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RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM IN THE TERRITORY OF THE EU: FROM “STREET FIGHTERS” TO “NATIONAL-SOCIALIST UNDERGROUND”

Abstract

In this paper are elaborated contemporary forms of extreme right-wing in the territory of the EU, with special emphasis on right-wing terrorist activities. The author paid special attention to communicational aspect of contemporary extreme right-wing actions through comparative analysis of media from the EU territories. The goal of this paper is examination of causes and consequences of the contemporary European extreme right-wing and the consequences of their actions. The ideology of neo-Nazism is explained, within which the author pointed out similarities and differences between the old and the new reforms of the right-wing extremism. The author concludes that the two main communication channels that were on-going previous years – internet and WPM scene – are still continuously used with a goal of spreading the neo-Nazi idea throughout Europe.

Key words: extreme right-wing, Nazism, neo-Nazism, fascism, communication, violence, terrorism, EU.

Ultra-right-wing spirits have become a big problem of the European society during the actual economic crisis. That is, for example, according to survey data which was collected by Institute for market researches in Linz, ordered by the Austrian magazine *Standard*, “more than a half of the population (54%) believes that Nazis are very possible to win the elections, if it is assumed that banning of the

national-socialist ideology will be overthrown”¹. This trend which is shared by the European society also has its own “practical way out”, of which speak terrorist attacks of Anders Breivik or “National-socialist underground” group (National-sozialistischer Untergrund – NSU), that were uncovered in FRG.

Today in the European Union an increase in numbers of not only extreme right-wing terrorist organisations, but also extreme individuals of the right-wing extreme provenance can be noticed. Most current example of individual terrorist actions in Europe is the terrorist act committed by the Norwegian extremist Anders Breivik from 22nd of July 2011. Breivik planted an explosion in the Norwegian Capitol Building in Oslo and killed 77 people (97 people were wounded) in a youth camp of the ruling Labour Party on the island of Utoya.

On the other hand, most current examples of the neo-Nazis terrorist organization actions are killings of immigrants and police associates, which was conducted by the German “group from Zwickau”, NSU.

In the first years of research period (2001–2013) two most significant actions in Europe can be noticed. During 2004, in December 22th an armed bank robbery took place in Belfast, which was attributed to the Irish Republican Army. On February 9th 2005, Basque separatists blew a car up in Madrid, which resulted in 31 wounded people². However, exactly the actions of the NSU group, whose main actions were during the period from 2001 to 2007, can serve as a typical example from ultra-right-wing terrorism actions.

In the extreme right-wing ideology in Europe, an irregular identification of European multicultural politics with Marxist course can be noticed. In the “program document” of individual terrorist Anders Breivik, in the forefront is shown not only anti-Marxist, but also an anti-Muslim component of right-wing extremism and terrorism. This is in the basis different from anti-Semitism, which is characteristically for ultra- right-wingers.

1 Over 60% of Austrians would like to have dictators in charge – survey, RIA «Novosti». 09.03.2013. Original material: *Seidl C.* Umfrage: 42 Prozent sagen "Unter Hitler war nicht alles schlecht“, *derStandard.at*. 8. März 2013, 18:24. URL: derstandard.at/13621079-18471/Umfrage-42-Prozent-sagen-Unter-Hitler-war-nicht-alles-schlecht (accessed 20.03.2013).

2 *Anderson S. K., Sloan S.* Historical Dictionary of Terrorism. Third Edition. Lanham, Maryland – Toronto – Plymouth, UK, 2009. P. xlvii.

Since 2006, in official Europol (European law enforcement agency), use of violence by ultra-right-wingers is qualified, above all, as extremism, and not as terrorism, and in this case it is, as a rule, always manifested in individual terrorist acts³.

Year	2006.	2007.	2008.	2009.	2010.	2011.	2012.	2013.
Terrorist attacks of right-wing extremists	1	1	0	4	0	1	2	4

According to Europol materials.

The Europol analysts themselves noticed even in 2007 following fact: “Even though the violent actions of right-wing extremist can be seen as sporadic and situational, right-wing extremist actions are today coordinated on an international level. For example, suggestions for choosing the right-wing extreme attacks are published on Internet”⁴.

According to statements of Europol and researcher B. Kaufman, ultra-right-wing terrorist groups tend to change the entire political and socio-economical system according to the doctrines of national-socialism⁵. A specialist in the field of security, F. Schaurer agrees with them, stating that “right-wing terrorism often turns to unclear and eclectic interpretation of doctrines of Nazism, Fascism, racism and militarism”⁶.

Regardless of increase of extreme right-wing spirit, which is connected with the economic crisis, terrorist acts, as we previously pointed out, are fewer in comparison to extremist actions. So in 2006 only one attack of extreme right-wingers was recorded, which was estimated to be a terrorist attack.

In May 2006, two individuals inflicted stab wounds to an anti-Fascist activist in Warsaw. Europol reports that basic information and address of the victim were posted on internet by the members of “Blood and Honour” organization” (hereinafter referred to as B&H), neo-Nazi organization, whose activity is present in many countries of the EU. B&H chapter is represented in the “Combat 18” organisation (number 18 represents coded initials of Adolf Hitler, which match first and eighth letter of the Latin alphabet), which was founded in 1992 after an agreement between “British National Front” party and football hooligans organization,

3 Cm.: EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (TE-SAT) 2007 – 2014. Europol, Hague, 2007 – 2014.

4 EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (TE-SAT) 200, Europol, Hague, 2007. p. 35.

5 *Ibidem*. P. 10.

6 *Schaurer F*, International Relations and Security Network (ISN), Report.Zurich, 2011. p. 5.

“Chelsea Head-hunters”. Main courses of action of B&H are pointed towards recruiting new “street fighters” – skinheads, and active spreading of neo-Nazi propaganda, including the “direct action “propaganda”⁷.

Since 2008, right-wingers’ terrorist attacks became more severe, which testifies of growing tension in the European society. Carefully designed extreme right-wingers action is reflected in spreading individual action (so-called. “lone wolf”), which culminated in A. Breivik’s terrorist act. Acting of ultra-right-wing propaganda, in our opinion, is one of the more significant reasons for transformation of “street fighters” into terrorist attacks, (NSU group example).

Communicational aspects of right-wing extremism and terrorism **Extreme right-wing ideology: manipulating the topic of social transformation**

Neo-Nazis organisations actively act in in conditions of economic and socio-political crisis. It is known that members of the German “National-socialist underground” organized themselves as neo-Nazis, concretely by visiting WPM concerts scene (*white power music*), and by listening to compositions promoted by “Blood and Honour” web site.

Callings to extremism and promoting the examples of historical conflicts of ultra-right-wingers with their political opponents are constantly being placed in certain magazines, pointing out towards migration problems. However, before Anders Breivik’s terrorist attacks, extremist and even terrorist propaganda of ultra-right-wingers, which are available on internet and in FMI, did not have any concrete ideas for transforming socio-political organization. Hence in magazines of the “Blood and Honour” movement, the dissatisfaction with the increase of numbers of immigrants was presented in editorial articles, stating that ultra-right-wingers see them as a threat to traditional European values and culture. Lack of unique ideology of neo-Nazis structures is recorded in FRG⁸.

In the magazine of the British chapter of “Blood and Honour”, the editorial board expresses solidarity with WPM scene and emphasizes the propaganda with the help

⁷ The National Socialist Political Soldiers Handbook, *Blood and Honour Combat 18*, URL: www.skrewdriver.org/handbook.html (accessed 28.03.2013).

⁸ Verfassungsschutzbericht 2011. Köln, 2012. S. 57.

of neo-Nazi music⁹. The authors also speak of white Europeans' responsibility for their apathy in the terms of increase of immigrant impact, which are called "foreign occupations". The apathy, in the opinion of "Blood and Honour" members, appeared thanks to "Zionist propaganda and is supported by left-wing self-humiliating tirades, which took roots in the FMI, television and in the cinemas"¹⁰. The article speaks of fragmentation and disintegration of European nations, which is caused by perennial military conflicts in history.

Neo-Nazis call white Europeans to a deeper study of their own history and the history of neighbouring European countries. However, generally this kind of calling to a deeper study of history can be explained (according to "Blood and Honour" magazine) by necessity of uniting the representatives of the white race in the fight against the "anti-European" course in education, which comprises, above all, religious tolerance education.

However, the representatives of "Blood and Honour" do not speak directly of any concrete socio-political transformations and alternative routes of social developments in this material¹¹. The topic of Third Reich is probably being avoided on purpose in the magazine, so that they would dissociate from Hitler's state terror, even though the sympathy towards it is reflected in the ideology and the mere symbolism of contemporary extreme right-wingers.

Very little is known of the ideas promoted by NSU terrorists. Found photographs, video footage and textual files from hard drives of terrorists' computers contain a chronology of terrorist attacks of the organization and files on potential victims. Political future of Europe will by all odds be uncertain not only for them, but for neo-Nazis – extremists too, and will be reduced to just an "armed fight". However, the representatives of the Department for Protection of the Constitution of the FRG are following the impact of revisionist ideas of the NSU group members

9 Together We Are Strong, Blood and Honour, The Independent Voice of Rock against Communism. Issue 44.p 3. URL: www.blood-andhonourworldwide.co.uk/magazine/issue44/issue44p_3.html(accessed 20.03.2013).

10 United Europe, Blood and Honour. The Independent Voice of Rock against Communism. Issue 44.P. 5. URL: www.bloodand-honourworldwide.co.uk/magazine/issue44/issue44p_5.html(accessed 20.03.2013).

11 United Europe, Blood and Honour. The Independent Voice of Rock against Communism. Issue 44.P. 5. URL: www.bloodand-honourworldwide.co.uk/magazine/issue44/issue44p_5.html (accessed 20.03.2013).

(revisionism of ultra-right-wingers assumes redrawing the history of the Third Reich in its positive direction)¹².

Neo-Nazis use “revolutionary” rhetoric when sending reports from the WPM scene. In a variety of lyrics rekindles hatred towards foreigners, Jews, people of different skin colours, and a call to reprisal against such groups is present. In other lyrics, published in materials with suspicious content, „above mentioned groups are given such epithets that humiliate the human dignity, holocaust is being glorified (or its criminal character is denied), national-socialist tyranny and despotism”. Similar statements were also published in many pages on thematic internet forums¹³.

Neo-Nazis propaganda, built on denying the reality, strives towards presenting to a wider auditorium their group as most discriminated one in comparison to other groups in the society. This is very much favoured by the current crisis present in many EU countries.

Actions of Anders Breivik can also be classified as escalation crisis phenomena. His act can be considered as one of the most concrete expression of **political plans** of the extreme right-wing terrorism.

Necessity of radical changes in Europol, in A. Breivik’s opinion, is conditioned by a dozen of main factors, among which the realistically existent ones are mentioned: “instability, (...) cumbersome bureaucracy, (...) lack of real delimitation of powers in the EU, which establish conditions for abuse of power¹⁴”. However, when thinking of ways of getting out of the crisis, A. Breivik acknowledges the existence of the collective enemy, which is characteristically for Nazis point of view, and of which immigrants and left-wing representatives are being accused.

The ideology of neo-Nazis extremist has changed under the influence of crisis. Unlike the “Blood and Honour” movement, which spoke only of compaction of European nations, A. Breivik advocates the dissolution of the European Union, which structure is undividable connected to terrorist of the current elite which

12 Verfassungsschutzbericht 2011. Köln, 2012. S. 51.

13 Rechtsextrems Thiazi-Forum im Visier der Staatsanwaltschaft, Rostock Heute, 14. Jun, 2012. URL: www.rostock-heute.de/rechts-extremes-thiazi-forum-durchsuchung-staatsanwaltschaft/46655 (accessed 20.03.2013).

14 *Berwick A.* 208, A European Declaration of Independence. London, 2011. p. 313–320. URL: www.kevinislaughter.com/wp-content/uploads/2083+-+A+European+Declaration+of+Independence.pdf (accessed 20.03.2013).

brought the region to an economic recession: “For Europe, the most important this is, without further postponing, the decomposition of the European Union in its present form and re-establishing the national control of our borders and our legislation. And, let’s stop with the stupid support of Palestinians, which is preferred in Eurabia, and start supporting our cultural ally – state of Israel”¹⁵.

This recommendation, written in 2006 by a visitor of right-wing radical forums under a pseudonym *Fjordman*¹⁶, gained a vast publicity in A. Breivik’s manifest during the economic crisis, no matter the traditional anti-Semitism of the ultra-right-wingers and denial of holocaust.

The strategy of extreme right-wingers’ actions is essentially reduced to closing the state borders, and a call for this action should be sent, according to A. Breivik and blogger *Fjordman*, to contemporary elite structures that might play a significant role in decomposition of the European Union: “We have to remind our political leaders that we pay national taxes so that they would have to strengthen our national borders. If they are not capable of doing that, the social agreement is compromised and we have no more an obligation to pay taxes”¹⁷.

The idea of “cleaning the Europe” of open enemies, i.e. immigrants becomes the central thesis of A. Breivik’s manifest: “We have to rest from mass immigration, even non-Muslim one, in the extreme cases, during a lifetime of one generation, so that people already present in our countries will have a chance of assimilating... In the future, the processes of immigration should be more tightly managed, and not only when speaking of Muslims”¹⁸.

It is symptomatic that formation of the new cultural identity of Europeans based on Christianity is treated as terrorism of an individual in the context of justification and continuance of the Crusades. A. Breivik signs himself as: “the Commander of knights of commandant Justiciar, holder of the Order of the Templars of Europe an one of few leaders of national and pan-European patriotic Resistance movement”¹⁹, and future terrorist followers of the author are called knights-Justiciars.

15 *Berwick A.* Op. cit. P. 330.

16 Recommendations for the West, Gates of Vienna.URL: gatesofvienna.blogspot.com/2006/10/recommendations-for-west.html (accessed 20.03.2013).

17 *Berwick A.* Op. cit. p. 333.

18 *Berwick A.* Op. cit. p. 333.

19 *Berwick A.* Op. cit.

In the manifest of A. Breivik, not the underlying problems of immigrants are analysed, but only the politics of European leadership in the second half of the twentieth century, when immigrants were gladly called as cheap work force. Further, exactly the tolerance of the European countries' government in terms of spreading the ideas of Al-Qaida as a "counterweight" of the left-wing propaganda and the protest under the economic slogan became the reason for isolating immigrants and rooting the quasi-religious²⁰ ideology in European working neighbourhoods, of which many became a true national ghetto.

All these conditions influence the alienation of foreign workers, on which in the conditions of ideological vacuum is intensively acted on by the extreme and terrorist propaganda under the quasi-religious flag.

Communicational aspects of right-wing extremists and terrorist actions

Before we start speaking of means of spreading information by ultra-right-wingers, we have to remember the importance of communication in the process of recruiting potential terrorist or extremist.

There are researches where authors believe that the increase of extremism is the consequence of the terrorist acts themselves. So psychologist A.A. Mkrtchyan points towards the importance of studying psychological consequences of terrorist acts: "The consequences of terrorist attacks give a basis for forming certain relationship in the society towards terrorists, including a positive relationship... Similar positive relationship might manifest ... in conscious wish of an individual (or a group) to join a previously existing terrorist organization or take its experience in order to reach their own private goals..."²¹

Same researcher states that among the psychological consequences of a terrorist act, together with post-traumatic distress (manifested through depression, alcoholism, alienation), exaggerated fear of petty bourgeoisie that he would become

²⁰ The author considers under "quasi-religious terrorism" the terrorism used by organisations and individuals which use religious rethorics when justifying the terrorist attacks. This term was introduced in order to emphasize the fact that, by manipulating with a believer's trous feelings, quasi-religious terrorist, above all, strive towards solving various economic and political tasks of certain antisocial groups.

²¹ *Мкртчјан А. А.*, "Тероризам као крајње испољавање екстремизма: психолошке последице", *Екстремизам и национално питање у Русији (материјали научно-практичног семинара)*. Moskva., 2009. С. 102.

a vision of terrorist act and “Stockholm syndrome”, we might also count in processes of group compaction of lines, xenophobia, extremism.

Compaction of lines of extreme right-wingers is explained by their own calls about “the Islamising of Europe”, within which the discussions intensify after each act of religiously funded terrorism. Most often, the compaction is realized based on ethnicity, even though we find use of religious rhetoric in many cases (for example, A. Breivik called himself “a Christian fundamentalist”), which allows extraction of common features in the motivation of ultra-right-wing and religiously funded terrorism.

In this way terrorism can manifest as a consequence of extremism, but also as its cause. Calls of ultra-right-wing extremist organizations illustrate this conception, since they, above all, contain messages that extreme right-wingers’ actions are actually a response (moreover, a necessary measure of defence) to terrorist attacks of religiously motivated terrorism.

So in “European declaration of independence – 2083”, launched by A. Breivik under the “Andrew Breivik” pseudonym, the author claims: “Over 90% of leadership circles of the EU and parliamentarians in the countries of Europe, and over 95% of journalists are supporters of European multiculturalism, and thus supporters of Islamic colonization of Europe which continues»²², with a remark that European people did not give them rights to realize this doctrine.

As main targeted auditorium of ultra-right-wing terrorist propaganda can be considered young people aged 18 to 29, even though, depending on the country, these indicators might differ.

According to psychological researches data, the age of individuals convicted of terrorist actions is varying from 30 to 39 years. However, process of recruiting terrorist, including the moral preparation, is quite time consuming, so the terrorist and extremist propaganda is directed towards youth above all²³. We can add to this the fact that youth is most to be subjected to emotional impact due to lack of lack experience, psycho-physical factors, non-critical relation towards terrorism (usually due to lack of knowledge of social sciences).

In this direction, two basic channels for spreading information can be singled out – internet and concerts and footage of WPM performers.

²² *Berwick*A. Op. cit. P.4.

²³ Етнорелигиозни тероризам. Под ред. Ј. М. Антоњана. М., 2006. p.121.

Most active propagator of information on WPM scene concerts in internet web “Blood and Honour”. This web was established in 1987 with a goal of spreading music created in the eighties, which corresponds with emergence of the “Rock against communism” movement. Founder of the web was Ian Stewart Donaldson, leader of the British group “Screwdriver”, which was very popular in WPM movement. Death of I.S. Donaldson (who performed under a shortened version of his name – Ian Stewart) in a car crash in 1993 was estimated by British neo-Nazis to be a result of MI-6 operation, because of which Ian Stewart became famous as a true “hero” of neo-Nazis movement.

WPM scene is considered to be one of the main chapters of political extremism²⁴ in Europe. Extremist surrounding provides to terrorist organizations a quite wide membership base and loyal auditorium. WPM scene is consisted of groups networking with right-wing extremist and racist points of view, whose members are ready to use political violence. Internet is also, as years pass by, becoming more and more effective communication channel of ultra-right-wingers²⁵. Besides, internet is rarely subjected to censorship, and author can be anyone.

Extreme right-wingers are more and more structurally organized and are having more and more effective impact on the consciousness of different population groups. So, youth auditorium is turning towards right-wing extremism, usually under the influence of rhetoric and models that are inherent to youth subcultures. Professionally set-up internet sites have an impact on the auditorium by corresponding (usually revisionist) interpretations of historical events and current politics.

During creation of general spirits of anti-Semitism and xenophobia in their actions, ultra-right-wingers are often focused on most problematic topics of public discussions, such as immigration, corruption and consequences of the financial crisis.

The biggest part of criminal offenses committed by right-wing extremists in EU are consisted of various cases of spreading terrorist propaganda: “Even though it seems that the threat which comes from the right-wing extremism kills, ... professionalism of their propaganda and organization shows that right-wing extremist groups tend to spread their ideology as wider are possible, and still represent a threat in the countries of the EU²⁶.”

24 EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (TE-SAT) 2009, Europol, Hague, 2009. p. 35.

25 EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (TE-SAT) 2010, Europol, Hague, 2010. p. 39.

26 EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (TE-SAT) 2010, Europol, Hague, 2010. p. 39.

Swedish government reported that WPM movement in their country has an active participation in many spheres of ultra-right-wing activists' lives. Most of the WPM scene's projects are based on spreading social tensions.

Portuguese government pointed out that their WPM scene demands of the Government to set free prominent right-wing representatives of Portuguese Hammer skins – PHS. PHS tries to regenerate the power of the organization by setting up good relations with other groups in Europe. For example, international festival “White Christmas” took place in the suburbs of Lisbon on December 2011.²⁷

B&H web publishes information about concerts on their internet site *www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk*, on which a special part is dedicated to life of Ian Stewart. On the site's main page a slogan is written: “Against Red front and mass reaction”²⁸.

Apart from concert information, which is not published in a form of simple HTML document but as a picture (so that message content could not be available for search in search engines), B&H also publishes information about most brutal right-wing actions and gives recommendations for their potential participants. Of such articles, we can single out an example of a text about “the battle of Waterloo” – big conflict of neo-Nazis with representatives of youth left-wing groups, which took place in September 12th 1992. According to the article authors' statement, action was designed with a goal of gaining popularity²⁹, for which the previously mentioned article can be seen as a type of “guide book for action” for contemporary right-wing extreme groups. In the article the communication scheme with FMI is explained in details, which is, in various forms, still being realized by European ultra-right-wingers today, while the WPM movement includes a big part of European Union. Mechanism of provocation, explained in the experience from 1992 is partially used when neo-Nazis tried to cause counter-demonstrations of their political opponents.

Apart from spreading the Nazis ideology, the web site also gives examples of “street fighters” actions. In the “Our fights” chapter, a set of photographs of fights

27 EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (TE-SAT) 2012, Europol, Hague, 2012. p. 28.

28 Blood & Honour – Great Britain. URL: www.bloodandhonour-worldwide.co.uk (accessed 28.03.2013).

29 The Battle of Waterloo – 12th September 1992, Blood & Honour – Great Britain. URL: www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/history/history.html (accessed 28.03.2013).

and training of skinheads is published, which have a goal of motivating young think-alike to “practical action”³⁰.

Paper editions of neo-Nazis are distributed by mail, and money earned from selling the magazine is spent for financing the organizations. Graphic design of the “Blood and Honour” magazine is done in a traditional red-white-black colour spectre which resembles the symbolism of the Third Reich. In the magazine are published articles about history of Nazi movement in Great Britain, and the magazine reviews of the WPM scene, articles dedicated to cult figures among skinheads, such as previously mentioned Ian Stewart³¹.

Being a young man, in the period of forming the personality that seeks identification with a group, he is more subdued to the impact of similar propaganda, the manifest of the individual, A. Breivik, is on the other hand suitable for a more mature reader who is influenced by the fear of information about terrorism in FMI. In that case he does not see axiological similarities between the ideologies of Islamic terrorist organizations and neo-Nazis extremism which is growing into right—wing terrorism, which is a good basis for manipulation.

After Anders Breivik’s terrorist act, the most discussed event during the last years in the “ultra-right-wing scene” was dissolution of the NSU organization in the FRG, which was already named by the FMI as “Brown Army Fraction” («Die Braune Armee Fraktion»). This name was given basically due to the similarity found between them and an organization from the second half of the 20th century “Red Army Fraction” (Die Rote Armee Fraktion – PAΦ). These two organisations are similar not only by their structure (when speaking of gender and age), but also by the similar ways of financing (contemporary extreme right-wingers, as RAF did in their time, preform bank robberies).

Communicational strategy of “group from Zwickau” is interesting also because it presents the neo-Nazis ideology in the form that is similar to calls and manifests of counter-cultural movements. These movements in the FRG use specific allegories and present their messages in the form of typical mass culture products (funny illustrations, cartoon movies etc.).

30 B&H Battles, Blood & Honour – Great Britain. URL: www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/history/history.html (accessed 28.03.2013).

31 Magazines, Blood & Honour – Great Britain. URL: www.bloodandhonourworldwide.co.uk/home1.html (accessed 28.03.2013).

Five individuals were arrested for being members of the NSU. All the arrests happened in Germany. It is assumed that NSU is responsible for crimes that took place from 2001 to 2007, when nine people were killed – eight Turks and one Greek, and for the killing of the German policewoman and one policeman.

Two members of the NSU committed suicide in the beginning of November 2011 during a police chase after a bank robbery. The suspects were, according to Europol specialists, involved in an entire series of bank robberies. They also helped extreme right-wingers in financing terrorist attacks and organizing the life “underground”. It is assumed that the suspects were involved in two explosions in Köln in 2001 and 2004. As a result of those explosions, over 30 people were wounded, of which most of them were foreigners³².

According to statements of *Der Spiegel* magazine, the group was formed in the nineties by three individuals of Thuringia origin – Uwe Mundlos, Beate Zschaepe and Uwe Bernhardt.

Policewoman Michelle Keiseweter was killed in Heilbronn in 2007 by members of NSU. The killings of Turks and Greeks begun in Germany in 2000³³ FMI called this series of killings “Döner-Morde”³⁴, since at least two out of nine victims earned their living by selling döner-kebab³⁵. Together with the weapons, police found four DVD discs packed in envelopes, in the ruins of a house in Zwickau. The discs contained a 15-minute movie of the “National-socialist underground”, in which NSU was called “national web of comrades which are guided by the slogan “Actions instead of words””. These movies can also be found on video hosting on the internet. In the NSU group movie is also said that: “As long as in politics, media and the freedom of speech sphere does not happen some principal changes, our action will be continued”³⁶.

In this propaganda movie recorded in a comic cartoon movie style, the main role is played by a panther called Paul, whom authors are taking on a “tour” throughout the entire Germany, stopping him on the places where killings of strangers were committed. Among others, they record in this movie a name tag on the door of

32 EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (TE-SAT) 2012. Europol, Hague, 2012. p. 28.

33 Letzte Ausfahrt Eisenach, *Der Spiegel*, №46, 2011. p. 67.

34 Can be translated as «Murders of kebab vendors» (German Döner – «дөнер-кебаб, kebab», and Mord – «murder»).

35 Traditional Turkish meat product.

36 Letzte Ausfahrt Eisenach, *Der Spiegel*, № 46, 2011. p. 67.

the flower vendor, first victim of the killings, showing a photograph of his body which was most probably taken immediately at the scene of crime. In the photograph there is written: “Original”. Music from the cartoon movie “Pink panther” is playing in the background. The journalists of *Der Spiegel* saw the movie from the aesthetic point of view in a following way: “Infantile, but expensive fascist aesthetics which looms with morbid content”³⁷.

As journalists state, video material was prepared to be sent to editorial staff of a few significant media houses and Islamic cultural centres, which would, after 13 years of “silent terror”, obviously represent transmission to a new stage of group actions – propaganda campaign. Neo-Nazis felt, by all means, quite confident when sending such messages.

It is presumed that radicalization of group members was published while communicating with representatives of extreme right-wing organisations during organizing manifestations such as “Anniversary march in the honour of Rudolf Hess” which took place in Denmark in August 2005. After transmission from extremism to terrorism, the group continued to visit neo-Nazi demonstrations³⁸. Participation of terrorists in demonstrations and concerts has additionally corroborated opinion of the police that the WPM scene is one of the main ultra-right-wing propaganda channels. Terrorist actions of the Zwickau group and their propaganda were a cause for appearance of video footage on the internet, among which there was also a clip assembled with the “Döner Killer” song³⁹.

According to assurances from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the FRG, there is a strong cooperation between right-wing extreme organisations throughout Europe for several decades. It is usually reflected in common organizing and conducting of mass actions and demonstrations.

Ultra-right-wing movements have, for quite a long time, been launching thesis of “Islamising of Europe”, which they are fighting against with all their resources. Islam is presented as an enemy, and at the same time the Muslim religion is identified with Islamic terrorism. Islam is accused of appearing social problems and instability in Europe, since Muslims “do not want or are not capable of integrating”.

37 Ebenda.

38 Demo in Dänemark, *Der Spiegel*, №51, 2011. S. 64.

39 Gigi und die braunen Stadtmusikanten – Döner-Killer. // Youtube. URL: www.youtube.com/watch?v=mLikiUII658 (accessed 28.03.2013).

According to the German government's opinion, during the last years, a sort of alliance between right-wing extremists and "ultra-right-wing populists" is growing stronger. Alliance "Cities against Islamising" (Städte gegen Islamisierung), was formed in 2008 and it combines a whole range of organisations of ultra-right-wing spectre, such as, for example, "Flemish interest" ("Vlaams Belang" – VB), "Austrian freedom Party" (Freiheitspartei Österreichs), French "National Republican Movement" party (Mouvement National Républicain – MNR) and Spanish "Platform for Catalonia" («PlataformaperCatalunya»)⁴⁰.

During 2009 in Czech Republic appeared a tendency towards changing the vocabulary in the ideology of extreme right-wingers. Ultra-right-wing groups started to openly use the term "national-socialism". That is a direct turning towards the heritage of the Third Reich, a Nazi dictatorship in Germany from the period of 1933–1945. The change of terminology was noticed in propaganda texts, street graffiti, on internet site pages of *National Resistance* and *Workers' Party*⁴¹.

The Department for Protection of the Constitution of the FRG expressed worries for revival of revisionist propaganda. According to the opinions of the BfV experts, ultra-right-wing revisionists are trying to manipulate the understanding of historical processes, but in fact are constrainedly directing the attention towards the assumed, the positive accomplishments of the Third Reich⁴². At the same time with the books and magazines, for these purposes are also used electronic communication forms such as internet, but also the propaganda material in the form of calendars and posters.

Extreme right-wing point of views can today be found even in legally published literary works. During 2010, publishing house *Grabert-Verlag* printed fourth tome of the book "Big switch: amendments for contemporary history" («Der Große Wendig: Richtigstellungen zur Zeitgeschichte»), in which certain author's points of view were marked by the officials of the MIA in FRG as revisionist and encouraging of the spreading of ultra-right-wing influence⁴³. In this group is also the *Arndt-Verlag* publishing house, and also the Free publications Society («Gesellschaft für freie Publizistik», GfP), which was formed in 1960. Based on the insight into previously mentioned writings, MIF of the FRG today does not count

40 Verfassungsschutzbericht 2010. Berlin, 2010. p. 107.

41 EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report (TE-SAT) 2010. Europol, Hague, 2010. p. 39.

42 Verfassungsschutzbericht 2010, Berlin, 2010. p. 96.

43 Verfassungsschutzbericht 2010, Berlin, 2010. p. 99.

as propaganda materials only books, photographs and video production with right-wing extremist content, but also the products such as badges or ornaments with suitable displays⁴⁴.

German and Norwegian experience also testifies of serious spreading of anti-Semitism propaganda in the EU, of which one course is called “anti-Zionist anti-Semitism“. British specialist in the field of FMI Yvonne Jewkes states that in the entire series of FMI in the Great Britain an understanding of so-called “British way of life” took roots, within which conservative and ultra-conservative ideology are counted in⁴⁵.

In that way, we can talk of the fact that the extreme right-wing influence in the EU is motivated not only by glorifying terrorist attacks, but thanks to suppleness of the state institutions. When all summarized, we can ascertain that main two communication channels of the extreme right-wingers that were actual during the previous years – internet and WPM scene – are still continuing to be used with a goal of spreading the neo-Nazis idea.

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DESNIČARSKI EKSTREMIZAM I TERORIZAM NA PROSTORU EU: OD “ULIČNIH BORACA” DO “NACIONALSOCIJALISTIČKOG PODZEMLJA”

Apstrakt

U radu se elaboriraju savremeni oblici ekstremne desnice na prostoru EU, sa posebnim osvrtom na desničarske terorističke aktivnosti. Autor je obratio značajnu pažnju na komunikacijske aspekte delovanja savremene ekstremne desnice kroz komparativnu analizu medijskog prostora EU. Cilj rada je da ispita uzroke i konsenkvence savremene evropske ekstremne desnice, kao i posledice njenog delovanja. Objašnjena je ideologija neonacizma u okviru čega je autor pronalazio sličnosti i razlike između starih i novih formi desničarskog ekstremizma. Autor zaključuje kako dva glavna kanala komuniciranja ekstremnih desničara koja su bila aktuelna prethodnih godina – internet i WPM scena – i dalje nastavljaju da se koriste sa ciljem širenja neonacističke ideje širom Evrope.

Ključne reči: ekstremna desnica, nacizam, neonacizam, fašizam, komunikacija, nasilje, terorizam, EU.