

International Colloquium of the History Cluster of the Ludwig Boltzmann Society

Transnationalization of the Far Right: the Case of Interwar and Present-Day Europe

December 1 - December 2, 2016

Abstracts

Thursday, December 1, 2016

11:00-13:00 Opening session: Far-Right Scene in the Long 20th Century

Chair: Agnieszka Pasieka, University of Vienna

Agnieszka Pasieka has an MA in sociology and a Ph.D. in social anthropology and is currently a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Research Fellow at the Institute for East European History, University of Vienna. She has recently published her first monograph *Hierarchy and Pluralism: Living Religious Difference in Catholic Poland* (2015), in which she uses an ethnographic case-study of religious pluralism in rural Poland to discuss conceptualizations and conditions of pluralism more broadly. Currently, she is working on her new research project entitled "Transnational nationalism. Far-Right Nationalist Groups in East Central Europe in the 20th and 21st centuries"

Mabel Berezin, Cornell University, Ithaca

Mabel Berezin is professor of sociology at Cornell University. She specializes in cultural and political sociology, with a special emphasis on comparative historical sociology, political institutions, society and economy, and qualitative methods. She is the author of numerous articles (in both academic and non-academic journals) and three monographs: *Making the Fascist Self: The Political Culture of Interwar Italy* (1997), *Illiberal Politics in Neoliberal Times: Culture, Society and Populism in the New Europe* (2009) and (co-edited with Martin Schain) *Europe without Borders: Remapping territory, Citizenship, and Identity in a Transnational Age* (2003).

Talk: *Security Crises: Extreme Nationalism and Threats to Democracy in Europe*

Since the sovereign debt crisis hit Europe in 2010, there has been a resurgence of right or extreme nationalist parties in virtually every former Western European country and in some Eastern European countries. Analysts at first viewed these "minor" upticks as a passing sign of fringe voter discontent. The move to the right did not go away and has gained momentum even in countries such as Social Democratic Sweden where the idea of a right nationalist party polling at 25% would have been unthinkable even a year ago. The combination of ongoing financial crisis and the current migration crisis appears to be a harbinger of unspecified disaster-if the EU cannot come up with policies soon that adjudicate these dual crises. Many commentators and some academics have argued that this right nationalist resurgence signals a return of the politics of the 1930s. This talk takes on these issues and addresses the ways in which that assessment is plausible.



Harold James, Princeton University

Harold James is an expert in German and European economic history. He is professor of history at Princeton University as well as professor of International Affairs in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. He is the author of numerous books, which analyze the interwar depression in Germany, transformation of national identity in Germany, history of banking and Nazi economic policies. His most recent works include: *The End of Globalization: Lessons from the Great Depression* (2001), and *Europe Reborn: A History 1914-2000* (2003); *The Roman Predicament: How the Rules of International Order Create the Politics of Empire* (2006).

Talk: ***Can There Be a Fascist International? Some Historical Reflections***

Jürgen Kocka, Berlin Social Science Center

Prof. Jürgen Kocka is the doyen of the new social history, especially as represented by the Bielefeld School. His research focuses on the history of employees in large German and American businesses, and on the history of European bourgeoisie. He is former president of the Social Science Research Center Berlin (2001–2007) and since 2008 he is vice president of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities. His recent monographs include: *Arbeiterleben und Arbeiterkultur. Die Entstehung einer sozialen Klasse* (2015) and *Geschichte des Kapitalismus* (2013).

Talk: ***Capitalism, Kapitalismuskritik and democracy: a long-term perspective***

Criticism of capitalism is as old as capitalism itself, in Europe more than anywhere else. I will present a short overview including the present time. *Kapitalismuskritik* has not prevented the rise and the victory of capitalism. Which effects has it had and is it having, after all? It will be argued that *Kapitalismuskritik* can serve very different political objectives. Capitalism has existed and can exist under different political regimes. Capitalism and democracy can be compatible. But in the last decades the tensions between both have grown, in Europe. Finally I will discuss to what extent the present rise of anti-liberal right wing populism can be attributed to capitalism, its recent developments and crises on the way towards global capitalism.

14:30-16:00 Session II: European Far-Right Actors of the Interwar Era

Chair: Philipp Ther, University of Vienna

Philipp Ther is professor of Central European History at the University of Vienna and a specialist history of nationalism and nation-states, ethnic violence and migrations, economic history, and postsocialist transformation. Apart from numerous articles and book chapters, he has published in English three books: *The Dark Side of Nation States: Ethnic Cleansing in Modern Europe* (2014), *Center Stage: Operatic Culture and Nation Building in 19th Century Central Europe* (2014) and, most recently, a monograph on the neoliberal Europe *Europe since 1989 – A History* (2016).

Arnd Bauerkämper, Free University of Berlin

Arnd Bauerkämper is professor of Modern European History at the Free University Berlin. His research interests revolve around history of Great Britain, fascism, democracy and civil society, as well as methodological und theoretical problems of the European history of comparison and entanglement. His



recent book publications include: *Der Faschismus in Europa 1918-1945* (2006) and *Das umstrittene Gedächtnis. Erinnerungskonflikte über den Nationalsozialismus, Faschismus, Holocaust und die Kollaboration in Europa seit 1945* (2012).

Talk: *Asymmetric Exchange and Conflict in a Changing Magnetic Field. Conceptual Deliberations on Investigations of Transnational Fascism in Europe from 1922 to 1945*

Fascist movements and regimes have usually been conceived as and presented themselves as national political forces. In fact, contemporaries as well as scholars have highlighted hyper-nationalism as one of the most important features of fascism. Undoubtedly, radical nationalism separated fascist movements and regimes from each other. As will be argued in the talk, however, transnational perceptions, exchange, transfers, interchange, learning and even entanglements merit serious analysis. In fact, they offer new perspectives on the history of fascism.

Following an overview of transnational relations between fascists in Europe, the presentation will reconstruct processes of selective appropriation and highlight the asymmetry of relations between fascists. The third section is devoted to some observations on interrelations between fascists and their adversaries. The impact on authoritarian politicians and regimes will also be touched upon. The fourth part of the talk will deal with conflicts between fascists and obstacles to their transnational cooperation. Altogether, cross-border perceptions, exchange, transfers, interchange, learning and even entanglements between the hyper-nationalist fascists is one of the central paradoxes in twentieth-century European history.

Robert Gerwarth, University College Dublin

Robert Gerwarth is professor of Modern History at the University College Dublin and Director of the Centre for War Studies. In his work he focuses on political violence in the 20th century, with a special emphasis on the post-World War I era. He is the author of several edited collections and three monographs: *The Bismarck Myth* (2005), a biography of Reinhard Heydrich (2011) as well as *The Vanquished: Why the First World War Failed to End*, which has just come out.

Talk: *Anti-Bolshevism and the Transnationalization of the European Right in Interwar Europe*

Is it wrong to emphasize the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 – after all a geographically isolated event in the midst of a global war that affected *all* major European societies – as one of the major "transnational moments" in emergence of interwar Europe's New Right? A similar question, asked with very different intentions, triggered the notorious *Historikerstreit* of the late 1980s when it was raised by the conservative German historian Ernst Nolte. Nolte implicitly sought to attribute blame for the rise of the Nazis and the Holocaust on the Bolsheviks who had allegedly first introduced "Asian" practices of extreme violence that were then copied by Hitler (and various other European movements of the extreme right). Stripped of these polemical and misleading undertones, however, the question of the place of "1917" in the transnational history of the extreme Right in Europe is perfectly legitimate and important, particularly when the focus is less on the rise of National Socialism and more on the immediate effects of the revolution on Europe in the years 1917-23.

There can be no doubt that the successful Bolshevik coup of 1917 became a rallying point for movements of the political Right in Europe (and further afield). Violence was central to how "Bolshevism" was perceived by its opponents across Europe and integral to the response with which it was met even in countries in which a Communist revolution was unlikely. The Russian civil war was obviously very brutal, with at least 3.5 million



people killed, but the rumors about Bolshevism that flourished and drifted westwards were even worse: stories of a social order turned upside down, of a never-ending cycle of atrocities and retribution amidst moral collapse in what had previously been one of the Great Powers of Europe. Unsurprisingly, given the nature of reports emanating from Russia, the Western media competed in painting the bleakest possible image of the Bolshevik leadership and their supporters. The apocalypse suddenly had a new name: 'Russian conditions', a term commonly used to describe an inversion of all moral values of "the West". Political posters of the Right began to portray Bolshevism as a spectral or skeletal figure with a bloody dagger clamped between its teeth. Variations of this poster appeared not only in France and Germany, but also in Poland and Hungary. Not dissimilar to the situation in the late eighteenth century when Europe's horrified ruling elites feared a Jacobin "apocalyptic" war, many Europeans after 1917 assumed that Bolshevism would spread to "infect" the rest of the old world, prompting violent mobilization and action against the perceived menace. What was characteristic of the supposed menace, as it was perceived almost everywhere in Europe, was its transnational nature, the seemingly faceless threat it posed to the established order, and its amalgamation with (mainly) secular anti-Semitism. In order to suppress the danger of Bolshevik contagion, ruthless violence and transnational co-operation between anti-Bolshevik movements in Europe was required. The paper will describe and analyze the transnational emergence and cross-fertilization of anti-Bolshevik imagery and ideology that should become a major force in the counter-revolutionary imagination across Europe for decades after 1917.

António Costa Pinto, University of Lisbon

António Costa Pinto is a Research Professor at the Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon, and Professor of Politics and Contemporary European History at ISCTE-IUL, Lisbon. His research interests include authoritarianism, political elites, democratization and transitional justice in new democracies, the European Union, and the comparative study of political change in Southern Europe. He is a regular contributor to the mainstream Portuguese media. His recent publications include *The Nature of Fascism Revisited* (2012) and an edited collection *Rethinking Fascism and Dictatorship in Europe* (2014).

Talk: *The Diffusion of Right-Wing Authoritarian Models and Institutions in the 1930s. A Success Story?*

As the committed early 20th-century observer, Romanian academic and politically authoritarian Mihail Manoilescu, noted, 'of all the political and social creations of our century – which for the historian began in 1918 – there are two that have in a definitive way enriched humanity's patrimony... corporatism and the single party'. Manoilescu dedicated a study to each of these Social and political institutions without knowing in 1936 that some aspects of the former would be long lasting and that the latter would become one of the most durable political instruments of dictatorships.

The paper examines the role of corporatism as a set of authoritarian institutions that spread across inter-war Europe and which was an agent for the institutional consolidation of fascist- era dictatorships. Institutionalized, in many cases in the wake of polarized democratizations, inter-war dictatorships tended to choose corporatism both as a process for the repression and co-optation of the labour movement, interest groups and of elites through 'organic' legislatures. Powerful processes of institutional transfers were a hallmark of inter-war dictatorships and we argue corporatism was at the forefront of this process of cross-national diffusion of authoritarian institutions.



16:30-18:00 Session III: Exchanges and Mutual Influences among European Fascisms

Chair: Philipp Lesiak, Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Research on Consequences of War, Graz

Philipp Lesiak is a historian, specializing in economic history, military history and the history of the Cold War. Since 2006 he has been working at the Ludwig Boltzmann-Institut für Kriegsfolgen-Forschung (Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for the Research of War Consequences) and he is currently responsible for its Vienna-branch. Besides participating in and managing various research projects for this Institute, he is also responsible for historic expositions on Austrian-Czech relations and for the creation of a "House of the Lower-Austrian History".

Rory Yeomans, University College London

Rory Yeomans is the author of *Visions of Annihilation: the Ustasha Regime and the Cultural Politics of Fascism, 1941-1945* (2013) and *The Utopia of Terror: Life and Death in Wartime Croatia* (2015). He is currently completing a book about political violence and martyrdom culture in the Independent State of Croatia for Harrassowitz entitled *The City of the Dead: Martyrdom, Mass Killing and the Literary Imagination in South-Eastern Europe, 1918-1948* and has just completed research for a British Academy-funded Holocaust study entitled *Purifying the Marketplace: The Holocaust and the Economics of Everyday Life in Croatia*.

Talk: *Primordial Frontiersmen and Political Tourists: Travel Writing, Transnational Encounters and Discourses of Europeanness in Fascist Croatia*

What does it mean to be European? What does Europe mean? What are European values? This paper tries to consider the often problematic nature of these categories with reference to travel writing and travel writers in the fascist Independent State of Croatia? In the period between 1941 and 1945 the Independent State of Croatia (NezavisnaDržavaHrvatska – NDH), ruled by the Ustasha movement and its leader Ante Pavelić, was part of the “new Europe” headed by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Seeing itself as an integral part of this new dynamic and progressive Europe, Ustasha leaders and intellectuals argued that the NDH should play an important role in the construction of the dynamic new continent being built on the “progressive” values of fascism. Youth groups undertook European tours to take part in youth conferences, sports and cultural competitions and attend youth camps; workers were sent to Europe to learn about the new advances in industry and entertainment; and travel writers and intellectuals journeyed overseas and brought back to their readers tantalising glimpses of life in the continent. In many of these diverse travelogues there was a distinct discourse of Europeanness which identified Croatia as an important member of the new Europe, emerging from the darkness of twenty years under Balkan darkness and primitiveness, and a factor in the progress of Europe. Moreover, they argued, the Croats as a primordial European people had always embodied, defended and sacrificed themselves for western, European values. In their encounters with the new Europe, Croatian writers and commentators were keen to emphasise that transference between Croatia and the rest of Europe was not a passive, one-way process; instead, it was dynamic involving a mutual exchange of views and opinions as equals. However, there was a contradiction at the heart of the discourse of Europeanness. On the one hand, a European discourse was a vital means of regime legitimation, Ustasha leaders believed, since it would help to ameliorate the aspects of German and Italian occupation which most vexed ordinary Croat citizens. On the other hand, however, an important part of Ustasha and state discourse involved the concept of national, economic and cultural autarchy which appeared to be at odds with the concept of closer European Union. The tradition of the primordial frontiersman defending national particularity did battle with the political tourist aspiring to bring the sights and ideas of Europe home.



This paper will explore how writers, intellectuals, planners and youth activists attempted to bridge this gap which was both rhetorical and ideological. In assessing various encounters with the new Europe, it proposes a more complex model of the transnational exchange of practices and ideas. Considering encounters with allied fraternal East European states such as Romania and Slovakia as well as Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, it will consider to what extent the Croatian state not only imported and then adapted fascist and National Socialist ideas but built on them in radicalised form and then attempted to export back in an ideologically purer version to the fascist and National Socialist “motherlands.” It will also argue that the ideological tension between frontier and “open” ideas about Europe enabled it to present itself as the leading East European state in new Europe, a status both historically inevitable and one legitimised by the state’s “progressive” values.

Izabela Mrzygłód, University of Warsaw

Izabela Mrzygłód is a doctoral student at the Institute of History, University of Warsaw, where she is working on a dissertation comparing students’ radicalism in interwar Warsaw and Vienna. She also works at the Museum of Polish History and she is a regular contributor to the Polish weekly *Kultura Liberalna*.

Talk: *Student Leaders at the University of Warsaw and the Model of Far-right Wing Leadership in the 1930s*

In the interwar period right wing parties and organizations were enjoyed the most popularity among students at the University of Warsaw. The Great Poland Camp (Obóz Wielkiej Polski) and the All-Polish Youth (Młodzież Wszechpolska) exerted significant influence in the student milieu at the beginning of the 1930s and illegal Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny (National Radical Camp) played an important role since 1934. In this paper, I describe student leaders of nationalistic movement, such as Bolesław Piasecki and Jerzy Kurcjuś, and I look at their style of leadership in the context of European radical movements. On the one hand, I will analyze political attitude of the leaders and the personality traits which were important in their activity, as well as inspirations and multifarious borrowings, they drew from other political groups. On the other hand, I examine the images of leaders and consider by what means the image was created, what features of the leaders were emphasized and what patterns were followed. My paper shed some light on to analyze the leadership model of right-wing politicians and the structure of the academic organizations. Additionally, it allows to expose exchange of experience and ideas among different countries, especially in terms of the impact on the young generation’s attitudes exerted by fascism and Nazism, as well as the influence of Mussolini’s and Hitler’s model of leadership.

My research is based on ego-documents and memoirs, since they make it possible to have a look not only into the worldview of the leaders, but also their image in the eyes of followers and opponents. Moreover, I make use of archival documents of student organisations and academic press, which is a source of rich information on the functioning of the right-wing organizations and thanks to which the press discourse and the way of constructing the leaders’ images can be examined. Photos and iconography are an invaluable source as well.

Oliver Schmitt, University of Vienna

Oliver Jens Schmitt is professor of South-East European history at the University of Vienna and a member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. He specializes in fascism in Eastern Europe, cultural and social history of the Balkans, history of the Ottoman Empire and Republic of Venice. He has recently published a biography of



the Iron Guard leader, entitled *Căpitan Codreanu – Aufstieg und Fall des rumänischen Faschistenführers* (Vienna 2016). His earlier works include: *Skanderbeg – der neue Alexander auf dem Balkan* (2009) and *Die Albaner – eine Geschichte zwischen Orient und Okzident* (2012).

Talk: ***Faschismus auf Augenhöhe? Das transnationale Selbstverständnis des rumänischen Legionarismus***

Der rumänische Legionarismus wurde bislang als rein nationales Phänomen verstanden und als solches in der Funktion eines Vergleichsbeispiels in der vergleichenden Faschismusforschung verstanden. Der Vortrag untersucht das Selbstverständnis der Legionäre, die einerseits eine nationale Erweckungsmission mit bewusst religiöser Transzendenz verfolgten, sich andererseits aber früh als Teil einer faschistischen Internationale verstanden. Beide Elemente waren einer starken zeitlichen Dynamik unterworfen, und beide wurden von teilweise rivalisierenden Fraktionen in einer Bewegung vertreten, die weit weniger homogen war, als allgemein angenommen wird.

Fascism at eye level? The transnational self-understanding of the Romanian legionarism

The Romanian legionary movement was hitherto understood as a purely national phenomenon and it was approached as such in comparative fascism research. This talk examines the self-understanding of the legionaries who, on the one hand, pursued a national revival mission with a deliberate religious transcendence, but, on the other hand, they understood themselves early on as a part of a fascist international. Both elements were subject to a strong temporal dynamics and both were represented by rival factions in a movement which was far less homogeneous than it is generally assumed.

Friday, December 2

10:00-11:30 Session IV: Visual Culture, Transgression, and the Language of Protest

Chair: Ingo Zechner, Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for History and Society, Vienna

Ingo Zechner is the director of the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for History and Society and a member of the academic advisory panels of the Institut für Wissenschaft und Forschung (Musik und Kunst Privatuniversität der Stadt Wien) and of the Austrian Museum of Folk Life and Folk Art and a member of the editorial board of the journal *ZfK – Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften*. Between 2013 and 2016 he was programme coordinator and Associate Director of the IFK International Research Center for Cultural Studies, a capacity that involved the appraisal of hundreds of applications for fellowships. Since April 2016 he has been Vice-chairman of the Association of the Friends of the IFK International Research Center for Cultural Studies.

Virág Molnar, New School for Social Research, New York

Virág Molnár is professor of sociology at the New School for Social Research. Her research explores the intersections of culture, politics, social change and knowledge production. She has written about the relationship between architecture and state formation in socialist and postsocialist Eastern Europe, the new housing landscape of postsocialist cities and – recently – on the rise of radical populism in contemporary Hungary. She is the author of *Building the State: Architecture, Politics and State Formation in Postwar Central Europe* and numerous journal publications.



Talk: ***The Toolkit of Nationalist Populism in Contemporary Hungary: Symbols, Objects, and New Media***

The social movement literature underscores the centrality of frames and framing in political communication. Similarly, research on populism attributes great significance to mapping the distinctive discursive logic of populist reasoning (e.g., the trope of pitting corrupt elites against the people). My paper aims to move beyond the focus on discursive structures to stress the role of symbols, objects and new media in the political communication of populist ideas, using the empirical case of Hungary. First, I show how key historical symbols (e.g., cockade of the 1848 revolution, Holy Crown of St. Stephen) that used to be widely shared across the political and social spectrum have been increasingly appropriated by the populist right. Second, I examine how consumer objects, which are key props of a radical nationalist subculture, create important material conduits for political communication. Finally, I highlight how the populist right has used new media to create an alternative public sphere beyond the confines of mainstream media. I suggest that the failure, and outright rejection, of the left and liberals to engage in symbolic communication has enabled right-wing populists to progressively monopolize definitions of cultural membership in the nation.

Peter Hervik, Aalborg University

Peter Hervik is associate professor at the Aalborg University. He has published on a variety of topics, including: neo-racism, neo-nationalism and radical populism, globalization and national identity, migration and integration, media anthropology and media sociology. His books include: *The Danish Muhammad Cartoon Conflict* (2012) and *The Annoying Difference: The emergence of Danish neonationalism, neoracism, and populism in the post-1989-world.*(2011).

Talk: ***The Danish News Media Communication, Neo-Conservative Bonds and the Transnationally Shared Core Values***

The Danish Muhammad Cartoon affair was essentially the product of a neo-conservative strategy of promoting of cultural war of values. Analysis of the media coverage during the affair showed journalist and commentators were heavily involvement in international networks and sharing of core values of neo-conservatism with ties back to Carl Schmitt and Leo Strauss. In this paper I argue that a focus on network, core values and recurrent arguments across borders is a productive way to understand how the far right is constituted transnationally with actors and arguments appearing across national borders. I will discuss some of these core values, such as an insistence of moral superiority and strategies including racialization and criminalization of migrants and minorities in Europe. The paper draws on 20 years of research on Danish development of neo-nationalism and neo-racism as well as an ongoing team-research project on experiences of and resistance to new racialization in Denmark.

Juraj Buzalka, Comenius University, Bratislava

Juraj Buzalka is a lecturer in social anthropology at Institute of Social Anthropology, Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences, Comenius University. His research interests revolve around anthropology of politics and social movements, economic anthropology, nationalism, populism and religion, politics of memory, and social transformations in Eastern Europe. He is the author of *Nation and Religion: The Politics of Commemoration in South-east Poland* (2007) and a forthcoming book *Slovensko a (politická) kultúra*.



Talk: ***New Europe's Post-Peasant Integralism***

In my earlier work I identified patterns of the anti-modernist politics emerging from socialist and post-socialist transformation and called it 'post-peasant populism'. As I argued, this post-peasant populism is not about the peasantry; rather, it can be defined as a type of modern political culture based on a non-urban social structure and imagined rurality as first emerged under ambivalent modernization of state socialism. I still argue that specific pattern of integral politics have been enacted via and driven by this post-peasant basis. On the examples of anti-Roma mobilizations I gathered especially in Slovakia I employ the concept of post-peasant integralism that in my opinion avoids reductions of conventional analyses of 'class', 'ethnicity' and the like.

12:00-13:30 Session V: Platforms of the Far-Right Cooperation

Chair: Tatjana Thelen, University of Vienna

Tatjana Thelen is a professor at the Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology at the University of Vienna. Her research interests include local state formations, care, kinship, social security, and postsocialist transformations. She has carried out long-term fieldwork projects in Germany, Hungary and Serbia and is the author of two monographs: *Privatisierung und soziale Ungleichheit in der osteuropäischen Landwirtschaft. Zwei Fallstudien aus Ungarn und Rumänien* (2003) and *Care/Sorge. Konstruktion, Reproduktion und Auflösung bedeutsamer Bindungen* (2014).

Graham Macklin, Teesside University, Middlesbrough

Dr. Macklin is a senior lecturer in history at the Teesside University. He studies historic and contemporary manifestations of fascist, anti-Muslim politics, extreme right-wing politics and activism in Britain, North America and Europe; as well aspects of political violence and terrorism. His first monograph *"Very Deeply Dyed in Black": Oswald Mosley and the resurrection of British fascism* was published in 2007 and he is currently completing a history of *White Racial Nationalism in Britain* together with another project entitled *Transnational Extreme Right Networks*. He also co-edits the Routledge book series 'Fascism and the Far Right'.

Talk: ***Anglo-American Extreme Right-Wing Militant Networks***

The killing of Jo Cox, Labour MP for Batley in West Yorkshire in July 2016 shone a spotlight on extreme-right wing transatlantic nexus. Journalists quickly discovered that her alleged killer, Thomas Mair, had previously purchased publications from the National Alliance (NA), a hard line national socialist group, in the United States. The impact of such hardline ideological currents upon Mair's thinking remains unknowable at this juncture, not least because the case has yet to come to trial, but such revelations have highlighted the longstanding subcultural interchange between extreme right-wing cultures on both sides of the Atlantic which this paper will chart.

Transatlantic militant subcultures are an ingrained component of post-war extreme right-wing activism. The paper examines the major contours of this transnational relationship as it has developed from the late 1940s onwards with particular reference to the impact that groups like the National States Rights Party, the National Alliance and The Order, have had upon their British counterparts, and vice versa. It explores the transmission, diffusion, and impact of these ideas which, when combined with the 'inspirational' revolutionary acts of racial



terrorism committed by the groups themselves, served as a radicalizing agent for the British extreme right, the individuals involved lionized and indeed valorized. Importantly, it also examines how these ideas were enlisted, both figuratively and literally, by the British National Party in an effort to ideologically 'outbid' their domestic political rivals. Such ideas were not uncritically accepted, however, and the paper also investigates the constraints facing British groups/activists in adopting the 'revolutionary' views of their American counterparts in order to probe further some of wider limits of transnational Anglo-American networking.

Thomas Grumke, University of Applied Sciences for Public Administration and management of North Rhine-Westphalia, Gelsenkirchen

Thomas Grumke is professor at the University of Applied Sciences for Public Administration and management of North Rhine-Westphalia, a political scientist and a specialist in the field of right-wing extremism. He has published extensively on the international networks and globalization of right-wing activism, among others in: Thomas Grumke, Thomas Greven (eds.): *Globalisierter Rechtsextremismus? Die extremistische Rechte in der Ära der Globalisierung* (2006) and Thomas Grumke, Armin Pfahl-Traughber (eds.): *Offener Demokratieschutz in einer offenen Gesellschaft. Öffentlichkeitsarbeit und Prävention als Instrumente des Verfassungsschutzes* (2010).

Talk: ***The International of Nationalists: Transatlantic Transfer of Right-Wing Extremist Ideology and Strategies***

Today, all right-wing extremists in Western industrialized countries are facing almost identical challenges. Their "enemy" is not organized nationally, but globally. Accordingly, more and more right-wing extremists are looking to a trans-national network to fight against what they view as the overwhelming (Jewish) conspiracy of „white genocide“. In the course of this development networking has become tighter, contacts abroad have intensified, communication channels have improved, altogether making for a permanent exchange of information and a vital event tourism. The number of internationally attended right-wing meetings, events and demonstrations are on the rise. This results in a complex web of cooperation.

Pan-Aryanism, the ideological basis for this network, is essentially a modern anti-modern ideology. Guided by the internationally famous "14 Words" of the American right-wing terrorist David Lane ("We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children") and the fundamental opposition to „ZOG“, right-wing extremists globally have a common counter-myth, which overrides all other ideological differences. Trans-nationally co-operating right-wing extremists are not simply flag-waving patriots, but very fundamental enemies of pluralism, parliamentary democracy, and its representatives. This identity-oriented resistance is de facto the globalization of hatred.

Agnieszka Pasieka, University of Vienna

CV see above.

Talk: ***Nationalists without Borders: Far-Right Encounters in Contemporary Europe***

My paper discusses some findings of my current research project, entitled "Transnational Nationalism: Far-Right Nationalist Groups in East Central Europe in the 20th and 21st centuries," which studies transnational exchanges and cooperation between European nationalist groups maintaining distinct, and at times mutually exclusive, aims and interests. More specifically, it aims at highlighting profound contradictions shaping



present-day far right activism, such as: 1) concurrence of conflicting ideas of “Europe” (and especially Western Europe), as a source of values to be defended and as a morally corrupt sphere, contrasted with “healthy” Eastern Europe; 2) recurrent convictions about one’s nation superiority with a simultaneous appraisal of transnational cooperation among patriotic European people; 3) question of effectiveness of contemporary far-right actors as both the contesters of and the products of globalization. The paper is based on the analysis on internet, demonstrations (in which activists from different countries participate), and interviews. In highlighting nationalist activities targeting “Muslim refugees,” “gender ideology,” and “neoliberalism,” it aims to reflect on the combination of left and right-wing ideas in nationalist thought as well as on the methodological problems which the study of far right entails.

15:00-17:00 Session VI: Far Right in an Interdisciplinary Perspective: Concepts, Ideas, and Research Prospects

Chair: Peter Becker, University of Vienna

Peter Becker is professor of Austrian History of the 19th and 20th centuries at the University of Vienna. His areas of expertise are history of criminality, bureaucracy, governance, as well as the questions of normativity and morality. He is the author of numerous articles and book chapters, as well as five monographs. Most recent are: *Dem Täter auf der Spur. Eine Geschichte der Kriminalistik Darmstadt* (2005) and *Verderbnis und Entartung. Zur Geschichte der Kriminologie des 19. Jahrhunderts als Diskurs und Praxis* (2002).

Kathleen Blee, University of Pittsburgh

Kathleen Blee is professor of sociology at the University of Pittsburgh where she closely collaborates with Departments of History and Psychology, the Women's Studies Program, and the Center for Race and Social Problems. She has published extensively on the issues of gender, race and racism, social movements, and sociology of space and place. She is notable for her expertise on how gender influences racist movements, a problem discussed in her monographs: *Women in the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (1991) and *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement* (2002). Her most recent monograph is, *Making Democracy: How Activist Groups Form*, published in 2012.

Talk: *Rethinking the Far-Right*

There is a mismatch between the current state of the far right and the analytic categories we are using to study it. Rightist politics in Europe and the U.S., from the English Defence League to the French National Front and the Donald Trump candidacy for U.S. president demonstrate new alignments in the issues and supporters of the far right, as well as the relationship between far-right political movements and political parties. These new alignments undermine basic assumptions of how we think about rightist politics. In this talk, I discuss three continuum that are now obscuring, as much as illuminating, the nature of the modern far right -- left/right, egalitarian/non-egalitarian and nativist/globalist -- and suggest how we can create concepts that better reflect the changing nature of the far right.



Douglas Holmes, Binghamton University

Douglas Holmes is Distinguished Professor of Anthropology at Binghamton University. His research interests include anthropology of finance, anthropological linguistics, and political anthropology, with a special emphasis on extreme right-wing parties and movements. He is the author of numerous articles and three monographs: *Cultural Disenchantments: Worker Peasantries in Northeast Italy* (1989), *Integral Europe: Fast-Capitalism, Multiculturalism, Neofascism* (2000), *Economy of Words: Communicative Imperatives in Central Banks* (2014).

Talk: *Fascism: The Anthropological Conundrum*

The extremism emerging around us, I have argued, should be understood as *fascism* of and in our time, a fascism that has distinctive contemporary features that are not fully or necessarily congruent with its historical manifestations. If that is the case then we are confronted with one overriding question: How and why have the most discredited ideas and sensibilities of the modern era—ideas that yielded the indelible horrors of the twentieth century—become persuasive, compelling even, in the new century?

In this paper I am particularly interested in how anthropological modes of thought are implicated in the story. In pursuing the anthropology of fascism, we encounter the “anthropology” that operates *within* fascism. When we, anthropologists, confront contemporary fascism we discover that it is our concepts, our disciplinary conceits, and even our methods that are repurposed in its vertiginous operation. We encounter a political insurgency that is emphatically *European* in its ambitions and reach even though it invoked somewhat paradoxically parochialisms of national, regional, ethnic, religious, or sectarian affiliation. Remarkable too is its temporal orientation: activists embrace convention, tradition, and the past to mobilize, as Isaiah Berlin put it, “the future-directed dynamism of history,” impelling prospectively a politics of Europe.

Fascist activism, both in its historical and contemporary manifestations, is driven by “inner cultural truths” that are often crosscut by memories of injury and injustice. “Truths” emerge from the continual and often intensely partisan interpretation of cultural and racial affinity and difference animating struggles that are fully operating in people’s daily lives, defining their intimate experience of belonging and estrangement. Those who conjure this type of political insurgency draw on *adherents’* fidelity to specific cultural traditions and social practices recasting them within a distinctive historical critique of the secularist foundations of liberal, bourgeois society.

Fascist activists are, thus, emphatically opposed to principles underwriting a “multicultural” and “multiracial” Europe, principles that are viewed by them as entirely antithetical to sustainable human collectivities. Further, they espouse an illiberal political economy in which welfare programs assume a decisive position: an exclusionary welfarism predicated on a discriminatory calculus of social justice. The immigrant and the refugee stand as the dissonant foil in this construal of political economy.

Gerhard Botz, Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Historical Social Science, Vienna

Gerhard Botz is professor emeritus at the Institute of Contemporary History of the University of Vienna and director of the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Historical Social Science. He has published mainly on political violence in interwar Austria and the Nazi Regime. His most recent publications are *Zeitgeschichte zwischen Politik, Biografie und Methodik* (2016) and "'Corporatist state' and enhanced authoritarian dictatorship. The Austria of Dollfuss and Schuschnigg" (in: António C. Pinto, ed. *Corporatism and Authoritarianism*, forthcoming, pp. 144-173).

Concluding Remarks