pater familias*.

14 Apart from Norway, the mentioned report includes following countries. France, Greece, Germany, Italy, Hungary, Poland and the Great Britain.

15 <http://www.hrw.org/world-report-2012/world-report-2012-european-union>, 10.10.2013.

16 See more about it in: Khosravi, Shahram, “White masks/Muslim names: immigrants and name-changing in Sweden”, *Race and Class*, br. 3, 2012, str. 65-81.

17 It is, first of all, referring to the religiously funded terrorism predisposed by certain aggressive interpretations of Islam.

18 Which is the consequence of the civil wars during the 1990-s.

form the fascist group heterogeneous and inconsistent. As a matter of fact, the fascist ideology itself is a combination of incompatible elements in order to enable the birth of a totally new mass movement that would serve the interest of the fascist states. Luckily, today the extremely right wing groups are of a marginal character and there are still no real indications that they would transform into a mass movement, but still, they have to be under the constant supervision and control of the state and the security agencies, since even Hitler himself started from the marginal positions only to later become the biggest threat to security worldwide.

Radoslav Ratkovic rightly indicates towards the dangerous connection between the conservative forces and fascism, which was evident especially during the Second World War. What conservative circles have to offer to fascists is legality, while they would get in return from fascists the political strength and the protection of the big capital by acting as a mass movement. It is known that even many conservatives compromised themselves during the Second World War by supporting (openly or latently) fascism, and the most dangerous thing of all is when the intellectual elites get caught in the web of the fascist movement (as it was the case with Heidegger in the time of the Nazi Germany).

In the modern society, neo-fascism involves not only the “Lumpenproletariat” and the lowest social classes, but also the high intellectual elite, which Ratkovic considers as disastrous to every democratic society.

The fifth problematic circuit in the analysis of the right wing extremism is exploring the issues of the conceptual framework and the basic characteristic of fascism. In this context, Ratkovic has singled out the ideological and political characteristics of fascism. We will first consider the ideological specifications of fascism.

Fascism is, in the first place, the enemy of individualism, which is extremely adverse for the development of the basic human rights and freedom. Since the big anti-feudal revolutions<sup>19</sup> gave birth to the idea of individualism and human rights, it is quite logical that fascism will conflict with democratic movements such as liberalism and socialism, which, by the way, arose from those revolutions.

Unlike the liberal ideology that is advocating the rights of a man as an individual, fascism believes that the entire society should be seen as one big organism. Precisely on these grounds did the fascist idea of the organismic concept of society, in which the individual is subordinated to that wholeness originate. Thus it is easier

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19 Definitely the most famous of all is the French bourgeois revolution of 1789.

to explain the idea of one leader, one party and one race<sup>20</sup>, which is the basis of totalitarianism, through an organismic perception of society.

As all previous ideas cannot be rationally explained, fascism resorts to mythologizing the reality (and past), which is the basis for the growth of political irrationalism. That is why, for example, before the Second World War, the old German myth about the supreme god called Votan played a great role in Nazification of Germany. The cult of Votan<sup>21</sup> was based on a phenomenon of the “warrior’s ecstasy”<sup>22</sup>, which surely served well the Nazi propaganda. Otherwise, the god Votan, which is considered the god of war, anger and violence, can be found in literature under various names, such as Odin, Oden, Vodan, etc. The myth that speaks of Votan is the myth *Eda*, which originated in Scandinavia in 13<sup>th</sup> century. According to this myth, Votan was the leader of a hoard who proclaimed himself a god. After that the cult of Votan emerges, based on which it was believed that every warrior, if dies, will go to Valhalla (a place corresponding to Christian Heaven)<sup>23</sup>. By the way, the cult of Votan is enforceable in war times, so it is logical that it was highly exploited by the Nazis during the Second World War. According to Jung, this cult can “come to life” only in the critical war times, when the sacrifices are being offered to it<sup>24</sup>. Apart from that, the cult of Votan had identical symbolism to the Nazis. In fact, Votan’s original symbol was “a wheel, i.e. (simplified) swastika”<sup>25</sup>.

Even today many neo-Nazi organizations use the cult of Votan as an explanation of the “superiority” or Aryans, and it is especially interesting the fact that among these extremists are also the ones that Hitler saw as “lower races”<sup>26</sup>.

20 Accordint ot: Ratković, Radoslav, “Fašizam u savremenosti – sedam problemskih krugova”, *Fašizam u savremenosti* (ur. Dragosavac Nebojša), Savez antifašista Srbije, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2009, str. 21.

21 The renewal of Votan’s cult begins in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and later the young Hegelians started glorifying *The Myth of Nibelungen*.

22 Molnar, Aleksandar, *Rasprava o demokratskoj ustavnoj državi 5. Rat: od kulta Votana do holokausta*, Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju, Beograd, 2006, str. 43.

23 The similar opinion can be found also in the Islamic religion, according to which the warriors go to Heaven in case of dying in jihad, the sacred war against “the infidels”.

24 See more in: Molnar, Aleksandar, *Rasprava o demokratskoj ustavnoj državi 5. Rat: od kulta Votana do holokausta*, Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju, Beograd, 2006.

25 Martin, Nick, *Wodan und germaniseher Schicksalglaube*, Eugen Diedrichs Verlag, Jena, 1935. Citirano prema: Molnar, Aleksandar, *Rasprava o demokratskoj ustavnoj državi 5. Rat: od kulta Votana do holokausta*, Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju, Beograd, 2006, str. 82.

26 For example, the members of the neo-Nazi organization National Alignment are using the symbols and myths that Hitler favored.



Radoslav Ratkovic believed that violence is the main political characteristic of fascism and in a wide range – from verbal to physical. He explains the genesis of usage of violence among fascists in three phases:

1. In the first phase the beating and bullying groups are using violence.
2. The second phase is represented by violence that the extremist (fascist) party is slowly adopting as the basic *modus vivendi*.
3. Violence in the third phase is the characteristic of the political system that fascist are establishing while gaining power.

The next important political characteristic of fascism, according to Radoslav Ratkovic, is totalitarianism: “It is a characteristic that is making fascism similar to the rule of the left wing extremism”<sup>27</sup>.

In the sixth problematic circuit, Ratkovic reviewed “the destiny” and issue of fascism in our country. The emerging of neo-fascist groups in Serbia represents a curiosity if it is known that the Serbian people perished of the fascist terrors<sup>28</sup> and that it was on the side of the Allies of the Second World War.

Ratkovic begins analyzing the roots of fascism in our region since the times of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, when, according to his opinion, “the role of fascist parties was small”<sup>29</sup> in Serbia, while in Croatia, due to the national issue, developed a common ground for the fascist ideas. During the Second World War, Yugoslavia will have an important role in the national liberation struggle against fascism, which will set her to the winning side.

However, Ratkovic emphasizes that even the regime of Slobodan Milosevic showed some elements of fascism<sup>30</sup>. He especially criticizes the advent of “the task forces

27 Ratković, Radoslav, “Fašizam u savremenosti – sedam problemskih krugova”, *Fašizam u savremenosti* (ur. Dragosavac Nebojša), Savez antifašista Srbije, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2009, str.22.

28 Just in Jasenovac were killed about 700.000 thousands of Serbs, Jews and Romani. According to: Neubacher, Hermann, *Sonderauftrag Sudost 1940-1945 Bericht eines fliegenden Diplomaten*, Musterschmit-Verlag, Gottingen, 1957, str. 31. or Булајић, Милан, *Јасеновац: улога Ватикана у нацистичкој Хрватској*, Пешић и синови, Београд, 2007. or Дедијер, Владимир, *Ватикан и Јасеновац: документи*, Издавачка радна организација Рад, Београд, 1987, str. 644.

29 Ratković, Radoslav, “Fašizam u savremenosti – sedam problemskih krugova”, *Fašizam u savremenosti* (ur. Dragosavac Nebojša), Savez antifašista Srbije, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2009, str. 22.

30 According to: Ratković, Radoslav, “Fašizam u savremenosti – sedam problemskih krugova”, *Fašizam u savremenosti* (ur. Dragosavac Nebojša), Savez antifašista Srbije, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2009, str. 22.

of the Milosevic's rallies of truth' ”<sup>31</sup> which main role was to destroy the legal system. He explains the development of the Milosevic's system of with following phases: “From the beginning of overtaking the power, taking the party, and lost wars, to the total degeneration and making the system fascism-alike, and then transforming it into the criminal rule of mafia”<sup>32</sup>.

The appearance of the modern extreme right-wing groups in our region is not exclusive, but it can be seen as a sort of a “trend worldwide” that is originating as a specific reply to the globalization processes. Extreme right-wing oriented ones see the globalization from the vigilant position. They believe that universalization, sovereignty declension and denationalization (as the processes of globalization), destroy the identity of the ethnic and religious groups, and thus have to keep defending them. Since while “defending” the group identity they cannot win by using the democratic fighting methods and means, the extreme right wing decides to use violence. The usage of violence as a basic method of acting is by itself the thing that will connect the extremist left wing and right wing provenances. And while the extremists of the right wing protect the national, racial, ethnical or some other (group) identity that is being destroyed by globalization, the extremists of the left wing ideological orientation show animosity towards globalization processes, since they see in then the chance for the rich to become more rich by exploiting the most threatened and weak.

The seventh problematic circuit considers how much are the ruling institutions of the state tolerating fascism. What Ratkovic clearly sees is the fact that fascism is often using democratic institutions and procedures in order to gain power. For example, a good example for it would be the case of Adolf Hitler when he entered legally into the German parliament with the National-socialist party, and not that long did even Jörg Haider in Austria repeat a similar situation. Namely, the Freedom party of Austria (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ), with Haider as a leader almost formed the government in 2000 with the Austrian People's Party, which influenced the European union to shortly isolate Austria for its extremely nationalistic politics that the Freedom party of Austria favored.

31 Ratković, Radoslav, “Fašizam u savremenosti – sedam problemskih krugova”, *Fašizam u savremenosti* (ur. Dragosavac Nebojša), Savez antifašista Srbije, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2009, str. 22.

32 Ratković, Radoslav, “Fašizam u savremenosti – sedam problemskih krugova”, *Fašizam u savremenosti* (ur. Dragosavac Nebojša), Savez antifašista Srbije, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2009, str. 22.

Ratković, while analyzing this problematic circuit, asks one practical question: “By which and how does democracy fight of the attacks of fascism?”<sup>33</sup>. At the same time, he comes to a one social lawfulness, which states that “the measure of tolerance towards fascism decreases with its influence in the society”<sup>34</sup>. That would mean that every democratic society that has stable institutions usually has more tolerant attitude towards right wing extremism, unlike those societies that possess fragile democracy or within which the institutions are still being democratized<sup>35</sup>. Ratković warns that all those societies that have just started the process of getting out of the crisis should be more careful regarding tolerance towards fascism, so that they would not give too much space to the extremists. Just because the democracy advocates respecting the human rights, (among which is the freedom of speech) the modern societies should not allow themselves to capitulate in front of neo-fascism just because it respects the democratic rules of the game and the official procedures, Ratković concludes.

Radošlav Ratković has set up to more problematic circuits (that he didn't consider in detail) that should be scientifically examined in the future, since they represent the growing danger to the modern democracies. Those are, first of all, the relation between fascism and Islamic terrorism<sup>36</sup>, and then the relationship established between fascism and organized crime. We will shortly elaborate these two problematic circuits in this occasion.

Symbiosis of fascism and the modern Islamic terrorism has been explained the best by Dragan Simeunović through the phenomenon of *jihadism*<sup>37</sup> that represents a variable of clerical fascism. According to Simeunović, the appearance of jihadism from the politic point of view “can be treated as the appearance of the extreme

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33 Ratković, Radošlav, “Fašizam u savremenosti – sedam problemskih krugova”, *Fašizam u savremenosti* (ur. Dragosavac Nebojša), Savez antifašista Srbije, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2009, str. 23.

34 Ratković, Radošlav, “Fašizam u savremenosti – sedam problemskih krugova”, *Fašizam u savremenosti* (ur. Dragosavac Nebojša), Savez antifašista Srbije, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2009, str. 23.

35 As it is the case with the countries in transition.

36 About the relationship of Islamic terrorism and propaganda see more in: Đorić, Marija, “Terrorism and Communication in the System of International Security”, *The Rising Role of Communication Management in World Politics and Business*, y.p. Evgeny Pashentsev and Greg Simons, *International Centre of Socio-Political Studies and Consulting*, Moscow, 2009, str. 429-440.

37 Jihadism is not the same as jihad. While the first term represents the ideological form of Islamic extremism, the second one has the meaning of the wider religious endeavor. About the relation between jihad and jihadism see more in: Simeunović Dragan, *Uvod u političku teoriju*, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2009.

Muslim right wing. In the extreme, jihadism and Islamic terrorism as its main weapon are nothing else but Islamic form of neo-fascism”<sup>38</sup>. Like fascists, jihadists also denounce the right of their “enemies” to a territory, power, progress, and, at last - life. The difference is in the fact that among the classical fascists the enemy is identifies firstly by its nation, i.e. race it is a part of, while among jihadists the primary criterion is the religion. Jihadism is fascism, since “xenophobia, hatred towards everything that is not Islamic – especially anti-Judaism”<sup>39</sup> is in its basis.

The main characteristics of the clerical fascism in the form of jihadism are following:

- Anti-Isrealism, which manifests in open hatred towards Israel (as a state of Jews).
- Fanaticism, which is the key of recognition of every kind of clerical fascism, among which also jihadism.
- Blind devotion towards a leader whose ideological attitude in not questioned (and never checked), which assumes the character of dogma.
- Global geopolitical ambitions about “releasing” (i.e. conquering) the rest of the world.

Regarding the relationship between fascism and organized crime, it is a connection that tends to exist in weaker countries in which the institutions are fragile, and the organized crime represents an important factor in the political process. In this case there is a common lucrative interest within fascism and organized crime, and it usually boils down to keeping and increasing the big capital.

After analyzing the seven problematic circuits of fascism that prof. Dr. Radoslav Ratkovic has set up, we can ascertain that he was not only a scientist that approached the research of certain social-politics phenomena in a valid and expert way, but also a man ahead of his time. This is maybe best shown in his forecasting observation of all the aspects of the modern right wing extremism. At a first glance, modern political extremism in an amorphous phenomena full of contradictory elements, unclearness, variations and incompleteness. However, if we approach research of the extreme right wing analytically and in a right way, (as Radoslav Ratkovic did), we will see that it is a masked form of neo-fascism that kept the value system of

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38 Simeunović, Dragan, “Džihadizam kao desničarski ekstremizam i klerikalni fašizam”, *Fašizam u savremenosti* (ur. Dragosavac Nebojša), Savez antifašista Srbije, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2009, str. 139.

39 Simeunović, Dragan, “Džihadizam kao desničarski ekstremizam i klerikalni fašizam”, *Fašizam u savremenosti* (ur. Dragosavac Nebojša), Savez antifašista Srbije, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2009, str. 139.

the fascist ideology. The issue with interpretation of the contemporary right wing groups, movements and organizations lays in the fact that they are often hiding behind the democratic procedures, causing quasi-democratic phenomena. Still, what the extreme right wing is recognizable for is its model of action, that hasn't changed since the times of Hitler until the modern times, which represents the brutal and excessive usage of violence that is justified by an irrational ideology.

By all odds, the extreme right wing terrorism hasn't yet shown its real face, since the memories of the horrific Nazi-fascistic crimes of the Second World War are still living in the minds of people. The growing inebriation of the young people by the fascist ideology points to the fact that fascism has a high capacity of regenerative power and that it successfully adjusts to different times and places. The extreme right wing has, in these modern times being in the middle of globalization processes and social crisis, found a common ground for the uprising of its irrational ideas that are always offering "easy and fast solutions in the hard times". Now, for how long will the modern democracies succeed in controlling the extreme right wing and keep it on the position of the social margins, remains to be seen in the times in front of us.

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## **DESNIČARSKI EKSTREMIZAM U DELIMA RADOŠLAVA RATKOVIĆA**

### **Apstrakt**

*Rad se bavi analizom desničarskog ekstremizma u delima prof. dr Radoslava Ratkovića, te je posebno ispitivana problematika tzv. “sedam krugova fašizma” koje je Ratković elaborirao u svojim delima. Ratković je smatrao da određeni društvenopolitički tokovi u savremenosti pogoduju nastanku neofašističkih organizacija ali se u velikoj meri bavio i problematikom semantičko-terminološke dimenzije u određenju ekstremne desnice. Veza koju je Ratković nalazio između savremene demokratske države i fašizma je posebno indikativna, kao i odnos ekstremne desnice prema ljudskim pravima. Radoslav Ratković je smatrao da je nasilje glavno političko obeležje fašizma (kako u prošlosti tako i u savremenosti), te da se time direktno suprotstavlja svim demokratskim društvima.*

**Ključne reči:** Radoslav Ratković, neofašizam, ekstremizam, ekstremna desnica, nasilje.