

## **4. CONCEPTUAL-TERMINOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION – THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL SOCIALISM**

The focus of this text is on so-called neo-Nazism, which label is actually an abbreviated form of national socialism. National socialism has traditionally been used to label the ideology of Nazi Germany, that is to say Hitlerism and has subsequently been applied to actors tied to this ideology. Nevertheless in 20th-century European history, particularly as concerns Czechoslovakia (but countries such as France may be included) we encounter a form of national socialism based upon a different ideology. The identical form of the terms and their similar national and social economic directions can easily result in misinterpretation or outright confusion, whether intentional or unintentional. The paragraphs and sections to follow attempt to clarify these two expressions and draw attention to how they are treated, particularly in the neo-Nazi environment.

### **4.1. German National Socialism**

One possible semantic interpretation of national socialism is in its historical form as a totalitarian ideology, that of Nazism, a leading ideology in the Germany of the 1930s and 1940s, as well as in other states with a German population and states that collaborated with Germany in that era. "Hitlerism" and "German National Socialism" are also used as terms. Nazism is defined on the basis of these characteristic features: anti-liberalism, antidemocratism, anticommunism, the leadership principle, nationalism, racism and anti-semitism. It is an ideology based upon a rejection of the principle of equality as one of the fundamental principles of a democratic system, sanctioning the rights and equal status of only a particular segment of society which is accorded a higher value than the rest of society (whose members are seen as subordinate). The superior, advantaged seg-

ment of society was composed of members of the Aryan (German) race.<sup>3</sup>

Nazism is defined to be an ideology which declares a natural, irreversible, biologically predetermined inequality among people. Adolf Hitler was convinced that humanity is divided into individual races whose contributions and importance are gradated. He considered the white race – the Aryan race – to be the most mature, predetermined to survive at the expense of the other races. The antithesis of the Aryan race and synonymous with racial impurity for Hitler were the Jews, whom he perceived as a deadly threat.<sup>4</sup>

The nation was regarded as a living organism, surpassing the individuals who compose it. One's own interests had to be completely subjugated to those of the nation, while the interests of the nation, according to the ideologues, were deducible from natural law (Spis 1T 81/2011). This type of national socialism revered combat and violence as unavoidable necessities for achieving lebensraum for the nation. Liberalism, capitalism, democracy and parliamentarianism were perceived as Jewish constructs used to rule the world.

The practical steps characteristic of national socialism were derived from this theoretical basis. They include constant incitement to hatred and resentment against groups that underwent organized pogroms (*ibid.*).

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<sup>3</sup> The racism inherent in Nazi ideology relied upon a number of theoretical and quasi-scientific writings (due to which it is also labelled scientific racism). These included the Essay on Inequality of Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau, whose thesis was that mixing the blood of the creators of the ancient Greek civilizations with the blood of lower races would cause the fall of civilization. As the most perfect race, Gobineau chose the Aryan race. Another source was Robert Knox's Human Races, which attempts to give evidence of the inferiority of the Jewish people. Hitler was also significantly influenced by Houston Steward Chamberlain's The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century in which he reacts to Gobineau by rejecting the inevitability of the process of decline. Chamberlain maintains that adhering to a strict policy of racial hygiene and tough racial policies, blood may be cleaned (Zeman 2009: 18–19).

<sup>4</sup> Anti-Semitism is defined as hatred, intolerance and prejudice against Jews as an ethnic and religious group (Zeman 2009: 14).

## 4.2. Neo-Nazism

Neo-Nazism, in the most general sense of the word, may be defined as a political form or activity with substantial ties to the heritage of the historical German national socialism of the late 20th century and collaborating movements and regimes. Contemporary neo-Nazis may abandon some historical dogmas or side with faction streams of the historical Nazism; however, their basic ties of identity remain intact (Camus 2012: 231; Mareš 2005: 132–133).

Because of its Nazi roots, the following basic characteristic elements hold true also for neo-Nazism: a negative attitude toward democracy, liberalism, capitalism<sup>5</sup>, communism<sup>6</sup>, a positive attitude to nationalism and racism, anti-Semitism and the equally important leadership principle. Racism is related to social Darwinism.<sup>7</sup> Anti-Semitism forms the basis for negationism, the revision of history concerning the Jewish people. It involves the so-called Auschwitz Lie, denying the existence of the gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau or at least reducing the number of those killed.

But it is maintained that the white race – the Aryan race – is still the strongest and most developed. In case of neo-Nazism, there has been, at least in a certain section of the movement, a shift away from biological racism to cultural racism, which, at least rhetorically<sup>8</sup> abandons the notions of superiority and subordination, replacing them with incompatibility – incompatibility of cultures and religious customs (Bastl, Mareš, Smolík, Vejvodová 2011: 174). In spite of this, foreigners continue to be perceived as parasites in neo-Nazi discourse. See the comment by Tomáš Vandas, Chairman of the Workers' Party (which no longer exists) in relation to events in Janov in November 2008: "We

<sup>5</sup> Capitalism and liberalism are perceived as forces and ideologies destroying identity and uprooting individuals. National socialism, in contrast, is built upon the community (albeit a community of purely Aryan individuals). Capitalism was taken up as a theme in neo-Nazism relatively recently. It worked its way into the agenda together with autonomous nationalism (see Section 7.1.).

<sup>6</sup> This feature is typical particularly for neo-Nazis in countries which have had historical experience with a communist government.

<sup>7</sup> It applies Darwin's theory of natural selection and survival of the fittest to human society.

<sup>8</sup> The experience with Nazi Germany forces racists to avoid biological racism (at least in the public space where there is a danger of prosecution).

want our country clean, white, without parasites and other vermin” (iDnes.cz 2008). In relation to racial concepts, the concept of multiculturalism is absolutely rejected for wiping away differences between races and ethnicities and thereby making them weak.

Neo-Nazism must be understood to be a term which particularly serves for labelling the phenomenon in question from the exterior because neo-Nazis, in most cases, do not use it to label themselves. They usually call themselves Czech national socialists or nationalists. In contrast, Alexander Häusler indicates that some German neo-Nazis, particularly Autonomous Nationalists, wish to return to the original ideological roots. In their rhetoric, some German neo-Nazis emphasize the Nazi roots of their ideological content and are not afraid to call themselves neo-Nazis (Interview with Alexander Häusler, 25/3/2011). A similar development is also present in Italy, where some groups actually openly declares their allegiance to Italian Fascism and call themselves neo-Fascists (see Section 7.2. on CasaPound). Nevertheless, some young activists call themselves neo-Nazis as a result of the influence of the predominant social/media discourse.

In conceptualization terms from a political science standpoint, neo-Nazism is a political movement consisting of various organizational forms (parties, interest groups, media, militant structures, a subcultural youth environment) which opposes existing democratic regimes. In various countries, neo-Nazism approaches individual models of the movement defined by Dieter Rucht (Rucht 1996: 188), i.e., the “grass-roots” model (free, informal decentralized structure, e.g., neo-Nazis in the USA), interest group model (formal organization, effort to influence politics via, e.g., lobbying, which may be the case of neo-Nazis in some Latin American countries) and a party-oriented model (formal organization, taking part in the election process and party politics, which from a particular viewpoint may be true for Saxony and NPD (Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands) even though other less formal structures are also noticeable here.

A number of neo-Nazis also perceive themselves to be part of the transnational neo-Nazi movement, i.e., part of a much larger, more complex whole than the movement on the national level. However, so far, most organizational forms of this collaboration have shown a rather low level of formalization and consistency, i.e., international neo-Nazi structures have been very free structurally and specific or-

ganizations have usually not existed for a long period of time. Due to a high degree of looseness and the absence of a leader, the transnational movement has to a large extent been based upon a subjective feeling of belonging and solidarity among individual neo-Nazis and their cells on the local and national levels to entities abroad. Exceptions, however, exist. An example would be the Blood and Honour network, which has been operating for more than twenty years. On the other hand, ties between neo-Nazi structures in a number of countries have enjoyed a long tradition and the collaboration has been reinforced by the current globalization and pan-Aryan ethos (Grumke 2009: 22–23).

Identification and clear definition of the neo-Nazi spectrum is relatively easy in countries and for nations in which national socialism created a dominant stream of right-wing extremism in the 1920s through the 1940s (Germany, a section of Scandinavia, the Netherlands). To define neo-Nazism in countries with a strong tradition of a non-Nazi or even anti-Nazi extreme right wing (which is also true in Czech areas), including countries with Fascism or an authoritarian movement (Italy, Slovakia) or a regime collaborating with Nazi Germany (Spain, Croatia) as the dominant historical expression of the extreme right wing may be difficult. Sometimes the line between these spectra is rather thin. This holds true also for those countries in which the original Fascist movement was transformed into a collaborating movement or a political regime (Slovakia). Researchers usually classify neo-Nazism as right-wing extremism<sup>9</sup> (Backes 2006: 228).

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<sup>9</sup> According to Uwe Backes and Eckhard Jesse, political extremism represents the antithesis of a democratic constitutional state. It rejects the constitutional state and its basic values and rules (in particular multipartism, pluralism and the existence of interest groups). They define right-wing extremism as the democratic basis of human equality, negating movements which deny liberal and democratic forces and their subsequent product – the democratic constitutional state. In place of a state in which all members have identical political rights, political organization should be instituted on the basis of the inequality of people in terms of national, ethnic or race affiliation (Backes, Jesse 1993: 40). In the mid-1990s, Norbert Bobbio defined right-wing extremism along two axes: freedom and equality, where right-wing extremism is characterized as an extreme “anti-liberalism” position on the freedom axis and sits at the extreme position of “anti-egalitarianism” on the equality axis. Backes transforms the freedom axis into an axis of constitutionalism and replaces anti-liberalism with “totalitarianism” (Backes 2010: 172–187). Lee McGowan (2004: 24) adds that only some right-wing supporters, the neo-Nazis, endeavour for the total transformation of the political system. The anti-democracy element represents the key feature which gives rise to the theoretical border between

Czech neo-Nazis suffer to some extent from the lack of an important Czech tradition of historical Nazism and collaboration. They are also confronted with the anti-Nazi tradition of the dominant social powers in the country throughout its modern history and the specific heritage of displacement or expulsion of the German population from Czechoslovakia post-World War II. Another partial influence is the anti-Slavic, and particularly anti-Czech, manifestations of historical Nazism.

Contemporary neo-Nazis therefore try to at least find fragmentary historical elements that would justify their current attitudes. They set themselves apart from the prevailing interpretations of Czech history and the Czech legal basis, seek their roots instead in German National Socialism and the Henlein movement, or abandon the quest for a historically-based self-conception in favour of a focus on the present and future of pan-Arian neo-Nazi collaboration.

For some modern-day neo-Nazis, the time during which the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was in existence presents a quasi-tradition of historical collaboration between Czech and German Nazis.

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that which is extreme and that which is democratic and potentially also radical. Mudde defines nationalism, chauvinism, xenophobia and the need for a strong state (law and order), but it is only anti-democracy which shows extremism (Mudde 2000a: 5; Mudde 2010). Based upon Heitmeyer (2003), Caiani, della Porta and Wagemann (2012) summarize the definition of right-wing extremism based upon two elements: 1) an ideology of inequality in the form of extreme nationalism, a racist approach and a totalitarian outlook on the law and 2) the acceptance of violence to various degrees. They also say both elements are strongly interconnected, because humiliating opponents and enemies and professing an ideology of inequality naturally tend to the acceptance and justification of violence. The ideological features of right-wing extremism therefore include anti-democracy and anti-constitutionality (demonstrated as a rejection of the basic values, procedures and institutions of a democratic state), the rejection of liberalism and egalitarianism (rejecting the universal equality of all people), xenophobia, ethnic nationalism and chauvinism and authoritarianism (law and order). Caiani, della Porta and Wagemann add the entirely novel element *anti-system populism*. Within an economic concept built upon protectionism and chauvinism, immigrants are perceived as a cultural threat which increases crime levels and impacts safety. They are also defined as a threat in terms of taking resources away from the nation within whose borders they are living, in terms of the houses in which they live and the jobs they do, all at the expense of the original nation (Caiani, della Porta and Wagemann 2012: 5–6).

Those whom these designations concern, reject a similar classification (right-wing, left-wing, democratic centre, extremism, etc.) and claim all such classifications only divide society (based upon ideology, class, etc.) whereas they strive to unify society and nation (Hainsworth 2008: 5–7).

In that era, some individuals collaborated with the Germans because they were motivated by a positive relationship to them and an effort to help to establish a right-wing totalitarian regime. They are less likely to admit, though, that the Nazis did not consider their Czech collaborators trustworthy equals, whether for reasons of race or because they were aware of the pan-Slavic, anti-German ideas circulating during the First Republic.

Foreign neo-Nazi entities often celebrate the “common shedding of blood by the ancestors” who fought for Germany during World War II. In this, too, Czech neo-Nazis find themselves wanting. Collaborating national socialists and fascists in the country were not allowed to create an effective military unit, unlike in other nations, even though they repeatedly asked to do so. The St. Wenceslav Volunteer Company, active at the end of the war, became a symbol of embarrassment rather than of common struggle (Maršálek 2002: 131–132), in spite of the fact that present-day Czech neo-Nazis give it great significance (Skrůžný 2006).

Some Czech neo-Nazis, whose thinking is circumscribed by certain historical and strategic dimensions, build upon the staunchly loyal pro-Germanic lineage of historical collaboration with their intent to build Czech statehood along the lines of the German Empire. There is willingness to withdraw from the Sudetenland, or at least to provide compensation to the expelled Sudeten Germans. Some neo-Nazis active within the CR even make reference to the dominant source of traditions – the Sudeten Nazi movement (especially those with German ancestors). They build upon the original German concept of the German as “Übermensch” and promote the subordination of Czechs to Germans (Mareš 2009: 28).

Other neo-Nazis, the majority of Czech neo-Nazis, are oriented toward pan-Aryanism and are aware of their Czech identity. The Czechs (or Moravians and Salisians) are perceived to make up a constituent European and Aryan nation on an equal level. They eschew some historical dogmas on Germanic superiority in favour of contemporary forms of collaboration (Mareš 2005: 147). The Czech neo-Nazi movement is perceived as part of the National-Socialist international movement of white Aryans (Rataj 2006: 176–179) and strives for an independent, National-Socialist Czech-Moravian state within the New European Order (Mareš 2009: 28).

However, it must be pointed out that only some neo-Nazis hold deeper ideological convictions and these are ordinarily part of an elite. Most persons endorsing neo-Nazism only accept the symbolic image and the basic racist phraseology of Nazi and neo-Nazi exemplars, tying their own experiences and opinions to them. Their conviction thus does not represent a consistent ideological element.

In light of the above, contemporary neo-Nazism in the CR may be divided into:

1. traditionalist neo-Nazism, which comes quite close to the ideas of historical Nazism;
2. modern “White Power” neo-Nazism, which works with pan-Aryan notions of equal nations within “white civilisation”;
3. “primitive” neo-Nazism, characterised by adopting Nazi symbolism and vulgar racism without any deeper ideological justification (Mareš, Vejvodová 2011: 77).

In the CR, neo-Nazism is understood to be part of the far right spectrum<sup>10</sup> in addition to that, there is Czech integral nationalism<sup>11</sup> which is based upon the anti-Pan-Germanic tradition in Czech history. Charvát (2007: 69) uses their ideological bases to break the far right into national populists, neo-Fascists and neo-Nazis. But he himself notes that the three groups are impossible to separate clearly, since a number of their characteristics and strategies overlap. A terminological issue to do with clarifying the individual ‘neo’ terms thus arises in conjunction with research into extremism.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> According to Cas Mudde, the far right spectrum is generally characterised by nationalism, exclusionism, xenophobia, demands for a strong state (law and order), welfare chauvinism, traditional morality, and, in some cases, even revisionism (Mudde 2000: 169–176).

<sup>11</sup> In this sense nationalism is a specific, organizationally defined extreme right movement. But it should be noted that nationalism as a political attitude or concept is also utilized by various other movements in the CR (including some in the left-wing).

<sup>12</sup> Neofascism is used to designate groups which employ the historical roots of Mussolini’s fascism and its clones in the narrow sense (Bötticher, Mareš 2012: 304). The wider sense of the term fascism (including its newer forms) is used to describe various forms of nationalism (Griffin 2006). It should be noted that some figures in the contemporary discussion of extremism employ the concept of fascism as an alternative for right-wing extremism, since they reject any understanding of extremism as a catchall term for



### 4.3. Czech National Socialism

The second conceptualization of national socialism is tied directly to Czechoslovakia. As an ideology, it also embraces both nationalism and socialism. The tradition of national socialism in the area of the modern-day Czech Republic stretches back to the 19th century and has been a factor in the country's politics ever since. In April 1898, the National Socialist Party (Národně Sociální Strana) was established in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Upper and Lower Austria. At the third party congress in 1902, the name Česká Strana Národně Sociální (Czech National Social Party) was adopted (Harna 2004a: 398). The party workers with a nationalist orientation came into being in direct reaction to the internationalist tendencies of the Social Democrats, demanding equal status for Czechs. Some members took a hard line against their German fellow citizens. Patriotism and national pride were typical. Within the social democratic movement, there was a growing need to incorporate national and social demands in a coherent system. The origin of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (Československá Sociálně Demokratická Strana Dělnická) could be seen as an attempt to do so

nondemocratic right wing, left wing and religious movements (Ferguson 2011: 32–36). In such a case the neo-fascism term also includes neo-Nazis.

In the case of historical forms of totalitarian ideologies – Nazism and fascism – the common features include anti-communism, anti-liberalism, anti-democratism, the leadership principle and nationalism. Both ideologies defend racism. Well fascism is based more strongly upon nationalism, the idea of a strong state and the demand that society be organized along corporatist lines, the issue of race lies more in the forefront for Nazism, as does pronounced anti-Semitism (Charvát 2007: 70; Smolík, Vejvodová 2010: 52).

Modern *neo-* forms of these ideologies have a lot in common and complement one another in a number of ways, permitting substantial ideological permeability and collaboration. The characteristics they share include authoritarianism, an emphasis on the strong leadership principle, anti-communism, anticapitalism, racism and xenophobia. The relationship between them is robust, since both of forms of ideology has been forged from a common basis, one entailing an authoritarian government reigning over a homogeneous entity (community). It is in the understanding of that homogeneous entity, along with the attitude to nationalism, that the fundamental distinction between neofascism and neo-Nazism arises. Neofascism bases itself upon a conservative ideology and nationalism. It thus calls for a strong state based on ethnic homogeneity. Neo-Nazism does not promote nationalism to any significant extent and favours the *White Power* concept (i.e., pan-Aryan racism). It considers nationalism and obstacle in the unification of the white race. But this barrier between the *neo-* forms is not insuperable (Smolík, Vejvodová 2010: 52–53).

within the framework of Austrian social democracy. But this solution was unsatisfactory. Austrian social democracy failed to reflect issues specific to its ethnically differentiated followers (*ibid.*: 396).

The Czech National Social Party took a degree of risk that it would transition into an extremist party, but successfully dodged that fate. Primary emphasis was given to the social level. The “national” referred to the framing of the party within the heterogeneous empire. “National” may also be interpreted as meaning “anti-German”.

During the first republic, the entity was called Československá Strana Národně Socialistická (Czechoslovak National Socialist Party) (between 1918–1926 it was briefly called the Czechoslovak Socialist Party) and its chief representatives included V. Klofáč, E. Beneš, and J. Stříbrný (Balík, Holzer, Hloušek, Šedo 2003: 74). The party program laid great emphasis on solutions for social issues. It was influenced by the broad spectrum of opinion characteristic of its founders. This encompassed both the demands of realists favouring the idea of a Czech socialism in that era, as well as those close to social democracy who held nationalist leanings. Harna (2004b: 765) labels the program clearly socialist. Under some formulations, the program came close to accepting the theory of class structure of society. But the authors simultaneously criticize the Marxists for portraying socialism in a simplistic light only involving the class struggle. The national socialists thus addressed not merely a single social class but the entire society of the nation. The exploited were viewed as all those dominated by capitalism. As a term, “national” continued to connote “anti-German”.

In the economic arena, the program required the reconstruction of capitalist society into a socialist society. This was to culminate in the elimination of private ownership of the means of production (*ibid.*: 766). The party demanded the elimination of the wage system, as well as separating the state political apparatus from the economic apparatus, thereby setting itself up in opposition to state socialism. The nation was to entrust the nationalized means of production to the actual manufacturers or the unions. If the state wound up just administering an enterprise, its employees should nevertheless be granted the right to take part in administrative decisions and share in net profits, etc. (Broklová 1992: 94).

In the latter half of the 1920s, convergence with social democracy was noticeable, as was the weakening of nationalism within the party.

In the 1930s, a liberal shift even took place which resulted in a refusal to limit individual freedoms. The onset of socialism that provided a new theme for the party – defence of the state and nation.

After 1945, the renewed party changed its name to Czechoslovak Socialist Party in 1948 and, as part of the National Front, committed itself to the building of socialism (Balík, Holzer, Hloušek, Šedo 2003: 74). Post-1989, several entities appeared wishing to build upon this national socialism, e.g., Česká Strana Národně Socialistická (Czech National Socialist Party). The new party of Jiří Paroubek, Národní Socialisté (National Socialists) – LEV 21 (NS-LEV 21) also refers to itself as the party of national socialists. The party contrasts itself from the German breed of national socialism when it comes to issues related to minorities and migration. NS-LEV 21 asserts the Roma nationality fortified at the same time the Roma people's historical affiliation with the Czech Republic is stressed. "There is no mention in the syllabus of the characteristics of this ethnic group; children do not learn about the history of the Roma people in the CR and in Europe. These basic inadequacies form of a breeding ground that allows prejudice to persist on both sides." (NS-LEV 21 2011a)

In terms of employment support, NS-LEV 21 goes so far as to voice support for targeted immigration from Southeastern and Eastern Europe. "Historically, this country has been part of the Central European region, with strong ties to Southeastern and Eastern Europe. The similar nature of inhabitants of the Slavic countries may be used to support competitiveness and quality of the job market, predicated upon acceptance of the cultural and social environment of the Czech Republic. (...) The National Socialists believe that targeted immigration may contribute to the cosmopolitan character of society and, at the same time, enrich our cultural and economic life and avert potential future problems rooted in multiculturalism faced by some Western European countries." (NS-LEV 21 2011b)

This variety of national socialism in its historic form contains a number of problematic elements as relates to democracy, including calling for the establishment of a socialist regime in the new Czechoslovakia, eliminating private ownership and creating a classless society and strong state. But it differs from the German form especially in the absence of xenophobia and racism characteristic of it. Czechoslovak national socialism was nationalistic and anti-German, but it was not racist or intolerant and nationalism was not a core element.

#### 4.4. Potential Confusion?

To distinguish between the two, both ideologies employ “national socialism” for the totalitarian ideology and “Czechoslovak national socialism” for the political stream of then-Czechoslovakia. But this is not set in concrete and rather functions on the basis of custom. As a result, some Czech neo-Nazis – in an effort to gain acceptance by the public – argue that the national socialism they are talking about is based upon the Czechoslovak national socialism of the First Republic. Faced with state suppression of the movement, neo-Nazis intentionally do not specify national socialism during the course of public actions.

But looking at the Workers’ Party (DS) at the time it started to abandon radicalism and gradually shift beyond the borders of what is constitutional toward neo-Nazism, it is clear that its national socialism was built upon xenophobia, chauvinism, rejection of the principle of equality and the strict refusal of any form of immigration. Although it referred to the national socialist heritage of the Czech lineage, from Václav Klobučák to Milada Horáková (Mayer, Odehnal 2010: 152) it is not present anywhere in its program; to the contrary, the group’s xenophobic, racist attacks reveal this was used only as a mask.

DS pronounced that foreigners were taking work from Czechs and lowering wage levels of Czech employees. *Dělnické Listy*, the party organ, carried opinions such as the following: “Immigrants bring nothing but backwardness to European civilisation (...) Hundreds of years ago we stood with a sword in our hands on the border and repelled raids by wild Avars, Tartars and expansionist Turks who threatened European nations with destruction. By contrast, today’s rules invite these nomads to our country with open arms. Thousands of years ago, they knew what danger from the steppes and savage mountains meant” (Dub 2005; Mareš, Vejvodová 2010: 51).

DS rejected liberalism and capitalism, as well as communism. The aim was to create a strong state functioning on the basis of social justice and the ethnic principle. It demanded that the constitution of the Czech Republic be expanded to include the determination of inhabitants’ nationality, with confirmation of this on the birth certificates and on IDs, something in breach of the basic principle of democracy – the fundamental equality of people. All the benefits brought by the national economy were to solely target the Czech nationality, i.e., *welfare state*.

National belongingness was perceived in the context of ethnicity. The state and nation are one and the same. People become members of the nation by birthright, not by obtaining nationality. Ethnic nationalism builds upon blood ties, not ties to the earth. Attention has been called to this distinction in the course of classifying the entire extreme right wing, which entails distinguishing between state and ethnic nationalism (for more see Mudde 2007).

The Workers' Party also demanded illegal immigrants be denounced otherwise "the Czech Republic will become a sewer of Europe and a country full of immigrants from the countries of the former Soviet Union, the Balkans, Asia, the Far East, etc." (24 demands of the Workers' Party, undated). Immigration camps and all immigrant support were to be abolished. Only persons fulfilling moral and professional qualities who are likely to comply and fully assimilate into the majority society were to receive a permit to stay. Muslims coming to Europe are labelled a "hotbed of forces endangering civilization, culture and lifestyle" (Mareš, Vejvodová 2010: 52; Vejvodová 2005: 22). Štěpánek, the Vice-Chairman of the Workers' Party, continues in the same vein as *Dělnické listy*, warning against: "the beginning of the end of European civilization, which will be smashed by an invasion of savages who won't be capable of utilizing the achievements of our civilization and will certainly degrade it to their level which, for some African inhabitants corresponds to that of mammoth hunters" (Štěpánek 2006).

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## 5. METHODOLOGY

The problem area noted above will be investigated using an analytical-descriptive framework. *Protest Event Analysis* (PEA) was selected as an apt tool for the task. It is a quantitative tool commonly used to ascertain the fundamental characteristics of protests and collective actions. *Content analysis* will also be utilized to examine websites. Specifically, this tool, which is both qualitative and quantitative, will help us investigate transnational framing by allowing us to research the themes various entities have employed to individuate themselves and secure their own identity within the European neo-Nazi movement. The framing and definition of Czech neo-Nazis will also be explored using protest event analysis. This will enable us to pursue the transnational themes made use of in individual actions, along with pertinent definitions of identity.

Protest Event Analysis allows the features of these actions to be systematically investigated. With its use, information may be obtained on the number and character of those taking part in an action, the action venue, the demands being made, objective, target of the demands, type of action and methods employed. In addition, data may be recorded as to whether violence took place or other variables typical in the study of neo-Nazism were present, for example whether the police got involved.

To acquire the requisite data, three sources common to this type of research were employed. Triangulation of sources reinforces data validity. The sources were:<sup>13</sup>

- 1) The activist calendar – information obtained from Czech neo-Nazi websites on invitations to demonstrations, marches, concerts and other protest actions commonly published along with reports from these actions.
- 2) A media database – the Anopress was used because it also records local events, while the ČTK database contains only large, significant events held by neo-Nazis. In the case of the ČTK database, significant distortion would thus occur due to the selective selection of this provider in terms of which actions it covers and which

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<sup>13</sup> The triangulation of sources reinforces data validity.

it does not. A number of studies point to this distortion problem (Imig, Tarrow 1999: 132). For this reason, too, it is recommended that data be obtained from several sources.

- 3) The database of the Unit for Combating Organized Crime (UOOZ) – among other things, this source will aid in minimizing the distortion arising from the fact that neo-Nazis do not provide information about some actions and some are not included in the media database. As part of its responsibilities, the Unit for Combating Organized Crime focuses on the following Czech neo-Nazi activities, including those directed abroad or possessing an international dimension of some kind.

### ***Entities Researched:***

**Odpor** ([www.odpor.org](http://www.odpor.org), [www.svobodnyodpor.info](http://www.svobodnyodpor.info))

**Autonomní Nacionalisté** ([www.nacionaliste.com](http://www.nacionaliste.com))

**Svobodná Mládež** ([www.svobodnamladez.org](http://www.svobodnamladez.org))

**Radical Boys Brůx** ([www.radicalboys-brux.com](http://www.radicalboys-brux.com),  
[www.radical.boys.com](http://www.radical.boys.com))

**Revolta.Info** ([www.revolta114.blogspot.cz](http://www.revolta114.blogspot.cz))

**Dělnická Strana** ([www.delnicka-strana.cz](http://www.delnicka-strana.cz))

**Dělnická Strana Sociální Spravedlnosti** ([www.dsss.cz](http://www.dsss.cz))

These are Czech entities active in the neo-Nazi environment. The selection was made upon the basis of prior research on contemporary Czech neo-Nazism (Zeman 2009; Bastl, Mareš, Smolík, Vejvodová 2011; Mareš et al. 2011). These entities correspond to the definition of neo-Nazism given in these papers (see Section 3.2). All the entities selected were active during the research period.

Only Dělnická Strana cannot be currently labelled neo-Nazi given the party program and activities. It was nevertheless included in the entities to be investigated because, although it does not promote neo-Nazi ideas openly, the party is the driving force for the entire extreme right in the Czech Republic and provides space for individual neo-Nazis who are party members to realize themselves, creating a reciprocal influence on the party.

During the research period, there was a women's offshoot of Odpor in existence called Resistance Women Unity. But the group's



website has been taken down and there is no archived version available. Blood and Honour Division Bohemia was excluded, as well, because it is impossible to identify the dates when individual contributions were first put up on its website. But this poses no threat to the research in any way, since the number of articles on the group's website was small.

The analysis focuses on protest actions taking place between 2007 and 2012. This period was selected based upon prior research findings that reveal the neo-Nazi movement was entering public space as of 2007, certainly by 2008. There was a 44% year-on-year increase in actions carried out by the extreme right wing as a whole from 2007 to 2008. (Figures specific to neo-Nazi activities are not available, but reliance may be placed upon the high degree of interconnectedness between the neo-Nazi movement and other entities such as *Dělnická Strana*). In 2009, public actions increased almost 100% (Bastl, Mareš, Smolík, Vejvodová 2011: 170).

Before carrying out a protest event analysis, protest events must first be defined. The ordinary definition of a protest event is a gathering of at least three persons taking place in a public area to articulate certain demands. These requests target an institution or collective actor.

Before carrying out a protest event search, a list of keywords must be prepared for use, especially for searching the media database. To do so, words commonly used by the media in providing information on events organized by neo-Nazis are included in the list: demonstration, concert<sup>14</sup>, gathering, march, festival, event, conflict, get-together, meeting and protest. These words were searched in combination with others such as neo-Nazis, radicals and extremists<sup>15</sup>. The following syntax was used for searches made using the Anopress database:

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<sup>14</sup> All concerts are not ordinarily consider protest actions bearing a message, they were included in this analysis because concerts are a traditional activity within the neo-Nazi environment which serve to reinforce identity and carry a message inside the movement.

<sup>15</sup> These are the terms used by the media in providing information about neo-Nazi activities. Although the terms differ in meaning and the focus of this paper is exclusively on the neo-Nazi movement, this selection of keywords was made because they are those journalists commonly use interchangeably.

ANY of:

*demonstrace (demonstration) or koncert (concert) or shromáždění (rally) or pochod (march) or festival (festival) or akce (action) or konflikt (conflict) or setkání (encounter) or meeting or protest (protest)*

AND

At least one of:

*radicals or extremists or neo-Nazis*

With NONE of:

*al-kaida or al-kajda or Somalia or Iraq or Afghanistan<sup>16</sup>*

On this basis, Anopress returned a total of 22,486 references for the research period. These were read and coded manually using the statistical software SPSS by the author. A reliability test for cases in which a team of coders selects events and codes them was thus unneeded. Duplicates were omitted. Those articles with the highest information value were used in the protest event analysis. The unit of analysis is thus the event, rather than the article describing it.

For the activist calendar, the author perused invitations to events and reports made on these events on websites of the entities being monitored and coded them manually. In the case of the third source, the database for the Unit for Combating Organized Crime, a data request was sent to the Unit and provided by employees there. Once again, the author manually coded the data. Duplicates from all three sources were discarded, leaving only data with the highest information value for use.

All events included in the protest event analysis met the basic criterion of being transnational in scope, i.e., that the event fulfilled one of the following basic conditions:

1. The event took place in the CR with international participation.
2. The event took place in the CR minus international participation but was framed by a transnational theme ( related to the international environment or involving a transnational conception of the movement).
3. The event took place abroad with the presence of Czech neo-Nazis.

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<sup>16</sup> It was evident in practice that the results are greatly impacted by articles written on religious radicals from the Middle East. For this reason, these words were selected to provide the broadest possible filter.

The following characteristics (variables) were tracked for individual events:

- organizer
- venue
- number of participants
- origin (nationality) of participants
- demands made during the event (demands were coded to contextualize them within the results of the framing analysis, see below)
- target of the demand
- type of event
- presence of violence
- presence of police.<sup>17</sup>

The framing of project neo-Nazi movement in the context of European neo-Nazism was investigated via content analysis of the individual websites belonging to the entities in question. Content analysis is used to search out and demonstrate the meaning of written and visual sources by systematically classifying content into predefined categories (Payne, Payne 2004: 51–54). This is a conventional method for investigating content and presents a technique capable of objectively, systematically and quantitatively describing the manifest content of communication (Cf. Bryman 2001). Holsti (according to Bryman 2001) indicates that “communication” has now been replaced by the broader term “message/mission”. We consider the operationalization of the individual research steps objective. By systematic we mean processing the entire content in a unified manner to achieve reproduceable and verifiable results. By quantitative, we understand a statistical summary noting the frequency at which individual values occur. In the present research, however, the method is also used in a qualitative manner and the individual missions (themes) are analyzed in greater depth. Thus not only theme occurrence is ascertained, content is, as well, and is interpreted.

Qualitative content analysis is sometimes described as drawing conclusions based upon the discovery or lack thereof of particular textual attributes bearing clues to specific attitudes, values and norms

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<sup>17</sup> The coding table and variations of variables used in processing in SPSS are given in Annex 1.

of particular speakers at a single moment of time. Hence qualitative content analysis gives up on calculating results in favour of studying the meanings implicit in the communications investigated.

Recent content analysis has also expanded into exploring the internet in the form of *web-based content analysis*. With it have come new means of codification to enable researchers to deal with images and other symbols (Cf. Kim, Kuljis 2010). This takes on great significance in the study of right-wing extremism, since opportunities to access a number of subcultures and militant groups are highly limited. The virtual activity of these groups and subcultures, in the form of website presentations, blogs and discussion forums, represents a good source for research. Content analysis enables the means of communication and propaganda, the creation of identity, mobilization themes and other factors to be analyzed.

Framing analysis was used in place of defining ideology. Ideology as a concept is highly monolithic and does not allow the examination of ideological variations between individual groups. Ideology lacks any kind of flexibility for capturing varied ideas, activities and events. Framing analysis offers a better approach, one capable of capturing even organizations putting forth distinct, specific themes (Caiani, della Porta and Wagemann 2012: 12–13; Snow, Byrd 2007).

Content analysis of the transnational frame of Czech neo-Nazis was used to explore all texts (usually appearing in an “Articles” section) on websites of the entities corresponding to those in the protest event analysis which took place during the identical period, i.e., 2007–2012, seeking references to all themes in the European neo-Nazi movement frame. This content analysis was, once again, conducted by the author. All texts were progressively examined, with the themes and manner of their presentation manually recorded. Theme selection is based upon the definition of the main frame of the European neo-Nazi movement (Section 6.2) and the definition of the European “Us vs. Them” neo-Nazi identity (see Section 6.3). The basic themes are as follows: (presuming other themes reflected in the content of the texts will be added to the watchlist):

- National Socialism
- Europe
- white race
- RAHOWA

- multiculturalism
- capitalism
- liberalism
- democracy
- globalization
- anti-semitism
- islamophobia
- immigration and minorities
- homosexuality
- international organisation
- USA.

The following themes arose in the content itself during the course of the content analysis and were added:

- identity movements
- international movement icons
- international solidarity
- European collaboration
- ecology
- Third way
- Christian values
- communism
- autonomous nationalism

Concurrently, in addition to the theme requirement, only texts not focused primarily on domestic issues were included in the analysis. Domestic issues could be raised in the text only as examples in support of the arguments being made. Texts focused on the defined issue in a broader context (not strictly part of the national context) were analysed – e.g., against the background of foreign events or theoretical or polemical texts. The texts had to relate to the international environment, the transnational concept of the movement or transnational themes. Invitations to public events and reports associated with them were also left out of the analysis. These texts were used to analyse protest events.

On the basis of secondary source analysis and the author's prior research in the area, the European neo-Nazism master plan is first laid out, together with the associated definition of European neo-Nazi identity employing the Us vs. Them dichotomy (Chapter 6). Only then

can the content analysis itself and the protest event analysis take place. Following on the theoretical definition of the research, ideological and strategic concepts of a transnational character which are current in the European neo-Nazi environment as well as in the Czech environment are described.

## 6. THE MASTER FRAME OF THE EUROPEAN NEO-NAZI MOVEMENT

As previously reiterated, Della Porta's (2006) study of social movements and transnationalization speaks of a master frame that connects disparate actors in the movement who are remote from each other at the same time it mobilizes others by defining the key problem and its solution, the movement's enemies and allies and presenting shared values and symbols. The positive "Us" framing, focused on defining a common identity, objectives and solutions may be differentiated from the negative "They" frame, which is mostly about identifying the enemy. But at the transnational level, ambiguities may arise in framing the key problem traceable to the differing cultural and social orders and values of the diverse actors involved. For this reason, it is necessary to create a much broader, heterogeneous frame at this level than at the local and national levels (Kolářová: 36–37).

In case of the neo-Nazi movement, the ideology master frame is based upon Aryanism and pan-Europeanism, protection of Europe as a civilisation from inappropriate foreign influences and elements, and protection of the white race: the National-Socialist conception of unified Europe. But this idea of European unification did not originate as a fresh theme in the present-day neo-Nazi movement. Nazis and Fascists had toyed with the idea of a unified Europe, justifying their aggressive policies with the European ideology. This historical context hence brings greater internal legitimacy to the neo-Nazi movement to support its statements, along with a more substantial master frame. In the section to follow, the master frame of European neo-Nazism, including its overlap with the past or historical roots, will be defined in a way that emphasizes its solid, long-term nature. This master frame then serves neo-Nazi movements in the process of framing themselves. It is also possible to compare the extent to which the national neo-Nazi movement accords with the European master frame. Another reason for the master frame's importance in the analysis is that it defines individual themes to be sought in the national framing.

## 6.1. The National-Socialist Conception of a United Europe in the 1930s and 1940s

Hitler's wish that Europe become a single political entity, his attempt to gain support in the occupied countries and key elements of the Nazi philosophy all contributed to pro-European thinking on the part of the Nazis. Hitler believed that this approach would mean fulfilment of the true "European Mission" and said its actions would secure Europe and the world by creating an empire (with the support of his allies Italy and Japan).

The common opinion was that national socialists believed in a national state which was the key entity recognized. But this was not the case. National-socialists hated the idea of small nations or individuals deciding and thinking for themselves. They loved large units and despised pluralism. For them, pluralism always been disorder and chaos, something utterly confused.

Racism, the fundamental feature of national socialism, is a non-national phenomenon. Race extends beyond the boundaries of a nation or state; racial theory has always been defined as being international in nature. It is also apolitical, predicated as it is upon the opinion that political communities and political behaviour are determined by biological forces rather than by free choice or rational action by people (Laughland 2001:30). Racism asserts that human beings are biologically/racially conditioned and that the characteristics of individual ethnicities are foreordained and immutable (Zeman 2009:211).

Werner Daitz, the prominent Nazi economist, attacked the very terms state sovereignty and statehood when, in 1938, he claimed that Nazi thinking in the popular/national manner (*völkisch*, also understood as a racial concept) eschewed the primary role of the state. "If a biological process based upon life once again brings the European family of nations together and requires a certain dismantling of the state sovereignty of individual nations, something which has been overemphasized during the past 400 years of English political and legal philosophy, this necessary dismantling of state sovereignty will be balanced by increased popular/national (*völkisch*) sovereignty." (Laughland 2001: 31) Thinking in the *völkisch* sense was supposed to be perceived clearly as a contrast to liberalism, capitalism and parliamentarism. Daitz considered a nation to be small and selfish compared



to Europe, which was a large common undertaking. He emphasised that common European interests are to be given preference over selfish national interests.

In the pro-Nazi oriented text entitled “German Deeds for Europe” written in 1944 it is stated that even before Bismarck “Europe was painfully falling apart and its states were attacking each other. Its sense of community has long since vanished. Its individual zones developed in precisely defined interest areas huddled together in a confined space. The inhabitants of each zone gazed jealously and distrustfully at those of the others, ambitiously guarding against another zone acquiring an advantageous position. They truly often strove for their own enlargement at the expense of weaker neighbours” (ibid.: 32). Walther Funk, the Nazi Finance Minister, was also in accord with the opinion that common European interests must take precedence over those of the individual countries and that there must be a willingness to subordinate one’s own interests to those of the European Community (ibid.: 33).

The Nazis were convinced that the existence of national states encouraged separation and war in Europe. If this system could be overcome, they saw it leading to the end of European wars. Even Hitler himself, who showed less interest in the European idea than did his Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels or Joachim von Ribbentrop, the Foreign Minister, was of the opinion that the European system based upon independent national states is anarchic. He rejected peaceful competition among nations because he saw it as mutual cheating. In his mind, the system of national states as it existed at that time was based upon greed and was analogous to what one might find between companies. Hitler’s notion of world order hence was based upon the assumption that a new form of power aimed at promoting the new worldview (*Weltanschauung*) must come into being. The rhetoric behind Hitler’s concept of European unification also focused tactically on the fight against organized Marxist power (Ptáčniková 2010).

In August 1941, Hitler and Mussolini issued a joint communiqué in which they stated that the New European Order established after the Axis victory would dismantle the causes of past European wars. In a similar vein, in 1943 Hitler emphasized that the “tangle of small nations” must be liquidated. (Laughland 2001: 34) Only a unified Europe could be sure of being strong and avoid being weakened by internal wars. A unified Europe thus became undeclared objective of the Nazi

campaign across the continent. As early as “Mein Kampf”, Hitler had laid out several ambitions he wished to fulfil. One of these was the unification of all German-speaking nations under a single Empire (Ptáčnicková 2010).

The Nazis were not content with proclaiming a unified Europe with the objective of strengthening it. Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda, took the European question firmly in hand. He devoted a number of speeches, meetings and newspaper articles to it. It filled his texts with slogans such as “New Europe”, “New European Order”, “European Lebensraum”, “Vision of a New Europe”, etc. Meantime, Ribbentrop, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, stressed that the struggle against Bolshevism, which united many nations in Eastern Europe, was proof of an ever-increasing moral unity in Europe under the new order. This interest in “Europe” culminated in autumn of 1942 when the Ministry of Foreign Affairs created a so-called European Committee. In March 1943, formal plans for a European confederation came into being. These plans took the form of constitutional documents and treaties laying out the competencies and structure of the future European confederation. Ribbentrop proposed that all heads of state (Germany, Italy, France, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Serbia, Greece and Spain) be invited to sign the founding document of the confederation. A document was attached to the memorandum discussing the “common fate of European nations” and stating that it was necessary to “ensure no wars ever erupt between them”. It also presumed the elimination of tax barriers among the participating states (Laughland 2001: 46–47).

The entire Nazi European propaganda program was conducted in a nonaggressive manner. Goebbels was not afraid to claim that Germany never intended to promote New European Order by force and that they never wished to suffocate the individual nations. He emphasized that states could join the new Europe on a volunteer basis of their own accord. This saw Germany playing a role in which it fought not for itself, but for the entirety of Europe. Leadership was presented not at all in terms of dominance but as offering external protection and bearing internal responsibility.

In addition to its political dimension aimed not very convincingly at the European confederation, European unification also had an economic dimension. The latter was more sophisticated and based on

sounder argumentation. Laughland (2001) states that the Nazis generally saw development in the direction of larger-scale units as economically inescapable. They held the conviction that state sovereignty was an anachronistic concept for the modern world with its mutually interdependent economies, international transportation and telecommunication. Goebbels, too, was convinced that technology had brought nations closer and rendered borders anachronistic. In his speech entitled “Das Europa der Zukunft” (Europe of the Future), Goebbels maintained that technology had not only brought tribes closer but entire nations on a larger scale than had ever before been thinkable (...) Utilization of this technological success brought continents unavoidably closer. “European nations are ever more clearly aware that a number of our problems are actually just family quarrels, compared to the major issues of relationship that stand between continents and need to be addressed” (ibid.: 39–40).

The Nazis propose that economic integration be utilized after the war’s end to eliminate European particularism. A new, large economic area was to be created where the economy would be able to develop under only basic directives issued by the state. European economic collaboration and national socialism were perceived as approaches that might potentially complement each other and bring about joint benefits. The plans of the new European order began on 22 June 1940, when Göring issued orders which served as the basis for the “Extensive Economic Unification of Europe” or “Central-European Economic Community” project. These orders indicated the introduction of a fixed exchange rate among the currencies of other countries and the reichsmark, along with the elimination of tax barriers in Europe and the creation of a tax-free area. Also called for was greater intervention in business negotiations and relationships with other countries, as well as the protection of agriculture. Subsequently, a plan was drawn up for a future continental economy, including thoughts on potential tax preferences, a tax and monetary union and an economic union (ibid.: 41–42).

The Nazi concept of *Großraumwirtschaft* or the large-scale economy, something Europe was supposed to grow into, was based upon the fact that economic activity and interactions should be primarily limited to a particular area. Werner Daitz maintained that development aimed at *Großraumwirtschaft* was dictated by impersonal factors such as population growth. Population growth was described as a source of tension

between living space and political space. Daitz thought living space to be a higher-level concept than the notion of a territorial state. Because the postwar Versailles system did not reflect this, the territorial units constructed were incompatible with the needs of the economy. Hitler did not concede even to a potential revision of borders to their 1914 configuration. He was convinced that the pre-war borders did not correspond to the needs of the German nation either (Cf. Jäckel 1999; Laughland 2001) Nazis believed that their population did not possess adequate living space and therefore could not adequately develop.

As early as 1936, Hitler told the Reichstag: “How many difficulties mankind and the European nations in particular would avoid if natural, obvious life conditions were respected at a time in which the European living space and economic collaboration are being transformed (...) European nations represent a single family in this world (...) It is not very bright to think that in a house so crowded as Europe, a community of nations could maintain variant legal systems and disparate concepts of law.” (Laughland 2001: 43)

Fulfilling the need for more space was also a prerequisite for monopolist control of the entire European continent, something the Nazis wished to establish. And so the Großraumwirtschaft concept was closely connected with *Lebensraum*, the better known Nazi living space concept. Großraumwirtschaft theorists often clearly state this connection. The specific geographic areas in which the Großraumwirtschaft and the Lebensraum concepts were to be implemented lay from Gibraltar to the Urals and from North Cape to Cyprus. The quest for increased living space, i.e., enlarged territory that would gain more soil, was clearly aimed eastward, to Russia. Hitler unambiguously declared that if Germany were to gain more soil for Europe, this must happen at the expense of Russia, the only country of adequately large size (Jäckel 1999: 34). By contrast to a liberal global economy, Großraumwirtschaft was to give Europe greater independence.

In 1942, the Berlin Union of Industrialists and Businessmen organized a conference entitled “Europäische Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft” (The European Economic Community) at which ministers and leading industrialists spoke. The titles of their speeches bear a striking resemblance to contemporary texts on European integration: The Economic Face of New Europe, European Agriculture, Employment in Europe, Issues of European Transportation, Issues of European Currency, etc. (ibid.: 44).

The following points represent the program of the New Order economic concept accepted more or less by all parties (however, we must still keep in mind that in the concept of the New European Order there are discrepancies caused by varying interpretations and official and unofficial declarations made at that time):

- 1) Application of the economic planning system based upon four-year cycles – the system was to be fully controlled by Germany and gradually expanded across the entire territory controlled by Germany. The system targeted the elimination of unemployment.
- 2) A policy of monetary expansion without inflation – this was also to be introduced throughout the territory controlled by Germany.
- 3) The application of a price control policy intended to limit price fluctuations during monetary expansion.
- 4) Territories controlled by Germany were to maintain their currencies, pegged to the reichsmark.
- 5) Application of a clearing system completely controlled by Berlin.
- 6) Berlin as an international loan centre.
- 7) Each country under Germany's control was to specialize in a particular production segment. This was to lead to the division of production and production efficiency – the liberal concept of comparative advantage functions on an identical principle. This item also relates to an effort to create an economically sufficient unit, the so-called autarchy.
- 8) Agricultural methods were to be modernized to increase production.
- 9) Relationships between the German-controlled territory and the rest of the world were to be regulated by business contracts (Einzig 1941: 1–2).

Nazi Germany's interest in making the Großraumwirtschaft idea a reality and acting in accordance with the Lebensraum concept is also testified to by institutions created expressly for this reason. These included, e.g.,:

- foreign NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers' Party) subsidiaries which were labelled NSDAP-AO (Auslands-Organisation, i.e., foreign organisations) abroad
- foreign SS subsidiaries

- Zentralforschungsinstitut für Nationale Wirtschaftsordnung und Großraumwirtschaft (Central Research Institute for National Economic Order and for Large-Scale Economies)
- Gesellschaft für Europäische Wirtschaftsplanung und Großraumwirtschaft (European Society for Economic Planning and Large-Scale Economies) in Berlin
- Institut für Großraumwirtschaft an der Universität Heidelberg (Institute for Large-Scale Economies at Heidelberg University)

The magazine *New Europe* was also established, publishing only articles on the New European Order. It was not permitted to deal with issues concerning the Reich itself or its internal issues (Gletter, Lipták, Míšková 2002).

Nazi expansionist politics, the need to increase living space and the push toward the East all had their ideological beginnings in German geopolitical theorists, most particularly in the ideas of Karl Haushofer, who understood the state as a living organism that must grow and become stronger. To do so, it required living space like any other living organism. Haushofer's geopolitical thinking is characterised by the following terms: Lebensraum, borders, autarchy and pan-regions. As indicated above, nations which grow and get stronger need, in Haushofer's opinion, living space which has already been, of course, divided among other nations and therefore war over such a space and expansion at the expense of another nation is entirely natural. Haushofer understood borders as points of conflict between nations, places where nations demonstrate their agility and strength. Borders are a dynamic element which changes continuously. Autarchy (self-sufficiency) refers to the fact that nations should focus on those areas which will provide them with self-sufficiency (economic, agriculture and raw-material base). The last term is that of pan-regions, which Haushofer understood to be ideologically and economically linked transnational units. A pan-region is internally divided into a centre and its periphery. Under this conception, Germany would function as the centre dominating the European pan-region.

Under the national Socialist concept of Europe, it is also important to establish for whom a unified Europe should be built and who should be excluded from it. This brings us to the defining elements of National Socialism: racism and anti-Semitism. Racist theory would see the benefits of a united Europe clearly accrue to the most perfected race, supe-

rior to all other races: the Aryan race of the Germanic nations. Other, originally non-Germanic European nations were considered racially inferior. Nazi leaders such as Ley, Darré and Frank openly declared that Germans or the Germanic race would profit from the new order. Other races would have to accept a decreased standard of living. In 1940, Ley declared that inferior races require less food, fewer clothes and a lesser degree of culture than the superior race. In the same year, Funk said that the new order would have to provide the German people with maximum economic profit, maximum consumption and a maximal increase in the standard of living (Einzig 1941: 3).

Koop states that National-Socialists deliberately avoided the definition of Aryans. Hitler never stated with precision who the Aryans were. He took their existence for granted and emphasised their virtues. In contrast to that, Nazis were well capable of defining their enemy. Jews were designated as enemies from birth and true anti-Aryans. Propaganda depicted Jews as members of a race which had brought disaster to Germany and infested it. Those disasters included democracy, parliamentarism, individualism, intellectualism, Marxism, communism, pacifism and internationalism. National Socialism thus attributed any obstacle in its way to Judaism (Koop 2012: 63–64).

In concluding this section, it is pertinent to note that the idea of a unified Europe under the Nazis was not original to them and German Nazis there no merit on its account. The concept of a unified Europe had slowly come to life in democratic circles over previous centuries, somewhat more intensively so during the 19th century. It became fully developed in the 20th century, in the post-WWI period. One name of note is that of Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, who developed the notion of a European identity and pan-Europe at the end of WWI. He was convinced that Europe needed to unify across the borders of its national states, both politically and economically. This was the only way that it could face all of the internal and external forces striving to subdue it and inspire the outbreak of new animosities. He saw the political and economic chaos of Europe in the period between the wars as the failure of Christian morals, European culture and spiritual alliance. It was the German National Socialists who refused this idea of a pan-Europe and began to persecute the pan-European movement. Pan-Europe was labelled an ideal thought up by a mixed-blood race and a tool for Jewish control of Europe (Gonč 2000; Kučera undated).

## 6.2. The National-Socialist Conception of a United Europe As Understood by Contemporary Neo-Nazis

In contrast to the historical National-Socialist conception, that of contemporary neo-Nazis remains strictly in declaratory territory, something which is naturally motivated by the difference of circumstances in which neo-Nazis find themselves. Their position in Europe is one of a marginal movement attempting to mobilize the European population to carry out its political vision and objectives. The majority society in all European countries perceives them negatively and refuses to provide any political space to the movement.

Nevertheless neo-Nazis do not turn their backs on the idea of a unified Europe. They returned to it by including it in their activities (in political texts, speeches, musical productions, etc.). Maybe because of their lack of success at the national level, they transfer their focus to a higher level, where they can demonstrate their strength more ably. Their speeches and texts from the current period speak more of the necessity for a unified Europe than they did, for example, in the 1990s. In the previous section, we discovered that the vision of a united Europe is not at all foreign to the National-Socialist ideology. A number of people wrongly believe that neo-Nazis primarily focus on national defence but this is not true. Neo-Nazis buy into nationalism but for them it is key that the reference object remains the white race which must be protected. Although the neo-Nazi movement has undergone a certain partial ideological modification from the stance of historical Nazis, the logic of defence of race has remained unchanged. Race is perceived to be a phenomenon which extends beyond national borders and race theory is conceived as an international theory. Compared to the Nazi vision of a unified Europe, however, that of the neo-Nazis is vague in many respects, lacking concrete detail.

In 1999, William Pierce, the architect of neo-Nazi collaboration, presented his notion of international neo-Nazi collaboration in an address to the National-Socialist Party of Germany and Junge Nationaldemokraten, its youth organization. He stated that neo-Nazis in Germany, Europe and the USA all currently face a common enemy, one which is an enemy of all mankind and consists of large-scale international monopoly capital. He stated that this international capital tries to destroy nations and their nation-forming force, directing the world



instead into a homogeneous multicultural association, the so-called *melting pot*. He called for overcoming historical injustice by taking joint action, fighting economic imperialism by multinational corporations trying to dominate today's world. Pierce recognizes the fight will be difficult and incur heavy losses, but says it is necessary and unavoidable if humankind wishes to maintain an identity based on nations and national roots. This declaration may be perceived as a kind of template for neo-Nazis who are or would wish to be active on the international scale. In it, Pierce says the battle which must be fought is no longer about the defensive nations but something much larger. He perceives nationality through race, rather than through citizenship or geographic factors. In his opinion, it makes no sense to protect individual nations. Rather it is the much more highly endangered white race – threatened by infiltration and racial mixing – which needs protection. Pierce mobilizes neo-Nazis to take joint action to preserve the white race, which is itself unlikely to resist a massive attack by international capital lacking any tradition, history or scruples. This international capital is more or less openly attributed to Jewish world dominance (Grumke 2012: 324–325; Schiedel 2011: 77).

In 2003, during a demonstration against top EU representatives in Rome by the neo-Fascist organization Forza Nuova, Udo Voigt, then-Chairman of the German NPD said that those who funded both world wars and think they can use their money and business interests to change the current Europe into a multicultural society are mistaken. “Never again will European nations rise against one another. We neo-Nazis, are connected by a common historical experience and a common enemy!” (Schiedel 2011: 77)

Pierre Krebs, German race theory advocate and head of Thule-Seminar, a fascist organization, also reminds his audience of a conflict between two worlds – between the descendents of the Iliad, the Greek states and descendents of Thule (the mythical homeland of the Aryans) on one side and the descendents of Jerusalem on the other (ibid.: 78). Once again, we see a conflict between the white race and its arch enemy – the Jews.

If we look deeper into the history of the neo-Nazi movement, we see that Ian Stuart Donaldson, the founder of the Blood and Honour international neo-Nazi network, also called for international neo-Nazi collaboration in a declaration made in 1986. Only via large-scale Eu-

ropean collaboration can the neo-Nazi movement come to a point at which it will be able to offer an alternative to the Bolshevik Colossus on one side and American capitalism, founded upon multi-race disorder, on the other. This statement must, however, be understood in the context of its era. According to Donaldson, peace and mutual respect will prevail in Europe. Crimes committed by immigrants will disappear from cities, while in the country, traditional agriculture and farming will be restored. Pride in the fact that we can work for our countries and pride in our people will prevail. Donaldson speaks of fighting for the survival of the European race. He also warns that, should the white race fail in this battle, European civilization will cease to exist. In addition, to ensure victory, he calls for the enemy to be treated without mercy (Donaldson 1986).

Max Hammer also invokes joint action to promote National Socialism and to maintain the white race in a ruling position in Europe. He puts it: "The area and man shall once again rise and win his place on earth, or will perish fighting. There is no in-between. Armed legions of European National-Socialists will fight together for the white race and civilization, regardless of the cost of the battle" (Hammer, undated: 29).

The notorious pronouncement of David Lane, the so-called 14 words, gives an indication as to the idea and current direction of neo-Nazism in the National-Socialist environment: *we must secure the existence of our people and the future for white children.*

This results in a so-called pan-Aryan worldview (*Pan-Aryan Weltanschauung*) (Grumke 2012: 325), which is no longer antagonistic to Slavic nations in the way the National Socialism of the Third Reich had been, seeing these nations as part of the inferior race. On the contrary, the current brand of National Socialism and racism perceives these nations on an equal footing with the Germanic nations as a defining feature. Eastern Europe, including Russia, belongs to the so-called white world. The Slavic nations belong to the Aryan race. David Duke even turns to Russia as the possible key to the salvation of the white race which is otherwise endangered by the "relentless and systematic destruction of the European genotype" (Grumke 2012: 325; Schiedel 2011: 77–78).

The importance played by Russia in the National-Socialist conception of the struggle for the white race is also testified to by the focus of the Kontinent Europa Stiftung (KES) foundation which, in terms

of personalities and ideology, is close to the German NPD founded in Germany in 2004. In 2008, Andreas Molau, a representative of the foundation, called attention to the positive significance of Russia in the battle to maintain a European identity. The KES aims at re-conquer the primary position of Europeans in the world and establish European domination. It perceives the current world as being engrossed in a conflict between aggressive Americanism and the expansion of Islam – this, in KES's opinion, must be stopped. In summer 2008 KES and the Mecklenburg – Western Pomerania NPD branch organized a meeting entitled “Germany and Russia – the basis for the Europe of the Future” (Schiedel: 79–80). Currently, Russia is perceived as a significant partner and part of the white world. This probably was due to the political setup of the local regime and the fact that there is a truly large number of Russian neo-Nazis compared to their numbers in European countries. Russian neo-Nazis are also more willing to employ violence against their enemies, something to which a number of European neo-Nazis are amenable.

The “Europe of Nations” is often proclaimed as the target system of government in the current battle. This “Europe of Nations” refers to purely European (white) nations and is a reaction to the presence of immigrants from countries outside of Europe whose culture and religion differ from those of European roots and therefore represent incompatible elements. The modern racism of some in the neo-Nazi movement “broke free” from the constraints of biologically-based racial superiority and subordination present in the racism of the 1930s and 1940s. Instead, this logic has (at least rhetorically) been left behind, with the emphasis now placed upon the incomparability of cultures and religious practices. The new form of racism no longer stands on the assumption that there is a hierarchy of superior and inferior races, but rather on the assumption that variation and differences stand in the way of a common coexistence. This leads to the notion that each race should live in its own space (Caiani, della Porta Wagemann 2012: 6 according to Ferraresi 1996; Schiedel 2011: 23). At neo-Nazi manifestations, non-European immigrants are still perceived as parasites with primitive habits. It is a conception of race which rejects multiculturalism. In neo-Nazi rhetoric, a multicultural approach has brought about the mixing of races, reinforced migration and led to the fact that the original European nations have become oppressed minorities within

their own borders (Mareš, Vejvodová 2011: 78; Bastl, Mareš, Smolík, Vejvodová 2011: 174).

Emphasis is laid on the common identity of the current neo-Nazi movements and the coexistence of national socialist regimes once the neo-Nazis seize power. Economic issues to do with the new order and international economic collaboration after elimination of the existing European Union and International Monetary Fund/World Bank – usually labelled tools of the Jews by neo-Nazis – are not resolved, according to available sources (Mareš, Vejvodová 2011: 78). The dogmatic strain of neo-Nazism promotes the Europe built upon the ideas of the Greater German Reich and associated satellites and finds its inspiration primarily in the period around the Second World War.

Notions of transitioning to the new order by means of war are frequently disseminated but in a fairly vague manner. The war is sometimes designated a Civil War, sometimes a race war or, in the American example, as a “Race Holy War”, expressed in the acronym RAHOWA. RAHOWA is a task the white race must inevitably carry out if it wishes to be preserved. The white race is inevitably approaching a race holy war in which all inferior races must be made extinct by every possible method, be it political, military, financial or religious. This is the only possible solution. “It is a question of survival – either us or them.” (rahowa.us)

In the early 1990s, some strategic materials, particularly “Bewegung in Waffen”, demanded the escalation of a guerrilla war against the system, led in keeping with traditional models of armed struggles by the systemic opposition against the political regime. Bewegung in Waffen presumed the gradual escalation of violence within the national state or the area where the German language is spoken (Mareš, Vejvodová 2011: 79 according to Westmar 1992: 5). The only concepts currently employed are those capable of working within a vision of a broader race war on the European or global scale, which see the neo-Nazis taking an active part and attracting the white masses to their support after their victory, thus allowing the establishment of stable, racially pure national socialist regimes (Macdonald 2008).

RAHOWA is based on the conviction that “white/good/beautiful” and “nonwhite/bad” are two sides of a duality, along with the conviction that the laws of nature are stable, clear and immutable. They are focused on the survival of the species, not individuals. They are based

upon a fight for survival and do not allow the hybridization and mutation of species. From this presupposition it can be derived that human species, too, are not allowed to interbreed because it is against the laws of nature. History is made reference to, in search of examples to show that a multiracial, multilingual society cannot long survive. Ben Klassen, founder of the Creativity Movement (a racist religious movement) compares this to the situation in which a healthy body will not tolerate any foreign organisms (Klassen 1981). Similarly, a society cannot survive interbreeding with foreign elements.

Acceptance of the laws of nature entails that a race war between the white race on one side and nonwhite races on the other is presently inevitable. This will be a war won by the white race if it is ready, i.e., if it prepares and is adequately armed. It will be a war not only against nonwhite races but also against the state. Every level in the government of individual states is perceived to be illegitimate and governments and their rule should be overthrown. The *Turner Diaries*, a book by William Pierce (aka Andrew Macdonald) is the Bible of believers (Camus 2012: 237).

The most detailed version of RAHOWA has been prepared by the Creativity Movement, formerly the World Church of the Creator founded by Ben Klassen in 1973. In his theoretical publications Klassen states the white race has reached a juncture at which it faces brutal, bloody extermination. It perceives the white race to be caught in the centre of a war for survival, with its greatest enemies being the Jews: “The Jew increased his pathological hatred and, furthermore, turned all the inferior races in the world against us. They aim at a massacre of the White Race”. (Klassen 1987) However, he also finds enemies within the white race. They consist of those who are lazy, of pathological criminals and of people with mental and physical handicaps (Klassen 1981). These groups must also be eliminated according to Klassen.

Klassen divides the entire race holy war process into five steps:

- Step 1 – building a race, a religious group which makes legal use of rights identical to those enjoyed by all other groups. This group will be founded upon the basic principle of racial fidelity.
- Step 2 – building a movement at a scale which will allow it to seize control of the government out of the hands of the Jews who have controlled the fate of the white race to this point.

- Step 3 – for realization of the prior step, fidelity to the white race must be promoted, information must be provided and the white race must awaken to its potential.
- Step 4 – there must be a financial boycott of the Jews, leading to their financial destruction and a concurrent political boycott on them, resulting in their expulsion from government; in addition, the Jews should be boycotted in education, in the media and in all areas of cultural life.
- Step 5 – after assuming control of its own fate, the white race will cease to provide for the black population or for members of other races in their own countries and cease support for Israel or for other nonwhite race countries which are currently beneficiaries of, e.g., humanitarian aid. “We’ll let the Jews, niggers, inferior races and parasites look after themselves and leave them to their fate.” (Klassen 1993)

An interesting element of Klassen’s concept of RAHOWA is that no bloody war need be led against the enemies, nor will they be killed by any means. Instead, their extinction will be achieved simply by attaching the white race probably other races. The white race will cut its contacts, begin to boycott them, cease helping them, stop sending them food and refuse to fund them. Klassen presumes that as soon as the non-white races are left to their fate, they will gradually die out by virtue of their lack of ability (Klassen 1987).

By contrast, Max Hammer and Blood and Honour definitely do not reject the use of violence to attain goals. In some cases, Hammer considers this the most effective tool. Pacifism, he thinks, is for dreamers. He states that self-defence is an entirely natural form of violence everyone is entitled to use. He also supports direct actions, but these must be carefully thought out and opted for only when they fulfil the goals of the national socialist movement most effectively (Hammer, undated). Blood and Honour Division Bohemia even calls for the military training of children who will wage war for the salvation of the white race. It makes reference to military training of the type employed by the Hitler Youth (Blood and Honour Division Bohemia, undated).

Within its organic vision, the Creativity Movement supports the colonisation of the world by the white race. Colonisation is compared to the natural need of organisms to expand. It follows the laws of na-

ture. The white race must begin to demarcate itself at the expense of other races. Territories lost under decolonization must be taken back by violence. When they have been re-won, it will be the rest of the world's turn. Klassen, however, provides no instructions as to how this is to be attained and says there is no need for such a description because once the process has started, "we'll know what to do". (Klassen 1981)

What is to happen once the race holy war has ended has also been partially envisioned. It is of course a highly idealistic vision. The presumption is that only the white race will remain in the world. Klassen even goes so far as to estimate its numbers at 1 billion, imagining that the white race will employ a universal language – modernized Latin, as the most advanced language of human civilization. A single currency will be utilized in all countries, the metric system will be unified, tax and financial authorities will cease to exist and every inhabitant will be wealthy, employed and free of debt. There will be no further need for psychiatric wards, because the white race will be so healthy it will not require such facilities. The world will be clean, free of illness, with no pollution or crime. Large cities will be reduced in size, with people living mostly in the countryside. Klassen sees agriculture as the backbone of the race (Klassen 1981, 1987).

### **6.3. European Neo-Nazi Identity – The Definition of “Us and Them”**

The basic idea behind the common identity is affiliation to the white race. Neo-Nazism finds its basis in so-called White Power. A basic principle emerging from this conception is that of a total separation between the white and nonwhite population. The neo-Nazi identity is built upon faith in genetic and cultural superiority. The Creativity Movement expresses faith in the duality between the white/beautiful/good and the nonwhite/bad. Ben Klassen maintains that the laws of nature are everlasting and only strong species may survive – not individuals, but species which, in the neo-Nazi context, means races (Camus 2012: 236–237; Grumke 2012: 325). For this reason, the laws of nature presume a battle for survival and forbid the mixing of species, which leads Klassen to deduce that racial mixing is impermissible. In this context, immigration is perceived as an errant process and immigrants are not welcome in Europe by the neo-Nazis.

They are defined as enemies, either on the basis of their ethnicity or their religious affiliation. On the ethnic affiliation level, any non-European ethnicity entering the European continent is perceived to be an enemy. This reflects a European/non-European dichotomy. As for religious affiliation, the neo-Nazis harken back to paganism<sup>18</sup> or follow the religious neo-Nazi Creativity Movement. But any potential religious inconsistency is balanced by a clear definition of enemies in this sphere, these being the Muslims – see the frequent warnings about the Islamization of Europe – and the Jews.

Jews are thus one of the key enemy groups of the white race. The ideology of European neo-Nazis is defined by the so-called Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG). ZOG is the neo-Nazi belief that all international processes, global corporations, international organizations, banks and individual national governments are secretly controlled by the Jews, who thus manipulate the world for their own benefit. The ZOG is visible at both the national and international levels. The idea of the ZOG, or rather a conspiracy theory concerning a global Jewish conspiracy, dominates neo-Nazi ideology and is universally accepted (Bastl, Mareš, Smolík, Vejvodová 2011: 176; Grumke 2012: 325). Anti-semitism cements the neo-Nazi movement. The international neo-Nazi Blood and Honour organization and its Combat 18 terrorist cells are entirely open about declaring war against the ZOG and ready to take any action which would terminate what they see as Jewish domination.

Enemies who also pose a threat to the white race and are connected to the Jewish attempt to control the world include international capital

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<sup>18</sup> Pagan neo-Nazis attempt to renew the pre-Christian religious traditions of times when it was possible to find pure people unspoiled by social institutions who were naturally good and live in natural harmony with their environment and themselves. Paganism permits a battle to be fought against the egalitarian, universalistic ideals of Christianity, which many pagan neo-Nazis describe as Jewish (Camus 2007). A primarily Germanic pagan tradition is followed, designated today as Odinism (after the chief Germanic god, Odin) or Wotanism (after Wotan). In spite of this, it would be oversimplifying to exclusively apply the label Odinism to a racist conception of paganism. Originally, Odinism is a designation for less ceremonial and more philosophical Germanic paganism (Avalonia, undated). Pagans who do not subscribe to racial inequality and Aryanism also subscribe to Odinism. Wotanism has a direct tie to racially motivated Paganism. David Lane, an American neo-Nazi and a member of The Order, promoted the use of this term. According to Lane, Wotan is an acronym for “Will of the Aryan Nation” (For more see Vejvodová 2010).



and capitalism, along with pluralism, liberalism, democracy and those who represent them. They have brought about a gradual erosion of identity and uprooted individuals. By contrast, national socialism is based upon community and fellowship. At the system level, the enemy consists of the democratic state itself, as well as its individual components, particularly the police force and political parties in power.

Social groups such as LGBT (lesbian-gay-bisexual-transsexual) are also in the direct opposition. Homosexuality is considered a deviation which at the very least, should be outlawed. Caiani, della Porta and Wagemann (2012) also include handicapped and homeless people.

The current definition of neo-Nazi identity and that of its enemies is based upon a relatively new theme in European neo-Nazism: globalization. Cas Mudde (2004), among others, noted the association between right-wing extremism as a whole and globalization in the early 21st century. Globalization is perceived as being behind all negative phenomena such as migration, economic crisis, loss of identity and the destruction of traditional European patterns<sup>19</sup> (Grumke 2009: 23). It was conceived to destroy the people (*Volk*) and nations and so that national states could be rid of their national identity – de-nationalization. In this context, all nationally-based entities present themselves as defenders of national traditions and values (Scharenberg 2006: 80).

Globalization is perceived as an instrument for dominating nations, whose goal is to destroy their own autonomy in the name of profit. The United States of America is seen as the centre of globalization and hence a large threat in that internationalism, globalization and the imperialistic spread of Western values promoted by the USA threatens the sovereignty of nations (also known as westernization).

Globalization is framed in several ways by the neo-Nazis. The framing consists of references to economic aspects of the phenomena such as the devastation of national economies and the elimination of self-suf-

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<sup>19</sup> It is perceived as being one factor in the growth of neo-Nazism and right-wing extremism as a whole in Europe, unfolding against a background of economic globalization and the legitimacy crises of political elites and established political parties. Success is related to the process of globalization and de-nationalization (Caiani, della Porta, Wagemann 2012: 168 according to Loch 2009). Globalization has impacted the structure of social and cultural cleavages and has created an opposition between transnationalization and supranationalization, on the one hand, and the need to define national borders, on the other.

iciency by individual states, along with the greed shown by banks and supranational corporations.<sup>20</sup> But the globalization process endangers more than just individual economies. Even more importantly, it endangers national/European culture, identity and tradition. MTV, McDonald's and similar brands, whose consumers are spread around the world, are seen as tools of the carefully planned, controlled destruction of culture. The term globalization is often used as a synonym for American cultural imperialism and "multi-racial genocide", whose epicentres are located in Washington, Wall Street and Hollywood (Caiani, della Porta, Wagemann 2012: 171–172; Grumke 2012: 327). Cultural factors are directly tied to immigration and the multicultural society. This strong anti-Americanism also relates to the fact that the USA is perceived as an imperialistic state controlled by Jews and allied with Israel.

However, we must not forget the political framing of globalization, which defines international organisations such as the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, including the European Union and NATO, to be enemies. In this context, globalization is most frequently connected to European integration and international and transatlantic relationships.

When it comes to the definition of the neo-Nazi identity as such, we see that globalization is perceived as something mysterious, often making reference to conspiracy theories. Globalization is connected with powerful oligarchs and the global elite. It serves global domination and is a conspiracy intended to mix races and destroy them. It is perceived as an obscure system producing an atomized consumer society without any customs or traditions (Caiani, della Porta, Wagemann 2012: 172).

The "Us vs. Them" concept is highly significant for common neo-Nazi framing. The significance of this framing is based upon a presumption that discrimination of particular groups and overestimating and prioritizing others has a positive impact on social and group identity (Caiani, della Porta, Wagemann 2012: 15).

Caiani, della Porta, Wagemann (2012: 125–130) also define identity construction based upon the attribution of two basic roles: defender and victim. With the neo-Nazi movement, both these roles may be

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<sup>20</sup> Economic factors are contrasted to human values. They impoverish ordinary people and destroy the uniqueness of nations and races.

identified and hence support this thesis. On the one hand, neo-Nazis consider themselves the defenders of the white race, something testified to by the entire notion of Aryanism, white power and individual concepts, e.g., the CasaPound and identity movements. Perception of the neo-Nazi “Us” gives rise to an awareness that the neo-Nazi movement is predetermined to fulfil a mission of rescuing the white race. For this reason, it also demands great activism from individuals to fulfil the mission successfully, while accepting and justify violence. Heitmeyer’s (2003) argument supports the acceptance of violence – he claims that an ideology based upon inequality, escalated nationalism, a racist approach and a totalitarian outlook on the law naturally leads to violence and justifies its use. The humiliation of opponents and enemies leads to a tendency toward violent behaviour projected against these enemies.

On the other hand, the neo-Nazi movement styles itself to play the role of victim in the context of the system (persecution by the state, political representatives or state security forces) and of the “intangible” forces within the international environment (capitalism, liberalism and globalization). This is part of lionizing the movement, which is perceived to be a warrior who, although facing enemies and systematic liquidation, refuses to give up the fight for the future of the white race and white Europe.

The “Us” identity:

- white race
- Europeans

The “Them” identity:

- Jews, ZOG, Israel
- Muslims
- immigrants
- LGBT
- capitalism, liberalism
- democracy, pluralism
- globalization
- USA
- international organizations
- representatives of democratic states including the police and political parties

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## 7. MODERN CONCEPTS OF TRANSNATIONAL EUROPEAN NEO-NAZISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY

As noted above, concepts play an important role in the neo-Nazi environment by transforming the ideology/main frame into a more comprehensible form. Concepts consist in ideological and strategic forms, instructions as to how to attain a goal. They form a bridge between the transnational conception of neo-Nazism and those in individual countries who carry it out. Concepts often focus not on ideology but rather strategy – how to get organized, how to present oneself toward the external environment, how to interact with the public and present suitable arguments. Concepts also represent flexible expressions born of particular eras which impact the moment-to-moment thematic framework of neo-Nazism. Autonomous nationalism, for example, brought post-material themes to the neo-Nazi movement more typical of the left wing.

Experience from extremism research shows that neo-Nazi concepts do not originate at the transnational level, but rather work their way into it over time. Within national states, a number of concepts have come into being over the last decade which have become more or less established in other European countries, as well (sometimes also outside Europe). Their common denominator consists in the effort to reach the public and be more acceptable to it.

The following sections focus on autonomous nationalism which is, in the modern history of neo-Nazism, the most successful transnational concept, as represented by CasaPound, Straight Edge, Hardbass and Identitarian movement. All these concepts have spread into various European countries, including the CR (a condition from the point of view of the theoretical-methodological concept of this research) and some are still spreading. However, there are concepts used only in the country of their origin, which have not expanded any further, e.g., the German Unsterblichen (The Immortals)<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> The contemporary group Unsterblichen (The Immortals) represents a new neo-Nazi action form. Since 2011, its members have been using the internet to convene meetings at secret locations and then go on night marches, wearing white masks (and

### 7.1. Autonomous Nationalism<sup>22</sup>

The term “autonomous nationalism” has gained popularity with neo-Nazis in European space over the period of time since approximately 2002, when the Berlin Autonomous Nationalists were established. The following year on 1 May 2003, posters and banners appeared at the Berlin NPD demonstration bearing slogans requesting the organisation of a national “*schwarzer Block*” (Black Block) and support of Anti–Antifa activities. This request had initially been put forth at the May 1 demonstration in Berlin in 2001, where neo-Nazis (Autonomous Nationalists) marched as the Black Block at the front lines (Brandenburgische Landeszentrale für politische Bildung 2007).

It was thus an originally German phenomenon which attracted supporters all over Europe. It initially spread into the Czech Republic (in 2004 but a strong response has been noted since 2007, when the first Autonomous Nationalists cells were set up), whence it spread to Slovakia, as well as to Sweden. Currently, Autonomous Nationalists are operative in a number of European countries, including Belgium, France, Italy, Greece, Great Britain, Poland, Ukraine and Russia, as well as outside of it in Australia and New Zealand. (Schedler, Fleisch 2011; Vejvodová 2008) Autonomous Nationalism is a phenomenon which, de facto, began modernisation of the neo-Nazi movement and supported its entry into the public space (e.g., in Central Europe).

The specific characteristics of autonomous nationalism in the neo-Nazi context are contained in its discourse, strategy and image. The name of the group alone asserts its difference. “Autonomous” refers to the fact that an actor or unit is self-governing. For the Autonomous Nationalists, this designation reflects the nature of their organizational structure. Each group acts at its own discretion with

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often black robes), carrying torches and pyrotechnics (so-called fire marches). They march through cities and small towns, chanting hate-filled extremist slogans. Central to the action is the word “Volkstod” (death of the nation). Among their slogans are the following: “This democracy brings only the death of the nation.” or “Let everyone know you were a German”. Their marches often give rise to violence and injury. Their manifestations highlight immigration and the weakening of the German nation, as well as the loss of one’s own identity (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz 2012; Spiegel 2012).

<sup>22</sup> This section is based upon a text on autonomous nationalism which has already been published (Vejvodová 2008).

no superior central body. In the past, the term “autonomous” has referred more to the left wing of the political spectrum in an extremism context. German radical left-wing cells of the 1970s and 1980s used this designation for themselves in the context of a free structure with no central leadership or hierarchical structure. Thus, originally, the format was left-wing.

The concept is based upon small, informal cells with no firm organizational structure or hierarchy. They work on the *leaderless resistance* principle, which is currently typical for the entire neo-Nazi movement. An organizational structure and hierarchy are considered to be counterproductive. Such groups are not willing to create supranational organizations. The most frequently used strategy turns on the existence of several small cells scattered across the country, communicating with each other and collaborating via their leaders – local activists with natural authority. Individual units may be made up by several individuals or several dozen (Vejvodová 2008). Individual groups originate on the local level. The entire concept of a free organizational structure is aimed at making group identity more difficult to disclose, improving the ability to go undercover and preventing any potential infiltration by state authorities. The groups created are easy to mobilize and ready for action.<sup>23</sup>

It is not by chance that this strategy originated in Germany. It reflects legal changes which took place in the 1990s, based upon which a number of neo-Nazi associations were banned (for more see Vejvodová 2008). Informal groups with no organizational structure have come into being since the mid-1990s under the name *Kameradschaften* (Friendship Associations) which also gave rise to so-called Free Nationalists. In early 2000, the Autonomous Nationalists broke away, in disapproval of the association's collaboration with political parties (especially the NPD) and because they considered the Free Nationalists to have become structured and distant from the original concept

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<sup>23</sup> Leaderless resistance mostly leads to the creation of small autonomous cells consisting of several members. However, there is also an “extreme” version of this principle of organisation manifest in so-called lone wolves. These are cells consisting of a single member. Lone wolves operate by themselves within the neo-Nazi movement for reasons identical to those behind small autonomous cells. The independence of their action opens the possibility that they will be more difficult to identify and, for specific actions, more difficult to trace.

of an unorganized, informal network of locally-based groups. They also criticized the Free Nationalists as being not radical enough and not adequately militant. The Autonomous Nationalists emphasize their informality and unorganized structure in their slogan: *Mitgliederschaft durch Mitmachen* (Membership based upon Participation) – anyone who in any manner supports their actions may become a member. Support is best shown by participating in a demonstration, but also by distributing posters or stickers. Autonomous Nationalism is typically closely tied to cities and the street phenomenon (street fights).

An effort to gain distance from the skinhead movement also plays a part in the origins of the autonomous nationalism. It wishes nothing in common with the skinhead subculture. Its change of image was intended to allow the group to break free of the public's simplistic view of neo-Nazi skinheads versus other neo-Nazis.

Within the discourse of the Autonomous Nationalists four main elements may be identified which set them apart from the rest of the neo-Nazi scene. These are:

- (1) image, the visible influence of modern youth styles,
- (2) the militant form of the “battle” (i.e., the Black Block and a tendency to violence, violent reactions to the police and political opponents),
- (3) the adoption and modification of left-wing symbols,
- (4) the use of English on banners (Vejvodová 2008).

Autonomous Nationalists have shifted their clothing style from the skinhead image to a more neutral, less conflict-generating style. The central element consists of the so-called Black Block, originally an element typical for anarchist militants before being adopted by the Autonomous Nationalists. They wear normal jackets for sporting, hoodies and black athletic shoes instead of bomber jackets and high lace boots. All garments and accessories are black and come from brands popular on the neo-Nazi scene or are directly made by people tied to the movement. Palestinian scarves are frequently used to cover one's face. Flags used during demonstrations are also black. The colour was chosen to symbolise resistance against the system.

The manner in which the marches are organized has also been modified based upon the Black Block. Participants in public marches move in close formation, creating a block bordered by banners on all



sides. These also serve for protection and additional cover. The Black Block style is difficult for the police to disrupt. Furthermore, given the “uniform” clothing, this form of action increases individual anonymity. This support for anonymity subsequently increases the element of violence during demonstrations. Autonomous Nationalists are violent particularly towards left-wing enemies, the police and journalists and officially accept violence as a legitimate form of fighting.

In addition to the Black Block style, Autonomous Nationalism also adopts the rhetorical style and symbolism of the radical left. Autonomous Nationalists often employ the term “revolution” and combine the terms “national-revolutionary” and “national socialism” (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz 2007: 5). Thematic content has also shifted leftward, something visible across the spectrum of the radical and extreme right wing. Great attention is devoted to social issues in a national and populist context. Underlying the semantic shift implicit in the use of the term “national revolutionary” and the adoption of left-wing extremist terms in general is an effort by Autonomous Nationalists to attract supporters not otherwise particularly receptive to right-wing extremist content. In this context, originally left-wing themes such as anti-globalization, anti-capitalism and an ecological orientation have become typical of the movement (Schedler 2011a; Vejvodová 2008). Symbols include T-shirts with Che Guevara. Left-wing slogans such as “Good Night White Pride” were modified to suit the needs of neo-Nazis to read “Good Night Left Side”.

English-language slogans have become a standard part of the neo-Nazi vocabulary: “Capitalism Kills”, “Control Your City”, “Fight the System – Fuck the Law!” (Schedler 2011b). This trend is related to the overall strategy behind the concept of Autonomous Nationalism. A trend has been palpable over approximately the past ten years to reach out to the younger generation as a source for membership. To do so, however, in the contemporary world full of input and entertainment opportunities, means offering something of interest, something attractive. Autonomous Nationalism has taken the path of opening itself to modern styles such as the Skate style, Hip Hop, Punk, Metal and others. A devotee of right-wing extremist ideology who is also into hip-hop therefore need not decide whether to join the right-wing extremists and give up the hip-hop style or vice versa. Modern styles permeate Autonomous Nationalism and impact its visual image as well. There

are musical offshoots such as NS Hip Hop and NS Rap<sup>24</sup> or NS Reggae. NS Street Art (Graffiti) has also made its presence felt.<sup>25</sup> Particu-

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<sup>24</sup> Rap and hip-hop are used by contemporary neo-Nazis and neo-Fascists, although the roots of these musical and subcultural streams may be traced back to the Afro-American community of the 1970s and 1980s, i.e., to the environment which is, at least from the standpoint of traditional (neo-) Nazism, "racially inferior". The politicization of rap and hip-hop had taken place particularly in the left-wing and ethno-nationalist environments (Mareš 2010: 53–54).

But the mass popularity of hip-hop and rap among younger people carried some neo-Nazis to these styles, as well, in the 1990s. In some cases, it can be difficult to identify clearly whether or not a neo-Nazi orientation is present – rather generalized racist statements may be used, accompanied by provocative slogans. This is why one sometimes hears about White Power Rap. This involves bands and individuals such as Neo Hate from the USA, Goldofaf and Léon Fasc from France, Dissau Crew, Zyklon Beatz, Massiv, Pan, Project X and Autonomia from Germany, The Horrible Family from Italy, Roma Žigan, Sibirskij Sindikat, 25/17 and many others from Russia, Beogradski Sindikat from Serbia and Kali and RepKebz from Slovakia. This scene has also been developing in the Czech Republic (Walach 2012).

In addition to rap music which expresses attitudes and opinions in lyrics and image, there are also white rap gangs whose scope extends beyond music to include political statements. These gangs are also involved in criminal activity (blackmail, debt collection, drug dealing, etc.) in particular territories which are usually city suburbs.

They are often inspired by Gangsta Rap, i.e., lyrics praising crime and gangsters. This style, too, originated in the Afro-American environment and was adopted by white groups and gangs which make use of neo-Nazi and neo-Fascist symbolics to emphasize their white racial identity, including confrontations with enemy gangs of different ethnicity, nationality or race. Glorifying violence and hatred may also lead to actual violence. Nifest, a rapper from Ostrava in the Czech Republic may serve as an example. He was active in White Power Rap. In November of 2010, he stabbed three children who were playing, for which he was later sentenced to nine years in prison) (Mediafax/tn.cz 2011).

Rap also made its way into strains of right-wing extremism present in the diasporas of Western Europe, as testified to by musical projects related to the "Gray Wolves", a Turkish neo-Fascist organization which campaigns in Turkish enclaves in European countries. Arka Soak is a well known rap formation tied to the Grey Wolves. Rap also promotes pan-Turkish ideas among other Turkish nations (Haffmans 2007: 21).

<sup>25</sup> The rap and hip-hop which is permeated the neo-Nazi environment is related, as well, to the entry of graffiti as a specific promotional style. Graffiti originated as a sub-cultural phenomena associated with rap and hip-hop in the USA in the 1970s, expanding to other parts of the world. For a long period of time, it was politically related to the left-wing alternative scene in particular, along with the ethnic emancipation efforts being made by minorities.

Neo-Nazis and neo-Fascists therefore considered graffiti "left-wing vandalism" for a long time. During the 1990s, ultra-right skinheads even organized raids to catch left-wing graffiti artists. As the result of its effort to address youth more broadly, a change

larly in Germany during Autonomous Nationalist demonstrations, it's common to hear hip-hop and see graffiti banners and bright colours. Bright colours – not typical for the extreme right wing – are also used by some cells on their websites (e.g., pink and black on the Autonome Nationalisten Marl website). As an example, in the Czech Republic the frontman for a street punk band called Squad 96 declared his sympathies for Autonomous Nationalism, as did a DJ who plays R&B clubs (AN Střední Čechy 2008b; Vejvodová 2008).

Autonomous Nationalism began to make its way into the Czech Republic as early as 2004, when stickers promoting Autonomous Nationalists Brno began showing up in the city. More significant inroads into the country were made in January of 2007, when a Central Bohemian cell came into being with a website including a manifesto on the origin of Autonomous Nationalism. After the Autonomous Nationalists Central Bohemia cell, Autonomous Nationalists North was established (May 2007), followed by Autonomous Nationalists Svitavsko and Autonomous Nationalists Zlín (both in early 2008). In April 2008, *Narodní Korporativismus* (National Corporatism) issued an official statement that it was terminating its activity and individual cells would

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occurred in neo-Nazism's view of graffiti. Some neo-Nazis began to make use of it. Some clothing labels, particularly the German label Rizist (*Agentur für soziale Perspektiven* 2011) began to orient themselves to the NS graffiti scene.

In the contemporary neo-Nazi movement in the second half of the first decade of the century, graffiti began to assume an organizational dimension within the structure of *Narodni* and *Svobodny Odpor*, particularly the *Widerstand Streetart* (WSA) cell. Streetart is a broader term because it also encompasses things like banners on freeway bridges, sticker campaigns and direct actions. WSA groups also organize so-called jams, where they compete to create the best artwork (WSA Crew 2011).

Specialised websites focused on mapping NS graffiti appeared (e.g., NS streetart.wordpress.com, NSgraffiti.wordpress.com). Their creators justify the websites as follows: "In recent years there have been enormous changes in national resistance. National socialists can dress as they wish and they are anchored within society the same as other young people. This change is also particularly visible by light of our behaviour and propaganda. Anyone who sees how many successful graphic websites exist on this topic will surely understand what we mean. This development is also increasingly visible on the graffiti scene, because walls which a short while ago featured simple, lifeless slogans now also show work by national socialists. And because this graffiti, these pictures, wallpapers and templates are now coming into focus, a website should exist where anyone can publish his or her sketch. This is just a platform for people to publish their sketches and images, to show how creative the *Národní Odpor* movement is" (NS Graffiti Wordpress 2010).

become part of the Autonomous Nationalists and adopt their concepts. The new Autonomous Nationalists Bruntálsko cell thus originated. In late April 2008, information on plans for an Autonomous Nationalists Ostravsko cell appeared on the National Corporatism website. In subsequent years, AN Plzeňsko, AN Praha, AN Znojensko, AN Kutnohorsko all came into being (the last noted cell terminated its activity in March 2014), along with AN Mladoboleslavsko, AN Severovýchod and AN Krušnohoří (MVČR 2011: 5; Vejvodová 2008).

In the Czech Republic, Autonomous Nationalism has been established in a form which attempts to copy the German style. But that style was not entirely understood, with the result that since its beginnings, the Czech version has been mixed with so-called Svobodný Nacionalismus (Free Nationalism), which also originated in Germany. It both served as the basis of Autonomous Nationalism and was criticized by it, not on ideological but rather organizational grounds. Free Nationalists sought an informal organization with no structure or hierarchy. They gradually began to construct an image of a developed, less conflictual subculture within the movement aimed at greater political activity (for more see Vejvodová 2008). Free Nationalists gradually began to collaborate with political parties, particularly with the NPD and a number began to be active in the party.

In early 2000, the Autonomous Nationalists broke away from them, stating their disapproval of the Free Nationalists' collaboration with political parties and because they considered the Free Nationalists to have become too structured and remote from the original concept of unorganized, informal groups operating on a local basis. They also perceive the Free Nationalists to be not radical enough or not adequately militant. Violence became a key characteristic of Autonomous Nationalism.

From its very inception, the Czech National Resistance has promoted the idea of free nationalism. In contrast to the situation in Germany, here the forms of free and autonomous nationalism have never been strictly separated. The National Resistance and Autonomous Nationalists have freely adopted elements from each other, collaborated with each other, co-organized a number of public events and many people have been members of both. The personalities of both groups have also always been merged. It is also the case that the national resistance never had any intention of eschewing violent manifestations

(as recommended by Free Nationalism) and adopted the radicalism of Autonomous Nationalism. In conflict with the idea of Autonomous Nationalism, the Autonomous Nationalists collaborated until 2010<sup>26</sup> on an intensive basis with Dělnická Strana – public events, membership by the Autonomous Nationalists in the party, etc.

Although its Czech cells are not currently particularly active and are limited to local events such as the distribution of posters and stickers, Autonomous Nationalism significantly impacted the form of the Czech neo-Nazi movement. Its characteristic features, such as the change of image, incorporating youth subcultures into the movement, the shift in rhetoric and the incorporation of new themes into its content found a strong presence, as well, elsewhere in the mainstream Czech neo-Nazi scene. It was rejected only by traditionalist racist skinheads because they consider Autonomous Nationalism to represent a betrayal of traditional values and of National Socialism ideology just to make the movement more attractive.

The conclusion of a text on Autonomous Nationalism publicized at the Blood and Honour Division Bohemia website is characteristic: the Czech supporters of autonomous nationalism place no emphasis on street battles. They focus only on the distribution of posters and stickers, something in which they are of course copying the left-wing – just changing the textual content. Another thing I can't understand is the adoption of the Black Block from the left-wing bloc. This clothing style using black has been worn by C18 for much longer than by the new-arrival Autonomous Nationalism. The same applies to creating individual cells without a leader – the concept was conceived by the right-wing Werwolf during WWII. Why did these people not focus on looking for these forms in the right-wing spectrum and look instead

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<sup>26</sup> The relationship between the Autonomous Nationalists and Dělnická Strana (Worker's Party) came to an end in March of 2010, when the autonomous Nationalists put an article entitled "Official Distancing of Autonomous Nationalists from the Workers' Party (of Social Just as)" up on the internet. The key reason was the attitude shown by the Worker's Party towards police measures that had been taken against the neo-Nazis (the Power and Lotta police actions). The Autonomous Nationalists could not accept the fact that the party did not at least provide the detainees with financial assistance, because it had funds at its disposal (from a state contribution paid for its results in the 2009 European elections) (Bastl, Mareš, Smolík, Vejvodová 2011: 155; Svobodná mládež 2010).

at our enemies for new ideas? For me, Autonomous Nationalism, with its attitudes adopted from the left-wing, looking for new supporters in the ranks of people we condemn, is a totally unacceptable form. This style just soils the traditions which have been functioning for us for decades in the same pure form as they were left to us by people who laid down their lives for the idea. The modern AN style only soils their heritage and all they died for. I refuse to support this perverse idea in any manner or form whatsoever” (Blood and Honour Division Bohemia 2011).

## 7.2. CasaPound

Another concept whose opportunities for application and limitations are currently under discussion by the European neo-Nazi movement (including members in the Czech Republic) is what is known as *CasaPound*. CasaPound represents an Italian neo-Fascist concept formed to further the neo-Nazi and neo-Fascist effort to enter public space and obtain broad public support. It is related to modernization, moderation vis-à-vis the public, professionalization and the effort to fulfil all material and spiritual needs so that movement members need not search elsewhere for such fulfilment. In terms of professionalization, CasaPound represents an advanced developmental stage in the neo-Nazi movement. The organization is entirely professionally led, using “managers”, including managers who oversee individual types of activities.

CasaPound is an Italian organization presenting itself as a cultural and political association focused primarily on social and political issues which are current in Italy, fighting for the living space of the Italian nation. Ideologically, it subscribes to neofascism. Its members label themselves “fascists of the third millennium” or refer to themselves as occupying the “third position”, i.e., neither left nor right (van Loyen 2013). Frequent topics within the organisation include Mussolini and fascism; members of the organisation promote revisionist views of history (Birdwell 2012; Kington 2011). They are aware that they stand on the fringe of the political spectrum and society. But they interpret this to mean that they are in fact better than other people. In its relations to the public, CasaPound has broken free of the ideological burden of

fascism and the social, populist approach they employ is significant in their definition of “Us vs. Them” – “they” are the political elites, political parties and the overall system which is destroying the Italian nation. CasaPound promotes the “Country – Nation – State” as one of its key ideas.

CasaPound is founded upon functioning proactively in public space on social and societal issues, with the goal of becoming a legitimate force in the battle for the rights of the socially weak, against immigration, etc. Mass immigration is perceived as a “double-edged sword which hurts and humiliates both the guest and the host” (Anonym 2011). CasaPound reflects real social issues being dealt with by Italian society. It is simultaneously focused on youth, particularly via its cultural activities, its presence in university circles and modern design.

Its origins date to the latter half of the 1990s and centre around the musical group ZetaZeroAlfa. This group was the nexus of a movement of young neo-Fascists who opted to take a more proactive stance (Bartlett, Birdwell, Froio 2012: 21; Birdwell 2012). ZetaZeroAlfa was the centre of gravity for the process that resulted in the origin of CasaPound. A nonconformist subcultural dimension combined with a political dimension resulted in a mix that attracted rebellious, dissatisfied youth active in both dimensions almost simultaneously.

The use of right-wing squats is typical for CasaPound, squats having originally being associated with the anarchist left wing. In 2003, the movement obtained space for its work in Rome by occupying a state-owned building. The occupied building became the movement's headquarters. It was named Casa Pound, after the American expatriate poet Ezra Pound, who lived in Italy and supported Mussolini's fascist regime. Over time, the movement occupied other buildings in Rome – Casa d'Italia Parioli, Casa d'Italia Boccea and Casa d'Italia Torrino – which were later cleared out by the police. Subsequently, the movement occupied a former underground station where it currently organizes concerts and other cultural events and other buildings which serve either for living (OSA – *A Scopo Abitativo*) or as cultural and social centres (ONC – *Occupazioni Non Conformi*) (Di Nunzio, Toscano 2011). Gradually, CasaPound centres spread throughout Italy and squatting was incorporated as a legitimate element of the movement and a strategy. Currently, the movement includes approximately

1000 activists (some sources cite up to 2000, see Délský Potápěč 2009) and tens of thousands of sympathizers.

The movement's interest in politics was confirmed by CasaPound entering Fiamma Tricolore, a neo-Fascist party. After failure at the polls and internal disagreements, CasaPound left the party. On the local level, the movement continues to create ties to right-wing political parties, running for local council positions. In 2011, CasaPound candidates appeared on the ballots of Il Popolo della Libertà (The People of Freedom) for local elections in Naples, Siena and Arezzo (Antifa 2011).

The key themes for mobilization are social. Among the things CasaPound promotes are the right to a home using interest-free mortgages (so-called social mortgages) for poor families in state-owned buildings (Bartlett, Birdwell, Froio 2012: 23; Délský Potápěč 2009). Only the original Italian population, of course, would be entitled to such loans. They would not be available to immigrant families. A nationwide campaign targeting underprivileged (nonimmigrant) inhabitants, complemented by direct events including the occupation of state buildings, resulted in partial acceptance of the movements proposals in official political circles.

CasaPound also supports workers' movements. An example would be the support it showed Fiat employees in Torino in 2010. CasaPound occupied a Fiat retail shop to protest employee layoffs and the auto manufacturer's plan to shift production abroad. Humanitarian aid is another focus involving, for example, help cleaning up flooded areas in Tuscany and protests against waste disposal sites (Gazzetta di Reggio 2010). Currently, the group is taking part in protests against banks. The most recent event took place in Naples in November 2011 (Revolta.info 2011c).

CasaPound is also involved in cultural programs. A number of CasaPound buildings serve as cultural centres and community centres for youth. The movement organizes concerts, exhibitions, conferences and authors' readings. Their activities also include the so-called *teatro non conforme* (non-conformist theatre).

The movement also pays great attention to its own image. New media use is one of its most important tools. CasaPound operates its own internet television and radio, publishes two paper magazines and has a number of bookshops of its own.

It is also active in sport and hosts sporting contests and events organized by its own sporting associations. They work as leaders of "La



Muvra” hiking clubs,<sup>27</sup> run a rugby school and water polo instruction in Rome, a hockey Team in Bolzano and a football school in Lecce. They organize a volunteer association to help the disadvantaged. The movement also owns several bars where the activists can meet and spend evenings (Dělský Potápěč 2009; Dělský Potápěč 2013).

CasaPound successfully reached out to high school and university students, for whom it created *Blocco Studentesco*, a student organization. The organization also has its representatives in self-governing university bodies in Rome and organizes student demonstrations, e.g., against reduced funds for education (libricom.org 2011).

CasaPound represents a further developmental stage in the neo-Nazi and neofascist movements related to the global trend of entering all areas of people’s lives, totally drawing them in. Conceptually, CasaPound provides a firm societal identity based upon sharing a lifestyle, ethical and ideological models and a national culture. In terms of ideology, it refers to revisionism and focuses on pressing social problems of simple people. It creates activity in all areas of life. In addition to political activity and promoting political interests, it also offers its members leisure time activities. Furthermore, these leisure time activities are not just about sitting in a pub: but also involve culture, education, charity and employment offers inside the movement. Members may listen to their own radios, TVs or read “their own” literature. After school, young people may go to community centres, sports clubs or become members of students’ associations. In essence, the movement offers its members almost everything. As a result, individuals need not leave the movement or meet people outside of it.

In spite of this, CasaPound offers the same ideology of extreme nationalism and intolerance but more attractively packaged. At the end of the day, it amounts to greater safety risk because the public has reduced opportunity to recognize what is democratic versus what is not democratic. Outside Italy, CasaPound is positively perceived primarily in Germany and France, where similar organizations have been estab-

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<sup>27</sup> In the Czech Republic, a hiking group was established based upon La Muvra, entitled Rupicapra, whose sign is also a chamois. The movement’s official website states that its mission is to “realise one’s own identity and culture by gaining acquaintance with monuments that represent the roots that connect us to nature and the greater history of our forebears, who won these things for us or created them.”

lished. Those in Germany and France are inspired by the movement's strategy.

Some Czech neo-Nazis perceived CasaPound in a relatively positive light, because the movement has successfully permeated everyday life. The Autonomous Nationalists, in particular, have a positive view of the concept. They themselves are striving for a format which would be more acceptable to the public, engaging in activities such as collecting money for dog shelters, cleaning trash in forests, helping out during floods, etc. Kladno neo-Nazis subscribe to CasaPound concept by using "Non conforme", the Italian slogan used by CasaPound. The Italian movement is given focused presentation on the websites of Revolta.info, Národní Myšlenka and Radical Boys Brůx, a militant neo-Nazi organization based in Most (Smolík, Vejvodová 2013: 104).

Neo-Nazis who reject the CasaPound concept argue that what the Italian movement has done cannot be done in the Czech environment since it is more repressive. In particular, they consider the organization of cultural and educational events to be impossible. They also point out that Italian youth tends to be much more politically active than are Czech young people.

### 7.3. Straight Edge

Some in the neo-Nazi movement have begun to adopt the Straight Edge (SxE) lifestyle, whose roots may be found in the Hard Rock environment of 1980s left-wing New York. SxE rejected drugs, alcohol, sexual promiscuity and usually supported veganism and animal rights. The aim was to purify the Hard Rock scene of excess and decline. The style quickly spread throughout the world (especially Europe) and became characteristic of the extreme left-wing hard core, including environmentalistic streams (Kuhn 2010: 7–29). A tattooed X (hence SxE) became the external symbol of the style.

Over time, the style also made its way into the neo-Nazi scene, recently becoming an important attribute which recognizes tendencies toward modernization. The adoption of SxE by neo-Nazis is not entirely novel; it was initially promoted as early as in the 1990s by the Blue Eyed Devils, an American band. More noteworthy expansion was present in the ideology of Teardown and Angry Aryans, American bands. As with

“regular” SxE, its Nazi variant migrated from the USA to Europe, becoming apparent in the music of Race Riot, Anger Within, Path of Resistance, Inborn Hate, Eternal Bleeding and many other bands (Hateman 2007).

SxE has played an important role in the Russian neo-Nazi scene and in Central and Eastern Europe generally, where it has found its place among football hooligans, as well. It is also related to the “bodybuilding cult”, which is pronounced in this part of the world and demands a healthy lifestyle. It has also influenced some Autonomous Nationalists (Kuhn 2010: 59). SxE is seen as a way of purifying the neo-Nazi scene from problem activists and improving its public image.

A National Resistance activist using Hateman as his nick justifies the shift towards SxE on the Czech website of this organization as follows: “SxE requires life without drugs – something every normal National Socialist fully complies with. You may sometimes also hear that things such as alcohol and cigarettes may be considered drugs. In my opinion, this is justified only if a person becomes dependent upon these things and fails to control them. Look at those among us who can’t survive without drinking – they’re a pure disgrace to our cause. They’re a disgrace to our cause and sometimes, totally without point, they get themselves into trouble with the law” (Hateman 2007).

It should be noted though that some neo-Nazi activists have not taken on Straight Edge culture in its “pure form”, especially in terms of alcohol use and veganism. This has given rise to a variant of the movement in the CR which recommends simply limiting consumption of alcohol and meat (after alcohol-fuelled excesses occurred at SxE events) (Mareš 2010: 52). Some members tied to the traditional peer culture reject the SxE trend completely.

#### 7.4. Hardbass

*Hardbass* is the latest lifestyle and music phenomenon of the neo-Nazi movement. It is represented by a specific style of music and expression engaged in by some neo-Nazis – in particular neo-Nazi youth in cities. It features dancing along with electronic music to mostly Russian texts in public spaces such as squares, stadiums, parks, streets, shopping centres, banks, restaurants and churches. Municipal public spaces play a key role in this trend. It involves simple dances to hard electronic

music (techno) based upon hard, fast beats and slogan-like phrasing (Smolík, Kajanová 2011: 473).

Hardbass originated in the Netherlands as an apolitical techno style. Russian football hooligans and neo-Nazis with partial ties to the SxE scene introduced it into the neo-Nazi environment. From Russia, it spread to Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic<sup>28</sup>. It has appeared in other Slavic countries as well, including Bulgaria and Croatia, and is also expanding in Western European countries such as France and Spain. As in Russia, Hardbass also has primary ties to football hooliganism in these other countries, as well. French extreme right fans of Hardbass interconnect the style with their anti-immigration position. Others have promoted the expansion of Hardbass to Great Britain. The progressive musical style, along with nationalistic texts, could reach British youth who otherwise consider the neo-Nazi movement boring and passive. There has even been a proposal to mix Oswald Mosley's speeches into a techno mix as a way of communicating with the younger generation (LeeJohnBarnes 2011).

Hardbass contains an ideological level as well as a level related to masculinity and body perception as such (Smolík, Kajanová 2011: 473–474). Electronic music is accompanied by slogan-like lyrics. Thematically the focus is on illegal migration, national unity, racism, criticism of society, etc.

The image of dancers is not important – individual people remain faithful to Black Block style. Face masks are used to make identification more difficult. Signal flares are often set off during the dance. Cryptograms represent an important element as short messages to others. Dancers' T-shirts and sweatshirts often feature neo-Nazi slogans understood by other members of neo-Nazi scene. The numbers 14 and 88 appear in lyrics.<sup>29</sup>

Hardbass is an example of a fusion-based style involving football hooliganism, skinhead subculture and the dance scene. For this reason, too, the style has developed primarily in Eastern Europe, where the connection between football hooliganism and the extreme right

<sup>28</sup> But it has been losing momentum in the Czech Republic.

<sup>29</sup> 14 refers to 14 words delivered by David Lane, a neo-Nazi VIP and ideologist: "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children". The number 88 "Heil Hitler", the Nazi greeting.

is strong (ibid. 473). Originally, this is not a style created within the right-wing. Instead it is an apolitical musical form of expression. It was simply adopted into the extreme right-wing scene.

Within it, Hardbass is also related to a healthy lifestyle involving no drugs and alcohol, like Straight Edge. Hardbass dancers thereby support life without alcohol or drugs in Russia and Ukraine. Hardbass is promoted with the slogan: "Dance with us, live a drug-free life" (Praguehardbass 2011). Hardbass did not originally include this focus; it was added in by neo-Nazis. In the Czech Republic, it has been more about fun and self-promotion. Individual city groups take videos of themselves dancing and compete to see who can create better, cleverer Hardbass events, including original locations for the dances. The internet is used to promote Hardbass. Individual videos can be watched on Youtube.com, free of charge. Hardbass fans have their own group on Facebook and [praguehardbass.cz](http://praguehardbass.cz) was established to present Hardbass and gather information about it from abroad.

Within the neo-Nazi scene, Hardbass has been a source of disagreement, since its origins are not pure. A number of neo-Nazis reject Hardbass, referring to its roots in African culture, the anarchist scene and its close ties to the dance scene and drugs (whether or not these are true statements). Hardbass has initiated the same kind of debate that has taken place, e.g., over NS Hip-Hop.

Many Hardbass fans see it as a fun, provocative activity. Members of the public feel fearful uncertainty and a sense of threat upon encountering Hardbass events in public places. The dance moves are startling and aggressive. This feeling of threat is enhanced by the use of masks, which often stylize the dancers into creatures from horror movies (a mask from *Scream*, a horror movie, is popular). The performances do not have as their goal attacking passersby, so there is no immediate threat presented. The Hardbass experience also gains power from the fact that dancers do not act in breach of the law. It is extremely difficult to define individual crimes or offenses. Dancers may be fined for disturbing the peace or for the use of memorial monuments or sites for their performances. Videos of the dancing thus often depict the Police of the CR as toothless, which is encouraging for members of the neo-Nazi scene. These videos depict police officers talking to several participants without the others having to stop dancing, or show a police car backing away from Hardbass party participants (Hardbass Zlín 2011).

## 7.5. The Identitarian Movement

The *Identitarian Movement* represents an entirely new phenomenon in contemporary European national socialism which has gained visible support both outside anti-system movements and within the extremist camp and, in some countries, in the neo-Nazi movement. It should first be noted that lively discussions are underway among scholars as to how to classify the Identitarian Movement in a democratic context and how close it lies to extremism. The Identitarian Movement is also shaped by the context of individual countries, especially in terms of the type of person actively involved in it. The following section provides a more detailed explanation.

Simply put, the Identitarian Movement represents a stream whose aim is to draw attention to the threat of the Islamization of Europe and to renew the identity of European nations. It originated in France, where it attracted its first supporters in 2003. In recent years, it has been gradually spreading to Germany and Austria (where it has been operated since 2012), as well as to Spain, the Netherlands<sup>30</sup> (since 2012), Scandinavia<sup>31</sup> and the Czech Republic (Barenakedislam.com 2013). It uses the Greek Lambda letter as its symbol<sup>32</sup> depicted in black and yellow.

The Identitarian Movement defines its ideological approach as one of ethnopluralism. It recognizes freedom of every nation and the opportunity for self-realization of every nation and culture, but never at

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<sup>30</sup> Here it operates under the name of Identitair Verzet (Identitarian Resistance). The Netherlands' movement draw attention to itself in June 2013 when its members locked the gates of Ibn Ghaldoun, a Rotterdam Muslim secondary school with a secure chain.

<sup>31</sup> In Scandinavia, the Identitarian Movement was introduced by Nordiska Förbundet (Nordic Alliance).

<sup>32</sup> Using a letter from Greek alphabet is a reference to Spartan warriors who fought against the Persians at Termopyl. Spartan warriors have a positive image within the neo-Nazi environment because the battle they conducted against barbarians (these being the Persians who are considered a metaphor for the current non-European immigrants by neo-Nazis) makes them heroes. The Spartan warrior motif is also tied to the specific positive response given to Zack Snyder's 2007 film entitled "300" (Richter 2007: 15). A banner used at a demonstration on 1/5/2011 in Brno organized by Dělnická Strana Sociální Spravedlnosti (Workers' Party of Social Justice) and Dělnická Mládež (Workers' Youth) in Brno also featured a Spartan warrior. The banner was carried by demonstration participants at the head of the parade featuring the slogan "Evropo Postañ!" (Rise, Europe!) along with the symbol of a Spartan warrior

the expense of another nation. It demands the separation of individual nations and hence rejects immigration. The Identitarians' vocabulary also includes the term "Alter-Europeans" which they use to demand a unified but not standardized Europe (Dělský Potápěč 2013a). The group is critical of the European Union and calls for an alternative Europe composed of free European nations.

It calls for renewing identity at both levels – the national and the European. As protectors of the national and European identity, Identitarians protest the influence of the United States and the Muslim world (in what they cite as American and Islamic imperialism attempting to take over Europe). They speak of renewing identity because, in their eyes, European nations and Europe itself have been gradually losing their identity and we, as Europeans, are not far from losing it altogether. This attitude is defined by Markus Willinger in his manifesto "Generation Identity: A Declaration of War Against the '68ers"<sup>33</sup>. Identitarians thus believe that the period of decline must be halted. Such movements designate themselves as a third string, lying between capitalism and communism (Caiani, della Porta Wagemann 2012; Eatwell 1996).

According to Markus Willinger (Revolta.info 2013), Europe is dying and the current generation is the most important because only it can save Europe from suicide. He points his finger at the 1968 generation

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<sup>33</sup> The most frequently cited passage is as follows:

Do you want to know who we are? Where we come from? What drives us?  
We'll tell you.

We're time flowing, the wind rising, the new generation.

You surrendered us to the world, uprooted and disoriented, without telling us where to go or which direction our paths lay in. You destroyed all our opportunities to find a direction. We're your answer because we're your children.

(...)

You should finally realise we don't live in a unified world or a global village. War victims, the poor and the repressed will always be with us. This world will never be a paradise on Earth.

Your delusions have achieved only one thing: you've uprooted your own children.

We're lost and homeless. "Who are we?" we ask ourselves. "Where are we going?"

(...)

We look for our identity and find it in the ruins of your destructive fury. We have to dig deep to rediscover ourselves.

Our history, our homeland and culture give us what you took away from us.

We don't want to be cosmopolitan. We're happier in our own countries (Dělský Potápěč 2013b).

as the generation which gave rise to all of our current problems, because it was the generation that rebelled against the order of the time. It stood against everything that created identity. According to Willinger, the 1968 generation adopted a mission of preventing future wars and eliminating inequality among people, i.e., eliminating differences. Multiculturalism was an experiment in how to achieve this. Thus they took away everything that could give identity to the current generation. He does not consider the Identitarian generation to be a movement, but claims it is the entire (current) generation. He states that a multicultural society does not function. As a result of multiculturalism, the current generation is lacking a European identity and this must be renewed. The discrepancy articulated between the old and the present generation in terms of a fight for values represents an interesting element. He claims that “the decision whether Europe survives or not is up to us.”

The Identitarian Movement rejects multiculturalism and criticizes globalization. In terms of economics, it sets economic protectionism and localism against the global free market<sup>34</sup>. Protectionism and localism are prerequisites for Europe’s ability to transcend the current global dichotomy with the USA on one side and China on the other. (Délský Potápěč 2013a) Externally, towards the public, members offer the following slogan: “0% racism 100% identity.”

According to a number of political scientists focused on right-wing extremism (e.g., Alexandr Häusler, Germany), the Identitarian Movement is a mix of racism, islamophobia and extreme nationalism. Race has already been replaced by culture (see the shift from biological to cultural racism) and is now being replaced by the word “identity”. Häusler understands the Identitarian Movement (at least its German variant) as an ideologically modernized action-oriented form of the extreme right wing – a new label for old content (Lüpke 2013).

The Identitarian Movement is perceived in this manner because of the type of people who are active within it. In Germany, they are, to a great extent, supporters of neo-Nazi movement. In the Czech Republic, too, the Identitarian Movement is promoted by neo-Nazis. It should nevertheless be noted that based upon current characteristics and the activities it has engaged in, the Identitarian Movement cannot

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<sup>34</sup> Localism is defined as a combination of ecology and economics focused on making economics local.



be clearly designated an anti-democratic or extremist movement. It is instead an expression of protest, but it will be interesting to track its further development. One section of the Identitarian Movement truly is not racist in nature, but simply strives to revive traditions, and in so doing build a relationship to country and nation in a search for identity. Some supporters profess racist theses and are connected to or stem from the neo-Nazi environment. It is thus a question of which approach will win out in the future and whether the movement will eject – or be interested in ejecting – such members.

Identitarians perceive their roots in the context of country, blood and identity. (This they share in common with the neo-Nazi movement, which also perceives the white race and individual nations in the context of blood.) They disseminate an apocalyptic vision of racial and cultural deterioration in Europe. Their message is that the current generation is the last to be able to alter the course of deterioration and thereby save Europe.

The movement is primarily active on the internet and social networks such as Facebook and Youtube. They draw the public's attention by demonstrations near mosques and in front of Arabic fast food restaurants. A demonstration which took place in Poitiers, France in 2012 is probably the best-known event in the movement's history. The Identitarian Movement contextualized the demonstration historically by making reference to Charles Martell who in 732<sup>35</sup> halted the expansion of Muslims to Europe at the battle of Poitiers (CBN 2012). The movement now attempts to build upon this event. After the demonstration in Poitier, there was a public declaration of war against multiculturalism (Brücken 2013). The declaration took the form of a video recording placed on the internet and quickly spread to other European countries, thus significantly contributing to the dissemination of the concept across Europe. The video speaks of the total deterioration of European culture and all that has ever been identified with it. It indicates there is one last chance to save the continent and for this reason, war is openly declared on multiculturalism and a wish is expressed to revive traditions and return to national historical models and principles. Cohabitation between European and non-European nations is perceived as utterly impossible.

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<sup>35</sup> The numeral 732 became the symbol for the movement.

In France, its country of origin, the Identitarian Movement is represented by Bloc Identitaire and Génération Identitaire, a students' movement. They sponsor various sports clubs, cultural organisations, charity associations, bands, publishing houses, etc. The French movement has endeavoured to create "bastions" and showcases of the Identitarian Movement. In Nice, for example, in a district where Identitarians live, they have opened shops and started local institutions (neighbourhood autonomy, parents' and retailers' associations) (Dělský Potápěč 2013a).

Solidarité Identités (SOLID), which is perceived as a humanitarian organisation providing help and support to nations in their struggle for survival, maintaining culture and safeguarding identity, also endorses the Identitarian Movement. It collects funds and materials and goes to areas where local inhabitants need help. Activity by other humanitarian organisations is considered a modern form of colonialism. SOLID's activity supports the freedom of nations who wish to be autonomous and rooted in their land. For this reason it supports, for example, the Karen people in Burma, whom it refers to as a nation suppressed by the military junta funded by Western multinational corporations<sup>36</sup>. Also supported is the Serbian minority in Kosovo, with the rejection of an independent Kosovo (in accord with the entire right-wing) and support expressed for the Boers in South Africa. The common denominator is a will to live in the country of one's forebears, according to one's own rules, laws and traditions. The major enemy is capitalism, which destroys ethnocultural homogeneity (Dělský Potápěč 2011; Dělský Potápěč 2013a). For these reasons, members of CasaPound in Italy also go to the above noted countries intending to support them and collaborate with the French Identitarian Movement.

In autumn of 2012, after war was declared on multiculturalism, the Identitarian Movement started to spread to other European countries, as well. The first of these was Germany (where the movement is known as Identitäre Bewegung) which, up to that time, had always been the inspiration source for the entire right-wing. The movement took root in Germany very quickly. Once the video had been published on YouTube, the first Identitarian groups appeared on Facebook. On Oc-

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<sup>36</sup> The Karen people are an attractive topic in general for the entire national socialist movement. European national socialists see in them the personification of the fight against communism and global capitalism, both of which are considered anti-identitarian.

tober 30, representatives of the Identitarian Movement were physically present at an intercultural week in Frankfurt. In early December, 50 fans of the Identitarian Movement met in Frankfurt on their own and have since been making regular public appearances (Brücken 2013).

German Identitarians, too, support the defence of Europe against immigrants and are interested in reviving the ethnic and cultural identity of European nations. They demand a Europe of nations and regions. Identitarians have great potential in Germany if they join forces with the pro-Bewegung movement<sup>37</sup>. Some German scholars see the Identitarian Movement as a greater risk than neo-Nazism because its antidemocratic elements are hidden behind a search for identity. The public is thus able to recognize its true motives and objectives only with difficulty (Lüpke 2013). All the movements dealt with to this point generate fear among the public as part of their presentation. The approach of the Identitarian Movement, to a greater extent, builds upon a positive approach: a search for common identity, traditions and roots. The dark side of the search – the negative attitude expressed towards immigration and the attendant xenophobia – appear secondary but natural. Europe is filled with various elements which are breaking up our identity and which must be ejected. This is considered a natural process, just as when a body recovers from illness. The nation is still perceived as a living organism. Just like the Immortals, the German Identitarian Movement also speaks of Volkstod (the death of the nation) (Brücken 2013).

And it is the German movement which is made reference to by neo-Nazis. In 2013, the Office for the Protection of the Constitution in Bremen stated that the Bremen Identitary Movement group was driven by people from extreme right-wing environment. (Brücken 2013)

In the neo-Nazi scene within the CR, the Identitarian Movement is represented by the Radical Boys Brūx (who use the movement's logo on their website's homepage banner) and Revolta. Their claim of alle-

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<sup>37</sup> The pro-Bewegung movement is a civic anti-Islamic movement characterized by populism and a hate-oriented frame. It is a single-issue movement, one which stands on a single topic. Any others which may come up are only secondary. Pro-Bewegung originated in 2010 as an umbrella platform joining a number of movements and associations whose main focus was on the issue of Islam in Europe, construction of mosques, etc. Its most significant member groups are pro-Köln, pro Deutschland, pro-NRW (North Rhine – Westphalia) and pro Berlin (For details see Sager, Peters 2008).

giance, however, is only symbolic and rhetorical and so far, the symbols have not appeared during public events. For these entities introducing as they are new concepts to the CR, the Identitarian concept of the general issue of protecting European nations represents an attractive approach and provides a way to get a bit closer to the public and attract new supporters. The same applies to Czech Identitarians as noted for French and German supporters of the movement. They believe in a European identity and the need to protect European civilization, as a Europe of nations, from inappropriate foreign (that is, non-European) elements. They promote the protection of the white race, European culture and civilization. They also call for an end to capitalism, and in place of the global market, demand a return to national economies so that the maximum possible is produced in the home country (Revolta.info 2013a). The aim is to be self-sufficient and provide for national consumption. The debate has been simplified to a single mandatory decision: Europe or capitalism.

They agree with Willinger on the necessity to reject egalitarianism. They reject any effort to eliminate differences among people. Universal human rights and freedoms and the universal values deriving from them are simply abstract terms empty of content. There is no universal person. This is a term as empty as universal human rights and freedoms (Revolta.info 2013b).

Czech and other European Identitarians find their source of inspiration in the work of Alain de Benoist, a right-wing theoretician. De Benoist welcomes every drop of resistance in the sea of globalization. He characterizes the contemporary world as unipolar, uprooting entire communities and all their members, absconding with their identity and trying to replace it with a religion of money. Such a situation leads to the uncontrolled flow of money and people around the globe: "The eradication of collective identities, termination of nations and cultures in favour of a large homogeneous global market is, in my opinion, one of the greatest current threats. Humanity is truly rich only through its diversity," states Alain de Benoist (Revolt.info 2013c). The universe of globalization should be supplanted by the universe featuring a multipolar global civilization.

The rhetoric so the Identitarian Movement employs the term "Homo Economicus", also used by Czech neo-Nazis. De Benoist uses Homo Economicus as the label for a new type of person brought into

being by globalization. He makes reference to Nietzsche, who spoke of a new type of person, the so-called *Übermensch*, whom the Nazis referred to in their racial policy with the aim of creating a purely white race. According to Benoist, the destruction of all national, cultural and tribal ties leads to the rise of a new type of person but, unfortunately for humankind, this person is nothing of the sort Nietzsche had envisioned. *Homo Economicus* is defined as a person with no ties, fully individualised, preferring market relationships to national solidarity and making cold calculations based on market logic (ibid.).

The Identitarian Movement across Europe reacts to the consistent, ever-present need of individuals to discover their identity and find a sense of belonging. Globalization, migration and processes related to it, along with a rapidly changing world, can intensify this feeling for some individuals. This is the driving force for the entire contemporary right-wing, including the neo-Nazi movement, which promotes a violent struggle against everything not related to the white race that might endanger it, while at the same time it reaches out to a broader public to become involved in its struggle. To accomplish the latter, it must select means and a rhetoric that will not present such a militaristic, “scary” aspect. Some groups in the neo-Nazi spectrum such as racist skinheads are, of course, convinced that it is unnecessary to proceed in this manner; to the contrary – in their eyes, such concepts only weaken the ideology and force of the movement as a whole.

Hannah Arendt drew attention to similar processes. She maintained that contemporary society has become atomized, with individuals having been uprooted and now confronting the sense that they are losing their identity and sense of belongingness (Císař 2004a: 96–102). It would seem that it was only a matter of time before the entire contemporary right-wing, including its neo-Nazi faction, would begin to react to the identity theme.

At the same time, similar themes have great potential to support the unification of individual national neo-Nazi groups into a single European movement built upon a common European identity. They allow potential disputes arising due to national affiliation or historical experience to be overcome. A common European identity may be defined as the strong glue of a European neo-Nazi movement. The Identitarian Movement has great transfer potential within Europe. It places no demands for conceptual change or change of style which might be

construed as conceding principles – something for which Autonomous Nationalism has been criticized. To the contrary, it offers the neo-Nazi movement an easily comprehended concept. Autonomous Nationalism as it has been expressed in Central Europe, however, shows signs of misunderstanding and a lack of follow-through<sup>38</sup>. It is currently remembered only because a huge number of right wing extremist groups altered their image and created a new profile based on novel post-materialist themes. Other than that, Autonomous Nationalist cells are disappearing (the only exception in Central Europe being Poland). Understood correctly, it represents the path to the public. It offers a positive image of people interested in creating a community in which everyone is aware of his or her identity and the meaning of life. Negative images (“bogeys”) of the decline of European culture and civilization and the Islamization of Europe, of homosexual couples bringing up children, etc., seem to enter only as Step Two.

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<sup>38</sup> Low levels of militancy and the use of violence, follow-up of work by political parties.

## 8. THE TRANSNATIONALIZATION OF CZECH NEO-NAZISM

Attempts by Czech neo-Nazis to get involved in transnational neo-Nazism may be traced back to the early 1990s, when the skinhead movement, which had been active since the 1980s, began to take more coherent form.<sup>39</sup> Gradually, groups began to form, get organized and assume names. Once the independent Czech Republic came into being, the extreme right wing, including its subcultural environment, became structured. The skinhead movement began to be strongly Nazified. The Nazi ideology was taken over from like-minded individuals in Austria and Germany with whom contacts were gradually established. In the CR, several outlets of international militant Nazi organizations such as Hammerskins and Blood and Honour were established.

In the 1990s, the Bohemia Hammerskins (BHS) were a military organization with a significant impact throughout the country. This group originated as a subsidiary of the Hammerskin Nation founded in the USA in 1988. The organization experienced a true boom in the mid-1990s, when subsidiaries were established almost covering Western and Central Europe, including Russia, as well as Australia and New Zealand. National organization representatives met every three months at the so-called European Officers Meeting and negotiated a joint strategy for the pan-Aryan racist battle. The first hints that a Czech subsidiary would be established date to 1993. By 1996, it was the leading organization on the Nazi-skinhead scene. Its activity attenuated mainly due to intervention by security forces.

A new entity took over activities of this Czech subsidiary. This time it was a cell of Blood and Honour, a transnational neo-Nazi network, known as Blood and Honour Division Bohemia (BHDB) in the CR. Since 1997, it has become the most significant representative of the neo-Nazi skinhead movement in the CR. Blood and Honour originated in Great Britain and over time spread all over Europe, the USA and Australia. It

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<sup>39</sup> New subcultural movements such as skinheads and punks gradually made their way to Czechoslovakia, but because of limited information they sometimes took on different forms than their equivalents abroad. Within Czechoslovakia the movements consisted of a few dozen individuals in touch by post with friends abroad.